

Dating the *Life of St Chad*:
Reviewing the Evidence and Approaches

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Abstract

The *Life of St Chad* is an anonymous Old English saint’s life and is extant only in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Hatton 116; the manuscript is reliably dated to the twelfth century. Saint Chad (c. 634–672) was a Northumbrian monk, missionary, and bishop of Mercia. Chad’s *Life* is probably an Old English translation of a lost, original Latin *vita*, adapted from Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* with an introduction and conclusion based on Sulpicius Severus’s *Vita Sancti Martini*. The most comprehensive study of the *Life* was published in 1953, though a new edition and translation were published in 2020. This thesis includes an originally edited edition of the text, alongside a translation and critical apparatus.

This thesis enters the debate about when the Old English *Life of St Chad* was composed, with the central question of establishing the extent to which linguistic—and specifically vocabulary—evidence can be used to establish parameters for the date of the text, and re-evaluating the evidence to date. More broadly, this thesis considers the dating methodologies employed in relation to early medieval English texts, and my approach offers new insights into these. I argue that a reasonable conclusion on the more likely date for a text is possible through employing probabilistic reasoning to analyse certain types of linguistic data, particularly the frequency and distribution patterns of pertinent vocabulary, when supported by the other literary, historical, and contextual evidence.

I conclude that it is most likely that the Old English *Life of St Chad* was composed by the first half of the tenth century, and probably prior to c. 930. Almost certainly, on the basis of vocabulary evidence, it was composed much earlier than it was copied in the extant twelfth-century manuscript. The text is in the Mercian dialect and points to a regional interest in Saint Chad, evidence that also suggests a place of composition for the text. The findings of

this thesis offer a range of insights into the importance of the *Life of St Chad* in understanding the development of early English prose and continuing literary activity in Mercia after the advent of a West Saxon literary tradition at the end of the ninth century.

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Abbreviations

<i>Chad</i>	The anonymous <i>Life of St Chad</i>
<i>Dialogues</i>	Gregory's <i>Dialogues</i> (Old English version of Gregory the Great's <i>Dialogi</i>)
DOE	Dictionary of Old English
DOEC	Dictionary of Old English Corpus
DLMBS	Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</i> (Latin text of Bede's <i>Ecclesiastical History of the English people</i>)
ME	Middle English
OE	Old English
OE Bede	Old English version of Bede's <i>Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</i>
OE Boethius	Old English version of Boethius's <i>De consolazione philosophiae</i>
<i>OE Matryology</i>	<i>Old English Martyrology</i>

Note that I refer to the short titles of texts as standardised by the DOE. For a full list of expanded abbreviated titles, please refer to the 'List of Texts' on the *Dictionary of Old English Online: A to I* website (<https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/>).

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Introduction

Background

Saint Chad and His Life

Saint Chad (d. 672) was a Northumbrian monk and abbot, and later bishop, first of the Northumbrians at York, and later of the Mercians at Lichfield. By all accounts a humble and holy man, Saint Chad received some of his monastic education in Ireland, before taking up residence at the monastery of Lastingham in Yorkshire, where his elder brother Cedd was abbot; on Cedd’s death, he succeeded him to the abbacy. Saint Chad was consecrated as bishop of the Northumbrians at York in what emerged as controversial circumstances, both because Wilfrid had already been nominated to the see, and because Saint Chad’s episcopal consecration was later judged by Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury to have been canonically irregular. The fullest account of Saint Chad’s life is found in Bede’s Latin *Historia Ecclesiastica (HE)*, but he is also mentioned in Stephen of Ripon’s *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi*.¹ All other early English accounts of Saint Chad depend on Bede: the entry for Saint Chad’s feast day on 2 March in the Old English *Martyrology* (OE *Martyrology*); the Old English Bede (OE Bede); and the Old English saint’s life, which is the subject of this thesis.² This independent and anonymous OE homily and saint’s life on Saint Chad is most likely a translation of a lost Latin homily that was substantially based on Bede’s account. This thesis

¹ Bede, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), Book III, chs 23–24, 28, Book IV chs 2–3; Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), chs 14–15.

² *The Old English Martyrology: Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, ed. Christine Rauer, Anglo-Saxon Texts 10 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 60–1; Bede, *The Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Thomas Miller, Early English Text Society, 4 vols, Original Series 95, 96, 110, 111 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890–98), vol 1, part 2, Book III, chs 23–4, 28, Book IV, ch 3.

is primarily concerned with questions and problems concerning the OE *Life of St Chad*, for which a range of dates from the ninth to the twelfth century have been posited. The pivotal focus of this thesis is the category of lexical evidence, particularly the vocabulary of the *Life*.

The *Life of St Chad* has been fully and critically edited twice before, by A. S. Napier in 1888 and R. Vleeskruyer in 1953; the text has also very recently been collaboratively edited and translated in the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library series in 2020.³ Since the publication of Vleeskruyer's edition, the question of the date of the *Life* has been a locus of contention. It is generally agreed that in Vleeskruyer's methodology, the categories of vocabulary and dialect were confused, leading to unsound conclusions about the date of the *Life*, and so also its place in the history of early English prose. While it is generally accepted that the *Life* was written in the Mercian dialect, the dating implications of the use of this dialect have been reasonably questioned. Related to the question of date is the question of the source of the OE *Life of St Chad*. Napier proposed, and Vleeskruyer agreed, that the *Life* in its entirety is an OE translation of a lost Latin homily, itself substantially based on the Latin version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, a suggestion that is intertwined with arguments for a relatively early date. Roberts and Treharne, on the other hand, have suggested that the OE *Life of St Chad* might represent a late composition and reworking of an earlier version, also ultimately based on Bede.

On the basis of a range of linguistic evidence, Napier proposed an early tenth-century date for the OE translation of the *Life of St Chad* from a lost Latin homily.⁴ Accepting the

³ *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, ed. Rudolf Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1953); Arthur S. Napier, 'Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad', *Anglia*, 10 (1888): 131–54; *Anonymous Old English Lives of Saints*, eds. Johanna Ingrid Kramer, Hugh Magennis and Robin Norris, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 63 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), 673–4. The Dumbarton Oaks edition provides only brief notes on the text in addition to the edition and translation.

⁴ Napier, 'Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad', 139; Jane Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988): 93–138.

existence of an antecedent Latin homily, Vleeskruyer claimed the *Life* was a product of a long Mercian vernacular prose literary tradition, and translated in the ninth century sometime between 850–900; he favoured a date no later than 875.⁵ Recently scholars have questioned this ninth-century date, criticising both the assumptions made and the conclusions drawn by Vleeskruyer. Janet Bately is especially sceptical about the existence of a well-developed early Mercian literary prose tradition, as advanced by Vleeskruyer, and argues that the composition of the *Life* can only be safely dated as being prior to the last quarter of the tenth century.⁶ Jane Roberts was the first to argue, albeit briefly, that the textual evidence of the *Life* might suggest that it could have been compiled in the mid-twelfth century from pre-existing older material, and that newly written opening and closing sections could have been added then; she suggests this might have happened with the intention of including the *Life* in Hatton 116.⁷ However, Roberts also argues that the oldest material in the *Life* could be datable to the Alfredian period at the earliest.⁸ Elaine Treharne has developed Roberts’s theory, suggesting that the *Life* was effectively rewritten in the mid-twelfth century.⁹ The most recent textual editors—Kramer, Norris, and Magennis—do not comment on the date of the *Life*, an indication of the ongoing uncertainty relating to this question.¹⁰

My thesis focuses on a range of problems involved in approaching the dating of the *Life of St Chad* with the hope of setting the discussion of the *Life* on a more reliable footing. I re-evaluate the existing evidence and arguments and consider the types of evidence that can be used to date OE texts, especially the extent to which internal linguistic evidence can be

⁵ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 13.

⁶ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’.

⁷ Jane Roberts, ‘The English Saints Remembered in Old English Anonymous Homilies’, in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, vol 5 (New York: Garland, 2000), 433–62 (441).

⁸ Roberts, ‘The English Saints Remembered in Old English Anonymous Homilies’, 442.

⁹ Elaine M. Treharne, *Living through Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 142.

¹⁰ *Anonymous Old English Lives of Saints*, ed. Kramer, Hugh and Norris.

reliably used. I conclude that linguistic evidence is essential to dating texts, but that it must be considered carefully beside other types of evidence. My approach leans heavily on probabilistic reasoning, a methodology that hypothesises the most likely scenario that can explain all the evidence as a means of determining a text’s likely date. I argue, based in varying degrees on its vocabulary evidence and also in the light of literary, historical, and political evidence, that the *Life of St Chad* was most likely originally translated in the first half of the tenth century. I also argue that there is a highly complex relationship between the *Life* and its principal source. As has been noted, the bulk of the *Life* represents a translation of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* IV.3. I accept Napier and Vleeskruyer’s position that the *Life* was likely based on a lost Latin homily created in connection with the early cult of Saint Chad, possibly at Lichfield, that slightly modified the Bedan text and provided it with a homiletic frame.¹¹ It is readily apparent that the translation of this chapter of Bede’s *History* in the *Life* is entirely independent of the translation of the OE Bede.

Included with this thesis is an appendix presenting my own edition of the *Life* based on my first-hand study of Hatton 116; with this I have included a glossary, translation, and commentary on the text. My edited text is the basis for my critical study of the *Life*’s vocabulary, which forms the heart of the evidence and discussion of this thesis. These provide the firm basis of my study of the vocabulary of the *Life* and explain various aspects of my interpretation of the textual evidence. To date the *Life*, Vleeskruyer relies on linguistic (primarily vocabulary) evidence, as well as his framing construct of a Mercian literary tradition, while Napier relies on linguistic and dialect evidence.¹² Although critical of Vleeskruyer’s conclusions, Bately also relies on linguistic evidence, and Treharne has offered

¹¹ For further discussion, see Chapter 5, 187–93.

¹² *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer; Napier, ‘Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad’.

historical and political contextual evidence.¹³ My thesis re-evaluates the evidence and arguments advanced by all these scholars while developing a probable date for the *Life of St Chad*, as well as offering new evidence within a new methodological approach. Internal textual evidence offers the most important insights into the dating question, and has been the focus of nearly a century-and-a-half’s discussion, while other evidence brought to bear includes literary and intertextual contexts, historical and political contexts, and manuscript evidence. These are all discussed in detail in this thesis.

Editions

Napier’s *editio princeps* of the *Life of St Chad* was published in the journal *Anglia* in 1888, with a brief introduction discussing the text.¹⁴ In this seminal study of the *Life*, Napier discusses the background, language, dialect, and date of the text, and provides a textual commentary. Napier dated the *Life* to no later than the first half of the tenth century, based on late nineteenth-century historical linguistic principles and the then current understanding of the historical development of West Saxon accidence. Napier’s edition is highly diplomatic, reproducing manuscript punctuation and word division, and noting manuscript line and page breaks. He does not directly emend in his edited text (which is effectively a transcription), but does provide notes on what he perceives as copying errors, and suggests corrections.

Vleeskruyer’s edition of the *Life* was published in 1953 and includes an extensive introduction focused on all aspects of the *Life*’s language.¹⁵ Vleeskruyer substantially adds to the work of Napier in his critical apparatus, though he does not make radical changes to Napier’s text. Vleeskruyer, however, edits the word division found in the manuscript, while

¹³ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and During the Reign of Alfred’; Treharne, *Living Through Conquest*.

¹⁴ Napier, ‘Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad’.

¹⁵ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer.

also maintaining the manuscript's punctuation and capitalisation. Vleeskruyer also makes emendations to the body of the text, which are explained in his commentary notes. I have, as I will note in my own commentary, retained the majority of these emendations, but I disagree with a small number, and occasionally I decide on a word division different from Vleeskruyer's.

Vleeskruyer approaches the text as an historical linguist, and his introduction provides a substantial and thorough discussion of the Mercian dialect and the phonology of the language of the *Life of St Chad*.¹⁶ His linguistic interest means that he is not interested in, and does not include, substantial discussion of the literary genre or character of the *Life*, the text's historical context, or the cult of Saint Chad. Vleeskruyer argues that the *Life* was composed earlier than Napier's suggested date of the first half of the tenth century, concluding that it was made sometime in the period 850–900. As already noted, Vleeskruyer favours an earlier date in this period, suggesting that the *Life* was written no later than the third-quarter of the ninth century.¹⁷ Vleeskruyer's study of the *Life* is incorporated into a wider discussion of an extensive Mercian vernacular literary corpus, and he discusses the ways in which the *Life* might relate to other texts in this proposed corpus. Vleeskruyer's evidence for his dating of the *Life* is primarily linguistic, employing the tools of both phonology and vocabulary. His glossary is comprehensive, and the categories of vocabulary items developed by him form the basis and starting point of my own glossary and word study.¹⁸ Vleeskruyer's glossary also provides the Latin equivalent of OE words, though these, surprisingly, do not always reflect corresponding Latin terms in the sources, but often a dictionary equivalent of the OE words instead. In some instances, I have disagreed with meanings that Vleeskruyer provides in his

¹⁶ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 1–152.

¹⁷ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 70.

¹⁸ Vleeskruyer's glossary parses the occurrence of each word, which I have not felt necessary to replicate in my own.

glossary, most often because the context militates against his suggested meaning, a phenomenon more apparent to the translator than the glossator.

As already noted, in 2020 an edition of the *Life* was published in a collection of anonymous saints' lives, collaboratively edited and translated by Kramer, Norris, and Magennis, and published as part of the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library series. The first ever published translation of the text is provided in a parallel translation on the page facing the OE text. This most recent edition promises a wider readership for the *Life*, and, in keeping with the guidelines of the series, lacks a critical apparatus, glossary, or detailed commentary, and therefore also any detailed reasoning behind textual emendations or translation decisions. The very minimal introduction is mostly biographical and does not comment on the date of the text or any wider historical context. The edition includes minimal notes on textual intervention and the reasoning behind such changes are not explained. Thus, while I disagree with some of work's editorial decisions based on my understanding of the text, given the nature of the edition, it is difficult to draw the work of these editors into the discussion of this thesis.

The State of the Question

Recent Scholarship on the Date of the *Life of St Chad*

To date, Vleeskruyer's monograph edition offers the most comprehensive study on the *Life*. Across recent decades, however, Bately, Roberts, and Treharne have robustly challenged Vleeskruyer's conclusions and questioned his assigned ninth-century date of the *Life*, proposing alternative ways of explaining the evidence for not only the date the text was written, but also the mode of its composition. Bately disagrees with an early, pre-Alfredian date for the *Life*, and critiques both Vleeskruyer's handling of the linguistic evidence and his conclusions; she suggests that the evidence might indicate a date of composition sometime

prior to the last 30 years of the tenth century.¹⁹ Roberts was the first to propose the idea that the extant *Life* was a compilation of older materials framed with a newly written introduction and conclusion at the time Hatton 116 was compiled in the twelfth century.²⁰ Treharne takes this idea further, arguing that the *Life* is ‘a contemporary rendition of an earlier text’, and was effectively rewritten in the twelfth century. She ties its composition and inclusion in Hatton 116 to a revival of Saint Chad’s cult and the reconstruction of the cathedral at Lichfield in 1148.²¹

Criticism of Vleeskruyer’s Conclusions

These suggestions of alternative ways of reading the evidence presented by the text and its manuscript followed on from serious critiques of Vleeskruyer’s use of evidence, especially as this concerned the significance of the *Life*’s Mercian dialect. Central to Vleeskruyer’s argument was the Mercian vernacular prose canon he constructed. The earliest criticism came from A. Campbell, who points out in his review of Vleeskruyer’s edition the problematic assumptions underpinning his proposed date.²² Later, Bately pointed out further problems in a discussion of the limits of the use linguistic evidence, where she cautioned against far-reaching conclusions based on uncertain proof.²³

Bately cautions against conflating a Mercian dialect word as evidence of an early date when using vocabulary evidence for dating; this is a pervasive flaw in Vleeskruyer’s approach.²⁴ She argues that there is a continuity in the usage of words over time and place,

¹⁹ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and During the Reign of Alfred’, 109.

²⁰ Roberts, ‘The English Saints Remembered in Old English Anonymous Homilies’, 441.

²¹ Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 142, 145–50.

²² A. Campbell, ‘Vleeskruyer, Rudolf. *The Life of St Chad: An Old English Homily (Review)*’, *Medium Aevum* 24 (1955), 55.

²³ Treharne, *Living Through Conquest*; Pauline Stafford, *After Alfred: Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and Chroniclers, 900-1150* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

²⁴ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 108–9.

that the Mercian dialect could be used by writers outside of Mercia, and that dialectal words could be used well into the tenth century and beyond.²⁵ Often the two categories of earliness and Mercian-ness are conflated to mean the same thing.²⁶ While it is certainly true that not all early words are Mercian, and that not all Mercian dialect words are restricted to early usage but continued to be used after standardised West Saxon became commonly employed, the two categories are not always easy to disentangle.

Bately argues that texts can only be reliably dated using linguistic evidence when that evidence is supported by other internal and external evidence.²⁷ This is the case for the only two Mercian literary texts that she acknowledges as being definitely datable to at least the end of the ninth century: the *Matyrolology*, which is supported by manuscript, palaeographic, and source evidence, and the *Dialogues*, because of an external reference to the text.²⁸

Linguistic evidence alone is not enough to date a text, and so Bately argues that the rest of the items in Vleeskruyer's pre-Alfredian Mercian corpus, including the *Life*, cannot be firmly dated to the ninth century because they lack any other supporting evidence.²⁹ In the case of the *Life*, she argues that the linguistic evidence does not provide a firmer indication than that it dates from before the last decades of the tenth century. Bately does not argue that linguistic evidence is invalid: she uses linguistic evidence to counter Vleeskruyer's arguments and acknowledges the importance of his discussion but questions the problematic conclusions he draws. And in my discussion of the data, I will further address the particular vocabulary items

²⁵ Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', 111–12.

²⁶ See the introduction to Bately's essay for her summary of previous scholarship. Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred'.

²⁷ Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', 102–3.

²⁸ Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', 103.

²⁹ Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', 118.

that Bately discusses. However, my use of probabilistic method points to the need to modify some of Bately's conclusions regarding the *Life*.

Treharne's argument for the date of the *Life of St Chad*, which develops the ideas of Roberts, is based largely on historical and political contextual evidence. Her argument for dating the *Life* to the mid-twelfth century rests on arguments that its inclusion in Hatton 116 coincide with the translation of Saint Chad's relics to the reconstructed cathedral at Lichfield in 1148, and other political and cultural developments at the time.³⁰ She suggests that Saint Chad's shrine was translated when the cathedral was built and that his cult was undergoing a revival at the time.³¹ However, the historical evidence is limited, and while it might reasonably be assumed that Saint Chad's relics were translated to the new cathedral in 1148, there is no evidence for this; furthermore, there is no evidence outside of the copying of this *Life* that his cult was being promoted at the time. Given the fact that so little is known about Lichfield between the early decades of the ninth and twelfth century, arguments about meaningful historical contexts rely as much on missing or conjectured information as they do on positive knowledge. This kind of contextual evidence can only be persuasively employed when there is internal linguistic and textual evidence to substantiate it.

While my thesis focuses on vocabulary evidence and how it can be used to date the *Life of St Chad*, it is clear that all types of evidence must be used together to form a holistic and integrated view, as no one method alone is sufficient: therefore, my approach incorporates other relevant evidence, including literary, historical, and manuscript evidence, which must be weighed for their relative value and contribution. Glimpses of Lichfield and the cult of Saint Chad in the mid-tenth century invite other possible connections. Recent

³⁰ Treharne, *Living Through Conquest*, 141–2.

³¹ Treharne, *Living Through Conquest*, 142.

research points to the prominence of bishops of Lichfield in national life from the reign of Athelstan into the late 950s, and possibly revived Latinity there associated with the production of royal charters, as well as the tenth-century arrival of the so-called 'Chad Gospel Book' at Lichfield, possibly in connection with the revival of the saint's cult there.³²

Methodology and Approach

The aim of this thesis is to re-evaluate the existing evidence and arguments for dating the *Life of St Chad* and to consider what evidence can be reliably used to date OE prose texts, especially the extent to which, and how, internal textual evidence can be used. The use of vocabulary to date OE poetic texts would be highly problematic given the formulaic character of OE verse. The case of prose is different. Most OE words enjoyed a long life in prose usage, and are found frequently in early and late texts; therefore, the occurrence of these types of vocabulary item offer no evidence for the dating of texts in which they appear. Other words have a shorter life and appear in texts that are identifiable as relatively early—for example, before the widespread use of late West Saxon as a literary dialect from the late tenth century—but less frequently or not at all in texts that are identifiably late. Other terms appear only in late OE texts; at times these words may have enjoyed earlier use for which no evidence has survived, but many late words are new coinages or loans from other languages, such as Norse. My research into the vocabulary of the *Life of St Chad* has been designed to gather data on the lexical frequency and distribution of selected lexemes in the OE corpus, and to establish the probability that texts in which these words appear are dateable to before the second half of the tenth century. This approach is informed by the arguments of Napier,

³² See Dominik Wassenhoven, 'The Role of Bishops in Anglo-Saxon Succession Struggles, 955 × 978', *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church: From Bede to Stigand* (Boydell & Brewer, April 2012), 97–107, 98–100; see also Stafford, *After Alfred*, 94–8; see below on the 'Chad gospels' in Chapter 5, 216.

Vleeskruyer, and Bately about the vocabulary of the *Life* and the possible dates for the *Life*'s composition this might suggest. I then argue from probabilities based on the distributions of these terms that the most likely scenario is that the *Life of St Chad* was originally translated into OE in the first half of the tenth century at the latest. Fundamental to this approach is establishing the reliability of the relative dates of the texts with which the *Life* will be compared.³³

Using Vocabulary Evidence

In previous scholarship on the *Life*, vocabulary has been addressed as the principal test for dating it, and applied by Vleeskruyer, Bately, and Treharne. My thesis critically examines and builds upon the vocabulary work begun by Vleeskruyer in his edition. My selection of which items of vocabulary to examine is first informed by the list of terms that Vleeskruyer identifies as being 'dialectal, rare, or archaic', and that scholars have since acknowledged as significant, though not without dispute.³⁴ Vleeskruyer's assumption that all Mercian linguistic features of the text could be treated as 'archaic' has been validly and thoroughly criticised by Bately, who also observes that Vleeskruyer's further assumption that the Mercian prose tradition did not continue beyond the ninth century is without basis.³⁵ In his approach, Vleeskruyer concluded that establishing the Mercian provenance of a word contributed to the evidence that a text in which it appears predated c. 900. As a result, while there is no need to question the Mercian dialect of the *Life of St Chad*, it is necessary to thoroughly revisit Vleeskruyer's vocabulary test as evidence for dating the *Life*. My thesis seeks to fill this gap

³³ An outline of the relative dates for other texts used as a general chronology, as well as the rationale behind it, is discussed in Chapter 3, 96–9, with a full list of texts in Appendix D, 301.

³⁴ All scholars considering the date of the *Life* have considered elements of Vleeskruyer's list of vocabulary.

³⁵ Bately, 'Old English Prose before and During the Reign of Alfred', 112; Campbell, 'Vleeskruyer, Rudolf. The *Life of St Chad: An Old English Homily* (Review)', 52–6. There has been an ongoing issue in dating Old English with equating Mercian or Anglian features as early. These issues in dating will be discussed below, see Chapter 2, 88–94, and Chapter 3, 96–9.

by engaging in a comprehensive study, on a sounder footing, of the evidence that the vocabulary of the *Life* provides for the text's composition. My approach in this thesis also offers a contribution to the larger question of how to use vocabulary evidence when attempting to date OE texts, particularly the extent to which such internal linguistic evidence might be used. Fundamental to my approach is the concept of sound probabilistic reasoning, according to which a variety of evidence must be taken into consideration. Certainly, internal linguistic evidence (lexical, syntactical, morphological) is crucial, but it must be supported by (and not contradicted by) other evidentiary material such as palaeography, scribal behaviour, and socio-historic contexts. My thesis, while focused on vocabulary, also employs the evidence of style, syntax, palaeographical evidence, scribal errors, and indicators of textual corruption.

Old English Dating Methodology

Sound probabilistic reasoning can be summarised as a dating methodology that, for OE texts, requires both a historical linguistic and philological approach, and that takes a cumulative and holistic view of the evidence. According to R. D. Fulk's definition, philology is 'the set of protocols designed to mediate the cultural difference, making the language accessible and putting texts into a form that modern readers can comprehend'.³⁶ Stefan Dollinger traces the historical and ongoing relationship between philology and linguistics, categorising scholars as 'literary philologists', 'linguistic philologists', or 'historical linguists'.³⁷ He argues that philological methods, which are based on more personal knowledge, can be usefully married

³⁶ R. D. Fulk, 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology, with Particular Reference to the Editing and Dating of *Beowulf*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003): 1–16 (1).

³⁷ Stefan Dollinger, 'On the Regrettable Dichotomy between Philology and Linguistics: Historical Lexicography and Historical Linguistics as Test Cases', in *Studies in the History of the English Language VII*, ed. Don Chapman, Colette Moore and Miranda Wilcox (De Gruyter, 2016), 61–90 (63).

with quantitative methods, like a corpus-linguistics approach, to produce a more balanced and representative body of evidence.³⁸ Dollinger concludes that 'philological expertise is not an extra, unnecessary addendum to more social science-based ways of doing linguistics. It is a skill set, an expertise, and a way of looking at language that offers, as seen in all three case studies, a way to improve existing approaches'.³⁹ My approach in this thesis is to combine philological expertise in OE language and context with a quantitative sampling from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC) to assess dating evidence for the *Life of St Chad*.

Data is not the same as evidence.⁴⁰ As Michael Adams argues, 'evidence represents a methodological evaluation of data'.⁴¹ The data I have collected are presented as valid evidence only after analysis and interpretation, the methods of which are described below.⁴² In historical linguistics, methodology is required to locate data as well as evaluate them.⁴³ I have collected lexical data from the DOEC, semantic data from the *Toronto Dictionary of Old English* (DOE), and vocabulary data from the *Life of St Chad*. The gathered data are intended to be representative of the lexicon of the *Life* and their frequency and distribution across the corpus. Famously, William Labov stated: 'Historical linguistics can be thought of as the art of making the best use of bad data'. The reality of bad data is present for OE language research; consequently, we must navigate editorially emended words, variable phonology and morphology, as well as the limitations of our extant sources and the

³⁸ Dollinger, 'On the Regrettable Dichotomy between Philology and Linguistics', 66–7.

³⁹ Dollinger, 'On the Regrettable Dichotomy between Philology and Linguistics', 81.

⁴⁰ Michael Adams, 'Introduction: Evidence and Method in the Historical Study of English', in *Studies in the History of the English Language VI: Evidence and Method in Histories of English*, ed. M. Adams, L. J. Brinton and R. D. Fulk, *Topics in English Linguistics [TiEL]* 85 (Mouton: De Gruyter, 2014), 1–12.

⁴¹ Adams, 'Introduction: Evidence and Method in the Historical Study of English', 2.

⁴² See 25–30 of Introduction, and Chapter 3, 99–105.

⁴³ Adams, 'Introduction: Evidence and Method in the Historical Study of English', 2.

restrictions of having to identify meaning and usage.⁴⁴ To counter the problem of bad data, Adams argues that scholars should be flexible and employ methodological pluralism.⁴⁵ This means that several methods may be used together to answer a question and, by extension, language study may necessitate relying on language- or grammar-external evidence.⁴⁶ I seek to do this through both a philological and a corpus-linguistics approach, where internal linguistic features are quantifiably measured against their occurrences in the corpus, but also through external oriented research on historical and political context, and intertextual references and relationships.

Dating Methods in Old English

In early English studies, the most prominent and enduring discussion of textual dating relates to the ongoing debate about the date of *Beowulf*, for which scholars have used a variety of dating methods and presented a range of evidence.⁴⁷ Recent scholarship on this debate is highly relevant when considering dating methods for OE more widely, particularly those that employ methodological pluralism. Leonard Neidorf relies on probabilistic evidence to argue that *Beowulf* was composed in c. 700 in Mercia, presenting a compelling and substantive case grounded in language changes, scribal errors, socio-historical contexts, and co-relations with external texts.⁴⁸ His logic is that if different types of evidence converge to substantiate the same hypothesis, it is improbable that this is the result of coincidence, but rather that it should

⁴⁴ William Labov, *Principles of Linguistic Change. 1: Internal Factors*, repr, *Language in Society* 20 (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 11 quoted in Adams, 'Introduction: Evidence and Method in the Historical Study of English', 2.

⁴⁵ Adams, 'Introduction: Evidence and Method in the Historical Study of English', 2–3.

⁴⁶ Adams, 'Introduction: Evidence and Method in the Historical Study of English', 4.

⁴⁷ Neidorf outlines the nature of the debate in his introduction, Leonard Neidorf, *The Dating of Beowulf: A Reassessment* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, D. S. Brewer, 2014), 1–18.

⁴⁸ Leonard Neidorf, 'Germanic Legends, Scribal Errors, and Cultural Change', in Neidorf, *The Dating of Beowulf*, 36–57 (53–7); Leonard Neidorf, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf': Language, Culture, and Scribal Behavior* (Cornell University Press, 2017).

be concluded that this hypothesis is the most reasonable explanation. I rely on the same method of reasoning for assessing the evidence for the *Life of St Chad* and developing a likely date for the composition of this text.⁴⁹

Probabilistic Reasoning

Probabilism is essential to argumentation in philology, and fundamental to any study relating to OE.⁵⁰ Probabilistic reasoning is ubiquitous across early English studies, but often only implicit in the logic of arguments. Fulk and Neidorf have written about relying on probabilistic logic in OE language study more broadly, and specifically in response to the question of dating.⁵¹ In fact, Bately, if not in name, employs probabilistic reasoning in a number of her studies of the early English prose corpus, including on the authorship of the Paris Psalter prose psalms, and more generally on the dating OE prose.⁵²

Two core principles underlying the logic of probability are falsifiability and statistics. Fulk clearly outlines this logic of probabilism in 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology, with particular reference to the editing and dating of *Beowulf*'.⁵³ He explains that arguments using probabilism are based on hypotheticism, which is that 'the investigator forms a hypothesis, which cannot ever be proved conclusively, but which can be validated (rendered probable beyond a reasonable doubt)'.⁵⁴ A claim (or hypothesis) is tested not by whether it is absolutely true, but by whether it is falsifiable, meaning 'it could be disproved if

⁴⁹ Neidorf, 'Germanic Legends, Scribal Errors, and Cultural Change', 55; see Chapter 3, 99–105.

⁵⁰ Fulk titles a paper with this particular phrase, and it encapsulates the whole meaning very well, as does his argument within the paper. Fulk, 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology', 1–2.

⁵¹ Fulk, 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology'; R. D. Fulk, 'Beowulf and Language History', in Neidorf, *The Dating of Beowulf*, 19–36; Neidorf, *The Dating of Beowulf*; Neidorf, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf'*.

⁵² Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred'; Janet M. Bately, 'Lexical Evidence for the Authorship of the Prose Psalms in the Paris Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1981): 69–95.

⁵³ Fulk, 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology', 3.

⁵⁴ Fulk, 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology', 3; Neidorf, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf'*, 22.

appropriate statistical counter-evidence could be adduced ... a term that implies nothing about whether or not the claim is true, only that it can be tested' or whether it can be validated.⁵⁵ Or, as Neidorf puts it, 'the relative probability of competing hypotheses rather straightforwardly by determining which hypothesis is most capable of explaining the form of evidence under scrutiny'.⁵⁶ Statistical assumptions are behind every claim about probability, though, as Fulk states, it is often not necessary to cite statistics in philological arguments because these kinds of probabilities are intuitive.⁵⁷ The interpretation of statistical data is crucial, as is the logic employed in reaching the conclusions, and explicitly stating what the statistics mean or are assumed to prove.⁵⁸

Arguments based on probabilistic reasoning do not and cannot offer strict proof, but, rather, through deductive reasoning, they offer the most likely hypothesis that explains the evidence in a way that would convince a reasonable person.⁵⁹ Importantly, unlike in literary studies where it is assumed there are multiple meanings in a text and many possible interpretations, in philology alternative hypotheses are not all equally plausible: competing hypotheses have different probabilistic weights.⁶⁰ Furthermore, probabilistic evidence has a cumulative effect, which increases its probability—so that, as Fulk demonstrates, 'although a hypothesis can never be proved correct, by various means it can be rendered so very probable that it demands credence'.⁶¹ Finally, as Neidorf argues, the inability to offer definitive proof does not mean that we cannot conduct research and advance our knowledge on OE

⁵⁵ Fulk, 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology', 3.

⁵⁶ Neidorf, *The Dating of Beowulf*, 16.

⁵⁷ Though as Fulk points out, these statistics could be quantified. Fulk, 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology', 2.

⁵⁸ Fulk, 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology', 16–25.

⁵⁹ Neidorf, *The Transmission of "Beowulf"*, 22–3.

⁶⁰ Fulk, 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology', 16; Fulk, 'Beowulf and Language History', 22.

⁶¹ Fulk, 'Beowulf and Language History', 23.

language.⁶² This thesis will offer cumulative probabilistic evidence that shows that the *Life of St Chad* can be dated with some confidence to a time in, or close to, the first half of the tenth century.

Linguistic Evidence

Linguistic features have long been used to determine dates for OE; in the late nineteenth century, Napier's argument for the *Life of St Chad* to be dated to the tenth century stems from morphological features within the text. R. D. Fulk notes the high status of linguistic evidence accorded by early English scholars.⁶³ The validity of linguistic evidence as grounds for dating has been questioned by some scholars, most prominently Ashley Crandell Amos and Roberta Frank; however, this scepticism have not gained wide acceptance among early English linguists.⁶⁴ Fulk characterises the strength of linguistic evidence as 'more objective than other kinds, since language changes in particular ways', particularly in reference to sound changes, which can be used to determine the probability of a date, and with this the unlikelihood of other proposed dates.⁶⁵

A variety of linguistic features can provide evidence for dating: lexical, semantic, phonological, morphological, and syntactic. My thesis focuses on the lexical evidence of the

⁶² Neidorf, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf'*, 25.

⁶³ Fulk, 'Beowulf and Language History', 19–20.

⁶⁴ Ashley Crandell Amos concluded that linguistic criteria cannot be relied on for dating in Ashley Crandell Amos, *Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts*, Medieval Academy Books, no. 90 (Cambridge, Mass: Medieval Academy of America, 1980). Her conclusion has been discredited more recently because she posits dating as an absolute certainty in a positivist view, rather than evaluating the evidence with probabilistic reasoning. I will discuss probability in greater depth below. Neidorf, *The Dating of Beowulf*; Neidorf, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf'*. Similarly, Roberta Frank questions using linguistic and palaeographic evidence for determining the date of Beowulf in Roberta Frank, 'A Scandal in Toronto: "The Dating of 'Beowulf'" a Quarter Century On', *Speculum* 82, no. 4 (2007): 843–64; Rafael J. Pascual, 'Material Monsters and Semantic Shifts', in Neidorf, *The Dating of Beowulf*, 202–18; Fulk, 'Beowulf and Language History'.

⁶⁵ Fulk, 'Beowulf and Language History', 20.

vocabulary, including words that changed meaning over time, but this occasionally implicates and requires discussion of other linguistic features. Rafael J. Pascual's study offers an example of the use of semantic development for dating: through close analysis, he establishes why two words in *Beowulf* must have a pre-Christian meaning, examining their semantic development over time to determine when they acquired their Christian meaning.⁶⁶ He grounds these semantic shifts in their cultural contexts and, given that language changes over time, argues that *Beowulf* should be dated to the eighth century to align the semantic usage in the text with other concurrent usages.⁶⁷ His argument, as all sound arguments on dating must, relies on probability; he acknowledges that the semantic evidence alone is not sufficient, but that it nevertheless significantly contributes to the probability of his proposed date.⁶⁸ Semantic changes in lexemes form a limited part of the evidence in my thesis, and I have restricted discussion of semantic changes to the available samples found in the DOE (letters A–I).⁶⁹

At the heart of the methodology of this thesis is the study of lexical frequency and distribution across the corpus, with a focus on language change. I analyse the occurrence of words across the corpus to establish a chronology of when certain lexemes were commonly in use or when they were becoming, or had become, obsolete. Dennis Cronan approaches dating OE poetry by focusing on the patterns of distribution for poetic simplexes in *Beowulf*.⁷⁰ In his study he states:

The simple listing of lexical items does not necessarily prove anything. Of course, an accumulation of items can be significant in itself, but the precise

⁶⁶ Pascual, 'Material Monsters and Semantic Shifts', 203.

⁶⁷ Pascual, 'Material Monsters and Semantic Shifts', 217.

⁶⁸ Pascual, 'Material Monsters and Semantic Shifts', 218.

⁶⁹ Moving beyond this range would require new semantic field studies that would make up an entire doctoral thesis.

⁷⁰ Dennis Cronan, 'Poetic Words, Conservatism and the Dating of Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England* 33 (2004): 23–50.

nature of this significance can be determined only after the evidence offered by each word has been carefully scrutinized.⁷¹

Cronan's point is made clearly in reference to OE lexical distribution, but it coincides more broadly with the argument that data are not the same as evidence, as I have outlined above.⁷²

The reasoning behind the analysis of lexical distribution is argued by Neidorf who observes:

For many of these words, their restriction to a corpus of archaic poetry—and their absence from texts known to have been composed during the ninth and tenth centuries—is a probable sign that they became obsolete at an early date.⁷³

It is possible to have some reservations about the application of this logic to highly formulaic poetic texts, but its reliability in relation to homiletic prose is sound, as this thesis will show.

Contextual Evidence

Historical events or political situations offered as potential contexts to explain textual content lack the same probabilistic weight as linguistic evidence.⁷⁴ In relation to Helen Damico's approach to the dating of *Beowulf*, Neidorf suggests: 'I doubt that many scholars would share the view that the probabilities involved in the palaeographical dating of the extant manuscript are less compelling than the probabilities involved in the identification of historical parallels'.⁷⁵ In past scholarship on dating *Beowulf*, historical parallels offered as contextual evidence were common, but recently such evidence is generally considered unreliable unless it is corroborated by more substantive evidence that has greater probabilistic weight, such as that provided by language and palaeography. A good example of argumentation that offers internal linguistic evidence that is also supported by contextual infor is Neidorf's in his

⁷¹ Cronan, 'Poetic Words, Conservatism and the Dating of Old English Poetry', 25

⁷² Susan Fitzmaurice and Jeremy Smith, *Evidence for the History of English: Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 19, quoted in Adams, 'Introduction: Evidence and Method in the Historical Study of English', 2.

⁷³ Neidorf, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf'*, 5.

⁷⁴ Fulk, 'Beowulf and Language History', 20; Neidorf, *The Dating of Beowulf*, 16–17.

⁷⁵ Neidorf, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf'*, 16–17, footnote 61.

discussion of the transmission of *Beowulf*, where he examines scribal errors and the language associated with them, then relates it to contextual evidence, which then becomes part of the reasoning and contributes to the cumulative probability.⁷⁶

Manuscript/Scribal Errors

Neidorf, advancing the work of Michael Lapidge, has demonstrated the validity of analysing scribal errors in an extant manuscript as dating evidence.⁷⁷ He argues that the evidentiary scribal errors he presents have implications for dating because they are the result of linguistic and cultural changes that took place between when *Beowulf* was composed up to the time when the extant manuscript was copied.⁷⁸ Neidorf examines scribal confusion about archaic names from Germanic legend, and transliteration errors corresponding to letter form changes in script over time. Neidorf identifies scribal errors around personal (heroic) names, then determines when Germanic legends were circulated by using datable external text references in order to establish that these personal names were archaic and unfamiliar when the extant manuscript was copied.⁷⁹ He argues that even more important are the extant manuscript's transliteration errors that can be attributed to letter forms changing over time, particularly the confusion between *a* and *u*.⁸⁰ Adopting a similar approach, I analyse the scribal errors within

⁷⁶ Neidorf, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf'*.

⁷⁷ Neidorf, 'Germanic Legends, Scribal Errors, and Cultural Change', 37–57; Neidorf, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf'*. Neidorf builds on the earlier work of Johan Gerritsen, 'Have with You to Lexington!: The Beowulf Manuscript and Beowulf', in *In Other Words: Transcultural Studies in Philology, Translation and Lexicography Presented to Hans Heinrich Meier*, ed. J. Lachlan Mackenzie and Richard Todd (Dordrecht: Foris, 1989), 15–34; Peter Clemoes, *Interactions of Thought and Language in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1995); Michael Lapidge, 'The Archetype of Beowulf', *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (2000): 5–41. See Clark for a refutation of Roberta Frank's criticisms of these methods in Leonard Neidorf, Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas A. Bredehoft, George Clark, Dennis Cronan, Michael D. C. Drout, Allen J. Frantzen, et al. 'Scandals in Toronto: Kaluza's Law and Transliteration Errors', in Neidorf, *The Dating of Beowulf*, 219–34; Frank, 'A Scandal in Toronto'.

⁷⁸ Neidorf, 'Germanic Legends, Scribal Errors, and Cultural Change', 39–40.

⁷⁹ Neidorf, 'Germanic Legends, Scribal Errors, and Cultural Change', 38.

⁸⁰ Neidorf, 'Germanic Legends, Scribal Errors, and Cultural Change'; Neidorf, *The Transmission of 'Beowulf'*, 7; Lapidge, 'The Archetype of *Beowulf*'.

the *Life of St Chad* in MS Hatton 116, where I find apparent unfamiliarity with archaic words reflected in various kinds of errors.⁸¹ Other errors in the *Life* offer insights to the original author's occasional difficulty with translation, and a subsequent history of copying and transmission. These provide evidence of the Hatton 116 scribe's probably significant removal in time from the original copy.

Vocabulary Data

I rely on the DOEC as the source for OE vocabulary data. The DOEC is a holistic collection of OE (CE 600–1150) vocabulary with over three million words, including at least one copy of every surviving OE text, or more than one copy if this is significant because of date or dialect.⁸² As it is the largest in size, it is the most suitable corpus for a wholistic view of lexical distribution and frequency across OE.⁸³ A secondary data source is the DOE, which I have relied on for words whose dating significance is encompassed in their semantic field.⁸⁴ I make use of my own full critical edition of the *Life of St Chad*, appended to this thesis, as the basis of the linguistic evidence from the *Life*; this is cross-referenced with Vleeskruyer's edition and the DOEC. The process of editing the text and entering into its textual, critical questions has been an important part of my philological methodology, both by establishing the text and facilitating the close analysis of the textual data.

⁸¹ See below Chapter 1, 50–68.

⁸² 'About the Dictionary of Old English', *The Dictionary of Old English* (University of Toronto, 2022).

⁸³ For a comparison of DOEC and other OE corpora, see Ruth Mohlig-Falke, 'Using the "Dictionary of Old English Corpus" for Linguistic Analyses: A Basic Classification of the Textual Sources', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 15, no. 1 (2015): 395.

⁸⁴ 'About the DOE', *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*, ed. Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2018).

Data Sampling

As noted above, the vocabulary sample from the *Life of St Chad* discussed in this thesis has been selected based on discussions of the lexical evidence by Vleeskruyer, Bately, and Treharne.⁸⁵ In addition to the items of interest that they have identified, further lexemes have been selected in the course of my research into the text as being unusual and requiring investigation. The DOEC is the largest corpus of OE texts and is representative in terms of its range of genre, dialect, and date—it is, however, a victim of ‘bad data’ and can only include textual matter that has survived from the early English period, which represents a general bias towards religious items and also manifests the luck involved in survival.⁸⁶ A challenge that must be acknowledged when researching OE is not only that samples are limited by the more likely survival of certain types of texts, but also the size of the corpus that has survived. Davies and Chapman have demonstrated that small corpora, in comparison with large, provide relatively poor data on lexical frequency of medium-frequency words, and poorer data again on lower-frequency words.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the nature of OE language research necessitates cautiously relying on this data; thus, this deficit in the corpus must be kept in mind when establishing probabilities and their weight according to the frequency of occurrence of any given word.

Bately considers this problem of lower-frequency words in her criticism of Vleeskruyer, arguing that rare words with few attestations cannot provide conclusive

⁸⁵ Bately, ‘Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred’; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer; Treharne, *Living Through Conquest*.

⁸⁶ Despite its size, the OE corpus is considered small in terms of wider corpus linguistics. Davies and Chapman comment that up to five million words is small, but they consider the DOEC to be ‘whole’ given that it contains almost all surviving material, and so its representativeness is complete in that way. Mark Davies and Don Chapman, ‘The Effect of Representativeness and Size in Historical Corpora: An Empirical Study of Changes in Lexical Frequency’, in *Studies in the History of the English Language VII: Generalizing vs. Particularizing Methodologies in Historical Linguistic Analysis*, ed. Don Chapman, C. Moore and M. Wilcox (2016), 133, 149; ‘About the DOE’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁸⁷ Davies and Chapman, ‘The Effect of Representativeness and Size in Historical Corpora’, 147–8.

evidence.⁸⁸ Certainly if one were to rely solely on rare words taken in isolation it would be difficult to generate sufficient evidence to form safe conclusions. However, as discussed above, for probabilistic arguing, the cumulative evidence of a number of rare words that appear to be exclusively early can provide weighted evidence when taken into consideration beside the other cumulative evidence, generating the likelihood of a text being of an earlier, rather than later date. It is not logical or plausible that a late text would include 25 words that are likely or highly likely to occur in early prose unless it was deliberately being archaised; however, if the latter case were so, we could reasonably expect distinctive symptoms of late composition.⁸⁹

Methods of Data Collection and Data Analysis

Collection

The data I collected from the *Life of St Chad* emerged through close analysis of my edited text, including lexical forms and occurrences, and scribal and textual errors. For data on lexical frequency and distribution across the Old English corpus, I used the search function on the DOEC. Seeking to include the greatest number of relevant results, I attempted to include variant spellings and various morphological forms when conducting word searches in the corpus. These include corpus searches based on an item's lexical stem, as well as

⁸⁸ In the case of the evidence presented by Vleeskuyter, the strength of his argument was lessened by the inclusion of less significant or relevant words, which Bately addresses with particular concern in her article. As such, I have sought to only include relevant evidence in my thesis. Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred,' 108–12.

⁸⁹ Out of 38 words, I categorised two as almost certain, 16 as highly likely and seven as likely. See Chapter 3, and, for a summary, Chapter 3, 101–2, footnotes 15–19.

variations with different inflections and spellings.⁹⁰ I also relied on data from the entry for words in the where the sense of words appears to differ significantly across time.⁹¹

Analysis

For my data analysis of the results from the DOEC and DOE, I focus on lexical frequency and distribution.⁹² To establish reliability, I checked the meaning and usage of each selected lexical item to ensure that it was a relevant occurrence of the word in question.⁹³ To determine the frequency of a word, I counted the occurrences of each word from the search results after deducting the number of irrelevant occurrences. For lexical distribution, I took the list of texts in which each word occurs and sorted them according to approximate date: early, late, or unknown.⁹⁴ In my analysis, I note how often each word occurs and in which texts it is found. Then, borrowing a statistical method common in medical science, I provide a calculation of a likelihood ratio (discussed in detail at the opening of Chapter 3), indicating the probability that a word's occurrence is an indicator that the text in which it appears is likely to be early or late. My presentation and discussion of the results are closely informed by Bately's critique of Vleeskruyer's approach.⁹⁵

In addition to the vocabulary evidence, and as a way of developing probabilistic reasoning, I briefly analyse elements of the style and syntax of the *Life*. For example, in terms

⁹⁰ The results of the searches I conducted, including what had been searched, is included in the appendix. See Appendix E, 316.

⁹¹ *in* (prep.), *hwæthugu* (pron.), *heahbisceop* (meaning 'archbishop'), *ateon* (*ateon of lichaman / þissum life / þissum leohte*), see 144–51.

⁹² See other studies that use the DOEC, such as Ana Elvira Ojanguren López, 'Inflectional Variation in the Old English Participle. A Corpus-Based Analysis', *Journal of English Studies; Vol 16 (2018): 237–54*; Matti Kilpiö, 'Old English Vocabulary Dealing with Translation', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 111, no. 2 (2010): 153–65; Möhlig-Falke, 'Using the "Dictionary of Old English Corpus" for Linguistic Analyses'.

⁹³ A few words, which are not part of the main argument, are only examined in approximate numbers when there were too many occurrences to read through and analyse directly. Each of these instances is noted within the thesis.

⁹⁴ See Appendix D, 301.

⁹⁵ Bately, 'Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred'.

of probability, since the *Life* does not share stylistic features with Ælfric, an influential and prominent writer of saints' lives and homilies, this aspect of the text contributes to the probability that the *Life* was written before Ælfric's influence was disseminated. This reasoning is based on the increased likelihood of such features being found post-Ælfric.⁹⁶ Such a feature on its own would be of little meaning, but combined with other evidence it makes a contribution, however slight, to a probabilistic argument. My examination of syntax is brief but employs the same approach to compare syntactical constructions in the *Life* and comparable occurrences across the corpus.

When identifying and determining apparent instances of textual corruption in transmission, I rely both on analysing a relevant passage as it is found, and also comparing it to its likely ultimate source. The major ultimate source for the *Life* is the Latin version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, apparently transmitted in a largely unmodified way via a lost Latin homily on Saint Chad. For my comparisons, I use the modern editions of this text, as well as other identified sources. Johnson points out that one must be cautious when using modern editions of Latin texts.⁹⁷ Indeed, this is a concern when comparing any modern editions of medieval texts. However, the *HE* presents a relatively straightforward transmission history, so it is reasonable to rely on modern editions.⁹⁸ When discussing comparisons between the *Life* and the relevant sections of the OE Bede, I have used Miller's edition. Furthermore, as long as due caution is exercised in drawing conclusions, it is a

⁹⁶ For this approach, see Michael D. C. Drout, 'Re-Dating the Old English Translation of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: The Evidence of the Prose Style', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 103 (2004): 341–68.

⁹⁷ David F. Johnson, 'Alfredian Apocrypha: The Dialogues and the Bede', in *A Companion to Alfred the Great*, ed. Discenza, Nicole G. and Paul E. Szarmach, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 375–6.

⁹⁸ See Colgrave and Mynors on the textual transmission of Bede's *HE*; *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, xxxix–lxxiii.

reasonably mitigated risk to use edited versions of the texts in question, especially in the context of a holistic probabilistic approach.

Caveats

The problems with searching for occurrences in the DOEC are at once simple but difficult to completely overcome. The corpus data are compiled from either edited texts or transcriptions of manuscripts, and so are affected by the editorial choices of the source edition.

Furthermore, some lexical items are textually problematic, meaning that the data are not wholly stable. In processing the data from the corpus, the DOE project seeks to mark textually problematic words, including 'editorial emendations, scribal alterations or corrections, and words illegible or partially illegible in the manuscript'.⁹⁹ As a researcher searching the DOEC directly I have had to consider the problem of editorial intervention in the form of words. For the *Life of St Chad* itself this problem has been removed, as the text has been carefully established from a study of the original manuscript; this is impossible to do for large sets of data and all manuscripts from the corpus.

When using the DOEC, I endeavoured to make the data comprehensible and reliable by including searches of variants, distinguishing usage and meanings, and handling large datasets for high-frequency words. Locating relevant lexical data requires OE philological knowledge; searching for words means needing to look for various forms as well as phonological variations. However, it is not always possible to capture every occurrence of all words: the results need to be a representative sample of the corpus, and some caution needs to be applied as to whether all occurrences have been captured. Once the results of the word searches are found, these results need to be carefully examined to distinguish whether it is, in

⁹⁹ 'Entry Format', *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

fact, an occurrence of the relevant word, or whether a given example has the same form but occupies a different semantic field, or is used differently. Interrogating the data requires some depth of knowledge of the OE language, as is the time to review the context of each result. Again, this is not always possible due to practical constraints, particularly when there are many results.¹⁰⁰ Large datasets of words present a problem because of the difficulty of analysing the contextual usage for each word. A compromise that I have adopted for my analysis is taking the dataset at face value as generalised data providing an overview of the frequency of a word. This has been supplemented by more particularised analysis of the relevant words.

As a research tool for data collection, the DOE offers very reliable lexicographical evidence but also presents limitations (not least because it is as yet incomplete).¹⁰¹ The DOE entries are 'partly analytical, partly contextual, and partly translation-oriented', which makes them useful for researchers.¹⁰² The inherent limitations of the DOE highlight a problem of its use as a research tool for this kind of project, rather than just a dictionary. Can the DOE be used as a representative sample for the corpus, enabling researchers to rely on its entries without also conducting a full corpus search? To solve this problem, consideration of the representativeness and sampling of the citations for each definition is pertinent. The lexicographers of the DOE document their methods and reasoning under the heading 'Entry Format' in the online dictionary, and it is this explicit statement of their underlying theories

¹⁰⁰ Potentially the York annotated corpus could provide some assistance, but I have not used that resource in this thesis. See 'The York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry', The York Poetry Corpus, 2001, <https://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang18/pcorpus.html>.

¹⁰¹ See Dollinger on historical lexicographical evidence for linguistic theories of linguistic change. Dollinger, 'On the Regrettable Dichotomy between Philology and Linguistics'.

¹⁰² The Bosworth-Toller dictionary entries are similar, albeit the DOE entries are more recent and detailed. The Bosworth-Toller entries have been used for letters past 'I'. 'Entry Format', *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

that is crucial to the validity and trustworthiness of the DOE, both as a historical dictionary and a study of the OE corpus on which it is based.¹⁰³

Corpus based research that employs the DOE must be aware of the limitations signified by the citations listed in each occurrence, and the consequent reliance on the definition parameters used by the dictionary. The DOE editors explicitly outline the three means used to define words and note that it is primarily a translation dictionary.¹⁰⁴ In entries, they list the likeliest and most common possibility first, followed by other possibilities.¹⁰⁵ The quoted evidence in the citations is sufficiently particularised so as to make the evidence reliable.¹⁰⁶ When using the editors' definitions as an integral part of a project like the present one, the logic of probabilistic reasoning is necessary. I rely upon the citation section of entries for a generalised representation of distribution patterns of some words and their meanings. The DOE policy is to cite all instances of words with 12 or fewer occurrences, while for words with more numerous occurrences, the number of citations depends on its semantic complexity.¹⁰⁷ The goal of the citations is:

To give first a citation which validates the definition, then a second citation which strengthens the support for the definition, then a few citations which show some slight variation in sense while at the same time covering a representative range of genres and spellings.¹⁰⁸

The entries comment on frequency and patterns of usage when appropriate, and provide a frequency count that shows the reader the proportion of evidence that has been cited.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Dollinger, 'On the Regrettable Dichotomy between Philology and Linguistics', 83.

¹⁰⁴ 'Definitions, Entry Format', *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹⁰⁵ 'Definitions, Entry Format', *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹⁰⁶ Dollinger, 'On the Regrettable Dichotomy between Philology and Linguistics', 81.

¹⁰⁷ 'Citations, Entry Format', *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹⁰⁸ 'Entry Format', *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹⁰⁹ 'Occurrences and Usage, Entry Format', *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

When taking up the DOE entries as a representative sample of frequency and distribution patterns, I rely on the reasonable assumption that a DOE entry provides a representative sample of the occurrences of each word in the corpus, and that (at least) all significant usages are listed. As the approach of the DOE editors is trusted across the field of OE studies, I judged it sufficient for semantic meanings within my greater search of corpus vocabulary. Nevertheless, I also tested whether the DOE results were numerically representative and found that they were. Using the DOE as a research tool assumes that it is a scholarly publication whose validity and trustworthiness is ensured by the philological work of knowledgeable historical lexicographers.¹¹⁰ I found that it can, at the very least, be used as a tool to supplement my own corpus searches, allowing me to make the most of a valuable resource of OE linguistic, lexicographical, and philological work.

Significance

The *Life of St Chad* in the History of Early English Prose

As already noted, on the basis of evidence presented in this thesis, I will argue that the most probable date for the creation of the OE *Life of St Chad* is some time in the first half of the tenth century. Broadly this agrees with the dating first suggested by Napier, which has been supported to a degree by Bately. Vleeskruyer's suggestion that the *Life* is a pre-Alfredian product is difficult to support on the basis of the evidence, though there can be no disputing the fact that the *Life* was written in Mercian dialect. If an early tenth-century date is accepted, then the *Life* would offer both evidence for an English vernacular homiletic and saint's life tradition prior to the Benedictine reform of the second half of the tenth century, and an

¹¹⁰Dollinger, 'On the Regrettable Dichotomy between Philology and Linguistics', 71–2.

ongoing Mercian prose tradition in the earlier tenth century.¹¹¹ The extent of the Mercian literary corpus is the subject of detailed discussion in Chapter 2. There has been disagreement among scholars about how to determine the extent of this corpus, with Christine Rauer arguing that vernacular Mercian literary production developed early and was sustained across a long period.¹¹²

The reign of King Alfred of Wessex in the late ninth century (871–899) is generally understood as marking a significant demarcation in English literary history, and for some the prose of the Alfredian period has been considered to be the beginning of the OE literary prose tradition.¹¹³ The Alfredian period has been traditionally defined by the translations and their prefaces and epilogues, purportedly written or commissioned by Alfred as part of an education and translation program, as well as claims made about his literary activities made by Asser and William of Malmesbury.¹¹⁴ Ongoing scholarly debate has questioned the extent of Alfred’s authorship and which texts safely belong to the Alfredian canon.¹¹⁵ For some scholars, the extent of a prose tradition before this period in part stems from questions about

¹¹¹ Roberts considers both the *Life of St Chad* and the *Life of St Guthlac* as certainly not being associated with the translation of the Benedictine reform. Roberts, ‘The English Saints Remembered in Old English Anonymous Homilies’, 441, 449.

¹¹² Christine Rauer, ‘Early Mercian Text Production: Authors, Dialects, and Reputations’, *Amsterdamer Beiträge Zur Älteren Germanistik* 77, no. 3–4 (2017): 541–58; *The Old English Martyrology*, ed. Rauer. See also Christine Rauer, ‘A Literary History of Mercia: Bibliography (in progress)’, *A Literary History of Mercia: A Register of Texts, Manuscripts and Secondary Literature*, October 2021, <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~cr30/Mercian/Bibliography.html>.

¹¹³ See Fulk and Cain, particularly the chapter ‘Literature of the Alfredian Period’, 83–111 in R. D. Fulk and Christopher M. Cain, *A History of Old English Literature*, 2nd ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

¹¹⁴ Henry Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse* (United Kingdom, Clarendon Press, 1881), 46, 195; Daniel Anlezark, ‘Which Books are “Most Necessary” to Know? The Old English Pastoral Care Preface and King Alfred’s Educational Reform’, *English Studies* 98 (2017): 759–80; Janet Bately, ‘Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited’, *Medium Ævum* 78 (2009): 189–215.

¹¹⁵ For the contours of the debate, see Janet M. Bately, ‘The Alfredian Canon Revisited: One Hundred Years On’, in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh Centenary Conferences*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Burlington, VT., 2003), 107–20; Malcolm Godden, ‘Did King Alfred Write Anything?’, *Medium Ævum*, 76 (2007): 1–23; Bately, ‘Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything?’, Malcolm Godden, ‘Alfredian Prose: Myth and Reality’, *Filologia Germanica*, 5 (2013): 131–58.

vernacular literacy from the reported significant intellectual decline in ninth-century England in the *Pastoral Care* preface.¹¹⁶ The accuracy of this preface as a representation of the trajectory the vernacular tradition has been questioned.¹¹⁷

Textual production, which can include the creation of glossaries, should not be conflated with literary production, which Jane Roberts points out for Mercia is first attested by the Latin *Vita sancti Guthlaci*, written by Felix in East Anglia, firmly dated to Mercia in the mid-eighth century.¹¹⁸ Roberts regards the *Vita sancti Guthlaci* as the first main phase of hagiographical writing in Mercia, with the second being the Mercian vernacular productions of the late ninth century, which saw the translation of Gregory’s *Dialogues* by Werferth, bishop of Worcester, and the OE translation of Bede’s history.¹¹⁹

Any dating the *Life of St Chad* to the tenth century requires re-contextualising its production within a wider understanding of the origins and development of early English prose. The extent of a Mercian literary corpus pre-dating the Alfredian period, and the continuation of Mercian literary production after the political rise of Wessex into the tenth

¹¹⁶ Anlezark, ‘Which Books are “Most Necessary” to Know?’.

¹¹⁷ Jennifer Morrish, ‘King Alfred’s Letter as a Source of Learning in England in the Ninth Century’, in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 87–107; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Peter Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960). Gregory the Great, *King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care*, ed. Henry Sweet, 2 vol, Early English Text Society, Original Series 45, 50 (London: N. Trübner, 1871), 3; John Asser, *Asser’s Life of King Alfred: Together with the Annals of Saint Neots*, ed. William H. Stevenson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), *Asser’s Life*, chapter 77). Rauer notes: ‘Three of the scholars, Plegmund, Werwulf, Æthelstan, are designated as Mercians “by birth” (“Mercius genere”)), whereas Werferth is at least attributed a Mercian area of professional activity’, see Rauer, ‘Early Mercian Text Production’, 2. Anlezark notes that these efforts were aimed at the clergy, see Anlezark, ‘Which Books are “Most Necessary” to Know?’, 767. Anlezark particularly refutes Klaeber’s argument made in F. Klaeber, ‘Zu König Aelfreds Vorrede zu seiner Uebersetzung der Cura Pastoralis’, *Anglia* 48 (1923): 53–65.

¹¹⁸ Jane Roberts, ‘Hagiography and Literature: The Case of Guthlac of Crowland’, in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005), 69–86 (69–70).

¹¹⁹ Roberts speculates that the ninth century productions could have been in response to Alfred’s reforms, but does not claim they were Alfredian in origin. Roberts, ‘Hagiography and Literature’, 76–7.

century, is the focus of current debate.¹²⁰ Placing the *Life* in the first half of the tenth century means that its creation should be understood in relation to early Mercian works such as the OE *Dialogues*—datable to the mid-880s—and the less firmly dated OE Bede and the OE *Martyrology*. Indeed, the *Life* would provide further evidence of the importance of hagiography in Mercian literary production from the late ninth to the first half of the tenth century.

The fact that Mercian political dominance was eclipsed by Wessex from the 820s and the disappearance of a Mercian monarchy by c. 880 should not be taken to equate with the extinction of Mercian literary culture.¹²¹ Whatever the political status of Mercia, the Mercian dialect continued to be used, particularly within the geographical bounds of Mercia, but possibly, as Bately argues, also by writers outside of Mercia.¹²² In the early tenth century, the evidence of the Mercian Register (preserved in versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) shows that Mercia was not wholly integrated into a West Saxon cultural sphere, and it is difficult to know now the extent to which Mercian cultural centres continued with a distinctive Mercian identity across the tenth century.¹²³ The production of a vernacular work about Mercia’s earliest saintly bishop, Saint Chad, would suggest that this distinctive identity

¹²⁰ Bately, ‘Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred’; Rauer, ‘Early Mercian Text Production’; Stafford, *After Alfred*. See also R. M. Liuzza, ‘Religious Prose’, in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture 11 (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001), 233–50 (253). Fulk provides summaries of recent views, see R. D. Fulk, ‘Anglian Dialect Features in Old English Anonymous Homiletic Literature: A Survey, with Preliminary Findings’, in *Studies in the History of the English Language IV*, ed. Susan M. Fitzmaurice and Donka Minkova, vol 61, Topics in English Linguistics (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 81–100; R. D. Fulk, ‘Anglian Features in Late West Saxon Prose’, in *Analysing Older English*, ed. David Denison et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 63–74.

¹²¹ Simon Keynes, ‘Mercia and Wessex in the Ninth Century’ in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005), 310–28.

¹²² Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and During the Reign of Alfred’, 112.

¹²³ See Stafford, *After Alfred*, 64–70.

continued to be strong, and and was expressed within the Mercian hagiographic tradition, which began with Felix's Latin *Vita sancti Guthlaci* and later flourished in the vernacular.

Thesis Outline

Chapter 1 of this thesis presents a detailed study of the unique manuscript in which the *Life of St Chad* is found: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116. The manuscript, and the appearance of the text of the *Life* in it, offer some evidence for history of the text before it was copied in the twelfth century.

Chapter 2 interrogates arguments made by Napier and Vleeskruyer for the date of the text based on orthographical and phonological evidence. Here I discuss the problems in determining a Mercian prose corpus and the relationship between early Mercian literary works—Gregory's *Dialogues*, the OE Bede, the OE *Martyrology*—and the corpus of Alfredian texts written in early West Saxon but incorporating Mercian dialect elements.

Chapter 3 presents a detailed study of items of vocabulary that offer evidence for the probable date of the *Life*. This list is mostly made up of items identified by Vleeskruyer, but draws on Bately's observations on the *Life*'s vocabulary, and incorporates further items identified by me. Chapter 3 also explores some aspects of syntax in relation to the dating of the *Life*.

Chapter 4 discusses the evidence for the text's date in the context of the wider corpus of early OE prose, focusing on early Mercian and West Saxon texts. I provide a detailed discussion of the relationship between the OE translations of Bede's Latin *HE* presented in the *Life* and the OE Bede, and further with the OE *Martyrology* and Gregory's *Dialogues*. The later part of this chapter examines the *Life*'s place in a Mercian prose tradition.

Chapter 5 examines the relationship between the *Life* and the sources and analogues that have been proposed for it, principally Bede's *HE*. I explore the possible relationship of the *Life* (and its lost Latin source) to the early medieval cult of Saint Chad.

Appended to this thesis is a full critical edition of the OE *Life of St Chad*, which I believe is helpful, if not necessary, for establishing the basis of the linguistic evidence used in the thesis. The edition is accompanied by a textual commentary and full glossary. Also included in the appendices are the full vocabulary data from the DOEC and DOE, and a list of the relative dating used for the OE texts.

Chapter 1. The Manuscript and its Text

The single surviving copy of the *Life of St Chad* is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 116. The manuscript was formerly known as Bodleian MS Junius 24.¹ The manuscript contains 29 items: a collection almost entirely comprised of saints’ lives, but also including other homiletic pieces by the late tenth- and early eleventh-century writer and translator, Ælfric of Eynsham. The exception is the anonymously authored *Life of St Chad*, the first item in the collection (item 1). Items 1–15 are homiletic saints’ lives in chronological order from March to November, presumably intended to be read on saints’ feast days. This chapter first presents a detailed overview and analysis of the contents of Hatton 116, including a close physical description of the manuscript. Close attention is paid to the punctuation of the manuscript, where a significant difference between the punctuation of the *Life* and the rest of the texts in the book is noted. In my close analysis of the manuscript text I pay close attention to copying errors, and explore their significance as evidence for a history of transmission and the inclusion of the *Life* in this collection.

Contents

The following list briefly describes the contents of Hatton 116, providing for each item (where applicable) their folio numbers, Cameron number, Dictionary of Old English (DOE)

¹ In Ker’s catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts it is number 333, see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957). This manuscript is not listed in Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Toronto Anglo-Saxon Series 15 (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 2014). See Helmut Gneuss, ‘A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Origins, Facts, and Problems’, in *Anglo-Saxon Books and Their Readers: Essays in Celebration of Helmut Gneuss’s Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ed. Thomas N. Hall and Donald Scragg (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Publications of the Richard Rawlinson Center, 2008).

genre and author category (with DOE item number), and short title;² the manuscript rubric for the item; the item’s incipit; and the feast on which the saint was commemorated. The capitalisation of the rubrics and incipits reproduces that found in the manuscript.³

- **Item 1:** fols. 1/1–18/15. B.3.3.3 Anonymous Life of Saint Chad. Rubric: IN NATALE SANCTI CEADDE EPISCOPI. 1 CONFESSORIS. Incipit: *MEN þa leofestan. ic eow onginnu secgan.*⁴ Feast day: 2 March.
- **Item 2:** fols. 18/15–34/12. B.1.1.27 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I (item 25): Saint John the Baptist. Rubric: Natiuitas sancti Iohannis Baptiste. Incipit: *SE GODSPELLERE LUCAS awrat on cristes bec.* Feast day: 24 June.
- **Item 3:** fols. 34/12–41/9. B.1.1.28 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I (item 26): Saints Peter and Paul. Rubric: Passio sanctorum apostolorum petri. 1 pavli. Incipit: *Venit iesus in partes cesarere philippi. Et reliqua. MATHEVS. se godspellere awrat on þæra godspellican gesetnesse.* Feast day: 29 June.
- **Item 4:** fols. 41/9–55. B.1.1.28.1 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I (item 26): Passion of Saints Peter and Paul. Rubric: De passione beatorum apostolorum Petri. 1 pauli. Incipit: *WE willað æfter þisum godspelle eow gereccan.* Feast day: 29 June.

² Roberta Frank and Angus Cameron, *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto, Buffalo: Published in association with the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, by University of Toronto Press, 1973).

³ For description of contents, see *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, Vol 17: Homilies by Ælfric and other Homilies*, descriptions by Jonathan Wilcox, ed. A. N. Doane, Matthew T. Hussey and Phillip Pulisano (Tempe, AZ: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2008); Elaine Treharne, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116’, in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, ed. Orietta Da Rold, Takako Kato, Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne (University of Leicester, 2010; last update 2013).

⁴ Elaine M. Treharne, ‘The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts in the First Half of the Twelfth Century’, in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 11–40.

- **Item 5:** fols. 55–73. B.1.1.29 Ælfric, First Series of Homilies [Catholic Homilies I] (item 26 same as above): Saint Paul. Rubric: *Commemoratio sancti pauli apostoli*. Incipit: *GODES gelapung wurðap þysne dæ*. Feast day: 29 June.
- **Item 6:** fols. 73–92. B.1.1.31 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I (item 29): Laurence. Rubric: *Passio sancti Lavrentii. martyris*. Incipit: *ON DECIES dagum þes welhreowan caseres*. Feast day: 10 August.
- **Item 7:** fols. 92–112. B.1.1.32 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I (item 30): Assumption of the Virgin. Rubric: *Assumptio sancte marie. virginis*. Incipit: *Heironimus se halga sacerð awrat ænne pistol*. Feast day: 15 August.
- **Item 8:** fols. 112–136. B.1.1.33 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I (item 31): Saint Bartholomew. Rubric: *Passio sancti Bartholomei. apostoli*. Incipit: *Wyrðwiteras secgað þæt þry leodscipas synd gehatene india*. Feast day: 24 August.
- **Item 9:** fols. 136–152. B.1.1.34 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I (item 32): Decollation of Saint John the Baptist. Rubric: *Decollatio Sancti Iohannis Baptiste*. Incipit: *Misit herodes et tenuit iohannem. ET RELIQUA. MARCVS se godspellere awrat on cristes bec*. Feast day: 29 August.
- **Item 10:** fols. 152–155. B.1.5.8.1.EM Ælfric, Homily for the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin [first part]. Rubric: *Natiuitas sancte marie. virginis*. Incipit: *MEN þa leofostan. we synd gemungode*. Feast day: 8 September.
- **Item 11:** fols. 155–179. B.1.5.8.2.EM Ælfric, Homily for the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin [second part]. Rubric: *Incipit de sancta virginitate*. Incipit: *SE halga hælend crist. ⁊ se heofonlica æþeling*. Feast day: 8 September.
- **Item 12:** fols. 179–198. B.1.1.36 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I: *Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis*. Rubric: *Dedicatio sancti Michaelis archangli*. Incipit: *MANEGVM is cúð se hálige stow sancte michaeles*. Feast day: 29 September.

- **Item 13:** fols. 198–219. B.1.1.38 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I (item 36): All Saints. Rubric: In Natale Omnium sanctorum Incipit: *HALIGE lareowas ræddon þæt se geleaffulle gelapung*. Feast day: 1 November.
- **Item 14:** fols. 219–239. B.1.1.39 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I (item 37): Saint Clement. Rubric: IN NATALE SANCTI CLEMENTIS. MARTYRIS. Incipit: *MEN ÐA leofestan. eower geleafa biþ þe trumra*. Feast day: 23 November.
- **Item 15:** fols. 239–252. B.1.1.40 Ælfric, Catholic Homilies I (item 38): Saint Andrew. Rubric: In natale sancti ANDREE. apostoli. Incipit: *Ambulans iesus iuxta mare galileę. ET RELIQVA. Crist on sumere tide ferde wið þære galileiscan sá*. Feast day: 30 November.
- **Item 16:** fols. 290–294. B.1.5.11 Ælfric, Homily for the Common of a Confessor. Rubric: SERMO IN NATALE UNIUS CONFESSORIS. Incipit: *Vigilate ergo. MATHEVS se godspellere us sæde on þysum godspelle*.
- **Item 17:** fols. 261–278. B.1.5.13 Ælfric, Hexameron. Rubric: *De Exameron; þæt is. BE GODES SIX DAGA weorcum*. Incipit: *ON sumum oðrum spelle we sædon hwilon áer*.
- **Item 18:** fols. 300–329. B.1.6.1 Ælfric, Tracts: *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin*. Rubric: INTERROGATIONES SIGEWLPHI PRESBITERI. Incipit: *SVM geþungen lareaw wæs on engla lande albinus gehaten*.
- **Item 19:** fols. 329–347. B.1.6.2 Ælfric, De Duodecim Abusivis. Rubric: DE OCTO UTIIS ET DE XIIcim. ABVSIVIS. Incipit: *OMNIA nimia nocent et temmpertantia mater uirtutum dicitur. Þæt is on englisc. Ealle oferdone þing deriað*.
- **Item 20:** fols. 347–365. B.1.3.18 Ælfric, On Auguries. Rubric: DE AUGURIIS. Incipit: *SE APOSTOL paulus ealra þeoda lareow manode þa cristenan*.

- **Item 21:** fols. 365–373. B.1.4.22 Ælfric, De Falsis Diis. Rubric: DE FALSIS DIIS O FRATRES dilectissimi diuina scriptura. Incipit: *EAla ge gebroðra þa leofestan. þæt godcunde gewrit us tæhte.*
- **Item 22:** fols. 373–377. B.1.6.3 Ælfric, De Septiformi Spiritu [Be þam halgan gaste]. Rubric: DE SEPTI. FORMI SPIRITV. Spiritus sanctus pro septenaria operatione Incipit: *Þæt ilce on englisc. ISAIAS se witega awrát on his witegunge. be þam halgum gaste. ⁊ be his seofonfealdum gifum.*
- **Item 23:** fols. 377–379. B.6.2 Eadwine of New Minster. Rubric: DE SANGUINE. Incipit: Her geswultelað on þisum gewrite. hu god ælmihtig forbead mancynne ælces cynnes blod to etenne.
- **Item 24:** fols. 379–380. B.3.4.51 Anonymous, De infantibus non baptizandis. Rubric: DE INFANTIBUS. Incipit: *WE biddaþ eow men ⁊ beodaþ on godes naman.*
- **Item 25:** fols. 380–381. B.3.4.52 Anonymous, De cogitatione. Rubric: De cogitatione. Incipit: *SE swicola deofol þe syrweð ymbe mancynn asent yfele geþohtas.*
- **Item 26:** fols. 382–395. B.3.2.33 Anonymous, In Letania Maiore. No rubric. Incipit: *MEN þa leofestan þis sinden dagas mid eallum cristnum folce.*
- **Item 27:** fol. 395. Collect and antiphon for Saint Catherine’s Day (25 November). No rubric. Incipit: *Deus qui dedisti legem moisi.*⁵
- **Item 28:** fol. 395. D.61.EM Latin-English Glossary. No Rubric. Incipit: *ceac. vrceus... iþingþe meritum.*⁶
- **Item 29:** fol. 398. A.56.EM Single line of Middle English Verse. No rubric. Incipit: *ic am nout for þisse þingc wo.*

⁵ Added in a later twelfth-century hand.

