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TO MUNDE US SYLFUM:
A SEMANTIC STUDY OF THE
OLD ENGLISH LEGAL TERMS
FOR PROTECTION

By

Philip Randall McKinney

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

TO MUNDE US SYLFUM:
A SEMANTIC STUDY OF THE
OLD ENGLISH LEGAL TERMS
FOR PROTECTION

By

Philip Randall McKinney

Legal words in Old English sometimes have different meanings from what might be expected when used in contexts other than the laws. Only a study based on all occurrences of a word or words can give as complete an understanding of each occurrence as possible. Specifically, we might ask how the words for the concept 'legal protection' (*mund, frið, grið, borg*) are used in extra-legal texts and what their meaning and significance there are. We can discover answers to these questions by reviewing all occurrences of these words, their compounds, and derivatives, and we can look for patterns in the words' use and interpret them. This study selected a group of words small enough to be examined in detail throughout the corpus of Old English, and it analyzed them for etymology, use as Latin glosses, and survival into Middle English; it then described their usage in Old English contexts with regard to syntactic function, relative frequency of various senses, and frequency of use in various kinds of texts. The research revealed that use of the four word-groups in Old English is genre sensitive: their senses are not used at random in different kinds of writing. Also, writers of Old English carefully distinguish among these four words themselves, and between them and what appear to be synonyms. Both of these findings have important implications for interpreting particular homiletic and literary texts.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AHD American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language.
1973 ed.
- A-S Campbell, James, gen. ed. The Anglo-Saxons. Oxford:
Phaidon, 1982.
- ASPR ASPR (Anglo-Saxon Poetic Record, vol. 1-6), see Dobbie,
Elliot Van K.; Krapp, George P.; and Krapp, G. P.
and E. V. K. Dobbie.
- CH Clark Hall, John R. A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.
1894. 4th ed. with a Supplement. Herbert D.
Meritt. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970.
- DOE Dictionary of Old English Project, Totonto
- EHD Whitelock, Dorothy, ed. English Historical Documents
Vol. 1: c. 500-1042. 2nd ed. London: Methuen,
1979.
- GdA Liebermann, Felix. Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen. Halle,
1903-16. Repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1960.
- OED Oxford English Dictionary. 1979 ed.

CHAPTER ONE:

Introduction

When Archbishop Wulfstan writes in the laws of Cnut (2 Cnut 40) about the king's protection of clerics and strangers who have left their kindreds, he uses the legal term *mundbora*, 'protector': *Gyf man gehadodne oððe ælþeodigne þurh ænig þingc forræde æt feo oððe æt feore, þonne sceal him cingc beon for mæg & for mundboran, butan he elles oðerne hæbbe* ("If an attempt is made to deprive in any wise a man in orders or a stranger of either his goods or his life, the king shall act as his kinsman and protector, unless he has some other").¹ In another example of this legal usage, when Alfred translates the Dialogues of Gregory, he employs the word *mundbora* for someone who is "an ecclesiastical official who acted as spokesman for the church when its rights were in question."² Neither of these uses is surprising. However, when one of the glossators of Aldhelm's prose De laude virginitatis employs this legal term to gloss *patronus* (legal protector) in a passage where St. Victoria banishes a savage dragon with the aid of an angel (*mundbora*), we might wonder why the glossator uses a legal term.³ When Ælfric employs the same legal term to refer to the poor (in Catholic Homilies 1.23), he uses it with some irony. *Soðlice we sceoldon beodan þam þearfum þæt hi us biddað . for þan ðe hi beoð ure mundboran . þa ðe nu wædligende æt us bigleofan wilniað*. ("Verily we

¹ A. J. Robertson, ed. and trans., The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I (1925; New York: AMS Press, 1974) 196-97.

² John Zimmerman, trans., Saint Gregory the Great: Dialogues, vol. 39 of The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation (New York: Fathers of the Church Inc., 1959) 20.

³ Louis Goosens, The Old English Glosses of MS. Brussels, Royal Library 1650 (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1974) 453, and M. Lapidge and M. Herren, Aldhelm: The Prose Works (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1979) 120.

ought to enjoin the poor to pray for us, because they will be our protectors, who, now begging, desire sustenance of us")⁴: these "poor" will be saints around the throne of God and would act as our patrons before God if we asked. The legal historian Jolliffe⁵ notices the use of *mundbora* in the passage in Beowulf where the hero requests that Hrothgar *wes þu mundbora minum magapegnum, hondgesellum, gif mec hild nime* ("be guardian of my young retainers, my companions, if battle should take me,"⁶ lines 1480-81), but Jolliffe does not mention that the same term is used of the dragon who ends Beowulf's life: the dragon is *mæðma mundbora*, the guardian of the treasure. Here the legal term for protector is used ironically, and when we are aware that the same word is employed to indicate a ravaging monster and a good king, we begin to notice the Beowulf-poet's theme of tension between appropriate and inappropriate kinds of companionship and leadership. I am unaware of any study prior to this one that has noticed the presence in Beowulf of over a hundred uses of the various synonyms for protection that would strongly emphasize such a theme. When we notice the various words for protection, and the tension created by indicating contrasting kinds of "protection" with the same words, we begin to understand the epic in a new way and we also gain insight into how the Anglo-Saxons used these words and concepts.

As a number of recent critics have noted, there is a serious need in Old English literary and linguistic scholarship for detailed word studies, preferably based on all occurrences of particular words so that a more complete understanding of their use can be gained. Eric Stanley explains:

Anyone now embarking on the study of any aspect of the Old English vocabulary must be aware of what is required. The whole corpus of Old English writings has to be gone through, for though Grein-Kohler and BT are fairly comprehensive for verse, the lexicography of prose is insufficient for

⁴ B. Thorpe, ed., The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, 2 vols. (London, 1844-46) 1.334-35.

⁵ J. E. A. Jolliffe, The Constitutional History of Medieval England, 4th ed. (London: A & C Black, 1961) 16.

⁶ F. Klaeber, Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg, 3rd ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1950) 56, and E. Talbot Donaldson, Beowulf: A New Prose Translation (New York: Norton, 1966) 26.

detailed suveys. Some recent work, for example that by Hans Schabram on words meaning 'pride', has set before us the methodology, and the same author's contribution to *Festschrift fur Edgar Mertner*, 1968, 89-102, warns and rebukes those who undertake less than the complete reading of the surviving texts, and, by implication, those who attempt a survey of a larger part of the vocabulary than allows them to read the whole corpus through for each lexical item considered; and that is what I am attempting here.⁷

Even in the few examples given above, we see that there is a range of meaning for the legal term *mundbora*. It has a strictly legal meaning in some contexts, but it is used by a homilist with a degree of irony and it is used with still more freedom in epic poetry. As with terms for other important Anglo-Saxon concepts, *mundbora* and the other legal terms for 'mund' need to be placed in their fullest semantic context.⁸

The general concept of 'mund,' of which *mundbora* is a part, has been commented on by historians of law and of early Germanic politics and culture, but they have not had much to say about its use in texts other than law codes and chronicles. However, with the aid of the Old English Concordance compiled by the Dictionary of Old English Project in Toronto, it is now possible to review all the occurrences of words indicating a given concept—such as legal protection—in every text in which those words occur. We can analyze this data for patterns of semantic and syntactic usage, for the frequency of these patterns, and for the words' appearances in various kinds of texts; more important, we can then seek to interpret those patterns.

⁷ E. G. Stanley, "Studies in the Prosaic Vocabulary of Old English Verse," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 72 (1971): 385.

⁸ Examples of such studies in both Old and Middle English: Hans Schabram, Superbia: Studien zum altenglischen Wortschatz. Teil I. Die dialektale und zeitliche Verbreitung des Wortguts (München: W. Fink, 1965); Wolfgang Kühlwein, Modell einer operationellen lexikologischen Analyse: Altenglisch 'blut.' in Anglistische Forschungen 95 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1968); Andreas Fischer, Engagement, Wedding and Marriage in Old English (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986); Ingegerd Lohmander, Old and Middle English Words for 'Disgrace' and 'Dishonor.' in Gothenburg Studies in English 49 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1981); Göran Kjellmer, Middle English Words for 'People.' in Gothenburg Studies in English 27 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1973); Hendrik Aertsen, Play in Middle English: A Contribution to Word Field Theory (Amsterdam: Free University Press), 1987.

Such analysis and interpretation is the main goal of this study, which reveals how the legal terms for 'mund' (the *mund-* *frið-* *grið-* and *borg-*words) are used in all their occurrences; it then pays particular attention to non-legal uses of these terms, in contexts where writers may have exploited the words' legal connotations didactically or artistically. The dissertation discovers that these four words and their senses are not fully interchangeable: the senses and subsenses of the four word-fields do not occur proportionately in various kinds of texts but instead are sensitive to the mode of discourse. *Frið*, for example, is more likely to mean 'peace' and not 'protection' in chronicle writing, but it is more likely to mean 'protection' instead of 'peace' in poetry. Also, the dissertation shows that Old English writers carefully distinguish between the words in this study and other words that appear to be synonyms. These and other results produced in this dissertation may not always be surprising (though they are occasionally so), but they have now been demonstrated in a study based, not on intuition or on a few examples or on examples from one genre only, but on a thorough examination of all occurrences of the four principal word-groups for this legal concept in Old English. When we see that this method gives us a more complete understanding of one set of words, helps us see their meanings more clearly in a particular text, and helps us see the connections with other texts, we are encouraged to pursue the method employed here with other word groups and other texts, and may expect meaningful results there as well.

To introduce this study in a little more detail, the first part of Chapter One briefly explains the concept of 'mund' and places it in its historical context, especially as it relates to the development of Anglo-Saxon kingship; the second part explains the purpose, method, and organization of the dissertation.

Part 1: A Brief Historical Survey of *Mund*, Kingship, and the Church in Anglo-Saxon England

Generally speaking, the Old English legal concept ‘mund’ refers to the protection conferred by someone in power or by a “power-full” place on a person claiming or deserving that protection. It can refer to the condition, the protector, or the fine for violating the condition. The power to grant protection creates conditions of peace, a closely related concept; the legal protection of Anglo-Saxon times develops into the King’s Peace, still an important part of the English legal system. As I will suggest later in this chapter, four word groups in Old English (indicated by the headwords *mund*, *frið*, *grið*, *borg*) denote this legal protection. This concept was an important feature of the Anglo-Saxon legal system before kingship was a particularly well-developed issue; as time went on, however, it became closely associated with the growing powers of the king. The protection and peace that this concept denotes were important elements of the Christian vision of society, and therefore the Church promoted them as part of the developing institution of kingship. What follows is an overview of the concept of ‘mund’ set in a brief survey of the parallel development of the institutions of kingship and the Church in Anglo-Saxon England.⁹

‘Mund’ was a basic element of tribal Germanic legal practices from ancient times. As Jolliffe describes the early background of the Anglo-Saxon legal system, this society called itself the “folk” and gave its members the basic necessities of life—enough land to be able to live like others of similar rank and a legal status like that of one’s ancestors (5). All free-born people have “the personal peace or *mund* which is the common mark of Germanic freedom” (11). This peace on the land and the homestead was part of every free person’s legal inheritance, both a right and an obligation. In this earlier phase of Anglo-Saxon history, “there is no general peace of the community, but only the thousands of islands of peace which surround the roof-tree of every householder” (8). In the early period of Anglo-Saxon history,

⁹ In composing this section I have relied chiefly on the outline of Anglo-Saxon history presented in James Campbell, ed., The Anglo-Saxons (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1982), hereafter A-S.

writes Jolliffe, the common man's *mund* was so basic that if the king came into a commoner's house, he was protected by that man's *mund* and not his own.¹⁰ The basic unit of this society was the kindred and not the individual. "A man's whole citizenship depends upon his being backed by an adequate kindred. The law will not deal with individuals . . . or accord them any sort of protection, unless they are vouched for by guarantors" (3), or *borhs* (sureties), who originally would have been members of their kindred. The protection and peace in Jolliffe's description provide the basis, the ground, upon which this culture is built, and in which it can survive and grow.

At the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period in England, kingship was not a particularly well developed concept. Kings and sub-kings ruled at least fourteen identifiable kingdoms,¹¹ and at times a *bretwalda* ('wide ruler') held sway over several of them. This was not systematic wide-ranging government, but rather an array of local centers of power each of which sought to increase its holdings and area of influence at the expense of its neighbors. A king (acting as the *mundbora* mentioned above in reference to Beowulf and Hrothgar) needed the land, slaves, and wealth that local conquests brought in to engage the services of and then reward the warriors who enabled him to exercise power. Succession to the local thrones was highly competitive, murder and exile were common, and law and order were regulated by blood feud and a system of compensation for personal injury based on the relative status of individuals. Kingship was a relatively unstable affair.

Partly under the influence of the Irish Church, England was largely converted to Christianity between the advent of the Augustinian mission in 597 and the arrival of Theodore in the 660s. As the Church grafted itself onto existing institutions, it also brought great changes. Literate Christians collected what amounted to lessons in proper living in such forms as saints' lives and Bede's history; they also wrote penitentials for their own use and laws and charters for

¹⁰ Jolliffe 46. The basis for Jolliffe's claim is unclear to me; he asserts the point and then refers to *Æthelberht 3*: "If the king is feasting at anyone's house, and any sort of offence is committed there, twofold compensation shall be paid" (Attenborough's translation).

¹¹ David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1981) 28-29.

illiterate kings. According to Jolliffe, because the main body of law was mostly customary and unwritten, what was codified dealt “with what [was] new or exceptional. Consequently, the earlier Kentish codes were largely concerned with the incorporation of the foreign Christian clergy into the folk by means of analogy and legal fiction, extending the king’s *mundbyrd* [power of protection] to cover the peace of the Church, and that of the folkmoot to protect the places of worship” (13). The basic principles of law were extended to take in the new institution. Jolliffe notes, for instance, that the monastic system “drew its law from that of the kindred, borrowing the various peaces, bots, and protections which surrounded the freemen’s hearth and bound together his kin” (22).

The Church’s organization of the countryside followed the existing shape of the minor kingdoms, the holdings of ealdormen, and the administration of freemen associated with royal vills; to this was added the order associated with the creation of dioceses and monasteries (A-S 61). The Church was from the start a potentially powerful force: for example, in these times of limited kingship and numerous small kingdoms, the archbishop of Canterbury could exercise power in wider areas than any one king, aside from some of the *bretwaldas* (A-S 68).

In this early period, even though kings and churchmen might at times perceive each other as threats, they discovered that much could be gained if they supported each other. The Church needed the security that royal power could provide, and the law codes issued by kings integrated the churchmen’s hierarchy of rank into the existing structure of fines and compensations of Anglo-Saxon customary law. Conversion and baptism could be sanctioned by kings. On the other hand, literate churchmen could produce impressive written law codes for kings that enhanced their royal status (even though the codes were not strictly for legal proceedings)¹²; in a culture that still operated primarily in the oral mode, churchmen could also draw up charters for kings that gave owners of land permanent rights and that could counter fraudulent claims later.

In the same way that the Church was being integrated into the pre-existing

¹² This assertion is a recurring theme in A-S: “early medieval kings regarded written law as a status symbol . . . Alfred’s law code reeks of status” (173; see also 98, 157).

legal system, a new kind of relationship between a man and his secular superior was gradually developing and eventually needed to be codified in law as well (for a late instance of this kind of law, see the example in 2 Cnut at the beginning of this chapter). Young men sometimes left their kindred to serve nobles or kings, and the bond that resulted was expressed in terms similar to those used of kindred relationships. A person who had cut himself off from his kindred regained his appropriate legal status when he attached himself to a lord, who served the client as his kindred would have: “with his lord as *mundbora* he may sue or be sued in the courts and offer oath and ordeal” (Jolliffe 15). The lord now had the power and responsibility of ‘mund’ over the man and replaced his kin as surety. One more comment from Jolliffe on lordship: “the folk community finds itself faced with an alien relation, emotionally like but a rival to the blood-tie, and it treats it on that analogy, absorbing it without any deep change in its theory or practice. The structure of society is altering, but the community interprets those changes according to its ancient law” (23). The arrangements just described allowed for the movements of the small but powerful Anglo-Saxon warrior class, a group whose members provided the preponderance of force to whatever house they served.

In a letter from Charlemagne to Offa of Mercia, we can see several ideas pertinent to this study expressed in a way that shows the interaction of secular and spiritual dimensions of royal protection:

. . . recognizing you to be not only a most strong protector of your earthly country, but also a most devout defender of the holy faith Concerning pilgrims who desire to reach the thresholds of the blessed Apostles, they may go in peace You have also written about merchants, and we allow that they shall have protection in our kingdom We have sent [the priest Odberht] to Rome with the other exiles who in fear of death have taken refuge under our protection May Almighty God preserve the excellence of your dignity for the protection of his Holy Church.¹³

¹³ D. Whitelock, ed., English Historical Documents: c. 500-1042, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1979) 848-49.

This letter was written in 796, three years after the sack of Lindisfarne by the Vikings. That Charlemagne is addressing Offa as an equal indicates that by this time royal power in England had increased to a level not evident before. This greater power was partly based on royal regulation of commerce. For example, England's natural resources had been developed and were in demand on the continent, and the merchants who dealt in this trade and others had to be specially protected because they had no kindred in the places they travelled to, and thus had no place in the legal system. They probably paid dearly for the protection that guaranteed them a place in the king's commerce (A-S 106).

In the century after Lindisfarne, a person's loyalty was still to his kindred and lord, not to a kingdom: "in the ninth century, a man's first loyalty was not to his country (which was not in any case England, but Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, or Wessex), but to his family's rights and traditions, and beyond that, to his lord" (A-S 134). A king could not necessarily count on the uniform loyalty of his subjects. The Viking threat of the mid-ninth century was directed at a wealthy country with a rich and powerful aristocracy, in which unruly patterns of royal succession were common.

The West Saxon King Alfred's response to the Viking invasions of the 860s used ancient institutions and out of necessity produced arrangements which would be developed by his successors into the kingdom of England. He used the ancient administrative and legal institutions as he needed to in the crisis and in a way that would eventually lead to power concentrated around the throne, a shift that carried with it developments in the dynamics of *mund*, lordship and political dependency and support. Alfred's military response included a new fleet, an army the halves of which alternated between service at home and in the field, and a system of burhs which would become administrative and commercial centers as well as defensive fortifications. Alfred's law codes include references to the earlier "laws of Offa" and are written up with those of the West Saxon king Ine, all of which served to enhance Alfred's status. They include arrangements with Guthrum in the Danelaw whereby

the wergelds of Danes and Anglo-Saxons were regularized (thereby helping to coopt the Danes into the Anglo-Saxon system), arrangements that frequently refer to relationships of peace, protection, and surety stated in terms of *mund* and its legal cognates.

In the first half of the tenth century, Alfred's successors (his son Edmund and three grandsons) extended West Saxon power over England south of the Humber; even in Northumbria, they had power to appoint the archbishop of York (sometimes held with Worcester) and the earl (or earls) of Northumbria, the office parallel with the southern and midland ealdorman. The ancient Anglo-Saxon institutions, in which even royal power was dispersed, were under pressure to change, as Athelstan worked to consolidate the changes begun under Alfred and Edmund: the powers which had been dispersed were becoming more centralized. Previously, as we have seen, legal protection and obligation resided in one's kindred; and this was later "reinforced by the institutions of lordship and vassalage . . . : society was held together by the bonds and privileges of lordship" (A-S 168). While a tribal society based solely in kindred relationships was primarily organized around those close personal relationships, the society in which lordship operated could incorporate more complex arrangements where control was more wide-ranging.

Jolliffe explains the shift of power in the age of Alfred's successors this way. In that era, a new principle is at work: while during its first four centuries English history is mainly determined from below, . . . in the century and a half between Alfred and the Norman Conquest this is reversed. . . . In this period are created a territorial community, the unified realm, a crown pre-eminent as the most important section of the law, a national peace, and the administrative frame of shires and hundreds as we know them in the Middle Ages. The radical change which took place in the community is in the main a reorientation imposed from above. (100)

Æthelstan's policies (consolidating changes begun under Alfred and Edmund) caused the old arrangements to change and develop at every level, always

15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

toward more control from the top (A-S 181). The king met with his most powerful allies and important churchmen several times a year in various locations to work out particular local problems, thus carrying the power of the crown into areas where local control had been dominant. The king upgraded the status and power of ealdormen and earls. The system of shires, with the hundred courts and burghal courts, and the organization of local men into tithings, dates from this period. The written laws of Æthelstan were a status symbol, like those of all Anglo-Saxon kings, but they were also used to try to enforce change: along with a new image of the English as a people of God, the laws try to change the old system of blood feud and wergeld values. The burhs begun for military defense were developed as administrative, commercial, and judicial centers, increasingly under royal control. Laws authorized formation of posses in the local districts to pursue cattle thieves and even escaped slaves. The kings were consolidating power for the crown as they modified the old Anglo-Saxon institutions.

At the same time that the royal power was tending toward more centralization, the Church experienced a great reform in the tenth century. Prior to this, the kindred system and local lords had a great deal of control in operation of church lands, since secular monasteries were widespread, and even those lands under ecclesiastical control had to be administered with an eye on local politics. The reformers wanted church properties to be under the control of people who would be loyal to the Church (and especially to the churchmen in the reforming movement) and not to local families. With the backing of the crown, those who would not reform were forced from their monastic holdings. The movement toward reform replaced the old local power with local churchmen who would be loyal to the king, since they were dependent on him to enforce the reforms that they were undertaking. "Reformed monasteries involved loss of status for tenants. This joins the movement of royal extension of power into neighborhoods and kindred groups" (A-S 185) that has been mentioned above.

The idea of reform was based on a new theology being developed on the continent, most notably by Hincmar of Rheims (A-S 181, 189) and Abbo of Fleury

(A-S 202, 203); their theologically-grounded political theory included new ideas about the nature of kingship. Even though the monastic reformers had allied themselves with the king, they needed kings who would act in particular ways, so they associated the king's functions with Christ's: in the reformers' view, the king was seen as being in charge of the secular realm as the representative of Christ who governs all. Like ecclesiastical help in succession disputes, this ideal gave churchmen a tool to resist bad kings, and the developing institution of kingship also helped insulate reformers from local politics, both religious and secular.

In the view of Christian kingship being described here, the king's office was the focal point for the goal-oriented civilizing activity of the Church. In his microcosm, the king had been granted power by God to rule, and the most general expression of that power was protection of the Church and the king's subjects. "Protection may very well appear the prime function of the . . . king," Ullman writes.¹⁴ Elsewhere, Ullman notes that "the king's duty to care for his subjects . . . was always made a strong point in all doctrinal expositions on kingship, including the numerous *Specula regum*,"¹⁵ and he continues that "in this specific instance one notices a confluence of old Germanic and Pauline views" (24). We will see below that Archbishop Wulfstan of York contributed a great deal to this kind of thought, collected most thoroughly in his Institutes of Polity.

The Germanic notion of 'mund' was combined with the old idea expressed in the Pauline epistles of the corporate nature of the Church (extended here to all of society, the entire people) as the body politic, with each member having its particular function and governed by the head (in this case, the king). The concept of 'mund' which was basic to pre-Christian Germanic society was absorbed in the reformers' Christian notion of kingship as the special form of God's protecting power granted to the king. Exercising the power to protect creates conditions of peace, *frið* in Old English: "The preservation of peace, through protection, was one of the most pronounced duties of the theocratic ruler. . . . the responsibility for

¹⁴ Walter Ullman, Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961)126.

¹⁵ Walter Ullman, The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966) 23-24.

peace within the kingdom was the king's alone: by preserving peace, security was to be achieved" (Ullman, Principles of Government 127). In practice, 'mund' was an important element of Germanic society, as we have seen, but not necessarily as an element of kingship; in theory, 'mund' was a very important element of Christian theocratic kingship. As the office of kingship increased in importance in Anglo-Saxon society and as 'mund' was more and more closely associated with kingship, 'mund' also became more and more important as a legal concept and developed into the legal notion of the King's Peace that survives the Anglo-Saxon period.

The major change we have seen outlined here is the shift from a society in which both royal and ecclesiastical power is dispersed, to one in which both are becoming centralized; we have arrived at a new idea of who the king is and what the country is about, with the 'mund' that previously had been the operant expression of protection and peace dispersed among the kindred now issuing from the throne, where the king is *mundbora* of the realm.

Part 2: Purpose and Method

This part of Chapter One provides a brief outline of the kind of semantic analysis employed in this dissertation. It gives some historical background for the kind of method employed; it continues by describing and justifying the particular method and procedures I followed; and it concludes by explaining the form in which the detailed results of my semantic analysis are presented in Chapters Two through Six.

Although the evolution of the legal concept *mund* can be described historically within the parallel development of the institutions of kingship and the church, it remains to understand the terms for this concept as words, as legal terms, and as words with legal connotations (with more than a single literal level of meaning) that appear in non-legal texts. To do this, I employ a method

of semantic study that begins by selecting a small group of words to be examined and continues by analyzing these words in terms of their etymology, their use as Latin glosses, and as possible survivors into Middle English; the study then moves on to the words' usage in Old English texts, looking at their syntactic functions, the relative frequency of their various senses, and the relative frequency of their use in various kinds of texts by authors both known and unknown.

This approach can be included with the kinds of semantic studies that have come to be known generally as semantic field studies (although that phrase could be more precisely applied to particular field studies first done by German linguists). By way of introduction to my own use and adaptation of this method in Chapters Two through Five, we can briefly survey the development of semantic studies that use the notion of "fields." For the next section I am indebted to Victor Strite for synthesizing a great deal of theoretical information.¹⁶

Background of Semantic-field Studies

Because there is not a one-to-one relationship between the semantics, syntax, and grammatical elements of different languages, the understanding of texts must depend on more than the use of dictionaries aided by grammars. Semantic field studies collect all the terms for a particular concept and analyze them in various ways to see how the terms are alike or different and to see how they are used. These studies can often give an insight into meaning that goes beyond definitions found in dictionaries, and because a study like this is based on an analysis of every occurrence in the corpus of each word being considered rather than on the intuition of a translator (as accurate and insightful as that may be in many cases), the results can be quantified and compared with other similar studies. Also, because of its completeness, it can be regarded with a

¹⁶ Victor Strite, Old English Semantic-Field Studies (New York: Peter Lang, 1989—see especially his outline of the background and development of semantic-field studies in his Part I (1-2, 16-29).

kind of confidence that it is giving a fuller picture than one based primarily on studies of Old English poetry alone, for example, which might not have included historical, legal, or homiletic texts.

The works of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German scholars such as Hoops (1911-19), Holthausen (1934), and Trier (1931) were responsible for much of the early impetus that developed into semantic-field studies. Hoops's and Holthausen's works were primarily etymological; these and other early German semantic studies followed a rigid pattern: an introductory background discussion was followed by an analysis that identified each term available to the researcher and its variant forms (sometimes including compounds), meaning, location in texts, and etymology of those terms and variants. These were mainly historical studies, but Strite emphasizes that these authors did not examine

words thoroughly in contexts. . . . [They] stopped at locating terms, providing variants, and giving etymologies. . . . They did not take the next step, which was 1) to examine each instance in every context for meaning, 2) to comparatively examine all instances of one term, and 3) to eventually examine all instances of all terms within a semantic field for nuances of meaning and overlap. (18)

These comparative historical studies mainly look at other languages for ideas about meaning rather than examining a language itself to see how the words are actually used.

After the German scholar Ipsen began to use the term *Bedeutungsfeld* (semantic field) "to describe a group of terms with a related meaning,"¹⁷ Jost Trier gave "the notion of semantic fields . . . its scholarly impetus" in the early 1930s. Strite continues: "Trier saw language as an organism, with each part conceptually related. In this he followed the ideas of von Humboldt, de Saussure, and Weisgerber" (19). The idea of a mosaic is often used in describing fields. Öhman writes that Trier's theory

¹⁷ Strite 18-19; here he paraphrases Suzanne Öhman, "Theories of the Linguistic Field," *Word* 9 (1953): 125.

distinguishes conceptual and lexical fields. The conceptual field exists independently of, or at least beside, the lexical field. The lexical field is formed by a word and its conceptual cognates and corresponds to the entirety of the conceptual field. The latter is divided into parts by the word mosaic (*Wortdecke*) of the lexical field. A word alone has no meaning but acquires one only through the opposition between it and neighboring words in the pattern. (Öhman 126-27)¹⁸

Trier's was not the only vision of semantic fields. His paradigmatic theory groups similar substitutable linguistic elements: e.g., substitutable adjectives or nouns in a noun phrase. Trier's theory is often contrasted with that of his contemporary Porzig, whose theory was syntagmatic: i.e., it groups different kinds of linguistic elements such as the article, adjective, and noun of a noun phrase. Trier's field was actually conceived as interconnected with all of its language, but for the purpose of study, Trier considered his field a closed unit, isolated from the remainder of the lexicon; his field consisted only of substitutable nouns, for instance, or adjectives, avoiding even the simplest phrases of actual speech. On the other hand, Porzig insisted that a basic semantic unit would be a noun and a verb, or a noun and an adjective, and that "these relationships form the basic articulations of the meaning system" (Öhman 129). To Porzig, the closed units of Trier's model had little to do with real language; the basic semantic units of Porzig (based more on actual language use) made his theory attractive to those employing the operational method discussed below.

When interest in field theories of language increased in the 1950s, applications of Trier's theory were sometimes praised, but many times they were heavily criticized because they did not pay enough attention to context and were narrowly based on etymology. As field theories developed in the 1950s and 1960s, the nature of the linguistic context (especially syntax) gained increased attention. Perhaps the best-known of these more recent field-

¹⁸ A useful formulation of the distinction between lexical field and conceptual field is in Aertsen's Play in Middle English (above, note 8), pp. 6-7.

study approaches (and certainly the most praised) is Hans Schabram's 1965 monograph Superbia, on the Old English words for pride.¹⁹ Unlike the etymological and comparative semantics of earlier studies, Schabram's "method of contextual semantic analysis . . . placed a premium on looking at [all] textual occurrences of the term being examined"; this involved "a complete reading of the surviving texts . . . for each lexical item considered."²⁰ The key notion here is completeness—one must include all the occurrences of the terms throughout the corpus (of Old English, in this case).

In a 1967 study of a large field (words for enmity) and a 1968 study of a small field (words for blood), Wolfgang Kuhlwein²¹ attempted to combine Trier's field theory with the more inclusive approach of Porzig, insisting on the inclusion of "verbal expressions" and emphasizing syntax (Strite 23). Von Lindheim²² had also recommended a combination of two methods: that which completely studies one word or word family (in all its senses), with that which completely studies a given sense (with all the words indicating it). Others integrated the use of "distinctive semantic features" as a way to consider the context of words under study, paralleling the linguistic vogue of distinctive phonetic feature analysis. Kuhlwein, along with his professor Gerhard Nickel²³ and Kuhlwein's student Jurgen Strauss,²⁴ began to recommend the use of what can be called an operational method, "which emphasizes features available and

¹⁹ Hans Schabram, Superbia: Studien zum altenglischen Wortschatz. Teil I. Die dialektale und zeitliche Verbreitung des Wortguts (München: W. Fink, 1965).

²⁰ E. G. Stanley, "Studies in the Prosaic Vocabulary of Old English Verse," NM 72 (1971): 385.

²¹ Wolfgang Kuhlwein, Die Verwendung der Feindseligkeits-bezeichnungen in der altenglischen Dichtersprache, Kieler Beiträge zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik 5 (Neumünster: K. Wachholtz, 1967); Modell einer operationellen lexikologischen Analyse: Altenglisch 'blut' in Anglistische Forschungen 95 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1968).

²² Bogislav von Lindheim, "Problems of Old English Semantics," English Studies Today, 3rd series, ed. G. I. Duthie (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1964) 67-77.

²³ Gerhard Nickel, "Operational Procedures in Semantics, with Special Reference to Medieval English," Monograph Series on Language and Literature, Report of the 17th Roundtable Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies 19 (Washington: Georgetown UP, 1966), 35-43.

²⁴ Jurgen Strauss, Eine Komponentanalyse im verbal- und situationskontextuellen Bereichungen für 'Herr' und 'Gebieten' in der altenglischen Poesie, in AF 103 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1974); also, "The Lexicological Analysis of Older Stages of Languages," in Historical Semantics/Historical Word-Formation, ed. Jacek Fisiak, Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 29 (Amsterdam: Mouton, 1985), 573-82.



analyzable from surviving texts, especially contextual meaning and syntax” (Strite 26). This includes “collocations, onomasiology [identifying the terms a language uses for one sense], etymology, phonology, Latin influences, morphology, and frequency” (26). Strauss adds to this the idea of designating “prototypical conditions of usage” (Strauss “Lexicological Analysis” 576), statements about what could be called type-scenes as contexts for language use (similar to the literary type-scenes employed by critics such as Alan Renoir).

In my study, semantic field and conceptual field are synonyms, each referring to the general field for ‘mund,’ the Old English concept of legal protection, formed by particular overlapping areas of the four word-fields examined. The word-fields are formed by *mund-* *frið-* *grið-* and *borg-* words; the *Wortdecke* would contain the almost 100 *mund-* *frið-* *grið-* and *borg-* words studied. Lexical fields in my usage are subsets of the semantic or conceptual field, consist of one sense within the entire field (e.g., truce), and are formed by the word(s) that give(s) that sense—for example, parts of the *frið* and *grið* word-fields constitute the lexical field ‘truce.’

Choosing Terms and Collecting Data

Before beginning this study of terms for the legal concept of protection, I needed to determine which Old English words should be included. I read Clark Hall’s A Concise Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon with Meritt’s supplement and discovered approximately 28 word-groups with ‘protection’ for one of their senses (by word group I mean all the words with a common stem, such as the seventeen words with the stem ‘mund’).²⁵ To limit this group to a manageable

²⁵ Twenty-four Old English word groups (other than *mund*, *frið*, *grið*, *borg*) whose members contain the sense ‘protection’ (taken from Clark Hall); + = with particle *ge-*; ± = w/ or w/o *ge-*; † poetic; headwords in parentheses do not themselves have the sense ‘protection’: +**Beorg**, n.; *bebeorgan*. ±**Ealgian**. (*Fæst*, adj); ±*fæstnung*. *Fæðm*, m. **Heald**, n; ±*healdan*; ±*hield*, f; *hyldo*, f. ±**Hedan**. ±(**Helan**); *forhelan*; ±*holen*. **Helm**, m. (*Hierd*, m); *feorhyrde*, m. **Hleot**†; ±*hleow* (plus cmpds.); *hleowsian*. ±**Ner**, n; ±*nerian*; *nergend*; *nerung*. (**Rot**, adj); *rotnes*, f; *rotsung*, f. **Scæd**, n; *sceadwian*. **Scield**, m; *ascildan*; *forescieldnes*, f; *rihthamscyld*, m; ±*scieldan*; ±*scildend*, m; *scilden*, f; ±*scildnes*, f; *scildnung*, f. **Scua**, m. ±*Truwa*, m. (**Deccan**); *forðeccan*. ±**Warian**. **Wær**, f; *wærgenga†*, wm. **Weard**, fm (plus cmpds.); *aweardian*; *bewardian*; *weardian*. ±**Werian**; *weriend*, m; *awerian*; *bewerian*; *bewerigend*, m; *unwered*, adj. **Wine†**, m. **Wreon**; *bewreon*. **Ymbtrymian**.

size, I first restricted the study to those words used for protection in the laws. I read through translations of most of the Anglo-Saxon laws²⁶ and discovered that only four word groups were translated as 'protection' in the laws, namely those derived from *mund*, *frið*, *grið*, and *borg*. This finding was confirmed in Liebermann's edition of the laws Gesetze der Angelsachsen (hereafter GdA) under *Schutz* [protection], 2: "The dictionary [v.2, pt. 1] gives as names for protection . . . *mund* . . . *mundbyrd* . . . *borg*(*bryce*), *frið*, *grið*."²⁷

I looked in the DOE's Old English Word Studies: A Preliminary Author and Word Index to see if there were studies of the sort I was proposing and found none; in fact, Strite (90) noted that the preliminary work I had done was in an area that needed more research. However, A. Fischer's Engagement, Wedding and Marriage in Old English (1981) provided a useful list of things to analyze for:

- etymology of word or elements of compound;
- words in Latin texts glossed by the OE words;
- relationship to other words derived from same stem;
- survival into Middle English;
- for each lexical item, frequency and distribution (among various senses; across various kinds of discourse);
- precise meaning determined from context or Latin word glossed; and
- semantic-syntactic patterns. (based on Fischer 13)

Examining these things follows Von Lindheim's recommendation (68-69) to proceed both by studying the senses for each given word (here the word groups derived from *mund*, *frið*, *grið*, and *borg* in all their senses), and by studying the various words indicating one particular sense (the four words are all used for

²⁶ F. L. Attenborough, The Laws of the Earliest English Kings (1922; New York: AMS Press, 1974) and A. J. Robertson, The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I (1925; New York: AMS Press, 1974).

²⁷ F. Liebermann, ed., Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, 2 vols. (Halle, 1903-16; repr. Aalen, 1960) 2/2: 641. "Als Nămen für Schutz zeigt Wb: *mund* ... *la munte*, *mundbyrd* ... | *borg*(*bryce*); *frið*, *grið*, *pax* | *manus*, *manutēnere*, *-tentor*, *maintēnir*, *manupastus* | *advocatus* 2, *avurie*.

legal protection, and they have some other shared senses as well).

Organizing Data

Having decided on the word groups to be analyzed, I collected the data and formed a data base for each word-group. The Microfiche Concordance to Old English²⁸ enabled me to locate all words within a group (the head-word, other noun and adjective forms with the same root, verbs, compounds, and derivatives), in all their spellings, and in all their inflections. These words (in their full-sentence context) were transcribed onto 5 x 8 cards with a translation from an authoritative recent edition²⁹ (identified in the Short Titles of Old English Texts and Bibliography below); where there was no translation available I made one myself. My idea here was to use an authoritative translation rather than my own for as many items as possible so that the part of the data coming from translations would not be biased by my own interests; where I translated a passage myself, I tried to be guided by the surrounding examples in the data base with the same grammatical and syntactic arrangement, if I could. The information on each index card included the short title and page and line number citation used in the Microfiche Concordance to Old English that follows the conventions used by the Dictionary of Old English project. On the back of each card I analyzed the syntactic function and noted any unusual grammatical or syntactical usage, or any other marker (like the purpose clause among the *borg*-words). Also, I transcribed relevant notes from the edition, where this was useful.

From the information in the data base I then created a printed appendix for each word-group. Appendixes appear in the order *mund*, *frið*, *grið*, *borg* following Chapter Seven. (Reference to one or more of these appendixes will make the following description more concrete and easier to follow.) Each

²⁸ A. D. Healey and R. L. Venezky, A Microfiche Concordance to Old English (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 1980).

²⁹ The Short Titles for Old English Texts below expands the standard (and sometimes cryptic) "short titles" used by the Dictionary of Old English Project; the Short Titles for Old English Texts and the Bibliography of Works Consulted follow the Appendixes A, M, F, G, B, and Ω.

appendix lists instances of its head-word first; for *frið*, there are actually two forms of the head-word, *frið* and the u-declension *friðu* (used only in poetry). The head word is followed by instances of the main verb and any derivative verbs (*mundian* followed by *mundbyrdan*, for example), and the verbs are followed by instances of compound and derivative nouns and adjectives (words with larger numbers of items generally appear before words with smaller numbers); these are followed by the hapax legomena.

Each index card in my data base represents a “token,” defined as one occurrence of one of the words in a text. Each one of these tokens was numbered according to the order in which it appeared in its respective appendix; the four main appendixes are each numbered separately, with numbers preceded by M, F, G, or B for *mund*, *frið*, *grið*, and *andborg*, respectively. I refer to a line in the appendixes as an “item” because it seems to be more than just its token: an item here is the token along with information about its location and the analysis I have given it, described below. The numbered items are referred to in my text as, e.g., M17 or F18, the seventeenth item in the *mund* appendix or the eighteenth item in the *frið* appendix.

Under each different word within each appendix, I have ordered the items as follows: for each inflection I begin with glosses of Latin words, if any. The interlinear glosses come first, followed by glossary items (since these two categories are distinguished by the DOE), with one-word translations of the Latin. Then I give Old English items with their translations (from the authoritative edition, as identified in the Short Titles of Old English Texts and the Bibliography below, unless otherwise noted). Each of these sections is distinguished in the appendix by a bold face heading. So under each inflection of each different word, there are Latin glosses and/or glossary items (if any) followed by the Old English items; within the section of Old English items, I let syntactic function and frequency dictate the order of items (since syntactic context and relative frequency are interests in this study); alphabetical order of sources would have imposed an artificial order and

actually had a scrambling effect on the data.

Within any group of items formed by sorting for inflection, syntax, and frequency, the order is dictated by source: laws first, then other sources alphabetically. Legal sources are clustered together first, at this lower level in the sorting, because a primary goal of this study is to compare legal usage with usage in other sources. At this level, laws and historical sources are listed chronologically from early to late.³⁰

Each appendix also contains a set of footnotes, with an individual note indicated by a degree sign (°) at the left margin for the item and appearing at the bottom of each page by item number. I include in these notes technical information relevant to the item but too detailed for the comments in the relevant chapter; cross referencing information within the appendix or between appendixes; and in some cases, interesting anecdotal information not immediately pertinent to my general discussion.

Describing and Analyzing Data–Overview

From the information in the data base and appendixes, one can assemble an analysis of the four individual word-fields that leads ultimately to a description of the overlapped or combined field. Each of the next four chapters (2 through 5) analyzes one of the word-fields; each chapter is arranged in the same way. For each of these chapters, Section 1 gives etymology, definitions, and Old English glosses of Latin words. Section 2 describes in detail the semantic and syntactic dimensions of the field as a whole. Section 3 discusses the location and frequency of items in different kinds of texts (legal, historical, religious prose, poetry, etc.). Tables are numbered to correspond to the respective sections (e.g., M2a and M2b both occur in Section 2 of the *mund* chapter); the tables provide various kinds of supporting information. Chapter 6 summarizes the results of Chapters 2 through 5; describes in detail the combined fields where *mund*, *frið*, *grið*, and *borg* overlap; and offers further analysis of the religious and literary works in which words from the combined

³⁰ See Appendix A for relative dates of laws.

field occur. The tables in Chapter Six are numbered to correspond as far as possible to those in earlier chapters. Reflecting the summary in Chapter Six, Appendix Ω follows the other appendixes and lists all the items in the Other category for the use of those who wish to study these items further, since the Other category includes the texts most likely to interest literary scholars.

Describing and Analyzing Data—Particulars

Section 1 The analysis begins with definitions. To introduce each chapter, I list the words in the field with brief definitions arranged as follows: head word followed by verb(s), compounds, and derivatives (with the last two sections in alphabetical order). The definitions here are simplified to one or two basic senses, paraphrased from Clark Hall (or where he does not have the word, from my data), for the purpose of familiarizing a reader with the overall field. The list of words is followed by an introductory paragraph discussing these general definitions.

The information on etymology is taken from Holthausen,³¹ the Oxford English Dictionary, and the appendix to the American Heritage Dictionary,³² synthesized into a discussion that attempts to show how the senses developed into those of the Old English words.

Etymology is followed by a survey of definitions in more detail, comparing those in Clark Hall, the Oxford English Dictionary, the relevant list of senses from Liebermann's Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, and the appendix of Indo-European roots in the American Heritage Dictionary, and sometimes Holthausen (hereafter CH, OED, GdA, AHD, and Holt, respectively). My purpose here is to show the senses for the head word and verb, so that I can

³¹ F. Holthausen, Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, 2nd ed. (Heidelberg: Winter, 1963).

³² The appendix "refers to but does not depend on Pokorny's work" (American Heritage Dictionary, 1973 ed., 1504).

begin to arrange the senses for the field as a whole.³³ In giving the definitions, double quotation marks are reserved for direct quotations from sources, while single quotation marks serve to distinguish senses from each other. Quotations from GdA are always my translation.

The first section concludes with a brief discussion of Old English glosses of Latin words accompanied by a Table 1 (M1, F1, etc.) showing the Latin words (and their definitions) glossed by the OE words under investigation. Giving information from Latin usage sheds at least some light on how Anglo-Saxons viewed the sense(s) of these words. Old English glosses of Latin words constitute a significant fraction of items in my data base (roughly 10%) and in the corpus of Old English (roughly 25%)³⁴; typically, such glosses come from religious works such as Aldhelm's De laude virginitatis and Anglo-Saxon Bibles and psalters. Related to these interlinear glosses are the glossaries in several manuscripts, which simply list Latin words and Old English equivalents.

Section 2 The second section of each chapter describes the "shape" of the field under discussion by arranging the meanings for all the members of the word-group into senses and then commenting on their relations and proportions. The major sense areas are designated with capitalization, as PEACE-sense and PROTECTION-sense. Here I am treating the senses and subsenses of the word-field as a whole, and not attempting to create or modify definitions for any particular terms. These sections have two or three tables designated 2a, 2b, and sometimes 2c prefixed with the initial of the headword (M2a, M2b, F2a and so on). The first table shows the field with its major sense

³³ Following suggestions made in Güntor Kotzor, "Wind and Weather: Semantic Analysis and the Classification of Old English Lexemes," 183: "my contention is that . . . we are well advised to accept all the support we can get from dictionaries, text editions, word studies"; and Sharon Butler and Bruce Mitchell, "Some Lexicographical Problems Posed by Old English Grammar Words," 87-88, recommending a sorting plan "initially based on and then adapted from BT(S) entries"; both articles in A. Bammesberger, ed., Problems of Old English Lexicography: Studies in Memory of Angus Cameron, Eichstätter Beiträge; Band 15: Abteilung Sprache und Literatur (Regensburg: Pustet, 1985).

³⁴ Jonathon Wilcox, "Famous Last Words," Four Last Things: Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell in the Middle Ages, ed. Allen J. Frantzen (Chicago: Illinois Medieval Assoc., 1994) 2.

areas and the sub-senses, and it gives their relative proportions. The needs for discussion in each word-field dictated the kinds of tables created there: *mund* needed a more detailed view of some parts of the field which Table M2b satisfies; the 56 separate words under *frið* needed a table of their own (F2b) and so on. A table showing collocations is also included for each word-group: this develops further the first table of Section 2 (showing the sense areas and their proportions) by indicating not only the senses, but also the range of possible meanings for the subsenses that can be culled from the appendixes. I have tried to arrange these subsenses in a semantically coherent (albeit intuitive) order that demonstrates the range of possible meanings across the field.

Creating a table with collocations always produced a quantum leap of order and understanding as I worked, which confirmed to me parts of the theoretical discussion (pages 14-18, above) where I mentioned the “operational method” of Nickel, Kuhlwein, and Strauss. The operational approach is an attempt to analyze the conditions of usage in Old English, a dead language without native speakers to guide us. In justifying this approach, Nickel proposes that we think of definitions as descriptions of how words are actually used in a language rather than as analyses of a word’s properties. He describes the operational approach as the close study of “occurrences of signifiers, investigating particularly their frequency, distribution, collocability, and context” (Nickel 37). I found that setting up the collocations allowed me to see how the Anglo-Saxons actually used these words, and it helped me understand and bring into focus the data I was assembling: it certainly confirmed the value of the operational approach to *this* study, with its purpose of eventually understanding how these legal words were used in non-legal contexts.

Section 3 The third section of each chapter describes location patterns of the items in different kinds of texts. Tables M3, F3, G3, and B3, form the main presentation of data here. I distinguish law codes, charters, historical texts, interlinear glosses, and glossaries, and group the remaining

texts in an Other category. Law codes and charters are sometimes grouped together as legal writing, and glosses and glossaries I refer to generically as “glosses” in my text. Historical texts consist of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Orosius, and Bede. In each Section 3 I discuss patterns among the locations of words in the various kinds of texts and discuss many of the items in detail. I have felt justified in keeping the remainder of texts in an Other category and not differentiating it further in the table, partly for lack of space but mostly because of the purposes of this study. I want to see how the legal terms are used in non-legal texts, especially poetry and homilies. So by distinguishing the categories I do, and by lumping all the Other material together, I can compare it as a whole to the legal, historical, and glossed texts. In creating each Table 3, I list each word in the word-field in the left column.³⁵ Across the top I list the various categories (laws, charters, history, and so forth). In the columns of tabular data I distinguish major senses of the word-field and present the number of items for each word as a sum, as, in Table F3 (pp. 74-75 below), 33+12 (PEACE-sense plus PROTECTION-sense). At the bottom of columns I give totals for each category and present the totals as percentages of the field. Percentages are rounded to the nearest integer if possible; very occasionally, I round to tenths of a point to keep the total at 100%.

In each Section 3, the discussion of “locations,” I go into some detail and break down the Other category into its components. The Other category is also discussed in more detail in Chapter Six (Summary and Combined Field).

Chapter Seven discusses literary applications of the lexical and linguistic analysis that can be made in particular texts and presents some possible directions for future research.

³⁵ In Table F3, where there are 56 different frið-words, I lump all the hapax legomena together.

CHAPTER TWO: The *Mund*-words

headword:	<i>mund</i> f. hand; protection, guardianship, (fine for) breach of protection
verbs:	<i>mundian</i> to protect, act as guardian <i>mundbyrdan</i> to protect <i>amundian</i> to protect
compounds:	<i>feðemund</i> f. forepaw <i>mundbeorg</i> m. protecting hill <i>mundbora</i> m. protector, guardian <i>mundbyrd</i> f. protection <i>mundbyrdnes</i> f. protection <i>mundbryce</i> m. (fine for) breach of laws of protection <i>mundcræft</i> m. protecting power <i>mundgripe</i> m. hand-grasp <i>mundheals</i> f. protection <i>mundrof</i> adj. strong with the hands <i>mundwist</i> f. guardianship <i>scæftmund</i> f. handspan
derivative:	<i>mundiend</i> m. protector

Section 1: Etymology, Definitions, and Old English Glosses of Latin Texts

Dictionaries and glossaries generally list *mund* as either feminine or masculine. *Mund* as a feminine substantive means ‘hand; protection, guardianship; protector, guardian; and, the fine for violation of protection.’ The three legal senses of *mund* can each be designated by a compound: the abstract ‘protection’ by *mundbyrd*, the agent ‘protector’ by *mundbora*, and the breaking of *mund* by *mundbryce*. (The headword and these three compounds comprise 210 of 249 items in this field, or 85%). As a masculine substantive, *mund* means “bridegroom’s gift to the bride or father-in-law” (in both Clark Hall and Holthausen). This form is attested only twice in Old English, once in poetry (Christ A, B, C) translated as virginity (Gordon) or integrity (Bradley), and once in a will.¹

Etymology

One can easily see the connection between *mund*’s two main senses, hand and protection, and these two senses are illustrated in the word’s etymology and cognates. *Mund* comes from the Indo-European root listed in the American Heritage Dictionary’s etymological appendix as “man-²” (from “man-¹” come all the ‘man’ words in the Germanic languages). Man-² is the source of the hand-words: Latin *manus* (in many Mod. Eng. words such as *manner*, *manual*, *manumit* et al.); Latin compound *manceps* and Latin compound *mandare* (*manus* + *dare*, to give into one’s hand). The two main senses are joined in the suffixed zero-grade form **mnto-* in Germanic *mund-*, ‘guarding hand, protection,’ which becomes the Old English *mund*. The Oxford English Dictionary includes *mund* as an obsolete form and gives the three senses hand, protection, and protector, citing Layamon (1205 A.D.) as one source.