⁶ Attributed to tremulous hand; see Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 196.

Analysis of Contents

In the context of this thesis, it is important to understand the place of the *Life of St Chad* in this collection. Items 2–15 are saints’ lives from the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* not included in Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*. Items 16–22 are other homilies and writings by Ælfric. Items 23–26 are homilies and letters not written by Ælfric and their status is difficult to determine. It would seem, however, that miscellaneous items have been added to a collection of saints’ lives at some stage of transmission.⁷

At the heart of the problem is understanding why the collection leaps from Saint Chad (2 March) to Saint John the Baptist (24 June). Setting aside for a moment the *Life of St Chad* (item 1) and the miscellaneous items that make up the second half of the collection (items 16–29), items 2–15 present a sequence of saints’ lives chronologically arranged from June to November. Each of these saints’ lives is taken from Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*, that is, none are included in his *sanctorale* collection proper, the *Lives of Saints*.⁸ The creation (or part creation) of a separate Ælfrician *sanctorale*, excerpted from Ælfric’s First Series of *Catholic Homilies* presents the underlying logic of this section of the manuscript.⁹ The compiler of the collection of saints’ lives has not omitted any saints from the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* for what might generally be characterised as the second half of the liturgical year (June to November). This anthological principle invites the hypothesis that an antecedent to Hatton 116 may have included saints from the *Catholic Homilies* for December to February,

⁷ See Aaron J. Kleist, ‘Assembling Ælfric: Reconstructing the Rationale behind Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Compilations’, in *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 369–98 (90–6).

⁸ Ælfric, *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, Early English Text Society, Original Series 76 (London: N. Trübner, 1891). See also Peter Clemoes, *The Chronology of Ælfric’s Works* (Binghamton: CEMERS, SUNY-Binghamton, 1980).

⁹ Ælfric, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, ed. Peter Clemoes (London: Oxford University Press, 1997).

the assumption being that it would be surprising for only half of the liturgical year to be covered in what could be characterised as a ‘supplementary Ælfrician *sanctorale*’. On the evidence of Hatton 116 and this logic, I suggest that behind this copy of the collection was probably originally a supplementary *sanctorale* covering the whole liturgical year, in calendar order, made up of saints’ lives excerpted from the two series of *Catholic Homilies*, but that had not been included by Ælfric in the *Lives of Saints*.

In this hypothetical scenario, the seven items ‘missing’ from the beginning of this Hatton 116 *sanctorale* collection would be: Saint Stephen (*Catholic Homilies II* item 2), feast day 26 December; Epiphany (*Catholic Homilies II* item 3), feast day 6 January; Pope Saint Gregory (*Catholic Homilies II* item 9), feast day 12 March; Saint Cuthbert (*Catholic Homilies II* item 10), feast day 19 March; Saint Benedict (*Catholic Homilies II* item 11), feast day 21 March; Apostles Saints Philip and Saint James, and a separate item on Saint James (*Catholic Homilies II* item 17), feast day 1 May; Invention of the Holy Cross (*Catholic Homilies II* item 18), 3 May. Epiphany has been included here, despite being a feast of Christ rather than his saints, according to the logic that the Feast of Christmas is included in Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*, while that collection does not include Epiphany. The hypothetical inclusion of these seven homilies in a now-lost antecedent collection is admissible on codicological grounds (the imagined book would be large, but not impossibly so). In this scenario, I suggest that this first part of the antecedent collection in the ‘supplementary Ælfrician *sanctorale*’ would have been lost some time before the copying of Hatton 116 took place.¹⁰

With items 24 and 25, the *Life of St Chad* marks the only non-Ælfrician homilies in Hatton 116. According to the hypothesis just outlined, the *Life* can only have been added to

¹⁰ An alternative hypothesis would be that the excerpter of the Hatton 116 collection did not have access to the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*; this seems less likely given the evident access to a good library collection, rich in Ælfrician material.

this collection after the first part of the *sanctorale* was lost. If the *Life* had already been integrated into the sequence of the suggested missing section, then it would have been lost with it. It is impossible to say whether the *Life* was included as the first item with a sensitivity to his place relative to the chronology of the following saints’ lives, or simply because placing it first made inclusion easier for copying or other codicological reasons. However, in Hatton 116, the *Life* is copied in the same main scribal hand as the remaining homilies. It is not known if the scribe of Hatton 116 was responsible for the inclusion or was reproducing the sequence found in an exemplar. That the inclusion of the *Life* was meaningful, whenever it took place in the history of copying, is nevertheless demonstrated by the fact that the *Life* accompanies the saints’ lives rather than the supplementary Old English (OE) material represented by items 23–26, supporting a conclusion that the *Life* is placed where it is to complement the *sanctorale*.

The inclusion of the *Life*, and other items in the manuscript, changes the nature of the collection. Whoever inserted it was not sensitive to maintaining the *sanctorale* as an Ælfrician collection, though it is entirely possible if the composition of the *Life* was removed in time from the creation of the collection that later copyists believed that all the OE material was by Ælfric, or had no idea that any of it was. For reasons that will become clear, I believe that the main Hatton 116 scribe was probably not responsible for the inclusion of the *Life*; however, this remains a possibility. Why was the *Life* included, at whatever stage this took place? Elaine Treharne has argued that it occurred because of current interest in the mid-twelfth century or because of local interest when it was copied at some locale in the West Midlands. I will interrogate these possibilities in the light of further evidence below. While a West Midlands connection is possible, if not likely, for surviving copy of the *Life*, the possibility that the text was authored (or re-authored) in the mid-twelfth century for inclusion in Hatton 116, is less so.

Written Space

The pages of Hatton 116 are generally uniform in size, and approximately 260mm x 180mm. The written space varies according to the length of the page (depending on the number of written lines), within the parameters 195–203mm x 135mm.¹¹ Most pages have 20 lines of text, the exceptions being pages 255–78 (Quire 13), 295–395 (Quire 14–18), which have 21. The lines are blind-ruled and double bounding. The scribe also writes above the top ruled line. There is usually no writing below the bottom line; the notable exceptions are additions on pages 5 (in the *Life*) and 259.

Binding and Pagination¹²

The manuscript is currently in a modern binding in leather covered boards, with three paper fly-leaves at the front and three at the back; these are pages i–vi and 403–08. The paper leaves date from the time of the modern binding in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Pages 399–402 are parchment end-leaves that survive from the medieval binding.¹³ Since the *Life of St Chad* is paginated, I refer to the manuscript leaves by their page numbers:

- Pagination: Folios iii + 201 + v, paginated i–vi, 1–84, 84a, b, 85–160, 160a, b, 161–408. Another pagination series, pages 1–396, added probably in the sixteenth century, is found on the rectos only.
- Collation of gatherings, pages 1–398: 1-10¹², 11-12⁸ (pages 237–52, 279–94), 13¹² + one leaf before 1 (pages 253–78), 14¹⁴, 15-16¹², 178, 18¹⁰ lacks 7–10, which were

¹¹ See Treharne, ‘The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts’, 15–16.

¹² This section depends closely on Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, 406.

¹³ Treharne, ‘The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts’, 24–8.

probably blank, after page 398. Quire 12 (pages 279–94) was at some stage bound incorrectly after Quire 13 (pages 253–78).

The evidence of the binding shows that the copying of the *Life of St Chad* was an integral part of the making of Hatton 116, that is, it shares Quire 1 with the following text (item 2, Nativity of Saint John the Baptist), which follows immediately after it on page 18.

Writing

The book was clearly designed for functional use, rather than as a display object. Some of the parchment used included holes, which are written around by the scribe. The book’s rubricated titles and initials are also functional in purpose and undecorated. The initials and titles of the saints’ lives in the collection are in red, with the titles in rustic capitals or minuscules written out by the main scribe of the text. There is no other decoration in the book.

The main text of Hatton 116, including the *Life of St Chad*, was written out by a single scribe of the first half of the twelfth century, perhaps towards the middle of the century. This scribe (scribe 1) wrote with the same hand and aspect throughout. Ker describes the hand as a ‘handsome, round, large hand of a type found commonly in West of England manuscripts of s. xii’.¹⁴ The script of the main text can be best described as English Vernacular Minuscule. The hand of the main text is clear and large.¹⁵

A second scribe (scribe 2), the so-called ‘Tremulous Hand of Worcester’, glossed many OE words in Latin between the lines and in the margins throughout the manuscript, including in the *Life of St Chad*. The aspect of this hand (which glosses in brown ink) varies

¹⁴ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, 406.

¹⁵ For a full discussion of the hand see Treharne, ‘The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts’, 24.

throughout. This hand, though possibly another, also augmented and, possibly at times, modified the original scribe’s punctuation, mainly as evidenced by the colour of the ink. My description of these hands will focus closely on their appearance in the *Life of St Chad*, with only occasional reference to other parts of the manuscript. The punctuation has different aspects throughout, and, at times, it is difficult to distinguish which hand is at work. A third, later twelfth-century hand (scribe 3) wrote item 27, the collect and antiphon for Saint Catherine’s Day.

The writing out of the *Life of St Chad* is well spaced, as is also normally the case throughout the manuscript. This evenness of spacing means that there are no examples of crowding towards the end of the writing page on the last line/s, to the extent that irregular word breaks occur across page breaks: for example, the last line of writing on page 5 (line 20) ends with the two letters *pu*, and page 6 (line 1) begins with the letters *nade* (*punade*, ‘thundered’). The implications of this relaxed spacing in relation for the history of the copying of the *Life* will be discussed below.

Punctuation

The main text of Hatton 116 is punctuated by scribe 1. I have only examined the punctuation as it appears in the *Life of St Chad*. Ker describes the manuscript punctuation in the following way: ‘semicolon at the end of a sentence occurs regularly on pp. 1–19, but seldom thereafter. The punctus is frequently used and sits on the line. Hyphens are used throughout at line ends and are placed at a slight angle’.¹⁶ The main scribe’s punctus seems to be large with a space between the letter and punctus, for example, on page 12, line 16, after *dyde*. Some words that

¹⁶ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, 406.

go over a line break include a hyphen to indicate this. It is not clear whether these are provided by the Tremulous Hand glossator or main scribe.

The most used punctuation mark in the text is the *punctus* (.). Parkes describes the *punctus* as the most common mark of punctuation ‘used to indicate all kinds of pauses, to introduce quotations and to separate’.¹⁷ Most significant for understanding the place of the *Life* in Hatton 116 is the use of the *punctus versus* (;) (Ker’s ‘semicolon’), which is used to indicate the end of a *sententia* containing a statement. According to Parkes, such marks were developed in the second half of the eighth century for use in liturgical texts but later became redundant; yet, the *punctus versus* seems the best descriptor for the punctuation found in the *Life*, both in form and function.¹⁸ The fact that this mark is not found after p. 19 of Hatton 116 (the *Life* ends on p. 18), provides a strong indication of a copying tradition for the *Life* independent of the copying of the rest of the texts in the manuscript. Such a marked difference of practice also increases the likelihood that an exemplar behind the extant copy of the *Life* was the product of a scriptorium removed in time and/or place from the copying of Hatton 116.

The text also includes a couple of uses of *punctus elevatus* (ˆ). Parkes describes the *punctus elevatus* as indicating ‘a major medial pause (*media distinctio* or colon (:)) where the sense was complete but the sentence was not’.¹⁹ The *punctus elevatus* form changes in appearance throughout the text. *Litterae notabiliores* are used to mark the beginning of sentences; they are used after every instance of a *punctus versus* in the *Life*, except in one instance on page 17, line 12. Parkes says that *litterae notabiliores* used ‘at the beginnings of

¹⁷ Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (London New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 42.

¹⁸ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 36.

¹⁹ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 42.

sententiae helped a reader to identify the role of the punctus where it marked the ends of previous *sentiae*'.²⁰ Parkes further observes that, in the twelfth century, the height of a punctus ceased to be important, and that the form of the *punctus elevatus* changed over time: once it lost the connotations of liturgical punctuation, it lost its significance and local variations were made to the form.²¹

The colons in the text, regardless of whether they are later additions (or not, as I will argue below), seem to broadly serve two functions. Sometimes they do not seem to serve a firm grammatical purpose other than functioning like a *punctus*. They act as a rhetorical marker, probably to indicate a pause in reading aloud. Instances of this function can be found on:

- page 2, line 1, *stowum:*
- page 2, line 11, *geneded:*
- page 6, line 12 *geleafan:*
- page 11, line 14, *swipest:*

In the case of page 2, line 16, *hadunga:* and *pyrihtgeleafullan:* it appears that the punctuation has been added in a way that is meant to separate clauses but does not actually do so; it does not serve a grammatical function here. It could signal a pause in the articulation of a difficult sentence, or even reveal the punctuator trying to make sense of this difficult sentence.

Colons that separate a clause and function much like a *punctus* include:

- page 2, line 8 *onfenge:*
- page 4, line 5 *stode:* (in this case, the colon acts like the surrounding *punctus*)

²⁰ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 42.

²¹ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 42.

- page 8, line 8 *fec*:
- page 8, line 19 *comon*:
- page 9, line 18 *gelic*:
- page 11, line 8 *abád*:

I believe that some of the punctuation in the text represents later additions to the manuscript by the same scribe (scribe 2, the ‘Tremulous Hand’) who glosses the text. This is signalled by their different aspect from other punctuation marks in the main text. These punctuation marks are more similar to the glosses in colour and aspect, in that they use thinner lines and seem more crowded. The two previous editors of the text, Napier and Vleeskruyer, have not included some punctuation that is clearly in the manuscript. Since neither editor comments on these exclusions, this indicates to me that they did not think the excluded punctuation was made by scribe 1.²²

The following is a list of punctuation in the *Life of St Chad* that could have been added by the Tremulous Hand of Worcester or possibly another scribe at a later date. These possible later additions include almost all the colons and a few punctus:

- page 2, line 1 *stowum*:
- page 2, line 8 *onfenge*:
- page 4, line 10 *were*: (in this case, the top point looks like a later addition to what was originally a *punctus*)
- page 8, line 19 *comon*:
- page 9, line 18 *gelic*:

²²I have made a note of each of these instances in the commentary section, appended in Appendix B, 267.

- page 11, line 8 *abád*: (as above, the top point looks like a later addition to an original *punctus*)
- page 12, line 18 *stefne*.
- page 13, line 9 *toward*:
- page 16, line 5 *helo*:
- page 16, line 11 *sendað*.
- page 17, line 5 *bræc*:

In my edition I have reproduced the manuscript punctuation in order to represent the manuscript as it exists now. Overall, the purpose of the punctuation seems to be to assist comprehension when reading the text. The punctuation marks that were added seem to be mostly rhetorical to assist reading aloud.²³ This act of repunctuating in the thirteenth century (if we assume it was the Tremulous Hand or even later twelfth century) implies that the text continued to be read.

Errors, Erasure, and Corrections

In the text of the *Life of St Chad*, there is evidence of the scribe being diligent and taking care to correct errors as they are detected. In the following examples there are noticeable erasures on the manuscript that show the scribe at work, erasing errors in copying and correcting them. There is also an example of a letter being corrected, and a missing line added. I have counted 11 such corrections in the *Life of St Chad*:

- Page 1, line 3, there is an erasure after the *n* in *ceaddan*.
- Page 3, line 11, *germanna* is written on an erasure.

²³ For example, MS page 1, line 4 *biscopdóme*: the accent above the ‘o’ is small and faint, and possibly a later addition. An accent on a vowel is an indicator of performance or reading aloud.

- Page 5, the scribe has erroneously missed a section, which looks to be a line long, which has been inserted by the same scribe at the bottom of the page.
- Page 6, line 15, there is an erasure after *ongerede*.
- Page 8, line 20, there is a scribal error on the *a* in *lufan*, where it was possibly corrected from *u*. This was likely a mechanical error where the wrong letter was copied, and not an unusual one among insular scribes.²⁴
- Page 9, line 4, *in* is written over an erasure.
- Page 9, line 7, there is a damaged spot on the manuscript that may have been an erasure, where it reads *forð = fore* and *=* is written over the damaged spot.
- Page 9, line 15 *cuð* has been erased at the end of the line and replaced by *uncuð* on the next line (line 16).
- Page 10, line 20, the word *éce* is written over an erasure.
- Page 11, line 10, there is an erased *h* before *ymb* (the rest of the word is continued on line 11 with *ymbhydelice*). A contributing factor in this error could be the fact that *ymbhydelice* is an unusual word.²⁵
- Page 17, line 3, the *r* in *wynferð* is written on an erasure.

Most of these errors are mechanical, though three of these corrections are associated with personal names: *germanna*, *wynferð*, and remarkably, *ceaddan*. The error around *ymbhydelice* will be discussed further below.

²⁴ See Michael Lapidge, ‘The Archetype of Beowulf’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (January 2000): 5–41 (10–20).

²⁵ See below for discussion on *ymbhygdlice*, 54; 134–5.

Apparent Scribal Errors in the *Life of St Chad*

In the process of editing I have identified what appear to be a number of uncorrected errors, which could be attributable either to lack of diligence on the part of scribe 1, or to the fact that these errors were present in the exemplar of Hatton 116.²⁶ On balance, however, most of these scribal errors seem to be simple or mechanical errors that were most likely made by this scribe who copied most of the extant manuscript. While it is not possible to be certain whether these mistakes originated with the scribe of this manuscript, beside other layered errors that evoke a history of erroneous transmission (which I will address below), the bulk are more easily explained as mistakes of scribe 1. Some of the more complex errors provide evidence for an early date for the text and seem to have been inherited from an exemplar with a history of transmission behind it (this will be discussed further later). The scribal errors to be discussed all occur within the *Life of St Chad*.²⁷

There are two cases where the scribe has been confused by the letter *p*. The manuscript reads *pehta* on page 3, line 20, where *pehta* is expected. This confusion between *p* and *p* is common in the post-conquest period when this manuscript was copied. A second scribal error based on the letter *p* is found on page 4, line 1, where the manuscript reads *peah*, which I have emended to *peaw* (*p*). In both cases, the *p* has caused confusion, though in *pehta* it has been mistakenly written in, and in *peah*, written out, and the scribe has made different guesses as to what the word should be. The erroneous change from *pehta* to *pehta* is significant when considered alongside scribe 1’s own corrections associated with apparently

²⁶ See Neidorf, particularly on language change over time and scribal behaviour in Leonard Neidorf, *The Transmission of ‘Beowulf’: Language, Culture, and Scribal Behavior* (Cornell University Press, 2017).

²⁷ It has not been in the scope of this project to examine the wider distribution of scribal errors in MS Hatton 116.

unfamiliar personal name forms, and may suggest that he did not know who the ‘Picts’ were, but thought this was a reference to the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight.

In various instances there are errors for which the best explanation seems to be that the words were not recognised by the scribe and so were copied incorrectly. On page 2, line 10, the manuscript reads *wyrð ne-wende*. The spacing between *wyrð* and *ne* breaks up the word in an unusual way, when it should be one word, *wyrðne*. It appears that the scribe did not recognise the word and mistook its inflectional end for a negative particle. The scribal dash (-) added between *ne* and *wende* has a similar aspect shared with the punctuation of what are probably later additions and to the Latin glosses made by scribe 2. This intervention shares the confusion about where the ‘ne’ belongs, by joining it to *wende*. On page 4, line 19, the manuscript reads *swa ðeh*, which I have emended to *swaðe* for sense. Again, the scribe seems not to have recognised the word, and this would suggest a scribal error introduced deliberately by a copyist who has not understood the word and divided it into two words that made at least some sense to him.

Another word that was likely unfamiliar to the twelfth-century scribe is found on page 13, line 12: *mununge*. I have emended the spelling to *manunge* because, while original spelling in the text was likely *monunge* (the expected Mercian dialectal spelling of the word), the more likely confusion of *a* and *u* would more readily support the conclusion that the scribe of this manuscript has probably miscopied *manunge* from his exemplar, though a more complex history may lie behind the mistake). It is hard to know whether MS *mununge* represents miscopying by scribe 1, or an attempt by the same scribe to correct an unfamiliar word. Another example of an error that may point to either an instance or history of confusion about Mercian dialectal spelling is found on page 5, line 2, where the manuscript reads *pe*, which I have emended to *per*. The omission of *r* is perhaps unlikely to have been a mechanical error, but *r* could have fallen off at same stage of transmission because of

confusion caused by *per*, an Anglian spelling, where a West Saxon–speaking scribe would expect *pær*. The scribal ‘emendation’ to *pe* has led to a loss of grammatical sense.

A similar type of error in which the scribe has not recognised a word is on page 9, lines 5–6 of the manuscript, where the word division is not clear around ‘þet ealle festlice’. I have emended this to ‘þet eall efestlice’. According to the DOE, *æfæstlice* (piously, religiously) has only 13 occurrences in the corpus, including the *Life*, whereas *festlice* (fast, firmly) has 150 occurrences.²⁸ A scribe at some point in transmission has confused *efestlice* with the more common word *festlice* because they have not recognised the word. This also indicates that it was spelled in the Mercian dialect early on with an initial *e*, as *efestlice*, since, if it was spelled as *æfæstlice*, it is less likely that this would have caused confusion.

A number of more obvious mechanical errors appear in the manuscript. This is the case on page 12, line 4, where the manuscript reads *mildheorhtness*: here an extra *h* has been inserted into *mildheortnesse*. A letter has been dropped on page 12, line 15, where the manuscript reads *ginran*; I have emended this to the standard spelling *gingran*. A *d* has been incorrectly written instead of a *b* in *yndhygdilice* on page 13, line 17, where it should be *yndhygdilice*. On page 18, line 9, the manuscript reads *gefultu[m]made* with an abbreviation above the *m*; I have emended this to the standard spelling *gefultumade*.

On page 9, line 18, the manuscript reads *onfongon*, which I have emended to *onfengon*. This is likely a *lapsus calami* scribal error because this word is clustered with a number of words ending in *-on*. A final apparent scribal error is an instance where the scribe has made an error around the word ending on page 11, lines 11–12, where the manuscript

²⁸ ‘Æfæstlice, festlice’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*, ed. Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2018).

reads *forhæfdnis*, which I have emended to *forhæfdnisse*, because it should be in the dative case to agree with *monegum*.²⁹

Complex Errors

As well as apparent scribal errors, the *Life of St Chad* contains what appear to be more complex errors that point to a history of transmission, some of which also provide evidence for an early date for a copy of the text of the *Life* in scribe 1’s textual tradition. I have divided these errors into palaeographical errors, textual corruption, spelling, and translation errors.

Palaeographical Errors

On page 11, line 18, the manuscript reads *hi*, which I have emended to *in*, which is required for sense in the context. This error was clearly made by a scribe at some stage of transmission and is unlikely to represent a mechanical error. I agree with Vleeskruyer, who suggests that this mistake could have happened if the exemplar had *In*, which was mistaken for *hi*. If the text is early, then this error in transmission could have taken place after the spelling *hie* had been replaced by *hi*. Bately points out that the long *i* can be found in early tenth-century annals.³⁰

On page 12, line 8, the manuscript reads *heofugendlican*, which I have emended to *beofugendlican*.³¹ Neither the word *heofugendlican* nor any possible related form is attested elsewhere, and while meanings might be suggested, it is in all likelihood a nonsense word. However, *beofugendlican* is also attested in the *Rule of Chrodegang*, in the spelling *byfgendlican*. The context of *beofugendlican* and *byfgendlican* is almost identical, and

²⁹ Lines 178–9, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 259. All line numbers of the edited text refer to my Edition and Translation, included in Appendix A, 241–66.

³⁰ Jane Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988): 106.

³¹ This word is discussed below in Chapter 3, 134.

suggestive of an idiom referring to the Judgement Day: ‘se bifiendlica dæg; seo bifiendlice tid’.³² This error in the manuscript, where *b* has been confused with *h* could have originated with this scribe, or it could have been inherited from an earlier scribe. Regardless, it is significant that scribe 1 of Hatton 116 did not try to correct the word, which he probably did not recognise. This is an instance in which the scribe has written out a nonsense word without intervention, which indicates they were not familiar with the archaic word or the dialect. Confusion between *h* and *b* may have given rise to the error, but that was likely in the context of a word that was not recognised. This misspelling and creation of the nonce (and nonsense) word implies that the twelfth-century scribe (scribe 1) copied at a distant remove in time from the authorship of the *Life*. It is also noteworthy that MS *heofugendlican* word is not glossed by the Tremulous Hand, despite its rarity among survivors, for two possible reasons: either he did not know the word and therefore could not gloss it, or he did know it, and assumed all other readers will too. The latter is less likely, given the nature of his glossing project, and the scarceness of the term in surviving records.³³

Textual Corruptions

I have classified the following apparent errors as textual because they seem to present corruptions of the text that developed over time. From a comparison of the *Life* with Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*HE*) and the OE version of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (OE Bede), it appears that there is a missing sentence, equivalent to two lines of text on page 2, line 17 of the manuscript, between the end of the sentence *rihte gefylde* and the next sentence *Wilfried eac*.³⁴ On the manuscript page there is no evidence that there are missing lines of text; the

³² ‘Bifiendlic’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

³³ Franzen, *Tremulous Hand of Worcester*, 155, 66–73.

³⁴ MS *gefylde*; ‘pilfrid eac swilce of breotan ealond’. For further comparison of these texts, see below, Chapter 5, 197–209.

previous sentence ends and then the next begins with the usual amount of space and *Wilfrid* is the second word on the line. That this is a major copying error, rather than a deliberate omission, is revealed by the resulting problem of sense. The sentence begins *Wilfrid eac swilce*, which implies that someone else had been sent; that it is not mentioned in the *Life* implies that it was there in a sentence once.³⁵ This missing sentence is part of a pattern of copying errors that suggest a process of copying over time and a layered history of transmission, pointing to the removal in time of scribe 1 of Hatton 116 from the making of the text. It should be noted that where the scribe himself has missed a sentence in copying on page 5, he has carefully added the missing text.³⁶ In other words, the missing text from page 2 was implicitly already missing from his exemplar.

A small omission that points to a scribal error is on page 4, line 4, where the manuscript reads ‘he þa þeodorus heht hine’; comparison with the OE Bede shows that the verb *ridan* is missing from the end of the clause. This type of error, beside comparable, uncorrected errors, suggests a text decaying over time, and points to a history of transmission behind scribe 1’s exemplar in which at least one scribe was careless in copying and failed to correct omissions.

On page 11, lines 14–16, the text reads ‘he wes in eallum his weorcum godes lufan gemyndig. ond his þera nehstena’. The corresponding text in the OE Bede (lines 11–12) is: ‘his þara nestena dogra gemyndig in eallum his weorcum’.³⁷ In the Hatton 116 text as it

³⁵ The sentence in OE Bede (lines 10–12) reads: ‘In þa tid Deosdedit se biscop forðferde; & Contwara burge biscop soht & sended wæs to hadienne’. Bede, *The Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Thomas Miller, Early English Text Society, 4 vols, Original Series 95, 96, 110, 111 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890–98), IV, 3, 260. The HE reads: ‘Eo autem tempore quo defuncto Deusedit Doruuernensi ecclesiae episcopus quaerebatur ordinabatur mitterbatur’. Bede, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), IV, 2, 334.

³⁶ See line 53, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 248.

³⁷ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 3, 268.

stands, the clause ‘his þera nehstena’ lacks an object noun, which should be *day*. It is difficult to resolve the complex history behind the text in Hatton 116 at this point, as undoubtedly the grammatical problem is the result of a copying error. What the original text was in the *Life*, though, is much harder to determine. Nevertheless, such errors convincingly demonstrate a complex history of copying behind the text in Hatton 116, and that scribe 1 is not the author of the *Life of St Chad*, and not closely associated with the author.

A clear example of textual corruption occurs on page 12, line 18 of the manuscript, in the reading ‘he toslegenum’. I have emended this to ‘he to slegenne’. In context, with my emendation, the clause reads, ‘þet he to slegenne ure heortena digolnesse’ (line 142).³⁸ The *HE* reads ‘discussis penetrabilibus cordis nostri’ and the OE Bede (line 6) reads ‘geondsmeage ða deagolnesse usse heortan’.³⁹ The clause in the *Life* in the manuscript could represent either corruption in transmission, or, possibly, the original author’s misunderstanding of the Latin.⁴⁰ The clause that we find extant in this manuscript could also be the result of a history of errors. One way of understanding how this could have come about is hypothesising that *to slegenne* has become *toslegenum* via a misunderstanding of the significance of an abbreviation above *slegenne*’s first *n*, indicating a nasal, which a later scribe has incorrectly expanded to *-um*. (And, thus, also introducing a mechanical error as the hypothetical scribe’s hand wrote out a Latin, rather than an OE, expansion of the abbreviation.) It is also possible that a later scribe might not have recognised the abbreviated word.

³⁸ ‘That he [promises] to break open the secrets of our hearts’, lines 213–14, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 262.

³⁹ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, IV, 3, 344; ‘Examining the innermost recesses of our hearts’; trans. Colgrave and Mynors, 345; *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 3, 270; ‘May consider the secrets of our hearts’; trans. Miller, 371.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 5, 190–1, 205–6.

It should also be noted that my emendation, *to slegenne*, is not entirely satisfactory in relation to the text’s source, presenting a different meaning from the verb in the Latin *HE*. The OE Bede has *geondsmeage* and the *HE* reads *discussis*. In context, the verb *slegenne* does not quite fit the meaning of the sentence. It could be that there is another scribal error (involving eye-skip), based on the occurrence of *slenne* two lines above in the manuscript (in the current copy). It could be that MS ‘he toslegenum’ is the result of a series of scribal errors and attempts to correct them. Beside other copying errors, this compounded error evokes not only a history of copying the *Life*, but also a layered and complex one.

In another example of this kind of complex and layered error, the text on page 16, line 11 of the manuscript, reads, ‘þeorð wunade’. Vleeskruyer conjectures that it may have originally been *þorhwunade* or ‘þer þorhwunade’.⁴¹ I have emended this to ‘þer awunade’. I suggest that there was a process of textual corruption of an original ‘þer awunade’. This offers an explanation for the anomalous ð of *þeorð*, the product of an unrecognised piece of earlier OE vocabulary. *Awunian* has 40 occurrences across the corpus; the DOE notes these are mainly in the OE Bede. This verb occurs mostly in early Mercian texts, beside others of indeterminate date.⁴² It would seem that, at the time when the extant copy was produced, *þeorð* was already present in the text as a nonsense word. The fact that it was faithfully copied without intervention on the part of the scribe also strongly suggests that scribe 1 was not familiar with aspects of the *Life*’s dialect or its vocabulary. The scribe has seen the word as one that they did not know, but one that was plausibly shaped like a word, so they left it in. That this nonsense was uncorrected also implies a history of copying, and that the error was present already in the exemplar the scribe of this manuscript used.

⁴¹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 201.

⁴² The texts it occurs in are: OE Bede 4 x 5; OE Bede 5 x 5; OE Bede 3 x 2; LS 10.1 (Guth) x 2; HomU 20; LS 18.2 (NatMaryAss 10J); PsGIA (Kuhn).

From the context and a comparison with the OE Bede, on page 11, lines 10–14 of the manuscript, it appears there is a missing word or clause between the clause that ends with ‘ymbhydelice abád’ and the start of the next clause ‘þet wes in monegum forhæfdnisse’:

þonne he swa bliðe ymbhydelice abád. þet wes in monegum forhæfdnisse. ond in eadmodnisse. ond in gebedu lare. ond on wilsumre þearfednisse. ond in manegum megena gearnungum.

The OE Bede (lines 8–10) and Latin texts read:

Forðon betweohn monige gearnunge his mægena in forhæfednesse & in eaðmodnesse & in godcundre lare & in gebedum & in wilsumlicre þearfeðnisse & eac oðerra mægena.⁴³

Namque inter plura continentiae humilitatis doctrinae orationum uoluntariae paupertatis et ceterarum uirtutum merita.⁴⁴

The first part of the phrase ‘þet wes in monegum forhæfdnisse’ in the *Life* is lacking either a verb or an object. It is possible that the author has included *megen* only at the end of the second clause, instead of also in the first clause as in the OE Bede. Either way, it is clear that the *Life* has become corrupted over time, the missing words and phrases providing further evidence of a decaying text.

Another potential error related to textual corruption is on page 1, lines 19–20 of the manuscript, where the text reads, ‘he manegu ealond geondferde’. Vleeskruyer glosses *manegu* as an adjective, presumably modifying *ealond*.⁴⁵ The phrase in context is describing Theodore’s travels (lines 9–12):

⁴³ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 3, 268.

⁴⁴ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, IV, 3, 342.

⁴⁵ *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, ed. Rudolf Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1953), 222.

ða com þeodorus se ercebiscop on breotone ealond. he wes onsended fram þam apostolican selde. ond mid þy he manegu ealond geondferde. ond ealle þing geendebyrde. and he in gelumpenicum stowum: biscopas halgede.

According to geographic logic, *manegu* would be an adverb modifying the verb *geondferd*, referring to Theodore’s many journeys across Britain rather than journeys to many islands. By comparison, the OE Bede (line 32) and the *HE* read, ‘ferde Theodor biscop geond ealle Ongolcynnes mægðe’ and ‘Theodorus perlustrans uniursa’, respectively.⁴⁶ In its expression, the *Life* more closely resembles the *HE*, but Vleeskruyer argues that the *Life* is not translating *perlustrans uniursa*, but of ‘peragrata insula tota’ earlier in the chapter, and that *tota* is translated as *manegu*, being confused with *multus*, while *perlustrans uniursa* is inaccurately represented by ‘ond ealle þing geendebyrde’.⁴⁷ Vleeskruyer’s analysis is very plausible, suggesting this was an authorial choice rather than a scribal error. In this light, the author renders *totus* not as DLMB 1 ‘entire, whole’, but DLMB 2, ‘the whole number of, all’, implying an error made in translating a Latin text.⁴⁸

On page 12, lines 10–11 of the manuscript, a final example of possible textual corruption is the repetition of *on eorþan* in ‘oððe yste þeosne middangeard bregdon ond þunurade ond lægetas on eorðan. ond lyftas on eorþan þreadon’.⁴⁹ Vleeskruyer argues that this repetition is a sign of textual corruption.⁵⁰ The OE Bede (lines 20–21) reads ‘gif strengra storm & genip swiðor þreade, & legete & þunurade eorðan & lyfte brægden & fyrhten’, while the *HE* reads ‘At si procella fortior aut nimbus perurgeret, uel etiam corusci ac tonitrua

⁴⁶ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 2, 258; *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, IV, 2, 334.

⁴⁷ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 189; *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, IV, 2, 332.

⁴⁸ ‘Totus’, *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham, D. R. Howlett and R. K. Ashdowne (London: British Academy, 1975–2013). This passage is discussed further below, see Chapter 5, 202–3.

⁴⁹ ‘If then the storm was yet stronger, or tempests terrified this world, and thunder and lightning on earth and threatened the sky over earth’, see lines 191–92, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 260.

⁵⁰ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 199.

terras et aera terrent’.⁵¹ Neither version repeats ‘on earth’, and the reoccurrence in the *Life* is unlikely to be a mechanical error, since it is spelled with *ð* in the first instance and *þ* in the second. The *þ* in *on eorþan* is unusual in the context of the *Life*, where a medial *ð* is more common. The second *on eorþan* in the *Life* is the object of the clause; Napier suggests that the translator took *aera* in *HE*, here *lyftas*, as the nominative and so *on eorþan* became the accusative.⁵² The verb choice in the second clause, *þreadon* (to rebuke, chastise, correct, punish, threaten), is a surprising translation choice for the *HE terreo, terrere* (frighten, scare, terrify; deter); the OE Bede more accurately renders the Latin with *bregan* (to terrify, frighten) and *fyrhtan* (to frighten). There is a possible textual corruption in the *Life* here, Vleeskruyer argues that the places of *bregdon* and *þreadon* have been confused.⁵³

Spelling

Of tentative value for dating is the distribution *ð* and *þ* within words in the text in relation to the norms in orthography over the OE period. Vleeskruyer notes that medial *þ* is comparatively rare in the *Life* and final *þ* only occurs twice, which he compares to other texts copied by this scribe who seems to replace *ð* on most occasions, concluding that there is a possibility that the original contained only *ð*.⁵⁴ Developing this argument, Vleeskruyer notes that while *þ* sometimes occurred in Mercian documents before 850, it seems to have not been used in the later ninth century and did not become current again until the beginning of the tenth century.⁵⁵ Vleeskruyer claims that the pattern of occurrence of *ð* and *þ* provides evidence for a ninth-century date. Bately questions his interpretation of the evidence, noting

⁵¹ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 3, 268; *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 342, IV, 3, 24–5.

⁵² Napier, ‘Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad’, 152; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 199.

⁵³ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 199.

⁵⁴ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 7.

⁵⁵ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 69–70.

that the pattern in the *Life* corresponds closely to the practice of scribes of various tenth-century manuscripts.⁵⁶ For comparison, the example of the manuscripts of the *Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn* demonstrate a corresponding favouring of *ð* in the tenth century, and a mix of *ð* and *þ* in the eleventh century: MS A (CCCC 422, first half of the tenth century) predominately uses spelling with *ð*, while MS B (CCCC 41, first half eleventh century) uses mostly initial *þ*, but uses both letters.⁵⁷ Bately’s observations create problems for Vleeskruyer’s ninth-century date for the *Life*, in which initial *þ* and medial *ð* are predominantly used, but in themselves offer evidence for a tenth-century (or perhaps earlier) exemplar for the *Life*.

Another indicator of an exemplar dating at least a century earlier than Hatton 116 is the confused word *weccenum* on page 9, line 16 of the manuscript (line 150), which Vleeskruyer emends to *weacenum*.⁵⁸ He argues that this presents a form of *wacena* (wakefulness, watching, vigil), and that the manuscript spelling is the product of scribal error.⁵⁹ If this has happened, it could be attributable to an early or original exemplar using the half-uncial form of *a*, similar to *cc*, and so giving rise to confusion (or even through confusion with the noun *wæcce* ‘watch, vigil’). Bately disputes Vleeskruyer’s suggestion that this offers evidence of an early date, since the *cc*-type *a* continues to be used by scribes into the second half of the tenth century.⁶⁰ Whatever its origin, the mistaken form provides evidence of a copying tradition for the *Life*, in which a copyist has experienced some confusion. (Other aspects of spelling are discussed in Chapter 2.)

⁵⁶ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and During the Reign of Alfred’, 106.

⁵⁷ *The Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, ed. Daniel Anlezark (Woodbridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2009), 8.

⁵⁸ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 172.

⁵⁹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 197.

⁶⁰ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and During the Reign of Alfred’, 106.

Translation Errors

The final group of errors I will examine can be categorised as either translation errors or examples of textual corruption in transmission; it is often difficult to determine which.

The *Life of St Chad* cites in translation a passage from Ecclesiastes on lines 49–50, ‘be þere sprec seo ciriclice dómþóc; Tid is stanas to settenne. and to somnienne’.⁶¹

Comparison with the Latin source suggests that the OE represents either an abbreviated translation or textual corruption in transmission. The full text in the Vulgate of Ecclesiastes 3:5 reads, ‘tempus spargendi lapides et tempus colligendi tempus amplexandi et tempus longe fieri a complexibus’.⁶² The *HE* quotes a variant text of Ecclesiastes: ‘tempus mittendi lapides et tempus colligendi’.⁶³ The OE Bede also quotes the Latin (which the *Life* does not), as well as providing an OE translation that differs from that in the *Life*: ‘tempus mittendi lapides et tempus colligendi: þætte tid wære stanas to sendenne & tid to somnienne’.⁶⁴

The greatest divergence here between the *Life* and the OE Bede is the translation of *mittendi*. The OE Bede (line 21) translates it as *sendenne* (send, cast, place) and the *Life* as *settenne* (set, establish, put, place). In Medieval Latin, *mittere* does have the sense ‘to put; place’, but the classical sense is ‘send, cast’ (which is shared with the Vulgate’s reading *spargo*).⁶⁵ It is unlikely, though not impossible, that the *Life*’s *settenne* represents a scribal error in transmission for *sendenne*. Vleeskruyer suggests that the author may have made a choice to simplify the passage for an ‘unlettered audience’.⁶⁶ It is not clear whether the author

⁶¹ ‘[There] is a time for placing stones and to gather’, see line 78, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 251.

⁶² The edition used is *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. B. Fischer and R. Weber (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

⁶³ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, IV, 3, 338.

⁶⁴ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 3, 262.

⁶⁵ ‘Mittere’, *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. Latham, Howlett and Ashdowne.

⁶⁶ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 194–5.

might have been attempting to simplify the Ecclesiastes quote from the *HE*, effecting poor execution, or the passage was corrupted over time, so that the loss of the sense of the biblical passage might be attributable to a scribe or the original author. However, the following example provides clearer evidence of both the *Life* author's engagement with the Latin text, and occasional problems with translating it.

An instance of what appears to be a translation error is the passage (lines 77–79):

ond mitte hit þa wunade on þere stowe swa swa tide fec: swilce hit þunnurad were. and he þa ymbhygdie mode spyrede hwet þet were.⁶⁷

This sentence differs from both the OE Bede and *HE*, and the sentence construction is quite different. Respectively, the *HE* and OE Bede (lines 30-2) texts read:

Qui cum aliquantulum horae quasi adtonitus maneret / et, quid haec essent, sollerti animo scrutaretur.⁶⁸

Ða wunade he ðær sum fæc tide wundriende & wafiende, & mid behygdige mode þohte & smeade, hwæt þa þing beon sceolde.⁶⁹

The clause 'swilce hit þunnurad were' has been added by the author of the *Life*; there is no corresponding phrase in Bede. Vleeskruyer offers the explanation that the author confused *adtonitus* (amazed) with *tonitrus* (thunder) and translated it as *þunnurad* (thunder).⁷⁰

Vleeskruyer is undoubtedly right about this confusion, which seems to be an authorial translation error. One explanation could be that the translator did not properly understand the term *adtonitus*; this means that the author either chose not to follow or did not check the OE

⁶⁷ 'And when it remained in the place about an hour, just as if it were thunder, and he then with an anxious mind investigated what that might be', see lines 126–28, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 255.

⁶⁸ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, IV, 3, 340; 'He had been standing for some time amazed and earnestly considering what this could mean', trans. Colgrave and Mynors, 341.

⁶⁹ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 3, 264; 'Then he remained there some time wondering and hesitating, and with careful thought reflected and considered, what those things might be', trans. Miller, 265.

⁷⁰ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 196.

Bede at this point. Another, less likely, possibility is that the author’s Latin source had the nonsensical reading *tonitrus*. Either scenario points to problems with Latinity.⁷¹

The third textual issue in this category also represents a mistranslation on the part of the author of the *Life*. The apparent authorial error comes in the account of Saint Chad’s death (lines 216–18):

Hit gelomp be þere forðfore þes foresegdan biscepes. þet com to hys gemynde onwrignesse. þet word þes arwurðestan fæder egberhtes.⁷²

In comparison, the OE Bede (lines 8–10) and *HE* read:

Gepwærað eac swylce þære onwrignesse & þære gesegene þæs foresprecenan broðor bi forðfore þisses biscepes & eac þæt word þes awyrðan fæder Ecgberhtes.⁷³

Conuenit autem reuelationi et relationi praefati fratris de obitu huius antistitis etiam sermo reuerentissimi patris Ebercti.⁷⁴

Vleeskruyer points out that the author has wrongly translated the Latin *conuenit* (accords) in context as ‘hit gelomp’, noting that ‘the translator seems to have thought that Saint Chad on his dying day had a vision of his youth in Ireland and of Saint Egbert, his companion of those days’.⁷⁵ It is clear, though, that Bede is explaining that the aforesaid brother who reported the death of Saint Chad also told the words of Egbert. It may be that this confusion has stemmed

⁷¹ On the decline of Latinity in England across the ninth century, see Michael Lapidge, ‘Schools, Learning and Literature in Tenth-Century England’, *Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull’alto medioevo* 38 (1991): 951–98; and his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon, 1996), 409–54.

⁷² ‘It happened concerning the death of this bishop that the word of the most honourable Father Egbert came as a testament to his memory’, see lines 216–18, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 263.

⁷³ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 3, 270; ‘With the revelation and report of the aforesaid brother about this bishop’s death correspond also the words of the venerable father Ecgberht’, trans. Miller, 271.

⁷⁴ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, IV, 3, 344; ‘This brother’s account of the bishop’s death also agrees with the story of a vision related by the most reverend father Egbert’, trans. Colgrave and Mynors, 345.

⁷⁵ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 200.

from earlier in the text, where the *Life* alters the text to remove the first person narratorial voice of Bede.⁷⁶

Summary

In total, the evidence of these complex errors suggests that the text of the *Life of St Chad* was first made at some remove from the copy extant in Hatton 116, indicating a history of transmission. Some of the more complex copying errors point to a series of exemplars and scribes, and potentially to a long history of copying. There are two incidences of the scribe writing out nonsense words without intervention; these indicate that the scribe was removed from the moment of authorship of the text, and, indeed, was not familiar with at least some aspects of the vocabulary or dialect. It is possible that the twelfth-century scribe was removed from the author across a substantial period of time. The apparent missing sentence on page 2, line 17, and missing word on page 4, line 4, also point to a history of copying at a time before scribe 1's efforts at writing out and correcting his own text. Textual corruption across time is also evident where the manuscript reads *toslegenum*, which appears to have been caused and compounded by a series of scribal errors.

The corrupted Ecclesiastes citation emerges as a possible authorial error, in which the author attempted to translate the Latin quote, and did so poorly. Other parts of the text also show that it was corrupted over time. On lines 178–79 (of my edition) the text reads, 'þet wes in monegum forhæfdnisse. ond in eadmodnisse. ond in gebedu lare. ond on wilsumre þearfednisse. ond in manegum megena gearnungum.'⁷⁷ It seems that *megen* is missing from the text which might be the result of textual corruption or the author copying the Latin

⁷⁶ 'Sum broðor segde', see line 182, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 259. The sentence has removed the voice of Bede, to a third person impersonal voice, 'some brother said' rather than 'a brother said to me'.

⁷⁷ See lines 178–80, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 259.

syntax without properly adapting the sentence for OE. The author of the *Life*’s rendering of ‘swilce hit þunnurad were’ may provide evidence of a limited understanding of Latin. The author’s possible limited Latinity alone cannot provide evidence for the date of the *Life*, but it harmonises with other evidence of a history of copying to suggest an original exemplar made some time before the second half of the tenth century (see also below, on dating). Such confusion in Latin would be unlikely if the *Life* were a twelfth-century production.

Date

The manuscript has been reliably dated to the twelfth century. Ker dates it to the first half of the twelfth century.⁷⁸ Vleeskruyer also accepts this first half of the twelfth-century date, citing the work of Wanley and Napier.⁷⁹ Treharne dates the manuscript to at least the middle of the twelfth century and probably somewhere early in the second half.⁸⁰ As mentioned above, the manuscript is blind-ruled, a practice that was phased out across the twelfth century, and would have been very unusual by the second half of the century.⁸¹ The evidence of the way the manuscript has been ruled suggests a date from the first quarter of the twelfth century, and perhaps towards the middle. Treharne notes that the manuscript is blind-ruled but says that this ‘should not distract, since this can be offset by the quiring in twelves, which is a new feature in the twelfth century, and, while rare at this time, is seen, as mentioned, in Cirencester manuscripts’.⁸² The transitional character of Hatton 116, blind-ruled with quires in twelves, could serve to widen the possible date for the making of the manuscript. This has

⁷⁸ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, 403.

⁷⁹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 1.

⁸⁰ Treharne, ‘The Production and Script of Manuscripts’, 25–6; Elaine M. Treharne, *Living through Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 142.

⁸¹ On the practice of ruling books in early England, see Richard Gameson, ‘The Material Fabric of Early British Books’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume 1: C.400–1100*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 13–93 (60–6).

⁸² Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 142.

significant appeal for Treharne’s argument for dating the authorship of the *Life of St Chad* to the twelfth century, which I discuss further below.

Provenance

It is very likely that the manuscript was produced in the west of England, perhaps at the Worcester scriptorium. Vleeskruyer argues that it is a product of a Worcester scriptorium in the transitional period, noting especially the glosses by the Tremulous Hand.⁸³ Pope argues that there is a relationship between Hatton 116 and Ker 41a (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178 (pp. 1–270), Corpus Christi College 162 (pp. 139–60)), and that they shared a common ancestor; the logic of this connection suggests Hatton 116 was written around Worcester, but not necessarily at Worcester itself.⁸⁴ McIntyre argues that because Worcester was known to have been active into the second half of the eleventh century, it is taken as the most likely production of English manuscripts in the twelfth century.⁸⁵ However, she points out that the handwriting used at Worcester in the first half of the century is regional in style rather than belonging to a single scriptorium. She notes that the handwriting of Hatton 116 shares characteristics with Worcester manuscripts produced in this period, but that it is also very similar to manuscripts from other centres in the west of England. However, whether the provenance of the manuscript is Worcester or not, in all likelihood the book itself was made in the West Midlands, as Saint Chad’s cult had limited, regional significance, as I discuss below.

⁸³ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 2–10.

⁸⁴ Ælfric, *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. John C. Pope, Early English Text Society, 2 vol, Original Series 259, 260 (London: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1967), 70.

⁸⁵ E. A. McIntyre, ‘Early-Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory, with Special Reference to the Manuscripts Written There’ (unpublished DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1978), 27. See also Mary Swan, ‘Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215’, in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 29–42.

We know that the manuscript was at Worcester in the first half of the thirteenth century, as it was glossed by the Tremulous Hand. It then remained in Worcester until at least 1622 when it was included in Young’s catalogue.⁸⁶ It belonged to Christopher, Lord Hatton, in 1644 and was acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1678.

Glosses

There are glosses throughout the manuscript in Latin and OE in the hand of the so-named ‘Tremulous Hand’ of Worcester. The Tremulous Hand worked as a glossator of a number of Old English manuscripts during the thirteenth century. Franzen’s comprehensive study of this scribe includes a case study of Hatton 116.⁸⁷ As Franzen observes, the whole manuscript is ‘quite heavily glossed, with 20 glosses per page not uncommon’.⁸⁸ The number of glosses in the *Life* fits within this parameter and is as follows:

- page 1, 28 glosses
- page 2, 18 glosses
- page 3, 11 glosses
- page 4, 11 glosses
- page 5, 14 glosses
- page 6, 24 glosses
- page 7, 18 glosses
- page 8, 18 glosses
- page 9, 19 glosses
- page 10, 16 glosses

⁸⁶ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, 406.

⁸⁷ Franzen, *Tremulous Hand of Worcester*.

⁸⁸ Franzen, *Tremulous Hand of Worcester*, 45.

- page 11, 16 glosses
- page 12, 27 glosses
- page 13, 13 glosses
- page 14, 14 glosses
- page 15, 8 glosses
- page 16, 14 glosses
- page 17, 20 glosses
- page 18, 6 glosses (7 including one after the *Life* ends).

This count of glosses includes both interlinear and marginal glosses and small superscript letters in Latin and OE.

In addition to glossing words and adding marginal notes, the glossator also sometimes added 'marks of word division and punctuation as well as small superscript vowels and consonants which were apparently intended to bring the Old English spellings into conformity with his own early Middle English dialect'.⁸⁹ *The Life of St Chad* is no exception, the Tremulous Hand glossing *ge* particularly often and adding punctuation. As noted above, it is difficult to tell from the manuscript what is original punctuation by the main scribe, and what punctuation has been added later. (See the discussion on punctuation above.)

Franzen suggests a number of reasons why the Tremulous Hand glossed particular words: clarifying the sense of obsolescent words, distinguishing similarly spelled or ambiguously spelled words, distinguishing different senses of the same word, clarifying grammatical form and construction, clarifying word division, correcting errors, noting

⁸⁹ Franzen, *Tremulous Hand of Worcester*, 1.

significant words.⁹⁰ The glossed words were not always difficult or obscure items of OE vocabulary, sometimes being high-frequency and common words. Franzen lists frequently glossed words in the three manuscripts—Hatton 113 (MS C), Hatton 114 (MS D), Hatton 116 (MS F)—she discusses in detail.⁹¹ She notes that around half of these words had either fallen out of use or altered in meaning after the mid-thirteenth century, and that some were unknown after 1300. Thus, it would appear that the words most frequently glossed were already unfamiliar or were becoming so.

However, in some cases in the *Life of St Chad*, archaic and dialectal words were not glossed by the Tremulous Hand. By the same logic that explains high-frequency glosses, this suggests that the scribe believed such words were understandable to a contemporary audience, implying that they were Mercian dialect words that were still in use. It may also be supposed that, in some cases, the Tremulous Hand was unsure of their meaning. Words that made it onto Franzen’s list and are glossed in the *Life* include: *andgit*, *anrædnes*, *gefea*, *ingehyd*, *intinga*, *mægen*, *mittes* (found only in the *Life*), *mod*, and *þa*.⁹²

It is important to introduce a third category into the discussion of the Tremulous Hand’s practice. It is helpful also to look at whether the glossator glossed any of the archaic, unusual, or dialectal words that can be noted in the *Life of St Chad* (beside the linguistically more accessible homilies by Ælfric), as this may indicate something about their intelligibility to a thirteenth-century reader of English. On page 5, line 3, *degulran*⁹³ is glossed with *occult[um]*. Variations of *mitte/mittes/mid þy* are glossed throughout the text, correctly as

⁹⁰ Franzen, *Tremulous Hand of Worcester*, 166–73.

⁹¹ Franzen, *Tremulous Hand of Worcester*, 154–66.

⁹² Franzen, *Tremulous Hand of Worcester*, 155–66.

⁹³ The unusual spelling, *degul-* is found in 19 instances across the corpus; the other instances are in psalter glosses; search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, ed. Antonette diPaolo Healey, John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2009).

cu[m]q[ue].⁹⁴ On page 18, line 1, *ymbhygdie*⁹⁵ is glossed with *curiose?*. On page 1, line 14, *carcerne*⁹⁶ is glossed with *ergrastilo?*.⁹⁷ On page 13, line 17, *ymbhygdilice*⁹⁸ is glossed with ‘*dilige uter salicite?*’. On page 17, line 8, *mid micelo*⁹⁹ is glossed with *pauca*. *Mid micelo* seems to be an error that I have emended to *medmicelo*, but, interestingly, the glossator has glossed it correctly, which implies, though the spelling seems to be incorrect, that he understood the meaning.

The majority of words glossed by the glossator seem to be aimed at clarifying their sense or pronunciation. This indicates that the Tremulous Hand had an interest in reading the text as well as preparing it to be read by others. The added punctuation would also assist with reading aloud. While this makes sense for the other contents of the manuscript—primarily texts by Ælfric—it is noteworthy that the glossator saw the *Life of St Chad* as worth the effort of glossing and reading. This may provide evidence for the cult of Saint Chad in Mercia in the thirteenth century, which I will discuss in a later section.

The Inclusion of the *Life of St Chad* in Hatton 116

The *Life of St Chad* stands out among the texts in Hatton 116, beside the Ælfrician saints’ lives, due to the fact that it is also a saint’s life and that it stands separately from the other material at the head of the collection; the full significance of its inclusion and this placement is not clear. Elaine Treharne argues that the inclusion of the *Life of St Chad* into this

⁹⁴ On this expression, see further below, 142–4.

⁹⁵ An uncommon adjective, with six instances in the corpus, four of which are in this text and two others in the Blickling Homilies. Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

⁹⁶ A common word with c. 172 occurrences but mostly used in poetry and saints’ lives. Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

⁹⁷ On this term, *carcern*, see *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 26; Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 143; Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and During the Reign of Alfred’, 110.

⁹⁸ See above, 54.

⁹⁹ *Medmicel* appears 43 times in the corpus, mostly in Bede and psalter glosses. Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

manuscript is significant.¹⁰⁰ She argues that the addition of the *Life* coincides with the translation of Saint Chad’s relics to the reconstructed cathedral at Lichfield in 1148, and also aligns with other political and cultural developments of the mid-twelfth century.¹⁰¹ She sums up her case:

Its inclusion at the head of this volume is remarkable: it is chronologically in sequence, since St Chad’s feast day is March 2nd, but Chad thus effectively heads up a list of vatic and apostolic greats, including John the Baptist and Saints Peter, Paul and Bartholomew. This is quite a promotion for the saint. Chad became bishop of Lichfield in 667, a see which at its origin incorporated Worcester and Hereford among its vast territory. Notably, in 1148 the new Norman cathedral was consecrated at Lichfield, and the relics of Chad were translated into a superior shrine; the inclusion of the *Life* in this mid, or later, twelfth-century manuscript would seem an obvious correspondence with the celebration that the translation would entail. The attribution of the *Life of St Chad* in Hatton 116 to this precise period when the cult of the saint was being promoted vigorously seems feasible, palaeographically likely, and testifies to the contemporary role played by English texts—politically significant in the context of a saint’s translation—within a great cathedral.¹⁰²

It is certainly notable that the *Life of St Chad* is the first item in this collection, placed before more prominent saints; however, it is far from clear what the significance is. The best place to start developing an understanding of the place of the *Life* in the collection is not twelfth-century society, but rather its place as a saint’s life in a collection of saints’ lives. I have hypothesised above that this collection descends from a *sanctorale* excerpted from Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*, covering the full liturgical year. In this scenario, the first homilies of this earlier collection have become lost or been removed, and the *Life* added some time later. As a text, the *Life of Saint Chad* is generally related to those that follow (in being a saint’s life); however, it is noteworthy that all those that follow in Hatton 116 are associated

¹⁰⁰ Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 141–2.

¹⁰¹ Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 142.

¹⁰² Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 141–2.

with important feasts of the universal church.¹⁰³ Given the fact that the *Life* is the first item in Hatton 116, the significance of its inclusion in the correct calendrical sequence is not clear, and may be coincidental.

Treharne’s inference (however logical) that Saint Chad’s relics were translated to the new Norman cathedral in 1148, and that this event might have occasioned the commissioning or copying of the *Life* should not carry too much weight, especially in relation to Hatton 116. There exists no evidence of Chad’s relics being translated formally or in any other way at the time, despite the fact that comparable translation feasts were an established liturgical practice by the twelfth century in England, most notably for Saint Cuthbert.¹⁰⁴ A feast day was instituted after the later translation of Saint Chad’s relics at Lichfield in 1296.¹⁰⁵ Treharne argues that the inclusion of the *Life* in Hatton 116 corresponds to a revival of his cult in the mid-twelfth century; however, there is no evidence to support this claim.¹⁰⁶ Apart from the inclusion of the *Life* in this collection, there is no sign from this period of the promotion of the cult of Saint Chad (on the cult of Saint Chad, see further below). Treharne’s suggestion that the promotion of Chad’s cult would have taken place beside the contemporary role of English saints in the political landscape of the twelfth century is more evocative than compelling.

Ultimately, there is insufficient evidence to demonstrate the claim that the *Life of St Chad* was first incorporated into the collection of Ælfrician saints’ lives when Hatton 116

¹⁰³ If my hypothesis is sound, the ‘original’ collection of excerpts from the Catholic homilies would have included only one other English saint, Saint Cuthbert (21 March). See Mechthild Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 65–126.

¹⁰⁴ See Bertram Colgrave, ‘The Post-Bedan Miracles and Translations of St Cuthbert’, in *The Early Cultures of North-Western Europe*, ed. C. Fox and B. Dickens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 307–32.

¹⁰⁵ See John Hewitt, ‘The Keeper of St. Chad’s Head’, *Journal of the Archaeological Institute* 33 (1876): 72–82.

¹⁰⁶ Treharne does not provide solid evidence for this ‘promotion’, and I have not been able to find any historical evidence. Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 142.

was copied. Furthermore, there is clear evidence of a copying history of the *Life* that demonstrates a history of transmission—and possibly a long one. The evidence that Hatton 116 was made after 1148 (the date of the inauguration of the new Norman Cathedral at Lichfield) adduced by Treharne certainly raises the possibility that it was copied after the second quarter of the twelfth century, but the evidence of the blind-ruling of the manuscript and the quiring in twelves opens up the date range of the manuscript. The evidence suggest that Hatton 116 was made around the middle of the twelfth century, but whether this was before or after 1148 cannot be determined, least of all by an appeal to historical arguments about Saint Chad’s cult at Lichfield and further abroad.

In total, the manuscript copy of the *Life* provides evidence pointing to a longer history of transmission than Treharne’s arguments assume, though the copying and recopying of the text could as easily have happened across decades as centuries. In terms of a probabilistic argument, there is nothing in the extant text of the *Life* that suggests it is likely, let alone certain, that the text was originally authored for this copy or a close antecedent. Indeed, there is evidence compatible with the possibility that, by the time the *Life* was copied into Hatton 116, this saint’s life had been in circulation across different centres of copying, and perhaps for a considerable length of time.

Chapter 2. Dialect and Linguistic Features

It is now generally accepted that *Life of St Chad* was originally written in the Mercian dialect; however, the text in its unique copy also presents a significant West Saxon overlay. There are inherent difficulties in studying some aspects of dialect and identifying what are distinctive dialectal features, rather than shared elements of OE, either early or late. Vleeskruyer explains the problem:

The West-Saxonisms in the early *Martyrology* manuscripts and the Mercianisms in Alfred's West-Saxon are, after all, essentially the early symptoms of a process of extensive linguistic 'acculturation' that continued into the early Middle English period. The fusion is complete in the literary dialect of *Ancrene Wisse* and 'Katherine Group', which is the descendant of West-Mercian in the most ancient of its phonological characteristics; but its vocabulary is that of the LWS homilies. At the same time, the LOE and Transitional sound-changes that affected this West-Midland dialect were shared by the South-West; inversely, the LWS religious vocabulary had incorporated many West-Mercian terms. 'Late West Saxon' is a term for which it is usually better to substitute 'late Old English'; in the same way, 'early Mercian' and 'early Old English' often appear interchangeable.¹

We cannot easily extricate time period and dialect from the study of vocabulary and phonological change. The matter of dialect and the question of the date are intertwined. The kingdom of Mercia was dominant in early England in the eighth century, but was in political decline from the first decades of the ninth century.² Broadly speaking, with the political ascendancy of Wessex from the late ninth century and the literary activity associated with Alfred's reign, West Saxon emerged as the standard for OE literary prose. However, dialects would have continued to be spoken in their respective regional areas and would have been

¹ *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, ed. Rudolf Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1953), 61–2.

² Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr, 'Introduction: Mercia, a Culture in Context', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005).

influential on literary composition in these areas at least into the Middle English period; consequently, there is no reason to assume that non–West Saxon dialect is synonymous with pre-Alfredian production.³ I argue that the *Life* was written in the Mercian dialect, in Mercia, in the early tenth century—by c. 930. In this scenario, the West Saxon elements in the text are most likely due to layers of changes made by scribes in the transmission history. Though the possibility that the text of the *Life* was composed by a West Saxon speaker under the strong influence of Mercian spelling and other literary language conventions cannot be eliminated, it is unlikely on the balance of the evidence.

In the first half of this short chapter, I outline the features of the Mercian dialect, which forms the fundamental basis for the establishment of a Mercian textual corpus. Understanding this corpus is crucial for the major objective of this thesis—to resolve the dispute about the date of the *Life* and the existence and extent of a Mercian corpus.

Mercian Dialect

It is generally accepted that there were four OE dialects: West Saxon, Mercian, Northumbrian, and Kentish. Northumbrian and Mercian together constitute the Anglian dialect, definable readily in terms of phonological Anglian ‘smoothing’.⁴ When a text exhibits this ‘smoothing’ but lacks the particular features of Northumbrian, it can be classified as Mercian.⁵ The terms ‘Anglian’ and ‘Mercian’ are sometimes used interchangeably: Anglian is the broader term, describing general features that could be either

³ See Chapter 3, below, on vocabulary evidence, and also Jane Bately’s discussion in ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988): 112.

⁴ A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 6–7. On Anglian smoothing, see Richard M. Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English. Volume 1: Phonology* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 139–142, §5.93.

⁵ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 7.

Northumbrian or Mercian.⁶ While each dialect originally stemmed from regional variants, Campbell emphasises that the dialectal names we use now do not necessarily have territorial significance; rather, he defines each dialect by the agreement of the evidence in its sources.⁷ That is, dialect usage has an element of fluidity; in the case of Mercian, it could be used by speakers outside of Mercia (as scholars recruited by King Alfred into Wessex would have), and terms that may have been Mercian in origin spread to become part of the standard vocabulary.

In the introduction to his edition of the *Life*, Vleeskruyer comprehensively lays out evidence for the *Life*'s Mercian dialectal origin. His detailed treatment of the linguistic features of Mercian is unparalleled and has not been superseded, and nor has it been challenged by any scholar of the OE language since its publication in 1953.⁸ The defining and undisputed features of the Mercian dialect, both generally and specifically in the *Life*, are fully described by Vleeskruyer in his edition, and can be reproduced here:⁹

Unbroken *a* before *l* + consonant (WS *ea*)
 back-mutation of *æ* to *ea* (WS *a*)
e for WG *a* (WS *æ*)
o = WG *a* before nasal (WS *a*)
slegen (WS *slaegen*, *slægen*)
 the types *bældo* and *cerran* (WS *bieldo*, *cierran*), *seolf* (WS *self*),
 unusual back-mutation of *e*, reminiscent of VPs: *feola*, *heolan* (WS *fela*, *helan*),
 back-mutation of *i* to *io*
eo before dentals (WS *i*)
wiebed (Angl. *wiged*, WS *weofod*; breaking of long *ī*)

⁶ On the Anglian dialect generally and Mercian more specifically, see Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 19, §6–8.

⁷ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 110.

⁸ But note A. Campbell's review of Vleeskruyer's edition of the *Life*, in which he takes issue with a number of assertions made regarding not only the ninth-century date attributed to *St Chad*, but also the relationship between Kentish and Mercian argued by Vleeskruyer. See A. Campbell, 'Vleeskruyer, Rudolf, ed., *The Life of St Chad: An Old English Homily* (Review)', *Medium Aevum*, 24 (1955): 52–56.

⁹ *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, ed. Rudolf Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1953), description is in his footnotes, 42–3. Vleeskruyer's full linguistic examination of the *Life of St Chad*, including Mercian features, can be found under 'Sounds and Inflexions' in his introduction, 72–151.

walde, warhte (WS *o*)

ōorh (WS *ōurh*)

mutation in untrymnes (WS *-trum-*)

ē for WG *ā* (WS *ā*), also *swē* (WS *swā*)

smoothing in *nēh* (WS *nēah*), *gēr* (WS *gēar*, with palatal influence)

ē as mutation of *ēa* (WS *īe*)

cweōo ic (WS *cweōe*)

u in unaccented syllables (WS *o*)

plural of fem. *ō*-stems in *-e* (WS *-a*)

lufan cas. obl. weak (WS strong)

mid with accus (?) (WS dative, instr.)

-nis for WS *-nes*

endingless acc. sing. of fem. *i*-stems (WS *-e*),

plural in *-e* (WS *-a*), *ūssum* (WS *ūrum*), *forborn, orn* pret. (WS with *a, æ*),

cuōm pret. (WS *cōm*)

getācnað plur.

ðearfende (WS. *-iað, -iende*)

-ade etc. in wk. verbs cl. 2 (WS *-ode*)

mutation in the opt. of perf.pres. verbs (WS unmutated).¹⁰

As previously mentioned, the *Life of St Chad* possesses the linguistic determinants of the Mercian dialect, though later and West Saxon elements coincide within the text. Of these later OE and West Saxon features, Vleeskruyer notes there are not many occurrences in the text, and that these are easily distinguished.¹¹ He points out that that the non-Mercian elements are not typically early West Saxon, but rather point to the transitional period; as such, he attributes these late West Saxon and transitional spellings to the copyist of the extant manuscript, arguing that there were no West Saxon orthographical features in the original text.¹² However, I argue that at least some linguistic changes were introduced into the text over a history of copying.

¹⁰ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 42.

¹¹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 63. See Vleeskruyer, 64–7 for an overview of linguistic features, then on 72–151, Vleeskruyer provides a lengthy discussion on the sounds and inflections of the text.

¹² *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 63.

Linguistic Features of the *Life of St Chad*

Certain linguistic features, distinct from the matter of dialect, can provide evidence for dating OE texts when supplemented with other methods. Both the previous editors of the text, Napier and Vleeskruyer, include distinctive linguistic features of the *Life of St Chad* as part of the rationale for their respective conclusions on its date. Napier argues that the *Life* was a tenth-century production, whereas Vleeskruyer proposes a date of the ninth century for the text. Napier offers as evidence phonological and morphological features, while Vleeskruyer points to the fairly regular syncope of medial vowels and the frequency of the instrumental case, especially in temporal adjuncts, alongside the orthographic conventions of *ð* and *þ*.¹³ In the following section, I review both Napier's evidence and Vleeskruyer's disagreement with those points. In the light of this analysis, it will be seen that the grammatical and spelling data not only do not contradict the hypothesis of an 'early' date for the *Life of St Chad*, but contribute evidence towards it, even though, in isolation, this evidence could not be used to conclusively demonstrate the date of the *Life*.

Phonology

The phonological evidence for a tenth-century date of the *Life* included by Napier focuses on the occurrence of 'o' for West Germanic 'a' before nasals.¹⁴ Vleeskruyer argues that Napier incorrectly sees this as a chronological marker based on the prevalence of *a* in West Saxon, noting that *o* before nasals is an Anglian characteristic long after the OE period.¹⁵ In early OE orthography, *a* and *o* before a nasal consonant are used interchangeably to represent a sound distinct from the usual OE *a*, but, in later texts, spelling with *a* is prevalent. This implies that

¹³ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 69–70.

¹⁴ Arthur S. Napier, 'Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad', *Anglia*, 10 (1888): 139.

¹⁵ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 67.

the sound of *a* before a nasal had become the same as an ordinary OE *a* by the end of the OE period, except in the West Midlands.¹⁶

Campbell notes the following spellings in early and dialectal texts: the Epinal Glossary always has *a*; the Erfurt Glossary and Corpus Glossary have both *a* and *o*; in tenth-century Northumbrian texts, *o* is almost universal except in the past tense of some strong verbs; Vespasian Psalter has *o* universally and the Rushworth Gospels mostly have *o*; early West Saxon and Kentish texts vary, but in late texts *a* predominates.¹⁷ To this, Hogg adds that, since in the earliest Kentish texts *a* is used but in early ninth-century texts *o* is used almost exclusively, this could be due to Mercian influence, as other ninth-century texts have both *a* and *o*.¹⁸

Vleeskruyer notes that, in the Mercian dialect, *o* continued to be present before a nasal whereas it was replaced by *a* in West Saxon. In the *Life of St Chad*, there is a mixture of spellings, with both *o* and *a* being used. For example, the *Life* prefers spelling with *a* in *nama*, *andswar-*, and *anseone*, but also consistently has *gelomp*, and a mix of *monig* and *maneg*. The spelling *ealond* is found along with both *land* and *lond*. On the question of whether spellings with *a* were a feature of the original text or were updated by another scribe, it is likely that they were the work of a later scribe, since we also have the occurrence of *o* spellings alongside these. Therefore, the *o* spellings do not firmly point to a tenth-century date, but merely demonstrate that the text was originally Mercian.

¹⁶ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 51–2, §130; Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English. Volume 1: Phonology*, 75, §5.3.

¹⁷ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 51.

¹⁸ Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English. Volume 1: Phonology*, 76.

Morphology

Three examples of inflectional endings as dating evidence are proposed by Napier: the inflectional *-u* ending of the predicative participles *onlesedu* and *gelededu*, as well as the *-u* (alternatively *-o*) ending in the neuter accusative plural (*manegu*, *gelomlico*, *medmicelo*).¹⁹

In the case of *onlesedu* and *gelededu*, since participles decline like adjectives, the inflected ending usually expected would be *-e* rather than *-u*.²⁰ Vleeskruyer concludes that the appearance of the inflectional *-u* ending is probably a product of ninth-century Mercian prose under Latin influence.²¹ On the other hand, Campbell explains the occurrence of *-u* endings as fem. abstract nouns of the *in*-declension, which have a nom. sg. *-u* (*-o*) ending, extending to the acc. pl., as mentioned above.²² At the cost of simplifying this complicated matter on the inflectional ending *-u*, Hogg and Fulk establish that the occurrence of *-u* without apocope is typical in the Anglian dialect (and when that inflection occurs it affects the syncope of the stem), thus the occurrence of nom. acc. pl. forms such as *netenu* and *heafudu* is retained, and *manegu* (*Pastoral Care*), *monigu* (PSGI(A)), and *monigo* (Li).²³

Returning to the word morphology in the *Life*, the form *manegu* occurs twice. This particular form appears in the corpus 18 times, notably with half of the occurrences in early prose, and there are no occurrences in late prose.²⁴ The spelling of *gelomlico* is unique to the

¹⁹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 67; Napier, 'Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad', 140.

²⁰ Richard M. Hogg and R. D. Fulk, *A Grammar of Old English. Volume 2: Morphology* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 225.

²¹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 68.

²² Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §589.7, 236–7.

²³ Type (c) disyllabic adjectives where the second syllable consists historically of a vowel + approximant; this type consists exclusively of words with suffix *-i* of whatever origin (Gmc. *-c è- or *-a è-), hence *dysig* 'foolish', *halig* 'holy', *hefig* 'heavy', *monig* 'many'. Hogg and Fulk, *A Grammar of Old English. Volume 2: Morphology*, 165; §4.44 (c), 168; §4.48, 101–2; §3.64, 107–8; §3.72, 103–4; §3.67.

²⁴ Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, ed. Antonette diPaolo Healey, John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2009).

Life. The usual spelling is *gelomlice*, with 196 matches in the DOEC.²⁵ However, there is a similar inflected ending, *gelomlicu*, in a heading from the OE Bede and *gelomlicost* occurs in the Orosius. Similarly, *medmicelo*, as spelled in the *Life*, is the only instance of this spelling in the DOEC. It is usually spelled *medmicel* (26 times) and once as *medmicle* (HomM 11 (ScraggVerc 14)). On these bases, I conclude that the occurrence of the inflected *-u* (*-o*) spelling contributes to the evidence and probability that the *Life* is an early text. The merit of Vleeskruyer's explanation of this form as a reflection of Latin influence on early OE prose is difficult to determine.