¹ Dorothy Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1930) 195: her note reminds readers that this is a Scandinavian term and that “the Old English *mund* does not occur with this meaning [price to be paid before marriage].”

According to the OED, Old English *mund*, fem., is cognate with Old Frisian *mund*, masc., guardianship, guardian; with Old Saxon *mund*, hand; with Old High German *munt*, fem., hand, protection, and masc., protector. It is also cognate with Old Norse *mund*, fem., hand, and *mund-r*, masc., sum paid by bridegroom for his bride; Holthausen gives this ON masc. cognate (to which he adds a meaning, guardianship) for OE *mund*, masc., bridegift.

Besides the obsolete OE form mentioned above, OED lists *mund* as a spelling variant of mound, *sb.1*, 'world, an orb'; it also is listed as a variant spelling for mound, *sb.2*, 'power, strength; value, importance, dignity' where the entry comments: "Of obscure origin: perhaps due to misapprehension of some poetic use of *mund*, hand, guardianship. . . . Very common in Arthur and Merlin." At mound, *sb.3*, OED notes that mound has been supposed to derive from OE *mund*; however, because the OE does not mean defense in the physical sense but rather defense (of persons, guardianship), mound must have "an obscure origin"; it eventually develops the present-day sense of tumulus, but not until the eighteenth century.

The etymologies of the second elements of three important compounds help illustrate part of the senses of the *mund*-field as well. *Beran*, to bear, carry, and to bring forth, produce, is the source for both *-byrd* (in *mundbyrd*) and *-bora* (in *mundbora*). According to Holthausen, *-byrd* has the senses birth, and nature, disposition, quality: from the second more abstract sense comes *mundbyrd*'s primary sense, the abstract 'protection.' It is cognate with Old Saxon *mund-burd* and Old High German *mundi-burd*. In Holthausen, *-bora* has the senses son, and carrier, bearer (cognate with Greek *foros*), and from its second sense comes the second element of the weak masculine agent noun *mundbora*. This is cognate with Old Saxon *mund-boro* and Old High German *munt-poro*. *Mundbyrd* and *mundbora* correspond to specific senses of the head-word *mund* and form major parts of the word-field. *Bryce*, breach, comes from *brecan* to break; the compound *mundbryce* means breach of *mund*. I do not find cognates for this compound, but *bryce* and *brecan* have cognates in

Frankish, Old Saxon and Old High German.

Definitions

In the glossary of Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, Liebermann gives the more technical legal senses of these words. *Mund* has three senses: protection, refuge; the king's protection, the highest peace-condition, public security, and the fixed fine for its breach (synonym with *mundbryce*); enjoyment of the right of special protection, and the fine for its violation. *Mundbora* is protector or guardian, especially in a court of law. *Mundbryce*, generally the breach of protection, has three specific senses: violation of the king's peace, the public security; the king's *mundbryce*, a fixed fine; and, violation which derives from the power of protection of the archbishop, prince, bishop, earl, thegn, and lord. Finally, *mundbyrd* has two senses: the range of the power of protection; and, the fine, fixed according to rank, for violation of protection (here he adds that the possessor of the power of protection is compensated by the violator; my translations).²

Old English Glosses of Latin Texts

The 48 glosses of Latin texts employing the Old English *mund*-words occur in a variety of contexts. Five texts are glossaries named for the manuscripts in which they occur: Antwerp, Cleopatra, Corpus, Epinal, and Erfurt. The contents of the last three reveal that they are related,³ with OE glosses most numerous in the glosses' Orosius and Hermeneutica sections. Many of the Antwerp and Cleopatra glossaries' contents contain lists from Aldhelm. These five glossaries have 13 of my

² *Mund*: Schutz ... 1) Schutz, Zuflucht ... 2) cyninges mund a) höchster Friedenszustand, öffentliche Sicherheit ... b) Strafgeld bestimmter Höhe, dem Staate verfallen; synonym mit *mundbryce* ... 3) Genuss einer Sonderbefriednung und einer Geldbusse für deren Verletzung *Mundbora*: Beschützer, Vormund, bes. vor Gericht *Mundbryce*: Schutzbruch ... 1) Verletzung des Königsfriedens, der öffentlichen Sicherheit ... 2) cyninges *mundbryce*, festes Strafgeld ... 3) Verletzung der von Erzbischof, Prinz, Bischof, Graf, Thegn, Herr ausgehenden Schutzgewalt *Mundbyrd*: Schutz ... 1) Bereich der Schutzgewalt ... 2) Bussgeld, bestimmt je nach Stand des [im gn erscheinenden] Besitzers der Schutzgewalt (Sicherheitsgewährleistung), das er erhält von ihrem Verletzer

³ N. R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957) 49, 151, 477.

items, with six in the Cleopatra Glossary alone.

Aldhelm manuscripts themselves provide most of the *mund*-words occurring in interlinear glosses (19 of 35). The Arundel Prayer Gloss, “a continuous interlinear gloss to a series of prayers and forms of confession” (Ker 167), has five *mund*-words. Interlinear glosses to Bede’s metrical life of St. Cuthbert and his Ecclesiastical History, Boethius, Regularis Concordia, a hymnal, and the Lorica of Gildas each contain one or two *mund*-words (11 items). Locations of *mund*- *frið*- *grið*- and *borg*-words in glosses of Latin texts are listed in Chapter Six, Tables 1a and 1b.

The Latin terms which are glossed by the Old English *mund*-words follow a regular pattern (Table M1, below). Three Latin words for ‘defense’—*patrocinium*, *presidium*, *munimen*—are glossed by words for ‘protection’—*mund*, *mundbyrd*—in all but one of nineteen instances of glossing those three Latin words with *mund*-words. Three other Latin terms—*suffragium*, *pretextus*, *paternitas*—are glossed a total of six times by *mundbyrd*, ‘protection.’ The three Latin agent nouns—*advocatus*, *suffragator*, *patronus*—are consistently glossed by *mundbora* (twenty times, total).

Table M1: Latin *mund*-word equivalents in Glosses

	<i>Mund</i>	<i>Mundbora</i>	<i>Mundbyrd</i>
<i>patrocinium</i> , -ii, n. (protection: [legal] defense)	4	1	10
<i>presidium</i> , -ii, n. ([mil.] defense)	2		1
<i>munimen</i> , -inis, n. ([mil.] defense)	1		
<i>suffragium</i> , -ii, n. (favorable decision [vote]; support)			3
<i>pretextus</i> , -us, m. (probably 'covering')			2
<i>paternitas</i> , -tatis, f. (probably 'guardianship')			1
<i>advocatus</i> , -i, m. (advocate)		8	
<i>suffragator</i> , -oris, m. ([pol.] supporter)		3	
<i>patronus</i> , -i, m. (protector)		9	
<i>foveo</i> , -ere gl. by <i>mundian</i> 1 (support, assist)			
<i>tego</i> , -ere gl. by <i>gemundbyrdan</i> (cover, protect)			2
	—	—	—
	8	21	19 = 48/249
% of <i>mund</i> -field			= 19%
% of glosses	17%	44%	39%

Section 2: Description of the Field

The *mund*-field (illustrated in Table M2a, below) has two main divisions, HAND and PROTECTION, the two main senses of the head word. The ‘hand’ part of the field (25 items of 249, or 10%) includes uses of the noun *mund* as well as three compounds, one (*mundgripe*) used only in Beowulf (five times), and two hapax legomena (*feðemund*, in a riddle, and *scaftmund*, in legal use⁴). The ‘protection’ part of the field (224 items, 90%) has the following subdivisions: abstract protection, the condition (79 items, 32%); the agent, protector (82 items, 33%); *mund*-words used as legal technical terms (really a subdivision of ‘condition’, but these are reflexive, *mund*-words referring to some aspect of *mund* itself—39 items, 16%); two items relating to marriage (less than 1%); and the verbs for ‘to protect’ (19 items, 8%). These totals include the Latin glosses (48 items, 19% of total), all of which have a protection sense (see Chart M1), and six hapax legomena with a general sense of protection or protector.

The subsenses *mund*-condition, *mund*-agent, and legal-technical terms comprise 202 items (81% of field): this is the heart of this field, i.e., the primary sense and vast majority of the items. Leaving out twenty-seven glossed Latin items for ‘protection’ and twenty-one for ‘protector,’ this large area has 154 Old English items (62%), almost two thirds of all items in the *mund*-field. By describing this part of the field, we can show what actually constitutes the legal concept *mund* and how it was used.

⁴ *Dus feor sceal beon pes cinges grið fram his burhgeate, pæs he is sittende, on feower healfe his, ðæt is III mila & III furlang & III æcera bræde & IX fota & IX scæftamunda & IX berecornna* (“Thus far shall the king’s peace extend from his burg-gate, where he is situated, in the four directions, that is, three miles and three furlongs and three acre breadths and nine feet and nine handbreadths and nine barleycorns”): this fragment is all that remains of the Law of Pax.

Table M2a: Senses of the *mund*-field

I. HAND-sense			
10%	1.	hand, hands, with hands 'in its power' hand-grip	Hapax legomena: strong with the hands (hand)span
II. PROTECTION-sense			
32%	1.	Condition: protection, guardianship, patronage	
33%	2.	Agent: protector, guardian	
16%	3.	Legal-technical terms: value of <i>mund</i> , right of protection, amt. of <i>mund</i> (rank), fine or compensation for breach of <i>mund</i> ; fine for violation of <i>mundbyrd</i> ; <i>bryce</i> of <i>mund</i> , amt. of or fine for <i>mundbryce</i>	
1%	4.	Marriage-related terms: marriage payment; (by metonymy) virginity	
8%	5.	Verbs: to protect, guard, defend; to be guardian	
—		Hapax legomena: protection, guardianship, protector, skill to protect, protecting hills	
100%			

The head-word and three major compounds in the field suggest the main legal senses. Generally, *mund* has the three legal senses ‘protection,’ ‘protector,’ and ‘fine for violation of protection’; and, generally, *mundbyrd*, *mundbora*, and *mundbryce* designate these three senses, respectively. Table M2b (below) shows the area of the field we are considering in detail, and one can see that while these words do tend to designate particular areas of the field, there is some overlap and interchangeability (especially between *mund* and *mundbora*).

Mund (and the Latin terms it glosses) denotes ‘protection’ twenty-six times, ‘protector’ eleven times, and it is used in a legal technical sense fourteen times. *Mundbora* (and the Latin terms it glosses) means ‘protector’ sixty-two times, but it is also used for ‘protection’ in six instances. *Mundbyrd* and its Latin terms denote the condition fifty-two times, and only once is *mundbyrd* clearly used for ‘protector.’ *Mundbryce*, in all sixteen occurrences, is only used as a legal technical term. *Mund* seven times, and *mundbyrd* in all eight of its legal technical uses, also mean something like *mundbryce*.

When we add the collocations of verbs with the nouns under consideration, we can begin to see how the terms were used, and their meanings and the concepts contained in this field become clearer. In the following pages we shall further explore the field by examining how the words are used with their collocations, listed in chart M2c (p. 38 below), first as legal ideas only and then in other contexts.

Mundbora, the agent noun, occurs in three equivalent legal codes (all written by Wulfstan⁵; items M152-54 in appendix M). In these, the king (along with the earl and bishop, in one) is designated to act as kinsman and

⁵ Wulfstan's texts: D. Whitelock's introduction to *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* on pages 12, and 23-28, gives the following list (his numerous homilies and homiletic fragments are given on pages 17-23): *Edw & Gu* (Liebermann *Gesetze* v.1, pp.128-34), *V Atr* (LL I.236-44), *VI Atr* (LL I.246-56), *VII Atr* (LL I.260), *VIII Atr* (LL I.263-68), *IX Atr* (LL I.269), *X Atr* (LL I.269-70), *Rect.* (LL I.444-53), *Gerefa* (LL I.453-55), *Gepyncðo* (LL I.456-58), *Norðleoda laga* (LL I.458-61), *Mircna laga* (LL I.462-63), *Að* (LL I.464), *Hadbot* (LL I.464-469), *Episc.* (LL I.477-79), *Canons of Edgar*, *Institutes of Polity*.

Table M2b: Senses of the *mund*-field, detail with Latin

II. PROTECTION-sense:	<i>mund</i>	<i>mundbora</i>	<i>mundbyrd</i>	other (hapax leg.)
1. Condition				
protection	14	5	30	3
<i>[Latin for protection, defense: 7</i>		<i>1</i>	<i>11+1+3]</i>	
guardianship	3			1
patronage, care, deliverance, 2			5	
help, security, shelter				
2. Agent				
protector	3	31	1	1
<i>[Latin for protector:</i>		<i>20</i>	<i>2?]</i>	
guardian	7	6	1	
preserver, prefect, patron,	1	5		
succorer, executor				
3. legal-technical	<i>mund</i>	<i>mundbyrd</i>		<i>mundbryce</i>
‘mund’ itself	5			m’brch itself 5
value of mund	1			
church’s rt. of prot’n	1			
fine for breach of mund,				amt of m’brch,
comp. for vio of mund	4	amt. for vio of m’b	5	fine for ” 11
		” ” ” grdnshp	3	
an ‘amount’ of mund (rank)	3			

protector for a man in orders or a stranger, if the person has no protector. This illustrates to us that every person in Anglo-Saxon society had to have a lord and thereby be connected into the legal system; no one could be left unattached, or he would literally be an “out-law.” Generally this connection was either familial or territorial, but there was some choice in the matter⁶: several times in the Chronicle (items M141-46), some one is sought as a protector or chosen for protection. Also, it was possible for people’s allegiance to be transferred to a different lord⁷: for example, Beowulf asks Hrothgar to be a guardian (*mundbora*) to his men if he should die fighting Grendel’s dam (item M109).

The head-word, *mund*, can substitute for *mundbora*: in charters, a person can be a *mund*, that is, a protector (items M7-17). *Mund* can be established by a kindred with an oath (that “the king’s *mund* shall stand”) taken “with their hands in common upon one weapon” (items M6 and 21, in Law of Wergild, and item M20 referred to in 2 Edmund). One can be worthy of, or deprived of, honor and *mund*, and one can have (*habban*) *mund*, i.e., a particular rank or status; also, one can have (*agan*, own) the value of *mund* (have the legal right to various fines). *Mund* can denote a particular amount of money or the concept ‘fine for breach of *mund*,’ and *mund* can be compensated by various amounts.

Whereas *mund* occasionally denotes the breach of *mund* or the fine or compensation for its breach, *mundbryce* always denotes these legal financial concepts. The right to these fines can be granted to another by charter, so that one can be entitled to them. One can commit *mundbryce*, and *mundbryce* is compensated for by various amounts,

⁶ “During the Anglo-Saxon period, every man had to be under the protection of a lord. There appears to have been a certain power of choice; Abba seems to be transferring his allegiance”: from Harmer’s note to Charter 1482, “Will of the Reeve Abba,” in F.E. Harmer, ed., Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1914) 79. See item M111.

⁷ The Annal for 1052 in A-S Chron D gives another example: *And man borhfæste þam kyninge ealle þa þægnas þe wæron Haroldes eorles his suna* (And all the thegns of Harold his son were transferred to the king’s allegiance), item B144.

Table M2c: Senses of the *mund*-field created with noun-verb collocations

	[collocations]
II. PROTECTION-sense	to choose <i>mund</i>
1. Condition	to ask for <i>mund</i>
protection	to find or receive <i>mund</i>
guardianship	to give <i>mund</i>
patronage, care, deliverance,	to hold under, or keep in, <i>mund</i>
help, security, shelter	to dwell under <i>mund</i>
	to have (<i>agan</i>) the <i>mund</i> (value)
	to have (<i>habban</i>) the <i>mund</i> (rank)
	to be worthy of <i>mund</i>
	to establish <i>mund</i>
	to be deprived of <i>mund</i>
	to compensate <i>mund</i>
2. Agent	to seek protection (<i>mundbora</i>)
protector	to seek a <i>mundbora</i>
guardian	to choose as <i>mundbora</i>
preserver, prefect, patron,	to be a <i>mundbora</i>
succorer, executor	to act as a <i>mundbora</i>
3. legal-tech'l	to be value of <i>mundbyrd</i>
'mund' itself	to pay <i>mundbyrd</i>
value of <i>mund</i>	to be entitled to <i>mundbryce</i>
(church's) rt. of prot'n	to grant <i>mundbryce</i>
violation of <i>mund</i>	to have (<i>agan</i>) <i>mundbryce</i>
fine for breach of <i>mund</i> ;	to compensate <i>mundbryce</i>
comp. for vio. of <i>mund</i>	to commit <i>mundbryce</i>
an 'amount' of <i>mund</i> (rank)	

depending on the status of the person who is entitled to the fine and the status of the person offended. *Mundbryce* is used only to designate the legal technical areas of the field (i.e., *mundbryce* is a legal technical term only).

Like *mund*, *mundbyrd* can be used as a synonym for *mundbryce*: *Mundbyrd* has this meaning wherever it occurs in legal contexts (laws, and once in a charter). Also like *mund*, *mundbyrd* can designate a particular amount, or it can refer to the fine as a concept. Similarly, when *mundbyrdnyss* is used in charters (five times), Harmer translates it as “protection of rights”—it refers to owning the financial rights (for fines) associated with what is being granted.

In addition to these legal uses, *mundbyrd* and *mund* are used in non-legal contexts where they extend the use of the concepts just discussed. People ask for, seek, choose, find, and receive protection, and they dwell under protection. Someone may give protection, or hold someone under protection, or keep someone in peace and safety. *Mundbora* occurs in non-legal contexts as well: someone is or will be or becomes a protector, and people have a protector. None of the non-legal uses of these nouns with their verbal collocations is particularly surprising; in fact, they seem to refer to the categories set up by the legal ideas in a fairly general way, broadly, rather than in any sort of technical or figurative way.

None of the three *mund*-verbs occurs in the laws, but two are found in three passages in charters. There, *amundian* twice means ‘to protect,’ and the inflected infinitive of *mundian* means ‘to act as guardian.’ Also, *mundian* is used in the Chronicle where King Cnut’s widow seeks Baldwin’s protection (*grið*) “south of the sea” where he protected (*mundode*) her and gave her a residence (item M77). In a homily of Ælfric, townspeople “sue for peace, that he would protect [them]” (*amundige*, item M87). These latter two examples show the verbs being used in legal contexts, even though they aren’t legal texts. *Mundbyrdan* is not used in laws, charters, or chronicle, and seems indistinguishable from *mundian* (in the same way that *mundbyrd* and *mund*

seem to be interchangeable). Both these verbs simply mean ‘to protect’ wherever they are found.

The areas of the field that I have been describing are denoted by legal terms; most of the *mund*-words (all but *mundgripe*, and six of the eight hapax legomena) are used in legal writing of some kind. However, *all* of the *mund*-words except *mundbryce* and two hapax are used in non-legal writing as well. So wherever they occur, they bring with them the legal connotations of the *mund*-field, to some degree. One of the points that I hope to make with this dissertation is that the legal senses are embedded in any other sense; every context in which these words are used is a ‘legal’ context to the extent that the situation, the “type-scene,” contains legal elements or is analogous to a legal situation. Therefore, understanding the *mund*-field (and the *frið*- *grið*- and *borg*-fields as well) all as *legal* fields which have other more general and less legal layers (inseparable from the legal ones) helps us understand more fully any of the contexts in which we find any of these words.

Now, the distribution of items in the field among various kinds of texts can be described to give a fuller picture than that given so far of how these words are used in Old English.

Section 3: Location of items in type of text—Law, Charter, Gloss, Glossary, Other

Having distinguished the various senses of the *mund*-field and their arrangement, we can now chart their use in various types of texts and give their frequency there. Law codes form one category, charters another; these two can be grouped together as ‘legal texts.’ Interlinear glosses and glossaries form two more categories, which can be grouped as ‘OE glosses.’ All other texts (historical writing, poetry, religious prose, Bible translations, and miscellaneous texts) can be placed in an ‘Other’ category. The seventeen Old

English words that make up this word-field are listed in Table M3, and individual items are listed with more information regarding their inflexions, contexts, and meanings in Appendix M.

Mund-words occur with the Hand-sense twenty-five times (10% of the field), with the Protection-condition sense 145 times (58%), and with the Protection-agent sense eighty times (32%), approximately a 1 : 6 : 3 ratio. There are forty-eight Old English glosses, approximately one fifth of the field, and these are split roughly in half between the condition and agent senses.

words with Hand-sense 10%

Protection-condition 58% (including 27 OE glosses of Latin, 11%)

Protection-agent 32% (" 21 " " " " 8%)

100% 48 19%

The unglossed *mund*-words which do not mean hand, those with some aspect of the protection sense, number 176, or 71% of the entire field (and 105 of these are in non-legal texts, 42% of 249).

It becomes apparent from using Table M3 that all the *mund*- words except *mundbryce* and two hapax legomena are used in non-legal writing with their protection senses. This shows the importance of this legal concept: of the 177 unglossed *mund*-words that carry the protection sense, 105 (60%) are used in non-legal texts; even in the total field of 249 words, including the glosses and words with the hand sense, these 105 non-legal *mund*-words for protection make up 42% of the whole.

To further understand how these words are used, we can cluster the texts into the three categories Legal, Gloss, and Other. Whether the hand-words are included or excluded, the number of *mund*-words in these three categories stand in a ratio of 3 : 2 : 5 to each other. (I separate the hand-words from the rest of the field in the chart to facilitate discussion of *mund* as a legal concept.)

Table M3: Location of *mund*-words by type of text

(in each column, condition-sense + agent-sense)

	Total	Laws	Charters	Gloss	Glossary	Other
<i>mund</i>	53	14+0	6+11	7+0		15+0
<i>mundian</i>	10		0+1	1+0		8+0
<i>mundbyrdan</i>	7			2+0		5+0
<i>amundian</i>	3		2+0			1+0
<i>mundbora</i>	68	0+3	0+1	1+15	0+5	5+38
<i>mundbyrd</i>	53	10+0	1+0	9+0	6+2	24+1
<i>mundbyrdnes</i>	9		5+0			3+1
<i>mundbryce</i>	16	10+0	6+0			
<i>mundbeorg</i>	1					0+1
<i>mundcræft</i>	1					1+0
<i>mundheals</i>	1					1+0
<i>mundiend</i>	1		0+1			
<i>mundwist</i>	<u>1</u>	—	—	—	—	<u>1+0</u>
total for field		34+3	20+14	20+15	6+7	64+41
w/o hand-words	224	37	34	35	13	105
% of 224		16.5%	15%	15.5%	6%	47%
<i>mund</i> as 'hand'	17					17
<i>mundgripe</i>	5					5
<i>feðemund</i>	1					1
<i>mundrof</i>	1					1
<i>sceaftmund</i>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>				—
total hand-words	25	1				24
Total	249	38	34	35	13	129
% of 249		15%	14%	14%	5%	52%

Legal Less than a third of the *mund*-words occur in legal texts: about 15% of the items are used in law codes, and 14% in charters, 29% of the field (72 items). Although these words are split almost evenly between the two kinds of legal texts, laws and charters, items with the Condition-sense are more than three times as common as those with the Agent-sense: 54 items mean 'protection' and 17 are agent words. Also, only the four main legal terms (*mund*, *mundbora*, *mundbyrd*, and *mundbryce*) are used in law codes (excluding the one occurrence of *sceaftmund*), while these and four other *mund*-words are used in the charters.

One of these additional *mund*-words, *mundbyrdnysse*, is used in a formula in four charters (items M211, 212, 213, 214) and in a non-formulaic passage with similar meaning (M215), and in four passages in the poetic *vita* of Mary of Egypt. The four charters just mentioned are part of a subgroup of what Harmer calls the "shall have" group of charters: that large group is named for a formulaic arrangement that identifies the group of charters and distinguishes them from all others.⁸ The subgroup to which these four charters belong are all Westminster writs in which King Edward the Confessor grants certain rights and privileges, or confirms the grants of others, to Westminster Abbey; they are preserved in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts. This group of four (and the fifth with the non-formulaic use of *mundbyrdnysse*) are part of a larger group of Westminster writs, all of which seem to be based on authentic writs but which have been "enlarged and embroidered in the Westminster Scriptorium" (Harmer 307). The editor does not label them spurious, but because of their language and late manuscripts they are in a gray area which makes them not entirely authentic, either. The only five occurrences of *mundbyrdnysse* in legal texts are in these five charters, all of them part of this coherent group in Harmer's edition. I am not sure what conclusion to draw from this, except that my methods of collecting and grouping words have turned up a small bit of coherence confirmed by a different kind of study. Perhaps this corner of the word-field was formed by the systematic or

⁸ F. E. Harmer, Anglo-Saxon Writs (Stamford: P. Watkins, 1989) 64, 306-13.

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genetically-related use of words by a writer or writers engaged in a common purpose at Westminster Abbey. The fact that the other four uses of this word are in one text by one author (in three eleventh-century manuscripts) does not help me draw a conclusion here, except to notice how limited the use of the compound is in these legal and religious texts.