The third morphological feature Napier presents as evidence when dating the *Life* to the tenth century is the preservation of the distinction between subjunctive plural (present and past) and indicative plural (past) endings (*-en* and *-on*, respectively).²⁶ Vleeskruyer wholly disagrees, suggesting that this argument is not sufficiently qualified since *-en* retains its subjunctive function only in the present tense and in the past tense the endings cannot be consistently distinguished.²⁷ According to Campbell, in early texts the present subjunctive has no variety of form, while the past subjunctive has little variety of form; in late West Saxon in both the present and past subjunctive plural, *-an* and *-on* generally appear for plural *-en*.²⁸ Campbell notes that the Rushworth Gospels have the plural *-e*, as well as *-en*, *-an*, and *-un*.²⁹ In the work of the first scribe of the *Parker Chronicle*, the earliest extant manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, there are only two examples of the subjunctive form, spelled with an *-en* ending.³⁰ In the *Life*, the plural subjunctive is spelled in multiple ways, with *-un*, -

²⁵ Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

²⁶ Napier, 'Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad', 140; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 68.

²⁷ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 67–8.

²⁸ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §735(g), 302.

²⁹ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §735(f) and (g), 302. See also Hogg and Fulk, *A Grammar of Old English. Volume 2: Morphology*, §6.23–6.24, 223.

³⁰ C. Sprockel, *The Language of the Parker Chronicle*, 2 vols (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1965), 216; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. A, ed. J. M. Bately (Boydell & Brewer, 1986).

an, *-on*, and *-en*.³¹ An example of particular note is found in the *Life*, lines 138–48, where there is a cluster of plural subjunctive nouns, all with different spellings in the inflection. This uncertainty about the correct inflectional ending for the subjunctive probably suggests transmission from a much earlier date, with intervening scribal confusion (or indifference) about the spelling.

Spelling and Orthography

The mix of early and late features is most obvious in the spellings of a number of words found in the single extant copy, MS Hatton 116.

Late Features

There can be no question that the *Life of St Chad* exhibits some late OE orthography. OE *c* appearing as *k* before *e*, *i*, *y* is a late feature (though not exclusively so), signalling a move towards spellings common in Middle English (ME).³² However, we find only one instance of the spelling *kyninge* (line 13), beside four instances of *cining* (lines 45, 49, 53, 65).³³ There is one example of *gg* (expected in early ME) for OE *cg*, in *unaseggendlicrae* (line 125).³⁴ However, some distinctive late features, noted by Irvine in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, but not attested in the *Life*, include the voiced *f* used medially being spelled as *u*, *c* as *ch*, *h* as *hc*, and runic wynn as *uu*.³⁵

Further notable late orthographical elements present in the text include the spelling of *herinnesse* (line 5, expected in the twelfth century). The double *nn* spelling in *þunnurad* (line

³¹ For example, line 148 *ætfeſtun*, line 138 *geſettan*, lines 139–40 *geleornadon ... geſegen*, line 141 *gemetun ... heoldon*, line 141 *fyliġdon*.

³² *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. E, ed. Susan Irvine (Brewer, 2004).

³³ Line 13 is before Bede begins, and the corresponding part in Bede is *cyning*.

³⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. E, ed. Irvine, cv.

³⁵ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. E, ed. Irvine, cv–cvi.

127) seems to be an influence of transitional spelling, since there are attestations in ME of *thonder* spelled with *nn* but none in OE.³⁶ The spelling of *slenne* (line 212), the inflected infinitive of *slean*, is possibly a result of late spelling, though the 12 instances of *sleanne* in the DOEC suggest not, even though *slenne* is a spelling attested in the Middle English Dictionary.³⁷

Early Features

A recurrent feature of early texts is the OE palatal *g* spelled as *i*, as noted by Campbell.³⁸ In the *Life* this occurs in the spelling of *iu* (line 143) (*geo*), *iugne* (line 218) (*geong*), and *iungrum* (line 44) (*geong*).³⁹ The spelling of *degulran* (line 73) is unusual, beside the commonly occurring forms of the stem, *digol*, *digle*. The spelling *degul-* is found only in two Mercian gloss manuscripts: in the same ninth-century gloss on the Vespasian Psalter gloss (x 8), and Canticles of the Psalter in the Vespasian Psalter gloss, as well as the Rushworth Gospels Mathew (x 7).⁴⁰ Also unusual is *earun* (line 270), an irregular form for the present indicative plural of *beon*, which is found only in poetry in the Paris Psalter (PS 104.7), and the ninth-century Mercian glosses to the Vespasian Psalter and Canticles. This evidence for the currency of these two different spelling from the late ninth to the late tenth centuries in the Mercian dialect provides evidence that locates the translation of the *Life* and its original copy within the same broad period.

³⁶ ‘Thōnder’, *Middle English Compendium*, online edition, ed. Frances McSparran, et al (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2000–2018), <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary>.

³⁷ ‘Slēn’, *Middle English Compendium*, online edition.

³⁸ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §57(3), 24.

³⁹ Compared to Bede *iugne* (*geong*); *geo* and *iungrum/geong*; *discipulum*.

⁴⁰ Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

The word *weccenum* (Hatton 116, page 9, line 16) was discussed in Chapter 1. Where I have kept *weccenum* (line 150) Vleeskruyer emends to *weacenum*.⁴¹ The term points to the Anglian dialect, which comparison with the OE Bede suggests. The Anglian spelling of the noun *wæcce* is found in the corresponding passage in the OE Bede, and it is possible, if not likely, that an earlier copy of the *Life* shared this. The spelling *weccena* only appears once elsewhere, in LS 13 (Machutus). Yerkes, the editor of that text, reads it as the noun *wæcce* and suggests *weccena* is the Mercian spelling.⁴² The term *weccenum* appears to be an early Mercian spelling of the noun that appears as West Saxon (WS) *wæcce*.

A mix of late and early features is found in the spellings of the third person singular personal pronoun *he*, *heo*, and *hit*. Harting notes that *heo* is the Anglian form of the personal pronoun; it also frequently appears in early WS texts.⁴³ The spelling of the stem *heo-* is found 17 times in the text;⁴⁴ *hio* and *hi* occur 13 times.⁴⁵ Some of these differences are found in close proximity: in lines 134–36, we find the spelling *heo*, with the later form *hi* appearing on lines 136–39, with a reversion to *heo* on line 141. Such a pattern is more likely to be indicative of an original spelling of *heo*—with subsequent copyists randomly introducing the modernised (or West Saxonised) spelling of *hi*—rather than *heo* representing an attempt at archaicising the text by a later scribe (or author). This pattern is symptomatic of a copying history for the text and is indicative of an early exemplar in the chain of transmission.

⁴¹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 172.

⁴² *The Old English Life of Machutus*, ed. David Yerkes, Toronto Old English Series 9 (Toronto: Published in association with The Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, by University of Toronto Press, 1984), xxxvi, xlii, 161.

⁴³ P. N. U. Harting, ‘The Text of the Old English Translation of Gregory’s Dialogues’, *Neophilologus* 22, no. 1 (1937): 289.

⁴⁴ *Heo* lines 134, 136, 136, 141, 147, 167, 167, 200, 230, 253; *heom* line 135; *heora* lines 149, 204, 205, 205, 229, 257.

⁴⁵ *Hio* lines 174, 199, 218, 229, 257. *Hi* lines 136, 138, 139, 148, 149, 151, 153, 220, 228.

One final observation on the grammar of the *Life* points away from composition of the text in the twelfth century. Irvine notes that in the *Peterborough Chronicle* interpolations, the dative case is becoming obsolete.⁴⁶ However, the dative is consistently used throughout the *Life of St Chad*, contributing to the cumulative evidence indicating its composition at a time well removed from the moment that the manuscript was copied in the twelfth century.

Summary

In this section I have outlined a range of noteworthy linguistic features of the language in the *Life of St Chad*. There can be no dispute that the *Life* is in Mercian dialect, though, as has been pointed out most clearly by Bately, this in itself offers no clear dating evidence for the text. However, a number of the Mercian features of the text are not only compatible with the early date indicated by the vocabulary, but also in themselves point towards an early date. The late grammatical and phonological elements of the *Life* are very easily explainable in a twelfth-century copy of a text composed at least two centuries earlier. Conversely, the early features are incompatible with a late date for the composition of the text, either in the eleventh or the twelfth century. This evidence alone cannot prove an early date for the text; rather, it stands with the rest of the evidence presented in this thesis, particularly the vocabulary evidence of the following chapter, adding weight to the probability of the *Life* having been translated by the middle of the tenth century.

⁴⁶ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. E, ed. Irvine, cxli–ii.

An Early Mercian Corpus?

The defining features of Mercian phonology are agreed among scholars.⁴⁷ However, the question of what makes a text ‘Mercian’, rather than simply Anglian or even West Saxon (with a mixed dialect), is disputed. Vocabulary is a key determinant in assigning Mercian origin to a text, as are other dialectal features of phonology, morphology, orthography, and syntax.⁴⁸ Importantly, despite its Anglian features, poetry is excluded from the concept of a Mercian corpus, though poetic dialect in prose texts may offer an indication of Anglian origin. Nevertheless, the separation of poetry from prose when considering dialect is the usual practice. In his Introduction, Vleeskruyer proposed a list of texts that he considered as Anglian or Mercian, not only in dialect, but in belonging to a definable tradition of literary production.⁴⁹ His list is as follows:

Glosses

Corpus glossary, Epinal glossary, Erfurt glossary and Leiden glossary; the Blickling Glosses; the Lorica Gloss and Prayer from the Book of Cerne; Bede Glosses; the Vespasian Psalter Gloss; the late interlinear Psalter gloss versions; the Canterbury Eadwine Psalter; the Royal Psalter (MS Royal II B 5); Junius Psalter gloss; Cambridge Psalter gloss; Stowe Psalter gloss (also known as Spelman Psalter gloss); the Paris Psalter; the Royal Gloss; the Rushworth Matthew (R1) gloss.

Prose

Old English version of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great; the Old English *Martyrology*; the prose *Life of*

⁴⁷ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*; Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English. Volume 1: Phonology*; Hogg and Fulk, *A Grammar of Old English. Volume 2: Morphology*; R. D. Fulk, ‘Anglian Dialect Features in Old English Anonymous Homiletic Literature: A Survey, with Preliminary Findings’, in *Studies in the History of the English Language IV*, ed. Susan M. Fitzmaurice and Donka Minkova, vol 61, Topics in English Linguistics (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 81–100; R. D. Fulk, ‘Anglian Features in Late West Saxon Prose’, in *Analysing Older English*, ed. David Denison et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 63–74.

⁴⁸ Christine Rauer, ‘Early Mercian Text Production: Authors, Dialects, and Reputations’, *Amsterdamer Beiträge Zur Älteren Germanistik* 77, no. 3–4 (2017): 549.

⁴⁹ See Vleeskruyer for his full discussion about why these should be considered Mercian, *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 50–61.

Saint Guthlac; the prose texts of the *Beowulf* manuscript: the *Letter from Alexander to Aristotle*, the *Wonders of the East*, and the St Christopher homily; the Blickling Homilies; the Vercelli Homilies (several of them originally written in Anglian, the twenty-third is certainly Mercian since it derives from the prose Guthlac); ‘Wulfstan’ xl and xlix and probably ‘Wulfstan’ I; certain homilies in Assmann’s collection, no. x; no. xviii (iii) and maybe parts (i) and (ii); certain charters; the ‘Northumbrian’ Genealogies; the Codex Aureus Inscription; the *Martyrology* Fragment; the *Leechbook* and *Lacununga*.

In a study roughly contemporary to Vleeskruyer’s edition, A. Campbell, in his *Grammar*, describes a far more limited corpus of Mercian texts:⁵⁰ some charters, the interlinear glosses on the *Vespasian Psalter* and the *Rushworth Gospels*; *Corpus Glossary*, the *Épinal Glossary*, and the *Erfurt Glossary*; *Leiden Glossary*; glosses on the *Blickling Psalter*, the *Lorica Glosses* and the *Lorica Prayer*; *Royal Glosses*; and some elements of the *Life of St Chad*.⁵¹ The rationale behind Campbell’s dialectal classification is that the Mercian dialect and its texts are identified by an agreement of the sources.⁵²

While a number of the texts that Vleeskruyer identifies as Mercian are classified as early West Saxon by Campbell, the dialectal distinctions upon which their two approaches rest is not as rigid as the different lists might at first suggest. Of the early West Saxon texts, Campbell notes that they ‘exhibit forms proper to the spelling systems of other dialects ... many spellings are found which reflect non–West Saxon phonological forms’.⁵³ The texts that Campbell ultimately determines to be early West Saxon, include the OE Bede (especially MS T), Gregory’s *Dialogues*, OE version of Boethius’ *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (OE Boethius), the Blickling Homilies, and the D version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

⁵⁰ Campbell also states that these ‘represent in many respects highly divergent dialects. The former (*Vespasian Psalter*) belongs to the mid-ninth, and the latter (*Rushworth Gospels*) to the tenth century’, see Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §11, 7. Hogg agrees with Campbell’s designation of the Mercian corpus, see Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English. Volume 1: Phonology*, §1.8.

⁵¹ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 5–6; §11–13, 7–8.

⁵² For his full discussion of the Mercian dialect, see Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 5–8.

⁵³ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §17, 9.

However, he acknowledges that a number of these texts have a considerable number of non–West Saxon elements in orthography and inflections.

The corpus suggested by Vleeskruyer has been extensively criticised, first by Campbell in his review of Vleeskruyer’s edition of the *Life*, and more recently by Bately, who questions the existence of what she terms a ‘literary prose’ tradition prior to the ninth century.⁵⁴ In her influential essay, Bately handles both matters of dialect and date together, arguing against the existence of a Mercian corpus of ‘literary’ texts before 900 and that there was no prose tradition before Alfred’s time.⁵⁵ Setting aside the issue of dates, Bately accepts the OE Bede, the *Dialogues*, and the *Martyrology* as being Mercian, and provides the following list of texts (following Bately’s divisions) for which arguments have been advanced for composition in an Anglian dialect prior to 900 in previous scholarship: (i) the ‘Mercian’ *Apocalypse of Thomas*, *Letter from Alexander to Aristotle*, the *Life of St Chad*, *St Guthlac*, *The Wonders of the East*, and the *St Christopher* homily; (ii) *Lacunuga*; (iii) Bald’s *Leechbook*; (iv) *Medicina de quadrupedibus*, the Omont medical fragment, and, possibly, the *Herbarium Apuleii*; and a group of homilies—the Blickling collection, certain items in the Vercelli Book, and a number of separate items (Napier XL and *Life of St Malchus* in Assmann XVIII).⁵⁶ The medical works are incompatible with Bately’s notion of a ‘literary’ corpus. While she acknowledges that they have been used as support for the existence of a Mercian prose tradition before the tenth century, she questions the validity of this for dating ‘literary prose’.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Bately, ‘Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred’.

⁵⁵ Bately, ‘Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred’, 99–100. For relative dating of OE texts, see below in Chapter 3, 97, and Appendix D, 301.

⁵⁶ List is grouped as laid out in Bately’s essay. Bately, ‘Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred’, 99–100.

⁵⁷ Bately, ‘Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred’, 101.

In her important essay on early Mercian text production, Rauer assesses the arguments of both Vleeskruyer and Bately.⁵⁸ Rauer argues that Vleeskruyer's corpus has been unfairly characterised as a misrepresentation of surviving Mercian literary texts, since his corpus actually included all textual production—prose, poetry, literary, non-literary writings, glosses and glossaries, and charters—whereas, comparatively, Bately defines 'prose' more narrowly.⁵⁹ Rauer argues for the existence of a long Mercian literary prose tradition, defending Vleeskruyer's corpus as 'broadly right' when compared to Franz Wenisch's later survey.⁶⁰ When discussing the literary and historical context of the OE *Martyrology*, Rauer points to the Vespasian Psalter gloss, the glosses to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the *Life of St Chad*, and the Corpus Glossary as part of the ninth-century Mercian prose tradition.⁶¹

The framing of the issue is key to some elements of these conflicting views. While Bately talks about 'literary' prose, Rauer, following Vleeskruyer, is interested in textual production more broadly, not restricted by the more evaluative category of 'literary' prose. Bately's idea of 'literary prose' is limited to extended prose texts with discursive narration, such as the OE translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* or Werferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*. However, Rauer employs an idea of 'literary' production as a broad concept incorporating all genres of written texts in which OE forms coherent syntactic units, including glossaries.⁶² These claims for earlier, pre-Alfredian Mercian literary production align with a political moment when the kingdom of Mercia was dominant in Britain across

⁵⁸ Rauer, 'Early Mercian Text Production', 541–58.

⁵⁹ Rauer, 'Early Mercian Text Production', 549.

⁶⁰ Rauer, 'Early Mercian Text Production', 549.

⁶¹ *The Old English Martyrology: Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, ed. Rauer, Anglo-Saxon Texts 10 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 12.

⁶² Rauer, 'Early Mercian Text Production'.

much of the eighth century, but was in decline after the first decades of the ninth century.⁶³ There is evidence of Latin literary production in eighth-century Mercia, but Jane Roberts points out that the *Vita sancti Guthlaci*, written by the monk Felix (probably in East Anglia), is the only hagiographical writing that has been firmly dated to Mercia in the mid-eighth century.⁶⁴ Roberts considers the *Vita sancti Guthlaci* as the first main phase of hagiographical writing in Mercia, the second being the Mercian vernacular productions of the late ninth century, along with the translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* by Werferth, bishop of Worcester, and the OE translation of Bede's history.⁶⁵

Rauer provides a preliminary survey of four patterns that could define the features of a Mercian corpus of texts:⁶⁶

- 1) glosses and glossaries that are evidence of a Southumbrian tradition of gloss production and usage
- 2) a literal translation style arising from the tradition of gloss production and usage
- 3) production of vernacular hagiography
- 4) a possible grouping of texts related to production centres.⁶⁷

Among the examples Rauer provides as being part of this so-conceived Mercian corpus include:

⁶³ Brown and Farr, 'Introduction: Mercia, a Culture in Context'.

⁶⁴ Jane Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature: The Case of Guthlac of Crowland', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. Michelle Brown Brown, Curator of the Manuscripts Collection Michelle P and Carol A Farr (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005), 69–86 (69–70).

⁶⁵ Roberts speculates that the ninth-century productions could have been in response to Alfred's reforms, but does not claim they were Alfredian in origin, see Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature', 76–7.

⁶⁶ Rauer, 'Early Mercian Text Production', 552–3. Rauer is currently working on a list of texts of early Mercian literature, and so far offers a bibliography, available at <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~cr30/Mercian/index.htm>.

⁶⁷ Rauer, 'Early Mercian Text Production', 552–3.

- glosses: Epinal Glossary (seventh century), Glosses on the Blickling Psalter (eighth century), the Corpus Glossary (early ninth century), the Vespasian Psalter interlinear glosses (ninth century)
- prose: OE translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, OE *Martyrology*, OE translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, the *Life of St Chad*.⁶⁸

Rauer argues that early Mercian literary production was 'fairly extensive' and that the texts within the corpus cover several literary genres.⁶⁹

A resolution of the debate about which texts might be properly identified as Mercian lies beyond the scope of this thesis. Whatever the status of the Mercian corpus, it is generally agreed that a group of texts used in my study for the purposes of comparison are Mercian prose texts, and that these date from c. 900 or earlier. These are the OE Bede, the OE *Martyrology* and the OE version of Gregory's *Dialogues*.⁷⁰ A further group of texts in early West Saxon that, at times, exhibit Mercian features will also serve for comparison in my study of the *Life*'s vocabulary. Some of these are traditionally attributed to King Alfred, and

⁶⁸ Including the dates Rauer assigns to the glosses in her list. See Rauer, 'Early Mercian Text Production', 552–3.

⁶⁹ Rauer, 'Early Mercian Text Production', 553.

⁷⁰ See Rauer, 'Early Mercian Text Production'; *The Old English Martyrology*, ed. Rauer; Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred'; Boethius, *The Old English Boethius: With Verse Prologues and Epilogues Associated with King Alfred*, ed. Susan Irvine and Malcolm Godden, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 19 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2012); Gregory the Great, *Bischof Waerferths von Worcester Uebersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. Hans Hecht, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* 5 (Leipzig and Hamburg: G. H. Wingand, 1900); Bede, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Thomas Miller, *Early English Text Society*, 4 vols, *Original Series* 95, 96, 110, 111 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890–98); *Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation*, ed. Richard J. Kelly (London: Bloomsbury, 2003); *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. Richard Morris, 3 vol, *Original Series* 58, 63, 73 (London: N. Trübner, 1874, 1876, 1880; repr. in 1 vol Oxford University Press, 1967); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. D, ed. G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996); Greg Waite, 'The Old English Bede and the Glosses in the Tiberius Bede', *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30, no. 1 (2013): 1–49; Greg Waite, 'The Preface to the Old English Bede: Authorship, Transmission, and Connection with the West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List', *Anglo-Saxon England* 44 (for 2015 2016): 31–93; Greg Waite, 'Translation Style, Lexical Systems, Dialect Vocabulary, and the Manuscript Transmission of the Old English Bede', *Medium Ævum* 83, no. 1 (2014): 1–48.

while these attributions are disputed, all are reliably dated before c. 950: the OE *Pastoral Care*, the OE *Boethius*, the OE *Orosius*, and the OE *Soliloquies*.⁷¹ These early West Saxon texts are discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

Conclusion

The fact that the *Life* was written in the Mercian dialect contributes in no way to the probability that this text might be dated to the early period of OE prose. However, there is no feature among the Mercian features of the *Life* that is incompatible with such a date. Indeed, some aspects of spelling in the *Life* lean more towards an early date than a later one. Bately's corrections of Vleeskruyer's assumptions about the dating evidence offered by orthography (which overlaps with some of my discussion in Chapter 1), shows a strong alignment of certain spellings in the *Life* with those found in early to mid-tenth century manuscripts. As will be seen in Chapter 3, the hypothesis that the *Life* can be dated with reliable probability to the early to mid-tenth century is matched by the evidence of significant items of vocabulary in the *Life*.

⁷¹ David F. Johnson uses the term 'Alfredian Apocrypha'. He argues that the OE translations of Gregory's *Dialogues* and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* can be considered Alfredian Apocrypha in their similarities and how they were received and used in Alfred's time and since then. For my thesis I separately consider them as Mercian prose, because of my interest in dialect, but I accept Johnson's positioning of them as being received in a similar manner.

Chapter 3. Vocabulary

This chapter presents a comprehensive review of the vocabulary evidence used for dating the *Life of St Chad*, and also includes analysis of significant syntactical evidence. Lexical evidence has been crucial for arguments in the dating debate that began with Vleeskruyer’s list of ‘dialectal, rare, or archaic’ vocabulary. As already noted, a number of scholars have engaged in this debate.¹ Vleeskruyer’s approach to the evidence—particularly his treatment of the terms ‘dialectal’ (Mercian), ‘rare’, and ‘archaic’ as interchangeable—is agreed to be unsound, leading to questions about the reliability of any of his conclusions.² However, while Vleeskruyer’s methodology and approach to the evidence (and concomitant assumptions and arguments) is unreliable, it does not follow that the evidence itself is necessarily unreliable. In this chapter I return to first principles, closely examining a number of significant vocabulary items found in the *Life of St Chad* that provide evidence for the text’s probable date. I do not share Vleeskruyer’s untenable assumption that Mercian or rare vocabulary items necessarily demonstrate the text’s early date. However, there is clear evidence that a large number of items indicate the probability of an early date for the *Life*, whether these are Mercian or common OE, and so shared with early West Saxon.

As discussed in the outline of my methodology in Chapter 1, I gather data from the DOEC and the DOE to establish evidence that a vocabulary item from the *Life* is found either only in early OE texts, or predominantly in early texts, and is therefore either compatible with

¹ *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, ed. Rudolf Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1953), 25–34. Crawford (Roberts) provides a similar list of Anglian vocabulary items in her thesis, which mostly relies on Vleeskruyer and his predecessors’ work. See Jane Crawford, ‘Guthlac: An Edition of the Old English Prose Life Together with the Poems in the Exeter Book’ (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1967), 193–206.

² Jane Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988): 93–138.

or indicative of early usage. The starting point for my study of the lexical evidence is Vleeskruyer’s word lists: he arranged early, Mercian, and poetic vocabulary together, and created a separate list for ‘Words previously identified as West Saxon’.³ Vleeskruyer also compiled a list of vocabulary items from the *Life* for the purpose of comparison with the OE Bede. Vleeskruyer’s list of words ‘previously identified as West Saxon’ does not offer any dating evidence, but rather is compiled to bolster his argument that the text is in the Mercian dialect. The list provides a useful starting point for this investigation focused on date rather than dialect, and more open to the possibility that such terms were common OE, and not exclusive to either the West Saxon or Mercian dialects. Some words Vleeskruyer deemed Mercian and/or early are not both or either, while some are indicative of early usage whether they were Mercian or not; other elements of vocabulary also point to early usage. Since the publication of Vleeskruyer’s edition, some additional lexical evidence related to the date of the *Life* has been assembled by Bately, who questions Vleeskruyer’s dating of the text to the ninth century.⁴ Bately’s evidence and careful dissection of Vleeskruyer’s arguments form a complementary and important basis for this study.

Relative Dates of Old English Texts

As a first step towards using an analysis of lexical frequency and distribution across a corpus as a means of dating an anonymously authored OE text like the *Life of St Chad*, it is necessary to establish a reliably dated group of texts for comparison. These texts are needed

³ *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, ed. Rudolf Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1953), 36–7.

⁴ Not all of Vleeskruyer’s items have been included, either because the high number of occurrences places such analysis beyond the scope of this project, or because even a cursory examination of the data reveals that the words have no significance for dating, or both. These terms include *leornian*; *tid*; *axian*; *andwyrðan*; *gefeon*; *heahfæder*; *herenes*; *herung/hering*; *gecigan*; *neosian*; *slaw*; *þyslic*; *bled*; *ymbhydig*.

both to establish a relative chronology and to provide comparative evidence.⁵ As a practical framework for my analysis, I have categorised the texts in which vocabulary items appear by genre and prose, which is further divided by date: poetry, early prose (before c. 950), late prose (c. 950 and later), anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, and glosses and Mercian glosses.⁶ In addition, a few items are classified as indeterminate. In my approach to dating, I follow the conservative framework outlined by Bately in her important study of early OE prose, apart from some exceptions, which I note.⁷

The fixed points of ‘early’ in OE prose are the texts that are agreed to date from the reign of Alfred the Great (871–899). Significant among these is the translation into Mercian dialect of the mid-880s of the *Dialogi* of Pope Gregory the Great by Bishop Werferth of Worcester at the behest of Alfred,⁸ and the OE translation of Gregory’s *Cura Pastoralis*, datable to the early 890s, into early West Saxon, though this text includes some Mercian dialect features.⁹ The Alfredian *Chronicle* and Orosius are also datable to this same period.¹⁰

⁵ For a full outline of my methodology, see introduction, 11.

⁶ The determination of Mercian glosses follows Vleeskruyer’s survey of the corpus, as his assessment of dialectology is sound, particularly for the glosses.

⁷ Jane Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988): 94–100, 132–8.

⁸ Gregory the Great, *Bischof Waerferths von Worcester Uebersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. Hans Hecht, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 5 (Leipzig and Hamburg: G. H. Wingand, 1900). See also P. N. U Harting, ‘The Text of the Old English Translation of Gregory’s Dialogues’, *Neophilologus* 22, no. 1 (1937): 281–302. On Werferth’s translation and problems with Latin, see M. Godden, ‘Wærferth and King Alfred: The Fate of the Old English Dialogues’, in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. Roberts, J. L. Nelson and M. Godden (Woodbridge, 1997), 35–51.

⁹ Gregory the Great, *King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care*, ed. Henry Sweet, 2 vols, Early English Text Society, Original Series 45, 50 (London: N. Trübner, 1871). For a comprehensive study of the language of the *Pastoral Care* and its early and non–West Saxon features, see Carolin Schreiber, *King Alfred’s Old English Translation of Pope Gregory the Great’s ‘Regula Pastoralis’ and Its Cultural Context: A Study and Partial Edition According to All Surviving Manuscripts Based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 12* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2003), 83–136.

¹⁰ Malcolm Godden, ‘The Old English Orosius and Its Sources’, *Anglia*, 129, no. 3–4 (2011): 297–320 (297), dates to early tenth century, even as late as 930; Paulus Orosius, *The Old English Orosius*, ed. Janet Bately, Early English Text Society Supplementary Series 6 (London, New York: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1980); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. A, ed. J. M. Bately (Boydell & Brewer, 1986), cxxvii–clxiv.

Despite the confident assertions of Bately that other texts attributed to Alfred, namely the OE version of Boethius’ *De consolazione philosophiae* and the OE version of Augustine of Hippo’s *Soliloquies*, are of the 890s, recent arguments have suggested that they may date from the first decades of the tenth century.¹¹ Also agreed to be ‘early’ are the OE translations of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*, dated to the end of the ninth century by Greg Waite, and the OE *Martyrology*, which Rauer dates to a similar moment.¹² The prose corpus of later Anglo-Saxon England is dominated by the works of Ælfric and Wulfstan, but also includes many anonymous works. The corpus of anonymous homilies and saints’ lives is largely undated, though some texts are supposed, rather than proven, to be early.¹³ OE glosses can preserve archaic terms in late texts, and generally present ambivalent comparative evidence for dating texts, so that the presence of any given term in a late gloss cannot establish its late currency. I treat a small group of further texts as having ‘indeterminate’ date.

Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, such as the *Life* itself, are often difficult to date. While the *Life* presents a range of lexical evidence that holds out the possibility of determining a likely date, the great majority of anonymous homilies and saints’ lives present a very inconclusive picture, with some notable exceptions such as the lives of *St Mary of Egypt* and *St Pantaleon* (which are discussed further below). In the statistical analysis that

¹¹ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’; Boethius, *The Old English Boethius: With Verse Prologues and Epilogues Associated with King Alfred*, ed. Susan Irvine and Malcolm Godden, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 19 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2012). See also Malcolm Godden, ‘Did King Alfred Write Anything?’, *Medium Ævum*, 76 (2007): 1–23.

¹² Bede, *The Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Thomas Miller, *Early English Text Society*, 4 vols, Original Series 95, 96, 110, 111 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890–98); Gregory Waite, ‘The Vocabulary of the Old English Version of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*’ (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1986); Greg Waite, ‘Translation Style, Lexical Systems, Dialect Vocabulary, and the Manuscript Transmission of the Old English Bede’, *Medium Aevum* 83 (2014): 1–48 (2–3); *The Old English Martyrology: Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, ed. Christine Rauer, *Anglo-Saxon Texts* 10 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 2–3. See also R. J. S. Grant, *The B Text of the Old English Bede: A Linguistic Commentary* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989).

¹³ See Donald G. Scragg, ‘The Corpus of Anonymous Old English Homilies’, in *The Anonymous Old English Homily: Sources, Composition, and Variation*, ed. Susan Irvine and Winfried Rudolf (Leiden, 2021), 16–35 (22).

follows, most anonymous homilies and saints' lives fall into the group of texts having 'indeterminate' date; the *Life of St Chad* is treated as an undated text in the handling of the data in this chapter.¹⁴ I also include laws and charters as either early or late according to their dates, though their formulaic character at times requires a nuancing of results that include legal texts.

Vocabulary Evidence

In the collection and discussion of lexical data in this chapter I set aside the characterisation of words as either 'early' or 'archaic'. This way of characterising terms can be misleading. The conjunction *ond/and* in OE is found across the earliest OE texts, and in this sense is undoubtedly 'early'. But the presence of *ond/and*, and many comparable terms of neutral value for dating, tells us nothing about the date of a text. Similarly, 'archaic' terms, more frequent in early texts, can also appear occasionally in later ones. Therefore, my approach uses a mathematical model borrowed from medical science that focuses on the patterns of datable occurrences of key terms as a way of determining whether a text in which they are found is likely to be early. I treat the occurrence of certain key words as diagnostic tools to ask the question: in what way does the presence of this word in a text indicate the likelihood that the text itself is early? From this perspective, the evidence of the pattern of incidence across the corpus can be regarded as a meaningful, and indeed reliable, indicator.

Each of the significant diagnostic words, drawing from and building on the sets established by Vleeskruyer and Bately, is categorised according to the likelihood that its

¹⁴ For the full list of texts sorted into their relative chronology, see Appendix D, 302.

presence is an indicator of an early date for the text. The categories are arranged from highest to lowest likelihood. My approach distinguishes three categories of evidence:

I. DOEC Lexis Data

Simple lexical data from the DOEC, in which the occurrence of the word alone is a possible indicator for dating.

II. DOEC Usage, Spelling, Grammar, and Meaning

Data from the DOEC, in which the particular usage, grammar, and meaning of a word is a possible indicator for the date of the text.

III. DOE Usage, Spelling

Data primarily sourced from the DOE, partially supplemented with DOEC data, on the occurrence of a particular usage of a word (meaning or grammatical function), which is a possible indicator for dating.

Because the statistical weight of evidence varies according to the size of the sample, the words of interest that I study in this chapter are grouped according to their frequency in the corpus:

1. Highly Frequent (over 100 occurrences)
2. Frequent (50–100 occurrences)
3. Infrequent (10–50 occurrences)
4. Rare (10 or fewer occurrences).

These groupings provide a context for the next level calculation, which I have called the 'likelihood categories':

A. Almost Certain¹⁵

This indicates a class of words that are almost certainly restricted to datable early prose and are almost certainly not used in datable late prose at all.¹⁶ I have been highly cautious in classifying words as ‘almost certain’. Therefore, only one word is included in this category.

B. Highly Likely¹⁷

Words included in Category B are much more likely to occur in datable early prose rather than late prose. Words in this category have both a very high positive likelihood ratio and a comparatively much smaller negative likelihood ratio.

C. Likely¹⁸

Category C words are more likely to occur in datable early prose than late prose, but have a less significant positive vs negative likelihood ratio than those of Category B. That is, compared to Category B words, Category C words have a lower likelihood of occurring in early prose.

D. Not Indicative¹⁹

The ‘not indicative’ words of Category D include a range of words that do not provide useful diagnostic data on the likelihood of their occurrence in datable

¹⁵ Category i. words in A. Almost Certain: none. Highly Frequent: none. Frequent: none. Infrequent: *Medmicle* (*adv.*). Rare: none. Category ii. words in A. Almost Certain: none. Highly Likely: (*Hibernia*) *scotta ealond*.

¹⁶ ‘Almost’ is a qualifier; it is used because we cannot have complete certainty, only what is most probable or likely.

¹⁷ Category i. words in B. Highly Likely: Highly Frequent: *medmicel* (*adj.*); *ymsellan*; *nymðe*, *nimþe*, *nemþe*; *stræl* [*strel*], *stræle*. Frequent: *forþfor*, *Hleoprian*, *geara*. Infrequent: *Gefeolan*, *Rihtgeleafful*. Rare: *edniwunga*, *edniwunga* [*edneowunga*], *þearfednes* [*þearfednis*], *tulge*, *tylg*, *tylgest* [*tylig*]. Category iii. words in B. Highly Likely: *ateon* (*ateon of lichaman / þissum life / þissum leohte*) [*lichama ateogene weron*; *Heahbiscop*] [*hehbiscop*]; *in* (*prep.*); *hwæt-hwega*, *hwæt-hwugu*, *hwæt-hwoegnu* [*hwæthugu*] (*pron.*).

¹⁸ Category i. words in C. Likely: Highly Frequent: *Carcern*. Infrequent: *Byldu*, *Adesa* [*eaduse*], *miþan* [*miðan*]. Rare: *orleahter*, *bifiendlic* [*Beofugendlican*]. Category ii. words in C. Likely: *nymðe*, *nimþe*, *nemþe* [*nymþe*].

¹⁹ Category i. words in D. Not Indicative: Highly Frequent: *recene*, *ricene*; *Neos(i)an*; *Gefea*. Frequent: *smyltnes*, *gebedhus*. Infrequent: *endedæg* [*endedeg*], *bregan*. Rare: *grornian*; *Ymbhygdiglice* [*ymbhydelice*]. Category ii. words in D. Not Indicative: *lindesfarena*; *gelimplic* [*gelumpenlic*]; *Mid ðy þe* (*intrs. Of time*) and variations: *mitte*, *mittes*; *gecignes* [*gecignis*].

early or late texts. Mostly these are words that have a statistically insignificant positive vs negative likelihood ratio, and a positive likelihood ratio of less than two. Notably, none of these words are more likely to occur in late prose than early prose; at most, they are just as likely to occur across all datable prose, indicating that they were words common across the OE period, and thus have neutral value and little significance for dating.

These groups have also been determined according to numerical criteria, which are based on the application of the statistical modelling described below. Within each group, the words are ordered from the highest to lowest likelihood ratio value.

Likelihood Ratio

The basis of probabilistic reasoning is, as discussed above, the logic of probability.

Probability, in common usage, is the chance of a particular event occurring. In mathematics, it is the 'logic of uncertainty' and is concerned with the number of possible outcomes for an event or set of events.²⁰ Likelihood is related to probability. It is the hypothetical probability that an event that has already occurred would have a specific outcome. Within the framework of probabilistic reasoning for using linguistic data to date OE texts, the past 'event' is the lexical data within the DOEC. That is, we know that these words have occurred in their respective texts. For dating purposes, we are interested in the likelihood of a certain word occurring in an identifiable 'early' or 'late' text.

To aid in determining how likely it would be for a lexical item to occur in an early or late text, I have employed a statistical method of likelihood ratios. The calculations I have

²⁰ George G. Roussas, *An Introduction to Probability and Statistical Inference* (Saint Louis: Elsevier Science & Technology, 2014); Joseph K. Blitzstein and Jessica Hwang, *Introduction to Probability: Texts in Statistical Science* (CRC Press, 2015).

employed are borrowed from medical testing, where likelihood ratios are used to interpret diagnostic tests.²¹ Similarly, I use the likelihood ratio to interpret the diagnostic data of the distribution and frequency of a word across the corpus. For each word, I present both the positive likelihood ratio and the negative likelihood ratio and compare the two. The positive likelihood ratio is the expression of how likely it is that a word occurred in early prose rather than late prose, while the negative likelihood ratio expresses the opposite—how likely it is that a word occurred in late prose rather than early prose. Comparing positive and negative likelihood ratios highlights which is more likely, thereby illustrating the diagnostic value of the process as a word dating tool. Box 1 shows formulae used to calculate the likelihood ratios.

Box 1: Formula for Calculating Likelihood Ratios

Positive likelihood ratio of a lexical item occurring in an early text

$$LR^+ (\text{likelihood ratio, positive}) = \frac{\text{probability of occurrence in early prose}}{\text{probability of occurrence in late prose}}$$

$$LR^+ = \frac{\text{occurrences in early prose/total occurrences}}{\text{occurrences in late/total occurrences}} = \frac{\text{decimal approximation}}{\text{decimal approximation}} = \text{result}$$

Negative likelihood ratio = likelihood of lexical item occurring in a late text

$$LR^- (\text{Likelihood ratio, negative}) = \frac{\text{probability of occurrence in late prose}}{\text{probability of occurrence in early prose}}$$

$$LR^- = \frac{\text{occurrences in early prose/total occurrences}}{\text{occurrences in late/total occurrences}} = \frac{\text{decimal approximation}}{\text{decimal approximation}} = \text{result}$$

In the following discussion of the vocabulary evidence, the numbers given as positive and negative likelihood ratios are calculated according to these formulae. In terms of

²¹ S. McGee, *Simplifying Likelihood Ratios*, *J Gen Intern Med* 17, no. 8(August 2002): 647–50; P. Sloane, *Essentials of Family Medicine* (Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2008).

interpreting the numerical data, a high positive likelihood ratio number means that it is highly likely for a word to occur in early prose rather than late prose.²² Comparatively, a low negative likelihood ratio number means that it is less likely for a word to occur in late prose than in early prose. The words classified as 'not indicative' reflect cases in which there is only a slight difference in likelihood ratio, meaning that it is not statistically significant.

Data Limitations

Certain limitations are encountered in the use of these data. For example, corpus search results do not necessarily include every occurrence of a word. However, this problem is proportionately greater the more frequently a word occurs, which, in statistical terms, means that the problem usually cancels itself out. In terms of probability and probabilistic reasoning across a large number of terms, the problem recedes further as long as (proportionally) the great majority of occurrences have been accounted for. The same statistical fact also obviates the potential problem inherent in the fact that the ratios can be calculated using only occurrences in datable texts.

There is also a potential problem when analysing infrequent or rare words. Some of the words studied have very few occurrences; in the rarest examples, the occurrences are all early. Bately raised concerns about Vleeskruyer's treatment of such words and his characterisation of them as 'archaic'; in her view, the small sample makes such conclusions tenuous. A holistic statistical approach, I hope, goes some way towards addressing this problem. The question I ask is not 'are these words archaic?' but, rather, 'is a text in which these words occur more likely to be early?'

²² Comparing positive and negative likelihood ratios are used in medicine for diagnostic purposes to determine the likelihood of the incidence of a disease in a patient.

As the sample of such words increases, so does the likelihood that the *Life of St Chad* is early. This date must also be interpreted in light of the fact that the *Life* contains no words that indicate an almost certain late date—for example, those that might show the impact of Norse or French vocabulary. There is no category of rare words all found in late texts to counter the evidence of the small samples of early rare words. Similarly, in the case of more frequently occurring words of interest, we often find a great preponderance of early uses. By contrast, there is no evidence of a preponderance of words that would create a statistical likelihood that the *Life* was a late tenth- or eleventh-century creation (such as terms of the Winchester vocabulary). Taken together, as will be seen, the results indicate a strong probability that the *Life* dates from before the second half of the tenth century.

Category I: DOEC Lexis Data

Highly Frequent Lexis

Words with over 100 occurrences.

A. *Almost Certain*

There are no occurrences of high-frequency words in this category.

B. *Highly Likely*

medmicel 'small, little' (adj.)

- 101 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: 17.3
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.06

If the adjective *medmicel* appears in a text, it is a strong indicator for an early date of that text.²³ It is 17.3 times more likely that *medmicel* will appear in early prose than that it will appear in late prose. Comparatively, the likelihood that it will appear in late prose is almost non-existent at only 0.06, and it only appears in three late texts: a version of the Benedictine Rule, the *Visions of Leofric*, and a charter. *Medmicel* occurs 52 times in early prose (51 per cent of all occurrences), and 38 of these occurrences—the vast majority—are in the OE Bede, with further occurrences in the *Dialogues*, Bald’s *Leechbook*, and singular occurrences in both the OE *Martyrology* and the *Life of St Guthlac*. Given the frequency and distribution of the word, it is likely that *medmicel* is an Anglian (Mercian) word. This also explains at least one of the late occurrences, given the Mercian subject matter of the *Vision of Leofric*. Overall, *medmicel* is solid contributory evidence for the probability of an early date for the *Life of St Chad*.

ymsellan ‘surround, enclose’ (vb. wk. 1)

- 147 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: 10.3
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.10

Of c. 147 occurrences, *ymsellan* occurs mostly in glosses: 103 of the DOE results are in glosses that do not offer evidence for dating.²⁴ The majority of occurrences in datable prose are among early texts, both early glosses, and Gregory’s *Dialogues* and OE Bede, alongside an appearance in the *Life of St Guthlac*. It is likely that *ymsellan* is Anglian in

²³ Both the adjective *medmicel* and the adverb *medmicle* appear in *The Life of St Chad*; *medmicle* is discussed below on 120–1.

²⁴ Note that the full data for all the vocabulary evidence discussed is appended in Appendix E, 317. As such, I will not add a reference to the DOEC or DOE for every citation of a word.

origin, as suggested by its occurrence in the Northumbrian *Durham Ritual* gloss. Within the set of datable texts, there is a preponderance of occurrences in early texts, and it is 10.3 times more likely *ymsellan* will be found in an early text than a late one. The two exceptions to this pattern are occurrences in two early eleventh-century saints’ lives—a single occurrence in *St Mary of Egypt* (c. 1000, or perhaps slightly earlier) and two in *St Pantaleon* (probably early eleventh-century).²⁵ It is possible that by the later period the term had crossed over the late West Saxon. As contributing evidence to an argument resting on probabilistic reasoning, it is also possible to say that a text containing the verb *ymsellan* is far more likely to be early than late.

frignan [*fregnan*] ‘ask’ (vb., st. 3)

- 175 DOEC matches²⁶
- positive likelihood ratio: 8.6
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.12

The presence of *frignan* in the *Life* is an indicator of the text likely being early and Mercian.²⁷ It is 8.6 times more likely that a work containing *frignan* will be early. By contrast, the word is 0.12 times more likely to be in late prose. The majority of appearances

²⁵ The *Life of St Mary of Egypt* could date from as early as the second half of the tenth century, or any time up to the early eleventh. Its dialect is mostly late West Saxon, with an Anglian vocabulary component. For full discussion see Magennis’s introduction in *The Old English Life of Saint Mary of Egypt*, ed. Hugh Magennis (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), 14–15, 35, 40–3.

²⁶ DOE count c. 200.

²⁷ Vleeskruyer commented on the presence of *fregnan/frignan* when compared to *axian*, *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 27–8. According to the DOE count, *frignan* has c. 200 attestations, while *axian* is more frequent at c. 700. In comparison, *axian* has fewer occurrences in poetry, while it also occurs in Gregory’s *Dialogues* and the OE Bede; *axian* also appears very frequently in Ælfric’s works, who does not use *frignan*. ‘*Āxian*’, and ‘*frignan*’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*, ed. Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2018).

of *frignan* are in early prose, at 46 per cent of total occurrences counted. Twenty-one per cent of occurrences are in poetry. Of the distribution across early texts, it mostly occurs in the generally agreed upon group of early Mercian texts, with 15 occurrences in Gregory’s *Dialogues*, 30 in OE Bede, and four in OE *Martyrology*, as well as four occurrences in the *Life of St Guthlac*. Less prevalent are the attestations in early West Saxon (or mixed dialect) texts, with nine in *Alexander’s Letter*, three in OE Orosius, and two in OE Boethius.²⁸ There are 10 occurrences of *frignan* in datable late prose (6 per cent of occurrences), the majority of these—six occurrences—being in law codes, and another two in the works of Ælfric.²⁹

This analysis of the corpus distribution demonstrates that *frignan* is more likely to occur in Anglian texts and is also associated with early usage. As contributing evidence to an argument resting on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing the verb *frignan* is far more likely to be early than late.

nymðe, nimþe, nemþe [nymþðe] ‘unless, except’ (conj.)

- 183 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: 4.2
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.24

The conjunction *nymðe* occurs highly frequently in the corpus.³⁰ Half of the occurrences are in glosses (51 per cent), and the next highest concentration is in poetry (24 per cent). In datable prose, it occurs more frequently in early prose (12 per cent) than late

²⁸ The other early prose occurrences are in some early laws.

²⁹ The remaining occurrences are: 1 in ChronF (Baker), 1 in ApT and 1 in Exod (Ker).

³⁰ *Nymþðe* occurs in the *Life* in the sentence ‘Nes nefre in his muðe nymþðe crist nymþðe mildheortnis’, line 285. This syntactical construct with the double use of *nymþðe* as a preposition (except) is unique to the *Life*.

prose (3 per cent), making it 4.2 times more likely to occur in early prose than late. The early prose occurrences are in both literary prose, mostly in Gregory’s *Dialogues* and once in *Alexander’s Letter*, and in early charters and early glosses. Notably, none of the late occurrences are in Ælfric or Wulfstan; of five occurrences, three are in charters and two are in the *Confessionale pseudo-Egberti*. This distribution strongly suggests that its use in the *Life of St Chad* is evidence of the text being early. In an argument built on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing the term *nymðe* is much more likely to be early than late.

stræl [strel], *stræle* ‘arrow’ (noun, m.; f.)

- 153 occurrences
- positive likelihood ratio: –³¹
- negative likelihood ratio: 0

Across the corpus there are c. 153 occurrences of *stræl*, the majority being in glosses (41 per cent). The next highest concentration is in early prose (31 per cent). While Vleeskruyer assumes that *stræl* is ‘characteristic of pre-Christian poetry’, it occurs comparatively less frequently in poetry (13 per cent).³² He also supposed that it was preferred in Anglian dialectal texts, while *flan* was preferred in West Saxon; on the other hand, Bately cogently argues that *stræle* is not necessarily evidence for an early date of the text, since it

³¹ Positive ratio likelihood cannot be calculated because it is not possible to divide by zero.

³² *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 33; Karl Wildhagen, ‘Über die in ‘Eadwine’s Canterbury psalter’ (Trinity College Cambridge) enthaltene altenglische Psalter-Interlinearversion’ (PhD thesis, Universität Göttingen, 1903), 188; Richard Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des englischen Wortschatzes: eine wortgeographische Untersuchung mit etymologischen Anmerkungen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1906), 75.

appears in the Middle English period.³³ The Middle English Dictionary (MED) has an entry for *strel(e)*, with its origin in OE *stræl* and Mercian *strel*.³⁴ Though *stræl* survived into the Middle English period, there is no evidence of usage in the late OE period, which suggests that the word was possibly a dialectal or regional word, while its Middle English spelling points to a Mercian origin. Nevertheless, there is no evidence in the DOEC of *stræl* being used in late OE prose, despite the fact that it re-emerges in the Middle English period.

Bately’s caution in relation to this term must be heeded, even though the numbers suggest that the presence of *stræl* in an OE text is an indicator that it likely to be an early text.³⁵ It is safest to say only that, in the *Life of St Chad*, *stræl* is consistent with early, Mercian usage.

C. *Likely*

carcern ‘prison; figurative (of the body, of the soul)’ (noun, n.)

- 169 DOEC matches³⁶
- positive likelihood ratio: 4.1
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.25

According to the DOE, *carcern* has c. 175 occurrences in the corpus; however, a search conducted in the DOEC finds c. 169 occurrences. Regarding its distribution across the corpus, 31 per cent of *carcern*’s appearances are in early texts, with a likelihood ratio showing it is 4.1 times more likely to occur in early texts, compared to being only 0.25 times more likely to occur in late texts (8 per cent of all occurrences of *carcern*). The DOE entry

³³ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 33; Wildhagen, ‘Über die in ‘Eadwine’s Canterbury psalter’, 188; Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des englischen Wortschatzes*, 75; Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 110.

³⁴ ‘Strel(e)’, *Middle English Compendium*, online edition, ed. Frances McSparran, et al (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2000–2018), <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary>.

³⁵ It is possible, though impossible to establish, that the word was less familiar in later OE before its revival in the ME period.

³⁶ DOE cites c. 175 occurrences, ‘Carcern’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

notes that *carcern* is rarely used in late West Saxon texts, and that for late West Saxon usage *cweartern* is more common. To a limited extent, this supports Vleeskruyer’s suggestion that *carcern* was obsolete in late West Saxon, though Vleeskruyer overstates his case, given that there are some, though far fewer, occurrences in late texts.³⁷ The early occurrences are spread among the early glosses, some early laws, and literary prose: the term occurs in the Mercian OE *Martyrology* and *Dialogues*, as well as in early West Saxon texts of the *Pastoral Care*, OE Boethius, and the *Soliloquies*. Three texts exhibit late prose occurrences: it occurs twice in *St Pantaleon*, seven times in the mid–twelfth century *Passion of St Margaret* (CCC 303), and four times in *Theodulf of Orleans* (CCC MS 201). In her criticism of Vleeskruyer’s approach to dating the text, Treharne points to the appearance of *carcern* in *St Margaret*.³⁸ However, the status of this outlier is difficult to determine, given the complex relationship between the translator’s usage and earlier OE texts.³⁹ Overall, the evidence suggests that *carcern* is used primarily in early and/or Anglian texts. As contributing evidence to an argument resting on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing the noun *carcern* is more likely to be early than late.

D. Not Indicative

recene, ricene ‘quickly’ (adv.)

- 106 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: 1.7

³⁷ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 26; Robert Menner, ‘The Anglian Vocabulary of the Blickling Homilies’, *Philologica: the Malone Anniversary Studies*, ed. Thomas A Kirby and Henry Bosley Woolf (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1949), 56–64 (59).

³⁸ Elaine M. Treharne, *Living through Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 143.

³⁹ See Janet Bately, ‘On Some Aspects of the Vocabulary of the West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages: The Language of the Katherine Group’, in *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*, ed. Edward Donald Kennedy, Ronald Waldron, and Joseph S. Wittig (Wolfeboro, NH: D. S. Brewer, 1988), 67–77.

- negative likelihood ratio: 0.60

Ricene occurs with high frequency in poetry (58 per cent) and can be assigned with some safety to poetic vocabulary.⁴⁰ It occurs slightly more frequently in early prose (5 per cent) than late prose (3 per cent). Notably, all five of its occurrences in early prose are in the *Dialogues*, and of the three late prose occurrences, two are in Ælfric, and one in a version of the *Benedictine Rule*. A case could be made for *ricene* being an Anglian dialect word, given its appearance in the *Dialogues* and the Northumbrian Lindisfarne Gospels.⁴¹ As evidence for dating, it is certainly attested in a datable early prose text, which indicates it is consistent with early, Mercian usage. However, the presence of *ricene* in a text is not especially significant in determining the probability of its early or lateness either way. As will be discussed below, Ælfric, often uniquely among later writers, shares usage with apparently earlier, Mercian vocabulary.

neos(i)an [*neosan*] ‘seek, visit’ (vb. wk.)

- 113 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: 1.7
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.60

⁴⁰ It is listed in the *Sprachshatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*. ‘Recene, ricene, ricone, rycene’, in *Sprachshatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, ed. C. W. M. Grein, Ferdinand Holthausen and Johann Jakob Köhler (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1912), 548. For discussion of vocabulary in OE poetry and its lexical conservatism, and what that means for dating, see Dennis Cronan, ‘Poetic Words, Conservatism and the Dating of Old English Poetry’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 33 (2004): 23–50 (24–50); R. D. Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 24–50.

⁴¹ Vleeskruyer suggests that *ricene* ‘quickly’ is absent from early West Saxon and rare in late West Saxon, except for instances in Ælfric. He notes that the word is most current in Northumbrian, though there are Mercian examples and also appearances in poetry. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 32; Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des englischen Wortschatzes*, 87–9.

*Neos(i)an*⁴² is not a statistically significant indicator as to the likelihood of a text being early or late. While there is a higher likelihood that it will occur in early prose than late prose (1.7 times more likely rather than 0.60 times more likely), this is not a large margin and is exactly the same as for *ricene*. The highest number of occurrences of *neos(i)an* are outside relatively datable texts, with 41 per cent in glosses and 26 per cent in poetry. The overall corpus distribution points to *neos(i)an* being originally Mercian, which is occasionally borrowed into West Saxon. Nevertheless, 18 per cent of *neos(i)an*’s appearances are in early prose, notably primarily in Mercian dialect texts, and so its usage in the *Life of St Chad* is consistent with other early, Mercian occurrences. As contributing evidence to an argument resting on probabilistic reasoning, it is impossible to say whether a text containing the verb *neosian* is slightly more likely to be early.⁴³

gefea ‘joy’ (noun, m., wk.)

- 529 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: 1.4
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.74

The noun *gefea* ‘joy’ is highly frequent in the corpus. The DOE cites c. 600 occurrences—529 of which were found in the DOEC.⁴⁴ Given its very high frequency, *gefea*

⁴² The Bosworth-Toller dictionary lists *neosan* and *neosian* as two separate verbs, but they have been treated as one here because of their very close relation and question of a spelling variation or being a different word with the same meaning. ‘Neósan’ and ‘neósian’, see Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, ed. Thomas Northcote Toller, Christ Sean and Ondřej Tichy (Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2014).

⁴³ Vleeskruyer observes *neosian* (*neosan*) ‘to visit’ is very common in Gregory’s *Dialogues* and the OE Bede, though a related form also appears frequently in Ælfric’s works; it is not generally recorded in early (or transitional) West Saxon, except for the mid-tenth-century Benedictine Rule. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 32.

⁴⁴ ‘Gefea’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

appears across all genre categories in the corpus. A similar percentage of occurrences are spread across early (14 per cent) and late texts (10 per cent). The majority (38 per cent) of late occurrences are in Ælfric, with the remaining occurrences spread across miscellaneous prose. The early prose witnesses are a mixture of Alfredian and Mercian texts.

Vleeskruyer mistakenly thought *gefea* was more current in the Anglian dialect than West Saxon, and Crawford (Roberts) also notes this word as a probable indicator of the earliness of a text.⁴⁵ While the vocabulary distribution of *gefea* across the corpus indicates that it was used in early prose and is consistent with early, Mercian usage, as contributory evidence for an argument based on probabilistic reasoning, *gefea* is not a particularly indicative diagnostic word.

Frequent Lexis

Words occurring 50–100 times

A. *Almost Certain*

There are no occurrences in this category.

B. *Highly Likely*

forþfor [*forðfor*] ‘death’ (noun, f., cl. 2)

- 95 DOEC matches⁴⁶
- positive likelihood ratio: 15.4
- negative likelihood ratio 0.06

⁴⁵ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 28–9; Crawford, ‘Guthlac: An Edition’, 195.

⁴⁶ DOE count c. 100, ‘forþ-fōr’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

There is strong evidence that *forþfor* is much more likely to occur in early prose than late prose. Across the corpus, *forþfor* occurs most frequently in early prose (81 per cent of occurrences). In terms of likelihood, it is 15.4 times more likely to occur in early prose. Within early prose, *forþfor* occurs overwhelming in two early, Mercian texts: it occurs 29 times in Gregory’s *Dialogues* and 41 times in the OE Bede. There is also a single occurrence in the OE *Martyrology*. This distribution indicates the possibility that *forþfor* is an Anglian (Mercian) dialect word; indeed, there are also seven occurrences in the *Life of St Guthlac*. Conversely, there are five separate occurrences in late prose (5 per cent), making the likelihood of *forþfor* very low.⁴⁷ The appearances in late prose are not restricted to Mercian dialect texts, indicating that it was not unknown in later OE and West Saxon prose. Although not wholly restricted to early texts, as contributing evidence to my argument resting on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing the noun *forþfor* is far more likely to be early than late, as well as very likely to have been written in the Anglian (Mercian) dialect.

hleoprian ‘to make a sound; (of God) to thunder’ (vb., wk. 2)

- 96 DOEC matches⁴⁸
- positive likelihood ratio: 8
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.13

Close to half of the occurrences of *hleoprian* (48 per cent) occur in glosses that are not reliable dating material. Across datable prose, *hleoprian* is much more prevalent in early

⁴⁷ Late texts it occurs in are: *ÆHomM* 6 (Irv 1); *Lit* 4.5 (Muir); *Ch* 1406 (Rob 112); *ChronE* (Irvine); *LS* 23 (MaryofEgypt). For full data see Appendix E, and for expanded titles see Appendix D.

⁴⁸ DOE count c. 100, ‘hlēōþrian’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

prose (25 per cent of its occurrences) than late prose (3 per cent). Vleeskruyer considered *hleoprian* both poetic and Anglian.⁴⁹ The fact that 18 per cent of occurrences are in poetry and that all of the early prose occurrences are in Anglian (Mercian) texts provides clear support for the claim that *hleoprian* is an Anglian dialect word. The use of the verb in late prose by Byrhtferth, Ælfric, and Alcuin, may suggest a late impact of poetic vocabulary on prose writers, rather than dialectal currency. As evidence in an argument using probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a prose text containing the verb *hleoprian* is much more likely to be early than late.

C. *Likely*

geara ‘long ago, formerly’ (adv.)

- 57 DOEC matches⁵⁰
- positive likelihood ratio: 11
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.09

The DOE cites c. 80 occurrences of *geara*. Fifty-six of those occurrences were found in the corpus and analysed.⁵¹ *Geara* has long been considered a ‘poetic’ word; the DOE notes that it appears ‘disproportionately frequent in poetry’—37 per cent of the analysed occurrences are in poetry, and it is likely that the total proportion is higher.⁵² Outside of poetry, the highest frequency (39 per cent of occurrences) is in early prose; conversely, there are far fewer occurrences (4 per cent) in late prose. It is 11 times more likely for *geara* to

⁴⁹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 29–30.

⁵⁰ DOE cites c. 80 occurrences, ‘*geara*’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁵¹ For full data results, see Appendix E. Note the considerable difficulty of searching the DOEC for *geara* given the thousands of occurrences of other words with the same form as *geara*. Though not every occurrence is analysed, 70 per cent of the occurrences are included, being a proportionally significant sample for valid results.

⁵² ‘*Geara*’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

occur in early prose, a highly significant likelihood ratio, especially considering that it is only 0.09 times more likely for *geara* to appear in late prose.⁵³ Of the early prose occurrences, two out of 22 instances of *geara* appear in early West Saxon texts; the others are in Anglian (Mercian) dialect texts. This distribution indicates that the term is likely Anglian in origin. In an argument based on probabilistic reasoning, it serves as evidence that a prose text containing the term *geara* is far more likely to be early than late.

D. *Not Indicative*

smyltnes ‘peace’ (noun, f., wk.)

- 76 DOEC matches
- Positive likelihood ratio: 1.3
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.44

Occurrences of *smyltnes* are distributed across all prose categories in the corpus.

Smyltnes occurs with similar frequencies in both early (26 per cent) and late prose (21 per cent). In early prose, *smyltnes* appears mostly in Mercian texts, the OE Bede, *Dialogues*, and the *Life of St Guthlac*. The remaining six of the 20 early prose occurrences are in the *Pastoral Care*, an early West Saxon text. The likelihood of *smyltnes* occurring in early prose over late prose is only slightly higher, being 1.3 times more likely.⁵⁴ Among the late prose occurrences, 13 out of 16 appearances are in Ælfric, and, while it is demonstrably current in late usage, it is interesting that it is mostly used by Ælfric. (The possible relationship between Ælfric and earlier vocabulary is briefly discussed in the Chapter 4.⁵⁵) The multiple

⁵³ *Geara* has been included as Category C. ‘Highly likely’ as a conservative consideration for only having 70 per cent of occurrences and not over 90 per cent.

⁵⁴ Vleeskruyer suggests that *smyltnes* ‘peace’ is restricted to early OE, since it also occurs in early West Saxon. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 33.

⁵⁵ Chapter 4, 172–3.

occurrences in the *Pastoral Care* make it difficult to determine if the word is a marker of Mercian dialect. Given its occurrence in early prose, *smyltnes* is consistent with early Mercian usage and is slightly more likely to occur in early texts than late. However, as contributing evidence to an argument resting on probabilistic reasoning, it is not a significant indicator for the earliness or lateness of a text.

gebedhus ‘prayer house, chapel’ (noun, n., cl. 1)

- 90 DOEC matches⁵⁶
- positive likelihood ratio: 1.0
- negative likelihood ratio: 1.0

The presence of the word *gebedhus* is compatible with early, Mercian usage, though the word is also used more widely across OE. Its occurrences are evenly spread between early and late prose (36 per cent each); however, these occurrences are unevenly distributed among texts. Gregory’s *Dialogues* account for the majority of early prose appearances (30 out of 32), and half of the occurrences in late prose are in Ælfric’s works (16 out of 32). *Gebedhus* is not attested to in the Alfredian canon, and its only early West Saxon occurrence is in the mixed dialect of Chrodegang’s *Rule*, which offers some support to Vleeskruyer’s hypothesis that the word was Mercian in origin.⁵⁷ However, Bately argues that the absence of terms such as *gebedhus* from early West Saxon texts is not significant and could be explained by either lack of opportunity or non-occurrence of the concept in other texts.⁵⁸ Bately’s caution is noted.

According to the OE *Thesaurus*, at the semantic level, there are two words, *cyrice* and *godes*

⁵⁶ DOE cites c. 90 occurrences, ‘ge·bed·hūs’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁵⁷ Vleeskruyer states that *gebedhus* is not found in early West Saxon. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 28.

⁵⁸ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 109.

hus, for ‘a church, place of worship’; in the more precise field of ‘a chapel, oratory’, as it is used in the *Life of St Chad*, the OE *Thesaurus* lists (*ge*)*bedhus* and *gebedstow*.⁵⁹ The DOE cites four occurrences of *gebedstow*, as well as four occurrences of *bedhus*.⁶⁰

In the *Life of St Chad*, *gebehus* translates as *oratorium*, and a search of the DOEC reveals that the Latin *oratorium* is most frequently translated as *gebedhus* in glosses but also occasionally as *cyrice* ‘church’ or other words.⁶¹ In relation to the *Pastoral Care*, a search of the Latin text reveals no occurrences of *oratorium*, but multiple examples of *ecclesia*, which is uniformly translated as *cyrice* ‘church’. It is difficult to determine the significance of the absence of *gebedhus* from early West Saxon more widely, or if the occurrences in later OE prose indicate that it became more widely used. It is possible that *cyrice* expanded its semantic field to encapsulate the sense expressed by *gebedhus*. However, given the occurrences in early, Mercian prose it is indisputable that the use of this word in the *Life* is consistent with early, Mercian usage. In terms of probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing *gebedhus* is as likely to be early as late.

Infrequent Lexis

Words occurring 10–50 times.

A. Almost Certain

Medmicle ‘humbly’ (adv.)

⁵⁹ ‘16.02.05.02.03 (n.) A church, place of worship’, *A Thesaurus of Old English* (University of Glasgow, 2017), <http://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk>; ‘16.02.05.02.03|04 (n.) A church, place of worship: A chapel, oratory’, *A Thesaurus of Old English*.

⁶⁰ ‘Bed-hūs’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*; ‘ge·bed·stōw’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁶¹ As *mynstre* in BenRG1 C4 [0441 (50.85.17)]; *onbedhus* in Mem C5; *circean* in RegCG1 (Kornexl) C27; *cyrcean* in RegCG1 (Kornexl) C27; *cyrcean* in BenRG1 C4 x 2, *cyricean* x 5.

- 22 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: $-\infty$ ⁶²
- negative likelihood ratio: 0

The more common adjectival form of this word, *medmicel*, has been discussed above. The adverb *medmicle* does not occur in any identifiably late texts. Fifty-eight per cent of its occurrences are in early prose, most of those being in Anglian (Mercian) texts: OE Bede (eight occurrences), OE *Martyrology* (three occurrences), and once in the *Dialogues*. The other early attestations are in the mixed dialect *Bald’s Leechbook* (three occurrences).⁶³ The remaining occurrences are mostly in anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, apart from one occurrence in a gloss, and another in a difficult-to-date medical text. The use of *medmicle* presents important evidence for the early date of the text; however, the occurrences in the *Leechbook* make it difficult to be certain that the term was originally Mercian dialect rather common (early) OE. As evidence in an argument using probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing the adverb *medmicle* is far more likely to be early than late—almost certainly, though caution is noted in relation to the undatable material, excluded from the calculations.

B. *Highly Likely*

gefeolan ‘to devote (oneself)’ (vb., st. 3)

- 15 DOEC matches⁶⁴

⁶² Positive ratio likelihood cannot be calculated because it is not possible to divide by zero.

⁶³ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 41. Vleeskruyer argues that it is primarily a characteristic item of Mercian dialect, but that it can also be found in Northumbrian, beside one instance in West Saxon; the term seems to be unfamiliar to late West Saxon scribes.

⁶⁴ The DOE cites c. 15 occurrences; it includes two GD MS O variants that are not findable in corpus (*gefyle* and *gefalg*) and they are not included in the analysis. ‘Ge-fēolan’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

- positive likelihood ratio: 13
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.08

The corpus of evidence suggests that *gefeolan* is a strong indicator for the earliness of a text, and it is also probably a Mercian word. Of the c. 15 occurrences of *gefeolan*, c. 13 are in early prose (87 per cent) and the majority of those are in Gregory’s *Dialogues* (MS C) (c. 10 occurrences).⁶⁵ Of the two remaining occurrences, one is in the *Life of St Chad* itself, and the other is a single attestation in late prose, in the *Vision of Leofric*. The *Vision of Leofric* must postdate 1057 and is a Mercian text, so the occurrence of *gefeolan* there provides an indication that the word continued to be used in the Mercian literary dialect.⁶⁶ Despite the evidence of ongoing usage in later Mercian prose, as contributing evidence to an argument resting on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing the verb *gefeolan* is far more likely to be early than late, given it is 13 times more likely to occur in early prose than late.

rihtgeleafful ‘orthodox’ (adj.)

- 14 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: 9
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.11

There are c. 14 occurrences of *rihtgeleafful* in the corpus, and a significant majority of them are in early prose (64 per cent). The appearances in early prose are mostly in the OE

⁶⁵ Vleeskruyer claimed it was obsolete in Late West Saxon, see *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 28. See also A. E. H. Swaen, ‘Three Mercian Words’, *Englische Studien* 51 (1917–18): 299–301 (299).

⁶⁶ Peter A. Stokes, ‘The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context’, *Review of English Studies* 63 (2012): 529–50 (530).

Bede (four occurrences) and Gregory’s *Dialogues* (three occurrences), but also in the OE Boethius and Conf 5. There is a single occurrence in datable late prose, in *Mary of Egypt*. It is nine times more likely that a text containing *rihtgeleafful* is early, rather than late (only 0.11 times more likely). Bately acknowledges that this word is early in her assessment of early prose, though she rightly questions what ‘early’ might mean.⁶⁷ The single occurrence in the *Life of St Chad* is found in the opening section, which therefore has no parallel in the OE Bede. However, the comment on Chad’s ‘orthodox’ consecration has no parallel in the *Life of Saint Martin* either, the author’s source for some of this section. Vleeskruyer notes that *rihtgeleafful* ‘orthodox’ is the usual translation for Latin *catholicus* in the OE Bede and Gregory’s *Dialogues*.⁶⁸ Given that the majority of occurrences of the word are found in these two texts, the translator’s choice of *rihtgeleafful* in the *Life* is important, providing evidence for the translator’s early, Mercian dialect, and perhaps also suggestive of a similar translation milieu. As evidence in an argument based on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a prose text containing the term *rihtgeleafful* is much more likely to be early than late.

C. *Likely*

byldu [bældu] ‘impudence’ (noun, f., cl. 2)

- 38 DOEC matches⁶⁹
- positive likelihood ratio: 3
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.33

Byldu is more likely to occur in early prose than late. Contrary to claims in previous scholarship that *byldu* was a poetic word, it only occurs once in poetry—with a single

⁶⁷ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 111.

⁶⁸ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 33.

⁶⁹ DOE cites c. 40 occurrences, ‘Byldu’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

appearance in *Christ*.⁷⁰ The lone attestation in a poem is not strong evidence that the term was part of a specialised poetic vocabulary. However, the form *bylde* appears in other poetry—*Maldon*, *Elene*, *Beowulf*, *Maxims II*—but in these instances it is a form of the verb *byldan*. The DOE entry for *byldan* notes that, of 10 occurrences, these occur disproportionately frequently in poetry.⁷¹ Similarly, *bylda*, *bylta* has three occurrences in poetry (*bylda* in *Gifts*) so could have been mistaken.⁷²

While the noun *byldu* cannot, with any certainty, be considered poetic vocabulary, it does occur more frequently in early prose than late. Forty-seven per cent of its occurrences are in early prose, compared to 16 per cent in late prose, making it three times more likely that *byldu* will occur in early prose. The 18 attestations of *byldu* in early prose are only in three works: the *Pastoral Care* (four occurrences), the OE *Bede* (c. two occurrences), and Gregory’s *Dialogues* (12 occurrences). Vleeskruyer argued that *byldu* became obsolete over the course of the OE period; however, this claim is contradicted by the six occurrences in late prose, all of which are in Ælfrician texts.⁷³ The appearance of *byldu* in Ælfric’s works makes it apparent that it was not, in fact, obsolete in later OE. It is noteworthy, though, that the only times it occurs in late prose are when used by Ælfric.⁷⁴ Thus, the presence of *byldu* in a text is consistent with early, Mercian vocabulary, and is an indicator that the text is more likely to be early than late.

⁷⁰ *Byldu* was listed as a poetic word in the *Die Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, and Vleeskruyer likewise considered it to be a poetic word. ‘Byldo’, *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, ed. Grein, Holthausen, and Köhler, 80; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 200.

⁷¹ ‘Byldan’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁷² ‘Bylda, bylta’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁷³ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 200.

⁷⁴ That Ælfric often makes use of what is otherwise early, Mercian vocabulary is something that will be considered in brief in the following chapter.

adesa [*eaduse*] ‘adze’ (noun, m., wk.)

- 17 DOEC matches⁷⁵
- positive likelihood ratio: 3
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.33

*Eaduse*⁷⁶ appears infrequently in the corpus and is found mostly in glosses. There are three occurrences of *eaduse* in early texts: once each in the OE Bede, the Junius Psalter gloss, and the Vespasian Psalter gloss. The only late prose attestation is in the anomalous *Gerefa* law book.⁷⁷ Comparatively, *æx* is a more frequent word (c. 60 occurrences) with the same meaning and the one that appears in both early and later texts.⁷⁸ The spelling *eadusa* in the *Life of St Chad* (beside Vespasian Psalter *eadesa*) is an indication of Mercian dialect, and this may indeed be an Anglian dialect word. A possible scenario is that *æx* was adopted from the West Saxon dialect and became the more predominant word, mostly—if not entirely—replacing *eadusa*. Even though *eaduse* only occurs in a small percentage of datable texts, it is still three times more likely for this word to occur in an early text than a late one. While the occurrence of *eadusa* cannot stand alone as conclusive evidence, as contributory evidence in an argument using probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing the noun *eaduse* is more likely to be early than late.

miþan [*miðan*] ‘hide, conceal’ (vb., st. 1)

- 20 DOEC matches

⁷⁵ DOE count c. 19 occurrences, ‘Adesa, adese’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁷⁶ *Eaduse* is the spelling that appears in *The Life*.

⁷⁷ *Gerefa* dates to the late tenth or early eleventh century; see P. D. A. Harvey, ‘Rectitudines singularum personarum and Gerefa’, *English Historical Review* 108 (1993): 1–22, 11.

⁷⁸ ‘Æx’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

- positive likelihood ratio: 2.5
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.4

Miðan, like *eaduse* above, occurs infrequently in the corpus and in more early prose than late. The majority of occurrences of *miðan* are in poetry (50 per cent). It occurs five times (25 per cent) in early prose texts and twice (10 per cent) in late prose, both times in charters. The occurrences in early prose occur in the *Pastoral Care* (twice), the OE Boethius, Bald’s *Leechbook* (Book II), and *Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*.⁷⁹ There is a similar usage shared between the *Life of St Chad* and *Alexander’s Letter*: in the *Life*, *miðan* translates *latere* ‘to be hiding’, and in *Alexander’s Letter* it translates *delitisco* (hide away).⁸⁰ The high frequency in poetry suggests the possibility of *miðan* being part of a poetic vocabulary. That *miðan* occurs in both West Saxon and Mercian mixed dialect texts points to it being common early OE vocabulary. Regarding the two late occurrences in late charters, I note that while words attested in charters are indicative of some currency in the wider vernacular, it is difficult to determine the significance of late use for words when this is found exclusively in charters. The possibility exists that forms of words might have been modelled on earlier charters, though little work has been done to examine this historical linguistic aspect of the charter lexicon. Even allowing for this uncertainty, it is 2.5 times more likely that *miðan* will occur in an early text, a much higher likelihood than the probability of it occurring in a late text.