One other use of *mund*-words in legal texts (mentioned on pp. 35 and 37) can now be described. *Mund* is used with the agent-sense (protector, guardian, or executor) in eleven items, thereby showing its seeming interchangeability with *mundbora*. In all eleven passages, the pattern is “a person is/will be *mund*,” subject–*be*-verb–complement *mund*. These all occur in the legal language of charters and wills, and because a person is the grammatical subject, produce the agent-sense. *Mundbora* is occasionally used with the condition-sense: in four parallel chronicle passages, a person is sought *to mundboran*, “for protection” in a general sense by a group, not “as guardian,” a more precise legal relationship between individuals; the context signals the distinction.

Gloss By examining the Gloss (interlinear gloss plus glossary items) and Other categories, we can see how the *mund*-words operate in non-legal contexts. Of the two categories, Gloss presents the more restrictive contexts: a translation is required, and a certain word is chosen. This has the advantage of giving modern readers more explicit information about the writers’ use of these words, even if the writers’ choices are more restricted.

Bible glosses are conspicuous by their absence here. We can assume *hand*-words (rather than *mund*-words) would usually gloss *manus*, but what of all the places in Psalms, for example, where protection is mentioned? That concept must be covered by other Old English terms, (perhaps the *scyld*-words, as in Ælfric’s homilies); does this mean that *mund* had a very precise meaning which did not allow it to be used in such contexts? (The numerous entries in the Other category might argue against this.) As I study the use of *mund*-words

and *scyld*-words in Ælfric's homilies in future work, I will be trying to answer these questions; a few initial comments on possible answers appear below.

Mund-words gloss Latin terms in 48 items (one fifth of the entire field); 35 are in interlinear glosses, and 13 are in glossary entries (about a 3 to 1 ratio). Of the 35 interlinear glosses, more than half (19) are from Aldhelm, five are from the Arundel Prayer Gloss, two each are from Boethius, Regularis Concordia, Lorica of Gildas, a hymn collection, Bede's metrical life of Cuthbert, and one is from a gloss in Bede's Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum. Of the 19 Aldhelm items (all from the long and much copied prose De laude virginitatis), several are from equivalent passages; that is, five of the six from the version Ald V 1 and five of the six from Ald V 13.1 are from the same passages in the text (summarized below).

The 19 items from Aldhelm⁹ use three Old English words to gloss only three of the 11 Latin words in Table M1; the three OE words are three of our primary legal terms—*mund*, *mundbora*, *mundbyrd*—of the four we have noticed were used in legal texts, but they are used very many times elsewhere as well. Both *mund* and *mundbyrd* gloss *patrocinium* (legal defense) nine times, and *mundbora* glosses *aduocatus* (eight times) and *patronus* (twice). In a passage full of images of warfare, virgins must conquer “the leaders” of the principal vices, a conflict where “warlike squadrons of virgins” battle “savage armies of foes”: victory is possible “when Christ offers a defence [M18, *mund/patrocinium*] and urges on the phalanxes of His soldiers” and so forth.¹⁰ Among the 60 chapters of the prose *De laude virginitatis*, Chapter 39 “moves on gradually with verbal footsteps” toward a list of examples of female virgins (the male examples having been dealt with in Chapters 20-38) who will have “the crown of eternal beatitude—provided [Christ] benignly grants the benefit of His protection” (M191, *mundbyrdelpatrocini*, Lapidge and Herren 106).

⁹ This recent work serves as a very useful introduction to the Aldhelm glosses: Louis Goosens, The Old English Glosses of MS. Brussels, Royal Library 1650, Brussels Verhandelingen van de koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 36 (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1974).

¹⁰ Translation from Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, Aldhelm: The Prose Works (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1979) 68.

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Elsewhere Thecla, a devout virgin, “with Christ granting his protection (M169, *mundbyrde/patrocinium*) . . . kept the token of her chastity unbroken” (Lapidge and Herren 113). Benedict is said to share his “blessed appellation” with our “Redeemer” (M156, *mundborum/aduocato*, L and H 89). In Chapter 52, blessed Victoria “sustained by the assistance of an angel” M91, *mundboral/patronus*, Lapidge and Herren 120) drives out a savage dragon from the environs of a city to which she had been banished. The lexical distinction seems to be this: much of the text consists of stories of exemplary sainted virgins of both sexes, and among all the instances where the translation reads “protection,” the *mund*-words are used only for God’s protection of people who were not eventually martyred.

Other Of the Gloss and Other categories (which show us the *mund*-words in non-legal contexts), Other is the least restrictive and is the one where we expect to find poetic and compounding uses to be freer. We also expect that this important legal concept (with its high number of uses in this category) would be used in ways that emphasized its legal importance to the Anglo-Saxons who encountered these texts.

When we examine the Other category, we can see how the *mund*-words are used in non-legal and unglossed contexts. The 130 items forming this group make up just over half of the entire *mund*-field, and thereby these items become the area of major interest for this section of the dissertation; in addition to the weight of numbers, the fact that the majority of the uses of the head-word for an entire legal concept lie in areas outside the legal one shows the importance of this concept to Anglo-Saxon writing and culture at large: this will be an important area to describe here and an examination of its use in the two major subgroups will be developed at length elsewhere in the dissertation (see Chapters Six and Seven below).

When we distinguish the 130 items in the Other category by whether

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they have Poetic, Religious, or Miscellaneous sources, we find that almost 90% of the items are equally distributed between the first two subgroups (115 items; see Table M3a below); about one tenth form the third subgroup. This miscellaneous set of texts includes eleven chronicle items, two from Bede, and one each from Byrhtferth's Manual and Boethius.

Table M3a: Proportion of *mund*-words in Other category

	by type of text			
	Poetic	Relig. Prose	Misc.	Total
# of words	58	57	15	130
% of 130	44.5	44	11.5	100%
% of 249	23	23	6	52%
# of hand-words	<u>-22</u>	<u>-2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-24</u>
# w/o hand-words	36	55	15	106
% of 106	34	52	14	100%
% of 249	14	22	6	42%

Almost all the *mund*-words with the Hand sense fall into the Other category here (24 of 25, 96%), and of these 24, 22 are used in poetry and two in homilies. The words in poetry are either the dative plural *mundum* ('with hands') or are the compound *mund-gripe* (used only in Beowulf). The two uses in homilies both mean the measure 'hand-span.' The question one can raise is whether the hand-sense can be completely separated from the legal-protection sense, and we can attempt to answer this based on our understanding of language in general. Etymologically, the two senses are connected in the concept 'protecting hand.' When we translate, we choose one sense or the other, depending on context (notice that the hand-sense does not appear at all in glosses, and only once in legal texts—in the code Law of Pax cited in Note 4, above). While we choose a particular sense in translating, we know that poets

often purposefully use words which carry more than one meaning to add depth or ambiguity or richness to their poetry; at other times, the words may carry this richness in spite of or irrespective of poets' intentions. However, the Beowulf-poet formed the compound *mundgripe* when he could just as well have made it *handgripe* or *folmgripe*: there is much hand-imagery in Beowulf which the *mund* terms amplify because they indicate simultaneously the hand sense and the protection sense under discussion here. In Beowulf these semantic links reinforce the conflict between the proper use of strength and the security it provides versus the malicious use of personal power that destroys security. We can summarize by commenting that *mund*-words with the hand-sense occur almost exclusively in poetic contexts (very occasionally also in religious prose). Perhaps we can conclude from this that the other words for the hand concept (*folm*, *hand*) are more important for giving that concept alone, "unloaded," while the *mund*-words are more important for the dual sense of 'protecting hand' (with its legal connotation).

We can continue to describe the Other category in its three subgroups by looking at the *mund*-words there which have the protection sense. Now we find (Table M3a) 106 items, 42% of the total *mund*-field, still a significant proportion. Just over one half of these items occur in homiletic texts, with about one third in poetry and 14% in the miscellaneous subgroup. The 58 *mund*-words in the Other category occurring in poetic texts, then, consist of 22 with the hand sense and 36 with the protection sense, a ratio of about 2 : 3. However, the 57 *mund* items in homiletic material consist of only two with the hand sense and 55 with the protection sense, and these 55 make up over 20% of the entire *mund*-field. This subgroup is thus an important one to study for its use of *mund*-words with the legal sense, and the interesting question to be examined further in future research will be why writers of homiletic material choose *mund*-words for the concept 'protection' in some cases, and other words with the protection sense in other cases: is there a particular type-scene that elicits the *mund*-words? or is some other factor or factors responsible, such as



metrical needs in poetry or legal connotations whether in prose or verse works?

We can look at Ælfric's works to help answer this question. Although Ælfric is generally referred to as Abbot of Eynsham (where he governed from 1005 until his death after 1010), he produced much of his large body of work while head of the school at Cernel (987-1005).¹¹ Trained under the reforming bishop Æthelwold, Ælfric composed two series of homilies and a set of metrical saints' lives (done at Eynsham), all of which formed an intentionally encyclopedic work that dealt with universal history (Gatch 12). As he worked he was carefully expounding in the vernacular a theology "in accordance with strict orthodoxy as it was understood in the reformed monastic schools" (Gatch 15) and in an elegant alliterative prose style that several scholars have argued was influential on early Middle English prose.¹² Thirty-three items in this study come from Ælfric's homilies and saints' lives.

My tentative answer to the question above is that there is indeed a type-scene that elicits the *mund*- words in about one third of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies (which number 85) and Lives of Saints (39 of them by Ælfric). Ælfric uses both *scyld*-words and *mund*-words in contexts where protection occurs, in what seems at first to be a general synonymity. In a passage where both kinds of words are used together in "On Auguries," readers are told that the Christian man must not make inquiries in the old way at stones or wells or trees (the *friðgeards* mentioned below in Chapter Three), but instead that he "must cry to his Lord with mind and with mouth, and beseech His protection [*his munda abiddan*], that He may shield him against the devil's snares" [*þæt he hine scylde wið deofles syrunga*], (Skeat's trans., ÆLS XVII, lines 136-38). The use of *mund* and *scyld* in this passage suggests a possible distinction between the two words: the shielding is against something, while the protection exists in itself. We can also observe that the shielding is in this

¹¹ M. Gatch, Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1977) 12.

¹² D. Bethurum, "The Connection of the Katherine Group with Old English Prose," JEGP 34 (1935) 553-64; R. W. Chambers, "On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and His School," Nicholas Harnsfield's Life of Sir Thomas More, ed. E. V. Hitchcock and R. W. Chambers, EETS, o.s. 191 (London: 1932) [rpt. separately as EETS o.s. 191a (London: 1966)].

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world (albeit against a spiritual adversary), and call it horizontal, while the protection comes from eternity and could be described as vertical. The horizontal shielding is an act initiated by a person's prayer, whereas the vertical protection is the result of a relationship with someone in authority and exists regardless of particular situations or acts.

This distinction is borne out as we examine all the other passages in *Ælfric* that use *scyld*- and *mund*- words (66 passages in 46 homilies and saints' lives). The protection indicated by *scyld*-words has its source in the same Guardian as the protection indicated by the *mund*-words, but the two protections operate in different modes. *Ælfric*'s use of this lexical distinction helps differentiate the *mund*-words in his works from the larger set of Old English protection words in Old English, and it helps to define the *mund* concept more clearly, especially as it occurs in *Ælfric* but with possible extensions to other writers. It also demonstrates *Ælfric*'s consistent use of a precise distinction between a pair of words that could seem at first to be interchangeable synonyms.

The 58 items in the Poetic subgroup of the Other category are located in 23 titles, identified in Table M3b. About one fifth are in *Beowulf* and include ten items with the hand sense and two (*mundbora*) with the protection sense: this is the only title with more *mund*-words that mean 'hand' than those with the protection-sense, and this fact emphasizes the importance of hand imagery in *Beowulf*. Another 14% of the Poetic items occur in *Genesis* (eight items, including three with the hand-sense), about one tenth occur in *Guthlac*, and nearly one tenth are in *Andreas* (including two with hand-sense). The *Paris Psalter* has 7% of these items, *Christ* and *Juliana* have 5% each, and about 3% are in *Judith*. The eight titles just mentioned include 74% of these 58 items.

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Table M3b: Location of *mund*-words in Poetic Texts

Beowulf	12 items	21% of 58	} 74%
Genesis A, B	8	14%	
Guthlac A, B	6	10%	
Andreas	5	9%	
Paris Psalter	4	7%	
Christ	3	5%	
Juliana	3	5%	
Judith	2	3%	

plus 15, one each in three riddles, Capture of Five Boroughs, Dream of the Rood, Elene, Exhortations, Hell, Kentish Psalm, Lord's Prayer II, Maxims, Metrical Charm 9 (for loss of cattle), Metrical Epilogue to Bede, Phoenix, and Resignation:

<u>15</u>	<u>26%</u>
58	100

The 57 items in the Homiletic subgroup of the Other category are described in Table M3c below. Nineteen of these items (33%) occur in texts identified as Ælfric's; these consist of eight homilies from the first and second series of Catholic Homilies and his homily on Judith, ten from his Lives of Saints, plus one from a tract called "The Twelve Abuses." An additional fifteen items (26%) are miscellaneous homilies, three from the Blickling collection, one from the Vercelli Book, and twelve from homilies and lives of saints which are often bound up in manuscripts with material from Ælfric. Almost 60% of the homiletic material, then, is either from this miscellaneous matter or is Ælfric's. An additional one fifth of these homiletic items come from Wulfstan (eight with the formula *mæðe and munde*, and four others). There are also eight items from Gregory's Dialogues.

Table M3c: Location of *mund*-words in Religious Prose

Ælfric	19 items	33% of 57
misc. homilies & saints' lives	15	26%
Wulfstan	12	21%
Gregory's <u>Dial.</u>	8	14%
Mart., Ps Hd	<u>3</u>	<u>5%</u>
	57	(99)

Of the eight items in Gregory, four are forms of *mundbora*, translated in Zimmerman¹³ as “protector” of the church. The editor explains that this protector is “an ecclesiastical official who acted as spokesman for the church when its rights were in question” (20). The other four items are forms of *mundbyrd* used to designate God’s protection or that of a saint interceding in the lives of supplicants.

The items in Wulfstan illustrate the archbishop’s concerns for the developing English nation and his interests in guiding it. In eight of those items he uses the formula *mæðe and munde*, honor (or respect) and protection. Dorothy Bethurum writes in her edition of his homilies¹⁴: “if the many articles of legislation written by Wulfstan to protect [rights of the clergy] are reliable evidence, there must have been widespread indifference to them,” and she lists nine law codes (all of which supply relevant items to this study) authored by Wulfstan which define “the position of the clergy and [insist] on their rights” (357). Dorothy Whitelock refers to several items in this group, all of which

¹³ John Zimmerman, trans., *Saint Gregory the Great: Dialogues*, vol. 39 of *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1959) 20.

¹⁴ D. Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); the nine law codes are *Gepyncðo*, *Grið*, *Að*, *Norðleoda laga*, *Hadbot*, *V Æthelred*, *VI Æthelred*, *VIII Æthelred*, *II Cnut*.

were concerned with status, as a private compilation of Wulfstan's¹⁵; the issue of status—defining it, establishing it and maintaining it—pervades much of Wulfstan's writing. In Grið 3, Wulfstan writes *hwilum wæran heafodstedas and healice hadas micelre mæðe and munde wyrðe and griðian mihton þa, þe þæs bedorfton and þærto sohtan, aa be ðære mæðe þe þærto gebyrede*; here “*mæðe* has the technical meaning of the rights belonging to a particular station, and *mund*e is also used in its legal sense” (Bethurum 357); Thorpe translates the passage as “and formerly the chief places and exalted degrees were entitled to great dignity and ‘mund’ [protection] and could give ‘grith’ [sanctuary] to those who needed it, and sought it, always according to the dignity which appertained thereto” (141; my brackets). In Sermo Lupi ad Anglos¹⁶ Wulfstan laments that *Godes þeowas syndan mæþe and munde gewelhwærbedælde* (“the people of God are everywhere deprived of respect and protection,” repeated verbatim in Polity).¹⁷ He recommends that *cristene scoldan Godes lage healdan and Godes þeowas griðian* (“Christians ought to keep God's law and protect God's servants,” ll. 32-35). In another homily, where the context is a discussion of wicked men seeking the wrong things, those who love the right for God's sake are deprived of *mæðe and munde* all too often. In Polity, people who seek honor and protection more for the world than for the church are described as evil. In a homiletic context where he is praising what we all should do, he writes that the “church is better in respect of *mæðe and munde* than it was formerly: that is, that sanctuary within a church [*ciricgrið*] and protection [*handgrið*] provided by a consecrated king stand equally inviolate” (a phrase from 6 Atr 14). And finally, in Law of Geþyncðo 7 he has recommended that “if there were a scholar who prospered in his learning

¹⁵ Whitelock includes in this “compilation on status” texts called by Liebermann Geþyncðo, Norðleoda laga, Mircna laga, Að. Hadbot, and writes “much of what is known of status in Anglo-Saxon times comes from these texts, which should not be regarded as official enactments but as a private compilation”; D. Whitelock, ed., English Historical Documents Vol. I: c. 500-1042, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1979) 468.

¹⁶ D. Whitelock, ed., Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, 3rd ed. (London: Methuen, 1963).

¹⁷ The standard edition is Karl Jost, ed., Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': Erzbischof Wulfstane von York, Swiss Studies in English 47 (Bern: Francke, 1959).

so that he took orders and served Christ, he should afterwards be entitled to so much honor and protection as belonged by rights to that order” (Whitelock EHD p.469). We can see from this set of passages the concern Wulfstan had with restoring and maintaining a kind of order in which proper status was a primary value.

In addition to the oft-repeated formula *mæðe & munde*, other *mund*-words repeat in Wulfstan. In a confessional text associated with his writings, a list of good works to be done indicates that *hushleow* [shelter] and *mete* and *munde* are to be given to the needy, as well as fire and fodder and bed and bath. In a homily quoted above (and the passage repeated word for word in Polity), Wulfstan writes about the duties of a Christian king: “It is his duty, with all his power, to upraise Christianity, and everywhere to further and protect [*friðie*] and defend [*mundie*] God’s servants, and establish peace among and reconcile all Christian people, with just law,” and so forth (Thorpe 422). Finally, a passage of Wulfstan’s (Homily 19 in Bethurum’s edition) uses three of the four terms in this study to reveal Wulfstan’s ultimate objective for the country in his work; the archbishop paraphrases from Leviticus 26 where God speaks to Moses about the responsibilities of leadership: “and I give you prosperity and plenty and enough, and you will dwell in the land in peace and in security under my protection” (*on griðe and on friðe under minre munde*; my trans.).

CHAPTER THREE: The *Frið*-words

headword:	<i>frið</i> mn. peace, truce; protection, refuge; violation of these
	<i>friðu</i> fm. peace, protection (poetry only)
verbs:	<i>friðian</i> to make peace with, to protect, to set free <i>friðsumian</i> to reconcile, make peace between
compounds	<i>cyricfrið</i> mn. penalty for violating right of sanctuary
& other	<i>deorfrið</i> n. preservation of game
forms:	<i>fenfreoðo</i> f. fen-refuge <i>ferðfriðende</i> adj. life-sustaining <i>frið</i> wk. adj. beautiful <i>friða</i> m. protector <i>friðað</i> m. oath of peace <i>friðbena</i> m. suppliant <i>friðbrec</i> f. breach of the peace <i>friðburg</i> f. city of refuge <i>friðcandel</i> f. the sun <i>friðgeard</i> m. sanctuary, court of peace <i>friðgeorn</i> adj. peaceable <i>friðgewrit</i> m. peace agreement <i>friðgild</i> n. peace-guild <i>friðgisl</i> m. peace-hostage <i>friðhus</i> n. sanctuary

- friðland* n. friendly territory
friðmal n. article of peace
friðmann m. man under special protection
friðobeacen n. sign of peace
friðoburh f. stronghold
friðoscealc m. angel
friðosibb f. peace-bringer
friðosped f. abundant peace
friðotacn n. sign of peace
friðoðeawas mp. peaceful state
friðowang m. peaceful plain
friðowær f. treaty of peace
friðowearð m. angel
friðowebba m. peace-maker
friðowebbe f. peace-maker
friðscip n. ship for defense
friðsocn f. sanctuary
friðsplott m. peace-spot, sanctuary
friðstol m. sanctuary
friðstow f. sanctuary
friðwite n. penalty for violation of peace
mæðelfrið mn. security enjoyed by pub. assemblies
unfriðflota m. hostile fleet
unfriðhere m. hostile army
unfriðland n. hostile land
unfriðmann m. alien enemy
unfriðscip n. hostile ship
woroldfrið n. worldly peace
derivatives: *friðlend* m. protector
friðleas adj. peaceless

friðleasa m. outlaw
friðlic adj. mild, lenient
friðsum adj. peaceful
unfrið adj. hostile
unfrið m. hostility

Section 1: Etymology, Definitions, and Old English Glosses of Latin Texts

To continue to describe the semantic field for the Old English concept 'legal protection,' we now consider the second and largest group of words, the *frið*-words. *Frið* means 'peace, (national security); truce' and 'protection; refuge, sanctuary'; because in its second sense *frið* is nearly synonymous with some senses of *mund* and is used in legal texts to mean protection, it is included in this study. The *frið*-words form the largest group both in terms of number of items (520) and in terms of the number of individual words included in the word-field (56).

Etymology

There are two distinct roots for the *frið*-words in Old English, one which produces the legal term under discussion here and another which produces the *frið*-word which means "a wood of some kind, or wooded country collectively;" also, "a piece of land grown sparsely with trees or . . . a space between woods; unused pasture;" and "brushwood . . . sometimes forming a hedge" (OED *frith sb*²). OED explains here that there may have been some confusion between this term and "frith *sb*¹ 2a: game preserve, deer park"; also, the hedge sense may be regarded as a special use of 'frith *sb*¹' (since it protects, provides security, and so forth).

The OED distinguishes the legal term we are considering here from that meaning ‘wood; pasture; hedge’ and calls it ‘frith *sb*¹’ with the senses “1) peace; freedom from molestation, protection; safety, security.” Other senses include “2a) a game-preserve, deer-park” (attested in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle¹) and the combined forms ‘frith-guild’ and ‘frith-soken’; ‘frith-stool’ has its own entry (more on this term below). I am omitting the wood/pasture/hedge words (OED *sb.*²) hereafter.

In its etymology *frið* is connected with ‘free’ and ‘friend’ through its Old Teutonic root, **fri-*, to love; this is descended from the root **pri* to love (OED; and, *pri—* in the American Heritage Dictionary Appendix, based on *pra-i-* of Pokorny 844). The descent of the Old English legal term *frið* from roots meaning love or dear involves the idea of related members of a household distinguishing themselves (as loved, kin) from un-free members of the same household (OED sub Free). The participial form of the same root yields ‘friend,’ and a shortened form of this gives in Germanic a word for peace. The sequence ‘free, friend, peace’ is developed in AHD Appendix (1536 at *pri—*, to love) more specifically as “1) extended form **priyo-* in Germanic **frijaz*, beloved, belonging to the loved ones, not in bondage, free, in OE *fre-o* free. 2) suffixed (participial) form **prijont-*, loving, in Germanic **frijand-*, lover, friend, in OE *fri-ond*, *fre-ond*, friend. 3) suffixed shortened form **pri-tu-* in Germanic **frithuz*, peace, in a) OHG *fridu*, peace, b) Frankish **frithu*, **fridu*, peace, c) Germanic **frij-* peace, safety.” The OE *friðu* (*friōðu*, *freoðu*) str. masc. and fem., and *frið* str. neut., are cognate with O. Fris. *fretho*, *frede*, *ferd*, O. Sax. *frith*, m., OHG *fridu*, ON *frið-r*, and Goth. **friþu-s*.

OE *friðian* is from this same root (OED; Holthausen), and OED gives its senses as “1) to keep in peace, make peace with; to secure from disturbance, defend, help, preserve, protect. 2) to free, liberate.”

¹ Whitelock translates *he sætte mycel deorfrið* “he made great protection for the game” in The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1961) 165.



Definitions

Frið's two major senses, peace and protection, are closely related. The power to protect, associated both with particular persons and with special places, creates conditions of peace round about or wherever that power inheres; indeed, the Anglo-Saxon concept 'legal protection' develops over time into what is still known in English law as the King's Peace. Clark Hall lists the two main senses as "peace, tranquility, security, refuge; privilege of special protection, and penalty for the breach of it"; refuge, it seems to me, belongs in the second sense. Holthausen describes the senses as "peace, truce; protection, defense; calm, quiet; security, safety; asylum, refuge; public order." In Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, Liebermann gives nine separate senses (nine different kinds of laws) after giving "peace, truce" as the main sense: "1) state of peace, reconciliation; 2) *frið* and friendship: a) civil (internal) compatibility, and b) national unity between the English and the Danes; 3) national public order; 4) enjoyment of the right of safety and security; 5) ordinances regarding public order; 6) international peace treaty (terms of peace); 7) international personal protection (i.e., laws regarding hostages); 8) privilege of sanctuary belonging to a church, and the penalty for its violation; and, 9) criminal law governing incomes from peacebreakers"² (my trans.).

For the verb *friðian*, Holthausen gives "to make peace; to protect, defend; to love, cherish, to preserve, care for; to guard, keep; to plead of behalf of; to observe, watch;" Clark Hall's list is essentially the same. Liebermann gives "to bring peace to; to protect with security, safety." We know that *friðian* also means 'to set free' because it translates *eripio* and *libero* in the prose Psalter.

Most frequently, *frið* means peace, the public security which the Anglo-Saxons gradually created and worked hard at trying to maintain. Many law

² "Friede. 1) Friedenszustand, Versöhnlichkeit ... 2) *frið* and freondscipe a) mitbürgerliche Verträglichkeit ... b) staatl. Einung zwischen Dänen und Engländern ... 3) staatliche Ordnung, polizeiliche Sicherheit ... 4) Genuss privater Sicherheit ... 5) Polizeianordnung, Sicherheitgesetz ... 6) internationaler Friedensvertrag ... 7) internationaler Privatschutz ... 8) bevorrechteter Schutzgenuss ... und die für dessen Verletzung fällige Busse ... 9) Strafrecht über Friedlose samt Ertrag ... (2: 82).