⁷⁹ Note that the Miller edition of the OE Bede has *miðan* in the equivalent place as Chad; however, searching the DOEC did not show the occurrence of *miðan*.

⁸⁰ ‘*Latere*’, *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham, D. R. Howlett and R. K. Ashdowne (London: British Academy, 1975-2013); ‘*Delitisco*’, *An Elementary Latin Dictionary*, ed. Charlton T. Lewis (New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Amercian Book Company, 1890; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press), 222.

D. Not Indicative

bregan ‘to terrify, frighten’ (vb. wk. 1)

- 9 DOEC matches⁸¹
- positive likelihood ratio: 1.7
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.58

The occurrence of the verb *bregan* is not significant for dating purposes. *Bregan* occurs more frequently in early prose than late (31 per cent of occurrences are in early prose compared to 18 per cent in late prose); however, it is only 1.7 times more likely to occur in early prose, and 0.58 times more likely to occur in late prose. The slight differentiation in the likelihood ratio means that *bregan* is only slightly more likely to occur in early prose, and thus is not a particularly significant indicator for the date of the text. Vleeskruyer associated *bregan* with poetry.⁸² While there are nine occurrences in poems (23 per cent), this does not constitute the majority of occurrences and the word occurs across a variety of texts and genres. Though the presence of *bregan* in a text is not indicative of the date of the text, importantly, for the dating of the *Life of St Chad*, it does occur in the early, Mercian prose texts of the OE Bede and the OE *Martyrology*, which means that it is not inconsistent with early Mercian usage.

endedæg [*endedeg*] ‘final day’ (noun, m., cl. 1)

⁸¹ The DOE entry cites c. 40 occurrences, ‘bregan’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁸² Vleeskruyer compared it to the usage of *broga*, a related ‘poetic’ word. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 26; on *broga* see *Bischof Waerferths von Worcester Uebersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. Hecht, 165, 167; see also Menner, ‘The Anglian Vocabulary of the Blickling Homilies’, 63.

- 43 DOEC matches⁸³
- positive likelihood ratio: 0.8
- negative likelihood ratio: 1.25

The presence of the word *endedeg* does not signify that the text is likely to be either early or late in any significant way. *Endedeg* is distributed fairly evenly between early prose (eight occurrences or 19 per cent) and late prose (nine occurrences or 21 per cent). It is very slightly more likely to occur in late prose than early, but not so much as to be statistically significant. It also occurs in poetry and a number of anonymous homilies. Vleeskruyer considered *endedeg* to be both part of the poetic vocabulary and rare in West Saxon, but the corpus distribution shows that it is not exclusively so.⁸⁴ *Endedæg* undoubtedly occurs in poetry (14 per cent of occurrences), but, given its appearance in various other kinds of texts, including later charters and laws, it is clear that its use is not exclusively poetic, or even early. Since *endedeg* does occur in early prose, its presence in a text is consistent with early usage, but it does not provide strong dating evidence.⁸⁵

Rare Lexis

All terms included in the category of ‘rare lexis’ occur 10 times or less. As was noted in the Introduction, Bately questioned the meaningfulness of rare terms in discussions about dating early English texts. The terms ‘highly likely’ and so on are used to categorise likelihood ratios in this section for the sake of consistency with earlier sections of the chapter, but must be understood as relative given the small samples on offer. That said, in terms of probability, while the occurrence of one rare term might not contribute much to the overall likelihood that

⁸³ DOE cites c. 45 occurrences, ‘ende-dæg’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁸⁴ The word is also included in *Die Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen*, ‘endedæg’, *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, ed. Grein, Holthausen and Köhler, 161; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 27.

⁸⁵ Occurs in the OE Bede, *Dialogues*, *OE Martyrology*, Chrodegang’s Rule and Poenitentiale pseudo-Egberti.

the *Life of St Chad* is early, the occurrence of five rare terms would alter the odds. These qualifications are also applicable to the discussion of rare usage and spelling below. The validity and usefulness of the very small sample size of rare words is discussed as part of the analysis of the chapter's overall findings.

A. Almost Certain

There are no occurrences in this category.

B. Highly Likely

edniwunga, edniwinga [edneowunga] 'renew, anew' (adv.)

- 5 DOEC matches⁸⁶
- positive likelihood ratio: $-$ ⁸⁷
- negative likelihood ratio: 0

The rare word *edneowunga* occurs only five times in the corpus. In prose, it appears once in the early *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle* and once in the *Life of St Chad*. The other three occurrences are all in poetry (*Phoenix, Elene, and Andreas*). This led Vleeskruyer to suggest that it may be a vocabulary item belonging to Christian poetry.⁸⁸ Considering that 60 per cent of the attestations of *edneowunga* are in poetry, it is reasonable to assign it as part of a poetic vocabulary. There can be no doubt that *edneowunga* is early. Further, its currency in poetic usage may indicate an Anglian (Mercian) dialect origin.⁸⁹ Notably, the fact that there

⁸⁶ DOE cites five occurrences, 'edniwunga, edniwinga', *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁸⁷ Positive ratio likelihood cannot be calculated because it is not possible to divide by zero.

⁸⁸ Holthausen includes this as a poetic word in *Die Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, 'edniwinga, edneowunga', *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, ed. Grein, Holthausen and Köhler, 153; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 27.

⁸⁹ I note that it is glossed by the tremulous hand, which means the glossator believed it would not be recognisable in the thirteenth century.

are no occurrences in late prose is meaningful for considering dating, despite the small number of occurrences.⁹⁰ As contributory evidence for a probabilistic argument on the date of a text, it is extremely likely that a text containing *edneowunga* is early.

Bearfednes [*bearfednis*] ‘poverty’ (noun, f.)

- 8 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: —⁹¹
- negative likelihood ratio: 0

The noun *bearfednis* is another rare word that does not occur in any datable late texts.⁹² Its lexical distribution across the corpus strongly implies that *bearfednis* is early vocabulary, and likely to be Mercian dialect: in early prose there are four occurrences in Gregory’s *Dialogues*, one in the OE Bede, and one in the Vespasian Psalter gloss.⁹³ The two remaining occurrences are in the *Life of St Chad* and the *Arundel Psalter* gloss. While it is not possible to calculate a positive likelihood ratio, it is significant that 75 per cent of the occurrences are in early, Mercian prose. Vleeskruyer considers *bearfednis* to be an early, Mercian word—and, as such, evidence for his ninth-century date of the *Life of St Chad*. However, Bately more cautiously accepts *bearfednis* as being associated with OE prose composed before the late tenth century.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ As mentioned above, this aspect is discussed in more detail below.

⁹¹ Positive ratio likelihood cannot be calculated because it is not possible to divide by zero.

⁹² Spelled *bearfednisse* in Chad, a result of late orthography. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 33. See also *gecignis* above, 145–6.

⁹³ The form *dearfed* occurs in the Vespasian Psalter gloss. The spelling *bearfednes* only occurs in the OE Bede (Book 3, Chapter 1, line 30). The Bosworth Toller dictionary entry cites two occurrences in Bede, but only one was able to be found in the DOEC, ‘bearfedness’, see Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*.

⁹⁴ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 111.

Important here is the matter of how ‘early’ is defined. In this thesis, the point of ‘early’ for OE prose is conservatively set at prior to c. 950.⁹⁵ In light of the corpus evidence, the presence of *þearfednis* in the *Life of St Chad* provides strong evidence of the early Mercian dialect of the *Life*.⁹⁶ As evidence in an argument based on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing the noun *þearfednis* is far more likely to be early than late.

tulge, tylg, tylgest [tylig] ‘strongly, firmly’ (adv.)

- 7 DOEC matches
- Positive likelihood ratio: $-\infty$ ⁹⁷
- negative likelihood ratio: 0

The final rare word strongly associated with early texts is *tylig/tylgest*. Vleeskruyer firmly considered this word to be significant, arguing that this was a ‘Mercian archaism’ and ‘perhaps the most noteworthy lexical element in the text’.⁹⁸ The form *tulge* appears once in the corpus in Bald’s *Leechbook* (c. 900). The adverb *tulge, tylg* appears spelled as *tylig* once (in the *Life of St Chad*).⁹⁹ The superlative form *tylgest* appears twice in the corpus, once in the *Life* (spelled *tylgest*) and once in the poem *Resignation* (where it is spelled *tylgust*); the date of the composition of *Resignation* is not determined. *Tylg* occurs three times in glosses and, in each instance, glosses the Latin word *propensior*.¹⁰⁰ *Tylg* provides only a very loose

⁹⁵ See above, 97–100.

⁹⁶ Old English authors had a range of lexical choices when describing poverty; see ‘15.01.06 (n.) Poverty, indigence’, *A Thesaurus of Old English*.

⁹⁷ Positive ratio likelihood cannot be calculated because it is not possible to divide by zero.

⁹⁸ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 33.

⁹⁹ A search of the DOEC returns six other occurrences of *tylig*; however, they are forms of the verbs *tyllan* or *tilian*. This spelling in *The Life* is likely the result of late orthography.

¹⁰⁰ In CorpGl 2, EpGl, and ErfGl 1.

translation in these cases, as *propensior* means ‘to weigh more, to be inclined, favourable to’.¹⁰¹ In the *Life*, *tylig* more appropriately translates *potius* ‘more suitably’.¹⁰² Based on this evidence, it can be said with some likelihood, rather than certainty, that the use of *tylig* is an indicator of an early date. Bately agrees that the term is probably archaic, though she argues that it is of such rare occurrence that this instance cannot provide firm evidence that the *Life* itself is early.¹⁰³ She disputes the certainty expressed by Vleeskruyer that *tylig* provides solid evidence for a ninth-century date for the *Life*. The occurrence in two early Mercian glosses—Epinal and Erfurt—and its presence in Gregory’s *Dialogues*, provide an indication that this is a Mercian word. In isolation, a rare term like *tylig* could not contribute much to the likelihood of an early date for the *Life*. However, as part of a pattern of occurrences of rare and archaic words, the presence of *tylig* does make such a contribution. The sample size is small, but, as evidence in an argument built on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a prose text containing the term *tylig* is more likely to be early than late.

C. *Likely*

The terms *orleahter* and *bifiendlic* are considered together as unusual cases, given their shared usage in both the *Life of St Chad* and Chrodegang’s *Rule*.

orleahter ‘danger, vice’ (noun, m.) / *orleahstre* (adj.) ‘blameless, without vice’

¹⁰¹ ‘Propendo’, *A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrews’ Edition of Freund’s Latin Dictionary Revised, Enlarged, and in Great Part Rewritten*, ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879).

¹⁰² ‘Potius’, *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. Latham, Howlett and Ashdowne; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 33.

¹⁰³ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 111; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 68.

- 8 DOEC matches¹⁰⁴
- positive likelihood ratio: $-\infty$ ¹⁰⁵
- negative likelihood ratio: 0

The evidence offered by *orleahter/orleahtre* is somewhat equivocal. The corpus distribution indicates a mixed usage of the term. In poetry there is a single attestation in *Beowulf* and it occurs in two glosses. The greatest frequency is in undated texts, anonymous homilies, and saints’ lives, where it occurs twice in an unnamed homily (HomU 16), once in *Nativity of John the Baptist (Blickling Homilies)*, and once in the *Life of St Chad*.

A solitary occurrence in Chrodegang’s *Rule* presents ambivalent evidence relative to dating. Though Chrodegang’s *Rule* is generally accepted as a late text, unusual items of shared vocabulary between it and the *Life* may draw the *Life* into debates about the date for the translation of the *Rule*, which could be as early as the middle decades of the tenth century. This question will be discussed further below.¹⁰⁶ While it is possible to say that a prose text containing the term *orleahter* is perhaps a little more likely to be early than late, given the small sample size and uncertainty of the evidence offered by Chrodegang’s *Rule*, it cannot be considered as a strong indicator for the earliness of a text in an argument using probabilistic reasoning.

bifiendlic [Beofugendlican] ‘meaning’ (part of speech)

¹⁰⁴ Both the noun and adjective are analysed together for three reasons: it is a very small sample size, it is not always clear whether the form is a noun or adjective, and in *The Life* it is used as an adjectival noun.

¹⁰⁵ Positive ratio likelihood cannot be calculated because it is not possible to divide by zero.

¹⁰⁶ As will be discussed below, for relative dating I have considered it to be a mid-century production, and I have erred on the side of ‘early’ (or rather ‘earlier’) prose of around c. 950. See below, 167–8.

- 2 DOEC matches¹⁰⁷
- Positive likelihood ratio: –
- negative likelihood ratio: –

Beofugendlican occurs only twice in the corpus, once in the *Life of St Chad* and once in Chrodegang’s *Rule*, where it is spelled *byfgendlican*.¹⁰⁸ In both cases this adjective translates the Latin *tremendo* (to tremble).¹⁰⁹ The author of the *Life* diverges from the vocabulary choice in the OE Bede, which translates *tremendo* as *fohtiendan* (to fight).¹¹⁰ Chrodegang’s *Rule* shares five vocabulary items with the *Life*; this pattern of concurrence will be discussed below. It is highly likely that the spelling in Hatton 116 (*beofugendlican*) reflects an earlier spelling than *byfgendlican*, in which *eo* is contracted to *y*.¹¹¹ The rarity of the word makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the significance of the individual item in a discussion of the probable date of the *Life*. However, the occurrence of this item alongside a range of other rare items, some which are more likely to appear in early texts than late, points to the conclusion that *beofugendlican* is itself an archaic term, explaining its rarity.

D. Not Indicative

ymbhydiglice [*ymbhydelice*] ‘carefully, diligently’ (adv.)

- 5 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: –¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ MS reads *heofugendlican*. For a discussion of this emendation see Chapter 1, 55–6.

¹⁰⁸ DOE cites two occurrences. ‘Bifiendlic’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Tremo’, *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. Lewis and Short.

¹¹⁰ ‘Feohtan’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹¹¹ A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), §238, 101–3.

¹¹² Positive ratio likelihood cannot be calculated because it is not possible to divide by zero.

- negative likelihood ratio: 0

The adverb *ymbhydiglice* rarely occurs in the corpus.¹¹³ It occurs once in early prose, in Gregory’s *Dialogues*.¹¹⁴ Three of the remaining four occurrences are in the *Life of St Chad* itself, with the final occurrence in the *Life of St Neot*.¹¹⁵ No firm conclusions can be made about *ymbhydiglice* as datable evidence, particularly since the majority of occurrences are restricted to the *Life of St Chad*. While the occurrence in Gregory’s *Dialogues* provides some indication of this being an early and Mercian word, this alone is not strong evidence. The presence of *ymbhydiglice* in a text is not significant for an argument built on probabilistic reasoning, and the most that can be determined is that it is consistent with early and Mercian use.

grornian ‘to lament, wail’ (vb., wk. 2)

- 6 DOEC matches¹¹⁶
- positive likelihood ratio: 1
- negative likelihood ratio: 1

The word *grornian* offers no evidence for dating, being just as likely to appear in early texts as late. In addition to the occurrence in the *Life of St Chad*, three of its occurrences

¹¹³ The related adjective *ymbhydig* and noun *ymbhygd* are not considered here because they hold no relevance for dating. Vleeskruyer suggests that *ymbhydig* is a word that may have originally been Mercian and later became standard in late OE vocabulary. As such his argument really concerns the Mercian dialect, rather than the word as a dating indicator. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 37.

¹¹⁴ Note there is a single occurrence of the adjective *ymbhydiglic*, as identified by the Bosworth-Toller dictionary, in Gregory’s *Dialogues*, Book 2, which is not included in this count because it could not be found in the DOEC. ‘Ymb-hygdiglic’, see Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*.

¹¹⁵ Malcolm Godden argues for an eleventh-century date for this text in Malcolm Godden, ‘The Life of St Neot and the Legends of King Alfred’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 39 (2011): 193–225.

¹¹⁶ DOE cites c. seven occurrences, including one occurrence in ÆGram that I could not find. Trusting the reliability of the DOE, I have, however, included that citation in the analysis and have calculated the likelihood ratio. ‘Gornian’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

are in Mercian texts (OE Bede, *The Rushworth Gospels (Matthew)*, *Junius Psalter* gloss), and one in poetry (*Christ*). The two occurrences in later prose are in the mid–tenth century OE *Benedictine Rule* and Ælfric’s *Grammar*. *Gronian* is among the evidence offered by Vleeskruyer in his discussion of the *Life of St Chad*. In analysing the distribution pattern, Vleeskruyer provides evidence that *grornian* is Mercian in origin; however, the status of these instances is difficult to determine.¹¹⁷ Given the potential for scribal error in relation to this word, which is identical in meaning to *gnornian*, it is difficult to read too much into the distribution evidence. Regardless of the possibility for Mercian origins for the word, *grornian* does not provide evidence for an early date of the *Life*. That said, the presence of this word in the *Life* is consistent with early, Mercian usage (whatever its original spelling). In terms of probabilistic reasoning, both the small sample and the high potential for scribal error mean that the presence of the verb *grornian* suggests no likelihood either way for the date of the *Life*.

Category II: DOEC Usage, Spelling, Grammar, and Meaning

Usage

B. *Highly Likely*

(*Hibernia*) *scotta ealond* ‘Ireland’ (noun, n.)

- 15 DOEC matches

In the *Life of St Chad*, Ireland is referred to as *scotta ealond*, a precise locution not widely used (four occurrences in the corpus). It occurs twice in the OE Bede and once in an

¹¹⁷ The word survives beside the more frequently occurring class 2, wk. vb. *gnornian* (c. 55 occurrences), which shares its meanings. Vleeskruyer identifies *grornian* as Anglian as against West Saxon *gnornian* ‘to grieve.’ ‘Gnornian’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I* Online; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 29.

anonymous homily.¹¹⁸ In the OE Bede, *scotta ealond* is more commonly used with the Latin qualifying noun *hibernia/ibernia* to refer to Ireland as *hibernia Scotta ealonde* (used 11 times).¹¹⁹ Bately first noted the potential dating significance for the *Life* of the presence of the expression (*hibernia*) *scotta ealond*.¹²⁰ She established that the geographical terminology used in vernacular texts (annals) that can be ‘securely’ dated to the tenth century used *Scotland* to refer to the northern part of Britain and the Scots (from c. 933 on), and *Irland* (*Irland*) for Ireland (from c. 914 on), and that this usage continued up to the end of the OE period and beyond into the post-Conquest period.¹²¹ According to Bately, this indicates that naming Ireland as *scotta ealond* either lasted longer in the areas where the *Life of St Chad* and the OE Bede were written, or that both works were composed before the second quarter of the tenth century.¹²² In the wider context of a pattern of preferences for archaic vocabulary by the author, this usage provides an indication for a *terminus ad quem* of the composition of the *Life* of c. 930. As evidence in an argument using probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing the expression *sceotta ealond* meaning ‘Ireland’ is very likely to be early rather than late.

D. Not Indicative

lindesfarena ‘People of Lindsey’ (noun, n.)

- 6 DOEC matches

¹¹⁸ One occurrence in Bede (MS O), and homily is HomU 35.2. According to Bately, material related to Niall is common to Napier homilies XLIII and XLIV, Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 114.

¹¹⁹ ‘Íra-land’, see Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*.

¹²⁰ See Bately for the full tracing of the usage of terms for Ireland, Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 114–18.

¹²¹ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 116.

¹²² Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 118.

The term *lindesfarena* is used twice by the translator of the *Life of St Chad* to refer to the ‘people’ of Lindsey, a province in Mercia.¹²³ In both instances, the corresponding vocabulary item in the *HE* is *Lindisfarorum*, and in the OE Bede is *Lindesfearena/Lindesfarona*. In two other places in the *Life*, the people or province of Lindsey are referred to with the phrase *meġðe lindesse*.¹²⁴ Outside the *Life* and the OE Bede, *Lindesfarena* is used to describe the people of Lindsey in the DOEC once in the OE *Martyrology* (in the entry about Saint Chad) and once in the *Tribal Hidage*.¹²⁵ All instances of *lindesfarena* meaning ‘people of Lindsey’ are in early, Mercian texts. Elsewhere and more often, *lindesfarena* is used in conjunction with the noun *ea/ealond* as *Lindesfarena/Lindesfearena ea/ealond* to refer to the island of Lindisfarne.¹²⁶ The evidence suggests that this way of referring to the people of Lindsey is possibly indicative of early Anglian dialect vocabulary. However, given the fact that late OE texts do not refer to ‘the people of Lindsey’ in any way at all, as evidence in an argument using probabilistic reasoning, it cannot be said that the use of the term indicates whether a text is more likely to be early than late.

Spelling

C. *Likely*

nymðe, nimþe, nemþe [nymphðe] ‘unless, except’ (conj.)

- 183 DOEC matches

¹²³ Lines 63, 265. See Bede, *The Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Thomas Miller, Early English Text Society, 4 vols, Original Series 95, 96, 110, 111 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890–98), III, 23, 238.

¹²⁴ Lines 66–7, 227.

¹²⁵ *The Old English Martyrology*, ed. Rauer, 4, 60.

¹²⁶ In a singular example the OE Bede uses *Lindesfearena* is used to mean *Lindisfarne* (Book 5, Chapter 22, line 17), see *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, V, 22, 478.

The spelling of this term in the *Life of St Chad*—*nypmðe*—is highly unusual. The common spelling is without a *p* as *nymðe*, *nimðe*, or *nemðe*. The significance of the *Life*’s unusual spelling is difficult to determine, but, given its only other occurrence is in Rid 65, it is perhaps unlikely to be the result of later scribal intervention.¹²⁷ Vleeskruyer observes that forms of *nypmðe* with *y* and *i* exist alongside those with *e* and that the form with *p* is an orthographical variant.¹²⁸ It is possible that it is an intrusive *p* or that the *p* is a relic;¹²⁹ however, its presence in two texts shows that this spelling is more than a personal idiosyncrasy.

A basis for comparison for the *Life*’s *nypmðe* is difficult to establish, as there are only four other instances of the cluster of *mpð/b* in the corpus (outside of forms of the verbs *nimðan* and *belimpan*). There are two appearance in poetry (*Christ* A, B, C, *yrypðu*; Rid 65, *nyppe*), and two in glosses (PsGlJ (Arundel Psalter), *rimpb*; PrudGl 1, *stempb*). Both of the poetic occurrences are found in one manuscript, the Exeter Book.¹³⁰ On the spelling *yrypðu* in *Christ*, Krapp and Dobbie note that ‘*yrypðu* should stand as an interesting phonetic variant with intrusive *p*, as in Mod. Eng. warmth’.¹³¹ A search of the *Middle English Dictionary* reveals no occurrences of an intrusive *p* between *m* and *b*. The ME verb *nimen*, developed from OE *niman*, presents no attestations with intrusive *p*.¹³² This orthographic/phonetic feature therefore should not be attributed to a possible late OE or early ME dialect intrusion

¹²⁷ Krapp and Dobbie note that previous editors normalised the spelling to *nympe*, *The Exeter Book*, ed. George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 368.

¹²⁸ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 32.

¹²⁹ See appearance in other Germanic families; Ferdinand Holthausen, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1934), 233.

¹³⁰ Exeter, Cathedral, MS 3501, fols. 8-130, dated by Ker to the second half of the tenth century (Item 116), N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 153.

¹³¹ They note that previous editors also emended the ‘*p*’ out of the spelling, *The Exeter Book*, ed. Krapp and Dobbie, 252.

¹³² ‘*Nimen*’, *Middle English Compendium*, online edition.

on the part of the Hatton 116 scribe. The evidence suggests that *nymþe* is an early word, and perhaps also preserves an early (dialectal?) spelling.

D. Not Indicative

gelimplic [*gelumpenlic*] ‘suitable’ (adj.)

- 30 DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: 1.3
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.75

The occurrence of the adjective *gelimplic* in the *Life of St Chad* is consistent with early Mercian usage, but is not a significant indicator of the date of the text. The particular spelling *gelumpenlic* is unique to the *Life*.¹³³ However, the surely related *gelimplic* occurs c. 30 times in the corpus (including the two instances of *gelumpenlic*), across early prose (eight occurrences, five of which are in the OE Bede), Ælfric’s works (the only examples in identifiably later prose, with 6 occurrences), anonymous saints’ lives and homilies, glosses, and Mercian glosses. Though there is no indication in the manuscript that the spelling of *gelumpenlic* is due to a scribal error, and indeed it is spelled that way twice, it is reasonable to conclude that it is an idiosyncratic or even erroneous spelling, given no other such occurrence.

Looking more closely at the form *gelumpenlic*, it is clear that both it and *gelimplic* derive from the verb *gelimpan* (to happen), with the possibility (or likelihood) that the *Life*’s *gelumpenlic* has been formed from the past participle *gelumpen*. In the corpus, the form *gelump-* occurs c. 89 times in a range of texts, including three occurrences in poetry, 19 in

¹³³ Vleeskruyer notes that the spelling *gelumpenlic* ‘suitable’ is found twice in *The Life* and not elsewhere. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 29.

Gregory’s *Dialogues*, 11 in the OE Bede, and five in the *Martyrology*. It also occurs in other early prose texts, some late prose texts, mostly Ælfric’s works (17 times). There are seven further occurrences in late prose and a number of occurrences across anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, as well as several glosses. Out of c. 89 attestations of this stem, it is interesting to note that 35 (39 per cent) are in identifiable early Mercian texts. The majority of occurrences, spelled with *u* in the stem, are in texts from across the OE period, making it difficult to draw conclusions relating to this item for dating the *Life of St Chad*. The most that can be said is that occurrence of *gelumpenlic* in the *Life* is compatible with early Mercian usage.

Grammar

D. *Not Indicative*

Mid ðy þe ‘when, while’ (instr. of time)¹³⁴

In the *Life of St Chad*, varied forms of the instrumental of time are used: *mid þy*, *mid þe swa*, alongside the unusual *mitte* and unique *mittes*. The forms of both *mitte* and *mittes* are best explained as contractions (discussed below), and Vleeskruyer considers *mitte* to be a Mercian form, indicative of Anglian origins.¹³⁵ While these forms may point to an Anglian origin, their occurrence does not contribute to the likelihood of the earliness or lateness of the text.

mitte ‘when, while; as soon as’ (adv., instr. of time)

¹³⁴ See discussion in Chapter 1, 72–3.

¹³⁵ Vleeskruyer suggests that *mittes* is perhaps a Mercian contraction of *mid þe swa*, see *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 31. See also Swaen, ‘Three Mercian Words’, 299.

- 7 DOEC matches

Mitte is a contracted form of *mid þe*, which itself is a form of the instrumental of time *mid þy*.¹³⁶ The form *mitte* occurs in the corpus as a contracted form, as it does in the *Life of St Chad*, and more commonly as part of the phrase *mitte þe/ðe*. *Mitte* alone appears seven times in the DOEC, the majority of which are in glosses, except for the two occurrences in the *Life*. It occurs in two identifiably early, Mercian glosses (Vespasian Psalter gloss (twice) and Junius Psalter gloss (once)), as well as the less datable Cambridge Psalter gloss (once) and Cambridge Psalter canticle gloss (once). In each instance, it glosses the Latin *cum* or *dum*. As part of the phrase *mitte þe/ðe*, *mitte* occurs eight times in the corpus, albeit only in two texts: *Assumption of the Virgin* (LS 21) and Vercelli Homily 6 (HomU 10). It is possible that the contracted form *mitte* is Anglian in origin, given its occurrence in identified Mercian texts. The occurrence of *mitte* in the anonymous *Assumption* homily is likely to be Anglian, and possibly early.¹³⁷ Scragg notes that, while these texts cannot be dated with certainty, it is likely that most items date from the later ninth century into the later tenth century.¹³⁸ If this is accepted, and there is no reason not to follow Scragg’s suggestion, then the occurrence of *mitte* here is possibly evidence that this is an earlier form.

¹³⁶ Sisam comments on the frequency of *mitty þe* and *mid þy þe* in Anglian translated prose. See *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 31; Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 69.

¹³⁷ Mary Clayton notes that the anonymous *Assumption* homily (LS 21 *Assumpt*) in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41, was determined as Anglian by Wenisch. Tristram points out non–West Saxon features in her edition, but nevertheless decides the text was written in West Saxon. See *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Mary Clayton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 132; Hildegard L. C. Tristram, ‘Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition, mit Kommentar, Übersetzung und Glossar sowie drei weiteren Texten im Anhang’ (PhD thesis, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg, 1970), 49–50. See also Franz Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut in den nordhumbrischen Interlinearglossierungen des Lukasevangeliums* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979), 51.

¹³⁸ *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. Donald G. Scragg, Early English Text Society, Original Series 300 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), xxxviii–ix; see also Scragg, ‘The Corpus of Anonymous Old English Homilies’, 22.

mittes ‘when, while; as soon as’ (adv., instr. of time)

- 8 DOEC matches

The form *mittes* is unique to the *Life of St Chad*, in which it occurs eight times. *Mittes* is either a contraction of *mid þes*, or perhaps *mid þe swa*, which also occurs in the *Life*.¹³⁹ The uncontracted form *mid þes* occurs six times in the corpus; however, only once is it used as the instrumental of time, in the *Rule of St Benedict* (Corpus Christi College 178; App. I: chapter 1 in F, App. II: chapter 62 in F).¹⁴⁰ Reconstructing from the little evidence, *mid þes* seems to be a late form of *mid þy* and *mittes* a later contracted form of *mid þes*.

The best way to interpret the evidence offered by *mitte* and *mittes* is probably in relation to the transmission history of the *Life*. In isolation, the form *mittes* might point to the lateness of the author’s dialect beside late OE *mid þes*. But, in the light of the two instances of *mitte*, as well as three instances of the more regular *mid þy* in the *Life*, a possible scenario envisages a late scribe updating some potentially confusing elements of text. From this perspective, the earliest form of this instrumental in the original exemplar would have been *mitte*, which a later scribe then updated to *mid þy*, apparently a later form, and later still the scribe of the extant copy (or close predecessor) updated some of these forms to *mittes* but missed a few older forms. The alternative scenario—that a late author would deliberately revert back to or add the older forms *mitte* or *mid þy*—is highly unlikely. Such an evolution of forms of this instrumental would imply that the text had a complex transmission history, rather than little or no transmission of the original and the extant copy as Vleeskruyer

¹³⁹ See Swaen, ‘Three Mercian Words’, 299; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 31.

¹⁴⁰ The other occurrences, which do not appear to be instances of the instrumental of time, are similarly late: ChronE x 2 (Peterborough Chronicle, twelfth century), and a single charter (Ch 1524).

argues.¹⁴¹ However, the forms *mitte* and *mittes* do not provide clear dating evidence; rather, they are characteristic of Anglian dialect origins. This is an example of Vleeskruyer's conflation of the two categories, as dialect alone does not provide sufficient evidence for dating.

Meaning

D. *Not Indicative*

gecignes [*gecignis*] 'calling, name' (noun, f.)

- 4 DOEC matches¹⁴²
- positive likelihood ratio: 2
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.5

Gecignis is a rare word with only four attestations found in a search of the corpus.

The spelling *gecignis* occurs only in the *Life of St Chad*.¹⁴³ As well as occurring in the *Life*, the word *gecignes* occurs twice in the OE Bede, once in the *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (Blickling Homilies) (LS 20), and once in *The Life of St Pantaleon* (LS 30).¹⁴⁴ Thus it occurs twice in datable early prose, and once in identifiably later prose. Vleeskruyer considered *gecignis* significant as evidence for the Anglian origin of the *Life*, arguing that the suffix *-nis*

¹⁴¹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 9.

¹⁴² DOE cites five occurrences, including an occurrence in Bede 3 that is edited out of the text and thus does not occur in the corpus, 'ge·cīgnes', *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹⁴³ In the *Life of St Chad*, there are 18 nouns with *-nis* suffix (*-nis* x 3; *-nisse* x 14; *-nissum* x 1), 11 nouns with ending *-nes* and 13 nouns ending *-nesse*. The West Saxon forms of *-nes* and late *-nesse* and *-nysse* are explicable as the result of West Saxon scribal overwriting in the process of transmission.

¹⁴⁴ The occurrence in MS O is cited by the DOE, but is not searchable in the DOEC.

was Anglian in formation.¹⁴⁵ The Anglian origin of *gecignis* is not relevant for dating.

However, what could be relevant is the semantic field it occupies.

There are three meanings associated with the usage of *gecignes*: in both the anonymous saints’ lives, the meaning is ‘an invocation’; in the OE Bede it has the sense ‘a summons, calling’; while in the *Life of St Chad*, the meaning is ‘a name’ (DOE 2).¹⁴⁶ The equivalent word used in the *HE* is *vocabulum*, rendered in the OE Bede as *noma*. The meaning used in the *Life* is distinct from the other occurrences, and it is difficult to draw a conclusion from this small sample. The evidence indicates that *gecignis* was used as late as the early eleventh century and that it had unstable meaning. At the least, its appearance in a text can be considered consistent with early usage, though it does not reliably indicate either the earliness or lateness of a text.

Category III: DOE Usage, Spelling

The data sets for the following four words draw significantly on their DOE entries. The largest data set is for the word *in*; *ateon* and *hwæt-hwega* also occur frequently, while *heahbisceop* is infrequent. In these sets I rely on the DOE’s editorial principle of providing indicative and proportionate citations for the distribution both of the headwords and their variant meanings. In the case of *heahbisceop*, I have supplemented the DOE data with a search of the DOEC. The DOE is an important tool for analysing these four terms. For all of these words, there is significant variation across the OE period in meaning and/or

¹⁴⁵ Vleeskruyer argues that this dialectal difference was established during the tenth century and can also be seen in the OE Bede manuscripts. He treats the nominal *-nis* suffix as the more common Anglian form, beside more widespread *-ing*, and compared to West Saxon *-nes*. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 28, 128–9.

¹⁴⁵ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 28, 129.

¹⁴⁶ ‘ge·cīgnes’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*. This bears out Vleeskruyer’s suggestion that *gecignis* and the related *gecignednes* are rare with the connotation of ‘name’, as found in *The Life*. See *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 38.

grammatical function that must be contextualised within patterns of occurrence, and that has implications for the dating of the *Life of St Chad*.

Meaning

A. *Highly Likely*

*Rare*¹⁴⁷

ateon (*ateon of lichaman / þissum life / þissum leohte*) [*lichama ateogene weron*] ‘to remove (someone) from the body / this life / this light’; in passive: to die’ (vb., st. 2)

- total occurrences: c. 275 DOE count
- occurrences as meaning ‘to die’ (DOE meaning: A.2.c.ic.): c. 5 DOE citations and DOEC matches
- positive likelihood ratio: –
- negative likelihood ratio: 0

In the *Life of St Chad*, *ateon* occurs once, in passive construction as *ateogene weron*. At line 83, the sentence in the *Life* reads: ‘monige broðore of þere gesomnunge þes arwurðestan biscofes of lichama atogene weron’.¹⁴⁸ The sense of *ateon* used here is described in the DOE under A.2.c.ic. ‘ateon of lichaman / þissum life / þissum leohte “to remove (someone) from the body / this life / this light”; in passive: to die’.¹⁴⁹ In the *Life*, the translator, working from an unknown source, renders the equivalent sentence of the *HE*’s Latin, ‘plurimis de ecclesia eiusdem reuerentissimi antistitis de carne subtractis’, with an expression that is close to the

¹⁴⁷ See the discussion of ‘rare lexis’ above, 128–9.

¹⁴⁸ Line 83, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 252.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Ateon’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

literal meaning of the source. The OE Bede translator uses a different verb for this euphemism of death at this point: *alædde* (‘biscopes of lichoman alædde wæron’).¹⁵⁰

This usage of *ateon of lichaman* is rare in the corpus. The DOE records two further instances of this meaning, once in Gregory’s *Dialogues* and once in the OE Bede. A search of the corpus for similar usage reveals another two examples in Gregory’s *Dialogues*. The DOE cites the example in the *Dialogues* (*wæs of þissum life atogen*) and the OE Bede (*of þeossum leohte wæs atogen*), where both are translations of Latin *subtraho*. Apart from these, there is, in fact, only one other example of the idiom, also found in Gregory’s *Dialogues* (*he wære of þam lichaman atogen*).¹⁵¹ The passive construction *wæs (ut) atogen* is also used more literally elsewhere, but a search on the DOEC reveals only seven examples in addition to this euphemism of ‘dying’, and all are in the OE *Dialogues*. That these three texts, two of which are confirmed as Mercian and early, translate this Latin expression in a similar way, indicates that this is, in all likelihood, an early Mercian idiom. This idiom is found as a specialised use of a passive construct of *wæs + atogen* that is also found only in one early Mercian text. The use of the euphemistic idiom in the *Life* provides very strong evidence for the early date of the translation. The sample is small, but in an argument built on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text containing this idiom is much more likely to be early than late.

Infrequent

heahbisceop [*hehbiscop*] ‘archbishop; chief/ principle bishop’ (noun, m., cl. 1)

- total occurrences: c. 28 DOE count

¹⁵⁰ OE Bede, lines 25–6, 262. The two primary meanings for *alædan* according to the DOE are, ‘1. to lead, bring, escort, conduct away / off; 2. to carry, carry off, bear away (something / someone acc.); *alædan of* ‘to carry away from’. ‘A-lædan’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹⁵¹ *Bischof Waerferths von Worcester Uebersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. Hecht, line 4, Chapter 37, 317.

- occurrences as meaning ‘archbishop’ (DOE meaning: A.2.c.ic.): c. 5 DOE citations and DOEC matches
- Positive likelihood ratio: –
- negative likelihood ratio: 0

The term *heahbisceop* (archbishop) is used by both the translator of the *Life* and the translator of the OE Bede. The term *hehbisceop* is used on line 279 to refer to Saint Chad; the DOE entry citation for the *Life* suggests that *hehbiscop* (under meaning 1. archbishop; chief/principle bishop) here refers to Winfrith, but this is clearly not the case.¹⁵² Winfrith is the subject of an earlier sentence, but the section in question is clearly about Saint Chad, with the passage beginning, ‘Genihtsumien ús nu men þa leofestan. þas þe us segd earun be þam arwurðan biscope sancte ceaddan’, which then goes on to extoll the virtues of Saint Chad.¹⁵³ I agree with the DOE that this compound word most likely means ‘archbishop’ here, though the context makes it clear that Saint Chad is being referred to. *Heahbisceop* appears c. 29 times in the corpus, predominantly in glosses (18 occurrences in DurRitGl) and alongside two occurrences in early prose (Bede and LawWiProl).¹⁵⁴ Notably, *heahbisceop* does not occur in any datable late texts, but is found in some undated homilies and saints’ lives. There is clear evidence of early usage of both *heahbisceop* and *arcebisceop* in early texts, but none for *heahbisceop* in datable late texts.¹⁵⁵

The translator’s choice is interesting. Vleeskruyer suggests that *hehbiscop* is a translation of Sulpicius Severus’s *Life of St Martin*’s *summus sacerdos* (high priest), which he compares to the translation of *summum pontificem* (the high bishop) as *þone hean bisceop* in

¹⁵² ‘Heahbisceop’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹⁵³ See lines 173–4, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 259.

¹⁵⁴ DOE cites c. 28 occurrences, ‘heahbisceop’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹⁵⁵ For discussion of *heahbisceop* as ‘archbishop’ in *The Life*, see Chapter 5, 216–17.

Werferth’s translation of Gregory’s *Dialogues*.¹⁵⁶ While *sacerdos* alone might simply mean ‘bishop’ in medieval British Latin, this sense is not attested before 1320.¹⁵⁷ However, the phrase *summus sacerdotum* (the highest of priests) is used by Alcuin to mean ‘archbishop’, and, in later Anglo-Latin, to mean either ‘bishop’ or ‘saint’.¹⁵⁸ It is possible that the translator had a range of options when translating the expression, but preferred the term that contemporary readers would most readily understand to mean ‘archbishop’. As contributing evidence to an argument resting on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible that a text containing the noun *heahbisceop* is more likely to be early than late.¹⁵⁹

Grammatical Function

A. *Highly Likely*

Highly Frequent

in, preposition ‘meaning’ (in, into)

- total occurrences: c. 11,000 DOE count
- occurrences as preposition (DOE meaning: I. Preposition, I.A.1.- I.E.2): 933 DOE citations
- Positive likelihood ratio: 11.9
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.08

The overwhelming usage of usage of *in* as a preposition is in early prose. It is one of the highest frequency words in the corpus, and the DOE cites approximately 11,000 occurrences.¹⁶⁰ Under the first meaning (I) as a preposition, the DOE cites c. 933 examples

¹⁵⁶ Vleeskruyer edits the lexical item as a two-word phrase (*heh biscop*, line 233), he considers that is a translation of *summus sacerdotum*, and so is not a compound word. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 218.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Sacerdos, s.v. 2’, *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. Latham, Howlett and Ashdowne.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Sacerdos, s.v. 3’, *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. Latham, Howlett and Ashdowne.

¹⁵⁹ The possible reason for the employment of this term is discussed further below, see Chapter 5, 216–17.

¹⁶⁰ ‘In prep. and adv.’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

from the corpus, making this usage only 8 per cent of its total occurrences. Of the example citations given by the DOE I. Preposition, inclusive of I.A.1.- I.E.2, the majority (535 or 57 per cent) are concentrated in early prose. Early, Mercian texts have the highest frequency of *in* (prep.): in total, 225 occurrences in the OE Bede, 199 in Gregory’s *Dialogues*, and 25 in the OE *Martyrology*. Conversely, there are only 45 occurrences (5 per cent) in identifiably late texts, most of which are in charters, with the highest concentration (18 occurrences) being in *Confessionale pseudo-Egberti* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 121) (Conf 1.1). There is also one occurrence each cited in the works of Ælfric and Wulfstan. *In* (prep.) is also frequent in poetry (19 per cent) and the anonymous homilies and saints’ lives (12 per cent).

From this distribution, it is apparent that the use of *in* as a preposition is mostly restricted to early prose usage. Notably, the early occurrences are overwhelmingly in the Mercian OE Bede and Gregory’s *Dialogues*. Vleeskruyer proposes that the preposition *in* is an Anglian marker when it is not the product of the Latin source’s direct influence.¹⁶¹ Sisam agrees that the preposition *in* with the meaning of Modern English ‘in’ is a mark of Anglian transmission.¹⁶² However, *in* (prep.) also occurs in the *Orosius* (four times), and among texts in West Saxon or mixed dialect, meaning that it is not wholly restricted to originally Anglian texts in earlier OE prose.

As Vleeskruyer points out, Latin influence on the syntax and grammatical function cannot be ruled out, though it is difficult to determine; however, even if some occurrences of *in* (prep.) reflect Latinate syntax and grammar from translation and glossing, this remains a

¹⁶¹ Vleeskruyer argues there are over 50 examples in *The Life* for which Latin influence is ruled out, and cites two examples (on lines 188 and 203 of his edition). He also points to the Anglian usage of *on*, in which nine of 26 instances in *The Life* render *super*. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 30.

¹⁶² Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, 89.

possible indicator for the earliness of the text. It is safe to say that, used as a preposition, *in* is an indicator of an early date for the *Life of St Chad*. The sample is very large, and in an argument built on probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that a text using *in* as a preposition in the way found in the *Life* is very likely to be early.

hwæt-hwega, hwæt-hwugu, hwæt-hwoegnu [hwæthugu] ‘something, anything’ (pron.)

- total occurrences: c. 215 DOE count
- occurrences as pronoun (DOE meaning: 1.): 59 DOE citations
- positive likelihood ratio: 9.8
- negative likelihood ratio: 0.10

Hwæthugu, a common word across the corpus, has c. 215 citations according to the DOE.¹⁶³ For dating purposes, the presence of the word itself in a text is not significant; rather, its usage is significant—that is, its grammatical function and the meaning it takes in that context. *Hwæthugu* occurs in the *Life of St Chad* as an indefinite pronoun, a usage defined in the DOE as ‘1. indefinite pronoun: something, anything; in descriptions of quantity: some, a little’. The DOE cites 59 examples of *hwæthugu* used as an indefinite pronoun (meaning 1), being 27 per cent of c. 215 occurrences of the word. Analysing the distribution of the 59 citations of *hwæthugu* listed under DOE meaning (1), it is evident that the majority of occurrences are in early prose, with 39 occurrences (66 per cent), whereas there are only four occurrences (7 per cent) in identifiably late prose. As such, it is 9.8 times more likely that *hwæthugu* will occur as a pronoun in early texts, compared to a likelihood of appearing in late prose of only 0.10. The remaining citations are spread across the corpus, with one occurrence in poetry, four in anonymous homilies and saints’ lives (including the *Life of*

¹⁶³ ‘Hwæt-hwega, hwæt-hwugu, hwæt-hwoegnu’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

Chad), 10 in glosses, and one in an indeterminate text. In regard to late prose, while the word occurs in *Mary of Egypt* (LS 23) and in two miscellaneous texts (Conf 1.1, Prov 1), it is worth noting that the word does not occur in the works of prominent or prolific late writers, such as Ælfric or Wulfstan. Given the distribution pattern, it is possible to say that it is highly likely that a text containing *hwæthugu* as an indefinite pronoun will be early.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, *hwæthugu* as a pronoun provides strong evidence for an early date of the *Life of St Chad*.

Early Syntax

I include in this chapter examples of syntactical constructs that indicate a high likelihood of the *Life of St Chad*'s early date. The first unusual syntactical, and likely early, construction is found in the repetition of *swa swiðe* in ‘forþon þe in him **swa swiðe** nes þet he herinesse sohte fram mannum. **swa swiðe swa** in him wes. þet he eall his megen wolde mannum miðan’ (lines 3–5).¹⁶⁵ The repetition of *swa swiðe* introducing a pair of comparative clauses is rare in the corpus. There are similar instances in the OE *Pastoral Care*, the OE Gregory’s *Dialogues*, and LS 32 (Peter and Paul).¹⁶⁶ Gregory’s *Dialogues* text reads: ‘forðon ure muð þam ælmihtigan Gode byð þonne **swa swiþe** feor, **swa swiðe swa** he neah biþ þysum middangearde’ (lines 14–16).¹⁶⁷ The example from the Blickling Homily 15 on Saint Peter and Saint Paul reads: ‘Witodlice **swa swiþe swa** he weneþ sylf þæt he sceole to heofenum

¹⁶⁴ Vleeskruyer states that *hwæthugu* is common in West Saxon, more so in early West Saxon and not as common in late West Saxon. His argument, however, once more conflates dialect with date. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 30.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Because just as it was not in him that he sought praise from people, so he would hide all his virtues from people’, see lines 4–5, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 244.

¹⁶⁶ *Swa swiðe* is also repeated twice in proximity in the OE Bede (Book 4, Chapter 3, line 8), but the usage and meaning are different from the other examples. The text from OE Bede reads: ‘þæt he wæs swa swiðe Drihtnes ege underþeoded ond swa swiðe his þara nehstena dogra gemyndig in eallum his weorcum’. *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 3, 268.

¹⁶⁷ *Bischof Waerferths von Worcester Uebersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. Hecht, 209.

ahafen weorþan, **swa swiþe** he biþ bedyped on þa neoþemestan helle wit’ (lines 237–39).¹⁶⁸

The *Pastoral Care* text reads: ‘forðæm **swa swiðe swa** hit dereð ðætte ænig wana sie ðære sibbe betwux ðæm goodum, **swa swiðe** hit eac dereð ðæt hio ne sie gewanod betwux ðæm yfelum’ (lines 8–10).¹⁶⁹

The sentence in the *Pastoral Care* is not a translation of its Latin source, but rather is found in the epilogue section, which is an original composition in OE. However, the sentence in the *Life of St Chad* is a direct translation from the Latin *Life of St Martin*, which reads: ‘quia laudem ab hominibus non requirens, quantum in ipso fuit, omnes virtutes suas latere voluisset’.¹⁷⁰ The first *swa swiðe* in the *Life of St Chad* appears as a translation of *quia*, and the second *swa swiðe swa* is a translation of *quantum*. In both occurrences, *swa* as an adverb is used to develop a comparison, and, in the example in the *Life of St Chad*, also introduces a negative clause. These uses are both well attested.¹⁷¹ However, the occurrence of *swa* and *swiðe* together is highly unusual in the OE corpus. The fact that the *Pastoral Care* example does not represent Latin translation indicates that the construction is not necessarily tied to, or even derived from, a Latin syntactic model, though the more general influence of Latin on the OE syntax cannot be ruled out. Whatever the origin of this piece of syntax, this OE construction appears only in early texts. That this syntactic structure also occurs in the OE *Dialogues* provides corroborating evidence for an early date for the *Life of St Chad*. The Blickling Homily that shares the construction is undated.

¹⁶⁸ *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. Richard Morris, 3 vol, Original Series 58, 63, 73 (London: N. Trübner, 1874, 1876, 1880; repr. in 1 vol Oxford University Press, 1967), 185.

¹⁶⁹ Gregory the Great, *King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care*, ed. Henry Sweet, 2 vol, Early English Text Society, Original Series 45, 50 (London: N. Trübner, 1871), 47, 361.

¹⁷⁰ (*Sulpicius Severus*), *Sulpice Sévère: Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, 3 vol, Sources Chrétiennes 133-135 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 252.

¹⁷¹ See Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vol (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), §3263, 647; § 3270, 651; §3279, 654; see also §3281.

A syntactical element that strongly points to the *Life of St Chad* being written earlier than the twelfth century is the use of the instrumental case (line 20 *mid þy*, ‘by means of, according to’). By the early Middle English period, the function of the instrumental had been assimilated with the dative, often in conjunction with prepositions, and the presence of this case in a prose text, rather than poetry (where it was preserved longer), is striking.¹⁷² In isolation this usage does not provide firmer dating evidence than ‘pre–twelfth century’, as the dative and instrumental case could be used interchangeably through the OE period into the eleventh century.¹⁷³

A firmer indication of a probable early date of the *Life of St Chad* is found in the use of the highly unusual phrase *nohte þon les ealra* (lines 32–33), which is otherwise found mostly in datable early texts or undated texts. The phrase *nohte þon læs(s)* occurs only nine times in the corpus (including in the *Life of St Chad*), primarily in the OE Bede (5 times), as well as one use each in the OE *Pastoral Care*, an anonymous homily (HomU 9, that is ScraggVerc 4), and a single charter (Ch 333(Rob 11)). This phrase is a negative construction clause featuring a negative adjective or pronoun as described by Bruce Mitchell (§1626), though he does not discuss this particular, and highly unusual, construction.¹⁷⁴ As it occurs here, *nohte/nahte* is being used substantively, as attested in the Bosworth-Toller *Dictionary*.¹⁷⁵ Vercelli Homily 4 is undated, but the *Pastoral Care* and the OE Bede are from the late ninth century (early West Saxon and Mercian), while S333 is a charter of Æthelberht,

¹⁷² Tauno F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax: Parts of Speech* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016), 95.

¹⁷³ Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, §1345, 566.

¹⁷⁴ Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 671.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Na-with’, see Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*.

king of Wessex, dating from 864.¹⁷⁶ This syntactical feature is very likely to be archaic, and an indication of a very likely early date.

Summary

In this chapter I have conducted a review of the vocabulary evidence that can be used to develop a probable date for the *Life of St Chad*. A brief overview of some syntactical evidence has also been included. The approach has been diagnostic and focused not only on the words, but also, and more so, on what their occurrence in the corpus tells us about the OE prose texts in which they appear. A number of terms are highly likely to be indicators that the texts within which they appear are early. The cumulative force of this evidence is that the occurrence of a significant number of key terms in the *Life of St Chad* points to the high likelihood that this text is also early.¹⁷⁷ This evidence is corroborated by the related evidence of specific usage of key terms in the *Life*, and by certain elements of the text’s syntax. Bately speculates that, alongside a number of texts that can be dated with relative certainty to ‘the last thirty years of the ninth century’, there are also homilies and saints’ lives that may have been composed in this period; however, ‘there is no evidence’ to allow ‘certainty’ in this dating.¹⁷⁸ She includes the *Life of St Chad* as one of these saints’ lives. In the light of my investigation of the vocabulary evidence, this assessment must be treated as balanced and sound.

¹⁷⁶ ‘S 333’, *The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, King’s College London, Centre for Computing in the Humanities, <https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk>.

¹⁷⁷ On the difficult of attributing some early vocabulary items exclusively to either Mercian or West Saxon dialect, see Carolin Schreiber, ‘Dialects in Contact in Ninth-Century England’, in *Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, ed. L. Kornexl, U. Lenker and H. Gneuss (Frankfurt/Main, 2003), 1–31.

¹⁷⁸ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 118.

There is no evidence to support the suggestions of Roberts and Treharne that the *Life of St Chad* was either re-authored or authored at a moment closer to the date of the copying of Hatton 116. The total absence of linguistic markers that might support such a hypothesis renders it highly improbable. There is nothing in the *Life*’s language—the only possible source of internal evidence—to indicate a date for the *Life* later than the final decades of the tenth century, and much in it to suggest the probability of a far earlier date. An important critique from Bately concerning Vleeskruyer’s approach is that he readily assumes ‘early’ must mean ‘very early’, and that the *Life* predates Werferth’s translation of Gregory’s *Dialogues*, the OE *Bede*, and the OE *Martyrology*. While this remains a possibility, there is no current way of using the evidence to establish this with any reliable likelihood. The next chapter discusses the ways in which the *Life*’s vocabulary relates to datable early prose texts.

Chapter 4. Contextualising the *Life's* Vocabulary

The previous chapter provided a detailed study of a number of vocabulary items that are significant for determining the most likely date for the making of the OE *Life of St Chad*. The analysis of the data in terms of probabilistic reasoning indicates a very strong likelihood that the *Life* was composed before the year 1000, and a strong likelihood that it was composed before c. 950. The patterns of the lexical evidence found in the frequency and distribution patterns of vocabulary across the corpus suggest not only a relatively early date for the *Life* within the corpus, but also, with this, a potentially significant number of vocabulary items shared by the *Life* and certain OE texts. On the basis of a range of linguistic evidence, but leaning heavily on vocabulary, Vleeskruyer argued that Napier's dating of the *Life* to before c. 950 could be refined to the period 850 to 900. Furthermore, he was 'inclined to favour the earlier date' and suggested 'that the translation was likely to have been made not later than the third quarter of the ninth century'.¹ In this chapter I will show, through the contextualisation of the evidence in early English prose texts, that vocabulary cannot be used to support such an early and precise date for the making of the OE *Life of St Chad*.

In the context of probabilistic reasoning, not only the sharing of lexical items across early texts, but also the patterns of the occurrence and preponderance within certain texts have importance for determining the more likely date for the composition of the *Life of St Chad*. The discussion in this chapter falls into two sections. In the first I explore what can be determined to be the more significant relationships established by the sharing of lexical items of interest between the *Life* and a range of early texts. The second section looks at the

¹ *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, ed. Rudolf Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1953), 70.

relationship between the *Life* and the OE Bede; this discussion is continued in Chapter 5. In Vleeskruyer’s assessment, the *Life* is likely to predate all the texts discussed below, except for the Vespasian Psalter (PsGl A). As noted in Chapter 2, arguments for a very early date for the *Life* based on the Mercian dialect cannot be sustained. The evidence below suggests that the same is true in relation to the shared vocabulary.

Significant Relationships

In the preceding chapter, 38 words potentially significant for dating the *Life of St Chad* were analysed. The texts discussed below share these lexemes according to varying patterns. The possible meaning of these shared items, signalled by the presence of common vocabulary items, will be explored in terms of probabilistic argumentation. The patterns of sharing offer corroborating evidence for the early date (before c. 950) of the *Life*, though this is not uniform. The *Life*’s more significant sharing of lexical items with early Mercian texts than early West Saxon texts can provide evidence for the literary environment within which the OE text was created, though the impact of shared dialect in the data must be borne in mind. Further relationships are more complex, and the evidence for them both less numerically significant and difficult to interpret. I will discuss these texts in three groups. First, I will examine the evidence that associates the *Life* with three early Mercian texts, the OE *Martyrology*, Bishop Werferth’s translation of Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues*, and the *Life of St Guthlac* (the relationship with the OE Bede will be discussed in the second part of this chapter). Second, I will discuss the significance of the *Life*’s sharing of significant vocabulary items with a group of Alfredian texts (the OE *Pastoral Care*, Boethius, *Soliloquies*, and Orosius); two further texts often regarded as early Anglian productions, or West Saxon with a significant West Saxon element, the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* and Bald’s *Leechbook* are also discussed. The smaller numbers of shared vocabulary items with other texts

discussed in this section (the *Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, the Vercelli and Blickling homilies and other anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, and the OE *Benedictine Rule*) make precise conclusions difficult to draw. This section ends with a discussion of the sharing of a significant number of lexical items between the *Life of St Chad* and the works of Ælfric.

Early Mercian Prose

The only substantial early Mercian texts that can be regarded as very early in relation to Vleeskruyer’s proposed date for the *Life of St Chad* are the Epinal and Erfurt glossaries and the OE gloss to the *Vespasian Psalter*.² The only reliable vocabulary evidence for a probable dating of the *Life* to c. 850 would be found in close correlation between the vocabulary of the *Life* and these texts, which they shared to the exclusion of later texts. This evidence is not found. Even in the case of *tylig*, a vocabulary item that Vleeskruyer regards as ‘perhaps the most noteworthy lexical item in the text’, the evidence is not so clear, as Bately has pointed out.³ Four further works accepted as Mercian and written around or prior to 900—the OE *Bede*, OE *Martyrology*, *Dialogues*, and the anonymous *Life of St Guthlac*—all share a significant number of key vocabulary items with the *Life of St Chad*. A further text of possible early Anglian (Mercian) origin is the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, which will also be discussed in this section.

² For a discussion of these glossaries and their dates, see Bernhard Bischoff, Mildred Budny, Geoffrey Harlow, M. B. Parkes and J. D. Pheifer (eds), *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries: Épinal Bibliothèque Municipale 72 (2), Erfurt Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek Amplonianus 2o 42, Düsseldorf Universitätsbibliothek Fragm. K 19: Z 9/1, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cgm. 187 III (e.4), Cambridge Corpus Christi College 144*, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 22 (Copenhagen, 1988), 13–22; *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*, ed. J. D. Pheifer (Oxford, 1974), 88–90.

³ *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, ed. Rudolf Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1953), 68; Jane Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988): 111. See above, 131–2.

Gregory’s *Dialogues*

The OE version of Gregory’s *Dialogues* shares with the *Life of St Chad* (after the OE Bede) the greatest number of the words listed in the previous chapter at 22 words (over half of the vocabulary discussed).⁴ While the *Dialogues* is a long text, and so includes a great number of words, the relative shortness of the *Life* means that the high number of shared vocabulary items is significant. The translation of the *Dialogues* is preserved in three manuscripts and one small fragment: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 322 (GD (C)); British Library, Cotton Otho C.i, vol ii (incomplete; GD (O)); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 76 (incomplete; GD (H)); and Canterbury, Cathedral Library, MS Add. 25 (fragment). The version in Hatton 76 (GD (H)) represents a revised translation of some parts of Werferth’s translation, showing the marked intrusion of late West Saxon features.⁵ The majority of occurrences of vocabulary shared with the *Life* are found in GD (C), and there is no questioning of the fact that Werferth wrote in the late ninth century and in the Mercian dialect.⁶ While both texts describe the lives of saints and therefore closely share subject matter, this cannot account for the great majority of the shared terms of interest, as many do not relate to this specific discourse. There is no dispute that both the *Dialogues* and the *Life* were written in the Mercian dialect, which necessarily raises the question as to whether the similarities of vocabulary might be attributed to shared dialect, rather than that the *Life*, like the *Dialogues*, is an early text.⁷ This problem is obviated to great degree by the probabilistic

⁴ *Byldu, carcern, endedeg, forðfor, fregnan, geara, gebedhus, gefeolan, gefea, gelimplic, hleoprian, hwæthugu* (pron.), in (prep.), *medmicel* (adj.), *medmicle* (adv.), *neosian, nymþe, ricene, rihtgeleafful, smyltnes, tylig, þearfednise, ymbsellan*.

⁵ Three words occur in MS H (*gefeolan, hwæthugu* (pron.) *medmicel* (adj.)); P. N. U. Harting, ‘The Text of the Old English Translation of Gregory’s *Dialogues*’, *Neophilologus* 22, no. 1 (1937): 281.

⁶ Harting, ‘The Text of the Old English Translation of Gregory’s *Dialogues*’, 286.

⁷ Here I am talking about the lexical evidence, but Vleeskruyer, discusses the linguistic similarities between *The Life of St Chad* and other Anglian texts in depth in his introduction; he notes: ‘the dating of Mercian texts is peculiarly difficult in view of the stability of the literary dialect’. *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 68.

approach to the full body of evidence discussed in Chapter 3, which demonstrates that the use of most of these terms transcend dialectal boundaries. There is no evidence among their shared or distinctive vocabulary that the *Life* should be dated earlier than the *Dialogues* translation, rather than broadly contemporary with it.

OE *Martyrology*

Eleven words of interest are shared between the OE *Martyrology* and the *Life of St Chad*.⁸

The dialect of the OE *Martyrology* is predominantly Mercian Anglian, with the admixture of some early West Saxon elements.⁹ Rauer argues that this early mixed literary dialect is a result of the ‘intertwined politics’ of ninth-century Mercia and Wessex.¹⁰ She suggests on the basis of a range of evidence that the *Martyrology* was probably composed between c. 800 and c. 900.¹¹ Rauer also notes that the *Martyrology* has a large number of rare vocabulary terms.¹² The vocabulary that the *Life of St Chad* shares with the *Martyrology* includes words that can be identified as distinctively Anglian and/or early (*endedeg*, *gebedhus*, *medmicel*, *strel*). The two texts also share distinctive terms such as *carcern*, *heahfæder*, and *mitte*.

Rauer argues on the basis of a range of evidence that the OE *Martyrology* is most closely related in dialect to the translations of Gregory’s *Dialogues* and the OE Bede, and, furthermore, that not only are they thematically similar, but also that stylistic similarities can be noted between Werferth’s translation and the *Martyrology*.¹³ Rauer also notes that the OE

⁸ *Bregan*, *carcern*, *endedeg*, *gebedhus*, *gefea*, *gelimplic*, *heahfeder*, in (prep.), *medmicel*, *mitte*, *strel*.

⁹ Christine Rauer, ‘Early Mercian Text Production: Authors, Dialects, and Reputations’, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik*, 77 (2017): 541–58 (555).

¹⁰ *The Old English Martyrology: Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, ed. Christine Rauer, Anglo-Saxon Texts 10 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013).

¹¹ *The Old English Martyrology*, ed. Rauer, 3.

¹² *The Old English Martyrology*, ed. Rauer, 7.

¹³ *The Old English Martyrology*, ed. Rauer, 7. A full comparative stylistic analysis of these texts beside *The Life of St Chad* is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Martyrology, the translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, and the OE Bede underwent varying degrees of dialectal modification in the course of transmission.¹⁴ There is evidence for such a process in the transmission of the *Life* as well, by which later and West Saxon orthographic features have been incorporated into the text.¹⁵ The same problem of distinguishing between Anglian and early terms in two texts of the same dialect occurs here, as it does in relation to the *Dialogues*, and is explained in the same way in terms of the probabilistic method employed in Chapter 3.

The *Life of St Guthlac*

The *Life of St Chad* shares 9 words of significance for dating with the prose versions of the OE *Guthlac* (both the longer translation and the Vercelli fragment).¹⁶ Crawford (Roberts) suggests that the *Life of St Chad* was composed in the late ninth century, and it is generally accepted that the translation is Mercian.¹⁷ Like Saint Chad, Saint Guthlac was a Mercian saint. The possibility of a direct relationship between the prose *Guthlac* and the *Life* will be discussed in the next chapter.¹⁸ That two relatively short texts share what, in this context, is a significant number of unusual vocabulary items may point not only to a shared literary context, but also to the possibility that their dates of composition were not greatly separated.

¹⁴ *The Old English Martyrology*, ed. Rauer, 7.

¹⁵ Vleeskruyer's suggestion that the Hatton 116 scribe had direct access to the original text rests on very little evidence, *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 69–70. See Chapter 1 on spelling and scribal errors, 50–68.

¹⁶ LS 10.1 (Guth) (Cotton MS Vespasian D XXI) *forðfor, geara, gefea, hleobrian, hwæthugu* (pron.), *stræl, ymbsellan*. LS 10 (Guth) (Vercelli fragment, Vercelli 23) *bregan, geara, in* (prep.), *stræl*. The complete prose translation of the *Life of St Guthlac* is numbered LS 10.1 (Guth), while LS 10 (Guth) is a fragment of *The Life* found in the Vercelli Book.

¹⁷ Crawford, 'Guthlac: An Edition', 48.

¹⁸ See 194–5.

Early Prose

The *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* (Alex)

There are 8 words of significance shared between the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* and the *Life of St Chad*.¹⁹ Alexander’s *Letter* is contained in Cotton MS Vitellius A. xv (fols 4-77) (the *Beowulf* manuscript). Kenneth Sisam argues that both the linguistic features and the vocabulary indicate that the text is early and Anglian in origin.²⁰ He suggests that the *Letter* may have been copied together with *Beowulf* for a generation or two as part of a collection compiled sometime in the second half of the tenth century, but that the evidence shows that it was not associated with *Beowulf* in the early tenth century.²¹ Sisam’s arguments on linguistic and palaeographic grounds indicate a date for Alexander’s *Letter* before the second half of the tenth century. Also noteworthy, in the light of the apparent occasional struggles with Latin on the part of the author of the *Life*,²² is Sisam’s observation that the *Letter*’s translation reveals a translator struggling with a difficult Latin text; such problems would be expected to diminish by the later tenth century.²³ While problems with Latin are possible at any time or place across the early medieval period, attempts at major literary production on the part of these translators offers a glimpse of the communities in which these authors worked, presumably as their most linguistically ambitious members.

¹⁹ *Edneowunga, endedeg, gefea, hleoprian, hwæthugu* (pron.), in (prep.), *strel, miðan*.

²⁰ Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 88–90.

²¹ Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, 94.

²² See above, 55–68, and below, 210–14.

²³ Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, 85.

Alfredian Texts (*Pastoral Care*, *Boethius*, *Orosius*, *Soliloquies*)

The *Life of St Chad* shares a total of 9 significant lexical items with a group of four texts generally classified as Alfredian, all of them late ninth or early tenth century, and all written in early West Saxon but with a marked Anglian component in vocabulary and spelling conventions.²⁴ However, the distribution of shared terms within these texts is uneven, and breaks down by text as follows: the OE translation of Gregory the Great’s *Pastoral Care* shares 6 words with the *Life*,²⁵ the OE translation of Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy* shares two words with the *Life*,²⁶ the OE Orosius shares four words with the *Life*,²⁷ and the *Life* shares two words with the *Soliloquies*.²⁸

The *Life* shares the highest number of vocabulary items with *Pastoral Care*, followed by the Orosius. The number of words shared with the OE Boethius and *Soliloquies* is statistically negligible. These differences are interesting and not easily accounted for. The sharing of a relatively high number of items with *Pastoral Care* is unsurprising given the works’ shared religious subject matter. The OE Boethius, like *Pastoral Care* and Orosius, is relatively long. The religious subject matter that the *Life* shares with *Pastoral Care* is not a feature of the Orosius. It is difficult to determine the extent to which the shared items of interest represent the influence of Mercian dialect on these early West Saxon texts. However,

²⁴ See Carolin Schreiber, *King Alfred’s Old English Translation of Pope Gregory the Great’s ‘Regula Pastoralis’ and Its Cultural Context: A Study and Partial Edition According to All Surviving Manuscripts Based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 12* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2003), 83–136; Boethius, *The Old English Boethius: With Verse Prologues and Epilogues Associated with King Alfred*, ed. Susan Irvine and Malcolm Godden, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 19 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2012), 152–85; Paulus Orosius, *The Old English Orosius*, ed. Janet Bately, *Early English Text Society Supplementary Series* 6 (London, New York: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1980), xxxix–lv, lxxxvi–xciii; *King Alfred’s Version of St. Augustine’s Soliloquies*, ed. Thomas A. Carnicelli (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 3–19.

²⁵ *bældu*, *bregan*, *carcern*, *gefea*, *hwæthugu* (pron.), *smyltnes*.

²⁶ *carcern*, *hwæthugu* (pron.).

²⁷ *carcern*, *gefea*, *gelimplic*, *in* (prep.).

²⁸ *carcern*, *hwæthugu* (pron.).

the detailed probabilistic approach adopted in the analysis of the data in Chapter 3 means that the likelihood of an early date for the *Life* is not diminished by this possibility.

Bald’s Leechbook

The Life of St Chad shares three words of interest with *Bald’s Leechbook*.²⁹ *Bald’s Leechbook* is a medical text surviving in the mid–tenth century manuscript London BL Royal 12.D.xvii, but may have been composed much earlier.³⁰ Noakes argues on various grounds that the text was originally compiled around the same moment as the Alfredian texts discussed above.³¹ More recently, Christine Voth has argued that the collection of texts in Royal 12.D.xvii includes an underlying Mercian dialect element, and suggests it may have been compiled in a West Mercian centre.³² As a compilation of medical recipes, however, it is likely to include texts originally composed in different dialects at various times. Emily Kesling has recently, and persuasively, augmented earlier arguments that the compilation should be closely associated with ‘the period of Alfredian translation’.³³ Among the vocabulary shared by the *Life* and the *Leechbook*, the highly unusual *medmicel* is of particular interest since it is demonstrably an early, Mercian word. This evidence of the shared key items, especially in the light of markedly divergent genres, supports the likelihood of an early date for the *Life of St Chad*, and also strengthens the possibility that the *Life* was made at a time close to identifiable Alfredian texts.

²⁹ *hwæthugu, medmicel, strel.*

³⁰ Mark C. Amodio, *Anglo Saxon Literature Handbook* (Somerset, UK: Wiley, 2013), 135.

³¹ Richard Scott Nokes, ‘The Several Compilers of Bald’s Leechbook’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 33 (2004): 51–76 (72–3).

³² Christine Bobbitt Voth, ‘An Analysis of the Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript London, British Library, Royal 12. D. xvii’ (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2015), 43–50, 158–9.

³³ Emily Kesling, *Medical Texts in Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2020), 45.

Mid–Tenth Century Prose

Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang³⁴

The OE version of the enlarged *Regula canonicorum* shares five significant words with the *Life of St Chad*.³⁵ The OE translation of the *Rule* is found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191, a manuscript of the eleventh century, and is generally agreed to be a Winchester product.³⁶ Langefeld, the *Rule*’s most recent editor, argues that the vocabulary is essentially late West Saxon.³⁷ She also suggests, however, that there are a small number of words of Anglian (or possibly Anglian) origin in the text beside a below average percentage of Winchester vocabulary words.³⁸ Langefeld notes that the *Rule* includes other non–West Saxon linguistic features.³⁹ Helmut Gneuss also notes that, despite the presence of ‘Winchester vocabulary’, a significant proportion of its vocabulary points back to earlier usage.⁴⁰ Langefeld concludes by suggesting a date for the translation between the late 950s and 970s or at the latest around the year 1000.⁴¹ A revised dating of the *Rule* is offered by Drout, who suggests it could have written earlier in the tenth century, rather than later.⁴²

All eight lexical items shared between the *Life* and *Chrodegang’s Rule* appear to be Anglian, and, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, can also be considered to provide evidence for a

³⁴ What the DOE refers to as ChrodR (1) is the *Regula Canonicorum* by Chrodegang of Metz contained in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 191 (B10.4.1).

³⁵ *biftendlic, endedeg, gebedhus, gelimplic, in* (prep.).

³⁶ *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Brigitte Langefeld, Münchener Universitätschriften, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie, Band 26 (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2003), 44.

³⁷ *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Langefeld, 126.

³⁸ *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Langefeld, 141.

³⁹ *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Langefeld, 115–18.

⁴⁰ Helmut Gneuss, ‘The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold’s School at Winchester’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972): 63–83 (78).

⁴¹ *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Langefeld, 144.

⁴² Michael Drout, ‘Re-Dating the Old English Translation of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: The Evidence of the Prose Style’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 103 (2004): 341–68 (343).

likely early date for the *Life*. Of these, a word of particular interest is *bifiendlic*, which occurs only twice in the corpus: in the *Life* (as *heofugendlican*) and the *Rule of Chrodegang* (spelled *byfgendlican*). In both, the term translates Latin *tremendo*.⁴³ The misspelling and creation of a nonce word in the *Life*, either by the Hatton 116 scribe or an earlier copyist, suggests that it was already archaic and unrecognised when the change was made.⁴⁴ It is difficult to make conclusions about the significance of the use of this word because it is rare; however, as noted in the Introduction, the rarity of apparently early terms in a surviving OE corpus that is heavily numerically dominated by late texts is important when arguing from probability. That is, rare terms (especially a number of them) with identifiable early occurrence offer evidence for the date of a text where other kinds of dating evidence are absent, such as the *Life*. As mentioned above, Langefeld inclines to interpret the evidence as suggesting that the *Rule* dates from the period c. 950–c. 1000, while Gneuss would favour a date towards the earlier part of this period, and Drout suggests a date in the range c. 940–c. 950.⁴⁵ Gneuss’s observation that the *Rule* preserves archaic vocabulary would appear to be relevant to *bifiendlic*. While the *Rule* itself cannot be reliably dated earlier than c. 950, both the use of *bifiendlic* and its manner of appearance in the *Life* lend weight to the probability of a date for the *Life* before c. 950.

Benedictine Rule

For the purposes of analysis, I have collated the five occurrences of significant vocabulary across the versions of the OE *Benedictine Rule* together, since they all date to the late tenth century or later and postdate the initiation of the period of the Benedictine Reform.⁴⁶ Gretsch

⁴³ *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Langefeld, 328–9.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 1, 55–6, Chapter 3, 134.

⁴⁵ Drout’s narrow range implies too much confidence in linguistic methods of dating.

⁴⁶ *gebedhus, gefea, grornian, neosian, ricene*.

argues that the vocabulary of Æthelwold’s translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* includes no purely Anglian words and that the vocabulary is typically late West Saxon.⁴⁷ This translation of the *Rule of St Benedict* belongs to the ‘Winchester group’ of OE texts, which also includes the works of Ælfric, and the OE translation of the *Rule of Chrodegang*, though, as we have seen, this latter text presents a complicated linguistic picture.⁴⁸ Gretsch identifies a number of translation choices in the *Rule* that can be classified as typical of ‘Winchester vocabulary’, making it a more characteristic product of this school than *Chrodegang’s Rule*.