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codes begin with a preamble stating that the ordinances are for the preservation of the public peace. These almost always appear in a second or third law code of a given king, issued in an attempt to reinforce earlier decrees; examples are in codes known as Alfred and Guthrum, Edward and Guthrum, 2 Edward, 3 Athelstan, 3 Edgar and 3 Æthelred. *Frið* can refer to the peace purchased for particular districts (as in 2 Æthelred 1 et al.). In addition, *frið* can mean truce or the particular terms of a treaty. Approximately three quarters of the items which comprise the *frið*-words have some form of this PEACE-sense. The remaining quarter of the *frið*-words have the PROTECTION-sense, either the protection provided by a person or that of a place of refuge.

The legal term *frið*, as well as the verb *friðian* and several compounds,³ survived into Middle English and seem to have been in common use at least as late as the fourteenth century (according to OED and MED). MED lists an added sense (“customary law within a manor; right to administer such laws”) and other compounds (frith-fin, frith-peni, frith-net, frith-silver) which were associated with this newer sense: frith meant “law and order” and as English law developed, this term developed with it. *Frið* as “wooded land” (with several compounds) was also in common use in the Middle English period; context and compounding presumably kept the two words distinct for their users.

Old English Glosses of Latin Texts

Twelve of the fourteen glosses of Latin texts employing Old English *frið*-words occur in interlinear glosses of Bible texts. Five of these are in glosses to the Rushworth Gospel of Matthew, two are in the Lindisfarne Matthew, and one each occurs in the glosses of the Durham Ritual, Durham Proverbs and three manuscripts of the Psalter. Bede’s metrical life of St. Cuthbert contains one *frið* gloss, and the

³ “OE **friðborg*, lit. ‘peace-pledge’: the word, though found in no document earlier than the spurious ‘Laws of Edward the Confessor’ ... is certainly genuine. A mistranslation of the corrupt form *friborg*, *freoborg* gave rise to the later name Frankpledge” (OED, s.v. Frithborh); more on *friðborg* in F. E. Harmer, Anglo-Saxon Writs (Stamford: P. Watkins, 1989) 405. Neither *friðborg* nor *friborh* is attested in OE.

Antwerp Glossary also has one *frið* item. Locations of *mund-* *frið-* *grið-* and *borg-* words in glosses of Latin texts are listed in Chapter 6, Tables 1a and 1b.

Of the fourteen Latin words glossed by *frið*-words, eight mean ‘peace’ (six are *pax*; however, *pax* is most frequently glossed by *sibb* in Old English⁴). One item glosses a noun form of *propitiatio* (appeasement, something offered to make peace). Three of the remaining five items denote asylum, and one other Latin term has a less clear relationship to this field (‘to control or keep straight,’ for *friðian*, in Bede). These uses of *frið*-words to gloss Latin are thus a quite insignificant proportion of the total field. However, *friðian* translates Latin terms in the prose paraphrase/translation of the first 50 Psalms, and these terms are listed in Table F3a (below, Section 3, p. 78).

Section 2: Description of the Field

The purpose in describing the *frið*-field will be to show how it is related to the legal concept *mund*, and to show how it is used, both in legal texts and elsewhere. This field overlaps the *mund*-field where *frið* means protection, and both protection and peace are closely related legal concepts which are also used extensively in other texts. The FREEDOM-sense will be treated as a minor one because it is less closely related to the *mund* concept: it is never used as a legal concept, and it appears only in a very limited kind of writing.

The 520 items in the *frið*-field make it the largest of the four under consideration, and its 43 compounds and 56 total number of different words give this group by far the greatest number of different lexical items to consider. However, this word-field is no more complex than the other three.

The *frið*-field (illustrated in Chart F2a, below) has two major divisions, and two minor divisions. The PEACE-sense (291 items of 520, or 56%), comprises the subsenses ‘peace, national peace, public security, safety’ (267 items, 51%) as well as ‘truce, terms of truce, alliance’ (20 items, 4%).

⁴ By scanning the entries for *sibb* in the Microfiche Concordance to Old English one can see that *sibb* very frequently glosses *pax*.

Table F1: Latin *frið*-word equivalents in Glosses and Glossary

	<i>frið</i>	<i>friðian</i>	<i>friðstol</i>	<i>friðsum</i>	<i>friðgeorn</i>	<i>friðhus</i>
<i>pax, pacis</i> , f. (peace)	6					
<i>propitiatio, -onis</i> , f. (appeasement)		1				
<i>rego, regere</i> (to control)			1			
<i>libero, -are</i> (to free, release)				1		
<i>refugium, -ii</i> , n. (refuge)				1		
<i>pacificus, -a, -um</i> , aj. (peaceful)					1	1
<i>munitus, -a, -um</i> , aj. (protected, secure)				1		
<i>asylum, -i</i> , n. (asylum)						1
14 items, 2.7% of total field						

Four uses of the verb *friðian* for 'to make peace, to secure' makes up another 1% of the total field. The second major portion of the field is the PROTECTION-sense (147 items of 520, 28% of the total field), and this comprises the subsenses 'protection (and shelter, immunity, help) provided by persons' (49 items, 9%) and 'refuge, sanctuary, asylum, the protection provided by particular places' (42 items, 8%). The 56 uses of *friðian* meaning 'to protect' or its equivalent make up 11% of the total field.

There are also two minor divisions. The third section of this word-field is formed mainly by the 39 uses of *friðian* meaning 'to set free, deliver, redeem' and so forth: three quarters (28) of these items occur in one title, the prose translation of the Psalter, and the remainder in religious prose (9 items) or poetic saints' lives (2 items). There are also four uses of nouns translated as 'freedom.'

In addition, another minor division of the field contains four miscellaneous items and 35 other items which I have called 'negated senses': the *unfrið*-group⁵ (32 items used only in laws and chronicle; 'hostile') and the *friðleas*-group (used twice in poetry, once in law; 'barbarian, outlaw'). The totals for these divisions of the field include 14 Latin glosses (less than 3% of the total field; see Table F1).

The arrangement of this field's sense divisions just described shows two major areas: PEACE (56%) and, exactly half its size, PROTECTION (28%); the negated senses (which are actually 'negative peace,' 7%) can be seen as a sub-division within the PEACE-sense. The whole could be illustrated:

PEACE (63%)	PROTECTION (28%)	FREEDOM (8%)	Misc. (1%)
peace 52%	protection 19%		
neg. peace 7%	refuge 9%		
truce 4%			

⁵ See Christine E. Fell, "Unfrið. An Approach to A Definition," Saga Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research (1982/83): 85-100, for a discussion of these words.

Table F2a: Senses of the *frið*-field

		<i>frið</i>	<i>friðu</i>	<i>friðian</i>	Other
I. PEACE-sense (56%)					
51%	1. public peace, security	235	9		23
4%	2. truce, alliance	6			14
1%	verb: to make, be at, peace; to secure			4	
II. PROTECTION-sense (28.6%)					
9%	1. protection (by person)	26	7		16
8%	2. refuge (prov. by place)	9			33
11%	verb: to protect			58	
III. FREEDOM-sense (7.9%)					
1%	1. freedom	3			1
7%	verb: to set free, deliver			37	
IV. Negated senses and Miscellaneous (7.5%)					
7%	<i>unfrið</i> (32), <i>friðleas</i> (3):	35			
1%	Miscellaneous:				
	to respect (2)			2	
	strength (1)				1
—	beautiful (1)	—	—	—	<u>1</u>
100%	Total: 520	35	279	16	89
		7%	54%	3%	19%
				17%	

The 56 different words which make up the *frið*-field (analyzed in Appendix F), fall easily into just five categories: *frið*, the headword; *friðu*, its u-declension equivalent; *friðian* the verbal form; the negated category (*unfrið* and *friðleas* groups); and all other forms. As noted in Table F2a, there are 279 instances of *frið*: the head-word occupies 54% of the entire field. Of these items, 235 mean 'peace, public peace, national security, safety'; thus, 45% of the entire field has this one primary sense of *frið*. *Friðian* is used only rarely in constructions signifying 'make or be at peace'; this sense is most often created with the noun *frið* and a verbal collocation as we shall see below. *Friðian* is used much more frequently meaning 'to protect' (58 items, 11% of entire field), and meaning 'to set free, deliver' (37 items, 7%; most of these—27 items—are in the prose Psalter translation). *Friðu* occupies just 3% of the field with its 16 items. The 35 items in the negated category make up 7% of the field.

There are 89 items in the remaining category of Chart F2a (Other), making up 17% of the field, but this includes 44 different words, mostly compounds on *frið* or *friðu* (approximately an equal number of each); most of these compounds are used in laws only, or in poetry only (approximately an equal number of each kind). All but three of these compounds are used in the PEACE-sense or the PROTECTION-sense (see Table F2b for a list of these compounds). As one can see from this analysis of Table F2a, the *frið*-field, even with its large number of items and many compounds, is not particularly complex in its arrangement. That there were so many compounds formed to designate various particular legal senses shows that this was an important and useful legal term; that an equally large number of compounds was formed to indicate concepts in poetry shows that this important legal concept was very useful in texts other than legal ones as well.

Table F2b: Location of *frið*-words in the field (head-word and compounds)

	Law	Chronicle	Religious Prose	Poetry
PEACE-sense				
1. peace, security, safety	<i>frið</i>	<i>friðland</i>	<i>friðsum</i>	<i>friðu</i>
	<i>unfrið</i>	<i>friðað</i>	<i>friðsumian</i>	<i>friðowær</i>
	<i>friðgild</i>	<i>unfrið</i>	<i>friðgeorne</i>	<i>friðuscealc</i>
	<i>friðgisl</i>	<i>unfriðhere</i>		<i>friðusped</i>
	<i>friðwyte</i>	<i>unfriðflota</i>		<i>friðuwebba</i>
	<i>mæðelfrið</i>			<i>friðcandel</i>
				<i>friðusibb</i>
				<i>friðotacn</i>
				<i>friðoþeawas</i>
2. truce, alliance	<i>frið</i>			
	<i>friðbrec</i>			
	<i>friðman</i>			
	<i>friðburg</i>			
	<i>friðgewritu</i>			
	<i>friðmal</i>			
	<i>woroldfrið</i>			
	<i>unfriðland</i>			
<i>unfriðman</i>				
<i>unfriðscip</i>				
PROTECTION-sense				
1. protection, help immunity, indemnity, shelter	<i>frið</i>	<i>deorfrið</i>	<i>friðiend</i>	<i>friðu</i>
	<i>friðlic</i>		<i>friða</i>	<i>ferðfriðende</i>
	<i>friðbena</i>			<i>friðobeacen</i>
	<i>friðscip</i>			<i>friðweard</i>

Table F2b (cont'd)

	Law	Chronicle	Religious	Poetry
			Prose	
2. refuge, asylum, sanctuary	<i>frið</i>		<i>friðstol</i>	<i>friðoburh</i>
	<i>cyricfrið</i>		<i>friðstow</i>	<i>friðowang</i>
	<i>friðsocn</i>		<i>friðhus</i>	<i>fenfreoðo</i>
	<i>friðgeard</i>			<i>(friðgeard)</i>
	<i>friðsplott</i>			
Freedom-sense				
1. freedom	<i>frið</i>		<i>friðiend</i>	

Having described the static arrangement of the *frið*-field's contents, we can now add the collocations of verbs with the nouns under consideration to see how the terms were used by the Anglo-Saxons. This helps clarify the meanings of the terms and concepts in the *frið*-field. The number of times such collocations are used in the FREEDOM-sense is virtually nil; they are more numerous in the PROTECTION-sense and most numerous in the PEACE-sense. Particularly interesting is the fact that, in the PEACE-sense of the field (which makes up over half the total field), almost all uses of *frið*-words occur in noun-verb collocations. We can describe the range of meanings available across the *frið*-field by briefly surveying the meanings created with collocations for PEACE and PROTECTION, as illustrated in Table F2c.

Table F2c: Senses of the *frið*-field created with noun-verb collocations**I. PEACE-sense (216 items)**

- | | | |
|---------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| a) peace, national peace, | 9 | to offer, give, keep in peace |
| public security: | 11 | to wish for, desire peace |
| | 31 | to ask or beg for, seek peace |
| | 14 | to buy or give money for peace |
| | 79 | to make, establish, confirm peace |
| | 23 | to obtain, have, dwell in peace |
| | 16 | to maintain, keep, love peace |
| | 12 | to improve or promote peace |
| | 3 | to go or pass in peace |
| | 15 | to scorn, break or violate peace |
| b) truce, alliance: | 2 | to sue for or ask for truce |
| | 1 | to reach town included in truce |

II. PROTECTION-sense (56 items)

- | | | |
|---------------|----|--|
| a) protection | 1 | to go for shelter |
| | 10 | to ask or beseech for protection |
| | 2 | to be entitled to protection |
| | 2 | to find or enjoy protection |
| | 8 | to have, dwell in, be given prot'n |
| | 8 | to protect, to give or maintain prt'n |
| | 3 | to determine merciful punishments |
| b) sanctuary | 2 | to grant rt. of, or appoint, sanctuary |
| | 1 | to stand as sanctuary |
| | 5 | to seek sanctuary |
| | 9 | to be called to or have sanctuary |
| c) refuge | 2 | to offer or make refuge |
| | 3 | to ask for refuge or gain refuge |

One of the motives the Anglo-Saxons had for drawing up their law codes was to try to create for their land the peace and security that is *frið*'s primary sense. One of the senses under Peace in Table F3, then, is to 'make, establish, or confirm peace': the Preamble to the Laws of Edward and Guthrum states that these laws were agreed upon "when the English and the Danes ... entered into relations of peace and friendship"⁶ in the time just after Alfred's reign (item F237). And Cnut's proclamation of 1020 states that the Pope had urged him to "establish perfect security"⁷ through the power which God had given him (F147).

Once established, this peace and security should be 'maintained, kept and loved.' In 5 Æthelstan (early 10th century), the king "learned that the public peace [had] not been kept to the extent"⁸ his earlier decrees had ordained (F12), and 5 and 6 Æthelstan are a series of instructions to his lords, bishops, ealdormen, and shire-reeves that they "should observe the provisions for public security"⁹ throughout his dominions (F103).

The continuing peace was to be further developed as well: it was to be 'improved and promoted.' 5 Æthelred 33 exhorts people to "zealously suppress every kind of injustice" because it is only by doing that "in matters both religious and secular, that any improvement shall be obtained in the condition of our country."¹⁰ Earlier, in Æthelstan's time, peace associations (*friðgilds*, F490, 491) had been established for this purpose; these contained the "tithings" and "hundreds" which may have eventually developed into the "frankpledge" of later times. Promotion of security is mentioned along with improvement of coinage in laws of Edgar, Æthelred and Cnut (F210-14, 217-19). Security was to be promoted to benefit householder and to "be worst for the thief"; coinage was to be improved so that there would be "one currency ...

⁶ F. L. Attenborough, ed. and trans., The Laws of the Earliest English Kings (1922; New York: AMS Press, 1974) 103.

⁷ A. J. Robertson, ed. and trans., The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I (1925; New York: AMS Press, 1974) 141.

⁸ Attenborough 153.

⁹ Attenborough 169.

¹⁰ Robertson 89.

throughout all the country”¹¹ (6 Atr 31; 32.1).

This linking of laws on security and coinage shows the relationship between peace and security and the regulation of commerce. One could buy, or pay for peace (F268): many items of the *unfrið*-group are used in 2 Æthelred, which was drawn up somewhere between 991 and 994, just after the battle of Maldon and the buying of peace from the Danes in 991. Trading with the Danes must have been exciting business: 2 Æthelred is full of stipulations about territories, ships, and persons, who are either included in or excluded from the truce. Hostages (*friðgisl*) could be given to ensure peace while these commercial transactions were taking place (F291, 511). It took the deaths of eight persons to constitute breach of the truce (F462); fewer deaths were merely compensated by wergeld. One can see in all these law codes an attempt to develop and improve conditions in the country which would benefit both individuals and groups, an attempt to regulate both parties in the conflicts that continually threatened to destroy security.

In addition to ‘peace, the security of the country,’ *frið* refers in the laws to ‘protection’ as well. In 3 Æthelred, a criminal whose deed has been broadcast is not “entitled to protection” (*frið*). However, even proven murderers or perjurers might be entitled to protection if they are near the king and they are *friðbenan*—supplicants for protection—and if they have already made their amends to the church first (F488, 489). 2 Æthelred 2-3 stipulates conditions in which protection shall be given to merchant ships, their crewmen, their goods, and subjects of Æthelred dealing with them in or out of specified towns, or houses, or seaside locations. The king’s hunting preserves were to be protected, of course (F389; the *deorfrið* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, F501). Some laws stipulate that outlaws should not receive protection (F313, 332, 333, 514) by an individual or region; only the king could give protection, if he decided to, to an outlaw (F209, for example); this principle runs throughout Anglo-Saxon law.

¹¹ Robertson 131.

Just as people can give protection, so can specified places: *frið*-words can denote aspects of sanctuary and refuge in the laws. For example, to illustrate this concept, we can note that OED defines *friðstol* “OE only: a place of safety, a refuge” and then as “a seat, usually of stone, formerly placed near the altar in some churches, which afforded inviolable protection to those who sought privilege of sanctuary.”¹²

The idea of sanctuary and asylum was an old one, even to the Anglo-Saxons: the refuge found at pagan sanctuaries (*friðgeard*; *friðsplott*) was legislated against in two law codes and the treatise referred to as Canons of Edgar (F494, 496, 497). The refuge which could be sought in churches was well defined and highly compensated. Alfred’s law code (cap. 5) stipulates that “we grant to every church consecrated by a bishop the right of sanctuary,”¹³ *ðis frið*, and the code goes on to describe the practices relating to this *cirican frið* (5.4) in careful detail. The introduction to Alfred’s laws states that, even though he who slays another *should* die, if it were not premeditated he can save his life for *bot*, if he seeks refuge. A criminal who “seeks sanctuary” and “thereby finds refuge for his life” gains one of three possibilities in Law of Grið 16: “wergeld, perpetual thralldom, [or] imprisonment” (F433). The term for a breach of peace affecting the church is *cyric frið* (F476-78). But even someone who commits murder in a church, if he escapes and makes it into the king’s presence (where he “reaches so inviolable a sanctuary,” a *friðsoen*), may have his life granted to him if the king so chooses.

From this brief survey of legal and political ideas which involve the *frið*-words we can see how the senses of this field—peace, national security, and truce; and protection, by persons and at places—involved the *frið*-words and the ranges of sense listed in Table F2c. We can now begin to appreciate the importance of this legal concept as we describe its use in texts other than legal

¹² OED’s example citations come from 17th through 19th century tour-guide books; this shows that the term survived or, more probably, was reactivated by antiquarians who could have found it easily in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

ones.

Section 3: Location of items in type of text: Law, Charter, History, Gloss, Glossary, Other

Once the various senses of the *frið*-words have been distinguished and their arrangement described, we can show how the terms are used in different kinds of texts and list their frequency there. Law codes and charters can be grouped together as Legal Texts, interlinear glosses can be grouped with glossaries as OE Glosses, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Orosius can form a History group,¹⁴ and all other texts can be placed in the Other category. The 56 different Old English words that constitute the *frið*-field are listed in Table F3, and individual items are listed with more information regarding inflexions, contexts, and meanings in Appendix F.

In the previous section, the *frið*-field was shown to be made up of

a PEACE-sense, 63%, (including NEGATED-PEACE terms)
a PROTECTION-sense, 28%,
a FREEDOM-sense, 8%,
and Miscellaneous items, 1%
100%

For simplicity of discussion in the following section I have shifted the two uses of *friðian* as 'respect' and *gefryðsum* as 'strength' to the PROTECTION-sense. I have moved *frið* 'beautiful' to the PEACE-sense ('beautiful' in the sense of 'tranquil, peaceful').

Combining these ideas from Table F2a with the totals illustrated in Table F3, we can see that the *frið*-field could be represented as

¹⁴ Since only eleven words in the *mund*-field came from historical writing, they were not separated out in Section 3 of the previous chapter. The same will be true for the *borg* chapter below. For the *frið*- and *grið*- words, however, historical sources are a substantial subgroup within the field as a whole and thereby merit a separate category.

326	PEACE words	63% of total field
153	PROTECTION words	29%
<u>41</u>	FREEDOM words	<u>8%</u>
520	total	100% .

Several things are apparent from Table F3. Although the total number of items in this field is very high, and the number of different words is also very high, a) the largest number of different words is concentrated in the Legal and Other areas, and b) the largest number of items (mostly *frið* and the *unfrið* group) is in the History area. Old English glosses of Latin constitute only 2.5% of the field and *frið*-words in charters only about 1%; neither of these areas will be discussed in itself further. Despite large numbers of items, the history area uses only a few of the total number of different words. Also interesting is the fact that each of the many compounds formed on *frið* is usually found in either laws or in poetry, not in both. These patterns will be examined at greater length below as a way of describing the *frið*-words' importance as legal terms used in non-legal texts.

Legal Less than a fifth of the entire *frið*-field is occupied by legal terms: 18% of the words are used in laws; about 1% in charters; the 18% of the field taken up by words in law codes is similar to the 15% share of the *mund*-words found in law codes (Chapter Two, Section 3). The legal texts use 24 of the 56 different *frið*-words (eight hapaxes, four *unfrið* words, and twelve others), 43% of the total number; of the 43 different compounds formed with *frið* (or *unfrið*) and another substantive, twenty occur in the laws (while fourteen different compounds are used in poetry; see Table F2b).

Of the 97 *frið*-words occurring in legal texts, 63% (61 items, 12% of the total field) have the PEACE-sense, while 37% (36 items, 7% of the total field) have the PROTECTION-sense. Of these 97 words, 21 occur in 2 Æthelred. This law code illustrates the precise use of *frið* compounds in legal texts: it

Table F3: Location of *frið*-words by type of text

(in each column, PEACE-sense + PROTECTION-sense)

	Total	Legal		Glosses			Other
		Law	Charter	History	Gloss	Glossary	
<i>frið</i>	276	33+12	1+0	149+2	7+0		49+23
<i>friðu</i>	16						9+7
<i>friðian</i>	64	1+11	0+1	3+3	0+1		0+44
<i>unfrið</i> -group (7 words)	32	7+0		25+0			
<i>friðstol</i>	13	0+1	0+1	0+2	0+1		0+8
<i>friðstow</i>	7	0+1					0+6
<i>friðiend</i>	4						0+4
<i>friðowær</i>	5						4+1
<i>friðbrec</i>	3	2+0	1+0				
<i>friðleas</i> (adj.)	2						2+0
<i>friðsum</i> (adj. & v.)	3				1+1		1+0
<i>friðað</i>	3			3+0			
<i>friðmann</i>	3	3+0					
<i>cyricfrið</i>	3	0+3					
<i>friðlic</i>	3	3+0					
<i>friðsocn</i>	2	0+2					
<i>friðoscealc</i>	2						2+0
<i>friðbena</i>	2	0+2					
<i>friðgild</i>	2	2+0					
<i>friðosped</i>	2						2+0
<i>friðgeard</i>	2	0+1					0+1
<i>friðsplott</i>	2						0+2
<i>friðowebbe,</i> <i>friðowebba</i>	3						3+0

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Table F3 (cont'd)

	Total	Law	Charter	History	Gloss	Glossary	Other
Hapax legomena	<u>25</u>	<u>6+2</u>	<u>1+0</u>	<u>1+1</u>	<u>1+0</u>	<u>0+1</u>	<u>5+7</u>
Total for field		57+35	3+2	181+8	9+3	0+1	77+103
w/o 'freedom':	479	92	5	189	12	1	180
% of 520	92%	17.7%	.9%	36.3%	2.3%	.2%	34.6%

friðian as

'set free, deliver'	37 (7%)				1		36
<i>frið</i> as 'freedom'	3			2			1
<i>friðiend</i> as 'deliverer'	<u>1</u>						1
FREEDOM-sense	41 (8%)						
	<u>+479</u>						
Total	520						

PEACE-sense 327=63%

PROTECTION-sense 152=29%

FREEDOM-sense 41=8%

includes three hapax legomena, all four of the seven *unfrið* words used in any legal code, as well as two other compounds.

History The largest area of the *frið*-field is occupied by words found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle or the Alfredian translation of Orosius: there are 189 items, representing 36% of the total field; 131 items are in the Chronicle, 56 are Orosius items, and two are in Bede's Ecclesiastical History. In the *mund*- and *borg*-fields, the History items were infrequent enough to be grouped with the Other category (see p.79, note 14). Here, their number and patterns of usage justify separating them out into a category of their own. For example, while the *frið*-field as a whole is characterized by a large number of different *frið*-words, History uses only ten of them, a mere 18% of the total number of different *frið*-words (in spite of the fact that individual items under history make up over one-third of the total field). The Other category uses over twice that many, and Legal nearly three times as many. Also, History uses the words with a PEACE-sense almost exclusively: of the 189 items, only eight mean 'protection' or 'refuge, sanctuary.' The PEACE-sense includes collocations for 'to make peace' 79 times (usually *niman frið*, but also formed with a few other verbs); this is 42% of all the items in the History area, and 15% of all the items in the *frið*-field. Of the 32 uses of the *unfrið*-group, 25 occur in historical texts, 24 of them in Chronicle writing. The use of *frið*-words in historical writing is not surprising, of course, nor is the large number of these uses for peace and truce: the importance of this legal-political concept for History texts is clear from these numbers, but the concept is also widely used in texts in the Other category. What is interesting is the rarity of the PROTECTION-sense—perhaps a result of the relatively personal dimension of protection as opposed to the more public or even “national” quality of peace and un-peace.