It is significant that the *Life of St Chad* exhibits no evidence at all of ‘Winchester vocabulary’.⁴⁹ While it is unlikely that this Mercian saint’s life would itself have been made at Winchester, it might nevertheless be expected that, if the *Life* were translated after the dissemination of the homilies and saints lives of Ælfric, in which the ‘Winchester vocabulary’ is standard (or even standardised), some trace of influence on the author’s expression might be found. For example, the usual Winchester choice when translating *superbia* is *modig*, whereas the *Life of St Chad* translates with *oferhygd*. The *Life* employs the non-Winchester term *gefeon* in preference to *geblissian*, and *megen* where texts associated with Winchester prefer *miht*.⁵⁰ Vleeskruyer theorises that, at the time the *Life* was written, there was a strong influence of what he calls the ‘Mercian ecclesiastical vocabulary’.⁵¹ The terms shared by the *Life* and Æthelwold’s translation of the *Rule* (BenR) are *gebedhus* and *neosian*; neither of these is classified as symptomatic ‘Winchester vocabulary’. Gretsch is

⁴⁷ Mechthild Gretsch, ‘Æthelwold’s Translation of the ‘Regula Sancti Benedicti’ and Its Latin Exemplar’, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1974): 125–51 (149).

⁴⁸ Gretsch, ‘Æthelwold’s Translation of the ‘Regula Sancti Benedicti’ and Its Latin Exemplar’, 149. See also Gneuss, ‘The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold’s School at Winchester’; Walter Hofstetter, ‘Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary’, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1988): 139–61; Mechthild Gretsch, ‘Winchester Vocabulary and Standard Old English: The Vernacular in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 83 (2001): 41–87.

⁴⁹ Gretsch, ‘Æthelwold’s Translation of the ‘Regula Sancti Benedicti’ and Its Latin Exemplar’, 150.

⁵⁰ Gretsch, ‘Æthelwold’s Translation of the ‘Regula Sancti Benedicti’ and Its Latin Exemplar’, 150.

⁵¹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 32.

undoubtedly right that there are no ‘purely’ Anglian terms in the *Rule*, but there are words that appear to have been originally Anglian that later entered into a common OE vocabulary. Given the occurrence of most of these words across the works Ælfric, in both homilies and saints’ lives, it is likely that Vleeskruyer is right in saying that these were originally Anglian words that were adopted in later OE, probably mostly in ecclesiastical settings.⁵² It is highly unlikely, however, that if the homily in the *Life* were a later OE product that the ‘Winchester vocabulary’ would have been carefully and systematically excluded.

Anonymous Homilies and Saints’ Lives

The significance of the evidence of shared vocabulary among the various anonymous saints’ lives and homilies is difficult to determine. The dates of most of these texts are unknown; however, there is a possibility that some may be of an early date and that some are Mercian in origin, or both. While shared vocabulary across thematically related texts such as saints’ lives and homilies is in itself unsurprising, the small group that are also aligned with early and/or Mercian texts invites further detailed research. The *Life of St Chad* also shares a notable number of significant vocabulary items with a small group among the Vercelli Homilies, and most importantly the prose *Life of St Guthlac*.

Vercelli Homilies

Of the vocabulary discussed in Chapter 3, the *Life of St Chad* shares three words with Vercelli Homily 5, four with Vercelli Homily 21, three words with Vercelli Homily 1, and a significant item of syntax in Vercelli Homily 6.⁵³ Across all the *Homilies* there is significant shared vocabulary, most obviously accounted for by the texts generally shared subject matter.

⁵² *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 62.

⁵³ *endedeg, gefea, smyltnes* (Verc 21); *gefea, in, medmicel, smyltnes* (Verc 5); *carcern, fregnan, in* (Verc 1).

The homilies found together in this collection were written at different times by different authors, though there is evidence that some were composed together in groups. Scragg argues that, while the homilies cannot be dated with precision, there is a possibility that some at least were composed as early as the ninth century.⁵⁴ There is no doubt that they were all composed by the late tenth century when the manuscript was copied. Scragg suggests that, in some cases, dates are clearer; for example, there is evidence that homily 21 was composed after the Benedictine revival, while homily I is likely to have been written prior to the reform era.⁵⁵ As with the other anonymous homilies and saints' lives, few firm conclusions around dating can be drawn. However, despite this uncertainty and imprecision, we are certain that none of the homilies postdates the year 1000. In some cases, such as Vercelli homily 6 (discussed in Chapter 3), there is some evidence of a much earlier date, as well as for Mercian origin.

Blickling Homilies

While the *Life of St Chad* does not share more than four words with any single homily from the *Blickling Homilies*, a number of them share three words, and across the vocabulary of the *Life* there is a significant portion that occurs in the *Blickling Homilies* as a group. Like the *Vercelli Homilies*, the dates and provenance of these homilies are uncertain, though none dates later than the end of the tenth century. While they are contained in a late tenth-century manuscript,⁵⁶ and some of the homilies may be roughly contemporary with the manuscript, it is also likely that at least some of them were written earlier, perhaps substantially earlier.⁵⁷ It is difficult to determine the significance of the small number of items shared between the

⁵⁴ *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. Donald G. Scragg, Early English Text Society, Original Series 300 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), xxxix.

⁵⁵ *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. Scragg, xxxix.

⁵⁶ *Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation*, ed. Richard J. Kelly (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), xxiii.

⁵⁷ *Blickling Homilies*, ed. Kelly, xlvii.

Blicking Homilies and the *Life*, given their shared homiletic and hagiographical subject matter.

Ælfric

A significant and prolific author in later OE prose, Ælfric (c. 955–1020) had a pervasive influence over many OE prose texts written after him. If the *Life* were written in the late tenth century, or certainly even later in the twelfth century, then we might expect to see the text of the *Life of St Chad* reflecting elements either of Ælfric’s vocabulary or style: such elements are absent from the *Life*. A number of vocabulary items shared by the *Life* with the works of Ælfric are noted in Chapter 3. It is striking that, for most of the key vocabulary items used by Ælfric, there are no instances of late occurrences outside his corpus. It is difficult to determine the full significance of this phenomenon. Ælfric’s corpus is mostly made up of homilies and saints’ lives—an important commonality with the *Life*. Many of these terms are also shared by both early Mercian works and anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, which in themselves are difficult to date and whose original dialects are undetermined.

There is little evidence for Ælfric’s early life, but it is most likely that his native dialect was West Saxon.⁵⁸ The possibility that Ælfric’s literary vocabulary was influenced by Mercian was raised by Paul Meissner in a series of articles published in the 1930s, though this idea has not been pursued, and such an investigation lies beyond the scope of this thesis.⁵⁹ We know that Ælfric read earlier OE texts, including the early West Saxon *Pastoral Care* and the OE Bede, though we do not know how much more Mercian prose might have

⁵⁸ See Helmut Gneuss, *Ælfric of Eynsham: His Life, Times, and Writings*, Old English Newsletter Subsidia, 34 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2009), 4; Jonathan Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, Durham Medieval Texts 9 (Durham, 1995), 6–7.

⁵⁹ Paul Meissner, ‘Studien zum Wortschatz Aelfrics’, *Archiv*, 165 (1934): 11–19; 166 (1935): 30–9; and (1935): 166, 205–15.

been available to him, but which has not survived.⁶⁰ It would be surprising if such reading did not leave an impression on Ælfric’s own literary vocabulary. While the significance of Ælfric’s apparent use of ‘early’ and Anglian vocabulary is beyond the scope of this thesis, the terms shared by his works and vocabulary of the *Life*, as discussed in Chapter 3, can be categorised as words consistent with early Mercian usage; these present no determining evidence of a likelihood that the text was made either early or late. Ælfric’s textual output ended in the first decade of the eleventh century. We find no further datable uses of the terms shared between his works and the *Life* after the first decades of the eleventh century.

Translation Choices Compared to the OE Bede

The *Life of St Chad* represents an independent translation of the greater part of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica (HE)* Book 4, Chapter 3, though it appears likely that the author had no direct access to the *HE*, and almost certainly no direct knowledge of the OE Bede.⁶¹ There is no direct textual relationship between the *Life of St Chad* and the OE Bede. As has been noted, it is most likely that Saint Chad’s life story was known to the translator via a lost Latin version of the *Life*, which itself appears to have made very few changes to Bede’s account, while adding a homiletic framing for the material. It would be surprising if the author of the *Life* had produced a fully independent OE translation of Bede’s account of Saint Chad if the OE Bede had been known to him. A major strand of Vleeskruyer’s argument about the comparative vocabulary of the *Life* and the OE Bede is focused on his hypothesis that the making of the *Life* predates the translation of the OE Bede, an argument that has been

⁶⁰ Dorothy Whitelock, ‘The Old English Bede’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 48 (1962): 57–90 (79, n. 10), first noted Ælfric’s familiarity with the OE Bede. Malcolm Godden, ‘An Old English Penitential Motif’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2 (1973): 221–39 (221, n. 1), notes Ælfric’s knowledge of the OE *Pastoral Care*.

⁶¹ This is perhaps best evidenced by *The Life of Chad*’s naming of ‘Alwine’, bishop of London, as Saint Chad’s episcopal consecrator; Bede’s *History*, 3.28 clearly names Uini bishop of the West Saxons. See below, 198–200.

critiqued by Bately.⁶² It is generally accepted that the OE Bede was made at the end of the ninth century, and in the Mercian dialect.⁶³ The work was known to Ælfric a century later, but the work’s earlier circulation is unknown, though Waite has argued that the OE Bede was known in Wessex at least by the middle of the tenth century.⁶⁴ Despite their separateness, the *Life* and the OE Bede share a relatively high number of vocabulary items with significance for dating (28 words discussed in Chapter 3).⁶⁵ There is no obvious evidence pointing to the relative chronology of the *Life* and the OE Bede. It is possible that they were translated close in time, though the kind of precision in dating possible for the OE Bede (broad as that is) is not possible for the *Life*.

In this section I will compare the vocabulary of the *Life* to that found in the corresponding section of the OE Bede. This study reveals that the Latin text behind the *Life*’s OE is indeed almost exactly the same as that of the *HE*, and that the two early Mercian texts can be regarded as translating the same Latin with very occasional exceptions.⁶⁶ I will show the ways in which the lexical choices the translator of the *Life* made differ from those of the translator of the OE Bede. What emerges is evidence that the literary dialect of these two independent translators was similar, suggesting that they are likely to have worked at no great remove in time. However, differences emerge that offer insights into the stylistic preferences of the *Life*’s translator, as well as the ways in which his source text either diverged from the

⁶² Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 112.

⁶³ See Gregory Waite, ‘The Vocabulary of the Old English Version of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*’ (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1986), 231–40.

⁶⁴ Greg Waite, ‘The Preface to the Old English Bede: Authorship, Transmission, and Connection with the West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 44 (for 2015 2016): 31–93.

⁶⁵ *Ateon*, *heahbisceop*, *hwaethugu*, *in* (prep.), *lindesfarena*, *mittes*, *neos(i)an*, *geara*, *stræl*, *scotta ealond*, *endedeg*, *rihtgeleafful*, *medmicle* (adv.), *medmicel* (adj.), *grornian*, *gelimptic*, *gefeolan*, *gecignis*, *byldu*, *adesa*, *bregan*, *smyltnes*, *forþfor*, *carcern*, *gefea*, *hleothrian*, *ymsellan*, *frignan*.

⁶⁶ See Chapter 5, 200–10.

HE or presented a corrupt version of it in places. The relationships between the *Life* and the Latin and OE versions of Bede are discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

The evidence and methods used here follow on from the previous chapter in utilising the frequency and distribution of lexemes in the corpus, informed by probabilistic reasoning. The selection of vocabulary is a revised version of the list of 'translation choices compared to the Old English Bede' found in the introduction to Vleeskruyer's edition of the *Life*.⁶⁷ However, I have included only those words that have significant implications for the dates of the texts, omitting those included by Vleeskruyer as evidence of Mercian dialect where these are also found early and late across OE dialects; these words offer no insights relating to the date of the *Life*. The words studied here are divided into two categories: Anglian vocabulary indicative of a probable early date (including more common words where their meaning in the *Life* is significant) and terms consistent with early Mercian usage.

'Early' Vocabulary

For *HE* '[non] *segniter*', the *Life of St Chad* has '*naht slaulice*', where OE Bede translates as *unaswundenlice*. Bately recognises this term as early, but argues that it provides insufficient evidence for dating the *Life*.⁶⁸ There are only two occurrences of *slaulice* in the corpus, one in the *Life* and one in the OE *Pastoral Care* (spelled *slawlic*).⁶⁹ The choice in the OE Bede is also rare, with the term *unaswundenlice* appearing only in the OE Bede. The case of *slaulice* as evidence for the *Life*'s use of an earlier OE literary dialect is considerably complicated by the fact that the word later emerged and became 'not uncommon' in Middle English, and

⁶⁷ All of the vocabulary from the OE Bede is taken from Bede MS T as per *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 35–7.

⁶⁸ Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', 111.

⁶⁹ Note the occurrence in CP is not a negative.

ultimately became Modern English ‘slowly’.⁷⁰ In this light, *slaulice* can only be regarded as providing equivocal dating evidence.

For *HE dudum*, the *Life* has the word *geara* (long ago), where the OE Bede has *geo ær*.⁷¹ *Geara* is discussed above, and from its distribution in the corpus can confidently be categorised as an early Anglian word; *geara* also frequently occurs in poetry.⁷² The phrase *geo ær/ær geo*, used in the OE Bede, also has the meaning ‘long before/ago’.⁷³ In the corpus, the phrase found in the OE Bede occurs overall c. 14 times: seven occurrences in a singular poem, in two early prose texts (*Dialogues* and OE Bede) and four times in late prose: once in Benedict’s *Rule*, once in WHom 12 and twice in Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies* Series II, 10. The word choice in the *Life*, *geara*, as discussed in the previous chapter, is evidently a poetic word and probably Anglian in origin. However, while the term occurs more frequently (c. 80 occurrences) than the phrase used in the OE Bede, even with this higher number of occurrences, it is nevertheless more associated with early use than the OE Bede’s chosen phrase.

Where the *HE* has *puluis* and the translator of the *Life* employs the word *dust* (dust), the OE Bede uses *molde*. In both the *Life* (*del þes dustes*, line 257) and the OE Bede (*dæl þære moldan*), the chosen term translates Bede’s phrase *partem pulueris*.⁷⁴ Vleeskruyer argues convincingly that there is a stylistic element in the translator’s choice, with *dust* providing alliteration with *del*.⁷⁵ He also suggests that this phrase is formulaic and reflective

⁷⁰ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 111, n. 109.

⁷¹ Line 218.

⁷² Chapter 3, 117–18.

⁷³ ‘Geo, 1.c.i.a.’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*, ed. Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2018).

⁷⁴ Bede, *The Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Thomas Miller, Early English Text Society, 4 vols, Original Series 95, 96, 110, 111 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890–98), IV, 3, line 8, 272.

⁷⁵ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 35.

of an idiom, pointing to a parallel in the OE *Dialogues* (*þæs dustes dæl*); the expression also occurs twice in the OE *Martyrology* (*þæs dustes dæl*).⁷⁶ The noun *dust* occurs c. 425 times in the corpus, which the DOE notes is found across dialects, genres, and periods.⁷⁷ However, outside the *Life* the idiomatic alliterating phrase appears only in early Mercian texts, the *Dialogues*, and the OE *Martyrology*.⁷⁸ The parallel, but not alliterating, phrase in the OE Bede (*dæl þære moldan*) occurs four times in this text but is not found elsewhere.⁷⁹ While, of course, the OE Bede’s translator was under no compulsion to use the alliterating idiom found in other identifiably early Mercian texts, it is striking that, on four occasions, he did not do so. Whether this is the product of indifference to, or ignorance of, the alliterating idiom is impossible to say. However, the presence of this unusual Mercian idiom in the *Life* not only offers evidence of its probable early date, but also may indicate a link between the translator’s literary dialect and that of the *Dialogues* and *Martyrology*.

Where the *HE* has *perfectio*, the translator of the *Life* chose the unusual word *gefremednes* (perfection, in this occurrence), and the OE Bede has the closely related *fulfremednes*. The DOE entry for *gefremednes* (perfection, in this occurrence) cites only eight occurrences in the corpus, with no occurrences in any datable late texts. These include twice in the OE translation of Gregory’s *Dialogues*, once each in the OE Bede (Book 1), the *Life*, a gloss, and an prognostic of indeterminate date.⁸⁰ In the *Life*, *gefremednes* renders *perfectio*, and imparts the sense ‘perfection’, whereas in Gregory’s *Dialogues* and the OE Bede, it is

⁷⁶ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 21.

⁷⁷ ‘Dust’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁷⁸ Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, ed. Antonette diPaolo Healey, John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2009).

⁷⁹ Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

⁸⁰ This prognostic is in an eleventh-century MS, London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xv, though it could be an earlier text; on the manuscript see Takako Kato, ‘Cotton Caligula A. xv’, in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, ed. Orietta Da Rold, Takako Kato, Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne (University of Leicester, 2010); ‘Gefremednes’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

used to mean ‘accomplishment; effect’. The corresponding word in the OE Bede, *fullfremednes*, has c. 60 citations in the corpus (DOE), including five early prose texts, late prose (five occurrences in Ælfric), four anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, one Mercian gloss and three other glosses.⁸¹ It is notable in this instance that the translator of the *Life* employed the more unusual word, one more preponderant in early usage. It is also noteworthy that the translator used *gefremednes* in a markedly different sense from the other extant examples of the word, though, in relation to such a small sample, it is difficult to draw too many conclusions from this.

HE disponere appears in the *Life* as *getihhian* (*teohhian*, intend) and is translated as *byncan* in the OE Bede. There are a number of different spellings of the verb *teohhian* (intend).⁸² Altogether, there are c. 116 relevant citations, including 11 in poetry, 13 in anonymous homilies and saints’ lives (including the occurrence in the *Life*), six in glosses, and a single appearance in the late Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin*. All the remaining occurrences are in early prose.⁸³ Among the early prose occurrences, the verb occurs in a single charter, twice in the OE Bede and 22 times in Gregory’s *Dialogues* (both Mercian texts), and 11 times in the Prose Paris Psalter. The highest concentration of occurrences is in the OE Boethius, where it occurs 37 times. It also occurs twice in *Pastoral Care* and twice in the *Soliloquies*. In comparison, *byncan*, the verb used by the translator of the OE Bede, occurs far

⁸¹ ‘Fullfremednes’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁸² See ‘Teohhian’, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. J.R. Clark Hall with a supplement by Herbert D. Meritt, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1894; repr. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1960), 339. I have conducted three searches, based on the spelling variants listed in the Bosworth Toller entry, see ‘Teohhian’, Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*. A search for *tiohh-* in the corpus produces 43 matches (excluding nine results of other words). A search for *-tihh-* in the corpus produces 13 matches in the corpus; a search for *-teohh-* gives 60 occurrences in the corpus. Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

⁸³ Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

more commonly, and is evenly distributed across early and late texts.⁸⁴ The early date of the OE Bede is not in question, but as the word chosen by the translator of the *Life* is less frequent across the corpus it is a stronger indicator of likely early composition. The translator’s choice in the *Life* presents a further example of a taste for words commonly used in poetry.

HE maxime is translated in the *Life* as *tylgest*, where the OE Bede translates as *swiðost*.⁸⁵ *Tylgest* is discussed in the previous chapter, where I noted a total of 13 occurrences in the corpus among texts that can be categorised as Anglian and early; this term is a strong indicator of early authorship.⁸⁶ The word chosen in the OE Bede occurs with significantly greater frequency, with c. 240 occurrences in the corpus, and is found commonly across OE dialects, early and late.⁸⁷ This is an instance in which the translator of the *Life* employed a less frequently occurring word than is found in the OE Bede, and, more importantly, one that points to the translator’s use of early Mercian dialect.

For *HE amabilis*, the *Life of St Chad* uses the adjective *leofwynde* (gracious, loving), where the corresponding word in the OE Bede is *leofa*.⁸⁸ Vleeskruyer suggests that the choice made by the translator of the OE Bede was possibly based on ‘glosses to original *leofwynde*’.⁸⁹ He does not develop this cryptic explanation, but the implication is that he suspects that the OE Bede originally shared the reading *leofwynde* (loving), and that *leofa* (dear) and *gelufiendlica* (loving) were found as glosses in OE to an older copy of the Latin

⁸⁴ A search reveals that *puht* has 196 occurrences in the corpus; *ðync-* has 66 occurrences; *ðinc-* has 176 occurrences. Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

⁸⁵ ‘Se ealles tylgest romanisce þeawe song in godes circan’, line 43; Bede, *HE*, Book IV, Chapter 2.

⁸⁶ See *tulge*, *tylg*, *tylgest*, Chapter 3, 131–2.

⁸⁷ 68 occurrences spelled *swiþost*. Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

⁸⁸ ‘Se leofwynda cuma se gewunade þet he þa ure broðra neosade’, lines 144–5. *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 3, 266; Bede, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Betram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), Book IV, Chapter 3, line 11, 340.

⁸⁹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 35.

text, and that these were later incorporated into the translated text of Bede. Vleeskruyer provides no evidence to support this hypothesis, and none can be found in the surviving manuscript texts of the OE or Latin Bede.

The adjective *leofwende* is a very infrequent word, with only nine occurrences.⁹⁰ The instance in the *Life* is the only example of the word spelled with a *y* instead of an *e* in the stem of the second component of the compound. The expected Anglian spelling would be *liofwende* (with the spelling *leofwynde* possibly implying scribal confusion around an unfamiliar word at some stage of transmission). The greatest number of occurrences of the word are in poetry (in six poems: *Andreas*, *Christ*, *Gifts*, *Precepts*, *Kentish Hymn*, *Psalm 50*); there is also a single occurrence in both the OE Boethius and a mid-tenth century gloss (CIGl). This pattern suggests that *leofwende* was originally used only in Anglian dialect, with the possible influence of Mercian on the Alfredian translators accounting for its presence in the OE Boethius. Bately classifies *leofwynde* with a group of words in the *Life* appearing in texts written before the late tenth century or ‘the date of the composition of which is uncertain’.⁹¹ The likelihood of this term being employed by a translator later than the middle of the tenth century is very low. As Bately notes, the OE Bede’s *leof* ‘was still in use in late West Saxon texts’.

Early Meanings

The relative significance of a number of words for the dating of the translation of the *Life of St Chad* is associated with their precise meaning in the text, and the comparative use of this meaning in the corpus of words that otherwise appear both early and late.

⁹⁰ Search for *leofwend-*, *liofwend-*, *leofwynd-*. Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

⁹¹ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 111.

For *HE subtrahere*, the translator of the *Life* employs the verb *ateon* in a passive construction with the past participle (*atogene weron*), where OE Bede translates with *alædan*.⁹² The phrase used in the *Life* was discussed in the previous chapter. In this instance, the verb is included in a phrase meaning ‘to die’ (*HE: de carne subtractis*; the *Life: of lichama atogene weron*; OE Bede: *of lichoman alædde wæron*).⁹³ As noted in Chapter 3, this meaning of *ateon* is restricted to Gregory’s *Dialogues*, the OE Bede (elsewhere in the text), and the *Life*.⁹⁴ Regarding the lexical choice in the OE Bede, *alædan* (to lead), the DOE counts c. 275 occurrences: across poetry, both early and late prose, anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, and glosses (both Mercian and non-Mercian).⁹⁵ Both phrases express what is obviously a common narrative element across a wide range of texts, making it difficult to dismiss the small sample size of *atogene weron* as statistically insignificant. That the *Life* and the OE Bede share the unusual expression is evidence that both are early, preserving an early OE idiom, perhaps shared with early West Saxon. Such evidence points to an earlier rather than later date for the *Life*, but one that does not suggest the priority of either translation.

For *HE (animum) intendere*, the translator of the *Life* chose the verb (*mod*) *fæstnian*; the equivalent word in the OE Bede is (*mod*) *aðenian*. The DOE entry for *fæstnian* includes the definition ‘A.1.a. (*mod*) *fæstnian* in / on ‘to fix, direct (the mind, thoughts, etc.) on (someone / something acc. / dat.)’, and cites indicative occurrences in the *Pastoral Care*, the Prose Paris Psalter, and the *Life*.⁹⁶ The DOE entry on *aþenian* includes the sense that corresponds to the usage in the OE Bede:

4.e. of mental exertion: to apply (the mind, oneself, etc. to someone / something); to strive, make an effort, direct (attention, etc. to someone / something); mainly

⁹² ‘Lichama atogene weron’, line 83.

⁹³ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, IV, 3, lines 25–6, 262.

⁹⁴ See above, 146–7.

⁹⁵ ‘Alædan’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁹⁶ ‘Fæstnian’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

with in / on / to expressing to whom (God) or to what end applied; frequently in past participle: intent on, directed to.

The DOE editors cite indicative occurrences in *Pastoral Care* (twice), the OE Boethius, the OE Bede (twice), Gregory’s *Dialogues*, and a single gloss (LibSc).⁹⁷ This distribution pattern suggests both translators are using commonly used verbs with less frequently occurring senses which are found only in early texts. The use of *fæstnian* in this way is a strong indicator that a text is early, though the comparison with the OE Bede offers no evidence regarding which of these two might have been written earlier.

Consistent with Early Usage

Translating *HE oratorium*, the *Life of St Chad* uses the noun *gebedhus* (prayer house, oratory) eight times, where the related section of the OE Bede has *cirice*; the OE Bede never uses *gebedhus* elsewhere, always preferring *cirice*. *Gebedhus*, which occurs c. 89 times in the corpus, was discussed in Chapter 3. The translator’s choice is consistent with, but not restricted to, early Mercian usage.⁹⁸ The word choice in the OE Bede has c. 2,000 occurrences in the corpus (counted in the DOE), also found early and late.⁹⁹ Beside the absence from the OE Bede, it is striking that *gebedhus* is also frequently used by Werferth when translating Gregory’s *Dialogues* (c. 30 times), pointing again to a relationship between his literary dialect and the *Life*’s, but in this case not the OE Bede’s.

HE repente is translated in the *Life* as *feringa*, corresponding to the OE Bede’s *semninga*. Both choices are consistent with early Mercian usage. The DOE cites c. 200 occurrences for *færinga* across a wide range of texts, poetry, early prose (including the

⁹⁷ ‘Aþennan, aþenian’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

⁹⁸ Cross ref to above page.

⁹⁹ ‘Cyrice’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

Mercian *Martyrology* and *Dialogues*), late prose (various texts including twice in Ælfric), a number of saints’ lives and homilies, glosses (including Mercian glosses), as well as two texts of indeterminate date.¹⁰⁰ There are c. 10 occurrences of the typical Mercian spelling, *feringaas* found in the *Life*), including in the OE *Martyrology* and a Mercian gloss (PsGIA), as might be expected, but also Ælfric and the OE *Benedictine Rule*.¹⁰¹ The corresponding word in the OE Bede *semninga* has c. 140 occurrences in the corpus, predominantly in early prose (notably 31 occurrences in the *Dialogues* and 41 across the full text of the OE Bede), as well as Let 1, Alex, Lch II, poetry, various anonymous saints’ lives and homilies (including the *Life of St Guthlac*), and two glosses. The only late occurrences are found in WHom 8b and one Ælfrician work.¹⁰² It is curious to note that, while the early Mercian *Dialogues* use both terms to translate Latin *repente*, the OE Bede entirely avoids *færinga*. While the *Life* itself avoids *semninga*, the homily is a much shorter text that makes it difficult to know whether this term was also available in the translator’s literary dialect. Nevertheless, the sharing of *færinga* between the *Life* and the *Dialogues* provides another indication of a relationship between their Mercian literary usage.

Latin *coetus* in the *HE* is rendered as *þreat* in the *Life*, corresponding to the OE Bede’s *weorod* (the *Life* *werode*, line 233), while *þreatum* is also found at line 175, corresponding to Latin *comitibus*, where the OE Bede has *latteowdome*. All together, there are c. 87 occurrences of *þreat* in the corpus, with numerous occurrences in poetry, anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, and glosses (including Mercian glosses). In early prose, it appears five times in the *Dialogues*, seven times in the OE Bede, and twice in the

¹⁰⁰ ‘Færinga, færunga’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

¹⁰¹ Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

¹⁰² Spelled *semninga* occurs 113 times; spelled *samnunga* it occurs seven times; spelled *sæmninga*, there are 20 occurrences in the corpus. Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

OE *Martyrology*, with a single appearance in the OE Boethius. There are only three occurrences in late prose, all of which are found in works of Ælfric.¹⁰³ The OE Bede’s *weorod* has c. 152 attestations in the corpus, across a range of poetry, anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, and glosses.¹⁰⁴ In early prose it is found once each in the OE Boethius and the *Dialogues*, five times in the OE Orosius, 35 times in the OE Bede itself, four times in the OE *Martyrology*, and seven times in *Alexander’s Letter*. It is also found in Chronicle D and Conf 5.1. Comparatively, *weorod* occurs far less frequently in late prose than *þreat*, with five appearances in Ælfric’s works, one in Nic (C) and two in ChronE. Neither *þreat* nor *weorod* is unusual in early texts, Mercian texts, or in poetry. Both terms make appearances in the works of Ælfric, but *þreat* is only found in late texts among the works of Ælfric. It is, however, noteworthy that *weorod* appears in early West Saxon texts such as the Orosius and the OE Boethius, whereas *þreat* does not, and that *weorod* is also more popular with later writers. The translator’s lexical variant is compatible with early Mercian usage, and it is possible that *þreat* came late into West Saxon from Mercian.

HE minus perfectus ‘imperfect/less than perfect’ is translated in the *Life* as *unmedume*, which corresponds to the OE Bede’s *unfulfremed*. Both the translators’ choices are rare in the corpus. In addition to the *Life*, there are c. 13 occurrences of *unmedume* (*unmeodome*), with seven early prose occurrences in Alfredian texts (*Pastoral Care*, OE Boethius, and *Soliliquies*), and two occurrences in a late text (Lit 4.3.3, Lit 4.3.5), beside four anonymous homilies and saints’ lives.¹⁰⁵ *Unfulfremed* appears five times in the corpus, once in the OE Bede, in two glosses, and twice in Ælfric Gram.¹⁰⁶ The most that can be said on the

¹⁰³ There are 39 occurrences of *þreat*, as well as 15 occurrences of inflected *þreatum* and 33 occurrences of *þreatas*. Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

¹⁰⁴ Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

¹⁰⁵ Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

¹⁰⁶ There are also two occurrences of *unfulfremedness*. Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

basis of such a small sample is that both terms are associated with early usage, but not exclusively so.

The *Life* uses *ricene* five times to render various equivalent Latin terms (*HE concitus, continuo, confestim, primo, and tunc*), corresponding to the OE Bede’s three uses of *sona* (*concitus, continuo, confestim*), and one instance of *hræde* in the OE Bede for *HE primo*; the final occurrence of *ricene* in Chad has no equivalent in the OE Bede, but seems to be rendering *HE tunc*.¹⁰⁷ *Ricene* has c. 101 attestations in the corpus, with the highest frequency in poetry, followed by glosses; it also appears in Gregory’s *Dialogues*, in four anonymous homilies and saints’ lives, once in the OE *Benedictine Rule*, and in four Ælfrician works.¹⁰⁸ I have chosen to include *ricene* not because of any conclusive dating evidence that it might provide, but rather because it represents in the *Life* the choice of a term found very frequently in poetry, against the OE Bede’s more prosaic choice. There are around 65 occurrences of *ricene* in poetry, though it does appear elsewhere. In comparison, *sona* is very commonly used and has c. 2,800 attestations in the corpus; some of these are in poetry, but the vast majority are not. This pattern is also followed by the adverb *hræpe* (*hræde*), which has c. 1,000 attestations (DOE).

The OE Bede translates *exitus* in *HE* as *forðfor*, where the translator of the *Life* has employed the words *endedeg* and *utgong* in the two corresponding sentences.¹⁰⁹ (See the previous chapter for discussion of *endedeg* and *forðfor*.¹¹⁰) Altogether there are c. 88

¹⁰⁷ *The Life of St Chad*, lines 133, 134, 171, 187, 193; *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3; (*sona*) lines 1, 35, 266; 16, 268, (*hræde*) line 2, 266; *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, (*concitus*) line 15, 340, (*primo*) line 18, 340, (*confestim*) line 7, 342, (*continuo*) line 21, 242.

¹⁰⁸ See above on *ricene* (*recene*), Chapter 3, 112–13.

¹⁰⁹ ‘þet heo minne endedeg drihtne mid benum ætfestun’, lines 147–8; ‘ond þet hi eac swilce gemynen þet hi heora útgong forecumen’, lines 148–9. 1

¹¹⁰ See Chapter 3, *endedeg*, 127–8; *forðfor*, 115–16.

occurrences of *utgang* in the corpus, 26 of which are spelled *utgong* as in the *Life*, occurring primarily in early texts and glosses, beside attestations in medical texts of indeterminate date early and Mercian usage. Similarly, as a vocabulary item, the *Life*’s *endedeg* is consistent with early and Mercian usage but it is not restricted to poetry or early texts. The lexical choice in the OE Bede, *forðfor*, represents a distinctive Mercian dialect word that is also used elsewhere in the *Life* when not translating the *HE*.

Summary

The parallel evidence of the translators’ practice in the *Life* and the OE Bede does not provide any clear indication that one of these OE texts might have been made earlier than the other. At times, the *Life* uses what appear to be more unusual and perhaps archaic terms where the OE Bede uses more commonly found ones; at other times, the reverse is true. It is apparent that, for the greater part, both OE texts represent translations of what is, to all intents and purposes, the same Latin text. The variations across the two OE texts show that neither text was known to the translator of the other, as Vleeskruyer demonstrated. However, the fact that the translator of the *Life* did not know of the OE Bede cannot be taken as evidence that the *Life* predated this text, which itself dates to c. 900. This study of significant variations in their translation choices supports the conclusion that the dialect and date of the *Life* and the OE Bede are broadly shared. Such an understanding is also supported by the high number of vocabulary items they share outside the section of the text in the OE Bede corresponding to the *Life*.¹¹¹ This evidence lends weight to the hypothesis that the *Life* was translated at a time not greatly removed from the translation of the OE Bede, and at a time no later than the first half of the tenth century, but probably closer to 900 than 950. This close study of the

¹¹¹ See *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 34.

vocabulary of the *Life* and the corresponding section of the OE Bede also suggests that the literary dialect of the translator of the *Life* could have been closer to that of Werferth than to the OE Bede. Further study of this question is beyond the scope of this thesis. In relation to the small sample offered in this discussion, it is impossible to determine whether their apparent closer sharing of vocabulary might represent a shared milieu or a more direct influence on the author of the *Life* of the OE *Dialogues*.

Conclusion

In Chapter 3, I argued on the basis of the vocabulary evidence that there is a high probability that the *Life of St Chad* was translated before the middle of the tenth century. This chapter examined the relationship between a number of early English prose texts that share with the *Life* lexical items important for dating and found no necessary precise chronological connection between them. It is impossible to assert, as Vleeskruyer did, that the *Life* is either exactly contemporary with or predates any identifiably early OE texts. The *Life* shares a high number of items of significant vocabulary with early prose texts, including the Alfredian translations. The closest relationships implied for the *Life* are with early Mercian prose texts. The nature and number of common items of significance for dating with the OE Bede, *Dialogues*, *Martyrology*, and *St Guthlac* are likely not only to be the product of their shared Mercian dialect, but also their shared origin in the earlier prose period. Employing the language and logic of probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that the *Life* is likely to have been composed at a time not far removed from other early Mercian prose texts. There is no strong evidence associating the *Life* more firmly with an earlier period, which might be attested by closeness to early Mercian glossaries.

The incidence of shared vocabulary between the *Life* and Alfredian prose texts is much lower, but nevertheless supports the likelihood that the composition of the *Life* is

roughly contemporary with them. The rate at which vocabulary is shared between the *Life* and the anonymous saints’ lives and homilies (especially the *Vercelli Homilies* and *Blickling Homilies*) is comparable to the rate of sharing with the Alfredian texts. The full significance of the sharing of items with the homilies and saints’ lives is unclear given the lack of firm dates for texts in these groups. However, in the case of *Vercelli* and *Blickling*, none of their texts date later than the late tenth century, and some possibly date much earlier.

There is high rate of shared vocabulary between the *Life* and the works of Ælfric, and, as we saw in Chapter 3, many of these items are also shared with other earlier Mercian texts. It is possible, if not likely, that Ælfric was influenced by the vocabulary of earlier OE prose, and that the development of an ecclesiastical lexicon continued across the OE period. This language appears in transition in the *Rule of Chrodegang* and offers a way of understanding the links between the lexis of the *Life* and the OE *Benedictine Rule*. The absence of distinctive ‘Winchester’ vocabulary from the *Life*, even allowing for its Mercian dialect, points to a date for the *Life* before the mid-to-later tenth century.¹¹² While it is the contention of this thesis that the *Life* can confidently be dated to before c. 950, and probably closer to c. 900, the evidence of the number of shared items of vocabulary with Ælfric provides an extremely likely *terminus ad quem* for the possible range of dates within which the *Life* could have been composed. After Ælfric (d. 1010), the items with dating significance in the vocabulary of the *Life* fall off a statistical cliff. While there is nothing in the *Life* to suggest a likely date of composition earlier than the very end of the ninth century, there is similarly nothing among the vocabulary pointing to a date later than the beginning of the eleventh century.

¹¹² While it is possible to imagine a scenario in which a late author of *The Life of St Chad* might have found a range of otherwise early Mercian vocabulary items among Ælfric’s works, it is impossible to imagine that the same author would have carefully and entirely avoided the influence of his style and Winchester vocabulary.

The correlation of the lexis of the *Life* not only with the OE Bede (in itself unsurprising), but also with the other early Mercian works such as the OE *Martyrology* and *Dialogues*, is telling. These correlations between the *Life of St Chad* and early Mercian texts may point, alongside the linguistic evidence, to a broadly similar literary and cultural context for the *Life*'s inception. The parallel evidence of the translators' practice in the *Life* and the OE Bede does not provide any clear indication that one is earlier than the other—at times, the translator of the *Life* uses what appear to be more unusual and perhaps archaic terms where the translator of the OE Bede uses more commonly found ones; at other times, the reverse is true. It is, however, noteworthy that the translator of the *Life* appears not to have known of the OE Bede, for if he knew of it, we might ask why he did not use it as an aid. Their dialect and date appear broadly to be shared. This would lead, albeit cautiously, to the hypothesis that the *Life* was written either before the OE Bede was translated, or perhaps before it achieved wide circulation or reached the Mercian ecclesiastical centre in which the *Life* is likely to have been produced. In any case, the vocabulary distributions and frequency patterns that demonstrate a connection between the literary vocabulary of the *Life* and these texts supports what was concluded on the basis of the vocabulary evidence: that the *Life of St Chad* most probably dates to before c. 950, perhaps as early as c. 900.

Chapter 5. The *Life* and its Relationship to its Sources

The aim of this chapter is to explore various aspects of the relationships between the OE *Life of St Chad* and its sources and analogues. This discussion will explore various aspects of these relationships with the ultimate objective of developing some insight into the literary context within which the *Life* was made. The previous two chapters focused closely on the evidence of vocabulary and developed the conclusion that the *Life* was most likely made sometime in the period c. 900 to c. 950. On the basis of the vocabulary evidence, there is little doubt that the *Life* is the product of a pre-Ælfrician homiletic tradition. However, the *Life*'s relationship with the anonymous homilies and saints' lives of the Vercelli and Blickling manuscripts is difficult to define, though some texts among these may point to an earlier Anglian (Mercian) homiletic tradition.¹

The most important ultimate source for the OE *Life of St Chad* is the Latin text of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum (HE)*.² Bede's account provides the only independent detailed record of the life and miracles of this seventh-century bishop saint; Stephen of Ripon provides some parallel details, though there is no evidence that his *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* has informed the composition of the *Life*.³ It is unlikely that Bede's Latin text was used directly as a source by the anonymous author of the OE *Life*, but, rather, as previously mentioned, that the direct source was a Latin sermon based substantially on the

¹ See 170–1.

² See Jane Roberts, 'The English Saints Remembered in Old English Anonymous Homilies', in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, vol 5 (New York: Garland, 2000), 435–42.

³ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors; Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927).

Ecclesiastical History.⁴ The text of the *Life* frames this Bedan source material with a homiletic opening (or ‘introduction’, lines 1–14) and closing (or ‘conclusion’, lines 270–92), so styling the *Life* as a standalone homiletic saint’s life.

The first part of this discussion focuses on the generally agreed hypothesis that the OE *Life of St Chad* substantially translates a lost Latin *Life*. This first section investigates the likely influence of this source on the homiletic framework of the OE *Life*. It is evident that the lost Latin *vita* drew closely on Sulpicius Severus’ *Vita Sancti Martini* when framing the narrative of Saint Chad’s life, though we cannot know if the OE translator was aware of this ultimate debt. There is no doubt that Bede’s Latin *HE* was the ultimate source for the events of Saint Chad’s life; however, it is also likely that, in various minor ways, this was modified in the lost Latin *vita*. The relationship to Bede’s work is found in the second part of this chapter. In the context of my investigation of these two antecedent sources of the OE *Life*, I will also explore the *Life*’s relationship to a group of previously identified OE analogues to sections of the text. The most substantial of these is the OE Bede, and I compare elements of the translation strategy and style of the *Life* to the OE Bede. Some less substantial analogues have been noted by Vleeskruyer, and I discuss their possible relationship with the *Life*.

In natale sancti Ceadde episcopi et confessoris: The Lost Homily

Both Napier and Vleeskruyer argue that the OE *Life of St Chad* substantially represents the translation of a lost, original Latin homily on the saint; this conclusion is not disputed by Janet Bately.⁵ I accept this hypothesis, though there is disagreement about the evidence

⁴ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 13–18.

⁵ Arthur S. Napier, ‘Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad’, *Anglia*, 10 (1888): 132; *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 13; Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 104–18.

supporting it.⁶ As evidence for the use of the lost *vita*, Napier points to the influence of Latinate syntax, such as in the use of the dative absolute.⁷ Vleeskruyer disagrees with the significance of the examples of syntax that Napier presents, but offers other syntactical evidence to support the same conclusion.⁸ He argues that additions, adaptations, and omissions made to Bede’s Latin must have been made by an original Latin composer of a lost anonymous *Life of St Chad*, and that the extant OE version should be seen as a rather literal translation of this lost text, reflecting its syntax. This style is in evidence both in the introductory and concluding sections, as well as in the sections corresponding to Bede’s *HE* account of Saint Chad’s life. Vleeskruyer suggests that the OE *Life of St Guthlac* provides a comparable example of the same practice, translating not Felix’s *Life*, but rather a lost homily based on it.⁹ Vleeskruyer argues that the errors of misreading the Latin source and over-literal translations in the *Life of St Chad* are shared with other, longer OE translations, such as the Orosius and the OE Bede.¹⁰

The evidence and arguments presented by Napier and Vleeskruyer for a lost Latin homiletic source are sufficiently persuasive to be accepted here as representing the most probable scenario. Indeed, it may be possible to give this lost homily its Latin name, hidden in plain sight in the rubric above the OE *Life of St Chad* in Hatton 116: *In natale sancti Ceadde episcopi et confessoris*. If this is a rubric derived from the lost Latin sermon, then this implies that the sermon would have been composed for the saint’s feast day (*natalem*), perhaps for use in the Liturgy of the Hours. Given there is no surviving record of the assumed

⁶ Roberts, ‘The English Saints Remembered in Old English Anonymous Homilies’, 435-42.

⁷ Napier, ‘Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad’, 133.

⁸ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 16.

⁹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 16–17.

¹⁰ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 17–18.

original Latin homily, the *Life*’s hypothesised Latin source, and its antecedent sources, must be used cautiously in relation to the OE text.

Sulpicius Severus’s *Vita Sancti Martini*

Sulpicius Severus’s *Vita Sancti Martini* is the substantial source of the framing material of the OE *Life of St Chad*, mediated through the supposed intermediary Latin homily, as demonstrated by Vleeskruyer.¹¹ Vleeskruyer’s identification of Sulpicius’s *vita* as a source, used as a close model for the opening and closing sections of the *Life of St Chad*, is entirely convincing and has not been questioned. This choice models Saint Chad’s life on the hagiographic template of the most famous confessor-bishop of the early Middle Ages.¹² In addition to the *Vita Sancti Martini*, Vleeskruyer observes three further textual parallels for the closing section of the *Life*: Felix’s *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, the OE prose *Life of St Guthlac*, and Blickling Homily 18.¹³ Vleeskruyer also notes a close parallel between the translation of a verse from Psalm 17 in the *Life* and the Vespasian Psalter gloss, which will be discussed later in this chapter.¹⁴ Unlike his detailed discussion of the lost Latin sermon and Sulpicius as sources for the *Life*, Vleeskruyer’s presentation of this material is non-committal, and he does not fully explain his understanding of the relationship between the *Life* and these further textual parallels.¹⁵ He suggests in a note that the Latin and OE lives of Guthlac present ‘parallel[s]’ to the concluding section,¹⁶ and juxtaposes excerpts from them beside the

¹¹ Vleeskruyer states that the *Life of St Martin* is a source, but he does not elaborate on the connection. He displays the text of the *Life of St Martin* in parallel to the to *The Life of St Chad* and an examination of the two demonstrates the close relationship between them. See *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 12.

¹² Clare Stancliffe, *St Martin and his Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983).

¹³ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 184–5.

¹⁴ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 199–200.

¹⁵ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 12–18.

¹⁶ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 12, note 1.

relevant section of his edited text. This is formatted in the same way as the texts of the OE Bede (‘Tanner’ MS) and the Latin Bede (‘Moore’). Small sections of Blickling Homily 18 and the Vespasian Psalter text of Psalm 17 are presented in the same way.¹⁷ It is apparent that Vleeskruyer regards these texts (with the exception of the Latin text of the ‘Moore’ Bede) as analogues to the *Life*, though they are not clearly discussed in these terms.

The Homiletic ‘Introduction’ and ‘Conclusion’

The *Life of St Chad*, lines 1–7, has, as its ultimate source, Sulpicius Severus’ *Vita Sancti Martini*, Chapter 1.7;¹⁸ the generic homiletic opening phrase, ‘men þa leofestan’ is not derived from this source, and is discussed below. The Latin sermon must have been close to the *Vita Sancti Martini* here, as suggested by the close relationship demonstrable between the OE *Life of St Chad* and Sulpicius’s text. For example, ‘ut se vel ante episcopatum vel in episcopatu gesserit’, is translated faithfully as, ‘hu he dyde in þam biscopdome oððe er þam biscopdóme’ (lines 2–3).¹⁹ There is a notable change where Sulpicius reads, ‘Igitur sancti Martini vitam scribere’, while the *Life of St Chad* has ‘ic eow onginnu secgan’, with phrasing that has been discussed in Chapter 3 above.²⁰ The omission of Saint Martin’s name is as unsurprising as it is necessary, but the shift from an emphasis on reading to one on oral performance is a rhetorical choice for a performative verb strongly implying that this *Life* was crafted for reading aloud to an audience. It is impossible to know whether the OE text here reproduces the emphasis of the lost Latin *In natale sancti Ceadde*, or is reorienting the text to a different kind of audience.

¹⁷ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, note 1, 12; 199–200.

¹⁸ (*Sulpicius Severus*), *Sulpice Sévère: Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, 3 vol, Sources Chrétiennes 133-135 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 252.

¹⁹ Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 244.

²⁰ *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. Fontaine, 252; see above, 167.

The concluding section of the *Life* runs from line 270 to line 292 (the end of the text). The use of sources in the conclusion to the homily differs from the introductory section. In this section, the OE incorporates a freer version of same the passage from Sulpicius with which the sermon had opened.²¹ It would appear that the author of the lost Latin sermon drew on various conventional formulations to craft a conclusion of the kind fitting for a saint’s life and homily; the OE presumably follows the Latin, but also echoes the conventional rhetoric found at the end of other OE homilies. Lines 275–78 correspond to Chapter 26, paragraph 5, of the *Vita Sancti Martini*, and the text of the *Life* follows Sulpicius Severus at this point with some changes.²²

In addition to the suggestion of a debt to Sulpicius Severus’ *Vita Sancti Martini*,²³ Vleeskruyer presents a group of parallels for this section of the *Life of St Chad*: the OE prose *Life of Saint Guthlac*, Felix’s *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, and Blickling Homily 18 (on Saint Martin). No direct connection between the *Life of St Chad* and the two *Guthlac* texts is apparent, though their shared debt to Sulpicius is likely. There is no evidence in the *Life* of a debt to either in the Latin or OE lives of Guthlac as a source. Lines 270–74 and 279–92 of the closing section appear to have been originally composed by the author of the source, though some adaption by the OE translator is also possible here. The bridging text between the end of Bede’s account and the beginning of the section adapted from Sulpicius, parallels the beginning of the homily and repeats the opening lines:

Genihtsumien ús nu men þa leofestan. þas þe us segd earun be þam arwurðan
biscope sancte ceaddan. ond þeah þe ús medmicelo of micclum beon gesegde:

²¹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 185.

²² *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. Fontaine, vol 1, 314.

²³ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 12, note 1.

þonne hweðere beon we gewisse his lifes. ond his drohtunge gemyndig hu he dyde ær þes biscophades onfongnisse ge in þam biscophade (lines 270–74).²⁴

The very final paragraph, lines 286–92, is a concluding prayer expressing conventional sentiments.

Blickling Homily 18

In a more distinctive way, the *Life of St Chad*, lines 275–77, presents a genuine and intriguing parallel to Blickling Homily 18, perhaps not coincidentally also on Saint Martin. In the *Life*, the relevant passage reads:

eale þet wes eadig wær. in þam ne wes enig inwit. ne he nenigne fordemde. ne he nenigne gehénde. ne he nanegum men yfel for yfele gealt.

This closely parallels a short passage in the Blickling Saint Martin homily.²⁵

Ðis wæs soðlic eadig wer. ne wæs æfre facen ne inwid on his heortan, ne he nænigne man unrihtlice fordemde, ne nænigum yfel wiþ yfele geald.

The underlined sections suggest that the texts share more than what might have been a commonplace expression related to ‘repaying evil with evil’. However, it is unlikely that the similarities point to any direct textual relationship, despite the superficial appearance of seriatim borrowing one way or the other. The passage from Sulpicius, used twice by the author of the lost Latin homily (in both the introduction and conclusion), is not included in the Blickling Homily, though this short passage from the *Vita Sancti Martini* is: ‘O uere uir beatus, in quo dolus non fuit: neminem iudicans, neminem damnans, nulli malum pro malo

²⁴ ‘Ah þonne hweðere we eow reccað medmicle intingan of miclum megenum to þon þet us genihtsumien þa bisne. ond þa segene be þam awyrðan feder’ (lines 5–6).

²⁵ *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. Richard Morris, 3 vol, Original Series 58, 63, 73 (London: N. Trübner, 1874, 1876, 1880; repr. in 1 vol Oxford University Press, 1967), 223, line 230.

reddens’.²⁶ The two texts appear to represent the results of two translators working independently, as implied by the omission and retention of different elements of the first Latin phrase: ‘O uere uir beatus’; ‘eale þet wes eadig wær’; ‘Ðis wæs soðlic eadig wer’. A direct relationship between Blickling Homily 18 and the *Life* is unlikely.

Homiletic Style

The *Life of St Chad* reveals rhetorical features that reflect both the author’s personal style and the crafting of the *Life* as a saint’s life and homily. Stylistic features include minor occurrences of alliteration in the text, repetition, and some poetic vocabulary as noted above.²⁷ Vleeskruyer argues that any stylistic features in the *Life of St Chad* should not be read as intended by the author, but rather the product of ‘force of habit’.²⁸ This interpretation of the evidence is as untenable as it is undemonstrable. As will be noted, the style of the *Life* is not overly ornamented, and, in general, it is fair to say that the *Life* is not a particularly well written or imaginative piece of prose. In this light, however, those features present are unlikely to be accidental, and should be read as intentional on the part of the author. It is notable that there are no traces of any impact of Ælfric’s or Wulfstan’s distinctive styles on the *Life*’s prose. The impact of either one or the other might have offered evidence for an author writing after the circulation of their works in the late Anglo-Saxon period, though the absence of this influence provides no definitive evidence either way for the date of the *Life*.²⁹

The *Life of St Chad* opens with a standard homiletic formula, *men þa leofestan* (dearly beloved people), and then, presumably following the lost homiletic source, closely adapts

²⁶ *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. Fontaine, vol 1, 314.

²⁷ For example, on lines 169–79, the common alliterative pair, *wordum* and *weorcum*; and ‘m’ alliteration in ‘micelre mihte ond megenþrymme’, on lines 207–8.

²⁸ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 19.

²⁹ For discussion of Ælfric’s ‘rhythmical prose’, see *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. Pope

part of the introduction to Sulpicius’ *Vita Sancti Martini*. The opening phrase, *men þa leofestan*, is a formulaic one often found in anonymous homilies and saints’ lives. The phrase is repeated in the closing section (at the point of departure from Bede’s *HE* narrative), where it marks a parallel framing device.³⁰ The phrase *men þa leofestan* (with variant spellings) occurs 227 times in the corpus.³¹ Of those occurrences, nearly 200 are found in anonymous homilies; there are 24 occurrences in anonymous saints’ lives, but only two in Ælfric’s works, and six in other late texts. The anonymous homilies are undated for the most part. But it is notable that this formulaic phrase is used by Ælfric only twice, and not at all by Wulfstan, strongly implying a primarily pre-Ælfrician currency. Donald Scragg has recently demonstrated just how early this formula might be, noting its occurrence in a mostly erased ninth-century OE homily in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 63—a ninth-century Latin manuscript that is most likely from Northumbria.³² The use of this formulaic opening in the *Life* might not demonstrate its earliness, but it is certainly compatible with an early date for the text. In the terms of probabilistic reasoning developed in Chapter 3, the presence of this opening formula is a very likely indicator that the *Life* was composed before the end of the tenth century.

The phrase ‘ic eow ongin nu secgan’ (line 1) may also reflect early homiletic style as a rhetorical and stylistic choice.³³ A similar opening is uniquely found in the OE prose *Life of Saint Guthlac*: ‘Onginne ic nu be ðam life ðæs eadigan weres Guðlaces’ (Chapter 4, line 2).³⁴ The *Life of Saint Guthlac* is also a life of a Mercian saint of undetermined date and

³⁰ ‘Genihtsumien ús nu men þa leofestan’, line 270, Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 267.

³¹ Search results from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*.

³² Donald G. Scragg, ‘A Ninth-Century Old English Homily from Northumbria’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 45 (2016): 39–49.

³³ Appendix A: Edition and Translation, 244.

³⁴ *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des heiligen Guthlac*, ed. Paul Gonser, *Anglistische Forschungen* 27 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1909), 117.

provenance, though also in the Mercian dialect, and generally regarded as early.³⁵ Any implication in Vleeskruyer’s edition that the *Life of St Chad* has possibly been influenced by the Latin or OE *Guthlac* should be treated cautiously.³⁶ This shared opening expression built around *onginnan* across these two saints’ lives may provide evidence of (early) Mercian homiletic style, but there is insufficient evidence for this.

Bede’s Ecclesiastical History and the Life of Saint Chad

The most substantial source for the OE *Life of St Chad* is Bede’s *HE*, and the OE Bede is the *Life*’s most important analogue, though in neither case is there a direct textual relationship. The fact that the *Life* was translated at one remove from Bede’s Latin text is evident in various ways.³⁷ One striking example of this is found early in the text of the *Life*. At one point only does the *Life of St Chad* present a piece of information about Saint Chad that conflicts with Bede’s report in the *Ecclesiastical History*. On lines 11–13, at a point in the OE *Life* before it begins to follow Bede’s account closely, the text states that Saint Chad’s first episcopal consecration was at the hands of a certain ‘Alwine’, ‘bishop of London’:

fram alwine. se wes biscop in þere lundoniscan cestre norðhymbra þeoda
rixendum under oswie þam kyninge.³⁸

Bede reports the consecration differently, stating that Saint Chad went to Wessex to be consecrated by Wine (*Uini*), who was bishop of West Saxons.³⁹ This Wine appears to have

³⁵ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 99.

³⁶ See above, 162.

³⁷ See also Chapter 1, 50–68.

³⁸ ‘By Alwine, who was bishop in the city of London [at the time when] the Northumbrian people were subject to Oswiu the king, who was ruling.’ Oswiu ascended Bernicia in late 641, was King of Northumbria 654–70 and ruled Mercia 654–7. *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. E. B. Pryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 219, 223.

³⁹ Spelled variously as Uini, Wine (OE Bede); aslo Wina, Wyna; *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book III, Chapter 28, 24–47.

been bishop of Winchester from 662 to 663,⁴⁰ and then bishop of London after 666 (until 666 x 675).⁴¹ The *Life*’s original piece of information, so carefully dated to the reign of Oswiu, in all likelihood represents an innovation on the part of the author of the lost Latin sermon, rather than the OE translator, whose OE painfully reproduces the Latin grammar (e.g., *rixiendum*). It is also likely that the translator of the OE *Life of St Chad* was unaware of the fuller text of Bede’s *HE* and the disagreement that he was transmitting.

One possible explanation for this discrepancy may be that the Latin *vita* author made an accidental error about where and when Saint Chad was consecrated; there is no record of a bishop Alwine at this time, and, given the similarity between their names, it is likely that Bede’s ‘Uini’ and the *Life*’s ‘Alwine’ intend to refer to the same person.⁴² Vleeskruyer favours Bede’s ‘greater authority’ and argues that the information in the *Life* is incorrect.⁴³ Napier, however, considered it possible that both Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* might be wrong in the information they offer about Uini/(Al)Wine, and that Saint Chad was, in fact, consecrated in 666, not 664, and in London, not Winchester.⁴⁴ On balance, given that Bede is the source of the lost Latin sermon, and that Bede was writing far closer to the time and using more reliable records, it is highly unlikely that Napier’s hypothesis is right.⁴⁵ The question would then be, does the change in the *Life* represent an error that has been introduced accidentally or deliberately? The introduction of London (*in þere lundoniscan cestre*) where no source could have included this reference shows the mistake is not the result of scribal

⁴⁰ *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. Pryde, Greenway, Porter and Roy, 257.

⁴¹ *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. Pryde, Greenway, Porter and Roy, 238.

⁴² The *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* database suggests that the name Alwine is incorrect; ‘Alwine,’ *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, King’s College and University of Cambridge, 2010, <http://www.pase.ac.uk>.

⁴³ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 189.

⁴⁴ Napier, ‘Ein Altenglisches Leben Des Heiligen Chad’, 148.

⁴⁵ See also Dorothy Whitelock, ‘Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London’, *The Chambers Memorial Lecture*, delivered 4 May 1974 (University College, London), repr. in *History, Law and Literature* (London, 1981), II, 5–6. One of Bede’s important informants was Nothelm, a priest of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury.

error in transcription, and it is equally unlikely to represent the intrusion of an otherwise painfully faithful translator. The possible implication of this difference will be explored further in the conclusion to this chapter.

Parallel Translations: *Saint Chad* and the OE Bede

While the *Life of St Chad* and the OE Bede share a high number of vocabulary items—these shared words are not always in corresponding sections of text—there is also significant variation in the lexical choice of the two translators.⁴⁶ Some translation differences might be explained by the translator of the OE the *Life* using the original Latin *vita*, rather than Bede. The very occasional closeness and shared lexical similarities of the two OE texts would appear to reveal two Mercian speaking translators not greatly removed in time following the same practices of translation and translating what was substantially the same Latin text.

Beyond the individual lexical choices in translation, a broader comparison of the *Life of St Chad*, the OE Bede, and the *HE* offers insights into the relationship between the texts, and more specifically the translation strategies (and competence) of the two Mercian translators. Occasionally, differences between them also offer glimpses of differences between the text of the lost *vita* and the *HE*, and also the state of the text the translator of the *Life* was working with. As mentioned, the *Life* closely follows Bede's narrative account of the career and miracles of Saint Chad. Given that the *Life*'s immediate Latin source, *In natale sancti Ceadde*, is lost, the best guide we have to the content of the *Life*'s lost Latin source is Bede's Latin *HE*, Book 4, Chapters 2 and 3.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ See above, 198–210.

⁴⁷ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 334–46; *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, 258–72. Lines 15–273 of the *Life of St Chad* in my edition correspond to Book 4, Chapter 2, line 33, 258, to the end of Chapter 3, line 18, 272, in Miller's Early English Text Society edition of the OE Bede.

At times, the OE translations of the *Life of St Chad* and the Bede demonstrate close similarity in their expressions, both in the lexical choices and sentence construction, though points of divergence are always in evidence, while their agreements reflect the impact of Bede’s text. Some of the differences between the two texts show considerable modification to Bede’s narrative, but, as Vleeskruyer notes, it is difficult to read too much significance into these since we can only surmise aspects of its treatment in the *Life*’s immediate Latin source. The examples cited below are designed to demonstrate the complexity of the interrelationship between the *Life*, Bede’s Latin text, the OE Bede, and, implicitly, the lost Latin *In natale sancti Ceadde*.

Similarities

In many instances there is a great likeness in word choice and syntax across the two translations, which both usually follow the Latin closely. The following examples demonstrate close similarities between the translations of the *Life of St Chad* and the OE Bede when handling closely related source material:

A.

The *Life* (line 68–69): He hefde eft biscopseld in þere stowe seo is gecweden licetfeld. in þere he forðferde. ond bebyriged wes.⁴⁸

OE Bede (lines 11–12): Hæfde he bisceopseðl in bære stowe, þe geceged is Liccedfeld, þær he forðferde & bebyrged is.⁴⁹

HE: Habuit autem sedem episcopalem in loco qui uocatur Licidfelth, in quo et defunctus ac sepultus est.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ ‘He then held the episcopal see in the place which is called Lichfield, in that [place] he died and was buried.’

⁴⁹ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 262.

⁵⁰ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 336.

B.

The *Life* (lines 82–83): Mittes þer monige broðore of þere gesomnunge þes árwurðestan biscopes of lichama atogene weron.

OE Bede (lines 24–26): Mid þy þa monige of þære gesomnunge þæs ilcan arwyrðan biscopes of lichoman alædde wæron.⁵¹

HE: Cumque plurimis de ecclesia eiusdem reuerentissimi antisisit de carne subtractis.⁵²

C.

The *Life* (lines 113–114): þa swetestan stefne singendra ond blissendra of heofonum to eorðan niðer astigan.⁵³

OE Bede (lines 20–21): þa swetestan stefne & þa fægrestan singendra & blissendra of heofonum oð earðan astigan.⁵⁴

Latin Bede: uocem suauissimam cantantium atque laetantium de caelo ad terras usque descendere.⁵⁵

D.

The *Life* (lines 117–119): In þam se biscop ceadda wes. þet he in gongende all gefylde. ond in ymbhwyrfte ymbsealde.⁵⁶

OE Bede (lines 25–26): þe se biscop in wæs; & ingongende ealle gefylde, & in ymbhwyrfte ymbsealde.⁵⁷

Latin Bede: in quo erat episcopus, perueniret, quod ingressa totum impleuit atque in gyro circumdedit.⁵⁸

⁵¹ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 262.

⁵² *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 338.

⁵³ ‘The sweetest voice singing and rejoicing from the heavens descending down to earth.’

⁵⁴ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 264.

⁵⁵ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 340.

⁵⁶ ‘In which the bishop Chad was, that it in going in completely filled and went around in a circuit.’

⁵⁷ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 264.

⁵⁸ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 340.

E.

The *Life* (lines 173–74): seo halige sawul wes onlesedu of þam carcerne þes lichaman.⁵⁹

OE Bede (line 3): seo halige sawl wæs onlesed from þæs lichoman hefignessum.⁶⁰

Latin Bede: soluta ab ergastulo corporis anima sancta ducentibus.⁶¹

Differences

The examples above show that, very often, the translators of the *Life of St Chad* and the OE Bede could translate similarly. However, at times, they render the same Latin in quite different, but correct, ways. For example, at line 151, the *Life* closely follows the Latin *HE* that reads ‘Cumque haec et huiusmodi plura loqueretur’.⁶² The *Life* reads ‘ond mittes he þas sprec ond manegu þisum gelic’. The translation the OE Bede diverges significantly: ‘Mid þy he ða þas word & þyses gemetes monig to him sprecende wæs’ (lines 17–18).⁶³ The expression used by the translator of the *Life* suggests that, at this point, his direct source, the lost Latin *In natale sancti Ceadde*, followed Bede’s *HE* verbatim, so that the differences in the OE texts represent markedly different approaches to rendering the same Latin.

There are multiple examples of such divergence between the texts of the *Life of St Chad* and the OE Bede.⁶⁴ Most appear to show two independent translators rendering the same Latin text in slightly variant ways. At other times, these divergences demand a different explanation. At lines 16–17, the *Life* reads, ‘ond mid þy he manegu ealond geondferde. ond

⁵⁹ ‘The holy soul was freed from the prison of the body.’

⁶⁰ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 268.

⁶¹ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 342.

⁶² *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 340.

⁶³ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 226.

⁶⁴ See also Chapter 3, 203–10.

ealle þing geendebyrde’.⁶⁵ The equivalent texts in the OE Bede (line 32) reads, ‘ferde Theodor biscop geond ealle Ongolcynnes mægðe’.⁶⁶ The *HE* reads, ‘Theodorus perlustrans uniuersa’.⁶⁷ The translator of the *Life* seems to be equating the Latin *universa* with *ealond* (island) but, as Vleeskruyer notes, *ealond* is not a translation of *pelustrans uniuersa*, but rather it incorporates the phrase *peragrata insula tota* from the preceding sentence in the Latin text.⁶⁸ Should this be treated only as a mistranslation? We cannot know if the Latin *In natale sancti Ceadde* had modified Bede’s geography, and therefore whether this has been faithfully translated into OE. Nevertheless, there appears to be a problem in the OE text, which is understood if we see the translator taking *totus* not in the sense of ‘entire, whole’, the primary meaning given in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (DMLBS), but the DMLBS’s secondary meaning, ‘the whole number of, all’ (though the homiletic source may have invited this).⁶⁹ We are dealing with the lack of historical knowledge about Archbishop Theodore’s travels on the part of the Latin or OE homilist, though we cannot know whose. One of them (or both) seems to have been unsure whether Theodore had visited all the British Isles, reading *insula tota* as a plural. Indeed, the text here is spliced from two separate sections of Chapter 2 in Bede’s *History*.⁷⁰ The second half of the sentence—‘ealle þing geendebyrde’ (he reformed all things)—a comment describing the work of Archbishop Theodore, represents an addition to Bede. This, in all likelihood, has been faithfully translated from the lost *In natale sancti Ceadde*, revealing an interest on the part of the Latin author in emphasising the archbishop’s role in church reform.

⁶⁵ ‘He made many journeys across the island.’

⁶⁶ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 2, 258.

⁶⁷ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 2, 334.

⁶⁸ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 189.

⁶⁹ ‘Totus’, *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham, D. R. Howlett and R. K. Ashdowne (London: British Academy, 1975–2013).

⁷⁰ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 2, 332, 34.

It is difficult at times to tell whether the translator of the *Life* is mistranslating Latin, or whether his source presented a modified (or miscopied) version of Bede’s original. Lines 57–58 of the *Life* read: ‘ond he þa swiðe higienda mid geornfulnisse. ond mid lufan þes arfullan gewinnes’.⁷¹ The comparable section of the OE Bede (lines 33–31) reads: ‘& he swiðe wið þon wonn for geornfulnessse & for lufan þæs aarfæstan gewinnes’.⁷² This is a translation of translating the Latin: ‘multumque renitentem studio et amore pii laboris’.⁷³ The *Life* employs the verb *higian* (to strive), where the OE Bede uses *winnan* (to labour, resist, strive) and the Latin Bede has *reniti* (*renitor*, to be reluctant, resist). The two OE translations offer comparable idiosyncratic versions of the Latin, but with different OE verbs. However, the OE Bede’s lexical choice embraces a wider semantic range, encompassing that of the Latin. Both the DOE and Vleeskruyer suggest that here the *Life*’s *higienda* is translating *reniti* as if it were *niti* (*nitor*, to strive).⁷⁴ The DOE suggests that, in this instance, the meaning might best be understood as ‘to contend (against a suggestion)’.⁷⁵ The translator’s lexical choice in the *Life of St Chad* diverges from the ultimate Latin source, but we cannot know what the copy of the direct Latin source read at that point; it could have read (or been read as) either *renitentem* or *nitentem*.

In various places the text of the *Life of St Chad* diverges from both the OE and Latin versions of Bede, though the translator’s occasional problems with Latin may not always offer a comprehensive explanation for this. In the episode describing Saint Chad’s response to the onset of storms, the *Life* (lines 126–28) reads:

⁷¹ ‘And then he [was] very much striving with eagerness, and with love of the honourable labour.’

⁷² *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 260–2.

⁷³ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 336.

⁷⁴ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 193.

⁷⁵ ‘Higian’, *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online*.

ond mitte hit þa wunade on þere stowe swa swa tide fec: swilce hit þunnurad were. and he þa ymbhygdie mode spyrede hwet þet were.⁷⁶

The OE Bede (lines 30–32) reads:

Ða wunade he ðær sum fæc tide wundriende & wafiende, & mid behygdige mode þohte & smeade, hwæt þa þing beon sceolde.⁷⁷

The Latin Bede reads:

Qui cum aliquantulum horae quasi adtonitus maneret et, quid haec essent, sollerti animo scrutaretur.⁷⁸

The clause ‘swilce hit þunnurad were’ is unique to the *Life*, with no corresponding phrase in either the Latin or OE Bede.⁷⁹ Vleeskruyer’s explanation is most likely correct: ‘*adtonitus*, confused with *tonitrus*, is translated *þunurrad*’.⁸⁰ However, the translator of the *Life* is not translating Bede, but an intermediary text, and perhaps from a faulty exemplar. Taken together, the examples of *ad-tonit[r]us* and *re-niti*, where, in both cases, a lost Latin prefix has led to a ‘mistranslation’, may suggest either a problem with the exemplar (and its textual tradition) or the translator’s difficulty in reading word separation in it.

As well as augmenting, we sometimes find the narrative of the *Life* narrating less than the Latin and OE Bede. The *Life*’s description of Saint Chad’s final illness is shorter than the related texts (lines 171): ‘ond he þa ricene mid lichaman éce wes gehrinen’.⁸¹ The OE Bede (lines 34–35) reads, ‘Þa wæs he sona gehrinen lichomlicre untrymnesse, & seo dæghwamlice weox & hefigade’.⁸² This closely follows the Latin, which reads, ‘Nam confestim languore

⁷⁶ ‘And when it remained in the place about an hour, just as if it were thunder, and he then with an anxious mind investigated what that might be.’

⁷⁷ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 264.

⁷⁸ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 340.

⁷⁹ See also 65–6.

⁸⁰ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 196.

⁸¹ ‘And then he immediately was afflicted with suffering of body.’

⁸² *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 266.

corporis tactus est, et hoc per dies ingrauescente’.⁸³ The *Life* has no equivalent to the phrase, ‘seo dæghwamlice weox & hefigade’ / ‘et hoc per dies ingrauescente’. The significance of the change is difficult to read; it could represent either a modification by the author of the lost Latin sermon, an alteration by the OE translator, an error on the part of the scribe of Hatton 116, or a transcription error found in the *Life*’s exemplar. On the balance of probabilities, the latter is the most likely.⁸⁴

A further glimpse of the *Life*’s faulty exemplar might be found on lines 178–80:

þonne he swa bliðe ymbhydelice abád. þet wes in monegum forhæfdnisse ond in eadmodnisse. ond in gebedu lare. ond on wilsumre þearfednisse. ond in manegum megena gearnungum.⁸⁵

A comparison with the OE Bede suggests that a word or clause is missing between the end of the first clause, ‘þonne he swa bliðe ymbhydelice abád’, and the start of the second clause, ‘þet wes in monegum forhæfdnisse’. Respectively, the Latin and OE Bede (lines 8–10) texts read:

Namque inter plura continentiae humilitatis doctrinae orationum uoluntariae paupertatis et ceterarum uirtutum merita.⁸⁶

Forðon betweohn monige gearnunge his mægena in forhæfednesse & in eaðmodnesse & in godcundre lare & in gebedum & in wilsumlicre þearfeðnisse & eac oðerra mægena.⁸⁷

⁸³ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 342.

⁸⁴ Vleeskruyer disagrees with Napier on the extent to which such omissions are to be blamed on the Old English translator, noting that his exemplar could well have been defective. See *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 17.

⁸⁵ ‘Which he so joyfully, eagerly awaited, that was with many [virtues, in] abstinence, and in humility, and in teaching of prayer, and in voluntary poverty, and in many merits of virtues.’

⁸⁶ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 342.

⁸⁷ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 268.

The first part of the phrase ‘þæt wes in monegum forhæfdnisse’ in the *Life* is lacking either a verb or an object, and in the translation I have supplied ‘[virtues, in]’ based on comparison with the OE Bede.

There are also hints that the *Life*’s Latin source had embellished Bede’s Latin in the process of recasting Saint Chad’s story as a homiletic saint’s life. The OE description of the saint awaiting his death is slightly different in the *Life* (lines 176–78):

þæt he þone deapes deg swa unforht abád: forþon þe hit nes deaðes deg. ac his
wes tylig drihtnes blisse deg. þonne he swa bliðe ymbhydelice abád⁸⁸

The content of the passage and the paradox whereby a ‘death day’ might be a ‘blessed day’ is found in both versions of Bede. The OE (lines 6–8) and Latin Bede versions read:

þeah ðe he þone dæg his deaðes oðþe ma þone Drihtnes dæg bliðe gesege, þone
he symle sorgende bad, þæt he cwome?⁸⁹

si diem mortis uel potius diem Domini laetus aspexit, quem semper, usque dum
ueniret, sollicitus expectare curauit.⁹⁰

The expression in the *Life* is awkward, and the translator struggles to make a well-structured sentence in OE. Noteworthy is the addition of *tylig*, an unusual and early word (discussed above),⁹¹ where there is no equivalent adverb in either the Latin or OE texts of Bede. The *Life* also adds the phrase, ‘forþon þe hit nes deaðes deg’, an elaboration not present in Bede. In the second phrase, the *Life* also adds another adverb, *bliðe*. The apposition of *bliðe* (joyfully) beside *ymbhydelice* (anxiously) creates a confused sentiment. This differs from the OE Bede’s ‘symle sorgende bad’, but is closer to ‘sollicitus expectare curavit’, though both the

⁸⁸ ‘That he awaited the day of death so unafraid; because it was not a day of death, but better it was his day of the Lord’s bliss. When he so joyfully, thoughtfully awaited.’

⁸⁹ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 268.

⁹⁰ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 342.

⁹¹ See 131–2.

Latin and OE Bede include only *sollicitus* (*sorgende*; ‘anxiously, carefully’). These modifications may suggest the lost source author’s efforts to modify the poignant scene of Saint Chad’s death, which has been faithfully carried over into the OE text.

Comparable additions include Bishop Chad giving a blessing whereas in the Bedan texts he does not (line 130–31, *ond sealde his bletsunge*). This addition emphasises both the bishop’s role and the saint’s power in relation to the faithful, building on and extending Bede’s portrait.⁹² Also suggestive of a homiletic Latin source’s modifications is the move in the *Life* (line 182) to impersonal, third person reporting: *swa hit sum broðor segde* (some brother said). In both versions of Bede, the author (Bede) logically uses the first person, ‘swa me sum broðor sægde of þæm þe me’ (lines 12–13) and ‘sicut mihi frater quidam de his qui me’.⁹³ The author of the *Life*’s homiletic source has necessarily removed the voice of Bede as an author when composing a standalone saint’s life. This removal of Bede’s voice, and the necessary change of expression it brings, may have confused the OE translator in a passage that comes soon after. At lines 216–17 the same witness is referred to: ‘Hit gelomp be þere forðfore þes foresegdan biscofes. þet com to hys gemynde onwrignesse’.⁹⁴ This differs from the texts of the Latin and OE Bede that read: *Conuenit autem reuelationi; gepwærað eac swylce þære onwrignesse* (lines 8–9).⁹⁵ Vleeskruyer argues that the *Life of St Chad* has incorrectly used *hit gelomp* for the Latin Bede *conuenit* (accorded).⁹⁶ As a result, in the *Life*, the author seems to be saying that, on his dying day, Saint Chad had a vision of his youth in

⁹² *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 340; *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, lines 32–4, 264.

⁹³ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 268; *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 342.

⁹⁴ ‘It happened concerning the death of the aforesaid bishop that the revelation came to his mind.’

⁹⁵ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 344; *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, 270.

⁹⁶ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 197.

Ireland with Saint Egbert, whereas the sense in Bede’s *HE* is that the ‘aforesaid brother’ who reported the death of Saint Chad also reported the words of Egbert.

At other times, both OE translators get into comparable difficulties. In the *Life*, lines 142–43, the translator has trouble with the sense of the Latin verb *subiungere*: ‘syððan he him þa underþeodde ond cyðde þone deg his forðfore þet þa iu him neh stod’.⁹⁷ This represents a rendering of the Latin Bede’s ‘Deinde subiunxit diem sui obitus iam proxime instare’.⁹⁸ In the *Life*, as Vleeskruyer argues, *underþeodan* must mean ‘instructed’,⁹⁹ rather than the meaning offered by Bosworth-Toller, ‘subjoin, add to, subdue’.¹⁰⁰ The OE Bede also translates as *underþeodde*: ‘Æfter þon he underþeodde & him sægde’.¹⁰¹ Vleeskruyer suggests that *underþeodan* is a mistranslation of *subiungere* (‘join, add to, subdue’). The shared (mis)translation practice may suggest the common use of a glossary tradition that treated the Latin lemma in the same way.

Syntax

Some aspects of the distinctive translation found in the *Life of St Chad* provide noteworthy syntactical features of the text that have the potential to provide insights into the date of the composition of the *Life*.¹⁰² These are discussed in three categories. Some of these elements point to an early date for the text, while others reveal a dependence on the Latin syntax of the source(s); still others appear simply to represent syntactical confusion on the translator’s part.

⁹⁷ ‘Afterwards he then instructed and made known to them the day of his death that already stood near to him.’

⁹⁸ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 341.

⁹⁹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 197.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Under-þeodan’, see Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*.

¹⁰¹ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, lines 9–10, 266.

¹⁰² Some important examples have been discussed in Chapter 3, see 155–7.

Aspects of the syntax of the *Life* that reflect early usage are discussed in Chapter 3.¹⁰³ At times these categories elide or overlap.

Latinate Syntax

The syntax in the *Life of St Chad* often reflects Latin constructions and word order, a feature discussed by Vleeskruyer.¹⁰⁴ When OE closely imitates Latin syntax, it is almost invariably in the context of translation from Latin to OE. Stanton suggests that this syntactic practice may originate in the Anglo-Saxon glossing tradition.¹⁰⁵ Mitchell, however, argues that the dative absolute in OE is not always in direct imitation of Latin, and that what looks derivative could be a native participle construction.¹⁰⁶ In the light of the *Life*’s direct use of Latin sources, it is probable that Latin syntax has influenced the style, but this may also be understood as characteristic of early prose, if not exclusive to it.¹⁰⁷ In a phrase discussed in a different context above, the *Life*, lines 12–13 reads: ‘norðhymbra þeoda rixiendum under oswie þam kyninge’.¹⁰⁸ It seems that this example of the dative absolute has been used in imitation of the Latin ablative absolute, or, as Visser describes it, as a present participle as ‘non-related, absolute adjunct’, which he notes is common in OE translations from Latin.¹⁰⁹ At this point the text of the *Life* is only loosely related on Bede’s account of Saint Chad’s life (*HE* 3.20), and is probably translating the Latin of the (lost) homiletic source’s framing of the block of text lifted from Bede’s Latin *History*. The dative absolute is found again on lines

¹⁰³ See 152–5.

¹⁰⁴ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 15–16.

¹⁰⁵ Robert Stanton, ‘The (M)Other Tongue: Translation Theory and Old English’, in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeanette Beer (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), 33–46 (44).

¹⁰⁶ Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vol (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), §3829, 928. For full discussion of the absolute construction see §3804.

¹⁰⁷ Bately, ‘Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred’, 132–8.

¹⁰⁸ ‘[At the the time when] the Northumbrian people were subject to the ruling of Oswiu the king.’

¹⁰⁹ F. Th. Visser, *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, 3 vol, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), vol 2, §1072, 1140.

19–20, ‘he þa gode gefultumiendum gerihte in þam þingum’,¹¹⁰ with the present participle *gefultumiendum*. A more straightforward case indicating that the syntax of the OE *Life* imitates Latin syntax is found in a sentence translating the Latin Bede. Line 77 reads: ‘þa wes æt seo tid þam uplican dôme stihtendum’.¹¹¹ The subordinate clause ‘þam uplican dôme stihtendum’ reproduces the grammar of the Latin Bede, which reads, ‘adfruit superno dispensante iudicio tempus’.¹¹² That the translator’s syntax is borrowed from Latin is suggested by its difference from the OE Bede, which adapts the expression into an OE idiom, ‘ða cwom seo tid, ðy uplican dome stihtigende’.¹¹³ In the Latin Bede, *dispensante* is the dative present participle of *dispensare*; likewise, in the *Life*, *stihtendum* is the dative present participle of *stihtan*.¹¹⁴ Latinate syntax in circumstances like this, found in direct translation from Latin, is characteristic of early English prose, and, even if in isolation, is not necessarily indicative of it.

Confused Syntax

In the following examples, the syntax is confused, suggesting either textual corruption in transmission, or a lack of command and confidence in writing vernacular prose. First, on lines 26–27, is a sentence that seems to have been corrupted over time: ‘ac ic for hersumnesse intingan geneded: þone had underfeng’.¹¹⁵ The syntax of this clause is jarring, and an element seems to be missing; *geneded* is a past participle, but it is dangling on its own in the primary clause. The syntactical possibilities given by Visser of an independent past

¹¹⁰ ‘He corrected them with the help of God in those things.’

¹¹¹ ‘Then was that time divine providence ordains.’

¹¹² *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 338.

¹¹³ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 3, line 19, 262.

¹¹⁴ See Mitchell on present participles, Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, §975–§982, 410–12.

¹¹⁵ ‘But I because of obedience [was] compelled to the work, received the episcopal office.’

participle do not seem to apply in this instance.¹¹⁶ Comparison with the OE and Latin versions of Bede offer some light. These read: ‘Ac ic for intingan hersumnesse ic haten geþafode, þæt ic þone had underhnaþ’ (lines 7–8); and ‘sed oboedientiae causa iussus subire hoc indignus consensi’. It is evident that the sentence in the *Life* ultimately derives from the Latin Bede, via the lost Latin homily, but the passage has become corrupt.¹¹⁷ Where the OE Bede has used *geþafode* (3rd preterite singular of *geþafian*, ‘consent, obey’) to translate Latin *consensi* (1st singular perfect indicative of *consentire*, ‘consent’), the *Life* has the floating past participle *geneded* (force, compel). The participle on its own does not make sense; an explanation for this problem in the *Life* could be that the sentence has lost the primary verb in the process of copying. Additionally, from a comparison with the OE Bede, it is likely that the *Life* is missing *þæt ic*, or something similar, needed for the clause to make sense. This kind of nonsensical syntax is most likely evidence of a history of transmission of the text, and further suggests that the current scribe is removed from the moment of authorship.¹¹⁸

Summary

This brief survey of noteworthy elements of syntax in the *Life*, which extends the work of Vleeskruyer, not only shows that unusual elements of the text’s syntax concur with and augment the evidence assembled and analysed in Chapters 3 and 4, which produced the conclusion that the *Life* is most likely to have been made between c. 900 and c. 950, but also provides new evidence that the *Life* is most likely to date from the early end of that range—that is, either at the very end of the ninth century, or the beginning of the tenth century. The

¹¹⁶ See Visser on the syntax of past participles, Visser, *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, vol 2, §1147–§1172, 1252.

¹¹⁷ *Old English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, Book IV, Chapter 2, line 7, 260; *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, Book IV, Chapter 3, 334.

¹¹⁸ These difficulties in the text problematise Vleeskruyer’s confidence that the Hatton 116 scribe may have been using the original copy of the translation, see above, 50–68.

most important syntactical evidence supporting this likelihood are the constructs *swa swiðe swa ... swa swiðe* and *nohte þon læs*, which appear to be uniquely early.¹¹⁹

Psalm 17

In the *Life of St Chad*, lines 197–200, the author translates a passage drawn from Bede’s *HE*, which quotes in brief two verses of Psalm 17:14–15.¹²⁰ The context is an account of Saint Chad’s habit of entering his chapel to pray during violent weather. When asked about his habit, Saint Chad cites the psalm:¹²¹

intonuit de caelo Dominus et Altissimus dedit uocem suam. Misit sagittas suas et dissipauit eos fulgora multiplicauit et conturbauit eos.¹²²

The passage in the *Life of St Chad* runs from lines 197 to 200:

þet drihten leoðrað of heofone. ond se hesta seleð his stefne. he sendeð his strelas. ond he hio tostenceð. he gemonigfaldað legeto. ond he heo gedrefeð.¹²³

Vleeskruyer notes the close similarity between this translation and the gloss to Psalm 17 found in the Vespasian Psalter:¹²⁴

& hleoðrað of heofene dryhten & se hehsta salde stefne his / Sende strele his & tostencte hie & legite gemonigfaldade & gedroefde hie.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ See Chapter 3, 152–5.

¹²⁰ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 342.

¹²¹ The version cited is the Gallican, rather than the *Iuxta Hebreum*.

¹²² Psalm 17, *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. B. Fischer and R. Weber (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 786–90.

¹²³ ‘The Lord thunders from heaven and the highest gives his voice, he sends his arrows, and he disperses them, he multiplies bolts of lightning, and he disturbs them.’

¹²⁴ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 199–200.

¹²⁵ *The Vespasian Psalter*, ed. S. M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), Psalm 17, verses 13–14, 13. See also *Old English Glossed Psalters: Psalms 1–50*, ed. Philip Pulsiano, Toronto Old English Series 11 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 182–3.

It is noteworthy that the *Life* moves the whole passage into the present tense, against the biblical perfect tense, a gesture that Vleeskruyer suggests was influenced by the Mercian Psalter version’s change of tense from *intonuit* to *hleodrað*, which the translator carried through the whole citation.¹²⁶ This may be so, though the lost Latin source of the *Life* may have made the change of tense already. Either way, it is remarkable that the translator of the OE Bede makes the same grammatical manoeuvre (Ms T):

ðætte Drihten hleoðrað of heofonum & se hehsta seleð his stefne; he sendeð his *stræle* & heo toweorpeð: *legetas* gemonigfealdað & heo gedrefeð.¹²⁷

Vleeskruyer suggests convincingly that: ‘It seems probable that the translators of both the homily on St. Chad and of Bede were acquainted with a Psalter version identical with, or closely resembling, the Vespasian Psalter’.¹²⁸ He also notes the ‘tendency to substitute the present tense for the Latin perfect, already apparent in *hleodrað* in the Psalter’.¹²⁹ Such a tendency, he suggests, would be amplified if the translators inherited their Mercian Psalter version orally.

The closeness of the passages in the *Life* and the OE Bede cannot be accounted for by the possibility of two translators working independently—nowhere else in the *Life* or the comparable passage in the OE Bede do they offer such a close translation.¹³⁰ The negligible differences between the two are marked in the above passage from the OE Bede. Only one of these is substantial: for the *Life*’s *tostenceð* (which agrees with the Vespasian Psalter), the OE Bede has *toweorpeð*. There are other very minor differences: for the *Life*’s *strelas*, the OE

¹²⁶ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 199–200.

¹²⁷ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 268, lines 27, 270; line 2.

¹²⁸ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 199. On the use of Psalter glosses, and their possible utility in preaching, see M. J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, *Medieval Church Studies* 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 398–9.

¹²⁹ *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 199–200.

¹³⁰ See 172–86.

Bede has *stræle* (agreeing with Vespasian Psalter *strele*); for the *Life*’s *legeto* (agreeing with Vespasian Psalter *legite*), the OE Bede has *legetas*. The *Life* and the OE Bede present the slightest differences in word order: for the *Life*’s *gemonigfaldad legeto*, the OE Bede has *legetas gemonigfealdað* (agreeing with the word order of the Vespasian Psalter). The divergences between word order in the *Life* and the OE Bede on the one hand and the Vespasian Psalter on the other are more noticeable, though this difference is probably a product of the awkward syntax of the gloss.

The translations of these two psalm verses in the *Life*, the OE Bede, and the Vespasian Psalter provide important evidence for the translators’ shared participation in a Mercian literary culture within which, it is apparent, a translated version of the psalter circulated. This psalter translation is attested by the Vespasian Psalter gloss of the mid-ninth century, though we do not know if the gloss stands at the head of this Mercian psalm tradition. How long this vernacular version of the psalter might have circulated is also difficult to say, but it was known to the translator of the OE Bede at the end of the ninth century, and to the author of the OE *Life of St Chad* in all likelihood not much later. No other surviving OE text quotes this Psalter version.

The *Life* and its lost Latin Source: A Tentative Speculation

The fact that *Chad*’s direct Latin text is now lost makes it difficult to date the Old English text with certainty, and leaves us without a clear *terminus post quem* for the OE translation. However, one striking piece of internal evidence in the OE *Life* might offer a clue which has previously been overlooked. At line 179, the Old English author refers to Saint Chad as *hehbiscop* a term which seems to be translating *archiepiscopus*.¹³¹ Vleeskruyer

¹³¹ See discussion above, 147–8.

suggests that *hehbishop* should not be treated as a compound, and also assumes that the term translates Sulpicius’ *summus sacerdos*. He compares this with the translation of *summum pontificem* in Gregory’s *Dialogues* by Werferth as *pone hean bisceop*.¹³² There are at least two problems with Vleeskruyer’s treatment of *hehbiscop*. Firstly, he assumes the perfect correspondence of the lost Latin source’s terminology with its source in the *Vita Sancti Martini*. However, as has been noted above, the treatment of this source is very free at this point in *Chad*, and we cannot know what word was found in the lost (direct) source at this point. Secondly, Vleeskruyer is wrong when he suggests *hehbiscop* can be regarded as a compound. Furthermore, while Werferth’s *pone hean bisceop* is a very literal translation of *summum pontificem*, *heh biscop* would be a very unusual translation of *summus sacerdos*, which would more literally be rendered (a feature of the *Chad* translator’s style) as ‘high priest’ (*heh preost*). We cannot be certain of the reading of the *Chad* translator’s source here, but the more reliable guide is perhaps the Old English text rather than the Sulpician analogue. While it is impossible to know for certain how the lost Latin homily described Saint Chad at this point, the translator’s lexical choice nevertheless would have conveyed to the reader the implication that Saint Chad was an archbishop.

It is impossible to firmly date a lost Latin homily (though it was certainly made before the OE *Life*), but it is possible to speculate as to why it was created in the first place. Saint Chad was never an archbishop, though his Mercian see of Lichfield was temporarily an archiepiscopal see between 787 and 803, when it was raised to this status at the behest of King Offa of Mercia.¹³³ The move was strongly opposed by Canterbury, an opposition which continued until Lichfield’s higher status was reversed in 803.¹³⁴ Was the lost Latin *In natale*

¹³² *The Life of St. Chad*, ed. Vleeskruyer, 203.

¹³³ See C. J. Godfrey, ‘The Archbishopric of Lichfield’, *Studies in Church History*, 1 (1964): 145–59.

¹³⁴ See Whitelock, ‘Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London’, II, 13–14.

sancti Ceadde composed during the time in which see enjoyed the status of an archbishopric, an honour retrospectively conferred on Saint Chad by the Latin author? The appellation would make even less sense outside this brief historical moment than during it. In all likelihood the Latin source was closely associated with Saint Chad’s cult (and perhaps with the celebration of his feast in the Divine Office), one which never really left the West Mercian heartland.

There is clear evidence for a fully active cult of Saint Chad by the early eighth century, which presumably emerged soon after his death in 669. However, detailed literary evidence for the cult is scant, and the Old English text includes all the details available in Bede.¹³⁵ The primary source for St Chad’s life, death and miracles is Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*;¹³⁶ the other two important literary sources are the *Life of Saint Chad* and an entry in the Old English *Martyrology*, which both lean heavily on Bede. The vernacular sources on St Chad (including the OE Bede) are all in the Mercian dialect, which likely reflects his status as a regional, Mercian saint.¹³⁷ Saint Chad’s shrine at Lichfield Cathedral quickly became rich and elaborate, as the ‘Lichfield angel’ demonstrates.¹³⁸ Tenth-century interest in Saint Chad is attested by King Edgar’s 971 grant to Æthelwold of the estate at Barrowupon-Humber, where Chad’s monastery had been located, apparently with the intention of refounding

¹³⁵ There is archaeological evidence for the early cult, and also for Lichfield as a centre of cultural production. See Michelle P. Brown, ‘The Lichfield Angel and the Manuscript Context: Lichfield as a Centre of Insular Art’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 160 (2007): 8–19. The likely revival of the cult of Saint Chad after the disruption of the Viking wars may be indicated by the acquisition of the Saint Chad gospels at Lichfield by the tenth century—the manuscript was still in Llandeilo Fawr on the high altar of Saint Teilo in the ninth. See Michelle P. Brown, ‘Mercian Manuscripts: The Implications of the Staffordshire Hoard, Other Recent Discoveries, and the ‘New Materiality’, *Inaugural Lecture to the Chair of Medieval Manuscript Studies*, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 22 June 2010, in *Writing in Context: Insular Manuscript Culture, 500–1200*, ed. E. Kwakkel (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2013), 23–66.

¹³⁶ On Saint Chad in Stephen of Ripon’s *Life of St Wilfrid*, see above, 165.

¹³⁷ See David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 41–6.

¹³⁸ Michael Tavinor, *Shrines of the Saints in England and Wales* (London: Canterbury Press Norwich, 2016).

monastic life there.¹³⁹ St Chad’s feast is listed in a number of medieval calendars including in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 422; he is included in the litany in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391.¹⁴⁰ However, these calendar entries provide only scant evidence. The entry on Saint Chad in the OE *Martyrology* includes a reference to Bede, but not to the independent saint’s life, though it is impossible to read any significance into this silence. Outside the copying of the *Life* in the twelfth century, there is no other evidence for his cult at that time, so it is difficult to say much about a possible contemporary revival.

The historical moment of Saint Chad’s retrospective elevation to the archiepiscopate—if that is what the lost Latin *vita* did—at Lichfield would harmonize with the presentation of the politics of the introductory section of the *Life*, both in the tensions it describes between Bishop Chad and the see of Canterbury, but also in relation to Saint Chad’s first episcopal consecration. The remarkable change to Bede’s account that sees Saint Chad in the *Life* consecrated not by *Uini*, bishop of the West Saxons, but rather by *Alwine*, ‘bishop of London’, makes this first episcopal ordination a less West Saxon and a more Mercian affair. Theodore’s objections to Saint Chad’s first consecration are recast as opposition not just to an uncanonical ordination, but towards Mercia. The interest in canonical orders and relationships among the lower and higher clergy that are introduced both in the introduction and conclusion of the *Life*, beside the use of *hehbiscop*, may present traces of polemical interests at the time of the composition of any Latin *In natale sancti Ceadde*, when these issues were very much alive, in the period 787 to 803. These politics

¹³⁹ See Dorothy Whitelock, ‘The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar’s Establishment of Monasteries’, *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt*, ed. James L Rosier (The Hague, 1970), 132.

¹⁴⁰ For other examples, see John Blair, ‘A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints’, in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 495–565 (519–20). Saint Chad’s resting place at Lichfield is also referred to in the list of saints’ resting places in Felix Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* (Hanover: Hahn'sche, 1889), part 6, 11.

may (or may not) have meant something to the later OE translator of the Latin sermon, who, as has been argued, was probably working sometime in the period c. 900–c. 950.¹⁴¹

Conclusion

From this examination of the relationship between the *Life of St Chad* and its analogue and antecedent sources some tentative conclusions can be drawn. Evidence for the use of a lost Latin *In natale sancti Ceadde* as the OE *Life*'s primary source is persuasive, and there is no disagreement with Napier's and Vleeskruyer's conclusions regarding this source, even though their arguments for it diverge. It is evident from comparison with the texts of the Latin and OE versions of the *HE* that the translator was using a slightly defective text of this Latin homiletic source. This lost source text drew closely on Bede's *HE* and framed this narrative with borrowings from Sulpicius Severus's *Life of St Martin*, much as Felix had done in the mid eighth-century in his more ambitious and original portrayal of Saint Guthlac. The translator was generally competent in Latin, but at times mechanical (or even mistaken) in his rendering of the Latin text. This practice generally resembles that found in Werferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*.¹⁴² The occasional close parallels of the translation of the *Life* to the OE Bede do not indicate that either translator knew of the other's work. Distinctive elements of the translator's syntax provide evidence augmenting the argument developed in Chapters 3 and 4 that the *Life* is a product of the earlier period of OE literary prose, that is before c. 950, and likely some decades earlier than this moment.

¹⁴¹ See above, 186–7.

¹⁴² See Malcolm Godden, 'Wærferth and King Alfred: the Fate of the Old English Dialogues' in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jane Roberts, Janet L. Nelson, Malcolm Godden, and Janet Bately (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 1997), 44.

Conclusion

The objective of this thesis has been to discover and evaluate evidence which can provide a probable date for composition of the OE *Life of Saint Chad*, which survives uniquely in the twelfth-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 116. The range of dates advanced by scholars over the last seventy years covers three centuries, and extends from Vleeskruyer's conclusion that the *Life* was likely to have been made in the third quarter of the ninth century, to Treharne's suggestion that the *Life* could be product of the mid twelfth century. A shared flaw of both arguments is the relatively narrow date range proposed in each case; such close dating of texts on internal evidence is in itself problematic. Central to the probabilistic methodology developed in this thesis is that on the basis of the full range of evidence available—codicological, palaeographical, lexical, syntactical, literary and historical—it is possible to determine a probable date for the text, if not a certain one. The analysis of all the evidence suggests that the *Life* was first made almost certainly before the year 1000, and probably some decades before c. 950. There is no evidence that offers any likelihood that the text was composed after 1100 or before 900.

The detailed study of Hatton 116 in Chapter 1 has shown that while it is possible, as Treharne has suggested, that this book could post-date the translation of the St Chad's relics in 1149, it is more likely on a range of evidence (including the manuscript ruling) that the manuscript was made at least a decade or so earlier. The evidence of both *Chad*'s distinctive punctuation compared with the remainder of Hatton 116, all the work of a single scribe, and the complex copying errors that the *Life* contains, make it highly unlikely that its composition was tied closely to its copying into Hatton 116, either in time or place. The sum of this evidence points to the likelihood that the copy of the *Life* in Hatton 116 is the end point of a history of transmission which began before the twelfth century, though there is no evidence

to support Vleeskruyer's claim that the twelfth-century scribe was copying from a ninth-century exemplar. Some of the apparent errors in copying could indicate confusion over letter forms that were not current after the tenth century (such as *cc* for *a*).

One of the key aims of this thesis has been to untangle the methodological confusion caused by Vleeskruyer's conflation of the categories of 'Mercian dialect' with 'early'. In Chapter 2 I have reviewed the debate about the Mercian 'textual' corpus, which overlaps with, but is not identical with the Mercian 'literary' corpus. Some aspects of Bately's discussion of the date of *Chad* focus on early English literary history, and her argument that the Mercian literary corpus does not predate the reign of Alfred. This debate is an open one. However, there is no doubting Mercian textual production before Alfred's reign. The focus in my thesis on lexical evidence sets aside the distinction between early Mercian 'non-literary' (such as glossaries and glosses) and literary texts (such as the OE *Bede*, the translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, the OE *Martyrology*) by focusing the evidential basis of lexis in datable texts, rather than leaning too heavily on the less fixed evidence of judgments about literary history. That is not to say that the conclusions of this essay are not in dialogue with the history of early English prose, and the place of Mercian texts within this.

The full range of lexical data assembled and analysed in Chapter 3 provides clear and compelling evidence that the OE translator of *Chad* was almost certainly writing before the year 1000, and very probably before c. 950. A number of terms are highly likely to be indicators that the texts within which they appear are early. The same is true of the data concerning the usage, spelling, and meaning of key terms, as well as their grammatical function, which provides similar evidence. The study of significant syntactical items in the *Life* points to the same date range. There is no evidence to support suggestions that the *Life of St Chad* was either re-authored or authored in the eleventh or twelfth century. The absence of linguistic markers that might support this hypothesis renders it highly improbable. There is

nothing in the *Life*'s language—the only possible source of internal evidence—to indicate a date for the *Life* later than the final decades of the tenth century, and much in it to suggest the probability of a far earlier date.

In Chapter 4 I examined the relationship of *Chad* with a number of early English prose texts that share significant lexical items with it. I found no necessary precise chronological connection between them, so that it is impossible to use the evidence to pinpoint a precise date for the *Life* relative to linguistically related early OE prose texts. The closest relationships are with early Mercian prose texts, though the little evidence there is points to a closer relationship between the *Life* and Werferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* than to any other text. Using the language and logic of probabilistic reasoning, it is possible to say that the *Life* is likely to have been composed at a time not far removed from other early Mercian prose texts. The absence of distinctive 'Winchester' vocabulary from the *Life*, even allowing for its Mercian dialect, decreases the likelihood of a date after c. 1000, though on its own such evidence is would not be compelling. Nevertheless, this pattern associates *Chad* more markedly and probably with pre-Ælfrician prose, rather than later prose production. The lexical items shared by the *Life* and Ælfric are not found in datable works after the first decades of the eleventh century.

In Chapter 5 I explored how *Chad* relates to its sources and analogues. While it is likely that the OE text's likely direct source, a Latin homily on Saint Chad, has been lost, the almost complete dependence of this likely lost source on Bede's *HE* makes discussion of some key relationships possible. It is apparent that the OE translator of the *Life* did not know the OE Bede. The triangular relationship suggested by the shared (and differing) lexis employed by these two Mercian authors suggests that they were not greatly separated in time. However, establishing the priority of one against the other is not possible. The impression of

their generally shared literary and cultural milieu is reinforced by their shared relationship with the psalm gloss of the Vespasian Psalter.

The full range of evidence supports a probable date for *Chad* some time in the range c. 900 to c. 950, and firmly points away from both the eleventh and the twelfth century. The OE *Life* probably dates from no later than the early tenth century, but whether it was written in the last decades of the ninth century is impossible to say on the currently available evidence. In common with the OE *Dialogues* and the OE *Martyrology*, *Chad* is concerned with hagiography; like the OE Bede, which is also often focused on saints, the *Life* is squarely focused on an English saint. Like the other three Mercian works, it is closely dependant on a Latin source. The overwhelming thrust of the evidence suggests that *Chad* is an example of an early, Mercian tradition of literary prose. I conclude my thesis with two possible scenarios, and one probability. If the *Life* was written in the early tenth century, then it offers an insight into Mercian literary culture after the rise of Wessex and King Alfred's reign. In this light, it offers an insight into a continuing Mercian cultural identity expressed in terms of a distinct ecclesial identity embodied in a 'national' Mercian saint; Wessex would only find its own 'national' saint later in the tenth century with the invention of the cult of Saint Swithun.¹ If it was written in the last decades of ninth century, then the *Life* would be an example of an early English prose tradition which stands independent of King Alfred's cultural renewal; in this case, the assertion of Mercian cultural identity would be just as strong. I believe, on the basis of the evidence, the former scenario is the more likely. In either case, the *Life of Saint Chad* would emerge as the earliest identifiable example of an OE homily and saint's life.

¹ See Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, Winchester Studies 4, part 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

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Appendix A: Edition and Translation

The edition of the *Life of Saint Chad* which I have made establishes the text that forms the basis of the arguments presented above. At the time I began this thesis, no translation of *Chad* had ever been published, though this is no longer the case.¹ I have nevertheless included my translation beside the edition to show how I have interpreted the OE text, which at times is obscure. The text I am editing exists only in a single manuscript and so I am by necessity constrained to a documentary-style edition, because there are no alternate witnesses.² However, I have not pursued a completely conservative, diplomatic edition, but rather, I have intervened in the text with emendations where necessary. All my changes are rooted in evidence, whether by reference to an analogue or a source, or by reasoning based on the context and common sense, supported by philological or palaeographical argument. The editorial approach that I have adopted is closest to that advocated for OE texts by Helmut Gneuss, preserving a balance between a conservative and diplomatic edition on the one hand, and critical on the other.³

I have emended only when there is an obvious mistake in the transmitted text or omission that can be supported by evidence, and which restores sense with minimal intervention.⁴ Where there appear to be omissions on the part of the author (or a scribe), I have made a note in the commentary and supplied meaning in the translation, but not the

¹ 'Saint Chad', in *Anonymous Old English Lives of Saints*, eds. Johanna Ingrid Kramer, Hugh Magennis and Robin Norris, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 63* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), 6–24.

² See Dino Buzzetti and Jerome McGann, 'Critical Editing in a Digital Horizon', in *Electronic Textual Editing*, ed. Lou Burnard, Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe and John Unsworth (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2006), 53–73 (54).

³ Helmut Gneuss, 'Guide to the Editing and Preparation of Texts for the Dictionary of Old English', in *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*, ed. Donald G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 7–26 (20).

⁴ Gneuss, 'Guide to the Editing and Preparation of Texts for the Dictionary of Old English', 20.

main text. I have retained the manuscript punctuation insofar as this is possible in a modern print edition, but I have formatted the text into paragraphs to assist reading. A difference between my own and Vleeskruyer's editorial practice is that he seems to seek to restore the 'original' text, whereas my objective is to adhere as closely as possible to the scribal copy in Hatton 116. Abbreviations have been expanded. For the Tironian abbreviation 7, faced with a choice between *ond* (the Mercian dialectal spelling, also found in early West Saxon texts) or *and*, I have opted for *ond*. My decision is based on evidence provided by an error on line 40 (of the edited text) where the manuscript reads 'samond on lindesfarena' but I have emended *on* to *ond* for sense, as this is most likely a scribal error. Within the *Life*, *ond* is never fully written out in the manuscript but this error implies that *ond* was found (at times) either in this scribe's exemplar, or an earlier copy.

Translating a text from Old English into Modern English not only requires translating the language, but also involves cultural and referential knowledge that a medieval audience would have had that a modern audience does not.⁵ Most of these differences cannot be addressed in the translated text itself, but in the case of this thesis are elucidated in the four chapters above. In my translation, I attempt to reproduce the content and style of the original Old English as closely as possible, while keeping modern English grammar, sentence order, and sense to make it readable. When necessary, I have erred on the side of literal and at times I opt for technical terminology. The prose style of the Old English is straightforward and mostly employs parataxis and the Old English grammar is at times awkward. I have rearranged the Old English word order where this is necessary to make sense in Modern English. In some instances, I have supplied a word in square brackets that is not in the Old

⁵ Umberto Eco, *Mouse or Rat? Translation as Negotiation* (London: Phoenix, 2003), ch.4.

English text, to make it more understandable for the reader. The purpose of the translation is as an aide for the reader, and is to supplement, not substitute the Old English text.

IN NATALE SANCTI CEADDE EPISCOPI. ET CONFESSORIS.¹

1 Men þa leofestan. ic eow ongin nu secgan. be þam life þes halgan
 2 weres *sancte* ceaddan þes biscopes. hu he dyde in þam biscopdome
 3 oððe er þam biscopdóme.
 4 þeah we nenge þinga magen becuman to eallum þam megenum his
 5 weorca. forþon þe in him swa swiðe nes þet he herinesse sohte
 6 fram mannum. swa swiðe swa in him wes. þet he eall his megen
 7 wolde mannum miðan;
 8 Ah þonne hweðere we eow reccað medmicle² intingan of miclum
 9 megenum to þon þet us genihtsumien þa bísne. *ond* þa segene be
 10 þam awyrðan feder;

ON THE DEATH OF ST CHAD, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.

Dearest people, I now begin to tell you about the life of the holy
 man Saint Chad the bishop, how he acted before being appointed
 bishop and after being appointed bishop.
 Though by no means can we recount all the virtues of his works
 because, just as it was not in him to seek praise from people, so he
 would hide all his virtues from them.
 Nevertheless, we will humbly tell you something of [his] many
 virtues so that these examples and sayings about the venerable
 father might suffice us.

¹ Inset on the first line after ‘men þa leofestan ic eow’. Capitals and rubrics.

² MS *mid micle*.

11 Se halga wer ceadda erest wes gehadad in biscopdome. fram
 12 alwine. se wes biscop in þere lundoniscan cestre. norðhymbra
 13 þeoda rixiendum under oswie þam kyninge. in þam selde þe his
 14 eftergengan hefdon. in þam bolde þe is haten eoferwicceaster.
 15 ða³ com þeodorus se ercebiscop on breotone ealond.
 16 he wes onsended fram þam apostolican selde. *ond* mid þy he
 17 manegu ealond geondferde. *ond* ealle þing geendebyrde.⁴ *ond* he in
 18 gelumpenicum stowum: biscopas halgede.
 19 *ond* þa þe he unmedume gemette þes godes geleafan. he þa gode
 20 gefultumiendum gerihte in þam þingum.

21 he eac ceaddan þone biscop erest swiðe þreade. *ond* segde þet he
 22 unrihtlice gehalgod were.

During the reign of Oswiu the king over the Northumbrian people, the holy man Chad was first consecrated as bishop by Alwine, who was the bishop of London, at the see which his successors held in the stronghold which is called York.

Then Theodore the archbishop came to the island of Britain.

He was sent from the apostolic see, and during that time he made many journeys across the island implementing reforms for everything, and he ordained bishops in suitable places.

And with the help of God, he corrected those things which he found inappropriate for God's faith.

At first, he also greatly rebuked Chad the bishop and said that he had been improperly ordained.

³ Bede begins.

⁴ Page 2.

23 he *him* ceadda andswearde þere eadmodestan stefne. *ond* cweð.
 24 gif þu me on wite. þet ic unrihtlice þone biscopdom onfenge: ic
 25 þonne lustlice fram þere þegnunge gewitu. forðon þe ic me nefre
 26 þes wyrðne⁵ wende. ac ic for hersumnesse intingan geneded: þone
 27 had underfeng.

28 *Ond*⁶ mid þe⁷ swa he geherde þa eadmodnisse his andsware
 29 ceadda. þa cweð he. þet he nenge þinga þone biscopdom forletan
 30 sceolde.

31 Ah he eft edneowunga his hadunga: mid þy rihtgeleafullan: rihte
 32 gefylde;

33 Wilfrid eac swilce of breotan ealonde wes onsend. *ond* he on
 34 galwalum wes gehadod.

Chad answered him in the most humble voice and said, “If you know that I improperly took the bishopric, then I will gladly withdraw from this office, because I never thought of myself as worthy of it; but I [was] compelled to take the bishopric for the sake of obedience.”

And as soon as he heard the humility of Chad’s answer, he then said that he should not by any means give up the bishopric.

Instead, afterwards he renewed his ordination according to the orthodox canon law.

Wilfrid was also sent from the island of Britain.

⁵ MS *wyrð ne-wende*.

⁶ Capitalised *ond* because the abbreviation is large in the manuscript.

⁷ MS *þet; t* clearly later addition.

35 *ond* forðon he beforan þeodore cærde on cænt. *ond* he þer
 36 messepreostas. *ond* diaconos hadode. oðþer⁸ se ercebiscop þider
 37 *com*.
 38 *ond* þa he *com* to hrofeceastre. þa wes damianus se biscop
 39 forðfered.
 40 *ond* he þer gehadode godne wer. se wes mid ciriclicum þeodscipum
 41 geseted. *ond* in lifes bilwetnisse þoncfudre þonne in woruldæhtum.
 42 þes nama wes putta;
 43 Se ealles tylgest romanisce þeawe song in godes circan. þone song
 44 he geleornade æt þam iungrum þes eadigan gregorius þes papan.

And he had been ordained among the people of Gaul, and therefore he returned to Kent before Theodore and there he ordained mass-priests and deacons until the archbishop arrived there.

And then he [Theodore] came to Rochester when Damian the bishop had died.

There he ordained a good man, whose name was Putta, who was established in ecclesiastical disciplines and was more content in the simplicity of life than in worldly goods.

He sang the best among God's church according to the Roman custom; he had learnt the song from the disciples of blessed Gregory the Pope.

⁸ Page 3.

<p>45 <i>ond</i> eft hit gelomp on þa tid þe wulfhere wes cining fore mærcna</p> <p>46 <i>megðum. ond</i> germanna his biscop wes dead; Þa bed he æt þeodore</p> <p>47 þam ercebiscope. þet him <i>ond</i> his ðeode were biscop sald.</p> <p>48 he him nalde neowne biscop hadian. ac he bed æt oswio þam</p> <p>49 cininge. þet him were sald ceadda se biscop;</p> <p>50 Se þa git hefde stille líf in his mynstre. þet wes gehaten in lestinga</p> <p>51 ége; <i>Ond</i> wilferð wes þere cirican biscop in eoferwícceastre. <i>ond</i></p> <p>52 nohte þon les ealra norðhymbra. ah eac swilce pehta⁹ swa hwider</p> <p>53 swa se¹⁰ cining oswi his rice mihte¹¹ þennan.</p>	<p>Later, during the time when Wulfhere was king over the Mercian people, and his bishop Jaruman had died, he asked Theodore the archbishop for a bishop to be given to him and his people.</p> <p>He did not want to ordain a new bishop for him, but he asked Oswiu the king to give Chad the bishop to him.</p> <p>At that time, he [Chad] still had a quiet life in his monastery, which was called Lastingham, and Wilfrid was bishop of the church in York, and of no less than all Northumbria, and also wherever the king Oswiu could extend his rule over the Picts.</p>
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⁹ MS *wehta*.

¹⁰ *Se* is an addition above the line indicated by ‘,’ in *swa, cining*. Added by the main scribe, not a later addition.

¹¹ Page 4.

<p>54 <i>Ond þa wes þeaw</i>¹² <i>þam ilcan. arwyrþestan biscope ceaddan. þet</i> 55 <i>he godspell geond stowe bodade. ma gongende; þonne ridende.</i> 56 <i>ond he þa þeodorus heht hine ridan.</i>¹³</p>	<p>It was then the custom of that most reverend bishop Chad for him to preach the gospel all over, more often by walking rather than riding.</p>
<p>57 <i>þet he swa hwider swa him long weg stode: ond he þa swiðe</i> 58 <i>higienda mid geornfulnisse. ond mid lufan þes arfullan gewinnes;</i></p>	<p>And then Theodore commanded him to ride wherever a long way stood before him, and then he [was] very much striving with eagerness, and with love of the honourable labour.</p>
<p>59 <i>Hine se ercebiscop mid his agene hond on horse ahof. forðon þe he</i> 60 <i>hine swiðe haligne wer gemette. ond he hine nedde. þet he swa</i> 61 <i>hwider on horse wegen were: swa hit neodþearf were;</i></p>	<p>The archbishop lifted him onto a horse with his own hands because he found him [to be] a very holy man, and he urged him that he should ride a horse whenever it was necessary.</p>

¹² MS *þeah*.

¹³ Not in MS, supplied from Bede.

62 *Onð þa onfeng ceadda mærcna þeode biscopdom samod ond*¹⁴
 63 *lindesfarena efter þere bisne ealdra federa. ond he teolede þet he*
 64 *þa þeode gehelde in micelre lifes gefremednisse;*

65 *þam bioscope wulfhere se cining gesealde landes fiftig hida. in*
 66 *þere stowe seo is gecweden æt bearwe. ond þet is in þere megðe*
 67 *lindesse. þer nu gít todege wuniað. þa gesettan swaðe*¹⁵ *his lifes;*
 68 *He hefde eft biscopseld in þere stowe seo is gecweden licetfeld.*¹⁶
 69 *in þere he forðferde. ond bebyriged wes. þer*¹⁷ *nu git todege is þet*
 70 *seld efterfylgendra þere mægðæ biscopa;*
 71 *He warhte eac degulran eardungstowe. in þere he synderlicor mid*
 72 *feawum. þet wes mid seofenum. oððe mid ehta broðrum swa oft*

And then Chad received the bishopric of the Mercian people together with the people of Lindsey following the example of the old fathers, and he strove to preserve the people in great perfection of life.

Wulfhere the king gave the bishop fifty hides of land in the place which is called “at Barrow”, and that is in the province of Lindsey, where still today remain the traces of the life he established.

Later he held the episcopal see in the place which is called Lichfield, where he died and was buried, and where still now today is the see of the succeeding bishops of this nation.

He also built a more secluded dwelling place, in which he prayed and read books more privately with a few, that is, with seven or

¹⁴ MS *on.*

¹⁵ MS *swa ðeh.*

¹⁶ Page 5.

¹⁷ MS *þe.*

73	swa he hine fram þam gewinne. <i>ond</i> þes wordes þegnungæ	eight brothers, as often as he could free himself from the labour
74	geemetgade. þet he ceadda þer him gebed. <i>ond</i> bec redde;	and the service of the word.
75	He eac in þere ilcan megðe on twam gearum <i>ond</i> on halfum gere.	Within two and a half years he also built the most glorious church
76	þa wuldlicestan cirican arerde.	in the same nation.
77	þa wes æt seo tíð þam uplican dóme stihtendum. be þere sprec seo	Then it was the time of the ordained heavenly judgement, about
78	ciriclice dómbóc; Tid is stanas to settenne. <i>ond</i> to somnienne.	which the book of Ecclesiastes says: “[There] is a time for placing ¹⁸ stones and to gather them.”
79	þet wes gecweden be þam cwalme his lichaman. þet he sceolde his	This was said about the death of his body, so that he should send
80	þone halgan gast sendan of þisum eorðlican sældum. to þam	his holy spirit from this earthly seat to the heavenly dwelling.
81	heofonlican getimbrum;	

¹⁸ The verb in *The Life* differs from the biblical source, Ecclesiastes 3:5: ‘Tempus spargendi lapides, et tempus colligendi’ (There is a time to scatter stones and to gather them).

<p>82 Mittes þer monige broðore of þere gesomnunge þes arwurðestan 83 biscofes of lichama atogene weron. þa côm¹⁹ his tid ceaddan. þet 84 he sceolde faran of þysum middangearde to drihtne;</p>	<p>When many brothers there, from the community of the most reverend bishop, had been taken from the body, then came the time for Chad journey from this earth to the Lord.</p>
<p>85 Ða gelomp hit sume dege. þet he ceadda wunade²⁰ in þere 86 foresegðan eardungstowe. mid anum breþer þes gecignis wes 87 ówine. ond þa oðre broðru to cirican gewitene weron. fore sumum 88 gelumpenicum intingan;</p>	<p>Then it happened one day that Chad stayed in the previously mentioned dwelling place with a particular brother whose name was Owine, and the other brothers had gone to church for some particular matter.</p>
<p>89 Se ilca ówine wes munuc micelre gearnunge. ond clenre 90 ingehygde. ond he abad þet uplice edlean. ond he forlæt þisne 91 middangeard. ond he wes meodum on eallum þingum. 92 ond him swutulice drihten his digolnesse onwrah.</p>	<p>This same Owine was a monk of great merit and pure mind, and he awaited the heavenly reward, as he had abandoned this secular world, and he was worthy in all respects. The Lord clearly revealed his mysteries to him.</p>

¹⁹ of *lichama atogene weron. þa côm* inserted by the scribe at the bottom, place indicated with a y.

²⁰ Page 6.

<p>93 he <i>com</i> mid <i>eþelðryden</i> <i>cwene</i> of <i>eastengla mægðæ</i>. <i>ond</i> he <i>wes</i></p> <p>94 <i>ældost</i> <i>hire þegna</i>. <i>ond</i> <i>ealdormon</i> <i>hire heordes</i>. <i>se</i> mid <i>þy</i></p> <p>95 <i>waxendum</i> <i>þes geleafan</i>: <i>getihhade þet</i> he <i>þas woruld forhogode</i>.</p> <p>96 <i>ne dyde</i> he <i>þet</i> <i>naht slaulice</i>. <i>ac</i> he <i>hine eallum middangeardas</i></p> <p>97 <i>ehtum ongerede ond forletenum eallum þam woruldþingum þe</i>²¹ he</p> <p>98 <i>hefde</i>;</p> <p>99 He <i>hine gegereðe</i> mid <i>anfalde gegerelan</i>. <i>ond</i> <i>ber acse ond eadusan</i></p> <p>100 <i>him on honda</i>. <i>ond com</i> to <i>þam mynstre þes arwurðestan fæder</i></p> <p>101 <i>0ceaddan</i>. <i>þet</i> <i>wes geciged læstinga æg</i>.</p> <p>102 <i>ne com</i> he to <i>idelnesse to</i>²² <i>þam mynstre swa sume men doþ</i>. <i>ac</i> he</p> <p>103 <i>tacnade þet</i> he to <i>gewinne in þet mynster eode</i>.</p> <p>104 <i>þet</i> he mid <i>weorcum gecyðde</i>.</p>	<p>He came with Queen Æthelthryth from the East Anglian people, and he was her most senior follower and chief of her household, and he, as his faith grew, decided that he would forsake this world. He did not do so sluggishly but divested himself of all earthly possessions and renounced all the worldly involvements that he had. He dressed himself in simple clothing and carried an axe and adze in his hands and came to the monastery of the most venerable Father Chad, which was called Lastingham. He did not come for idleness at the monastery as some people do, but he indicated that he went into the monastery to labour. He made that known through his works.</p>
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²¹ MS *þet*; *t* later addition.

²² Page 7.

105 cuðlice se ilca ówine mid þone biscop in þere foresegdan
 106 eardungstowe betwih oðrum broðrum wes hefd for his megenes
 107 arwurðnesse æste;
 108 Mitte se biscop ceadda þerinne béc redde *ond* he þerute warhte.
 109 swa hwet swa hit gesegen wes. *þet* hit þearf wes;
 110 Se mid þy þyslices hwethugu sume dege þerute warhte. *ond* se
 111 biscop wes ana in his gebedhuses stowe. þer he bocredan. *ond*
 112 gebedum werc sealde. þa geherde he feringa þes þe he efter þon
 113 segde. þa swetestan stefne singendra *ond* blissendra of heofonum
 114 to eorðan niðer astigan.
 115 þa stefne he erest geherde easten *ond* suþan. *þet* wes fram þes
 116 heofones heanisse. *ond* syððan sticcemelum him neolecan. oðþet
 117 he becom ofer þone hrof þes gebedhuses; In þam se biscop ceadda
 118 wes. *þet* he in gongende all gefylde. *ond* in ymbhwyrfte
 119 ymbسالde;

Truly, the same Owine was kept with the bishop in the previously mentioned dwelling-place among the other brothers by virtue of the strength of his honour.

While the Bishop Chad read books inside, he worked outside on whatever it was apparent that was necessary.

One day, when he was working outside in this way and the bishop was alone in his oratory, where he offered the work of book reading and prayers, he then suddenly heard something which he afterwards said was the sweetest sound of singing and rejoicing from the heavens descending to earth.

He first heard the sound from the east and the south, that is, from the height of heaven and afterwards it gradually approached him, until it came over the roof of the prayer house in which Bishop Chad was so that, as it as it went in, it completely filled it and encircled it all around.

<p>120 ²³<i>Onð</i> he þa ymbhydelice his mod fæstnade in þa þing þe he þer 121 geherde. 122 <i>onð</i> þa geherde he feringa swa swa agongnum halfre tíde fyrst. of 123 þes ilcan gebedhuses hrofe. þone ilcan blisse song úpp astigan. <i>onð</i> 124 þy wege þe he <i>com.</i> to heofonum beon gecerredne. mid 125 unaseggendlicræ swetnisse. 126 <i>onð</i> mitte hit þa wunade on þere stowe swa swa tide fec: swilce hit 127 þunnurad were. <i>onð</i> he þa ymbhygdie mode spyrede hwet þet 128 were.</p>	<p>And he carefully fixed his mind on those things which he heard there. Then he suddenly heard, just as the space of half an hour had passed, the same joyful song ascending from the roof of that prayer house, and returning to heaven with indescribable sweetness, in the same way in which it came. And while it remained in that place for just a moment, as if it were thunder, he investigated what it might have been in a careful with an attentive mind.</p>
<p>129 Ða ontynde se biscop ceadda þet egðyrl þes gebedhuses. <i>onð</i> hof 130 his honda úpp swa swa he foroft gewunade þet he dyde. <i>onð</i> sealde 131 his bletsunge. <i>onð</i> bebead gif þer hwa úte were. þet he þonne in to 132 him eode.</p>	<p>Then Bishop Chad opened the window of the prayer house, and raised his hands up, just as he was often accustomed to do, and gave his blessing and asked if anyone were there outside, that he should come in to him.</p>

<p>133 <i>ond þa eode he ricene in to him. ond þa cweð se biscop to him. fer</i></p> <p>134 <i>þu ricene to cirican. ond gedó þu þet heo hider cuman þas ure</i></p> <p>135 <i>seofen broðru. ond beo þu eac mid heom;</i></p> <p>136 <i>Mittes heo þa swa comon: þa manode he ceadda heo erest þet hi</i></p> <p>137 <i>lufan ond megen ond sibbe him betweenum ond²⁴ ealle geleafnisse</i></p> <p>138 <i>heoldon mid ealre anrednesse. ond þet hi eac swylce þa gesettan</i></p> <p>139 <i>þeodscipas ond regolþeawas. þa þe hi et him geleornadon. ond in</i></p> <p>140 <i>him gesegen. oððe in foregongendra fedora dedum. oððe cwidum</i></p> <p>141 <i>gemetun. þet heo þet eall efestlice heoldon ond fyligdon.</i></p> <p>142 <i>syððan he him þa underþeodde ond cyðde þone deg his forðfore</i></p> <p>143 <i>þet þa iu him neh stod;</i></p> <p>144 <i>He cweð. se leofwynda cuma se gewunade þet he þa ure broðra</i></p> <p>145 <i>neosade. he nu todeg wes geeadmodad. þet he me walde of þissere</i></p> <p>146 <i>worulda gecígen;</i></p>	<p>And he quickly went in to him then, and the bishop said to him,</p> <p>“Go to the church at once and get our seven brothers to come here, and you should also be with them.”</p> <p>As soon as they had come, Chad urged them first to keep love, virtue, and peace between themselves, as well as all faithfulness with complete steadfastness, and likewise keep and follow the established ecclesiastical disciplines and customs, which they had learned from him and observed in him, either found in the deeds or sayings of the fathers who came before them.</p> <p>Afterwards he submitted himself to them and told them the day of his death, which was already close for him.</p> <p>He said, “The gracious visitor who has been accustomed to visiting our brothers, today has condescended to call me from this world.</p>
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²⁴ Page 9.

<p>147 Cerrað ge forþon to cirican. <i>ond</i> secgað urum broðrum. þet heo 148 minne endedeg drihtne mid benum ætfestun. <i>ond</i> þet hi eac swilce 149 gemynen þet hi heora útgong forecumen. þes tíð is uncuð mid 150 godum weorcum <i>ond</i> mid weccenum <i>ond</i> mid gebedum.</p>	<p>Return therefore to the church and tell our brothers to commit my day of death to the Lord with prayers, and that they also remember to prepare for their own departure—the time of which is unknown—with good works, vigils, and prayers.”</p>
<p>151 <i>ond</i> mittes he þas sprec <i>ond</i> manegu þisum gelic: hi þa onfengon²⁵ 152 his bletsunge 153 þa hi swiðe unrote út eodon. ða cerde se an se þone heofonlicon 154 song geherde <i>ond</i>²⁶ þenede hine on þa eorðan <i>ond</i> cweð. feder. is 155 me alyfed þet ic þe mote ohtes fregnan. 156 þa cweð he cedda. fregn þes þe þu wille.</p>	<p>And while he said this and many similar things, they received his blessing. When, very mournful, they went outside, the one who heard the heavenly song turned back and prostrated himself on the earth and said, “Father, am I permitted to ask you something?” Chad said, “Ask what you will.”</p>

²⁵ MS *onfongon*.

²⁶ Page 10.

<p>157 þa cweð he to þam biscope. Ic þe halsie þet þu me secge. hwet wes 158 se blissendra song. þe ic geherde of heofonum cuman ofer þis 159 gebædhus. <i>ond</i> efter tide fece he wes gecerred to heofonum.</p>	<p>Then he said to the bishop, “I implore you to tell me what the rejoicing song was that I heard coming from the heavens over this oratory, and which after a period of time returned to the heavens.”</p>
<p>160 Ða answarude se biscop ceadda him <i>ond</i> cweð. Gif þu songes 161 stefne geherdest. <i>ond</i> heofonlicne þreat geherdest cuman ofer þis 162 gebedhus. ic þe þonne bebeodu on drihtnes naman. þet þu hit 163 nenegum men ne asecge. ér minre forðfore.</p>	<p>Bishop Chad answered him and said, “If you heard the sound of a song and heard a heavenly host come over this prayer house, then I implore you, in the name of the Lord, to not tell it to anyone before my death.</p>
<p>164 Cuðlice ic þe secge. þet hit weron engla gastas þa comon me 165 gecígan to þam heofonlican rice. þa ic á lufade. <i>ond</i> þes edleanes to 166 him wilnade.</p>	<p>Truly, I say to you that they were the spirits of angels who came to call me to the heavenly kingdom, whom I have always loved, and from whom I desired that reward.</p>
<p>167 <i>ond</i> heo me gehehton þet heo nu æfter seofon dagum hider gecerde 168 weron. <i>ond</i> me mid him geleadan wolden.</p>	<p>And they promised me that they would return here after seven days to take me with them.”</p>
<p>169 þet eallswa hit mid wordum gecweden wes swa hit wes mid 170 weorcum gefylled.</p>	<p>Just as it was said with words, so it was fulfilled with deeds.</p>

<p>171 <i>ond he þa ricene mid lichaman éce wes</i>²⁷ <i>gehrinen. ond þa þy</i> 172 <i>seofodan dege swa swa him gehaten wes efter þere onfongnisse</i> 173 <i>þes drihtenlican lichaman ond his blodes. seo halige sawul wes</i> 174 <i>onlesedu of þam carcerne þes lichaman. ond hio wes gelededu swa</i> 175 <i>hit riht is to gelefenne mid engla þreatum to þam ecan gefean.</i></p>	<p>He was immediately assaulted with bodily pain, and on the seventh day, just as it was promised to him, after receiving the Lord's body and blood, his holy soul was freed from its bodily prison and it was led, as it is right to believe, to eternal bliss among the host of angels.</p>
<p>176 <i>Nes þet naht wunderlic. þet he þone deapes deg swa unforht abád:</i> 177 <i>forþon þe hit nes deaðes deg. ac hit wes tylig drihtnes blisse deg.</i> 178 <i>þonne he swa bliðe ymbhydelice abád. þet wes in monegum</i> 179 <i>forhæfdnisse.</i>²⁸ <i>ond in eadmodnisse. ond in gebedu lare. ond on</i> 180 <i>wilsumre þearfednisse. ond in manegum megena gearnungum.</i></p>	<p>It was not at all surprising that he awaited the day of his death so unafraid, because it was not a day of death, but rather it was the day of the Lord's joy, which he so willingly and eagerly awaited, with much self-restraint, humility, the teaching of prayers, voluntary poverty, and in many virtuous merits.</p>
<p>181 <i>ond ealles swiþest: he wes in eallum his weorcum godes lufan</i> 182 <i>gemyndig. ond his þera nehstena. swa hit sum broðor segde þone</i></p>	<p>Most of all, he was mindful of the love of God in all his works, and of his own end, as one brother said, whose name was Trumberht,</p>

²⁷ Page 11.

²⁸ MS *forhæfdnis*.

183 he in gewritum larde. *ond* he wes in his mynstere. *ond* in²⁹ his
 184 laredome gelered. þes nama wes trumberht.
 185 he segde. gif þet gelumpe þet se³⁰ biscop ceadda his béc redde.
 186 oððe hwet swilces dyde. gif þes windes bled mare aras þonne hit
 187 gewunelic were: he þonne ricene gecigde drihtnes
 188 mildheortnesse.³¹ *ond* bed þet manncynne gemiltsade.
 189 gif þonne strengra se wind astód. he þonne betynedre þere béc
 190 forðleat in his anseone. *ond* geornlicor þam gebede gefalh.
 191 *ond* gif þonne git se storm wes strengra. oððe yste þeosne
 192 middangeard bregdon *ond* þunurrade *ond* lægetas on eorðan. *ond*
 193 lyftas on eorþan þreadon. he þonne ricene com to cirican. *ond* þer
 194 ymbhygdelicor gebeodum *ond* salmsongum feste móde emetgade.
 195 oðþet þes lyftes smyltnes cerde;

whom he had educated in the scriptures and who was taught in his monastery and had been instructed in his teachings.

He said if it happened that Bishop Chad was reading his books or whatever similar things he did, if a blast of wind arose more than it was usual, then he immediately called upon the Lord's mercy and prayed that he might have compassion for mankind.

If the wind rose up stronger, he would close the book, prostrate himself face down and devote himself more eagerly to praying.

And then if the storm was even stronger, or gales terrified this world, and thunder and lightning terrified the earth and punished the sky over the earth, he would go to the church straightaway and there devoted himself more diligently with a steadfast mind to prayers and the psalms until the air's calmness returned.

²⁹ MS *hi*.

³⁰ Page 12.

³¹ MS *mildheorhtnesse*.

<p>196 <i>Ond</i> mittes hine fregnaden his gingran.³² for hwon he <i>þet</i> dyde. Ða 197 andwyrde he him <i>ond</i> cweð. Ac ne leornaden ge <i>þet</i> drihten 198 leoðrað of heofone. <i>ond</i> se hesta seleð his stefne. 199 he sendeð his strelas. <i>ond</i> he hio tostenceð. 200 he gemonigfaldað³³ legeto. <i>ond</i> he heo gedrefeð. 201 drihten onstyreð lyftas <i>ond</i> aweceð windas. 202 he sceotað legeto. <i>ond</i> he leoðrað of heofone. <i>þet</i> he þa eorðlican 203 mod aweceð: hine to ondredenre. <i>ond þet</i> he heora heortan gecige 204 in þa gemynd: þes towardan domes. <i>ond þet</i> he heora oferhygd 205 tostence. <i>ond</i> heora bældu³⁴ gedrefe. <i>ond</i> heora gemynd gelede to 206 þere beofugendlican³⁵ tide. þonne he bið toward: to demene cwice</p>	<p>And when his disciples asked him why he did that, he answered them and said, “but did you not learn that ‘the Lord thunders from heaven and the highest gives his voice. He sends forth his arrows, and he scatters them. He multiplies lightning, and he disturbs it.’ The Lord stirs the air and rouses the winds. He shoots lightning, and he thunders from heaven so that he might rouse earthly minds to dread him and call their hearts into remembrance of the approaching judgement so that he may destroy their pride and disturb their impudence, and bring to their minds the terrible time when he will be present to judge the living and dead in great might and majesty with heaven and earth burning.”</p>
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³² MS *ginran*.

³³ Page 13.

³⁴ MS *bold*.

³⁵ MS *heofugendlican*.

207 *ond deade. heofones ond eorðan beornendum. ond in micelre mihte*
 208 *ond megenþrymme.*
 209 *forðon us gedafenað cweð se biscop ceadda. þet we his manunge³⁶*
 210 *þere heofonlican andswarien. mid gedefe ége ond lufan. þet swa*
 211 *oft swa drihten on lyfte his handa onstyrie. swa swa he beotige ús*
 212 *to slenne. ond þonne hweðere þonne gyt ne slæð; Bidden we sona*
 213 *ymbhygdilice³⁷ his mildheortnisse. þet he to slegenne³⁸ ure*
 214 *heortena digolnesse. ond geclensade ure uncysta scamum. þet we*
 215 *geearnien³⁹ þet we nefre seon slegene in þam ecan wite;*

Therefore, it befits us,” said Bishop Chad, “that we answer his heavenly admonition with fitting awe and love, so that just as often as the Lord his hands in the air, as if threatening to strike us and then nonetheless does not yet strike, we may at once pray diligently for his mercy, so that he might break open the secrets of our hearts and cleanse the shame of our vices so that we may never deserve to be cast into that eternal torment.

³⁶ MS *mununge*.

³⁷ MS *yndhygdilic*.

³⁸ MS *he toslegenum*.

³⁹ Page 14.

216 Hit gelomp be þere forðfore þes foresegdan biscopes. þet com to
 217 hys gemynde onwrignesse. þet word þes arwurðestan fæder
 218 egberhtes. se geara mid þone⁴⁰ ilcan ceaddan iungne. ond hio
 219 begen ginge on scotta ealonde syndrig munuclif hæfdon.
 220 ond hi þoncfulle weron in gebedum. ond in forhefednisse. ond in
 221 leornunge godcundra gewrita;
 222 Ac efter þon þe he wes gecerred on his æpel. ond se oðer elþeodig
 223 for drihtnes lufan þer awunade⁴¹ oð his lifes ende;
 224 Mittes him to com of breotene ealonde æfter longe tide mid
 225 neosunge gefé se halgesta wer ond se þoncfullista. þes nama wes
 226 hygbald.
 227 se wes abbud in þere megðe lindesse.
 228 ond þa dydon hi swa hit halgum gedafnade. sprecon be þam life
 229 þera erran hæhfædera. ond hio gefegun heora somnunge;

It happened concerning the death of this bishop that the word of
 the most honourable Father Egbert came as a testament to his
 memory, who had once led a secluded monastic life in Ireland with
 that same young Chad when they were both youths.
 They were contented in prayers, in abstinence, and in the learning
 of divine scriptures.
 But after he returned to his homeland, the other remained exiled
 there for love of the Lord until the end of his life.
 Once, the holiest and most contented man, whose name was
 Hygbald, came to him from the Island of Britain after a long time
 for the purpose of a visit.
 He was abbot in the province of Lindsey.
 And then they did as befitted holy men: they spoke about the life
 of the early Church fathers and they rejoiced at their meeting.

⁴⁰ MS *geara þone* (no *mid*).

⁴¹ MS *þeorð wunade*.

<p>230 Heo comon to þere gemyndæ þes arwurðestan⁴² biscopesceaddan;</p>	They came to the memory of the most Reverend Bishop Chad.
<p>231 Ða cweð <i>sanctus</i> ægberht. Ic wát enne man in þisum ealonde.</p>	Then Saint Egberht said, “I know a certain man on this island who,
<p>232 mittes se halga wer ceadda se biscop ferde of þisum middangearde.</p>	when the holy man Chad the bishop departed from this earth, saw
<p>233 þet he geseh his broðor saule mid micle engla werode niðer astigan</p>	his brother’s soul descend from heaven with a great host of angels,
<p>234 of heofone. <i>ond</i> genam mid hine his saule. <i>ond</i> to þam heofonlican</p>	and took his soul with him and afterwards returned to the heavenly
<p>235 rice eft gecerde.</p>	kingdom.”
<p>236 Ðonne hweðere us þet wunað uncuð. hweðer he hit be him seolfum</p>	However, it remains unknown to us whether he said this about
<p>237 segde; hweðer þe be oðrum men hwylcum.</p>	himself or some other man.
<p>238 Ac þonne hweðere þet ne meg uncuð beon. þet swa swiðe halig</p>	But nevertheless, what such a very holy man said cannot be
<p>239 wér segde.</p>	uncertain.
<p>240 <i>Sancte</i> ceadda forðferda in þam dege sexta nonas martis.</p>	Saint Chad died on the sixth day of the Nones of March. ⁴³

⁴² Page 15.

⁴³ 2 March.

241 *ond* he wes erest bebyrged be *sancta* marían cirican. ac efter þon
 242 þer mon getimbrade cirican. *ond* gehalgode þam eadigestan þera
 243 apostole ealdre *sancte* petre.

244 In gehweðre þera stowa gelomlico helo *ond* wundra beoð
 245 gewrohte. to cuðnesse his megena;

246 Hit gelomp þet sum woda. se eall þet lond dwoligende geondearn.
 247 þet he on efenne þider becom.⁴⁴ swa þa nyston oððe ne gemdon: þe
 248 þere stowe heordas weron.

249 *ond* he þer ealle niht gereste. *ond* on margene mid gehelde andgitte
 250 út eode.

251 *ond* he cudde eallum þam mannum wundrigendum. hwet him þer
 252 drihten to helo: forgifen hefde.

He was first buried beside Saint Mary's church, but afterwards people built a church there and dedicated it to the most blessed leader of the apostles, Saint Peter.

In both of these places frequent/repeated healings and miracles were wrought to make his powers known.

It happened that a certain insane man, who went wandering all over that region, came to this place in the evening, so that those who were the guardians of the place did not know or did not notice.

He rested there all night and, in the morning went out with a healed mind.

And he made known to all the astounded people what healing the Lord had bestowed on him there.

⁴⁴ Page 16.

<p>253 Seo stow þere byrgene wes treowene þruh. <i>ond</i> heo wes gewarht</p> <p>254 ufan on huses gelicnesse.</p> <p>255 <i>ond</i> þer stondeþ wigbed be þere þruh. þet hafeð þyrel on þam</p> <p>256 wage. þurh þet gewuniað þa men þe þa stowe secað <i>ond</i> tocumað.</p> <p>257 þet hio heora hand þerin sendað. <i>ond</i> del þes dustes þanon</p> <p>258 genemað.</p>	<p>The place of the burial was a wooden coffin, and on top it was built in the likeness of a house.</p> <p>There, by the coffin, stands an altar which has an opening in the wall, through which people who seek out and come to that place are accustomed to put their hand in and take a portion of the dust from there.</p>
<p>259 <i>ond</i> mittes hit mon in weter sendaþ. <i>ond</i> seleð untruman horsum</p> <p>260 oððe nutenum. oððe mannum to byrgenne. þonne sona seo unepnis</p> <p>261 þere untrumnesse intingan: onweg gewitað. <i>ond</i> þere helo geféa</p> <p>262 him tocerreð;</p>	<p>And when one puts it into water and gives it to sick horses, or cattle, or people to taste, then the difficulty caused by the suffering immediately goes away and the joy of health returns to them.</p>

<p>263 In þere stowe þeodorus gehadode wynferð godne wer⁴⁵ <i>ond</i> 264 gemetfestne. swa his forgengan mercna megða on middelengla. on 265 lindesfarena biscophades⁴⁵ þegnunge fore wes;</p>	<p>In that place Theodore ordained Wynferth, a good and modest man, who like his predecessors had authority in office over the episcopate of the Mercian people, the Middle Angles, and the people of Lindsey.</p>
<p>266 In eallum þam þingum wulfere þa gít wes ófer. <i>ond</i> rices anwald 267 hæfde.</p>	<p>During all these events, Wulfhere still ruled and held power over the kingdom.</p>
<p>268 se wynferð wes of preosthade þes biscopes þe he æfterfylgede. <i>ond</i> 269 he diacones þegnunge under him bræc: naht féa tíde;⁴⁶</p>	<p>Wynferth was from among the presbyterate of the bishop whom he succeeded, and for no small time he had fulfilled the office of deacon under him.</p>
<p>270 Genihtsumien ús nu men þa leofestan. þas þe us segd earun be þam 271 arwurðan bioscope <i>sancte</i> ceaddan.</p>	<p>Dearest people, let those things that are told about the reverend bishop Saint Chad suffice us for now.</p>

⁴⁵ Page 17.

⁴⁶ End of Bede.

272 *ond þeah þe ús medmicelo*⁴⁷ of micclum beon gesegde: þonne
 273 hweðere beon we gewisse his lifes. *ond* his drohtunge gemyndig
 274 hu he dyde ær þes biscophades onfongnisse ge in þam biscophade;
 275 eale þet wes eadig wær. in þam ne wes enig inwit.
 276 ne he nenigne fordemde. ne he nenigne gehénde. ne he nanegum
 277 men yfel for yfele gealt. ac he wið eallum earfodnissum *ond*
 278 *teonum*: nam geþylde.
 279 *ond* mittes he wes hehbiscop on órleahstre. *ond* swilce þeah þe he
 280 fram untrumum *ond* unwisum preostum were gedered. na geseah
 281 hine mon efre forðon eorne. ne⁴⁸ mid hatheortnesse onstýredne.
 282 ne nenig man hine geseah swiðe hlahendne. ne nenig man hine
 283 geseah swiðe grorniende ac he á án. *ond* þet ilce sume gemete
 284 heofonlice blisse bér on his onseone.
 285 nes nefre in his muðe nýmpðe crist nýmpðe mildheortnis;

And though little of many things are told to us, nevertheless we are
 certain of his life and mindful of conduct: how he acted before his
 acceptance of the bishop's office and as a bishop.

Indeed, that was a blessed man in whom there was not any evil.

Neither did he condemn anyone, or despise anyone, nor did he
 repay anyone evil with evil, but he kept his patience against all
 tribulations and wrongs.

And when he was in perils as archbishop, and even though he
 might be hurt by weak and foolish priests, one never saw him
 become angry because of that, or disturbed by anger.

Neither did anyone see him laughing excessively, nor did anyone
 see him lamenting too much, but he was always stable and bore
 that same certain measure of heavenly bliss on his face.

Never was anything in his mouth except Christ, except mercy.

⁴⁷ MS *midmicelo*.

⁴⁸ Page 18.

<p>286 Bidden we nu men þa untodeledlican þrinnesse. þet we mid þam 287 benum þes halgestan weres <i>sancte</i> ceaddan seon gefultumade.⁴⁹ þet 288 we geearnian þet we magen becuman to þam geferscipe haligra 289 biscopa <i>ond</i> eadigra gasta. <i>forgifendum urum drihtne helendum</i> 290 <i>criste. se leofað ond rixað mid þam feder ond mid þam haligan</i> 291 <i>gasta in eallre worulda woruld</i> 292 <i>amen;</i></p>	<p>Let us now pray now, people, to the indivisible Trinity so that we may be helped by the prayers of the holiest man Saint Chad, and so that we may deserve to come to the community of holy bishops and blessed souls, beside our forgiving Lord saviour Christ, who lives and rules with the Father and with the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.</p>
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⁴⁹ MS *gefultummade*.

Appendix B: Commentary

1 *secgan*. Napier records a (.) (*punctus*) here (lines 1, 141), but Vleeskruyer does not (lines 2, 162). On the manuscript page there is a (.) but this could have been added by a later hand. (I have noted what each punctuation mark is according to Parkes' classification in the first instance, then referred to it only by the symbol.)

2 *ceaddan* After *Ceaddan* both Vleeskruyer (lines 2, 162) and Napier (lines 2, 141) record a (.), but there is no punctuation present in the manuscript. There is a small erasure after the *n*. It is possible that the punctuation has been erased.

2 *biscopdóme* Accent above the *o* is small and faint, possibly a later addition.

8 *medmicle* MS reads *mid micle*. Vleeskruyer emends this to *medmicle* (lines 8, 162) and Napier maintains the manuscript reading *mid micle* (lines 8, 141). Kramer et al. make the same emendation as Vleeskruyer (6, §1). I have followed Vleeskruyer's emendation (see below for similar word 174 *medmicelo*).

9 *to þon* Vleeskruyer keeps this to one word (*toþon*) which he glosses as 'adv. 'to that degree,' as does Napier. Kramer et al. also records this as a single word *toþon* (6, §2; 6, §1). It is not listed as a single word in either Bosworth-Toller or Clark-Hall. There are 14 occurrences where it has been edited as one word in the corpus. In her edition of the Old English *Martyrology*, Rauer glosses it as a single word. On the manuscript page the word division is unclear and *þon* looks compressed onto the end of the line. The MS evidence indicates the form should be treated as two separate words; even within the first few lines, and across the whole text, the scribe mostly uses medial *ð* and *þ* initially. All around this line *þ* is only used initially. This indicates that it should be two separate words, understood as an adverbial phrase. I have treated as two separate words accordingly.

12–13 *norðhymbra þeoda rixiendum under oswie þam kyninge* Vleeskruyer emends *under* out of the text (lines 12, 162) while Napier keeps it in his text (lines 12, 141). Kramer et al., like Vleeskruyer, have also edited *under* out of the text (Kramer, et al., 6, §2). Vleeskruyer argues that *under* is a gloss to *rixiendum* which has been added into the text itself (Vleeskruyer, 189). While not emending the text directly, Napier commented that *under* was unnecessary and the scribe could have misunderstood, thinking the participle referred to Chad or Alwine (Napier, 148). Either of these scenarios would indicate a textual history. Alternatively, the poor sentence construction could be indicative of the author's difficulty with vernacular prose; beside other examples discussed in the introduction, this is likely. As such, and in keeping with my general principles of diplomatic editing, I have kept the manuscript reading and retained *under*.

14 *eoferwicceaster* Kramer et al. have separated the words as *Eoferwic ceaster* (6, §2), which follows the manuscript and Napier (lines 13–14, 141). I have edited it together as one word, as Vleeskruyer (lines 13, 162).

20 *ond he in gelumpenicum stowum* Vleeskruyer emends *ond* out of the text (lines 16, 162), while Napier retains it (lines 16, 141), as do Kramer et al. (6, §2). By removing *ond* from the text Vleeskruyer is making an unnecessary change that alters the author's style. There is no grammatical problem here which would indicate a scribal error.