Other Of the several categories illustrated in Table F3, the texts

other than legal, historical, and glosses form the largest single group: the 218 items in the Other category occupy 42% of the total field. More than one third of these mean peace, almost half mean protection, and the remainder have the FREEDOM-sense: all but one of the uses of *friðian* meaning 'to set free or deliver' occur in the Other category. This category is treated in detail in Chapter 6; here I summarize its contents, with more detailed comments on Gen A.B.

		% of 220 in Other	% of 520 in Field
PEACE-words	77	35%	15%
PROTECTION-words	103	47%	20%
FREEDOM-words	<u>38</u>	<u>17%</u>	<u>7%</u>
	218	(99%)	42%

To see more easily how the *frið*-words are used in these texts, the Other category can be divided into two parts, Poetry and a remainder which can be called Religious Prose. The 114 items in the Religious Prose material (52% of Other items, 22% of total field) include 39 from the prose Psalter, 24 from Wulfstan, 19 from Ælfric, seven from Gregory, five from anonymous homilies, and twenty items from fourteen other titles.

The prose Psalter is not an interlinear gloss but rather a paraphrase and translation of the first 50 psalms. Of the 39 *frið*-words in this text and its headings, 35 translate a Latin expression and four appear in Old English passages with no Latin equivalent. These 39 items are the largest number of *frið*-words in any one text and represent a significant proportion of the entire field (7.5%). These paraphrases of the Latin Psalter supplement the gloss and glossary items discussed in Section 1 and help show how the *frið*-words were used to render Latin in Old English (see Table F3a below).

Table F3a: Latin words translated or paraphrased in Prose Psalter

	<i>friðian</i>	<i>friðstow</i>	<i>friðiend</i>
<i>eripio, -ere</i>	14		
(to deliver)			
<i>libero, -are</i>	2		
(to set free)			
<i>protego, -ere</i>	2		
(to cover, protect)			
<i>redimo, -ere</i>	2		
(to buy back, redeem)			
<i>custodio, -ire</i>	1		
(to watch over, protect)			
<i>restituo, -uere</i>	1		
(to rescue, deliver)			
<i>salveo, -ere</i>	1		
(to save)			
<i>refugium, -ii, n.</i>		3	
(refuge)			
<i>protector</i>			2
from ptc. of <i>protego, -ere</i>			
<i>adjutor, -oris, m.</i>			1
(helper)			
<i>liberator, -oris, m.</i>			1
(deliverer)			
30 total, plus 5 more uses of <i>friðian</i> in Psalter Headings, plus four uses of <i>friðian</i> with no Latin equivalent.			

The Wulfstan material¹⁵ in his homilies, Polity, and Canons of Edgar which this study catalogues consists almost entirely of passages that also appear in law codes he authored. Ælfric's material here contains nothing surprising or unusual to note: the *frið*-words mean simply peace or protection in contexts where one expects such usages; he does not use any of the compounded forms.

In Old English poetry, however, the *frið*-words show a more complete and productive use of the range of possibilities available than in the religious material, a more even distribution. The 104 items in the Poetic material (48% of the Other items, 20% of the entire field) include 19 from Gen A,B, 13 from Andreas, nine from Guthlac, eight each from Paris Psalter and Beowulf, six each from Daniel and Christ, four from Elene, three from Maldon, and one or two each from 21 other titles. Peace words predominate in the items from Genesis A,B: 17 of the 19 have the PEACE-sense. All three of the Maldon items, five of the eight *frið*-words in Beowulf, and two of the four items in Elene have the PEACE-sense. In Andreas, Guthlac, Daniel, and Christ the protection sense occurs more frequently. The 19 items in Genesis A,B make up the greatest number of *frið*-words in a single title¹⁶ aside from the prose Psalter, and a closer examination of their use in the Genesis will be a suitable conclusion to this chapter.

The many *frið*-words in the 2936 lines of Gen A,B employ the full range of senses these words have in Old English. Three occur in the story of the fall of Lucifer, one in the Cain and Abel story, three in the passage on the generations from Adam to Noah, and three in the Noah story. The other nine appear in various sections of the story of Abraham. Examining how the *frið*-words are used in Gen A,B illustrates several of the Anglo-Saxons' concerns about government and society.

The *frið*-words in the fall of Lucifer passage establish a general

¹⁵ For a list of the several texts authored by Wulfstan, see Chapter 2, note 5.

¹⁶ Genesis B, an over 600-line translation of an Old Saxon original and generally regarded to be a separate poem from A, is interpolated by the Junius Ms. compiler into the nearly 3000 lines of Genesis A; DOE uses the collective title Genesis A,B.

principle. The angels originally lived *on friðe* (in peace, F258), but God took away peace (*friðo* F287) from the rebels and created hell; *grap on wraðe faum folmum, and him on fæðm gebræc* “he seized his foes with hostile hands and crushed them in his bosom,” Gordon translates, and fifteen lines later continues “then was true peace in heaven, fair quiet” (*freoðobeawas* F520). Properly, people live in peace and security when the throne is not challenged; when it is, peace is withdrawn from some. The crime of Cain (presented here more in terms of kinship than it is in the Bible) results similarly in his expulsion from his native land, but he wanders in exile with a *freoðobeacen* (a sign of immunity, F516), a kind of special protection from God. Here we see that even an offender can be granted immunity in special cases.

The passages from the story of the generations of Adam illustrate more about peace conditions. Enos lived *on friðe drihtnes* (in the peace of God, F291), and Enoch increased *freoðosped* (abundant peace, F492). However, the sons of Seth took the wrong kind of wives; this group of men *ær on friðe wæron* (who formerly were in peace, F255) were led astray by evil forces and are called *wærloga* (whence warlock), covenant-breakers, by the Anglo-Saxon poet. Here again, the stories illustrate that proper leaders create conditions of peace in which people live securely; breaking that sort of implied covenant brings disaster.

Even though God will bring on the flood for the covenant-breakers, he grants Noah a kind of special protection: he tells him *þu scealt frið habban* (you will have refuge, F85) because he knows *þu eart freoðo wyrðe* (you are worthy of peace, F294). After the flood, God tells Noah to live *mid gefean fryðo* (with the gladness of peace, F288) and he tells him that he will have a noble heritage. Proper rulership is reestablished with the covenant after the flood.

The remainder of the Gen A,B passages are concerned with Abraham's story. God's promise to Abraham in Genesis 12.1-4 is expanded somewhat by the Anglo-Saxon poet; in part, God promises Abraham that *þu gebletsad scealt*

on mundbyrde minre lifigan (you shall live blessed under my protection, M202). When he continues by telling Abraham that all mankind will be blessed through him, he adds *onfoð folcbearn freoðo and freondscipe* (the sons of men receive peace and friendship, F289): the blessing is expressed in terms that include peace.

Two items occur in the Genesis passage where Sarah masquerades as Abraham's sister in Egypt. When they are escorted out of the land, they are given safe passage *þæt he on friðe wære* (so that he might be in peace, F256; the other is item F295). In the story of Ishmael and Hagar, an angel (*freoðuscealc*, F486) speaks to Hagar, and Abraham puts the sign of peace (*friðotacn*, F519) on his sons.

The other four passages are concerned with Abraham and Lot and the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. Lot asks the wicked men *læteð frið agon gistas mine, þa ic for god wille gemundbyrden* ("let my guests go free, since I will defend them against you as well as I can, before God," Mason's translation, F138, M84). Here, Lot exercises the host's obligation to provide protection for his guests. Angels (*freoðoscealcas*, F487) speak to Lot; when he requests safe passage to a city of refuge, the angels tell him *wit þe frið healdað and mundbyrde* (we shall keep thee in peace and safety, F225 and M200). In two passages not mentioned so far, God is Lord of Peace (F295) and the sun is a peaceful luminary (*friðcandel*, F506).

The *frið*-words in Gen A,B denote various kinds of peace conditions, refuge, safe passage, and even special protection—not surprising in a book about a kind of tribal history. They (and the *mund*-words also found in the poem and synonyms for both) indicate the presence of a theme about the proper activity of governments and individuals in society that could be developed in future research.

CHAPTER FOUR: The *Grið*-words

- headword: *grið* n. peace, truce, protection, sanctuary
- verb: *griðian* to make peace, truce; to protect
- compounds: *cyricgrið* n. right of sanctuary with in church
griðbryce m. breach of *grið*, penalty for breach
griðlagu f. law of temporary or local peace
hadgrið n. privilege as regards peace of holy orders
hælnesgrið n. peace-privileges attaching to a sanctuary
handgrið n. protection granted (by king) in person
- derivatives: *griðleas* adj. without special protection
ungrið n. enmity

Section 1: Etymology, Definitions, and Old English Glosses of Latin Texts

The third group of words to consider in describing the semantic field for the Old English concept “legal protection” are the *grið*-words. *Grið*, a Scandinavian loan word, first comes into use in the mid-tenth century. According to Serjeantson, “the earliest loans . . . are of a more or less technical

character, having to do chiefly with the sea and with legal customs.”¹ It is generally parallel in meaning to *frið*, but more specific: “it denotes ‘peace’ in a limited or localised sense, *i.e.*, the sanctuary afforded by special places or the protection granted by a particular person.”² In some of its uses, *grið* is also quite close in meaning to *mund*.

Etymology

As a preliminary to describing the field formed by the *grið*-words, we can survey the definitions for *grið* and *griðian*, and comment on their etymology. There is not much information on the etymology of *grið*: Holthausen states merely that it is from Old Icelandic, and MED only that it is “from ON.” For its etymology, OED states that it is adopted from “ON *grið* neut., *orig.* domicile, home; in *pl.*, truce, peace, pardon; hence, sanctuary, asylum.” And the American Heritage Dictionary, while it gives definitions for ‘grith,’ only states “from Old Norse gridh” and shows no connection to its etymological appendix (where information from Pokorny is summarized for each IE root).

Definitions

The definitions for *grið* given in dictionaries list the senses as specific aspects of peace or protection. Clark Hall gives for *grið*, n., “truce, (temporary) peace . . . ; protection of the person, asylum, sanctuary, guarantee of safety” and for *griðian*, “to make a truce or peace . . . ; protect . . .”). Holthausen lists the four concepts “truce, peace, protection, safety.” In Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, Liebermann gives “peace” (*Frieden*) for the headword and lists the following senses for the various kinds of laws: “first, security (safe conduct); second, special protection, either ecclesiastical or royal, and the amount of fine for its violation; and third, appointed time for

¹ M. S. Serjeantson, A History of Foreign Words in English (New York: Dutton, 1936) 63.

² A. J. Robertson, The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I (1925; New York: AMS Press, 1974)297.

asylum in house of king, prince, archbishop, bishop, or ealdorman”³ (my trans.). For *griðian*, Liebermann gives “to protect with special peace, to pacify with special protection.”⁴

Because *grið* and *griðian* continue to be used in the Middle English period, both OED and MED give a thoroughly subdivided and developed set of senses and examples. (As one would expect, given Scandinavian settlement patterns in England, many Middle English examples are northern.) OED gives six senses. First, the obsolete sense: “guaranteed security; protection, defense; safe conduct.” Examples are from OE laws, Cursor Mundi, York Mysteries, and one each from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Second, “specifically in OE law, security, peace, or protection guaranteed under particular limitations of time or place; as church-grith . . . [or] hand-grith . . . ; after the OE period used without qualification” to mean church-grith. Besides OE examples, several are found in Ancrene Riwe, Barbour’s Bruce, Caxton, Stowe (a seventeenth century chronicle), and Walter Scott (spelled ‘girth’). Third, “a place of protection; a sanctuary, asylum” with examples from Cursor Mundi, Bruce, Towneley Mysteries, and the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Fourth, again an obsolete sense: “peace (in the general sense). Often collocated in OE and early ME with *frith*, in later ME with peace.” There are OE examples, and Layamon, Havelok, Arthur and Merlin, Coventry and Towneley Mysteries. A fifth sense, also obsolete: “Quarter (in battle),” with fourteenth- and fifteenth-century examples. And sixth, Scottish, “the cessation of the criminal courts during Christmas time and certain other seasons” Besides grithbreach (“breach of the peace” and “penalty for breach of the peace”), OED also shows the combined forms grith-man, -priest, -sergeant; -rod; -place, -stool, -stone, -town, with ME and later examples of use. For the verb “to grith” (*griðian*), OED

³ *1) Sicherheit [des Geleits für Befehdeten]... 2) Sonderschutz... a) kirchlicher... b) königlicher... c) Geldbewertung der Busse für Verletzung von ~... 3) Sicherheitsfrist für Asyl im Hause des Königs, Prinzen, Erzbischofs bezw. Bischofs, Ealdormans” (2: 106).

⁴ *1) Sicherheit [des Geleits für Befehdeten]... 2) Sonderschutz... a) kirchlicher... b) königlicher... c) Geldbewertung der Busse für Verletzung von ~... 3) Sicherheitsfrist für Asyl im Hause des Königs, Prinzen, Erzbischofs bezw. Bischofs, Ealdormans” (2: 106).

gives “intr. to make peace” and “trans. to give peace or protection to” with examples from Layamon and the late thirteenth century. The MED gives five senses for *grið*: peace of nation, general peace; cessation of fighting, truce; protection (in house, or by king), safe conduct; sanctuary (of church); mercy, pardon [equivalent with ‘quarter’ in OED].

Here we can compare *grið* with *frið*, using comments from Stubbs in Bosworth-Toller and from Robertson in Laws of the Kings of England:

The *grith* is a limited or localized peace, under the special guarantee of the individual, and differs little from the protection implied in the *mund* or personal guardianship which appears much earlier; although it may be regarded as another mark of territorial development. When the king becomes the lord, patron, and *mundborh* of his whole people, they pass from the ancient national peace of which he is the guardian into the closer personal or territorial relation of which he is the source. . . .The *friith* is enforced by the national officers, the *grith* by the king’s personal servants; the one is official, the other personal; the one the business of the country, the other that of the court. The special peace is further extended to places where the national peace is not fully provided for.” (Stubbs qtd. in B-T *sub grið*)

And from Robertson:

“Liebermann regards the two terms *grið* and *frið* as practically synonymous by the time of Æthelred . . . but suggests that if there is an underlying difference between them, *frið* has the special sense of security against assailants, while *grið* implies the privilege of assuring safety to others.” (335)

Grið and *frið* are parallel concepts, with *grið* being the more specific and localized of the two.

Old English Glosses of Latin Texts

There are only three instances where Latin words are glossed by the Old

English *grið*-words (summarized below in Table G1). The gloss of *præsidio* by *grið* in Boethius seems reasonable⁵; less plausible is the gloss (in duplicate manuscripts) of *eripio, -ere* (to snatch or take away, to set free or deliver) by *griðian*, in a passage in Aldhelm where Hilarion snatches the people out of the fiery breath of a dragon. It seems possible that the glossator has confused *griðian* with *friðian*, which would be the expected word, since that verb frequently glosses *eripio* (see Chapter 3: p. 62, and Table F3a on p. 78). The glosses of Latin words by *grið*-words seem insignificant and comprise only 1.5% of the total field.

Table G1: Latin *grið*-word equivalents in Glosses

<i>præsidium, -ii, n.</i> (guarding, protecting, defending)	1 gloss by <i>grið</i> (Boethius)
<i>eripio, -ere</i> (to snatch or take away; to set free, deliver)	2 glosses by <i>griðian</i> (Aldhelm)

Section 2: Description of the *grið*-field

Like *frið*, *grið* has the two main senses PEACE and PROTECTION; this word-field overlaps that of *mund* where *grið* means protection, and it overlaps *frið* in both senses. Since peace and protection are closely related legal concepts, *mund*, *frið*, and *grið* have closely related and overlapping word-fields.

The *grið*-field is illustrated in Table G2a (below) which shows the proportions among *grið*'s senses and subsenses. 52% (105 of the field's 201

⁵ *La hwæðer on griðe synt frynd þa na mægen ac gewyrd gesibsumys* glosses *An præsidio sunt amici quos non virtus sed fortuna conciliat*; Loeb translates *Are we really helped by friends who are drawn to us not by our virtue but by our fortune?*, lit. *are they friends at need* (Latin: *are they friends as a defense?*): Consolation of Philosophy Book 3, prose 5.

items) have a PEACE-sense, and 47% (94 items) have a PROTECTION-sense. The two glosses of *eripio, -ere* by *griðian* in Aldhelm make up the other 1%.

The PEACE-sense can be subdivided into three sections: one includes items meaning ‘general peace, security’ (18% of total field); with these I include *ungrið* and two uses in laws of *griðbryce* where it specifically refers to breach of peace. *Grið* itself can also mean the fine for violation of the peace. Another subsense includes items meaning truce, terms of truce, or quarter (mercy on the battlefield); these make up 13% of the field. The use of *griðbryce* in charters I have included here as a third subsense rather than conflating it with the general peace subsense, so that this use can be seen and compared separately (see below, Section 3); it makes up 20% of the field.

The PROTECTION-sense includes a subsense for ‘protection, safe conduct’ (and 4 *griðbryce* items from laws meaning breach of this specific kind of protection); these uses make up 39% of the field. The other subsense is ‘sanctuary, the right of sanctuary’ in a church (where I have included *griðleas*); this subsense makes up 8.5% of the total field.

We can see from this table that *grið*-words are used in charters in about a fifth of their uses; these are formulaic and mean “the royal dues from breach of *grið*” (whatever sense of *grið* it may be). In about a third (32%) of their uses *grið*-words mean peace or truce. In nearly half of their uses *grið*-words mean protection, either that provided to a specific person, or that deriving from specified places. These primary senses and subsenses can be seen to be at least partially analogous and parallel to those in the *frið*-field (see Table F2a).

Words in the Field Ten different words make up the *grið*-field: the headword, a verb, six compounds and two derivatives (four are hapax legomena). As Table G2a illustrates, the head-word is used for all four subsenses, most often for ‘protection, safe conduct.’ Aside from the dubious gloss in Aldhelm, *griðian* means ‘to make peace; to make a truce, to come to terms; or to give protection,’ three of the four subsenses. *Griðbryce* refers

Table G2a: Senses of the *grið*-field

		<i>grið</i>	<i>griðian</i>	<i>griðbryce</i>	other words
I. PEACE-sense (52%)					
18.5%	1. general peace, security (incl. 2 <i>griðbryce</i>)	15	15	2	<i>cyricgrið</i> 1 <i>hadgrið</i> 1 <i>hælnesgrið</i> 1 <i>griðlagu</i> 1 <i>ungrið</i> 1
13.5%	2. truce, terms	19	8		
20%	3. <i>griðbryce</i> in Charters			41	
II. PROTECTION-sense (47%)					
39%	1. protection, safe-conduct (incl. 4 <i>griðbryce</i>)	50	8	4	<i>cyricgrið</i> 8 <i>handgrið</i> 8
8%	2. sanctuary	3			<i>cyricgrið</i> 10 <i>griðleas</i> 3
III. Miscellaneous (1%)					
1%	(2 glosses for “to set free”)				

specifically to breach of the peace twice, and to a breach of protection four times, but most often it is used formulaically in charters (see below in Section 3).

The remaining seven words have more precise uses. Liebermann translates *cyricgrið* in one instance as “fine for breach of the special peace” of a church (item G166), but this word usually refers to protection or sanctuary within or around a church (GdA 2:35). The parallel concept is *handgrið*: this is “the special protection conferred by the king’s hand (in person)” (GdA 2.110). Each *handgrið* passage is in a parallel construction with *cyricgrið*, as in E Gu 1: “sanctuary within the walls of a church [*cyricgrið*], and the protection granted by the king in person [*cyninges handgrið*], shall remain equally inviolate” (Attenborough 102-03). *Griðleas* occurs in Sermo Lupi ad Anglos (Wulfstan) only, referring to violation of church sanctuaries. The four hapax legomena (*hadgrið*, *hælnesgrið*, *griðlagu*, *ungrið*) all mean ‘peace.’ Six of these seven *grið*-derivatives, all instances of *griðbryce* outside charters, and large numbers of the headword and verb are used only by Wulfstan: 42% of all *grið*-field items appear only in texts attributed to Wulfstan,⁶ with almost all the remainder in Chronicle and Charters. This unusual distribution will be discussed below (Section 3).

Collocations (including ‘grið and frið’)

We can continue to describe the field of the *grið*-words by discussing the range of meanings created in the subsenses by the use of the verbal form *griðian*, by the use of collocations of *grið*-words with verbs outside the field, and by the paired use of *grið* and *frið*. These are illustrated in Table G2b, which reflects uses of *griðian* and noun-verb collocations in the large portion of the *grið*-field drawn from laws and the Chronicle.

The range of meanings available in the general peace and security subsense includes ‘give peace,’ ‘make peace,’ and ‘dwell in peace,’ (evidenced in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle), as well as ‘maintain security (of a church),’ ‘break peace,’ and ‘pay the compensation for breach of peace,’ (the latter three

⁶ See Chapter 2, note 5, for texts attributed to Wulfstan.

attested in the laws). For the truce subsense, we find ‘ask for a truce’; ‘arrange make or establish a truce’; ‘come to terms’; ‘repudiate a truce’ and ‘give quarter’; all of these occur in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

The range of meanings associated with the PROTECTION-sense is greater and includes more of the legal uses of the *grið*-words. In the Chronicle, people are said to ask for or seek protection or safe conduct and to give and grant protection or safe conduct. *Griðian* is used in the laws meaning ‘to protect.’ Elsewhere in the laws, collocations produce the meanings ‘be entitled to protection,’ ‘have protection,’ ‘be under protection or safe conduct’ and ‘show respect for protection.’ *Grið*-words also refer to violation of protection and amends for such violation. All of the legal uses of these terms are Wulfstan’s except one referring to safe conduct during vendetta (G78) and four from 3 Atr dealing with the possibility of compensation for *griðbryce*. *Grið*-words also are used with the meanings ‘show respect for sanctuary’ and ‘violation of sanctuary.’ As this discussion and Table G2b show, the *grið*-words can form precise legal meanings, and most are associated with the PROTECTION-sense.

grið and frið *Grið*-words also appear in the pairs *grið and frið* (three times, G19-21), *on griðe and on friðe* (once, G69), and *griðian and friðian* (six times, G88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 97). Six of these are used by Wulfstan, and the other four occur in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (for years during or after Wulfstan’s time). Whitelock translates the Chronicle pair *grið and frið* as ‘peace and truce’ made with a harrying army in the entry for the year 1011. She translates *griðian and friðian* as ‘protect and secure’ in the annal for 1093 where William II, on what was supposed to be his death bed, makes many charitable vows to God (recanted later in better health), among them ‘to protect and secure’ God’s churches.

The *on griðe and on friðe* phrase is found in Wulfstan’s Homily 19, where Wulfstan is paraphrasing passages from Leviticus 26 (Bethurum 354). There Yahweh promises Moses blessings if the people are faithful:

Table G2b: Senses of the *grid*-field created with noun-verb collocations**I. PEACE-sense**

peace, security	to give peace†
	to make peace†
	to maintain security* G88; to dwell in peace
	to break peace* G34
	to pay comp'n for breach of peace* G29
truce, terms	to ask for a truce†
	to arrange, make or establish a truce†
	to come to terms†
	to give quarter†
	to repudiate a truce†

II. PROTECTION-sense

protection, safe conduct	to ask for or seek protection, or safe conduct†
	to be entitled to protection* G43
	to grant safe conduct; to protect* G113
	to take someone into protection†
	to have protection* G25
	to be under, or in, protection* G55
	to be under safe conduct* G78
	to show respect for protection* G62
	to violate protection* G179
	to make amends for violation of protection* G122
sanctuary	to show respect for (God's) sanctuary†
	to violate sanctuary†

* attested in laws, with example item number;

† collocations marked with † occur in the A-S Chronicle.

& ge orsorge wuniap on lande on griðe & on friðe under minre munde, ‘and you will dwell safely in the land in peace and security under my protection’ (my trans.). As we have already seen, Wulfstan here draws together three of the words under consideration in this dissertation.

In the laws 6 Atr 42.3, 1 Cn 2 and 1 Cn 4 (G88, 89, 90) and in Homilies U27 and U48 (G92, 93), Wulfstan writes that Christian men should “diligently maintain the security and sanctity [*griðian & friðian*] of the churches of God,” (Robertson’s translation for the three laws, pp. 104-05, 154-55, 158-59). On parallel duplicate passages in Wulfstan generally, see below, Section 3.

Section 3: Location of Items in Type of Text–Law, Charter, Chronicle, Gloss, Other

Having distinguished the various senses of the *grið*-words and described the arrangement of the field, we can show where the *grið*-words occur and list their frequencies there. As in the previous sections, I distinguish laws, charters, history, glosses and glossaries, and place the remainder in an Other category. The ten different Old English words making up this field are listed in Table G3a; for the individual items, with more information regarding inflections, contexts, and meanings, see Appendix G.