20 *stowum*: In the manuscript a (:) (*media distinctio*) is clearly present after *stowum*. Neither Vleeskruyer (lines 17, 162) nor Napier (line 16, 141) include this punctuation in their editions. It is possible that this is a later addition, as a later glossator has punctuated a good deal of the text (see 48-9 for discussion of punctuation as the work of the glossator).

19 *geleafan*: Vleeskruyer (lines 18, 162) and Napier (lines 18, 141) transcribe this punctuation as a (:) (*punctus elevatus*). The manuscript is not clear; the stroke on the upper point is faint.

24 *onfenge*: The (:) is in the margin. It could be a later addition, possibly of the Latin abbreviation meaning 'then'.

26 *wyrðne* I have emended the manuscript reading word division *wyrð ne(-) wende* and followed Vleeskruyer's emendation to make it *wyrðne* (lines 23, 162). (See 26 above for discussion).

28 *þe* The manuscript reads *þet* but the final *t* is clearly a later addition, which Vleeskruyer acknowledges (162). Kramer et al. do not remove the *t*, but preserves the manuscript reading as *þet* (7, §3), and in the commentary note that the *t* is squeezed in. The emended reading that I have adopted makes the most sense of the phrase 'mid þe swa' (for further discussion of this phrase, see 109-11).

29 *ceadda* The manuscript reads *ceadda*, whereas Kramer et al. have emended this to *Ceaddan* (8, §3). Kramer et al. does not provide commentary on any textual interventions, but I would assume this is because the nominative case is not the most logical choice here and so he has emended for the sake of sense.

46 *germanna* Written on an erasure.

48 *hadian*. Vleeskruyer (lines 40, 164) and Napier (lines 42, 142) both record a (.) after *hadian*. While it is unclear in the manuscript because it is smudged, the (.) is probably present.

51 *eoferwícceastre* As above, Kramer et al. have edited the town name into two words *Eoferwic ceaster* (8, §5) just as Napier does (lines 45, 142). I, like Vleeskruyer (lines 42–43, 164), have edited it as a single word.

52 *pehta* MS reads *wehta*. I have followed Vleeskruyer's emendation (lines 43, 164) from manuscript *wehta* to *pehta*. Kramer et al. have likewise made this emendedation to *Pehta* (8, §5). (See 25 for discussion of this error in depth).

54 *þeaw* MS reads *þeah*. Following Vleeskruyer (lines 45, 164), I have emended *þeah* to *þeaw*, as have Kramer et al. (8, §6). (See 25 for discussion of this error).

56 *ridan* I emended the text to include the verb *ridan*, supplied from Bede, for sense. I argue that this is the result of textual corruption over time. (See 30 for discussion). This is not something Kramer et al. have done in their edition (8, §6), in keeping with their generally less interventionist approach.

57–58 *ond he þa swiðe higienda mid geornfulnisse. ond mid lufan þes arfullan gewinnes* The meaning in this clause was hard to translate because of the difficult syntax. Kramer et al. have translated it as, “and Chad hastened urgently with devotion and with love for this venerable struggle” (000) My translation refers to the spreading of the gospel; it is not clear what the DOML translation is referring to.

61 *were*: Vleeskruyer (lines 51, 166) and Napier (lines 54, 142) both transcribe (.) after *were*. There is a (.), but it looks like it could have been a (:). I theorise that it was originally a (.) and the later glossator turned it into to a (:).

62 *samod ond lindesfarena* Manuscript reads *on* but I have emended it to *ond* based on reading for sense. It is most likely a scribal error. Vleeskruyer (lines 53, 166) kept the manuscript reading, as do Kramer et al. (10, §7).

67 *swaðe* Manuscript reads *swa ðeh*. I have followed Vleeskruyer’s emendation to *swaðe* (lines 57, 166) because it is required for sense in context. Kramer et al. also make this change (§7, 10).

69 *þer* Manuscript reads *þe*. Vleeskruyer emends this to *þer* (lines 59, 166). I followed this emendation because it is logical and is grammatically correct (see 26-7 for discussion of error). Kramer et al. have chosen to not alter the text and have kept the manuscript reading of *þe* (§7, 10).

73–74 Another difficult to parse clause, Kramer et al. (§8, lines 17–18, 11) translate as, “as often as he could free himself from the struggle and from the ministry of the word.”

97 *ongerede* Erasure present after *ongerede* on the manuscript.

97 *þe* Manuscript reads *þet*, I have followed Vleeskruyer’s emendation to *þe* because the *t* is an erroneous later addition at the end of the line. Kramer et al. (673) also remove *t* (12, §11), noting that it is a later addition, possibly by the Tremulous Hand of Worcester.

108 *biscop* Kramer et al. (673) note in their commentary that *bis* is corrected from *brs* in manuscript; this is clearly evident upon examination of the manuscript.

112 *he* Vleeskruyer records *hé* (lines 96, 170) while Napier records *he* (lines 101, 143). It is not clear in the manuscript. There is a faint mark above the *e*, but it looks like it could be the tail of the descender of the *p* (*w*) in the line above.

112 *efter þon* Both Vleeskruyer (lines 96, 170) and Kramer et al. (12, §12) edit *efterþon* together as a single word. Editing the phrase as two separate words is the most common practice, as *æfter þon* is prevalent in the corpus with 214 occurrences in the corpus versus *æfterþon* only twice (DOEC). Outside of the *Life of Saint Chad*, spelled with an *e*, *efter þon*

only occurs in PsGIE (a Mercian gloss) which is also edited as two words (DOEC). In light of this, I have made the decision to edit as two words rather than a single word.

127 *þunnurad* Manuscript reads *þunnurad* and Vleeskruyer emends spelling to *þunurrad* (line 107, 170), while Kramer et al. (14, §14) and I have maintained the manuscript spelling. In his review of Vleeskruyer's edition, E. G. Stanley questions the need for this emendation which excludes an interesting spelling. (Stanley, Review of Vleeskruyer, 1957, 113) The manuscript spelling could either be authentic or the result of scribal error. The Middle English Dictionary includes attested spelling of *thonder* with double *nn*, so the *nn* spelling may be a twelfth-century influence. There are no instances in the OE corpus of it being spelled this way. Comparatively, Stanley does not note this word is spelled correctly as *þunurrade* on line 118. The single *n* was probably the original spelling, but there is no need to emend the *þunnurad* spelling.

136 *comon*: Vleeskruyer and Napier do not include this (:). The punctuation is clearly present in the manuscript, though it is not clear if this is original or was added by the later glossator.

137 *lufan* A scribal error on the *a*.

141 *þet eall efestlice* Manuscript reads *þet ealle festlice* Vleeskruyer has emended this to *þet eall efestlice*, and I have followed this emendation, as has Kramer et al. (14, §16) (see 27 for further discussion).

142 *forðfore* Manuscript *forð=fore* (=) is over a damaged spot on the manuscript. Vleeskruyer notes that the (=) was written by a later hand over an erasure; it could have either been made by the main scribe or a later hand (172).

143 *þet* MS reads *þet*, which Vleeskruyer emends to *þe* (lines 120, 172). I have kept the manuscript reading, as have Kramer et al. (14, §17). Vleeskruyer's change is not explained in his notes. The scribe at the time thought it made sense and it is not a necessary intervention, thus I have kept the manuscript reading.

144 *þa* Vleeskruyer records an accent above the *a*. In his edition he has *þá* (lines 121, 172), but Napier has *þa* (lines 129, 144). There is no accent above the *a*, but the *þ* above has a long descender; there is another *þ* with a long descender in the same style on the same line.

149 *uncuð* There is an erasure at the end of line 15 of page 9, where *cuð* has been removed and replaced by *uncuð* on the next line. (See 24)

150 *weccenum* MS reads *weccenum*, Vleeskruyer emends to *weacenum* (lines 127, 172). I have retained the spelling, as the spelling is attested elsewhere mostly in the context of Mercian transmission (see 153-54 for discussion). Kramer et al. also keep the manuscript reading (14, §17).

151 *gelic*: Vleeskruyer (lines 128, 172) and Napier (lines 136, 144) do not include (:) in their editions. While the (:) is clearly present, it looks like a later addition because it has a different aspect.

151 *onfengon* Manuscript reads *onfongon*, Vleeskruyer emends to *onfengon* (lines 128, 172) and I have followed this emendation (see 27 for discussion). Kramer et al. retain the manuscript spelling (16, §18). Napier suggests *onfongon* is a corruption of *onfongenre* (151), but like Vleeskruyer (197-8), I think this is unlikely.

152 *bletsunge* Vleeskruyer records a (.) after *bletsunge* (lines 128, 127). Napier does not transcribe this punctuation (lines 137, 144) and it is not present in the manuscript. It is unclear why Vleeskruyer has made this addition and it is an odd inconsistency since Vleeskruyer otherwise maintains manuscript punctuation.

171 *éce* Written on an erasure in the manuscript.

176 *abád:* Manuscript has (:), but Vleeskruyer (lines 149, 174) and Napier (lines 159, 145) transcribe (.). The top point looks like it could have been a later addition, as it is different in aspect and in a lighter ink, consistent with other added punctuation. I have recorded the punctuation for my edition as (:) because that is as it appears in the manuscript.

178 *ymbhydelice* Erased *h* before *ymb* (see 24 for discussion).

179 *forhæfdnisse* Manuscript spelling *forhæfdnis*. I have followed Vleeskruyer's emendation to *forhæfdnisse* (lines 151, 176) (see 28 for discussion), Kramer et al., however, have not emended the text and keep the manuscript reading (16, §21).

181 *swiþest:* Vleeskruyer (lines 153, 176) and Napier (lines 164, 145) record (.). The manuscript clearly has (:), but the top stroke looks as if it was added by a later punctuator because of its different aspect and lighter ink. For consistency I have kept all manuscript punctuation even later additions.

183 *in* Manuscript reads *hi*. I have followed Vleeskruyer's emendation (lines 156, 176) to *in*, which is more logical in the context (see 28 for discussion). Kramer et al. also make this emendation (18, §22).

188 *mildheortnesse* MS reads *mildheorhtnesse*. Vleeskruyer emends to *mildheortnesse*, as I have also done (see 27 for discussion). Kramer et al. retain the manuscript spelling (18, §22) but note that an ascender has been erased on the *r* (674). There is no attested spelling in the corpus of *mildheorh-*, which suggests that the best editorial decision is to remove the extra *h* (DOEC).

193 *lyftas on eorþan þreadon* Vleeskruyer removes *on eorþan* from his edition (lines 164, 176). I think this an unnecessary emendation and have kept it in the text (see 36-7 for discussion). Kramer et al. also retain the manuscript reading (18, §23).

196 *gingran* Manuscript reads *ginran*. I follow Vleeskruyer's emendation to *gingran* (lines 167, 176) because this is the standard spelling (DOEC). Kramer et al. have kept the manuscript spelling (18, §24) but note the 'g' is corrected from a different letter, perhaps an *r*' (674).

198 *stefne*. Vleeskruyer records (.) (line 169, 176), while Napier has no punctuation (lines 181, 145). A (.) is present in the manuscript, but it is faint and could be a later addition. The

aspect is similar to the punctuation following *strelas*. on the next line. Kramer et al. have edited the word as *stefn* (18.24), without the *e* on the end, though it is clearly *stefne* in the manuscript and there is no note in the commentary on the emendation.

201 *awecceð* Manuscript reads *awecceð*. Vleeskruyer emends to *awecce* (lines 172, 178) to make it subjunctive; he says it is an error caused by the indicative in the preceding lines (200). I have not emended the verb, nor have Kramer et al. (18, §25). It is an unnecessary textual intervention; there is no indication that this was an error on the part of the scribe or author. While the context could call for the subjunctive, there is not a firm argument that it should be emended.

205 *gemynd*: A (:) is present in the manuscript, but Napier (lines 186, 146) and Vleeskruyer (lines 173, 178) have not transcribed any punctuation.

205 *bældu* Manuscript reads *bold*. Vleeskruyer emends spelling to *bældu* (lines 174, 178). I have followed Vleeskruyer's emendation. Kramer et al. also make this emendation (18, §25).

206 *beofugendlican* Manuscript reads *heofugendlican*. Vleeskruyer emends to *beofugendlican* (lines 175, 178). Kramer et al. rightly point out that the *h* is written on an erasure, and he argues that '*h* was changed from *b* for an original reading of *beofugendlican tide*, which would yield a sensible meaning of 'time of trembling' (674). I have followed Vleeskruyer's emendation, as at the time of editing I was convinced of his evidence and the only other occurrence of this word is in ChrodR where it is spelled *byfgendlican*, which suggests it should be spelled with a *b*. (See Chapter 3 for further discussion).

206 *toward*: Manuscript has (:), but Vleeskruyer (lines 175, 178) and Napier (lines 188, 146) record no punctuation. It may be a later addition, as is the case with other examples and like those other instances that is probably why the previous editors have not included it.

209 *manunge* Manuscript reads *mununge*. I have emended to *manunge*. Vleeskruyer emends to *monunge* (lines 178, 178). Kramer et al. keep the manuscript spelling (18, §26). It is likely that the original word was *monunge*, but this scribe probably miscopied *manunge* (see 26 for discussion), so I have emended the text to what would have been in the exemplar to this copy.

213 *ymbhygdilice* Manuscript reads *ymdhygdilice*. Vleeskruyer emends to *ymbhygdilice* (lines 181, 178). I have followed his emendation, as does Kramer et al. (18, §26). The misspelling seems to be a mechanical error and the correction is logical.

213 *he to slegenne* Manuscript reads *he toslegenum*. Vleeskruyer emends to *we toslegenum* (lines 182, 178). Kramer et al. retain the manuscript reading (18, §26). I have emended the text to *he to slegenne* for better sense.

214 *digolnesse* Manuscript reads *digolnesse*, Vleeskruyer emends to *digolnessum* (lines 182, 178). I have kept the manuscript reading, as have Kramer et al. (20, §26). Vleeskruyer's emendation is an unnecessary intervention; it is not an obvious error.

218 *gears mid þone* Manuscript reads *gears þone*. Vleeskruyer emends by adding *mid* to *gears mid þone* (lines 186, 178), which Napier first suggests (152). I have followed this emendation to make sense of the clause. Kramer et al. (20, §27) also make this change.

222 *efter þon* Vleeskruyer (lines 189, 178) and Kramer et al. (20.27) edit as a single word (see 72 above on same editorial decision).

222 *ond se oðer* Manuscript has 7. Vleeskruyer edits 7 out of the text (lines 189, 178); he claims it is ‘clearly superfluous’ (201). I see no reason to remove *ond* and I have kept it in. Kramer et al. likewise keep the manuscript reading (20.27). Vleeskruyer’s emendation is a stylistic intervention that does not clarify the text or add to the sense.

223 *þer awunade* Manuscript reads *þeorð wunade*. Vleeskruyer emends to *þurhwunade* (line 190, 180), while Kramer et al. emend to *þeorhwunade* (20.27). I have emended the reading to be *þer awunade*; contextually this makes sense as he is ‘living there’, not *þurhwunade* ‘persevering’ (see 33-4 for discussion).

241 *efter þon* Vleeskruyer (lines 205, 180) and Kramer et al. (20, §30) edit as a single word (as above, see 72 for editorial decision).

244 *helo*: Manuscript has (:). Vleeskruyer (lines 212, 182) and Napier (lines 229, 147) have no punctuation. The glossator who was adding punctuation has added a lot over this section of the manuscript.

257 *sendað*. On the manuscript the (.) is faint, with a different aspect. Vleeskruyer (lines 216, 182) and Napier (lines 233, 147) have no punctuation.

258 *genemað*. Manuscript has a (.). Vleeskruyer (lines 217, 182) and Napier (lines 234, 147) have no punctuation.

259 *sendaþ*. Manuscript has a (.). Vleeskruyer (lines 217, 182) and Napier (lines 234, 147) record no punctuation. Vleeskruyer emends the final *þ* to *ð* *sendað*, presumably to match the ending to the surround words. Kramer et al. also silently emend *sendaþ* to *sendað* (22, §31) without any comment. The manuscript clearly reads *þ*, so I have kept that reading.

261 *intingan*: Manuscript has (:). Vleeskruyer (lines 219, 182) and Napier (lines 236, 147) transcribe no punctuation.

261 *gewitað*. Manuscript has (.). Vleeskruyer (lines 219, 182) and Napier (lines 236, 147) have no punctuation.

263 *wynferð r* is on an erasure.

263 *wer*: Manuscript has a (.(Vleeskruyer (lines 221, 182) and Napier (lines 238, 147) transcribe no punctuation.

269 *bræc*: Vleeskruyer has transcribed as *á* (lines 225, 182), while Napier has *æ* (lines 243, 147). The accent looks like it might be present under the gloss. The manuscript has punctuation, either a (:.) or (.), it is not clear which. Vleeskruyer records a (.) and Napier transcribes no punctuation. The aspect of this punctuation mark is similar to other additions by the glossator.

272 *medmicelo* Manuscript reads *mid micelo*. Vleeskruyer emends to *medmicelo* (lines 227, 182), as do Kramer, Kramer et al., and Norris (22, §33). I have followed Vleeskruyer's emendation for sense (see 50 for discussion).

272 *gesegde*: Manuscript has (:). Napier transcribes (˚) (lines 246, 147), while Vleeskruyer has no punctuation (lines 227, 182).

278 *teonum*: Manuscript has (:). Vleeskruyer (lines 233, 184) and Napier (lines 251, 147) have no punctuation.

279 *órleahre* Vleeskruyer transcribes *ó* (lines 234, 184), but Napier has *o* (lines 252, 147). The accent is present in the manuscript, but obscured beneath a gloss.

287 *gefultumade* Manuscript reads *gefultu[m]made* with an abbreviation above the *m*. Vleeskruyer emends to *gefultumade* (lines 241, 184). Kramer et al. keep the manuscript spelling with the double *mm* (24, §35). I have followed Vleeskruyer's emendation, as the single *m* spelling is the standard in the corpus and according to the DOE Online.

Appendix C: Glossary

Old English Vocabulary

A

a, adv., always, *á* 165, 283

abbod, noun, m., abbot, *abbud* 227

abidan, vb., st. 1, to await *abad* 90, 176, 178

ac, conj., but, yet, however, nevertheless, 26, 48, 96, 102, 177, 197, 222, 238, 241, 277, 283, *ah* 8, 31, 52

adesa, **adese**, noun, m., wk., adze, *eadusan* 99

agangan, vb., st. 7, past ptc, of time: to pass, elapse; specifically, of time elapsed since Christ's birth, in circumlocution for specified year; also of time since the beginning of the world, *agongnum* 122

agen, adj., own, used as intensifier, *agene* 59

ahebban, vb., st. 6, to lift, to raise, *ahof* 59

aht, awiht, pronoun, anything, something, *ohtes* 155

alyfan, vb., wk. 1, permit, allow, give leave, *alyfed* 155

amen, interj., amen; after formulaic prayers at the end of homilies, liturgical texts, etc, 292

an, adj. and pron., one, a certain, some(one), any(one), 153, 283, *anum* 86, *enne* 231; alone, separate, *ana* 111

andgyt, noun, n., intellectual faculty as manifested in a particular person or set of persons; (someone's) mind, intellect, reason, understanding, *andgitte* 249

andswarian, vb., wk., to answer, reply, *andswearede* 23, *andswarien* 210, *answarude* 160

andswaru, noun, f., answer, response, *andsware* 28

andwyrðan, vb., wk. 1, to answer, reply, *andwyrde* 197

anfeald, adj., of attire, manner of living, diet: plain, simple, not marked by ostentation or grandeur, *anfalde* 99

anrædnes, noun, f., perseverance, steadfastness; *anrednesse* 138

ansyn, noun, f., face, *anseone* 190, *onseone* 284

anweald, noun, m., power, sovereignty, *anwald* 266

apostol, noun, m., apostle, *apostole* 243

apostolic, adj, specifically of or pertaining to the Pope as successor of St. Peter; papal; *þæt apostolice setl* ‘the apostolic see’, *þam apostolican selde* 16

aræran, vb., wk. 1, to erect, build, construct, *arerde* 76

arcebisceop, noun, m., archbishop, *ercebiscop* 15, 36, 59, *ercebiscope* 47

arfull, adj., honourable, worthy, reverend, venerable, *arfullan* 58

arisan, vb., st. 1, to rise, arise, *aras* 186

arwurþe, adj., worthy of honour, respect; honourable [used as epithet], *arwurðan* 271, *awyrðan* 10; superl., most honourable, *arwurðestan* 82, 100, 217, 230; *arwyrþestan* 54

arwurþnes, noun, f., honourableness, worth; *arwurðnesse* 107

asecgan, vb., wk. 3, to say, speak, tell, *asecge* 163

astandan, vb., st. 6 (of wind) to rise in agitation, increase in force, rise up, *astod* 189

astigan, vb., st. 1, to go up or down, ascend or descend, 114, 123, 233

ateon, vb., st. 2, to remove (someone) from the body/ this life/ this light: in passive: to die, *atogene weron* 83

aweccan, vb., wk. 1, to rouse, stir up, set in motion (the wind, a storm, tempest acc.), *awecceð* 201, 203

awunian, vb., wk. 3, to remain, stay, continue, *awunade* 223

Æ

æfæstlice, adv., piously, religiously, *efestlice* 141

æfen, noun, m. and n., evening, *efenne* 247

æfre, adv., ever, at all times, *efre* 281

æfter, adv., prep., after, later, 167 224, *efter* 63, 159, 172; in combination with the demonstrative pronoun and (usually) the particle *þe*, forming a conjunction ~ **efter þon** 112, 241; ~ **efter þon þe** 222

æfterfylgan, vb. wk. 1, to follow, *æfterfylgede* 70; pres. ptc., used as substantive: one who comes after, successor, *efterfylgendra* 14

æftergenga, noun, m., successor, descendant, *eftergengan* 14

æht, noun, f., possession, *ehtum* 97

(ge)æmtigian, vb., wk. 2, to devote (oneself to), *emetgade* 194, *geemetgade*, 73

ænig, adj. and pron., any, some, *enig* 275

ær (er), adv., prep., and conj., before: 274, *er* 3, 163; superl. first *erest* 11, 21, 115, 136, 241

ærra, ærest, adj., early, *erran* 229

æt, prep., adv., prep., and conj., at, 44, 46, 48, 66, 77, *et* 139

ætfaestan, vb., wk. 1, to commit (someone / something) to someone's charge, place under someone's protection, *ætfestun*, 148

æx, noun, f. (acse) axe, *acse* 99

B

be, adv., prep., and conj., about, from, concerning 1, 9, 77, 79, 216, 228, 236, 237, 241, 255, 270

bebeodan, vb., st. 2, instruct, *bebead* 131; implore, *bebeodu* 162

bebyrgan, vb., wk. 1, to bury, *bebyriged* 69; *bebyrged* 241

becuman, vb., st. 4, to come, attain, *becom* 247, *becuman* 4, 288; to come over or upon, *becom* 117

(ge)bed, noun, n., praying, prayer, *gebedum* 112, 150, 220, *gebedu* 179, *gebede* 190, *gebeodum* 194

(ge)bedhus, noun, n., prayer-house, oratory, 111, 117, 123, 129, 162, *gebædhus* 159

beforan, adv. and prep., before, 35

begen, numeral (used as adj.), both, 219

ben, noun, f., prayer, *benum* 148, 287

beodan, vb., st. 2., to bid, enjoin, to pray to (God), *bed* 124

beon, vb., anom., to be, *beo* 135, *beoð* 244, *beon* 124, 238, 272, 273, *bið* 206, *earun* 270, *is* 14, 66, 66, 68, 69, 78, 149, 154, 175, *seon* 215, 287, *were* 22, 47, 49, 61, 61, 127, 128, 131, 187, 280, *weron* 83, 87, 164, 168, 220, 248, *wes* 6, 11, 12, 16, 33, 34, 38, 40, 42, 45, 46, 50, etc; with negation *nes* 5, 176, 177, 285

beotian, vb., wk. 2, to threaten, *beotige* 211

beran, vb., st. 4, to carry, bear, *ber* 99, 284

betweoh, prep. and adv., among, amid, between, *betwih* 106

betweonan, prep. and adv., among, amid, between, *betweonum* 137

betynan, vb., wk. 1, to close, shut, *betynedre* 189

biddan, vb., st. 5, to ask, entreat, *bed* 46, 48, 188; to ask in prayer, pray (to God) *bidden*, 212, 286

(ge)biddan, vb., st. 5, to pray, *gebed* 74

bifiendlic, adj., to be trembled at, terrible [referring to Doomsday], *beofugendlican* 206

bilewitnes, noun, f., innocence; moral purity, integrity; freedom from sin, *bilwetnisse* 41

bisceop, noun, m., bishop, *biscop* 12, 21, 38, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 105, 108, 111, 117, etc., *biscopa* 70, 289, *biscopas* 18, *biscope* 54, 157, *biscopes* 2, 83, 216, 268

bisceopdom, noun, m., bishopric, the rank of bishop, episcopal see, episcopal jurisdiction, *biscopdom* 24, 29, 62, *biscopdome* 2, 3, 11

bisceophad, noun, m., office, rank of bishop, the episcopate; bishopric, *biscophade* 274, *biscophades* 265, 274

bisceopseld, noun, n., episcopal see or seat; bishopric, *biscopseld* 68

blæd, noun, m., blowing; of the wind, a puff or blast, *bled* 186

bletsung, noun, f., blessing; a divine grace; the blessing of God, *bletsunge* 131, 152

bliss, noun, f., bliss, joy, *blisse* 123, 177, 284

blissian, vb., wk. 2, to rejoice, exult, *blissendra* 113, 158

bliþe, adv., cheerfully, willingly, *bliþe*, *bliþe* 178

blod, noun, n., blood, *blodes* 173

boc, noun, f., book, *bec*, 73, *béc* 108, 185, 189

bocræde, noun, f., reading of books, spiritual/devotional reading of books, *bocredan* 111

bodian, vb., wk. 2, announce, proclaim, prophesy; preach, *bodade* 55

bold, noun, n., township, *bolde* 14

bregan, vb., wk. 1, to terrify, frighten, *bregdon* 192

broþor, noun, m., brother, *breþer* 86, *broðor* 182, 233, *broðore* 82, *broðra* 144, *broðru* 87, 135, *broðrum* 72, 106, 147

brucan, vb., st. 2, to fulfill, execute (an office), *bræc* 269

byldu, noun, f., cl. 2, impudence, presumption, *bældu* 205

byrgan, vb., wk. 1, to taste, partake of (food or drink), *byrgenne* 260

byrgen, noun, f., burial-place, grave, tomb, *byrgene* 253

byrnan, vb., st. 3, to burn, *beornendum* 207

bysen, noun, f., example, *bisne* 63, *bísne* 9

C

- carcern**, noun n., prison; figurative (of the body, of the soul), *carcerne* 174
- ceaster**, noun, f., rarely m., fortification, fortified city, *cestre* 12
- (ge)cigan**, vb., wk. 1, to call, call for, call upon, *gecigan* 165, *gecigde* 187, *gecige* 203, *geciged* 101, *gecigen* 146
- (ge)cignes**, noun, f., name, *gecignis* 86
- clæne**, adj., clean, *clenre* 89
- (ge)clænsian**, vb., wk. 2, to cleanse, *geclensade* 214
- críst**, noun, m., Christ, *críst* 285, *criste* 290
- cuma**, noun, m., visitor, stranger, *Cuma* 144
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(ge)metan, vb., wk. 1, to meet, find, find out, discover, *gemette* 19, 60, *gemetun* 141

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næfre, adv., never, *nefre* 25, 215, 285

nænig, adj., pron., no one, none, not any, *nanegum* 276, *nenegum* 163, *nenig* 282, 282, *nenigne* 276, 276

nænige þinga, adv., not at all, by no means, *nenge þinga* 4, 29

ne, adv., not, no, 96, 102, 163, 197, 212, 234, 247, 275, 276, 276, 276, 281, 282

neadian, vb., wk. 2, compel, urge, *nedde* 60

(ge)neadian, vb., wk. 2, to force, compel, *geneded* 26

neah, adv., near, *neh* 143

neah, adj., superl. (marking relation, position, or order) last, end, *nehstena* 182

nealæcan, vb., wk. 1, to come near, approach, *neolecan* 116

neosan, vb., wk. 1, to search out, visit, go to, *neosade* 145

neosung, noun, f., visitation, visit, *neosunge* 225

niedðearf, noun, f., need, necessity, *neodþearf* 61

nieten, noun, n., small animal, beast cattle, *nutenum* 260

niht, noun, f., night, *niht* 249

(ge)niman, vb., st. 4, take, receive, convey, *genam* 234, *genemað* 257, *nam* 278

niðer, adv., below, beneath, down, downwards, *niðer* 114, 233

niwe, adj., new, *neowne* 48

nu, adv., now, 1, 67, 69, 145, 167, 270, 286

(ge)nyhtsumian, vb., wk. 2, to suffice, *genihtsumien* 9, 270

nymðe, conj., unless, except, *nymþe* 285, 285

O

oð, prep., up to, until, *oð* 223

oððe, conj., or, and, 3, 72, 140, 140, 186, 191, 247, 260, 260

oðer, pron., adj., one of two, other, *oðer* 222, *oðre* 87, *oðrum* 106, 237

of, prep., from, out of, of, 8, 33, 80, 82, 83, 84, 93, 122, 145, 174, 198, 202, etc.

ofer, prep., adv., over, beyond, above, 117, 158, 161, 266

oferhygd, noun, f., n., pride, arrogance, *oferhygd* 204

of-þe, oð-þæt, conj., *oðþet* 36, 116, 195

on, prep., on, on to, in, over, among, 24, 33, 35, 45, 61, 75, 75, 91, 126, 154, 162, 179, etc.

ond, conj. and adv., and, 9, 16, 18, 18, 19, 21, etc.

ondrædan, vb., st. 7, to dread, fear, *ondredenne* 203

onfangennes, noun, f., acceptance, *onfongnisse* 172, 274

onfon, vb., stv. 7, to take, receive, accept, *onfeng* 62, *onfenge* 24, *onfengon* 151

ongierwan, vb., wk. 1, to unclothe, divest, *ongerede* 97

onginnan, vb., st. 3, to begin, attempt, *ongin* 1

onliesan, vb., wk. 1, to loosen, set free, release, *onlesedu* 174

onsendan, vb., wk. 1, to send out, send forth, *onsend* 33, *onsended* 16

onstyrian, vb., wk. 2, to stir, agitate, disturb, *onstyreð* 201, *onstyredne* 281, *onstyrie* 211

ontynan, vb., wk. 1, to open, reveal, display, *ontynde* 129

onweg, adv., away, off, *onweg* 261

onwreon, vb., st. 1, 2, to uncover, explain, reveal, *onwrah* 92

onwignes, noun, f. (an exposure of a person's real character), testament, *onwignesse* 217

orleahter, noun, m., lack of vice or defect, danger, *orleahtre* 279

P

papa, noun, m., pope, *papan* 44

preost, noun, m., priest, *preostum* 280

preosthad, noun, m., priesthood, clergy, *preosthade* 268

R

rædan, vb., wk. 1, read, *redde* 74, 108, 185

reccan, vb., wk. 1, to tell, *reccað* 8

recene, adv., immediately, straightaway, at once; *ricene* 133, 134, 171, 187, 193

regolþeaw, noun, m., ecclesiastical customs, *regolþeawas* 139

(ge)restan, vb., wk. 1, to rest, *gereste* 249

rice, noun, n., rule, kingdom, realm, *rice* 53, 165, 235, *rices* 266

ricsian, vb., wk. 2, to rule, reign, govern, *rixað* 290, *rixiendum* 13

ridan, vb., st. 1, to ride, *ridende* 55

riht, noun, n., right, law, canon, rule; correctness, *riht* 175, *rihte* 31

(ge)rihtan, vb., wk. 1, set right, correct, *gerihte* 20

rihtgeleaffull, adj., orthodox, *rihtgeleaffullan* 31

S

samnian, vb., wk. 2, collect, gather together, *somnienne* 78

samnung, noun, f., congregation, meeting, assembly, council, *somnunge* 229

samod, adv., at the same time, together, *samod* 62

sanct, noun, m., saint, *sancta* 241, *sancte* 2, 240, 243, 271, 287

sang, noun, m., song, noise, singing, *song* 43, 123, 154, 158, *songes* 160

sawol, noun, f., soul, *saule* 233, 234, *sawul* 173

scamu, noun, f. shame, *scamum* 214

sceotan, vb., st. 2, to shoot, hurl, cast, *sceotað* 202

sculan, vb., pret.-pres., to be obliged, shall, must, *sceolde* 30, 79, 84

se, seo, þæt, dem. pron., def. article, the, that, who; *se* 11, 12, 15, 36, 38, 40, 43, 49, *seo* 66, 68, 77, 77, 173, 253, 260, *þa* 1, 9, 9, 19, 19, 28, 29, 38, 38, 45, 46, 50, etc., *þam* 1, 2, 3, 4, 10,

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sealmsang, noun, m., psalm; composition or singing of psalms, *salmsongum* 194

secan, vb., wk. 3, seek, ask, *secað* 256, *sohte* 5

(ge)secgan, vb., wk. 1, to say, speak, tell, *secgan* 1, *gesegde* 272, *secgað* 147, *secge* 157, 164, *segd* 270, *segde* 21, 113, 182, 185, 237, 239

segene, noun, f., speech, *segene* 9

seld, noun, n., hall, seat, see, *sældum* 80, *selde* 13, 16

self, pron., self, own, *seolfum* 236

(ge)sellan, vb., wk. 1, to give, render, *gesealde* 65, *sald* 47, 49, *sealde* 112, 130, *seleð* 198, 259

sendan, vb., wk. 1, to send, send forth (arrows), 80 *sendeð* 199; to move to, put *sendað* 257, *sendaþ* 259

seofon, card. num., seven, *seofen* 135, *seofenum* 72, *seofon* 167

sefoða, num., seventh, *sefoðan* 172

(ge)seon, vb., st. 5, to see, *geseah* 280, 282, 283, *gesegen* 109, 140, *geseh* 233

(ge)settan, vb., wk. 1, set, establish, place, put, *geseted* 41, *settenne* 78; p. ptc. *gesettan* 67, 138

sibb, noun, f., love, friendship, peace, *sibbe* 137

singan, vb., st. 3, to sing, *song* 43, *singendra* 113

siððan, adv., conj., prep., since, afterwards, from now on, *syððan* 116, 142

slawlice, adv., slowly, sluggishly; *slawlice* 96

slean, vb., st. 6, to strike; throw, cast; kill, slay, *slæð* 212, *slenne* 212; to break open, *slegene* 215

smyltnes, noun, f., quiet, calm, tranquillity, *smyltnes* 195

(ge)somnung, noun, f., congregation, church, meeting, *gesomnunge* 82

sona, adv., soon, immediately, at once, *sona* 212, 260

sprecan, vb., st. 1, to speak, say; tell, *sprec* 77, 151, *sprecon* 228

spyrian, vb., wk. 2, to search after, investigate; *spyrede* 127

stan, noun, m., stone, *stanas* 78

standan, vb., st. 6, stand, occupy a place; remain, continue, *stod* 143, *stode* 57, *stondeþ* 255

stefn, noun, f., m., voice, sound; *stefne* 23, 113, 115, 161, 198

stihtan, vb., wk. 1, direct, order, ordain, *stihtendum* 77

stille, adj., still, quiet, calm, stable, *stille* 50

storm, noun, m., storm, *storm* 191

stow, noun, f., place, spot, site, *stow* 253, *stowa* 244, *stowe* 55, 66, 68, 111, 126, 248, 256, 263, *stowum* 18

strang, adj., compr., stronger, *strengra* 189, 191

stræġ, noun, m., f., arrow, *strelas* 199

styccemælum, adv., little by little, gradually, *sticcemelum* 116

sum, indef. pron., one, a certain, someone, *sum* 182, 246, *sume* 85, 102, 110, 283, *sumum* 87

suþan, adv., from the south, *suþan* 115

swa, adv., conj., so, as, just as, thus, 28, 53, 60, 61, 72, 73, 102, 136, 169, 174, 176, etc; **swa swiðe swa**, just as, 6 *swa swiðe* 5; **swa oft swa**, just as often, 72–73, 210–211; **swa hwider swa**, wherever, 52–53, 57, *swa hwider...swa* 61; **swa hwet swa**, whatever, whenever, 109; **swa swa**, so as, just as, so that, 122, 126, 130, 172, 211

swæð, noun, n., footprint, track, trace, vestige, *swaðe* 67

sweotollic, adv., clearly, openly, *swutulice* 92

swete, adj., superl., sweet, pure, *swetestan* 113

swetnes, noun, f., sweetness, pleasantness, *swetnisse* 125

swilce, adv., conj., just as, as, in like manner, *swilce* 33, 52, 126, 148, 279, *swilces* 186, *swylce* 138

swiðe, adv. very much, exceedingly, 21, 57, 60, 153, 282, 283; superl., most, especially, *swiþest* 181

synderlice, adv., compar., singular, separate, special, peculiar, private, *synderlicor* 71

syndrig, adj., special (in the sense of exceptional); separate, private, secluded, *syndrig* 219

T

tacnian, vb., wk. 2, mark, indicate, *tacnade* 103

teona, noun, m., trouble; hurt, wrong, offence, *teonum* 278

tid, noun, f., time, hour, season, *tid* 45, 77, 78, 83, 149, *tide* 122, 126, 159, 206, 224, 269

(ge)tihhian, vb., wk. 2, to appoint, determine, *getihhade* 95
tilian, vb., wk. 2, strive after, labour, toil, strive to obtain, *teolede* 63
(ge)timbran, vb., wk. 1, to build, construct, *getimbrade* 242
(ge)timbru, noun, f., building, construction, *getimbrum* 81
to, prep., to, into, 4, 9, 38, 80, 84, 87, 100, 102, 102, 103, etc.
to, adv., also, too; part of adverbial phrases, 78, 78, 212, 213, etc.
tocuman, vb., st. 4, to come, arrive, *tocumað* 256
todæg, adv., today, *todeg* 145, *todege* 67, 69
tostencan, vb., wk. 1, scatter, disperse, destroy, *tostenceð* 199, *tostence* 205
toward, adj., approaching, 204; (where the time is fixed) come to pass, be bound to happen, *towardan* 206
treowen, adj., wooden, of wood, *treowene* 253
tulge, adv., compar. *tylg*, superl. *tylgest*, strongly, firmly, well, *tylgest* 43, *tylig* 177
twa, card. num., two, *twam* 75

P

þa, adv., conj., then, when, at that time, *þa* 1, 9, 9, 19, 19, 28, 29, 38, 38, 45, 50, 54, etc., *ða* 15, 153
þancful, adj., content, contented, *þoncfulle* 220; superl. *þoncfullista* 225; thoughtful, spirited, compar. *þoncfulre* 41
þanon, adv., thence, from that time or place; whence, from which, *þanon* 257
þær, adv., conj., there, where, *þær* 35, 40, 67, 69, 82, 111, 120, 131, 193, 223, 242, 249, etc;
þerute, *þerute* 108, 110
þærin, adv., therein, wherein, *þærin* 257
þærinne, adv., inside, *þærinne* 108
þæt, adv., conj., that, so that, after that, then, *þæt*, 5, 6, 9, 21, 24, 29, 47, 49, 50, 54, 57, 60, etc.
þe, rel. part., conj., adv., who, which, that; when, then, *þe* 13, 14, 19, 28, 45, 97, 120, 124, 139, etc.
þeah, conj., adv., although, though, yet, however, nevertheless, yet, still 4; **þeah þe**, 272, 279
þearf, noun, f., need, necessary; *þearf* 109

þearfednes, noun, f., poverty, *þearfednisse* 180

þeaw, noun, m., usage, custom, habit, *þeaw* 54, *þeawe* 43

þegn, noun, m., servant, minister, retainer, vassal, *þegna* 94

þennan, vb., wk. 1, stretch out, extend; prostrate, *þenede* 154, *þennan* 53

þegnung, noun, f., service, office, ministry, *þegnunge* 25, 265, *þegnungæ* 73; the act of serving in an official capacity, service of an official, office, *þegnunge* 265

þeod, noun, f., people, nation, tribe, *ðeode* 47, *þeod* 13, *þeode* 62, 64

þeodscipe, noun, m., discipline; what is taught or enjoined, a rule, regulation, *þeodscipas* 139, *þeodscipum* 41

þes, **þeos**, **þis**, demon. pron., this, *þes* 73, 82, 86, 95, etc., *þas* 95, 134, 151, 270, *þeosne* 191, *þis* 158, 161, *þisne* 90, *þissere* 145, *þisum* 80, 151, 231, 232, *þysum* 84

þider, adv., thither, whither, to there, *þider* 36, 247

þing, noun, n., thing, cause, event, affair, 17, 120, *þinga* 4, 29, *þingum* 20, 91, happening *þingum* 266

þon, adv., 31; **to þon**, to that extent, so that, after that, *to þon* 9

þonne, adv., conj., then, when, therefore, while, since; than, rather than, 25, 41, 55, 131, 162, 178, 186, 187, 189, 189, 191, 193, etc., *þon* 112, 222, 241; **þon**, compar. adv., than, 52

þreagan, vb., wk. 1, to rebuke, chastise, correct, punish, threaten, *þreade* 21, *þreadon* 193

þreat, noun, m., host, troop, *þreat* 161, *þreatum* 175

þrinnesse, noun, f., Trinity, 286

þruh, noun, m., f., n., coffin, *þruh* 253, 255

þu, pron. 2nd pers., you, 24, 134, 134, 135, 156, 157, 160, 162, *þe* 162

þunorrad, noun, f., thunder, thundering, *þunnurad* 127, *þunurrade* 192

þurh, prep., adv., through, *þurh* 256

(ge)þyld, noun, f., patience, *geþyldu* 278

þyrel, noun, n., hole, opening, aperture, *þyrel* 255

þyslic, pron., adj., such, likewise, *þyslices* 110

U

ufan, adv., from above, over, above, *ufan* 254

unaseggendlic, adj., indescribable, ineffable, unspeakable, *unaseggendlicræ* 125

uncuð, adj., unknown, uncertain, *uncuð* 149, 236, 238

uncyst, noun, f., vice, wickedness, *uncysta* 214

under, prep., adv., under, beneath, below, 269; under the rule of, 13

underfon, vb., wk. 1, receive, obtain, accept, take, *underfeng* 27

underþeodan, vb., wk. 1, to subject; submit, *underþeodde* 142

un-eaðnes, noun, f., difficulty; distress of body or mind, suffering, *unepnis* 260

unforht, adj., fearless, bold, *unforht* 176

unmedome, adj., unfit, unworthy, imperfect, *unmedume* 19

unrihtlice, adv., unrightly, wrongfully, *unrihtlice* 22, 24

unrot, adj., sad, mournful *unrote* 153

untodæledlic, adj., inseparable, indivisible, *untodeledlican* 286

untrum, adj., weak, sick, ill, infirm, *untruman* 259, *untrumum* 280

untrumnes, noun, f., illness, *untrumnesse* 261

unwis, adj., unwise, foolish, *unwisum* 280

up, adv., up, upwards, *úpp* 123, 130

uplic, adj., heavenly, celestial, divine, *uplican* 77, *uplice* 90

ure, poss. pron. 1st pers., our, 134, 144, 213, 214, *urum* 147, 289

ut, adv., out, without, outside, *út* 153, 250

ute, adv., out, outside, without, *úte* 131

utgang, noun, m., a going out, exit, departure, *útgong* 149

W

wacen, noun, f., wakefulness, watch, vigil, *weccenum* 150

wag, noun, m., wall (of a building), *wage* 256

wæter, noun, n., water, *weter* 259

we, pers. pron. 1st pers., 4, 8, 212, 214, 215, 273, 286, 286, 288, 288; us 2nd pers. plural, **us**, 9, 209, 236, 270, 211, 270, 272

weaxan, vb., st. 7, to wax, grow, *waxendum* 95

weg, noun, m., way, direction, path, road, 57, *wege* 124

wegan, vb., st. 5, to carry, bear, *wegen* 61

wenan, vb., wk. 1, to think, believe, *wende* 26

weorc, noun, n., work, labour, action, *weorca* 5, *weorcum* 104, 150, 170, 181, *werc* 112

weorð, adj., worth, *wyrðne* 26

weorold, noun, f., state of existence, an age, the course of human affairs, *worulda* 146; forever and ever, *eallre worulda woruld* 290.

wer, noun, m., man, *wer* 11, 40, 60, 225, 232, 263, *wér* 239, *wær* 275, *weres* 2, 287

werod, noun, n., company, host, army, troop, *werode* 233

wið, prep., with, for, 277

wigbed, noun, n. m., altar, 255

willan, vb., anom., to will, wish; shall, will, *walde* 145, *wille* 156, *wolde* 7, *wolden* 168; with negative, to be unwilling, refuse, *nalde* 48

wilnian, vb., wk. 2, to wish, desire, long for, *wilnade* 166

wilsum, adj., desirable, willing, voluntary, *wilsumre* 180

wind, noun, m., wind, 189, *windas* 201, *windes* 186

(ge)winn, noun, n., labour, strive, *gewinne* 73, 103, *gewinnes* 58

(ge)wiss, adj. certain, *gewisse* 273

witan, vb., pret.-pres., to be aware of, know, *wát* 231, *wite*, 24; with negation, to not know, *nyston* 247

(ge)witan, vb., st. 1, keep; to go, withdraw, depart, *gewitað* 261, *gewitene* 87, *gewitu* 25

wite, noun, n., punishment, pain that is inflicted as punishment, torment, 215

woda, noun m., insane man, 246

word, noun, n., word, speech, 217, *wordes* 74, *wordum* 169

woruld, noun, f., world, material world, 95, 291, *worulda* 146, 291

woruldæht, noun, f., worldly property, worldly possession, *woruldæhtum* 42

woruldþing, noun, n., worldly affair, worldly thing, *woruldþingum* 97

(ge)writ, noun, n., scripture, writing, *gewrita* 221, *gewritum* 183

wuldorlic, adj., superl., glorious, *wuldlicestan* 76

wundor, noun, n., wonder, miracle, *wundra* 244

wundorlic, adj., remarkable, surprising, *wunderlic* 176

wundrian, vb., wk. 2, to wonder at, regard with surprise or admiration; astound, p. ptc.
wundrigendum 251

(ge)wunelic, adj., usual, customary, normal, *gewunelic* 187

(ge)wunian, vb., wk. 2, exist, remain, continue; to be used to, be accustomed, *wunað* 236,
wunade 126, *wuniað* 67, *gewunade* 130, 144, *gewuniað* 256

wyrcan, vb., wk. 1, to work, prepare, construct, *gewarht* 253, *gewrohte* 245, *warhte* 71, 108,
110

Y

yfel, noun, n., evil, ill, wickedness, 277, *yfele* 277

ymbhwyrft, noun, m., circuit; *ymbhwyrfte* 118

ymbhygdig, adj., careful, attentive; *ymbhygdie* 127

ymbhygdiglice, adv., carefully, diligently, 79, 117, 213; compar., *ymbhygdelicor* 194

ymbsellan, vb., wk. 1, surround, enclose; *ymbsalde* 119

yst, noun, f., storm, tempest, gale, *yste* 191

Names and places

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æt Bearwe, Barrow, 66

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breotan, **breotene**, **breotone ealond**, Island of Britain, 15, 33, 225

cænt, Kent, 35

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eastengla, East Anglia, 93

eoferwicceaster, York, 14, 51

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galwalum, people of Gaul, 34

gregorius, Gregory, 44

hrofeceastre, Rochester, 38

wllestinga ége, læstinga æg, Lavingham, 50–51, 101

licetfeld, Lichfield, 68

lindesfarena, People of Lindsey, 63, 265

(megðe) lindesse, Lindsey, 67, 227

londoniscan (cestre), London, 12

mærcna, mercna, Mercian, 45, 62, 264

marian, Mary, 241

middelengla, Middle Angles, Middle Anglia, 264

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romanisce, Roman, 43

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wilferð, wilfrid, Wilfrid, 33, 51

wulfere, wulfhere, Wulfhere, 45, 65, 266

wynferð, Wynfrith, 263, 268

Appendix D: Relative Dates of Old English Texts

The following list includes all the texts referenced as vocabulary evidence in this thesis, categorised according to their relative dates. The abbreviations (short titles), full titles, and Cameron numbers are as given on the DOE website, where necessary supplementary information has been provided to better identify certain texts.

Note on Dating: Where possible all laws are dated according to *Early English Laws* and all charters dated according to the *Electronic Sawyer*.

Early English Laws, University of London, King's College London,
<https://earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk>

The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters, King's College London,
Centre for Computing in the Humanities, <https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk>

Datable early prose texts (before c. 950)

Literary Prose

Alex, Alexander's Letter to Aristotle, B22.1

Bede, Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (OE Bede), B9.6

BedeHead, OE Bede, Headings, B9.6.2

Bede 1, OE Bede, Book 1, B9.6.3

Bede 2, OE Bede, Book 2, B9.6.4

Bede 3, OE Bede, Book 3, B9.6.5

Bede 3 (O), OE Bede, Book 3 (MS O), B9.6.5.1

Bede 4, OE Bede, Book 4, B9.6.6

Bede 5, OE Bede, Book 5, B9.6.7

BedePref, OE Bede, Preface, B9.6.1

BedeHead, OE Bede, Headings, B9.6.2

Bo, Boethius, Old English translation of Boethius's The Consolation of Philosophy, B9.3

Bo, Boethius, B9.3.2

BoHead, Boethius, Headings, B9.3.1

ChrodR 1, Chrodegang of Metz, Regula Canonicorum (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 191), B10.4.1

- CP, Gregory the Great, Pastoral Care, B9.1.3
- GD, Gregory the Great, Dialogues, B9.5
- GD 1 (C), Dialogues, Book 1 (MS C), B9.5.2
- GD 2 (C), Dialogues, Book 2 (MS C), B9.5.4
- GD Pref and 3 (C), Dialogues Preface and Book 3 (MS C), B9.5.5
- GD Pref and 4 (C), Dialogues Preface and Book 4 (MS C), B9.5.6
- GD 1 (H), Dialogues, Book 1 (MS H), B9.5.8.2
- GD Head 2 (H), Dialogues, Headings to Book 2 (MS H), B9.5.10.1
- Lch II, Bald's Leechbook
- Lch II, Bald's Leechbook, B21.2.1
- Lch II (1), Bald's Leechbook (Book I), B21.2.1.1.2
- Lch II (2), Bald's Leechbook (Book II), B21.2.1.2.2
- Mart, The Old English Martyrology, B19
- Mart 1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor), OE Martyrology (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 41), B19.1
- Mart 2.1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor), OE Martyrology (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 196), B19.2.1
- Mart 4 (Sisam), OE Martyrology (London, British Library, MS. Add. 40165A), B19.4
- Mart 5 (Kotzor), OE Martyrology (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Julius A.X), B19.5
- Or, Old English translation of Orosius, B9.2
- Or 3, Orosius, Book 3, B9.2.4
- Or 5, Orosius, Book 5, B9.2.6
- PPs (Prose), Psalms 1–50 (Prose Psalms of Paris Psalter), B8.2.1
- Sol II, Solomon and Saturn (II), B5.3
- Solil, St Augustine, Old English translation of Soliloquies, B9.4
- Solil 1, Soliloquies, Book 1, B9.4.2
- Solil 2, Soliloquies, Book 2, B9.4.3 x 1
- Solil 3, Soliloquies, Book 3, B9.4.4
- Solil Pref, Soliloquies, Preface, B9.4.1

Misc. Prose

Conf 3.1.1 (Raith Y), Poenitentiale pseudo-Egberti (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc 482, fols. 1-19), B11.3.1.1

Conf 5 (Mone), Poenitentiale Theodori and Capitula d'Acheriana, B11.5

Rec 26.2 (Birch 297), Tribal Hidage, B16.26.2

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LS 10 (Guth), Life of St Guthlac (Vercelli Homily 23; Vercelli Guthlac), B3.3.10

LS 10.1 (Guth), Old English translation of Felix's Vita Guthlaci (London Guthlac), B3.3.10.1

Charters

Ch 60 (Birch 204), Uhtred, regulus of the Hwicce, with the permission of Offa, king of Mercia, to St Mary's Minster, Worcester (770), B15.8.7

Ch 98 (Rob 1), King Æthelbald to Bishop Mildred (743 x 745), B15.1.3

Ch 204 (HarmD 3), Berhtwulf, king (of Mercia), to Forthred, his thegn (844 x 845), B15.1.7

Ch 218 (HarmD 12), Æthelred, ealdorman of Mercia, with the consent of King Alfred and the whole Mercian witan, to Berkeley Abbey (883), B15.1.8

Ch 219 (Birch 552), Æthelred, lord of the Mercians, to Æthelwulf (884), B15.8.35

Ch 333 (Rob 11), King Æthelberht to the Church of Sherborne (864), B15.1.15

Ch 1283 (Rob 16), Wærferth, bishop, to Cyneswith, his kinswoman (899 x 904), B15.3.5

Ch 1437 (Rob 5), (Clofesho). Settlement of a dispute at Sinton in Leigh, Worcester (825), B15.5.2

Ch 1440 (Rob 7), Agreement between Abbot Ceolred and Wulfred (852), B15.5.3

Ch 1446 (HarmD 15), Settlement of a dispute, Bishop Wærferth and Eadnoth (c. 903), B15.5.8

Ch 1508 (HarmD 10), Will of Alfred, ealdorman (871 x 899), B15.6.25

Glosses

CorpGl 2 (Hessels), Latin-Old English Glossaries (Corpus Glossary), D4.2

EpGl (Pheifer), Latin-Old English Glossaries (Epinal-Erfurt Glossary), D7

ErfGl 1 (Pheifer), Latin-Old English Glossaries (Erfurt: Epinal-Erfurt Glossary), D36.1
 PsGlA (Kuhn), Psalms, London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian A.I (Vespasian Psalter), C7.7

PsCaA 1 (Kuhn), Canticles of the Psalter, London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian A.I (Vespasian Psalter), C11.6

PsCaA 2 (Kuhn), Canticles of the Psalter, London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian A.I (Vespasian Psalter), C11.6.1

PsGIB (Brenner), Psalms, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 27 (Junius Psalter), C7.12

Laws

LawIIAs, Æthelstan's Grately code (II As), B14.9

LawVIAs, VI Æthelstan, Æthelstan's London code, B14.12

LawAf 1, Alfred-Ine, B14.4.4

LawAbt, Æthelberht's code, B14.1

LawHl, Hlothere and Eadric's code, B14.2

LawIne, Ine's code, B14.4.5

LawWi, Wihtræd's code, B14.3.2

LawWiProl, Wihtræd's code (Prologue), B14.3.1

LawAGu, Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum, B14.5

Datable Late prose (c. 950 and later)

Ælfric

ÆAbus (Mor), De duodecim abusivis (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 178), B1.6.2.1

ÆAbus (Warn), De duodecim abusivis (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian D.XIV), B1.6.2.2

ÆAdmon 1, Admonitio ad filium spiritualem (Hexameron of St Basil), B1.9.3

ÆGram, Ælfric, Grammar, B1.9.1

ÆCHom I, 5, Innocents (Ælfric, Catholic Homilies, First Series), B1.1.6

ÆCHom I, 27, Paul (Ælfric, Catholic Homilies, First Series), B1.1.29

ÆCHom II, 10, Cuthbert (Catholic Homilies, Second Series), B1.2.11

- ÆCHom II, 22, FERIA III in Letania maiore (Catholic Homilies, Second Series), B1.2.25
- ÆCHom II, 23, Alia visio (Catholic Homilies, Second Series), B1.2.26
- ÆCHom II, 28, Peter and Paul (Catholic Homilies, Second Series), B1.2.31
- ÆCHom II, 38, Simon and Jude (Catholic Homilies, Second Series), B1.2.41
- ÆCHom II, 42, Martyrs (Catholic Homilies, Second Series), B1.2.46
- ÆHomM 6 (Irv 1), The Healing of the King's Son, B1.5.6
- ÆHom 16, Dominica VII post Pentecosten (Supplementary Homilies), B1.4.16
- ÆHom 18, Dominica XII post octavas Pentecosten (Supplementary Homilies), B1.4.18
- ÆLS (Cecilia), Passion of St Cecilia (Ælfric, Lives of Saints), B1.3.32
- ÆLS (Edmund), Passion of Saint Edmund (Ælfric, Lives of Saints), B1.3.31
- ÆLS (Maccabees), The Maccabees (Ælfric, Lives of Saints), B1.3.25
- ÆLS (Memory of Saints), Memory of Saints (Ælfric, Lives of Saints), B1.3.17

Misc. Prose

- Alc (Warn 35), Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis, B9.7.4
- Benedictine Rule
- BenRapp, Benedict, Rule (Corpus Christi College 178; App. I: chapter 1 in F, App. II: chapter 62 in F), B10.3.1.3
- BenR (i*), Benedict, Rule, Chapter 4 of London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius A.III, B10.3.2
- ChronE (Irvine), The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (MS E: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 636) B17.9
- Conf 1.1 (Spindler), Confessionale pseudo-Egberti (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 121), B11.1.1
- Conf 9.4 (Logeman), Forms of Confession and Absolution (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius C.I), B11.9.4
- Gen, Genesis (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Claudius B.IV), B8.1.4.1
- Leof, Vision of Leofric, B4.2 (Late, but Merican dialect. See Stokes 2012)
- Lit 4.3.3 (Hallander), Confessional Prayers (London, British Library, MS. Royal 2B.V), B12.4.3.3
- Lit 4.3.1 (Hughes), Confessional Prayers (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 391), B12.4.3.1
- Lit 4.5 (Muir), Prayers at Tierce, B12.4.5

Mambres, Apocryphon of Jamnes and Mambres, B8.5.7
 Nic (A), Gospel of Nicodemus, B8.5.2.1
 RevMon (Whitelock), Revival of Monasticism, B17.11
 ThCap 1 (Sauer), Theodulf of Orleans (Capitula Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 201), B10.6.1
 WHom 8c, Wulfstan, Baptism, B2.2.5
 WHom 10c, Wulfstan, The Christian Life, B2.2.8

Anonymous Lives of Saints

LS 14 (MargaretCCCC 303), Life of St Margaret, B3.3.14 (See Treharne, 143)
 LS 23 (MaryofEgypt), Mary of Egypt, B3.3.23
 LS 30 (Pantaleon), The Life of St Pantaleon, B3.3.30

Charters

Ch 566 (Rob 30), King Eadred to Ælfsige Hunlafing (955), B15.1.30
 Ch 567 (Birch 906), Bounds, King Eadred to Æthelwold (955), B15.8.238
 Ch 574 (Birch 987), King Eadred to Wulfhelm, his minister (957), B15.1.31
 Ch 677 (Birch 1040), Edgar, king of Mercia, to Ealhstan, his faithful minister (958), B15.8.324
 Ch 740 (Bates), Bounds, King Edgar to Ælfwald, bishop (966), B15.8.370
 Ch 801 (Birch 1312), King Edgar to Æthelwold, bishop (c. 975), B15.8.409
 Ch 813 (Rob 50), King Edgar to St. Mary's, Sherborne (970 x 975), B15.1.41
 Ch 850 (Kem 641), Bounds, King Æthelred to Shaftesbury Abbey (984), B15.8.435
 Ch 892 (Nap-Steven 8), King Æthelred to Leofwine, dux (998), B15.8.462
 Ch 898 (Kem 705), King Æthelred to Leofwine, dux (998), B15.8.465
 Ch 911 (Kem 714), King Æthelred to Eynsham Abbey (1005), B15.1.47
 Ch 914 (Kem 715, 847), King Æthelred to Christ Church Canterbury (1006), B15.1.48
 Ch 1109 (Harm 61), Writ of King Edward, B15.1.111
 Ch 1150 (Harm 106), Writ of King Edward (1065 x 1066), B15.1.152
 Ch 1469 (Rob 99), Memorandum regarding Leofwine (1043 x 1046), B15.1.152
 Ch 1534 (Whitelock 19), Will of Wulfgeat of Donington (c. 1000), B15.6.47
 Ch IHen (PRO1907 10), Henry I, Addressed Generally, B15.1.208
 Ch IWm (PRO1907 3), King William I to Earls, Reeves, et al., B15.1.180

Laws

- LawIIAtr, II Atr (Æthelred's treaty with Olaf), B14.21
 LawVIAtr, VI Æthelred (Modified version of the statutes made at Enham in 1008),
 B14.24
 LawICn, I Cnut (Law-code of King Cnut on ecclesiastical matters), B14.30.1
 LawIICn II Cnut (Cnut's Winchester code (I–II Cn)), B14.30.2
 LawIIEm, II Em (Edmund's bloodfeud laws), B14.14.2
 LawGer, Gerefafa, B14.45
 LawGrið, Grið (Be griðe 7 be munde), B14.51
 LawWif, Wif (Be wifmannes bewedding), B14.43

Poetry

- And, Andreas, A2.1
 Beo, Beowulf, A4.1
 ChristA,B,C, Christ, A3.1
 Creed, The Creed, A23
 Dan, Daniel, A1.3
 DEdw, The Death of Edward, A10.6
 Dream, Dream of the Rood, A2.5
 El, Elene, A2.6
 Ex, Exodus, A1.2
 Fates, The Fates of the Apostles, A2.2
 Fort, The Fortunes of Men, A3.12
 GenA,B, Genesis, A1.1
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 HomFr I, Homiletic Fragment I (Vercelli Book), A2.4
 JDay I, The Judgment Day I, A3.24
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 Jud, Judith, A4.2
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 KtPs, Psalm 50, A26

LPr II, The Lord's Prayer II, A20
 LPr III, The Lord's Prayer III, A22
 Mald, The Battle of Maldon, A9
 Max I, Maxims I, A3.13
 Men, The Menologium, A14
 Met, The Meters of Boethius, A6
 MPs, Metrical Psalms 90:16, A51
 MSol, Solomon and Saturn, A13
 OrW, The Order of the World, A3.14
 Pan, The Panther, A3.16
 Part, The Partridge, A3.18
 Phoen, The Phoenix, A3.4
 PPs, The Paris Psalter, A5
 PsFr, Fragments of Psalms, A24
 Res, Resignation, A3.25
 Exeter Book Riddles
 Rid 3, Riddles 3 (Exeter Book), A3.22.3
 Rid 8, Riddles 8 (Exeter Book), A3.22.8
 Rid 20, Riddles 20 (Exeter Book), A3.22.20
 Rid 23, Riddles 23 (Exeter Book), A3.22.23
 Rid 25, Riddles 25 (Exeter Book), A3.22.25
 Rid 39, Riddles 39 (Exeter Book), A3.22.39
 Rid 40, Riddles 40 (Exeter Book), A3.22.40
 Rid 41, Riddles 41 (Exeter Book), A3.22.41
 Rid 63, Riddles 63 (Exeter Book), A3.34.3
 Rid 83, Riddles 83 (Exeter Book), A3.34.23
 Rim, The Riming Poem (Exeter Book), A3.15
 Sat, Christ and Satan, A1.4
 Sea, The Seafarer, A3.9
 Seasons, The Seasons for Fasting, A31
 Soul I, Soul and Body (Vercelli Book), A2.3
 Vain, Vainglory, A3.10
 Wan, The Wanderer, A3.6
 Whale, The Whale, A3.17

Wife, The Wife's Lament, A3.23

Anonymous Homilies

Homilies (M)

HomM 1 (Healey), And, men þa leofestan, hit sægð her on ðisum halgum gewrite, B3.5.1

HomM 5 (Willard), Geherað nu mæn ða leofestan hu us godes bec, B3.5.5

HomM 11 (ScraggVerc 14), Larspell to swylcere tide swa man wile. Men ða leofestan þis synt halige dagas 7 gastlice 7 ussum sawlum læcedomlice (Vercelli), B3.5.11

HomM 13 (ScraggVerc 21), Men ða leofestan us ys mycel þearf þæt we god lufien (Vercelli Homilies), B3.5.13

HomM 14.2 (Healey), Sawl and ðus cweð, gehyrsta, hearda lichoma?, B3.5.14.2

Homilies (S)

HomS 1 (ScraggVerc 5), Christmas (Vercelli Homilies), B3.2.1

HomS 3 (ScraggVerc 8), First Sunday after Epiphany (Vercelli Homilies), B3.2.3

HomS 4 (ScraggVerc 9), Second Sunday after Epiphany (Vercelli Homilies), B3.2.4

HomS 8 (BIHom 2), Quinquagesima Sunday (Blickling Homilies), B3.2.8

HomS 11.2 (ScraggVerc 3), Second Sunday in Lent (Vercelli Homilies), B3.2.11.5

HomS 14 (BIHom 4), Third Sunday in Lent (Blickling Homilies), B3.2.14

HomS 17 (BIHom 5), Fifth Sunday in Lent (Blickling Homilies), B3.2.17

HomS 24 (ScraggVerc 1), In Parasceve (Vercelli Homilies), B3.2.24

HomS 26 (BIHom 7), Easter Day (Blickling Homilies), B3.2.26

HomS 32 (Baz-Cr), In Letania maiore (Rogationtide Homilies), B3.2.32 x 1

HomS 33 (Först), In Letania maiore, B3.2.33 (Item 26 in MS Hatton 116)

HomS 34 (ScraggVerc 19), Monday in Rogationtide (Vercelli Homilies), B3.2.34

HomS 38 (ScraggVerc 20), Tuesday in Rogationtide (Vercelli Homilies), B3.2.38

HomS 40.1 (Nap 49), Tuesday in Rogationtide, B3.2.40.2

HomS 40.3 (ScraggVerc 10), Tuesday in Rogationtide, B3.2.40.6

HomS 43 (ScraggVerc 13), Wednesday in Rogationtide (Vercelli Book), B3.2.43

HomS 44 (Baz-Cr), Wednesday in Rogationtide, B3.2.44

HomS 46 (BIHom 11), Pentecost (Blickling Homilies), B3.2.46

HomS 49 (Brot 2), Dedication of a Church, B3.2.49

Homilies (U)

HomU 3 (Irv 7), The Transience of Earthly Delights, B3.4.3

HomU 6 (ScraggVerc 15), 'De Die Judicii' (Apocalypse of Thomas), B3.4.6

HomU 7 (ScraggVerc 22), Vercelli Homily XXII (Vercelli Homilies), B3.4.7

HomU 8 (ScraggVerc 2), (Vercelli Homilies), B3.4.8

HomU 10 (ScraggVerc 6), 'Miracula que facta fuerant ...' (Vercelli Homilies), B3.4.10

HomU 12.1 (Först), Apocalypse of Thomas (partial), B3.4.12.1

HomU 12.3 (CCCC 41), Apocalypse of Thomas (partial) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 41), B3.4.12.3

HomU 15.1 (Scragg), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton 115, fols. 140-47, B3.4.15.1

HomU 16 (Kluge), Kluge, 1885b 472-4, B3.4.16

HomU 18 (BIHom 1), Blickling Homily no. 1, B3.4.18

HomU 19 (BIHom 8), Blickling Homily no. 8 (Blickling Homilies), B3.4.19

HomU 20 (BIHom 10), Blickling Homily no. 10, B3.4.20

HomU 21 (Nap 1), Untitled homily, B3.4.21

HomU 26 (Nap 29), Untitled homily, B3.4.26

HomU 27 (Nap 30), 'Be rihtan cristendome', B3.4.27

HomU 34 (Nap 42), 'De temporibus Anticristi', B3.4.34

HomU 35.1 (Nap 43), 'Sunnandæges spell', B3.4.35.1

HomU 35.2 (Nap 44), 'Sunnandæges spell', B3.4.35.2

HomU 37 (Nap 46), 'Larspell', B3.4.37

HomU 38 (Nap 47), 'Larspel and scriftboc', B3.4.38

HomU 39 (Nap 48), 'Ammonitio amici', B3.4.39.2

HomU 46 (Nap 57), 'Sermo ad populum Dominicis diebus', B3.4.46

HomU 55 (Thorpe), Untitled homily, B3.4.55

HomU 59 (Nap 37), Untitled homily, B3.4.59

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- LS 1.1 (AndrewBright), Life of St Andrew, B3.3.1.1
- LS 1.2 (AndrewMor), Life of St Andrew (Blickling Homilies), B3.3.1.2
- LS 3 (Chad), Life of St Chad, B3.3.3
- LS 4 (ChristophRyp), Life of St Christopher, B3.3.4
- LS 5 (InventCrossNap), Invention of the Cross, B3.3.5
- LS 7 (Euphr), Life of St Euphrosyne, B3.3.7
- LS 12 (NatJnBapt), Nativity of John the Baptist (Blickling Homilies), B3.3.12
- LS 13 (Machutus), Life of St Machutus, B3.3.13
- LS 16 (MargaretCot.Tib. A.iii), Life of St Margaret, B3.3.16
- LS 17.1 (MartinMor), Life of St Martin (Blickling Homilies), B3.3.17.2
- LS 17.2 (MartinVerc 18), Life of St Martin (Vercelli Homilies), B3.3.17.3
- LS 18.1 (NatMaryAss 10N), Nativity of Mary the Virgin (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 343), B3.3.18.2
- LS 18.2 (NatMaryAss 10J), Nativity of Mary the Virgin (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton 114), B3.3.18.3
- LS 19 (PurifMaryVerc 17), Purification of Mary the Virgin (Vercelli Homilies), B3.3.19
- LS 20 (AssumptMor), Assumption of Mary the Virgin (Blickling Homilies), B3.3.20
- LS 21 (AssumptTristr), Assumption of the Virgin, B3.3.21
- LS 24 (MichaelTristr), Life of St Michael, B3.3.24
- LS 28 (Neot), Life of St Neot, B3.3.28
- LS 32 (Peter & Paul), Peter and Paul (Blickling Homilies), B3.3.32
- LS 35 (VitPatr), Vitae Patrum, B3.3.35

Glosses

The following glosses, even if rough dates are known for when they were added, are not reliable dating evidence due to either the conservatism in glossing, or from dating to the mid-tenth century, that could be either side of c. 950. (For example, glosses were added to the Rushworth gospels in the tenth century).

AldV 1 (Goossens), Aldhelm, *De laude virginitatis* (prose) and *Epistola ad Ehfridum* (MS Brussels, Royal Library 1650), C31.1

- AldV 3.3 (Page), Aldhelm, *De laude virginitatis* (prose), C31.3.3
- AldV 13.1 (Nap), Aldhelm, *De laude virginitatis* (prose), C31.13.1
- AntGl 4 (Kindschi), *Latin-Old English Glossaries* (Plantin-Moretus MS. 32 and British Museum MS. Additional 32246), D1.4
- AntGl 6 (Kindschi), *Latin-Old English Glossaries* (Plantin-Moretus MS 32 and British Museum MS. Additional 32246), D1.6
- ArPrGl 1 (Holt-Campb), *Prayers* (London, British Library, MS. Arundel 155), C23.1
- ÆGl, Ælfric, *Glossary*, B1.9.2
- BoGl (Hale), Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, Book 3 (CCCC MS. 214), C9.1
- ClGl 1 (Stryker), *Latin-Old English Glossaries* (MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III), D8.1
- ClGl 3 (Quinn), *Latin-Old English Glossaries* (MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III), D8.3
- CollGl 12 (Holthausen), *Latin-Old English Glossaries*, D12
- Durham Ritual Gloss
- DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind), *Liturgical Texts, Durham Ritual*, C21.1
 - DurRitGl 2 (Thomp-Lind), *Liturgical Texts, Durham Ritual*, C21.2
 - DurRitGlAbbrev, *Abbreviations List (Durham Ritual)*, C2
- HlGl (Oliphant), *Latin-Old English Glossaries (Harley Latin-Old English Glossary)*, D16.1
- HyGl 2 (Milfull), *Hymns (Durham Hymnal)*, C18.2
- HyGl 3 (Gneuss), *Hymns*, C18.3
- Jn (Nap), *John* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Bib. C.2), B8.4.9
- CCC MS 140 Gospel Glosses
- Jn (WSCp), *John* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 140), B8.4.3.4
 - Lk (WSCp), *Luke* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 140), B8.4.3.3
 - Mk (WSCp), *Mark* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 140), B8.4.3.2
 - Mt (WSCp), *Matthew* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 140), B8.4.3.1
- Lindisfarne Gospels
- JnGl (Li), *The Lindisfarne Gospels (John)*, C8.1.4
 - LiProlMt (Skeat), *Jerome's Prologue to Matthew (Lindisfarne Gospels)*, C20.3
 - LkGl (Li), *The Lindisfarne Gospels (Luke)*, C8.1.3
 - LkHeadGl (Li), *Liturgical Texts, Headings to Readings in Luke (Lindisfarne Gospels)*, C21.8
 - MkGl (Li), *The Lindisfarne Gospels (Mark)*, C8.1.2

MkHeadGl (Li), Liturgical Texts, Headings to Readings in Mk (Lindisfarne Gospels), C21.5

MtGl (Li), The Lindisfarne Gospels (Matthew), C8.1.1

MtHeadGl (Li), Liturgical Texts, Headings to Readings in Mt (Li), C21.3

MonCa 1 (Korhammer), Monastic Canticles, Durham Cathedral, MS. B.III.32, C12.1

Rushworth Gospels

JnGl (Ru), The Rushworth Gospels (John), C8.2.4

LkGl (Ru), Rushworth Gospels (Luke), C8.2.3

MkGl (Ru), The Rushworth Gospels (Mark), C8.2.2

MtGl (Ru), The Rushworth Gospels (Matthew), C8.2.1

OccGl 78.3 (Hofmann), Isidore, Synonyma, C78.3

PrudT 2, Prudentius, Psychomachia Titles, London, British Library, MS. Cotton Cleopatra C.VIII, C26.2

Psalter canticle glosses

PsCaC (Wildhagen), Canticles of the Psalter, Cambridge, University Library, MS.