Grið-words occur with the PEACE-sense 105 times (52% of field), with the PROTECTION-sense 94 times (47%), and in two glosses meaning ‘set free,’ (1%). If we separate out the formulaic use of *griðbryce* in charters, we can illustrate this field as follows:

PEACE-sense	
peace, security, truce	32%
<i>griðbryce</i> in charters	20%
PROTECTION-sense	
protection, sanctuary	47%
Misc.	<u>1%</u>
	100%

Table G3a: Location of *grið*-words by type of text

[no Glossary items]

(in each column, PEACE-sense + PROTECTION-sense)

	Total	Law	Charter	Chronicle	Gloss	Other
<i>grið</i>	87	6+19	0+2	25+19	0+1	3+12
<i>griðian</i>	31	3+3		16+2		4+3
	<u>+2</u>				[*2]	
	33					
<i>griðbryce</i>	47	2+4	41			
<i>cyricgrið</i>	19	1+12				0+6
<i>handgrið</i>	8	0+4				0+4
<i>griðleas</i>	3					0+3
<i>hadgrið</i>	1	1+0				
<i>hælnesgrið</i>	1	1+0				
<i>ungrið</i>	1		1+0			
<i>griðlagu</i>	<u>1</u>	<u>1+0</u>	—	—	—	—
		15+42	42+2	41+21	[*2]+1	7+28
Total	201	57	44	62	3	35
% of 201		28%	22%	31%	2%	17%

*FREEDOM-sense 1%

PEACE-sense 52%

PROTECTION-sense 47%

Thus, the use of *grið*-words is split approximately half and half between a PEACE-sense and a PROTECTION-sense, with about 2/5 of the PEACE-sense occupied by *griðbryce* items in charters.

We can now discuss the patterns apparent in Table G3a. We notice that there are no Glossary items, and that the three glosses are an insignificant part of this field: because they have been described above, further discussion is unnecessary here. Use of *grið*-words in chronicle writing forms the largest single group, but it involves only two of the ten words, *grið* and *griðian*, the primary noun and verb of the field. *Grið*-words in charters form another large group, consisting very largely of the formulaic use of *griðbryce*. Unlike the Chronicle and Charter categories, law codes contain almost all of the *grið*-words (eight of ten), and texts in the Other category use five of the ten. Of the five words not found in the Other category, four are hapaxes, and one is the Charter term *griðbryce*. Legal writing (laws plus charters) involves almost exactly 50% (101/201) of the items.

Perhaps the most striking point not immediately apparent in this Table is that Archbishop Wulfstan used these words extensively, in various kinds of texts. Their remaining uses are limited almost entirely to the Chronicle and Charter categories. The use of *grið*-words by Wulfstan and by other writers is compared in Table G3b.

This table illustrates the location of the *grið*-words in a more useful way: the reader can see that almost half of the items for this late Scandinavian loan-word occur in texts attributed to Wulfstan (who was writing in the north), and we can see that they are all in the Law and Other categories. It is not surprising that many of the *grið*-words are in texts authored or compiled by Wulfstan: although there was not a lot of writing from the north of England preserved from this period (“our records for the north are scanty”⁷), much of what has come down to us is Wulfstan’s. In this study, for example, we find

⁷ D. Whitelock, ed., *Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos*, 3rd ed. (London: Methuen 1963) 13, hereafter *SLaA*. This introduction and the one in Bethurum’s *Homilies of Wulfstan* (noted below) are the authoritative sources for Wulfstan studies in general, as well as for my purposes here.

**Table G3b: Location of *grið*-words in Wulfstan
and non-Wulfstan Texts**

	WULFSTAN		non-WULFSTAN				
	Law	Other (Homs./Pol.)	Law	Charter	Chronicle	Gloss	Other
<i>grið</i>	21	12	5	2	43	1	3
<i>griðian</i>	6	7			18	2	
<i>griðbryce</i>	6			41			
<i>cyricgrið</i>	13	6					
<i>handgrið</i>	4	4					
<i>griðleas</i>		3					
<i>hadgrið</i>	1						
<i>hælnesgrið</i>	1						
<i>griðlagu</i>	1						
<i>ungrið</i>	—	—	—	<u>1</u>	—	—	—
total: 201	53	32	5	44	61	3	3
	Wulfstan: 85		non-Wulfstan: 116				
% of field:	42%		58%				
(201)							

that 63% of all the *mund- frið- grið-* and *borg-* items in law codes are in codes compiled by Wulfstan and that 20% of all 916 items in the combined field are his.

All but five of the 58 *grið-* words in the law codes appear in those written by Wulfstan; four of the five appear in 3 Æthelred and the fifth in 2 Edmund. Both are earlier than Wulfstan's known writing of law codes: 3 Atr can be dated 997, and 2 Edm between 939 and 946 (see Appendix A for dates of law codes). The Other category in Tables 3a and 3b consists of 32 items in Wulfstan's homilies and the Polity,⁸ and only three other items by other writers. All instances of the use of *cyricgrið*, *handgrið*, *griðlagu*, *hadgrið*, *hælnesgrið*, and *griðleas* are in texts by Wulfstan, while only the headword, the verb, and *griðbryce* are even used by other writers. (*Griðlagu*, it may be noted, is a compound in which both elements are Scandinavian loan-words.) Of the entire field of *grið-*words, 42% of the items are Wulfstan's; 37% occur in texts by other writers, and 20% occur in charter formulas. Or, we could say that Wulfstan used 53% of the *grið-*words outside charter formulas, and other writers used the remaining 47%.

Chronicle Despite the importance of Wulfstan's contribution to the *grið* field, the biggest category of *grið-*words are the 62 items in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, beginning with the annal for 1002 (G13-15). Two-thirds of these have a PEACE-sense, while one third have a PROTECTION-sense. Whitelock translates fifteen of the 41 peace-words as 'peace' and 26 of them as 'truce,' usually in verbal collocations meaning 'make or arrange a truce,' 'come to terms,' or 'ask for a truce.' In the other 21 items, these words refer to some aspect of protection: 12 items for 'to protect' or 'to grant or take into protection,' or 'to seek protection.'⁹ And in another nine items, they refer

⁸ K. Jost, Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical." Swiss Studies in English 47 (Bern: Franke, 1959).

⁹ The one who has been vanquished in a conflict asks for a truce or makes peace, while the one who has prevailed gives protection. We translate the same verb with two seemingly opposed senses, but the Anglo-Saxons probably regarded the outcome of the situation as one in which there were shared responsibilities: making peace and giving allegiance, and giving protection.

to safe conduct. Only the two most basic *grið*-words are used in the Chronicle category, *grið* and *griðian*.

Charter Laws and charters could be discussed together here as 'legal' language (as in the *mund*, *frið*, and *borg* chapters), but for *grið* we will do well to keep them separate.

Charters use *grið*-words 44 times, and only three are not formulaic uses of *griðbryce*. *Grið* refers to protection twice, and *ungrið* refers to the enmity of God in another charter. The remaining 41 items are used in lists of privileges expressed by a standard legal formulaic construction like that of Charter 986, a grant in AD 1020 from King Cnut to Archbishop Æthelnoð of “judicial and financial rights over his own men, and over Christ Church, and over as many thegns as the king has granted him to have.”¹⁰ The charter reads, & ic cyðe eow þæt ic hæbbe geunnan him þæt he beo his saca & socne wyrðe & griðbryces & hamsocne & . . . : “and I inform you that I have granted him that he be entitled to his sake and soke, and to grithbrych and hamsocne and . . . ” (183). According to Harmer, this formula is called the “main announcement” and “appears in the form: ‘I inform you that I *have granted*, or *given* . . . ’ such and such an estate, privilege, or office, to X, or to a religious house This is the largest group of writs.” The “I have granted” formula is Harmer’s type #1.¹¹ Three other main announcement formulas specified by Harmer are used in charters with *griðbryce* : items G145, 146, and 147 employ Harmer’s formula type #4 “my will is that he *shall have* such and such a thing . . . ”; items G132, 133, and 154 use formula type #3 “I inform you that my will is that the land (or sokes) at X *shall belong to* . . . such and such a religious house.” Item G139 employs Harmer’s formula type #2 “I inform you that my will is that X shall be ‘*worthy of* i.e. shall be entitled to . . . such and such an estate, privilege or office” (66).

¹⁰ F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 2nd ed. (Stamford: P. Watkins, 1989).

¹¹ Harmer 63; this formula is employed in items 127, 128, 130, 131, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 148, 149, 151, 152, 155, 156, 157.

In five of the charters under consideration here, the list of privileges in Old English is embedded in a Latin text of the charter (items G129, 153.2, 158, 159, and 159.5). Only a part of the list of privileges appears in fragmentary sentences in four charters whose texts I have not seen (items G150, 153, 153.1, and 160), and therefore the larger context cannot be known easily. In the post-conquest charter “Record of the dues pertaining to Taunton,” *griðbryce* occurs four times in lists of fines that various estates owed the king.

The 41 uses of *griðbryce* in charters all appear in this kind of stiffly formulaic writing, which seems to me to be quite different from the kind of writing that uses a “living” language like that which Wulfstan might have used in a homily or even a law code or, similarly, like the language a chronicle writer might have copied into his annal. For this reason I have kept these charter items in their own category throughout this analysis of the *grið*-words.

Law Before discussing Wulfstan’s use of the *grið*-words in more detail, we can describe the five uses of *grið* in law codes written before Wulfstan began to compile the several codes attributed to him, the earliest of which can be dated with certainty at 1008 (5 Æðelred). Four of the five uses occur in 3 Æðelred (dated 997; G5 29, 30 34), which the king

and his councillors have enacted . . . for the promotion of public security [*to friðes bote*]: Namely, that the king’s peace [*his grið*] shall continue to be maintained in accordance with the highest standards observed in the days of his ancestors, so that breach of the peace which he establishes in person shall not be atoned for (*þæt þæt sy botleas þæt he mid his agenre hand sylð*) by any payment of compensation, (Robertson 64-65; my emphasis).

Here we can see *frið*, the public security, and the specific *grið* established by the king personally (literally, ‘with his own hand’), crimes against which are

bootless. Description of compensations at levels other than the king's constitute the other three items in 3 Æðelred.

The one use of *grið* in 2 Edmund (G78, and see Appendix A) is the earliest use in a legal code, dated 939-946 by Whitelock.¹² This code helps regulate vendetta, a practice which the authorities were attempting to eradicate. A slayer gave security to his advocate to give to the victim's kinsmen (that he would make reparation), and then the victim's kindred would "give security to the slayer's advocate (*man sylle ðæs slagan forspecan on hand*), that the slayer may approach under safe-conduct (*þæt se slaga mote mid griðe nyr*) and pledge himself to pay the wergeld" (Robertson 10-11). These examples show some of the concerns Wulfstan inherited, and some of the uses of *grið* in the laws prior to the archbishop's own legal writing.

Whereas the formulaic use of *griðbryce* in charters refers to the financial rights in someone's jurisdiction, the remaining six uses of *griðbryce* in laws refer specifically to breaches of a special peace, or of special protection, conferred by the king himself. These six uses are all in law codes attributed to Wulfstan.

Wulfstan served as Archbishop of York from 1002 until his death in 1023. "As the northern archbishop, he must have had a very difficult task, for Northumbria was an unruly area" due to the large numbers of Scandinavian settlers who had arrived in the ninth and tenth centuries and who had continued their pagan practices (Whitelock SLaA 15). He compiled several law codes while in York (see Appendix A), including the Canons of Edgar and what Whitelock calls the "So-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum," both of which seem from their titles to have originated in an earlier era; both have been shown to be Wulfstan's work.¹³ Edw and Gu is a "set of regulations on the observance of ecclesiastical laws especially in the Danelaw"; 5 and 6 Atr were also drawn up primarily for the Danelaw (SLaA 24). In these, Wulfstan

¹² D. Whitelock, ed., English Historical Documents c. 500-1042, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1979) 427, hereafter EHD.

¹³ R. Fowler, ed., Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar, EETS o.s. 266 (Oxford: UP 1972); D. Whitelock, "Wulfstan and the So-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum," EHR 56 (1941): 1-21.

“was appealing to tradition for authority to enforce law among the mixed population in the north.”¹⁴ In addition to the several law codes for Æðelred, and those of Cnut (compiled after 1018), Wulfstan gathered together what Whitelock calls a “Compilation on Status” (EHD 468, where she writes that these “should not be regarded as official enactments but as a private compilation”). Gebynchðo, Norðleoda laga, Mircna laga, Að, and Hadbot all deal with rank and status, both secular and ecclesiastical, and are directed toward either Mercia or Northumbria; Bethurum comments that they must have been “necessitated . . . by the social upheavals resulting from the Danish invasions” (HW 45). *Grið*, composed next, deals with penalties for offenses against the Church, both in English law and in Danish law. “The attempt to make both serve the purposes of the Church is in line with much of Wulfstan’s legislation.”¹⁵

Wulfstan also drew up the two law codes of Cnut, one addressing secular matters and the second ecclesiastical. All of this legal writing was building toward his composition of the Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical: “one of the earliest courtesy books, it defines the duties of every class of society. More important for the history of political thought is Wulfstan’s statement here of the source of royal power and of the relationship of the secular and ecclesiastical realms” (HW 46). In his dual role as archbishop and statesman, Wulfstan was in a key position to compose such a work: the dynamic relationship of ecclesiastical and secular power would have been particularly conspicuous to one who was strongly influenced by the tenth-century Benedictine Reform and who was involved in educating a young pagan king (born ca. 995?) to rule a Christian society. His later life seems to have been given to participating in that dynamic and actually helping create much of the order in Anglo-Saxon society that he had foreseen, or at least outlined as a social goal, in his writings.

As we survey Wulfstan’s use of *grið*-words in law codes and elsewhere, we

¹⁴ D. Bethurum, The Homilies of Wulfstan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957) 45, hereafter HW.

¹⁵ D. Bethurum, “Six Anonymous Old English Law Codes,” JEGP 49 (1950): 451.

can group most of the items into a conceptual sequence that will show his interests in developing conditions of peace, orderly government, and proper priorities; this arrangement will also demonstrate Wulfstan's frequent practice of repeating identical whole passages or long clauses in law codes, and in his homilies or Polity, or in all three. Several statements follow which I have put in (my own) logical sequence and numbered so that the parallel passages can be compared.

- 1) *A general principle:* God's *grið* is of all *griðs* most excellent to deserve.
Law Grið 1 = 1 Cn 2.1
 G1, G49 G2, G48
- 1a) *A special case:* all widows who lead a responsible life shall enjoy the special protection of God [*on godes griðe*] and of the king.
5 Atr 21 = 6 Atr 26 = Hom U 40.173
 G58 G59 G60
- 2) *Source of grið ... :* every church is rightly in the protection of Christ himself [*on Cristes agenan griðe*].
1 Cn 2.1 = Grið 31.1 = Pol 206 = Pol 101
 G2, 54; G6, 63, 169; G7, 64, 170; G8, 65, 171
- and people's responsibility:* and it is the special duty of every Christian man to show respect for that protection [*on þam griðe*].
1 Cn 2.1 = Grið 31.1 = Pol 206 = Pol 101
 G2, 62; G6, 63, 169; G7, 64, 170; G8, 65, 171
- 3) *Formerly, people paid that respect to God's protection:* wise men in former days firmly protected [*griðedon*] God's servants ... and added secular laws to just divine laws.
Grið 24 = Hadbot 11
 G113 G114

4) *but now
that respect
has dwindled:*

but now churches are, far and wide, weakly
protected [*gegriðode*] and sanctuaries are
violated far and wide.

Pol 213 = Pol 108, similar to Sermo
Lupi ad Anglos line 31

G100 G101; G192, 193, 194

5) *People should
accept their
responsibility:*

let us maintain the security and sanctity of
[*griðian & friðian*] the churches of God
everywhere.

6 Atr 42.3 = 1 Cn 2 = Hom U 27.2 =

G88 G89 G92

Hom U 48.57: close to 1 Cn 4

G93 G90

6) *These are our new laws to correct the situation:*

- a) all churches shall be under the special
protection of God [*on Godes griðe*] and of
the king and of all Christian people;

5 Atr 10.1 = 6 Atr 13

G52 G53

- b) it is right that every church shall be
under the special protection of God [*on*
Godes griðe] and of all Christian people;

Grið 31 = Pol 205 = Pol 100

G55; G56, 177, 189; G57, 178, 190

- c) and that right of sanctuary within the walls of a church [*cyricgrið*] and the protection granted by the king in person [*handgrið*] are equally inviolate.

Pol 205 = Pol 100 = 6 Atr 14 =

G56, 177, 189; G57, 178, 190; G167, 191;

E Gu 1 = 1 Cn 2.2 = Grið 2

G172, 184; G173, 185; G174, 186;

Hom U 40.9 = Hom U 41.28

G175, 187; G176, 188

7) For breaches of these laws:

- a) murder in a church is bootless unless the king grants the slayer his life;

8 Atr 1.1 = 1 Cn 2.3

G179 G180

- b) if the king allows compensation for violation of protection of church [*cyricgrið*], payment is made to church of fine for breach of king's *mund* and purification ... and compensation to kin ...

8 Atr 3 = 1 Cn 2.5

G182 G183

- c) if protection of church [*cyricgrið*] is broken some other way, amends are made in accordance with the nature of the offense ... and the status of the church.

8 Atr 4 = 1 Cn 3

G165 G168

These correspondences illustrate well Wulfstan's practice of using identical passages in different contexts, and the sequence shows his concern with developing respect for the laws and for the church's authority.

These same interests are revealed in the thirteen legal items of Wulfstan not included in the outline above. In the Law of Grið, concerned mainly with penalties for violation of the church's peace (and which distinguishes between English and Danish sanctions for that violation), Grið 3 (G91) "begins with a nostalgic reference to the past, when, presumably, ideal conditions existed for the church . . ." which Dorothy Bethurum cites as evidence "of [Wulfstan's] admiration for the reign of Edgar" (Bethurum "Six Anonymous" 451). Grið 3 begins "and formerly the chief places and exalted degrees were entitled to great dignity and 'mund' [power] and could give 'grith' [protection] to those who needed it" (Thorpe's trans.). Grið 4 and 5 (items G25 and 26) specify how long a period this *grið* would be for: it depends on the rank of the person whom the one in need sought out. The hapax legomena (items G195-197) in this law code—*hadgrið*, *hælnesgrið*, *griðlagu*—are in passages which detail the penalties for violations or which make general recommendations. Similarly, two items in Law Norgrið (*Norðhymbra cyricgrið*) specify the penalties for peace violations in three Northumbrian churches (G3 and 166) as does the one item in Law Northu (*Norðhymbra preosta lagu*, item G181).

The law code 8 Æðelred opens with an assertion that churches should "be entitled to exercise their right of protection to the full" (Robertson 117, G42) and 2 Cnut 82 stipulates protection for those going to and from assemblies (G43). Item G4 is in the Law of Pax (referred to in Chapter 2, Section 2, and note 3) which specifies how far the king's protection extends from his person. The remaining item is in the rubric for the Law of Grið (G87). The concerns of Wulfstan evidenced in these single occurrences of the *grið*-words are coherent with the ones catalogued above, even though they do not appear in more than one text, and they help reveal the shape of the legal concept indicated by the *grið*-words. The larger issues in Wulfstan and his

use of the language under consideration in this study will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter Six.

Other The 35 items in the Other category make up 17% of the *grið*-field; 32 of these items occur in Wulfstan's homilies or Institutes of Polity. Most of the Wulfstan items in this category (24 of the 32) have been included in the passages parallel with laws arranged above, and the eight which are not included there are from homilies and also show Wulfstan's characteristic concerns.

Item 69 has the *frið and grið* pair and was discussed above in Section 2. The other seven refer to abuses of the church: in item 38 Wulfstan quotes a passage attributed to Gregory which states that whoever injures the *grið* of sanctuaries shall be anathema. This allusion serves as an authority for Wulfstan's concern for abuse of churches. Items G66-68 and G94-96 (two sets of passages from the three versions of Sermo Lupi ad Anglos) refer to the people serving in the church: some are there who should not be, if people really wanted to show respect for God's *grið* (G66-68); furthermore, the servants of God should be protected by Christian people (as pagan priests are by their followers), but instead churchmen are abused (G94-96).

There are three items in the Other category not from Wulfstan's texts. "Prognostications" (G12) is a series of prophecies for years in which New Year's Day is on the various days of the week: "if it be Sunday . . . there will be peace [*grið*] and abundance manyfold" (my trans.). The passage from Ælfric's Life of St. Nicholas (a DOE transcript that I have not seen) resembles the use of *grið* in the Chronicle for 'safe passage': "he fared over all that land with full protection" (my trans., G81). The third of these Other items (G39) is from the speech of the Viking messenger near the beginning of Maldon: he asks for gold to establish a truce (*grið* in a speech which Fred Robinson describes as a "cluster of Scandinavisms" which may have "contain[ed] the first literary use of dialect in English."¹⁶

¹⁶ Fred Robinson, "Some Aspects of the Maldon Poet's Artistry" (JEGP 75 [1976]: 27, 26).

CHAPTER FIVE: The *Borg*-words

- headword:** *borg* m. surety; loan
- verbs:** *borgian* to borrow, lend
aborgian to guarantee, act as surety
onborgian to borrow
- compounds:** *borgbryce* m. violation of surety or protection
borhfæst adj. bound by pledge or surety
borggelda m. lender, usurer
borggilefde promise secured by surety
borhhand fm. security, surety
borgsorg f. anxiety about money matters
borgwedd n. promise secured by surety
godborg m. a pledge under sanction by God
inborh m. security
lindgeborga protecting shield
werborg m. surety
- derivative:** *borhleas* adj. without a surety

Section 1: Etymology, Definitions, and Old English Glosses of Latin Texts

In order to describe the semantic field occupied by the Old English legal words for protection, we now consider the fourth word-group, the *borg*-words. They must be considered in this study because in two passages, one in Alfred's law codes and the other in the laws of Cnut, the writers have used *borg* "not, as usually, in the sense of bail, but as more or less equivalent to *mund*."¹ As we examine the senses of the *borg*-words, we discover the way in which the more usual legal sense of *borg* (surety) is related to the idea of 'protection' in a general way, and we can see how this kind of protection fits into the Anglo-Saxon legal system we have described above.

Etymology

In Old English, two divergent groups of words have their origin in Germanic **berg-an*: what we could call the *borg*-words (or *borrow*-words), and the *burg*-words (or *borough*-words). At 'borrow, sb.', OED gives "O Teut **berg-an* str. vb. 'to protect' " for the source of OE *borg*. For 'borough' OED states that it is "apparently from the same root as O Teut **berg-an* . . . but the phonology is not quite clear." Accordingly, the American Heritage Dictionary in its etymological appendix gives two separate entries for the Indo-European root 'bhergh-': for bhergh-² it gives "high; with derivatives referring to hills and hill-forts" as its basic definition. OE *beorg*, hill, comes from this root, and OE *burg burh byrig* (fortified) town, comes from its zero-grade form. It is this latter form that yields English burg, borough, and the -bury or Bury of place-names. For bhergh-¹ AHD gives "to hide, protect" as the basic definition. Germanic **berg-an* appears in compounds like scabbard (from **sker-berg*,

¹ L. Attenborough, The Laws of the Earliest English Kings (1922; New York: AMS Press, 1974) 194; Whitelock translates the *borg* in these passages as 'surety' in English Historical Documents I: c. 500 - 1042, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1979) 409-10, 463.

sword protector). The zero-grade form *bh̄rgh-* through Germanic **burgjan* becomes OE *byrgan*, to bury. And Germanic **borge-n*, to borrow, also from *bhergh⁻¹*, becomes in OE *borgian*, to borrow (AHD 1509).

Below we will see that the OE *borg* has two main senses, Surety and Loan, which can be seen joined in the etymology and history of borrow: “the essential notion of borrowing originally was the *security* given for the safety of the thing so taken” (OED *sub* borrow, v., sense 1), so that in OE and ME, “the borrow” is either the “thing deposited as security,” or the “security-person.” We distinguish security and loan, while the Anglo-Saxons saw them as interconnected.

The Latin words that gloss OE *borg*-words show this interconnection as well: *borg*-words serve in OE where two separate groups of Latin words—(words for money-matters like *lucrum*, *usura*, *debitor*, *creditor*, *commodo*; words for surety-matters like *abiuratio*, *vas*, *vadimonium*, *fideiussor*, *sponsor*: see Table B1 below)—provide the different senses. Borrow survives into ME in many forms, *e.g.* *borgh* and *boru* in Cursor Mundi, to *borwe* in Chaucer, and Scots to *borwch* in Barbour’s Bruce. Also, “*borowe* appears as a synonym of ‘tithing’ or ‘frankpledge’ ” in the sixteenth century (OED *sub* borrow, sb). In OE *friðborh*, the first element was corrupted into ‘free’ and thus became ‘frankpledge’, the association of neighbors who were legally responsible for each other (*sub* borrow, sb). *Friðborh*, however, is not attested in OE.

Definitions

The two main senses for *borg* are Surety and Loan, and the primary SURETY-sense can be seen as a kind of *mund*: the surety-person is a specific kind of protector. Liebermann in GdA distinguishes seven senses for *borg* in Old English: 1) the surety, the person who pledges a security; 2) the person who guarantees security; 3) the security obligation itself; 4) bail association (like a tithing); 5) protection guarantee (peace assured to someone by a

protector), and the fine falling to the protector by its violation; 6) the security deposit; and 7) goods or money loaned.² In general, the surety-sense involves a relationship among three parties, where one (the principal) transacts something with a second, and where the transaction is “secured” by a third party (the surety) by means of his promise (to pay the debt in case of default by the principal) and/or a deposit of something of value. This three-way relationship provides protection for both transacting parties, and helps create order and maintain peace in the society at large. The ideal in Anglo-Saxon law was that everyone should have a surety,³ someone to guarantee that he performed his legal duties. Lords were surety for their men⁴; buying, selling, and trading could not take place legally without a witness and eventually a surety.⁵ When these arrangements broke down, it was time to issue a whole new set of codes: in the prologue to 5 Ast (item B20), the king explains that he made this decree because after the previous agreements of a council at Grately (ca. 930) *ða apus & þa wedd & þa borgas synt ealle oferhafene & abrocene, ðe þær gesealde wæron* (the oaths and pledges and securities given there have been disregarded and violated; Attenborough 152-53). The *borg* provided initially by kindred and later by neighbors was an essential stabilizing element in the developing Anglo-Saxon society, just as *mund* was.