Ff.1.23 (Cambridge Psalter), C11.1

PsCaD (Roeder), Canticles of the Psalter, London, British Library, MS. Royal 2 B.V (Regius Psalter), C11.9

PsCaE (Liles), Canticles of the Psalter, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.17.1 (Canterbury Psalter), C11.2

PsCaF (Rosier), Canticles of the Psalter, London, British Library, MS. Stowe 2 (Stowe Canticles), C11.10

PsCaG (Rosier), Canticles of the Psalter, London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius E.XVIII (Vitellius Psalter), C11.7

PsCaHar (Holthausen), Canticles of the Psalter, London, British Library, MS. Harley 863, C11.8

PsCaI (Lindelöf), Canticles of the Psalter, London, Lambeth Palace, MS. 427 (Lambeth Psalter), C11.11

PsCaJ (Oess), Canticles of the Psalter, London, British Library, MS. Arundel 60 (Arundel Psalter), C11.4

PsCaK (Sisam), Canticles of the Psalter, Salisbury, Cathedral, MS. 150 (Salisbury Psalter), C11.12

PsCaL (Lindelöf), Canticles of the Psalter, London, British Library, MS. Add. 37517, C11.3

Psalter glosses

PsGlC (Wildhagen), Psalms, Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff.1.23 (Cambridge Psalter), C7.1

PsGlD (Roeder), Psalms, London, British Library, MS. Royal 2 B. (Regius Psalter), C7.9

PsGlE (Harsley), Psalms, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.17.1 (Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter), C7.3

PsGlF (Kimmens), Psalms, London, British Library, MS. Stowe 2: Kimmens (Stowe Psalter), C7.10

PsGlG (Rosier), Psalms, London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius E.XVIII (Vitellius Psalter), C7.8

PsGlH (Campbell), Psalms, London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius C.VI (The Tiberius Psalter), C7.6

PsGlI (Lindelöf), Psalms, London, Lambeth Palace, MS. 427 (Lambeth Psalter), C7.11

PsGlJ (Oess), Psalms, London, British Library, MS. Arundel 60 (Arundel Psalter), C7.5

PsGlK (Sisam), Psalms, Salisbury, Cathedral, MS. 150 (Salisbury Psalter), C7.13

PsGlL (Lindelöf), Psalms, London, British Library, MS. Add. 37517 (Bosworth Psalter), C7.4

ProspGl, Prosper, Epigrammata and Versus ad coniugem, C24

RegCGI (Kornexl), Regularis concordia, C27

Indeterminate

Charm 9.2 (Storms), Prose Charms and Charm Headings (Hague MS), B23.1.9.2

Med 3 (Grattan-Singer), Lacnunga, B21.3

Med 5.10 (Schauman-Cameron), Recipes, B21.5.10

Conf 10.2 (CCCC 320), Formulas and Directions for the Use of Confessors (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 320), B11.10.2

Lit 5.5.1.4 (Thomp-Lind), Rubrics and Directions for the Use of Forms of Service (Durham Ritual), B12.5.5.1.4

Lit 2 (Ker), Forms for Use at the Visitation of the Sick, B12.2

Lit 4.4.1 (Hughes), Prayers to the Cross (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 391), B12.4.4.1

Prognostics

- Prog 1.6 (Först), Prognostics, B23.3.1.6
- Prog 2.2 (Först), Prognostics, B23.3.2.2
- Prog 3.1 (Först), Prognostics, B23.3.3.1
- Prog 3.2 (Först), Prognostics, B23.3.3.2
- Prog 3.7 (Cockayne), Prognostics, B23.3.3.7
- Prog 3.10 (Först), Prognostics, B23.3.3.10
- Prog 6.6 (Först), Prognostics, B23.3.6.6

Charters

- Ch 1556 (Birch 299), Bounds of Withington, Gloucs, B15.8.597
- Ch 1588 (Birch 479), Bounds of Wanborough and Little Hinton, Wilts, B15.8.619

Laws

- LawIudex, Judex, B14.54

Runes

- RuneRuthwellA, Ruthwell Cross, E39
- RuneAuzon, Auzon Casket (Franks Casket), E2

Appendix E: Vocabulary Evidence Data

Dictionary of Old English Corpus Data

adesa, adese ‘adze’ (noun, m.) c. 17 occurrences

Search: begins with ‘adesa’: 11 matches; Search: begins with ‘adsa’: 1 (relevant) match;
 Search: begins with ‘adys’: 2 (relevant) matches; Search: begins with ‘eadus’: 1 match;
 Search: begins with ‘eadesa’: 1 match; begins with ‘ados’ 1 match.

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>3</u>
Bede 4 B9.6.6	1
PsGlB (Brenner) C7.12	1
PsGlA (Kuhn) C7.7	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>1</u>
LawGer B14.45	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>1</u>
PPs A5	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3 x 1	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>11</u>
ÆGl B1.9.2	1
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	1
PsGlH (Campbell) C7.6	1
PsGlG (Rosier) C7.8	1
PsGlD (Roeder) C7.9	1
PsGlI (Lindelöf) C7.11	1
PsGlK (Sisam) C7.13	1
AntGl 4 (Kindschi) D1.4	1
ClGl 1 (Stryker) D8.1	1
PsGlC (Wildhagen) C7.1	2

bifiendlic ‘terrible’ (adj.) c. 2 occurrences

Chad: beofugendlican; ChrodR 1: *byfgendlican*

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>1</u>
ChrodR 1 B10.4.1	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1

bregan, 'to terrify, frighten' (vb. wk. 1) 36 occurrences (found in corpus)

DOE count: c. 39 occurrences

Search: begins with 'brega' 7 (relevant) matches; Search: begins with 'brege'

13 (relevant) matches; Search: begins with 'bregd' 16 (relevant) matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>12</u>
CP B9.1.3	3
Mart 1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) B19.1	1
Lch I (Herb) B21.1.1.2	1
PPs (prose) B8.2.1	1
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	1
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	1
Bede 1 B9.6.3	1
Bede 5 B9.6.7	2
LS 10 (Guth) B3.3.10	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>7</u>
WHom 2 B2.1.2	1
WHom 3 B2.1.3	1
WHom 5 B2.1.5	2
LawIICn B14.30.2	1
ChronD (Cubbin) B17.8	1
ChronE (Irvine) B17.9	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>9</u>
MRune A12	1
JDay II A17	2
GuthA,B A3.2	1
Gifts A3.7	1
Pan A3.16	1
Rid 2 A3.22.2	1
PPs A5	1
MSol A13	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>5</u>
HomU 26 (Nap 29) B3.4.26	1
HomU 40 (Nap 50) B3.4.40	1
HomS 40.1 (Nap 49) B3.2.40.2	1
HomU 58 (Nap 16) B3.4.58	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>6</u>
OccGl 49 (Zupitza) C49	1
Lk (WSCp) B8.4.3.3	1
AldV 1 (Goossens) C31.1	1

AldV 13.1 (Nap) C31.13.1	1
Lk (WSCp) B8.4.3.3	1
RegC 1 (Zup) B10.5.1	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

byldu (bældu) ‘impudence’ (noun, f., cl. 2) c. 38 occurrences

DOE count: c. 40 occurrences

Search: begins with ‘beld’ 3 (relevant) matches; Search: begins with ‘bield’ 4 matches;
 Search: begins with ‘byld’ 19 (relevant) matches; Search: begins with ‘bæld’ 12 (relevant) matches.

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>18</u>
CP B9.1.3	4
Bede 1 B9.6.3	1
Bede 3 (O) B9.6.5.1	1
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	3
GD 2 (C) B9.5.4	1
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	4
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	4
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>6</u>
ÆCHom I, 27 B1.1.29	2
ÆCHom I, 34 B1.1.36	1
ÆCHom II, 38 B1.2.41	1
ÆLS (Maccabees) B1.3.25	1
ÆLS (Edmund) B1.3.31	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>1</u>
ChristA,B,C A3.1	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>8</u>
LS 3 (Chad), B3.3.3	1
LS 16 (MargaretCot.Tib. A.iii) B3.3.16	1
LS 18.2 (NatMaryAss 10J) B3.3.18.3 x	1
LS 32 (Peter & Paul) B3.3.32 x	2
HomU 7 (ScraggVerc 22) B3.4.7	3
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>5</u>
OccGl 78.3 (Hofmann) C78.3	1
ClGl 1 (Stryker) D8.1	1
HiGl (Oliphant) D16.1	1
DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind) C21.1	1
LiProlMt (Skeat) C20.3	1

carcern ‘*prison; figurative (of the body, of the soul)*’ (noun n.)

c. 175 (DOE count)

Searches: begins with ‘carcern’ 169 matches; Search: begins with ‘cercern’: 1 occurrence; Search: begins with ‘cearcern’ 1 occurrence. Note: searches do not include every variation of the word, but the most common occurrences as listed in the DOE entry.

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>53</u>
CP B9.1.3	2
Or 5 B9.2.6	3
Bo B9.3.2	4
BoHead B9.3.1	3
Solil 1 B9.4.2	1
Solil 2 B9.4.3	1
Solil 3 B9.4.4	2
GD 2 (C) B9.5.4	1
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	7
Bede 2 B9.6.4	1
Bede 5 B9.6.7	1
Mart 1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) B19.1	4
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	12
LawAf 1 B14.4.4	2
LawEGu B14.6.2	1
LawIIAs B14.9	4
LawVIAs B14.12	2
PsGIA (Kuhn) C7.7	1
PsGIB (Brenner) C7.12	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>13</u>
LS 30 (Pantaleon) B3.3.30	2
ThCap 1 (Sauer) B10.6.1	4
LS 14 (MargaretCCCC 303) B3.3.14	7
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>20</u>
Sat A1.4	2
And A2.1	10
El A2.6	1
ChristA,B,C A3.1	2
Jul, A3.5	2
PPs A5	1
Met A6	2
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>49</u>
HomS 8 (BlHom 2) B3.2.8	1
HomS 11.2 (ScraggVerc 3) B3.2.11.5	1
HomS 24 (ScraggVerc 1) B3.2.24	1

HomS 26 (BlHom 7) B3.2.26	2
HomS 33 (Först) B3.2.33	1
HomS 44 (Baz-Cr) B3.2.44	1
HomU 10 (ScraggVerc 6) B3.4.10	1
HomU 21 (Nap 1) B3.4.21	3
HomU 35.2 (Nap 44) B3.4.35.2	1
LS 1.1 (AndrewBright) B3.3.1.1	25
LS 1.2 (AndrewMor) B3.3.1.2	6
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
LS 5 (InventCrossNap) B3.3.5	3
LS 16 (MargaretCot.Tib. A.iii) B3.3.16	1
LS 35 (VitPatr) B3.3.35	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>34</u>
PsGlC (Wildhagen) C7.1	1
PsGlD (Roeder) C7.9	1
PsGlK (Sisam) C7.13	1
MtGl (Li) C8.1.1	9
MkGl (Li) C8.1.2	1
LkGl (Li) C8.1.3	5
JnGl (Li) C8.1.4	1
MtGl (Ru) C8.2.1	4
MkGl (Ru) C8.2.2	2
LkGl (Ru) C8.2.3	6
JnGl (Ru) C8.2.4	1
ClGl 1 (Stryker) D8.1	1
ClGl 3 (Quinn) D8.3	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

***gecignis* ‘calling’ (noun, f., cl. 2)**

DOE cites c. 5 occurrences

Search: begins with ‘gecign’ 3 matches; Search: begins with ‘gecegn’ 1 match

Note: DOE also includes occurrence in Bede 3 (that is edited out of text)

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>1</u>
Bede 3 B9.6.5	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 30 (Pantaleon) B3.3.30	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>2</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3 x	1
LS 20 (AssumptMor) B3.3.20 x	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

***edniwunga, edniwinga (edneowunga)* ‘renew, anew’, adv., c. 5 occurrences**

(see DOE, ‘ed-niwunga, ed-niwinga’)

Search for *edneowunga* 1 match; Whole word search *edniwinga* 2 matches; Whole word search *edniowunga* 2 matches;

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>1</u>
Alex B22.1	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>3</u>
And A2.1	1
El A2.6	1
Phoen A3.4	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1

***endedæg (endedeg)* ‘final day’ (noun, m., cl. 1) c. 42 occurrences**

DOE cites c. 45 occurrences

Search for: begins with ‘endedeg’ 1 match; Search: begins with ‘endedæg’ 38 matches; Search for: begins with ‘ænded’ 6 matches.

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>8</u>
Bede 3 B9.6.5	1
ChrodR 1 B10.4.1	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	1
Alex B22.1	1
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	3
Conf 3.1.1 (Raith Y) B11.3.1.1	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>12</u>
ÆLS (Memory of Saints) B1.3.17	1
ÆAbus (Mor) B1.6.2.1	1
ÆAbus (Warn) B1.6.2.2	1
ChronE (Irvine) B17.9	1
Conf 9.4 (Logeman) B11.9.4	2
Gen B8.1.4.1	1
WHom 8c B2.2.5	1
WHom 10c B2.2.8	1
Ch 914 (Kem 715, 847) B15.1.48	1
Ch 1524 (Whitelock 5) B15.6.38	1
LawICn B14.30.1	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>6</u>
Dan A1.3	1
Fates A2.2	1
Beo A4.1	2
LPr II A2	1
Instr A44	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>18</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
HomM 5 (Willard) B3.5.5	1
HomM 13 (ScraggVerc 21) B3.5.13	3
HomS 14 (BlHom 4) B3.2.14	1
HomS 34 (ScraggVerc 19) B3.2.34	1
HomS 38 (ScraggVerc 20) B3.2.38	1
HomU 3 (Irv 7) B3.4.3	1
HomU 6 (ScraggVerc 15) B3.4.6	1
HomU 15.1 (Scragg) B3.4.15.1	1
HomU 27 (Nap 30) B3.4.27	1
HomU 37 (Nap 46) B3.4.37	1
HomU 38 (Nap 47) B3.4.38	1
HomU 39 (Nap 48) B3.4.39.2	1
HomU 46 (Nap 57) B3.4.46	1
HomU 48 (Nap 59) B3.4.48	1
HomU 59 (Nap 37) B3.4.59	1

<u>Glosses</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>1</u>
Charm 9.2 (Storms) B23.1.9.2	1

forþfor ‘death’, noun *f.*, c. 98 occurrences

Corpus results using the following searches: *simple search, begins with ‘forðfor’* 86 (relevant) matches; *simple search, begins with ‘forþfor’* 10 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (c. 950)</u>	<u>77</u>
BedeHead B9.6.2	10
BedePref B9.6.1	1
Bede 2 B9.6.4	2
Bede 3 B9.6.5	3
Bede 4 B9.6.6	18
Bede 5 B9.6.7	6
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	3
GD 2 (C) B9.5.4	4
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	5
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	14
GD 1 (H) B9.5.8.2	2
GDHead 2 (H) B9.5.10.1	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	1
LS 10.1 (Guth) B3.3.10.1	7
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>5</u>
ÆHomM 6 (Irv 1) B1.5.6	1
Lit 4.5 (Muir) B12.4.5	1
Ch 1406 (Rob 112) B15.3.57	1
ChronE (Irvine) B17.9	1
LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) B3.3.23	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences.	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>12</u>
HomS 17 (BlHom 5) B3.2.17	1
HomU 7 (ScraggVerc 22) B3.4.7	1
HomM 1 (Healey) B3.5.1	1
HomM 5 (Willard) B3.5.5	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	3
LS 7 (Euphr) B3.3.7	1
LS 17.1 (MartinMor) B3.3.17.2	2
LS 17.2 (MartinVerc 18) B3.3.17.3	1
LS 24 (MichaelTristr) B3.3.24	1

<u>Glosses</u>	<u>1</u>
Jn (WSCp) B8.4.3.4	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

frignan [fregnan] ‘ask’ (vb., st. 3) 189 occurrences (DOEC count)
(DOE count c. 200)

DOEC results in doc: check and add here

Simple searches: begins with ‘frign’ 47 matches; begins with ‘fregn’ 20 matches; begins with ‘frinan’ 5 matches; Search for: whole word ‘frine’ 11 matches; begins with ‘frin’ 42 matches; begins with ‘frægn’ 64 matches.

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>86</u>
CP B9.1.3	6
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	4
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	1
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	10
Bede 2 B9.6.4	9
Bede 3 B9.6.5	3
Bede 4 B9.6.6	12
Bede 5 B9.6.7	6
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	3
Mart 2.1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) B19.2.1	1
Mart 3 (Sweet) B19.3	1
Alex B22.1	9
Or 4 B9.2.5	2
Or 5 B9.2.6	1
Bo B9.3.2	2
LS 10.1 (Guth) B3.3.10.1	4
LawAbt B14.1	2
LawHI B14.2	1
LawIne B14.4.5	1
LawWi B14.3.2	2
PsGlA (Kuhn) C7.7	3
PsGlB (Brenner) C7.12	2
PsCaA 1 (Kuhn) C11.6	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>10</u>
ÆCHom I B1.1.2	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.34	1
ChronF (Baker) B17.3	1
ApT B4.1	1

LawIIAtr B14.21	2
LawIICn B14.30.2	1
LawIIEm B14.14.2	1
LawWif B14.43	1
Exod (Ker) B8.1.9	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>37</u>
And A2.1	6
El A2.6	7
GuthA A3.2	7
Jul A3.5	2
Met A6	1
GenA A1.1	1
Beo A4.1	5
PPs A5	1
Dream A2.5	1
MSol A13	1
JDay II A17	1
Dan A1.3	2
Finn A7	2
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>14</u>
HomS 24 (ScraggVerc 1) B3.2.24	3
HomS 24.1 (Scragg) B3.2.24.1	3
HomS 24.2 (Schaefer) B3.2.24.2	3
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	3
LS 20 (AssumptMor) B3.3.20	2
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>28</u>
CorpGl 2 (Hessels) D4.2	1
MtGl (Li) C8.1.1	1
MkGl (Li) C8.1.2	1
LkGl (Li) C8.1.3	3
LkGl (Ru) C8.2.3	5
JnGl (Ru) C8.2.4	1
MtHeadGl (Li) C21.3	1
MkHeadGl (Li) C21.5	2
ClGl 1 (Stryker) D8.1	1
HlGl (Oliphant) D16.1	1
PsGlC (Wildhagen) C7.1	2
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	2
PsGlG (Rosier) C7.8	1
MtGl (Ru) C8.2.1	4
LkHeadGl (Li) C21.8	1
PsCaC (Wildhagen) C11.1	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>1</u>

MCharm 11 A43.11

1

geara, ‘long ago, formerly’ (adv.) 56 DOEC matches

Note: due to the common occurrence of ‘geara’ in the corpus (c. 583) used as a declension of the noun ‘gear’ – this search was conducted as a proximity search, to search near adv. where the word is most likely to occur i.e. “1.a. with reinforcing adverbs *ǣr* and *geō* : *geara* *ǣr* ‘long before / ago’; *geo geara* / *geara geo* ‘long ago, of old’ (cf. *geō* sense 1.c.i.b)” Also included the DOE examples (removing duplicates in searches where applicable)

Proximity searches: whole word ‘geara’ near ‘ǣr’ c. 18 matches; Proximity search: whole word ‘geara’ near ‘iu’ c. 17 matches; Proximity search: whole word ‘geara’ near ‘geo’ 9 matches;

	<i>Occurrence</i>
<u>Early Prose</u>	<u>22</u>
Bede 4	1
Bede 1	3
Bede 2	3
Bede 3 B9.6.5	3
GD 2 (C) 1	1
LS 10.1 (Guth)	3
LS 10 (Guth)	2
Or 1 B9.2.2	3
Bo B9.3.2	2
PPs (prose) B8.2.1	1
<u>Late Prose</u>	<u>2</u>
BenR B10.3.1.1	1
ChronF (Baker) B17.3	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>21</u>
ChristA,B,C A3.1	1
PPs A5	6
Met A6	3
Rid 20	1
Dream	1
Gen B8.1.4.1	1
MSol A13	1
Instr A44	1
And A2.1	1
GuthA,B A3.2	1
Wan A3.6	1
Vain A3.10	1
OrW A3.14	1
Seasons A31	1

<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>9</u>
LS 18.1 (NatMaryAss 10N) 546	1
HomU 18 (BIHom 1) B3.4.18	2
HomS 26	1
LS 35 (VitPatr) B3.3.35	2
HomU 19 (BIHom 8) B3.4.19	1
HomU 35.1 (Nap 43) B3.4.35.1	2
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>3</u>
MtGl (Ru)	1
ClGl 1	2

gebedhus, 'prayer house, chapel' (noun, n., cl. 1) c. 90 occurrences

DOE cites c. 90 occurrences

Search: begins with 'gebedhus' 83 matches; Search: begins with 'gebaedhus' 6 matches;
 Begins with 'gebeddhus' 1 match;

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>32</u>
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	8
GD 2 (C) B9.5.4	4
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	8
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	1
GD 1 (H) B9.5.8.2	9
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	1
ChrodR 1 B10.4.1	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>32</u>
ÆCHom I B1.1.30	4
ÆCHom II B1.2.12	2
ÆCHom II B1.2.49	3
ÆLS (Pr Moses) B1.3.14	1
ÆLS (Maur) B1.3.7	1
ÆLS (Agnes) B1.3.8	1
ÆLS (Edmund) B1.3.31	1
ÆLet 1 (Wulfsige X a) B1.8.1	1
ÆLet 3 (Wulfstan 2) B1.8.3	2
WHom 18 B2.3.6	1
BenR B10.3.1.1	6
BenRWells B10.3.3	2
BenRW B10.3.4	2
ThCap 1 (Sauer) B10.6.1	2
ThCap 2 (Sauer) B10.6.2	1
LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) B3.3.23	2

<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>11</u>
HomS 21 (BlHom 6) B3.2.21	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	6
LS 28 (Neot) B3.3.28	1
HomU 37 (Nap 46) B3.4.37	1
HomU 47 (Nap 58) B3.4.47	1
LS 8 (Eust) B3.3.8	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>15</u>
Mt (WSCp) B8.4.3.1	1
Mk (WSCp) B8.4.3.2	1
Lk (WSCp) B8.4.3.3	1
BenRGl C4	5
Mem C5	1
RegCGl (Kornexl) C27	5
AntGl 6 (Kindschi) D1.6	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

***gefea* 'joy' (noun m. wk) c. 537 occurrences**

DOE count c. 600 occurrences

Search: whole word 'gefea': 126 (relevant matches; search: whole word 'gefean' 386 (relevant) matches; Search: whole word 'gifea' 14 (relevant) matches; Search: whole word 'gifeo'

7 (relevant) matches); Search: whole word 'gifeo' 4 (relevant) matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>72</u>
CP B9.1.3	14
Or 3 B9.2.4	2
Or 5 B9.2.6	1
Alex B22.1	1
Bo B9.3.2	4
PPs (prose) B8.2.1	4
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	1
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	2
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	13
Bede 1 B9.6.3	2
Bede 2 B9.6.4	1
Bede 3 B9.6.5	3
Bede 4 B9.6.6	3

Bede 5 B9.6.7	4
Let 1 (Sisam) B6.1	1
Mart 3 (Sweet) B19.3	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	3
Conf 5 (Mone) B11.5	1
PsGIA (Kuhn) C7.7	2
PsGIB (Brenner) C7.12	5
LS 10.1 (Guth) B3.3.10.1	4
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>53</u>
ChronD (Cubbin) B17.8	1
ChronE (Irvine) B17.9	2
ApT B4.1	1
Alc (Warn 35) B9.7.4	2
ÆCHom I, 2 B1.1.3	3
ÆCHom I B1.1.33	1
ÆLS (Cecilia) B1.3.32	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.26	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.32	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.33	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.36	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.38	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.40	2
ÆCHom I B1.1.41	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.42	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.7	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.12	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.47	4
Nic (D) B8.5.3.2	1
Nic (E) B8.5.3.3	1
ThCap 1 (Sauer) B10.6.1	2
WHom 7 B2.2.2	1
BenR B10.3.1.1	5
BenRWells B10.3.3	2
BenRW B10.3.4	1
Lit 4.3.3 (Hallander) B12.4.3.3	1
Lit 4.5 (Muir) B12.4.5	1
Lit 4.3.1 (Hughes) B12.4.3.1	1
LS 30 (Pantaleon) B3.3.30	9
LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) B3.3.23	2
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>61</u>
And A2.1	5
Beo A4.1	2
ChristA,B,C A3.1	11

El A2.6	3
Fates A2.2	1
GenA,B A1.1	4
GuthA,B A3.2	13
JDay II A17	1
Jul A3.5	1
KtPs A26	1
Men A14	1
Met A6	2
Phoen A3.4	6
PPs A5	8
Sat A1.4	1
Soul I A2.3	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>160</u>
HomM 1 (Healey) B3.5.1	1
HomM 4 (McDougall) B3.5.4	1
HomM 5 (Willard) B3.5.5	2
HomM 11 (ScraggVerc 14) B3.5.11	6
HomM 13 (ScraggVerc 21) B3.5.13	3
HomM 14.2 (Healey) B3.5.14.2	4
HomS 1 (ScraggVerc 5) B3.2.1	10
HomS 2 (ScraggVerc 16) B3.2.2	1
HomS 3 (ScraggVerc 8) B3.2.3	2
HomS 4 (ScraggVerc 9) B3.2.4	2
HomS 7 B3.2.7	1
HomS 8 (BIHom 2) B3.2.8	3
HomS 11.2 (ScraggVerc 3) B3.2.11.5	1
HomS 13 (Ass 11) B3.2.13	2
HomS 14 (BIHom 4) B3.2.14	3
HomS 17 (BIHom 5) B3.2.17	3
HomS 22 (CenDom 1) B3.2.22	2
HomS 24.1 (Scragg) B3.2.24.1	1
HomS 24.2 (Schaefer) B3.2.24.2	1
HomS 25 B3.2.25	4
HomS 26 (BIHom 7) B3.2.26	2
HomS 27 B3.2.27	2
HomS 30 (TristrApp 2) B3.2.30	3
HomS 31 (Willard) B3.2.31	1
HomS 32 (Baz-Cr) B3.2.32	1
HomS 33 (Först) B3.2.33	3
HomS 34 (ScraggVerc 19) B3.2.34	3
HomS 35 (Tristr 4) B3.2.35	1
HomS 36 (ScraggVerc 11) B3.2.36	7

HomS 40.1 (Nap 49) B3.2.40.2	3
HomS 40.3 (ScraggVerc 10) B3.2.40.6	5
HomS 44 (Baz-Cr) B3.2.44	3
HomS 45 (Tristr 3) B3.2.45	1
HomS 46 (BIHom 11) B3.2.46	5
HomS 49 (Brot 2) B3.2.49	3
HomU 6 (ScraggVerc 15) B3.4.6	2
HomU 7 (ScraggVerc 22) B3.4.7	1
HomU 8 (ScraggVerc 2) B3.4.8	1
HomU 9 (ScraggVerc 4) B3.4.9	1
HomU 12.1 (Först) B3.4.12.1	2
HomU 12.3 (CCCC 41) B3.4.12.3	1
HomU 15 (Robinson) B3.4.15	1
HomU 15.1 (Scragg) B3.4.15.1	1
HomU 18 (BIHom 1) B3.4.18	2
HomU 19 (BIHom 8) B3.4.19	2
HomU 26 (Nap 29) B3.4.26	3
HomU 34 (Nap 42) B3.4.34	2
HomU 37 (Nap 46) B3.4.37	1
HomU 55 (Thorpe) B3.4.55	4
LS 1.1 (AndrewBright) B3.3.1.1	4
LS 1.2 (AndrewMor) B3.3.1.2	4
LS 2 (DepAugust) B3.3.2	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	2
LS 4 (ChristophRyp) B3.3.4	1
LS 4.1 (ChristophWan) B3.3.4.1	1
LS 6 (InventCrossMor) B3.3.6	1
LS 7 (Euphr) B3.3.7	1
LS 11 (James) B3.3.11	1
LS 12 (NatJnBapt) B3.3.12	2
LS 17.1 (MartinMor) B3.3.17.2	1
LS 17.2 (MartinVerc 18) B3.3.17.3	1
LS 18.1 (NatMaryAss 10N) B3.3.18.2	2
LS 18.2 (NatMaryAss 10J) B3.3.18.3	4
LS 19 (PurifMaryVerc 17) B3.3.19	2
LS 20 (AssumptMor) B3.3.20	2
LS 21 (AssumptTristr) B3.3.21	3
LS 24 (MichaelTristr) B3.3.24	1
LS 25 (MichaelMor) B3.3.25	3
LS 28 (Neot) B3.3.28	1
LS 32 (Peter & Paul) B3.3.32	1
LS 34 (SevenSleepers) B3.3.34	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>167</u>

<i>BenRGl C4 x 2</i>	2
Jn (WSCp) B8.4.3.4	9
Lk (WSCp) B8.4.3.3	5
Mt (WSCp) B8.4.3.1	3
Jn (Nap) B8.4.9	2
DurRitGlAbbrev C2	1
DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind) C21.1	6
MonCa 1 (Korhammer) C12.1	3
HyGl 2 (Milfull) C18.2	17
HyGl 3 (Gneuss) C18.3	10
MtGl (Li) C8.1.1	1
LkGl (Li) C8.1.3	9
LkHeadGl (Li) C21.8	5
JnGl (Li) C8.1.4	15
MkHeadGl (Li) C21.5	1
PsGlC (Wildhagen) C7.1	5
PsGIL (Lindelöf) C7.4	3
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	4
PsGlH (Campbell) C7.6	2
PsGlG (Rosier) C7.8	4
PsGlD (Roeder) C7.9	5
PsGlF (Kimmens) C7.10	4
PsGlI (Lindelöf) C7.11	3
PsGlK (Sisam) C7.13	2
ProspGl C24	1
PrudT 2 C26.2	1
CollGl 16.3 D16.3	1
BoGl (Hale) C9.1	1
MonCa 3 (Korhammer) C12.3	1
ProgGl 1 (Först) C16.1	1
MtGl (Ru) C8.2.1	4
LkGl (Ru) C8.2.3	7
JnGl (Ru) C8.2.4	8
PsCaI (Lindelöf) C11.11	1
PsCaE (Liles) C11.2	1
PsCaJ (Oess) C11.4	1
PsCaD (Roeder) C11.9	1
PsCaF (Rosier) C11.10	1
HyGl 2 (Milfull) C18.2	6
HyGl 3 (Gneuss) C18.3	7
AldV 13.1 (Nap) C31.13.1	1
LibSc C15	1
AntGl 6 (Kindschi) D1.6	1

<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>16</u>
Prog 3.2 (Först) B23.3.3.2	1
Prog 3.10 (Först) B23.3.3.10	3
Prog 6.6 (Först) B23.3.6.6	1
Prog 1.6 (Först) B23.3.1.6	2
Prog 2.2 (Först) B23.3.2.2	3
Prog 3.1 (Först) B23.3.3.1	2
Prog 3.2 (Först) B23.3.3.2	1
Prog 3.7 (Cockayne) B23.3.3.7	1
Prog 6.1 (Först) B23.3.6.1	2

Gefeolan (to devote oneself (vb., st. 3) 15 occurrences

DOE cites 15 occ. (mainly in GD MS C). DOE cites 2 GD MS O variants that are not findable in corpus (gefyle; gefalg)

Search: begins with ‘gefeola’ 2 matches; Search: whole word ‘gefeleð’ 1 matches; Search: whole word ‘gefealh’ 9 matches; Search: whole word ‘gefah’ 1 match; Search: whole word ‘gefeole’ 1 match; Search: whole word ‘gefeall’ 1 (relevant) match; Search: fragment ‘gefeolan’ 1 match

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>13</u>
Bede 3 B9.6.5	1
Bede 4 B9.6.6	1
Bede 5 B9.6.7	1
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	1
GD 2 (C) B9.5.4	3
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	3
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	3
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>1</u>
Leof B4.2	1
<u>Poetry</u>	0
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

gelimplic (gelumpenic), ‘suitable’ (adj.) 28 occurrences

Search: whole word ‘gelimplic’ 8 matches; Search: begins with ‘gelimplicr’ 10 matches;
 Search: begins with ‘gelimplica’ 2 matches; Search: begins with ‘gelimplicu’ 3 matches;
 Search: begins with ‘gelimplico’ 2 matches; Search: begins with ‘gelimplicn’ 3 matches;

(note: Chad spelled gelumpenic twice, only occurrence of this spelling)

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>8</u>
ChrodR 1 B10.4.1	1
Bede 5 B9.6.7	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	1
Bede 2 B9.6.4	1
Bede 4 B9.6.6	1
PsGlA (Kuhn) C7.7	1
PsGlB (Brenner) C7.12	2
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>6</u>
ÆCHom I B1.1.40.2	1
ÆLS (Memory of Saints) B1.3.17	1
ÆHex B1.5.13	1
ÆLS (Forty Soldiers) B1.3.12	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.15	1
ÆGram B1.9.1	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>8</u>
HomS 43 (ScraggVerc 13) B3.2.43	1
HomS 47 (BIHom 12) B3.2.47	2
LS 25 (MichaelMor) B3.3.25	2
HomS 19 (Schaefer) B3.2.19	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	2
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>7</u>
PsGlC (Wildhagen) C7.1	2
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	2
PsGlG (Rosier) C7.8	1
PsGlF (Kimmens) C7.10	1
HIgI (Oliphant) D16.1	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>1</u>
Lit 5.11.6 (Fehr) B12.5.11.6	1

Spelling gelump-

Search: begins with ‘gelump’ 89 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>33</u>

Or 4 B9.2.5	1
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	3
GDPref 2 (C) B9.5.3	1
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	8
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	6
GD 1 (H) B9.5.8.2	1
Bede 3 B9.6.5	5
Bede 4 B9.6.6	5
Bede 5 B9.6.7	1
ChronC (O'Brien O'Keeffe) B17.7	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>25</u>
ÆCHom I B1.1.24	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.27	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.28	1
ÆCHom I B1.1.30	2
ÆCHom II B1.2.10	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.11	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.20	1
ÆLS (Sebastian) B1.3.6	1
ÆLS (Ash Wed) B1.3.13	1
ÆLS (Maccabees) B1.3.25	1
ÆLS (Martin) B1.3.30	3
ÆHomM 12 (Brot 1) B1.5.12	1
ÆHomM 14 (Ass 8) B1.5.14	1
ÆTemp B1.9.4	1
WHom 20.2 B2.4.2.B	1
Gen (Ker) B8.1.2	1
Gen B8.1.4.1	1
ChronD (Cubbin) B17.8	1
ChronE (Irvine) B17.9	1
RevMon (Whitelock) B17.11	1
ByrM 1 (Baker/Lapidge) B20.20.1	1
LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) B3.3.23	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>4</u>
GuthA,B A3.2	1
Beo A4.1	2
Met A6	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>17</u>
HomS 1 (ScraggVerc 5) B3.2.1	1
HomS 21 (BIHom 6) B3.2.21	1
HomS 28 B3.2.28	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3 (1 gelumpe)	3

LS 7 (Euphr) B3.3.7	1
LS 9 (Giles) B3.3.9	1
LS 13 (Machutus) B3.3.13	1
LS 22 (InFestisSMarie) B3.3.22	1
LS 28 (Neot) B3.3.28	1
LS 29 (Nicholas) B3.3.29	3
LS 34 (SevenSleepers) B3.3.34	3
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>6</u>
MonCa 1 (Korhammer) C12.1	1
AldV 1 (Goossens) C31.1	1
AldV 13.1 (Nap) C31.13.1	1
ClGl 1 (Stryker) D8.1	1
ClGl 3 (Quinn) D8.3	1
Mem C5	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>2</u>
Lit 4.3.5 (Logeman) B12.4.3.5	1
Notes 10.2 (Nap) B24.10.2	1

grornian, ‘to lament, wail’ (vb., wk. 2) 6 occurrences

DOE cites c. 7 occurrences: lists one occurrence in *ÆGram, Ælfric, Grammar*, B1.9.1 which I could not find.

Search: begins with ‘gromn’ 6 (relevant) matches.

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>2</u>
Bede 5 B9.6.7	1
PsGLB (Brenner) C7.12	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>1</u>
BenR (i*) B10.3.2	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>1</u>
ChristA,B,C A3.1	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>1</u>
MtGl (Ru) C8.2.1	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

hleoprian ‘to make a sound; (of God) to thunder’ (vb., wk. 2) 97 occurrences

[DOE count c. 100 occurrences]

Search: begins with ‘hleōðr’ 64 matches; Search: begins with ‘hleōþr’ 33 matches (excluding instances of nouns hleoþor and hleoþrung)

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>24</u>
Bede 3 B9.6.5	1
Bede 4 B9.6.6	3
Alex B22.1	1
GD 2 (C) B9.5.4	1
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	1
PsGlA (Kuhn) C7.7	7
PsCaA 1 (Kuhn) C11.6	2
PsGlB (Brenner) C7.12	6
CorpGl 2 (Hessels) D4.2	1
LS 10.1 (Guth) B3.3.10.1	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>3</u>
ÆCHom I, 2 B1.1.3	1
Alc (Warn 35) B9.7.4	1
ByrM 1 (Baker/Lapidge) B20.20.1	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>17</u>
GenA,B A1.1	1
Dan A1.3	1
And A2.1	4
Dream A2.5	1
El A2.6	1
PPs A5	3
DAlf A10.5	1
GuthA,B A3.2	1
Az A3.3	1
Phoen A3.4	1
Jul A3.5	1
Finn A7	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>4</u>
HomM 13 (ScraggVerc 21) B3.5.13	1
HomS 12 B3.2.12	1
HomU 8 (ScraggVerc 2) B3.4.8	1
HomU 32 (Nap 40) B3.4.32.3	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>48</u>
PsGlC (Wildhagen) C7.1	7
PsGlG (Rosier) C7.8	3
PsGlF (Kimmens) C7.10	1
PsGlI (Lindelöf) C7.11	1
PsCaC (Wildhagen) C11.1	1
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	4

MonCa 3 (Korhammer) C12.3	1
HyGl 2 (Milfull) C18.2	7
HyGl 3 (Gneuss) C18.3	8
PrudT 2 C26.2	1
ClGI 1 (Stryker) D8.1	5
AldV 1 (Goossens) C31.1	5
AldV 13.1 (Nap) C31.13.1	4
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

inwit, inwid (noun, n. cl. 1), 30 occurrences

DOE cites c. 30 occurrences of the noun

Search: whole word ‘inwit’ 20 matches; Search: whole word ‘inwid’ 3 matches; Search: whole word ‘innwit’ 1 match; Search: whole word ‘inwites’ 1 match; Search: whole word ‘inwitte’ 2 matches; Search: whole word ‘inwite’ 3 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>11</u>
GenA,B A1.1	1
And A2.1	1
HomFr I A2.4	1
El A2.6	1
PPs A5	7
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>14</u>
HomS 19 (Schaefer) B3.2.19	3
HomS 22 (CenDom 1) B3.2.22	2
HomS 24.1 (Scragg) B3.2.24.1	1
HomS 24.2 (Schaefer) B3.2.24.2	1
HomS 25 B3.2.25	1
HomS 31 (Willard) B3.2.31	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
LS 17.2 (MartinVerc 18) B3.3.17.3	1
LS 17.1 (MartinMor) B3.3.17.2	1
HomU 20 (BIHom 10) B3.4.20	1
HomM 11 (ScraggVerc 14) B3.5.11	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>4</u>
MtGl (Ru) C8.2.1	1
PsGlE (Harsley) C7.3	2

MtGl (Li) C8.1.1	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

lindesfarena (*n.*, *proper noun*)

‘People of Lindsey’

Simple search: begins with ‘lindesar’ 5 (or 6 if Rec 26)

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>4</u>
Bede 3 B9.6.5	1
Bede 4 B9.6.6	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	1
Rec 26.2 (Birch 297) B16.26.2	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>2</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	2

Lindesarona (*ealonde*) ‘*Island of Lindisfarne*’ (35 DOEC matches occurrences)

Search: begins with ‘;lindesar’ 17 (or 18, Rec 26) matches; begins with ‘lindisf’ 19 matches¹

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>19</u>
BedeHead B9.6.2 (<i>Lindesarona ealonde</i>)	1
Bede 3 B9.6.5 (<i>Lindesfarena ea</i> ; <i>Lindisfarena ea</i>)	4
Bede 3 (O) B9.6.5.1 (<i>lindesfarenensis</i>)	1
Bede 4 B9.6.6 (<i>Lindesarona ea</i> ; <i>Lindesarona æ</i> ; <i>Lindisfarona ea</i>)	9
Bede 5 B9.6.7 (<i>Lindesarona ea</i>)	2
Mart 4 (Sisam) B19.4 (<i>Lindesfarene ea</i>)	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5 (<i>Lindesfarna yg</i>)	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>16</u>
ÆCHom II, 10 B1.2.11 (<i>lindisfarnea</i>)	1
ÆLS (Oswald) B1.3.26 (<i>Lindisfarnea</i>)	1
ChronF (Baker) B17.3 (<i>Lindisfaranaee</i>)	4
ChronD (Cubbin) B17.8 (<i>Lindisfarnaee</i> ; <i>Lindisfarna</i>)	5
ChronE (Irvine) B17.9 (<i>Lindisfarnaee</i> ; <i>Lindisfarna</i>)	5
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

¹ ChronA (Bately) B17.1 (Latin: *Lindisfarnensis*) x 1

<u>Glosses</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

lindisfarnensiscere adj. ‘of Lindisfarne’

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>4</u>
ÆCHom II, 10 B1.2.11 (lindisfarnensiscere)	2
Name 1.2 (HarmD 22) B28.1.2 (Lindisfearnensis; Lindisfearneolondinga biscop)	2

medmicel, ‘small, little’ (adj.), c. 101 occurrences

search: whole word ‘medmicel’ 26 matches; Search: begins with ‘medmiclr’ 7 matches; Search: begins with ‘medmiclu’ 37 matches; Search: begins with ‘medmicla’ 3 matches; search: begins with ‘medmiccla’ x 2 matches; Search: begins with ‘medmicclu’ 1 match; Search: whole word ‘medmycel’ whole word 8 matches; Search: begins with ‘medmycelr’ 1 match; Search: begins with ‘medmyclu’ 4 matches; Search: begins with ‘medmycclu’ 7 matches; Search: begins with ‘medmycla’ 2 matches; Search: begins with ‘medmyccla’ 4 matches;

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>52</u>
GD 1 (H) B9.5.8.2	1
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	4
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	2
Bede 2 B9.6.4	1
Bede 3 B9.6.5	9
Bede 4 B9.6.6	16
Bede 5 B9.6.7	12
Lch II (1) B21.2.1.1.2	2
Lch II (2) B21.2.1.2.2	2
Lch II (3) B21.2.1.3.2	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	1
LS 10.1 (Guth) B3.3.10.1	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>3</u>
BenRWells B10.3.3	1
Leof B4.2	1
Ch 566 (Rob 30) B15.1.30	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>20</u>

LS 4 (ChristophRyp) B3.3.4	1
LS 1.1 (AndrewBright) B3.3.1.1	2
LS 1.2 (AndrewMor) B3.3.1.2	2
LS 32 (Peter & Paul) B3.3.32	1
HomS 10 (BIHom 3) B3.2.10	1
HomU 9 (ScraggVerc 4) B3.4.9	2
HomU 55 (Thorpe) B3.4.55	1
HomS 25 B3.2.25	1
HomS 46 (BIHom 11) B3.2.46	1
HomM 8 (Murfin) B3.5.8	1
HomS 17 (BIHom 5) B3.2.17	2
HomU 20 (BIHom 10) B3.4.20	2
HomU 7 (ScraggVerc 22) B3.4.7	1
HomU 18 (BIHom 1) B3.4.18	2
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>26</u>
PsGlE (Harsley) C7.3	3
PsGlH (Campbell) C7.6	3
PsGlG (Rosier) C7.8	5
PsGlD (Roeder) C7.9	4
PsGlI (Lindelöf) C7.11	1
OccGl 45.1.2 (Meritt) C45.1.2	2
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	2
PsGlF (Kimmens) C7.10	1
PsGlK (Sisam) C7.13	3
OccGl 50.1.2 (Brock) C50.1.2	2
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

medmicle, ‘humbly’ (adv.), c. 26 occurrences

Search ‘whole word’ medmicle 19 matches; Search: whole word ‘medmycle’ 1 match;
 Search: whole word ‘medmyccle’ 2 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>15</u>
Bede 2 B9.6.4	1
Bede 3 B9.6.5	3
Bede 5 B9.6.7	4
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	3
Lch II (2 Head) B21.2.1.2.1	1
Lch II (2) B21.2.1.2.2	2
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>5</u>
HomS 1 (ScraggVerc 5) B3.2.1	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
HomU 55 (Thorpe) B3.4.55	1
LS 5 (InventCrossNap) B3.3.5	1
HomS 21 (BlHom 6) B3.2.21	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>1</u>
OccGl 45.1.2 (Meritt) C45.1.2	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>1</u>
Med 3 (Grattan-Singer) B21.3	1

miðan 'hide, conceal', vb. st. 1, 20 occurrences

(BT: p. máð, pl. miðon; pp. miðen) <https://bosworthtoller.com/23018>

Search: begins with 'miða': 2 matches; Search: begins with 'miþa': 5 matches; Search: begins with 'miðe': 2 match; Search: begins with 'miþe': 5 matches; Search: begins with 'miðo': 1 match; Search: whole word 'mað': 6 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>5</u>
CP B9.1.3	2
Alex B22.1	1
Bo, Boethius, B9.3.2	1
Lch II (2) B21.2.1.2.2	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>2</u>
Ch 740 (Bates) B15.8.370	1
Ch 850 (Kem 641) B15.8.435	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>10</u>
El, <i>Elene</i> A2.6	2
GuthA,B A3.2	4
Rid 63 A3.34.3	1
Rid 83 A3.34.23	1
Rid 8 A3.22.8	1
Wife A3.23	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>2</u>
HlGl (Oliphant) D16.1	1
ClGl 1 (Stryker) D8.1	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

Mid ðy þe (Variations on the instrumental of time)

Mitte, ‘when, while; as soon as’ (adv., instr. of time) occurrences

Search: whole word ‘mitte’ (glosses: translating dum or cum)

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>3</u>
PsGIA (Kuhn) C7.7	2
PsGIB (Brenner) C7.12	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>2</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	2
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>2</u>
PsGIC (Wildhagen) C7.1	1
PsCaC (Wildhagen) C11.1	1

mitte þe/ðe ‘when, while; as soon as’ (adv., instr. of time) occurrences

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>8</u>
LS 21 (AssumptTristr) B3.3.21	1
HomU 10 (ScraggVerc 6) B3.4.10	7

mitty ‘when, while; as soon as’ (adv., instr. of time) occurrences

Search: whole word ‘mitty’ translating cum and dum

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early Prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>2</u>
PsGIB (Brenner) C7.12 x	2

mid þy þe when, while; as soon as’ (adv., instr. of time) occurrences

Search: whole word ‘mid þy þe’ 102 matches; Search: whole word ‘mid ðy ðe’

10 matches; Search: whole word ‘Mid ðy þe’ 2 matches; Search: whole word ‘Mid þy ðe’ 15 matches;

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>1</u>
MSol A13	1
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>37</u>
Let 1 (Sisam) B6.1	1
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	2
GD 2 (C) B9.5.4	4
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	3

GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	1
Bede 1 B9.6.3	2
Bede 2 B9.6.4	4
Bede 3 B9.6.5	5
Bede 4 B9.6.6	2
Bede 5 B9.6.7	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	2
Lch II (1) B21.2.1.1.2	1
Alex B22.1	2
CP B9.1.3	3
LS 10 (Guth) B3.3.10	2
LS 10.1 (Guth) B3.3.10.1	2
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>21</u>
ApT B4.1	4
LS 30 (Pantaleon) B3.3.30	17
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>64</u>
HomS 3 (ScraggVerc 8) B3.2.3	1
HomS 8 (BIHom 2) B3.2.8	3
HomS 10 (BIHom 3) B3.2.10	1
HomS 19 (Schaefer) B3.2.19	1
HomS 21 (BIHom 6) B3.2.21	2
HomS 24.1 (Scragg) B3.2.24.1	3
HomS 24.2 (Schaefer) B3.2.24.2	1
HomS 28 B3.2.28	1
LS 1.1 (AndrewBright) B3.3.1.1	5
LS 1.2 (AndrewMor) B3.3.1.2	6
LS 16 (MargaretCot.Tib. A.iii) B3.3.16	8
LS 20 (AssumptMor) B3.3.20	10
LS 20.1 (AssumptWillard) B3.3.20.1	4
LS 21 (AssumptTristr) B3.3.21	12
LS 25 (MichaelMor) B3.3.25	2
LS 34 (SevenSleepers) B3.3.34	2
HomU 18 (BIHom 1) B3.4.18	1
HomM 11 (ScraggVerc 14) B3.5.11	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>5</u>
PsGIC (Wildhagen) C7.1	2
PsGlG (Rosier) C7.8	2
Mt (WSCp) B8.4.3.1	1

Mittes, 'when, while; as soon as' (*adv., instr. of time*) 8 occurrences

Search: whole word 'mittes' 8 occurrences

Occurrences

<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>8</u>
LS 3 (Chad), <i>Life of St Chad</i> , B3.3.3 x	8

Neos(i)an, 'seek, visit' (vb. wk.), c. 52 occurrences

Search: whole word 'neosan' 23 matches; Search: whole word 'niosan' 2 matches; Search: begins with 'neosen' 1 match; Search: begins with 'neosa' 20 matches (excluding duplicates of neosan) (neosian excluded; related but not the same) (According to BT, p. -ode)

Search: whole word 'neosian' 13 matches; Search: begins with 'neoso' 27 matches; Search: begins with 'neosi' 17 matches.

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>20</u>
PPs (prose) B8.2.1	1
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	1
Bede 4 B9.6.6	5
Bede 3 B9.6.5	1
Bede 5 B9.6.7	2
PsGIA (Kuhn) C7.7	3
PsGIB (Brenner) C7.12	7
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>12</u>
ThCap 1 (Sauer) B10.6.1	6
BenR B10.3.1.1	2
BenR (i*) B10.3.2	2
BenRW B10.3.4	1
ÆLS (Peter's Chair) B1.3.11	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>29</u>
Ex A1.2	1
Sat A1.4	1
And A2.1	5
Fates A2.2	2
El A2.6	1
ChristA,B,C A3.1	2
GenA,B A1.1	1
GuthA,B A3.2	8
Jul A3.5	2
Beo A4.1	4
Jud A4.2	1
Seasons A31	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>5</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
HomS 46 (BIHom 11) B3.2.46	1

LS 5 (InventCrossNap) B3.3.5	2
HomU 53 (NapSunEpis) B3.4.53	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>46</u>
PsGlC (Wildhagen) C7.1	3
PsGlD (Roeder) C7.9	7
PsGlE (Harsley) C7.3	2
PsGlF (Kimmens) C7.10	3
PsGlG (Rosier) C7.8	3
PsGlH (Campbell) C7.6	6
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	4
PsGlK (Sisam) C7.13	4
MtGl (Ru) C8.2.1	2
OccGl 54 (Zupitza) C54	1
PsCaC (Wildhagen) C11.1	1
PsCaE (Liles) C11.2	1
PsCaL (Lindelöf) C11.3	2
PsCaG (Rosier) C11.7	1
PsCaD (Roeder) C11.9	2
PsCaF (Rosier) C11.10	2
PsCaK (Sisam) C11.12	1
SedGl 2.1 (Meritt) C97.2.1	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>1</u>
Prog 1.2 (Fürst) B23.3.1.2	1

nymðe, nimþe, nemþe ‘unless, except’ (conj.) c. 185 occurrences

Chad spelled nymþe

Search: whole word ‘nimðe’: 20 matches; Search: whole word ‘nimþe’: 27 matches; Search: whole word ‘nymþe’: 65 matches; Search: whole word ‘nymðe’: 62 matches; Search: whole word ‘nymþe’: 4 matches; Search: whole word ‘nemþe’: 5 matches; Search: whole word ‘nymþe’ 2 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>21</u>
Alex B22.1	1
GD 2 (C) B9.5.4	1
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	1
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	2
Lch II (2) B21.2.1.2.2	1
Ch 98 (Rob 1) B15.1.3	1
Ch 333 (Rob 11) B15.1.15	3
PsGlA (Kuhn) C7.7	3
PsGlB (Brenner) C7.12	5

PSCaA 1 (Kuhn) C11.6	1
PSCaA 2 (Kuhn) C11.6.1	2
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>5</u>
Conf 1.1 (Spindler) B11.1.1	2
Ch 567 (Birch 906) B15.8.238	1
Ch 813 (Rob 50) B15.1.41	1
LawGrið B14.51	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>43</u>
Beo A4.1	2
ChristA,B,C A3.1	1
Dan A1.3	4
Ex A1.2	2
Fates A2.2	1
GenA,B A1.1	6
HomFr I A2.4	1
JDay I A3.24	1
Jud A4.2	1
MPs A51	1
PPs A5	10
PsFr A24	1
Sat A1.4	6
Rid 20 A3.22.20	1
Rid 23 A3.22.23	1
Rid 25 A3.22.25	1
Rid 40 A3.22.40	1
Rid 41 A3.22.41	1
Wan A3.6	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>18</u>
HomM 11 (ScraggVerc 14) B3.5.11	5
HomS 11.2 (ScraggVerc 3) B3.2.11.5	1
HomS 24 (ScraggVerc 1) B3.2.24	1
HomS 33 (Först) B3.2.33	1
HomS 43 (ScraggVerc 13) B3.2.43	1
HomU 12.3 (CCCC 41) B3.4.12.3	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	2
LS 12 (NatJnBapt) B3.3.12	1
LS 13 (Machutus) B3.3.13	1
LS 18.1 (NatMaryAss 10N) B3.3.18.2	1
LS 21 (AssumptTristr) B3.3.21	1
LS 24 (MichaelTristr) B3.3.24	2
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>93</u>
BoGl (Hale) C9.1	2
ClGl 1 (Stryker) D8.1	1

ClGl 3 (Quinn) D8.3	1
MtGl (Li) C8.1.1	2
MkGl (Li) C8.1.2	3
MkHeadGl (Li) C21.5	1
MkGl (Ru) C8.2.2	3
MtGl (Ru) C8.2.1	19
PsCaC (Wildhagen) C11.1	2
PsCaD (Roeder) C11.9	4
PsCaE (Liles) C11.2	4
PsCaG (Rosier) C11.7	1
PsCaHar (Holthausen) C11.8	1
PsCaJ (Oess) C11.4	2
PsCaK (Sisam) C11.12	2
PsCaL (Lindelöf) C11.3	2
PsGlC (Wildhagen) C7.1	7
PsGlD (Roeder) C7.9	5
PsGlE (Harsley) C7.3	8
PsGlF (Kimmens) C7.10	2
PsGlG (Rosier) C7.8	4
PsGlH (Campbell) C7.6	2
PsGlI (Lindelöf) C7.11	3
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	5
PsGlK (Sisam) C7.13	1
PsGlL (Lindelöf) C7.4	5
ProspGl C24	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>1</u>
Mambres B8.5.7	1

orleahter noun, m. / *orleahtre* adj. ‘danger, vice’, 8 occurrences

Search: begins with ‘orleahter’: 2 matches; Search: begins with ‘orleahtre’: 6 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>1</u>
ChrodR 1 B10.4.1	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>1</u>
Beo A4.1	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>4</u>
HomU 16 (Kluge) B3.4.16	2
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
LS 12 (NatJnBapt) B3.3.12	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>2</u>

HIGl (Oliphant) D16.1	1
AldV 13.1 (Nap) C31.13.1	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

recene, ricene ‘quickly’ (adv.) c. 105 occurrences

Search: whole word ‘ricene’ 36 matches; Search: whole word ‘recene’ 39 matches; Search: whole word ‘recone’ 26 matches; Search: whole word ‘recune’ 2 matches; Search: whole word ‘rycene’ 2 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>5</u>
GD 2 (C) B9.5.4	1
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	4
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>3</u>
ÆCHom I B1.1.6	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.11	1
BenRApp B10.3.1.3	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>61</u>
And A2.1	2
ChristA,B,C A3.1	1
Creed A23	1
El A2.6	4
Fates A2.2	1
GenA,B A1.1	4
JDay II A17	3
Jud A4.2	1
Jul A3.5	1
Mald A9	1
Max I A3.13	2
Met A6	4
MPs A51	1
MSol A13	1
PPs A5	28
PsFr A24	3
Rid 39 A3.22.39	1
Sat A1.4	1
Wan A3.6	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>8</u>
HomS 34 (ScraggVerc 19) B3.2.34	1
HomU 15.1 (Scragg) B3.4.15.1	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	5
LS 18.2 (NatMaryAss 10J) B3.3.18.3	1

<u>Glosses</u>	<u>29</u>
DurRitGl 2 (Thomp-Lind) C21.2	1
JnGl (Li) C8.1.4	4
LkGl (Li) C8.1.3	4
MtGl (Li) C8.1.1	3
MkGl (Li) C8.1.2	6
JnGl (Ru) C8.2.4	5
LkGl (Ru) C8.2.3	2
MkGl (Ru) C8.2.2	4
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

rihtgeleafful, 'orthodox' (adj.) 14 occurrences

Search: begins with 'rihtgeleaf' 11 matches; Search: begins with 'ryhtgeleaf' 1 match

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>9</u>
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	3
BedeHead B9.6.2	3
Bede 3 B9.6.5	1
Bo B9.3.2	1
Conf 5 (Mone) B11.5	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) B3.3.23	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>2</u>
HomS 51 (Wenisch) B3.2.51	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>2</u>
AldV 3.3 (Page) C31.3.3	1
ClGl 1 (Stryker) D8.1	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

scotta ealond (proper noun) c. 15 occurrences

Search: begins with 'scotta ealond' 13 matches; Search: begins with 'scotta ealand' 2 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>13</u>
Bede 1 B9.6.3(Ibernia/Hibernia Scotta ealond)	2

Bede 3 B9.6.5 (Scotta ealond, Ibernian/Hibernian Scotta ealond)	6
Bede 4 B9.6.6 (Ibernian/Hibernian Scotta ealond)	3
BedeHead B9.6.2 (Ibernian/Hibernian Scotta ealond)	1
Bede 3 (O) B9.6.5.1 (Scotta ealond)	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>2</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3 (Scotta ealond)	1
HomU 35.2 (Nap 44) B3.4.35.2 (Scotta ealond)	1

smyltnes 'peace', noun f. wk., c. 78 occurrences

Search: begins with 'smyltny': 27 matches; Search: begins with 'smyltni': 16 matches;
 Search: word begins with 'smyltn' 35 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>20</u>
CP B9.1.3	6
GD 2 (C) B9.5.4	3
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	2
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	3
Bede 1 B9.6.3	1
Bede 3 B9.6.5	1
Bede 5 B9.6.7	1
Bede 4 B9.6.6	1
LS 10 (Guth) B3.3.10	2
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>16</u>
ÆCHom I B1.1.42	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.25	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.26	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.31	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.41	1
ÆCHom II B1.2.46	1
ÆLS (Memory of Saints) B1.3.17	1
ÆHom 16 B1.4.16	1
ÆHom 18 B1.4.18	1
ÆAbus (Mor) B1.6.2.1	1
ÆAbus (Warn) B1.6.2.2	1
ÆAdmon 1 B1.9.3	2
RevMon (Whitelock) B17.11	1
Alc (Warn 35) B9.7.4	1
LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) B3.3.23	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>10</u>
HomS 44 (Baz-Cr) B3.2.44	1

HomS 1 (ScraggVerc 5) B3.2.1	1
HomS 3 (ScraggVerc 8) B3.2.3	1
HomS 33 (Först) B3.2.33	1
LS 1.1 (AndrewBright) B3.3.1.1	1
LS 1.2 (AndrewMor) B3.3.1.2	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
LS 35 (VitPatr) B3.3.35	1
HomU 20 (BIHom 10) B3.4.20	1
HomM 13 (ScraggVerc 21) B3.5.13	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>23</u>
MtGl (Li) C8.1.1	2
MtGl (Li) C8.1.1	2
LkGl (Li) C8.1.3	1
JnGl (Li) C8.1.4	1
MtGl (Ru) C8.2.1	1
MkGl (Ru) C8.2.2	1
JnGl (Ru) C8.2.4	1
DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind) C21.1	4
DurRitGl 2 (Thomp-Lind) C21.2	1
MtHeadGl (Li) C21.3	1
HyGl 3 (Gneuss) C18.3	2
RegCGl (Kornexl) C27	1
AntGl 6 (Kindschi) D1.6	1
Mt (WSCp) B8.4.3.1	1
Mk (WSCp) B8.4.3.2	1
Lk (WSCp) B8.4.3.3	1
ArPrGl 1 (Holt-Campb) C23.1	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>7</u>
Prog 2.2 (Först) B23.3.2.2	1
Prog 3.7 (Cockayne) B23.3.3.7	4
Prog 1.6 (Först) B23.3.1.6	1
Prog 3.1 (Först) B23.3.3.1	1

stræl, m.; stræle, f. ‘arrow’, c. 164 occurrences

See: <https://bosworthtoller.com/29100>

Search: Begins with ‘strel’: 36 relevant matches; Search: begins with stræl – 124 (relevant) matches (out of 135); Search: begins with ‘streal’: 4 matches

Early prose (before c. 950)

	<i>Occurrences</i>
	<u>49</u>
PPs (prose) B8.2.1	1
Bede 4 B9.6.6	1

Mart 2.1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) B19.2.1	4
Mart 4 (Sisam) B19.4	1
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5	3
Alex B22.1	3
PsGlA (Kuhn) C7.7	13
PsCaA 1 (Kuhn) C11.6	2
PsGlB (Brenner) C7.12	13
EpGl (Pheifer) D7	1
CorpGl 2 (Hessels) D4.2	1
LS 10 (Guth) B3.3.10	3
LS 10.1 (Guth) B3.3.10.1	6
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>20</u>
PPs A5	3
And A2.1	1
Dream A2.5	1
ChristA,B,C A3.1	2
Max I A3.13	1
Rid 3 A3.22.3	1
Beo A4.1	2
Jud A4.2	1
PPs A5	4
Seasons A31	1
Sol II B5.3	3
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>22</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
HomS 4 (ScraggVerc 9) B3.2.4	1
LS 1.1 (AndrewBright) B3.3.1.1	1
LS 4 (ChristophRyp) B3.3.4	4
LS 25 (MichaelMor) B3.3.25	5
HomU 9 (ScraggVerc 4) B3.4.9	8
HomU 35.1 (Nap 43) B3.4.35.1	1
HomU 35.2 (Nap 44) B3.4.35.2	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>67</u>
PsGlE (Harsley) C7.3	11
PsCaE (Liles) C11.2	2
CollGl 12 (Holthausen) D12	1
RuneRuthwellA E39	1
PsGlC (Wildhagen) C7.1	5
PsGIL (Lindelöf) C7.4	3
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	8
PsGlH (Campbell) C7.6	4

PsglG (Rosier) C7.8	7
PsglD (Roeder) C7.9	6
PsglF (Kimmens) C7.10	4
PsglI (Lindelöf) C7.11	2
PsglK (Sisam) C7.13	2
PsCaC (Wildhagen) C11.1	1
PsCaJ (Oess) C11.4	1
PsCaF (Rosier) C11.10	1
HyGl 2 (Milfull) C18.2	1
HyGl 3 (Gneuss) C18.3	1
PrudT 2 C26.2	1
AldV 1 (Goossens) C31.1	1
AldV 13.1 (Nap) C31.13.1	1
AntGl 6 (Kindschi) D1.6	1
ClGl 1 (Stryker) D8.1	1
HyGl 3 (Gneuss) C18.3	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

tulge, tylg, tylgest ‘strongly, firmly’, adv., # occurrences

Search: begins with ‘tulge’: 1 match; Search: begins with ‘tylg’: 5 matches; Search: begins with ‘tylig’

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>4</u>
Lch II (1) B21.2.1.1.2	1
CorpGl 2 (Hessels) D4.2	1
EpGl (Pheifer) D7	1
ErfGl 1 (Pheifer) D36.1	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>1</u>
Res A3.25	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

þearfednis/earfedness, noun f., 7 occurrences

spelled þearfednisse only in Chad (late orthography)

Search ‘begins with’ þearfed 6 matches; begins with ‘ðearfed’; search ‘begins with’ *þearfendnes* 1 match

<https://bosworthtoller.com/31566>

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>5</u>
GD 1 (C) B9.5.2	1
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	2
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	1
PsGlA (Kuhn) C7.7	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>1</u>
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

ymbhydiglice ‘carefully, diligently’ adv. / *ymbhydiglic* adj. c. 3 occurrences

Search: begins with ‘ymbhydigl’: 2 matches; Search: begins with ‘ymbhygd’: 3 (relevant) matches; Search: begins with ‘embhydigli’: 1 match

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>1</u>
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>4</u>
LS 28 (Neot) B3.3.28	1
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	3
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

ymbsellan ‘surround, enclose’, vb. *wk. 1*, c. 155 occurrences

Simple searches: begins with ‘ymbsell’ 27 matches; begins with ‘ymbseal’ 128 matches

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>31</u>
GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5	1
Bede 3 B9.6.5	1
Bede 4 B9.6.6	6
Bede 5 B9.6.7	1
PsGlA (Kuhn) C7.7	3
PsGlB (Brenner) C7.12	16
LS 10.1 (Guth) B3.3.10.1	3
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>3</u>
LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) B3.3.23	1
LS 30 (Pantaleon) B3.3.30	2
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>6</u>
EI A2.6	1
Whale A3.17	1
PPs A5	4
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>4</u>
HomS 40.3 (ScraggVerc 10) B3.2.40.6	1
HomS 44 (Baz-Cr) B3.2.44	1
LS 1.1 (AndrewBright) B3.3.1.1	1
LS 8 (Eust) B3.3.8	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>103</u>
PsGlC (Wildhagen) C7.1	13
PsGlD (Roeder) C7.9	18
PsGlE (Harsley) C7.3	7
PsGlF (Kimmens) C7.10	11
PsGlG (Rosier) C7.8	15
PsGlH (Campbell) C7.6	12
PsGlI (Lindelöf) C7.11	7
PsGlJ (Oess) C7.5	16
LkGl (Li) C8.1.3	1
LkGl (Ru) C8.2.3	1
DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind) C21.1	1
LkHeadGl (Li) C21.8	1

Dictionary of Old English Meaning

ateon of lichaman / þissum life / þissum leohte (lichama atogene weron), ‘to draw out, remove’ (vb., st. 2) 5 occurrences

“A.2.c.i.c. *ateon of lichaman / þissum life / þissum leohte* ‘to remove (someone) from the body / this life / this light’; in passive: to die

LS 3 (Chad) 70: monige broðore of þere gesomnunge þes arwurðestan biscopes of lichama **atogene** weron (cf. Bede 4 3.262.25 *alædde*; cf. *beda. Hist.eccl.* 4.3, 338 *plurimis de ecclesia eiusdem reuerentissimi antistitis de carne subtractis*).

GD 1 (H) 8.54.3: þes ilca broðor ... wæs of þissum life **atogen** mid þingungum þæs halgan weres (C *getogen wæs of þisum leohte*; cf. *greg.mag. Dial.* 1.8.5 *ex hac luce subtractus est*).

Bede 4 9.286.6: ond sona þa seo fæmne, þe he sweltende cegde ... of þeossum leohte wæs **atogen**: & þone wæs fylgende, se ðe hy cegde, to þæm heofonlecan rice (cf. *beda. Hist.eccl.* 4.8, 358 *de hac luce subtracta*).”

Corpus search:

Proximity searches: Fragmentary: ‘atogen’ near ‘lif’ 1 match; **Fragmentary: ‘atogen’ near ‘leoh’ 2 matches; Fragmentary: ‘atogen’ near ‘lich’ 3 matches;**

GD 1 (H) B9.5.8.2

1. [0268 (8.54.3)] Petrus cwæð, þa þa þes ilca broðor næs betweoh þa oðre geciged & swa þeah wæs of þissum **life atogen** mid þingungum þæs halgan weres, hwæt elles mæg beon ongiten, buton þæt þa þe mid Gode synd micelre gearnunge, magon hwilum begitan þa þing, þe him geteohhode næron?

GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6

1. [0521 (36.313.13)] Hi heom <andswarodon> & cwædon: we geomriap þa tolysnesse & broc þyssere stowe, forþon se an broðor, þæs lif us gehæfde in þysum mynstre & us eallum be his ræde heold, & nu todæg is se feorþa dæg þæs þe he wæs **atogen** of þisum **leohte**.

Bede 4 B9.6.6

1. [0198 (9.286.6)] Ond sona þa seo fæmne, þe he sweltende cegde, in þære stowe þe heo wæs, þære ilcan untrymnesse wæs gehrinen, & þy seolfan dæge, þe heo geceged wæs, of þeossum **leohte** wæs **atogen**: & þone wæs fylgende, se ðe hy cegde, to þæm heofonlecan rice.

GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6

1. [0559 (37.317.7)] & he sæde, þæt sona swa he wære of þam **lichaman atogen**, þæt he gesawe helle witu & <unarimendlice> stowa þara ligea.

2. [0593 (37.320.8)] Se þa þa he feran wolde ofer þa brygce, his fot wearð færinga asliden, & he wearð aworpen of þære brygce eallinga healfum þam **lichaman** & þa wæs **atogen** adune be þam þeon fram þam sweartestum werum, þa arison up of þære ea; & þa ongunnon hine sona teon upp be þam earmum sume swiþe hwite & ænlice weras.

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>4</u>
GD 1 (H) B9.5.8.2	1
GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6	2
Bede 4 B9.6.6	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 3 (Chad) B3.3.3	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

heahbisceop ‘archbishop’ (noun, m. cl. 1)

Meaning “1. archbishop; chief / principal bishop

10 occurrences cited in DOE:

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>4</u>
Bede 2	2
Bede 5	1
LawWiProl 1	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>1</u>
LS 3 (Chad)	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>5</u>
DurRitGl 1	4
DurRitGlCom	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>0</u>
No occurrences	0

hwæthugu (hwæt-hwega, hwæt-hwugu, hwæt-hwoegnu), ‘indefinite pronoun’ (pron.) c

DOE cites c. 215 occurrences

DOE meaning/entry:

1. indefinite pronoun: something, anything; in descriptions of quantity: some, a little (1.a. to 1.d.)

	<i>Occurrences</i>
<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<u>41</u>
Bede 4	2
Bede 1	1
Bede 3	1
CP	8
GDPref 1 (C)	2
GD 1 (C)	2
GD 2 (C)	2
GD 3 (C)	2
GD 4 (C)	1
GD 1 (H)	1
Mart 5	1
Bo	10
Solil 1	3
Solil 2	1
Alex	1
Lch II (2)	2
Lch II (1)	1
<u>Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>4</u>
LS 23 (MaryofEgypt)	1
Conf 1.1	2
Prov 1	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>1</u>
Met	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints’ lives</u>	<u>4</u>
LS 35 (VitPatr)	1
LS 3 (Chad)	1
HomS 17	1
LS 16 (MargaretCot.Tib. A.iii)	1
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>10</u>
JnGl (Ru)	3
LkGl (Li)	2
JnGl (Li)	2
MtGl (Ru)	2
MtGl (Li)	1

<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>1</u>
Charm 19	1

in (prep.) 'in' occurrences

DOE entry/meaning: I. Preposition (I.A.1.- I.E.2)

<u>Early prose (before c. 950)</u>	<i>Occurrences</i>
	<u>536</u>
Alex	24
Bede 1	21
Bede 2	28
Bede 3	54
Bede 4	77
Bede 5	45
GDPref 4 (C)	1
GDPref 1 (C)	1
GD 1 (C)	34
GD 2 (C)	44
GD 3 (C)	57
GD 4 (C)	62
Mart 1	1
Mart 3	1
Mart 5	23
CP	1
Or 1	3
Or 2	1
Sol II	2
Let 1	4
ChrodR 1	1
ChronA	4
Lch II (1)	2
Lch I (Herb)	1
LS 10.1	2
LS 10	4
PsGIA	2
LawAf 1	8
LawAbt	4
LawWi	4
LawHI	2
LawIne	1
LawVIATR	1
LawAGu	1
Ch 204	1

Ch 333	1
Ch 1283	1
Ch 1440	2
Ch 1508	2
Ch 60	1
Ch 218	3
Ch 219	1
Ch 1437	1
Ch 1446	1
Ch 1534	1
<u>Datable Late prose (c. 950 and later)</u>	<u>44</u>
ÆHom 31	1
VSa1 1	1
WHom 1b	1
BenRW	1
ChronD	3
ChronE	1
ChronF	1
Nic (D)	1
ThCap 1	3
Conf 1.1	18
Conf 5	1
Ch IHen (PRO1907 10)	1
Ch IWm (PRO1907 3)	1
Ch 574	1
Ch 677	1
Ch 801	1
Ch 892	1
Ch 898	2
Ch 911	1
Ch 1109	1
Ch 1150	1
Ch 1469	1
<u>Poetry</u>	<u>179</u>
And	11
Beo	10
ChristA,B,C	21
Dan	12
DEdw	1
El	14
Ex	6
Fort	1
GenA	2

Gifts	1
GuthA,B	33
Hell	2
HomFr I	1
JDay I	2
JDay II	1
Jud	3
Jul	13
KtPs	1
LPr III	2
Max I	4
Men	2
Met	1
MSol	1
OrW	2
Pan	2
Part	1
Phoen	8
Prec	3
Rid 12	1
Rid 27	1
Rid 40	1
Rid 41	1
Rid 58	1
Rid 59	1
Rid 85	1
Rim	2
Sat	5
Sea	1
Vain	1
Whale	1
Wan	1
<u>Anonymous homilies and saints' lives</u>	<u>109</u>
HomM 4	2
HomM 14.2	1
HomS 1 (Verc 5)	5
HomS 2 (Verc 16)	1
HomS 3 (Verc 8)	1
HomS 4 (Verc 9)	1
HomS 5	1
HomS 12	1
HomS 18	1
HomS 19	1

HomS 19	4
HomS 31	5
HomS 32	1
HomS 36 (Verc 11)	1
HomS 39 (Verc 12)	2
HomS 40.1	2
HomS 40.3 (Verc 10)	3
HomS 43 (Verc 13)	1
HomS 46	2
HomU 6 (Verc 15)	2
HomU 7 (Verc 22)	2
HomU 9 (Verc 4)	2
HomU 12.2	4
HomU 12.3	1
HomU 15.1	1
HomU 32	2
HomU 35.1	1
HomU 35.2	3
LS 3 (Chad)	9
LS 9 (Giles)	1
LS 17.1 (MartinMor)	1
LS 17.2 (MartinVerc 18)	15
LS 18.1 (NatMaryAss 10N)	1
LS 19 (PurifMaryVerc 17)	9
LS 21 (AssumptTristr)	8
LS 35 (VitPatr)	11
<u>Glosses</u>	<u>33</u>
ClGl 1	3
PsGlG	2
SedGl 2.1	1
LkHeadGl (Li)	1
LkGl (Li)	1
MtGl (Li)	4
JnGl (Li)	1
JnMarg (Li)	1
MkGl (Li)	1
JnGl (Ru)	3
LkGl (Ru)	2
MtGl (Ru)	12
LiProlMt	1
<u>Indeterminate</u>	<u>32</u>
Prog 3.5	1
Prog 6.1	1

Prog 6.4	1
MCharm 2	1
Med 3	13
Med 5.10	2
Med 5.8	1
Lit 6.1	1
Med 2	2
PeriD	1
Name 1.2	1
Ch 1556	1
Ch 1588	1
LawIudex	1
Conf 10.2	1
Lit 5.5.1.4	1
Lit 2	1
RuneAuzon	1