² *1) Bürge, 2) Burgschaft, 3) Burgschaftsverpflichtung, 4) Bürgenverband der Zehntschaft, 5) Schutzgewährung (dem Beschützten zugesicherter Friede) und die bei Verletzung dem Schützer zufallende Geldbusse, 6) Burgschaftspfand, 7) Geborgtes”; GdA 2.26.

³ 3 Edgar 6 “And every man shall see that he has a surety, and this surety shall bring and keep him to [the performance of] every lawful duty”; 2 Cn 20 has a similar text preceded by “everyone shall be brought within a hundred and a tithing”: A. J. Robertson, The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I (1925; New York: AMS Press, 1974) 27, 185. Commenting on the second of these codes, H. R. Loyn, The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England (Stanford: University Press, 1984) 147: “Entry into a tithing was associated directly with the age-old protection of group or lord to man, with *borh* and *mund*. Everyone, whether possessing a home of his own or in the following of another, was to be brought into a hundred or under surety, and it was this surety or *borh*, the tithing itself, that was responsible for bringing him to his every legal duty.”

⁴ 1 Atr 1.10 “And every lord shall be personally [responsible as] surety for the men of his own household” and similarly 2 Cn 31: Robertson 55, 193.

⁵ 1 Atr 3 “And no one shall either buy or exchange anything, unless he have a surety and witnesses”: Robertson 55.

Old English Glosses of Latin Texts

The 47 glosses of Latin texts employing the Old English *borg*-words occur mostly in six glossaries and in interlinear glosses of Bible texts. The six glossaries are the Cleopatra (with nine items), Antwerp (4 items), and the Harley, Corpus, Epinal, and Erfurt glossaries with either one or two items each (5 items total). Interlinear glosses with *borg*-words occur in Ælfric's Grammar (3 times), Aldhelm (twice), and Sedulius' Carmen Paschale (once). Twenty-three other *borg* glosses occur in a hymnal text, the Rushworth Gospel of Matthew, Psalter canticles, and several different manuscript versions of the Psalter itself. Locations of *mund- frið- grið-* and *borg*-words in glosses of Latin texts are listed in Chapter 6, Tables 1a and 1b.

Latin words glossed by Old English *borg*-words include terms for a variety of legal and financial matters. In the SURETY-sense, *borhhand* glosses the four Latin agent nouns *fideiussor*, *sponsor*, *præs* (a surety in pecuniary matters), and *vas* (a general surety). *Vadimonium* (from *vas*) means 'pledge;' it is glossed by *borg*, *borgwed*, and *borggilefde*, three OE words for pledge. *Abiuratio* (denying of an oath) is glossed twice by OE phrases for 'denying an oath,' *borges andsaca* and *borges andsæc*.

In the LOAN-sense, the same Old English phrases twice gloss *inficiatio* (denying of a debt). *Debitor* (debtor) is glossed by *borggelda*; *res credita* by an OE phrase for 'things loaned'; *mutuum* is glossed by OE for both 'borrower' and 'lender'; and *mutuor* ('to borrow') is glossed by *borgian*, and once by an OE verb and prepositional phrase with *borg* (*niman on borge*, 'to take on *borg*'). *Feneror* 'to lend on interest' is glossed by *borg gieldan* 'to pay *borg*.' *Commodo* 'to give, lend' is glossed by *borgian*.

Table B1: Latin *borg*-word equivalents in Glosses

	<i>borg</i>	<i>borggelda</i>	<i>borhgiend</i>		
<i>fenus, -oris, n.</i> (interest; capital lent at interest)	6				
<i>fenerator, -ari</i> (to lend on interest)	1				
<i>fenerator, -oris, m.</i> (money-lender)		3	7		
<i>lucrum, -i, n.</i> (gain, profit, riches)	1				
<i>usura, -æ, f.</i> (interest, usury)	1				
<i>inficiatio, -onis, f.</i> (denying or disowning a debt)	2				
<i>abiuratio, -onis, f.</i> (a denying of an oath)	2				
<i>sequestra, -æ, f.</i> (a female trustee, depositary; mediatress)			2		
<i>debitor, -oris, m.</i> (debtor; one under obligation)		2			
<i>creditor, -oris, n.</i> (loaned)	1				
<i>mutuum, -i, n.</i> (loaned; borrowed)	2				
<i>mutuor, -ari</i> (to borrow)	1				
<i>vas, vadis, m.</i> (a bail, security, surety)	1				<i>borggilefde borgwed</i>
<i>vadimonium, -ii, n.</i> (promise secured by bail; security)	1			1	1
<i>hypotheca, -ae, f.</i> (pledge, mortgage)	1				
	20	5	9	1	1
	<i>borg</i>	<i>borggelda</i>	<i>borhgiend</i>		

(These 36 glosses involve 32 items because some items are applied to more than one Latin word; see items 5, 71, 72 in Appendix B.)

Table B1: (continued) Latin *borg*-word equivalents in Glosses

	<i>borgian</i>	<i>borhhond</i>
<i>commodo, -ere</i> (to give, lend)	1	
<i>mutuor, -ari</i> (to borrow)	7	
<i>fideiussor, -oris, m.</i> (trustee, guarantor)		2
<i>vas, vadis, m.</i> (a bail, security, surety)		3
<i>præs, prædis, m.</i> (a surety, bondsman, in money matters)		2
<i>sponsor, -oris, m.</i> (bondsman, surety)		1
	—	—
	8	8

(These 16 glosses involve 13 items due to the multiple gloss in B123.

2 other items gloss the semantically uncertain Latin terms *bux* [gl. by *borg*] and *intertiare* [gl. by *geborhfæstan*]; see items B8, 145.)

Glosses: (54 total = 52 + 2 uncertain)

<i>borg</i>	<i>borggelda</i>	<i>borhgiend</i>	<i>borggilefde</i>	<i>borgwed</i>	<i>borgian</i>	<i>borhhond</i>
20	5	9	1	1	8	8

Items: (47 total = 45 + 2 uncertain)

16	5	9	1	1	8	5
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Section 2: Description of the field

The *borg*-field as a whole, illustrated in Table B2a below, has the two main senses SURETY and LOAN. The LOAN-sense (a third of the items) includes the subdivisions debt, debtor, loan, interest, lender, and the verbal senses to borrow and to lend. SURETY, the more common sense, comprises two-thirds of the items, and includes the subdivisions surety, security, bail, and protection. The subdivision “surety” can be further divided into surety-condition, surety-person, and surety-pledge/promise; the subdivision “security” has the analogous subsenses of security-condition, security-person, and security-pledge/deposit. Bail refers to the deposit guaranteeing an accused’s appearance and is a specific sort of security. Both main senses include verbs and verbals (*borg*-words) which are used to designate the acts associated with the various senses, as well as collocations of *borg*-words with verbs outside this field which determine precise meanings within the subdivisions of sense.

The SURETY-sense also includes a subsense “protection,” in eight of the 157 items, where *borg* is used as a synonym for *mund*. We can see the connection between *borg* and the idea of protection, generally, described above, and indeed, in these passages (Law of Alfred 3 and 2 Cnut 58, items B33-36 and B73-75, B142) they are used interchangeably.⁶

We can now describe the field for the *borg*-words in some detail and show how the various senses stand in relation to each other. The LOAN-sense and the SURETY-sense form mutually exclusive categories; and, while within each of those major sense divisions there is naturally a blending and overlapping of senses, in Table B2a I have tried to show the distinctions of sense as indicated by the Old English texts themselves. One third of the *borg*-words indicate a LOAN-sense. Particular meanings within this sense can be arranged in a simple series: debt, debtor, loan, interest, and lender, with the corresponding verbal senses to borrow and to lend. The SURETY-sense is not

⁶ In a note on Alfred 3, “*borg* seems to be used not, as usually, in the sense of bail, but as more or less equivalent to *mund*” (Attenborough 194).

Table B2a: Senses of the *borg*-field

- I. SURETY-sense (67%)
- 50% 1. Surety (77 items)
 surety-condition (9)
 surety-person/role (61)
 surety-pledge/promise (7)
- 10% 2. Security (15 items)
 security-condition (4)
 security-person/role (7)
 security-pledge/deposit (4)
- 2% 3. Bail (3 items)
- 5% 4. Protection (8 items)
- II. LOAN-sense (33%)
- 9% 1. Debt (14 items)
 debt (9)
 debtor (5)
- 14% 2. Loan (22 items)
 loan (6)
 interest (6)
 lender (10)
- 10% 3. Verbs (15 items)
 to borrow (13)
 to lend (2)

Total 154 (+ 3 items which cannot be placed here: B8, 145, 156)

so easy to describe.

Two thirds of the *borg*-words indicate some aspect of the SURETY-sense, where the particular meanings have a complex relationship. I refer to the whole sense as “surety,” following the practice of most writers, and will continue to do so, but it would make this discussion easier to refer to the whole primary sense as “legal guarantee which produces security in both the general and the legal sense.” Within that large category are the three surety subsenses (the condition, the person or role, and the promise or pledge) referring to the guarantee that a principal will fulfill his legal obligation(s). However, the notion of security can evidently be used in an analogous way, of a person or group who guarantees the legal activity of another or the validity of a transaction, but in situations which are less highly charged legally, requiring less in the way of guarantees. Bail is a particular kind of guarantee, that a person will appear as required. *Borg*’s protection subsense (I.4 in Table B2a and B2b) is synonymous with the surety-condition subsense (I.1 in both tables).

What I have been calling the SURETY-sense, then, contains the subsenses surety, security, bail, and protection, and we can distinguish further categories of meaning within two of these subsenses, surety and security. The following description of the field for the *borg*-words and the collocations in which they appear is illustrated in Table B2b below.

The meanings for the ‘surety’ area of the field fall into three categories, surety-condition, surety-person/role, and surety-pledge/promise. To be ‘under surety’ or ‘to place or bring someone under surety’ all indicate the surety-condition. To be under surety indicates the orderly ideal of this part of the legal system (as do the ‘to have a surety’ passages, below). To be placed under surety (by the shire-reeve and his men, typically) indicates a less desirable situation. “To place under distraint” is a procedure for collecting a debt which is declared illegal by 2 Cnut 27.

To act as surety, to stand surety, to guarantee, and to be responsible as

Table B2b: Senses of the *borg*-field created with noun-verb collocations

	[collocations]
I SURETY-sense	to be under surety
1. Surety	to bring under surety
surety-condition	to place under surety
	to place under distraint
surety-person	to act as surety
	to stand surety for someone
	to stand surety that . . .
	to guarantee
	to pledge oneself for someone
	to be responsible as surety
	to find a surety
	to furnish surety
	to appoint a surety that
	not to have surety
	to have surety
surety-pledge	to renounce an oath
2. Security	
security-condition	to give under security
security-person	to act as security
	to have a security (person)
security-pledge	not to have security (property)
	to make security
3. Bail	to repudiate bail
4. Protection	to violate protection
II. LOAN-sense	
1. Debt, debtor	to borrow
2. Loan, lender, interest	to lend

surety all indicate the surety-person acting in his role, as subject of the construction. Conversely, to find or furnish surety and to have (or not to have) a surety are constructions which show the principal in his relationship with his surety. *Borhhand* and *werborh* indicate persons, and the adjective *borhleas* as well as the construction *butan borge* also refer to persons. In the surety-pledge/promise category belong *godborg* and the glossary items for 'renounce an oath.'

In the 'security' area, the meanings fall into three categories analogous to those under 'surety.' The security-condition is indicated by the adjective *borhfæst* and by the construction for 'to give under security,' while 'to act as security' and 'to have a security' both refer to a person or a role, the category indicated by *borhhand*.

Section 3: Location of items in type of text; Law, Charter, Gloss, Glossary, Other

In order to discuss the use of the *borg*-words, we can analyze their occurrences by type of text and frequency. The legal texts form one category, charters form a second; glossed texts and glossaries form two more, with the remaining texts (including historical writing) grouped as 'other.' The eighteen Old English words that this word field comprises are listed in Table B3, and individual items are listed with more information regarding their inflection, context, and meaning in Appendix B.

Borg-words occur with the SURETY-sense 104 times, and with the LOAN-sense 52 times, exactly a 2:1 ratio. When we look at the Gloss and Glossary categories, however, we see that the LOAN-sense predominates among words with Latin equivalents (46, or 29.5% of 156): of those 46 items, only 13 (28% of 46) have the SURETY-sense while 33 (72%) have the LOAN-sense. Within the unglossed group (Legal, Charter, and Other), more than 3/4 have the SURETY-sense (91 items or 83%) and less than 1/4 have the LOAN-sense

Table B3: Location of *borg*-words by type of text

(in each column, SURETY-sense + LOAN-sense)

	Total	Laws	Charters	Gloss	Glossary	Other
<i>borg</i>	95	55+4	3+3	0+3	5+8+1?*	6+7
<i>borgiend</i>	6			0+6		
<i>borgian</i>	13			0+10	0+1	0+2
<i>aborgian</i>	5	4+0	0+1			
<i>onborgian</i>	2		0+2			
<i>borhhand</i>	13		6+0	2+0	3+0	2+0
<i>borggelda</i>	5			0+5		
<i>borhfæst</i>	2					2+0
<i>geborhfæsten</i>	1				1+0	
<i>borgbryce</i>	3	3+0				
<i>werborg</i>	3	3+0				
<i>inborh</i>	2	2+0				
<i>godborg</i>	2	2+0				
<i>borggilefde</i>	1				1+0	
<i>borgwed</i>	1				1+0	
<i>borhleas</i>	1	1+0				
<i>borgsorg</i>	1					1+0
<i>lindgeborga</i>	<u>1</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>1+0</u>
		70+4	9+6	2+24	11+9+1?*	12+9
Total for field	156+1*	74	15	26	20+1*	21
		47%	10%	17%	13%	13%

* '1?' refers to item B8, *bux?* glossed by *borg*; this is omitted from percentages.

(19 items, 17%). In the glossed group the situation is reversed: almost 3/4 have the LOAN-sense, while slightly more than 1/4 have the SURETY-sense.

Legal, Charter, Other	Gloss, Glossary
91 surety words = 83%	13 surety words = 28%
<u>19</u> loan words = 17%	<u>33</u> loan words = 72%
110 = 70.5% of total	46 = 29.5% of total

Law The locations of the *borg*-words show their importance as legal terms: 47% of all *borg*-words occur in law codes (74 of 156), and almost all of these (70 items) have the SURETY-sense. Including charters with the law codes, we see that 57% of *borg*-words occur in both kinds of legal documents, with a large majority of those having the SURETY-sense.

Of the 70 legal items which have the general SURETY-sense (45% of 156), 54 occupy the surety sub-sense, five mean security, three refer to bail, and eight have the PROTECTION-sense. Thus, over three quarters of the 70 legal items have the specific legal sense 'surety'; this represents approximately one third of the total number of *borg*-words.

Some of the uses of *borg* as surety occur in constructions which have a grammatical marker for purpose. Among the 72 occurrences of the noun *borg* in the Legal and Other categories illustrated in Table B3, 15 (21%) have a purpose clause in the subjunctive attached, indicating the specific responsibility being secured; one of these is in an Ælfric homily, one occurs in Wulfstan's Institutes of Polity, and the other 13 are in the laws, i.e., 24% of the 54 legal items where *borg* means surety have the purpose clause construction. For example, in 2 Æthelstan, 1§3 stipulates that after a thief has spent 40 days in jail, he may be released when relatives have paid 120 shillings, . . . & *ga sio mægþ him on borh, ðæt he æfre geswice*: "but his relatives shall stand surety that he shall cease for ever after [from thieving]" (my emphasis; Attenborough 128-9, item B52). These 13 codes having purpose clauses refer either to convicted

criminals (eight to thieves, murderers, or perjurers) or to persons whose legal status is highly questionable: four refer to “thoroughly untrustworthy men,” and one to a person whose goods are “attached.”

In the Ælfric item, a child who is not old enough to speak is joined to the church through the belief of his parents and the guarantee of his godfather “that the child will hold to its Christianity by God’s teaching” (B17); in the Wulfstan item, if someone who is only partly instructed is to be ordained, it can be done only if he find a *borg* “that he will eagerly seek after teaching” (B32). In both these cases, a person (whose status with the Church is analogous to the questionable legal status referred to in the law codes above) has others, his family or peers, guarantee his future behavior. The real responsibility is born by the *borg*, as it is in the law codes. In both these cases where the legal idea is used by the Church, learning, and the important responsibility of teachers, are at issue. For further discussion, see below in **Other**.

Gloss By examining the Gloss and Other categories, we can see how the *borg*-words operate in non-legal contexts. Of the two categories, Gloss presents the more restrictive situations: a translation is required, and a certain word is chosen. As we have noted earlier, this has the advantage of giving modern readers more explicit information about the writers’ use of these words, even if the writers’ choices are more restricted. Of the twenty-six items in interlinear glosses (17% of 156), only three gloss non-biblical sources: one for Sedulius’s Carmen Paschale and two for Aldhelm’s prose De laude virginitatis; all three of these have the LOAN-sense.

The other twenty-three items in the Gloss category gloss verses in the Psalter, Psalter canticles (hymns collected in the psalter manuscripts), Parabola Salomonis (the book of Proverbs, in a tenth-century manuscript), and Matthew (Rushworth gospels). Among these twenty-three items, only seven

different verses are represented. In two of the verses in Proverbs,⁷ surety is used in a pejorative sense (the only uses of the SURETY-sense in the Gloss category). Borrowing and debt are condemned in two other verses,⁸ and usurers in a third.⁹ Charitable giving is approved in one,¹⁰ and Christ's gift of life to those "in debt to death" is praised in the hymn verse.¹¹ Twice, when a pejorative term is needed, Bible translators choose a word that is mainly a legal term for someone who functions as a protector, sponsor, or guarantor: in one case, someone is a surety for strangers,¹² and in the other, one has his hands fastened down and is surety for debts.¹³ This might suggest that those who functioned as *borg* in this society at times abused their position of power over others. However, use of the *borg*-words with the SURETY-sense in the Other category reveals that they could be used with a more positive connotation as well.

Other The items in the Other category reveal Anglo-Saxon writers using the *borg*-words in less restrictive contexts where, even if they were following a Latin model, they were not required merely to translate it word for word. There is perhaps a freer use of language here.

Among the twenty-one Other items (13% of 156) are eight from religious prose material (homilies, lives of saints, the martyrology: three of these are Ælfric's, and five are anonymous). Also, there are three items each from Gregory and from the prose Psalter. Two items are from Theodulf of Orleans' Capitula, a monastic rule. One item occurs in the West Saxon Gospels, and one each in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (D, the Winchester version), the Riming

⁷ Pr 20.16 (the OE passage is numbered 20.18; the numbering of verses is slightly different in an up-to-date Douay Bible, which I use for the references in this section), item B122; and Pr 22.26, B134.

⁸ Pr 22.7, item B80; Ps 36.21, items B102 - 108.

⁹ Ps 108.11, items B96 - 101, 111, 135 - 137.

¹⁰ Mt. 5.42, item B23.

¹¹ Items B138, 139.

¹² Pr 20.16: take away the garment of him that is surety for a stranger, and take a pledge from him for strangers.

¹³ Pr 22.26: be not with them that fasten down their hands, and that offer themselves sureties for debts.

Poem, and Elene. All but these last three of the twenty-one items, then, appear in religious prose.

Nine of the twenty-one Other items have the LOAN-sense: the three from prose Psalter, both items in Hom M 11 (Verc 14), both items from Theodulf's Capitula, and the passages in the Martyrology and West Saxon Gospels. In the latter passage from Matthew's version of the Sermon on the Mount, Christ exhorts his listeners not to refuse a loan to those who would borrow from them. The two items in the passage in Verc Hom 14 are from the story in the parable on forgiveness where a lord forgives a debt, but then rebukes the forgiven debtor when he discontinues the charity his lord showed him. The Capitula passage condemns the practice of seeking repayment of loans from debtors on fast days. The psalter verses condemn borrowing but approve both giving of loans and mercy toward debtors. In these passages, Christian charity is approved while the abuse of power is condemned: the loan or debt itself is not the focus here. Almost all the items with the LOAN-sense in the Other and Gloss categories involve Bible verses or ideas directly relating to passages and ideas in the Bible.

The remaining twelve Other items indicate the SURETY-sense. In three of these we read the terms literally and notice nothing remarkable, but in nine a more interesting use of these legal terms occurs. Constantine is a "protecting shield" (*lindgeborga*) in Elene, a poetic compound occurring only here (B157). The Riming Poem passage has no context (other than a list of rhymes) and must be taken literally—'borrow-sorrow biteth' (*borgsorg biteð*). In the one Anglo-Saxon Chronicle passage, thegns (of Harold Godwineson) transfer allegiance to King Edward (they became *borhfæst* to him). This use can be taken literally, in a legal sense; the compound occurs only here and in the Vitas Patrum (see below).

In the other nine passages, the SURETY-sense of *borh* has been used in writing which translates Gregory, or by Ælfric or Wulfstan, and in three anonymous texts, where the legal sense has been extended into writing on

spiritual matters. A passage from a Blickling Homily on tithing teaches that when we give “under the Lord’s security”¹⁴ (not with God as *borg*) it will eventually bring rewards (B66). Mary of Egypt continually “raised the eyes of [her] heart to [her] security in trouble” (the Virgin, B133). Notice that in these passages the Deity is a security and not a surety, who would be liable for the faults of the principal and would answer to a higher authority, a situation which could not apply to God.

In all but one of the remaining seven, people are *borh* or *borhhand* with God that something later be done with regards to a third party; this usually refers to continued or additional teaching in proper Christian living. In the second Vitas Patrum passage, *borhfæst* appears in a parallel construction: the speaker says that his master wants this, “that [he] be borhfast to him, and that [he] be more trustworthy than [he] had been before” (B143). This has a literal force similar to the one above, although it appears in a hagiographic context. (This seems strongly parallel to the Chronicle passage, where persons who had been aligned with enemies of the king were bound to him in a new allegiance. Both these resemble the examples above in the section on purpose clauses, where *borg*-words described church people with an obligation to bring someone into line with the Church’s desires in future.) The other six passages here definitely have the idea that someone is surety for another’s future improvement.

Two of the passages have been discussed above in the purpose clause section, one each from Ælfric and Wulfstan. In the passage from Gregory’s Dialogues, a deacon will be executed by the Lombards, so Sanctulus, the saint whose story Gregory is telling, offers himself as *borg* for the man’s custody. He then encourages the deacon to escape, and stays behind “like a surety betrayed” (after which God protects the saint from harm, B18). The saint has redeemed the man by taking on his responsibilities. In another text, a homily for the dedication of a church, those who have undertaken a duty at baptism or at the bishop’s hand are reminded “that they are *borhhanda* with God

¹⁴ *Nē purfon ge wenan þæt ge þæt orceape sellon, þæt ge under Drihtnes borh syllap . . .*

Almighty” (B132) with regards to the third party’s future learning and obedience: there is no purpose clause here, but the context and the intent are similar to those texts with the clause.

The two items from the Pastoral Care show the spiritual *borg*’s great responsibility. Chapter 13 describes “how the teacher is to be pure at heart”¹⁵ in order to lead by his example. Those “who bear God’s vessels” must be pure, according to the prophet, and “they bear God’s vessels who undertake the guidance of other men’s souls”; therefore, they must “consider among themselves how pure they ought to be who carry in their breasts the ever-living vessels to the eternal temple on their own responsibility [*on hira agenne borg*, item B63].” This construction is similar to the several parallel passages in the laws which require lords to be surety for the men of their own household. The second item in PC is several chapters further, in 28. Again, the principle is that the teacher has pledged himself for his friend beforehand: “What greater promise can a man make for his friend than that of accepting his soul at his own risk?” (p. 192). This means it is “necessary for him, when he teaches well, also to act well, without perverting his life contrary to his teaching” because later he will be accountable for these things “before the severe Judge.” The writer quotes Solomon: “free thyself, because thou hast pledged thyself [*ðu eart on borg began*] to thy friend” (p. 193; item B62). He continues by exhorting the teacher not only to live well, but to “draw those he is set over from the sloth of their sins.” He is responsible for many souls, as a *borg* before the court of God.

The ‘lending money’ sense of *borg* (more like the sense of lend and borrow that we have) would have seemed a little strange to the Anglo-Saxons. This analysis reveals that *borg*’s BORROW/LOAN-sense and its SURETY-sense, seen as fused in its etymology, had not yet diverged. The insular economy was much less monetary than that of the Mediterranean culture from which came many of the texts containing Latin words glossed or translated by

¹⁵ H. Sweet, ed., King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care, 2 vols. EETS 45, 50 (London, 1871).

borg and its derivatives. When the texts we have been discussing were originally Latin, the *borg*-words tend more to have the 'lending money' sense; e.g., among *borg* glosses of the Bible, the LOAN-sense appeared almost exclusively. When the text was originally Anglo-Saxon, the SURETY-sense appeared more often, e.g., in laws and charters, and in religious prose. In the Other category, we have seen the SURETY-sense used with its legal sense extended to ecclesiastical matters in a way that shows the Anglo-Saxon church using secular legal terms to reinforce its moral teaching in powerful ways.

CHAPTER SIX

The Conceptual Field: Words for ‘legal protection’ in Old English

In order to draw conclusions about the data analyzed so far, the first section of this chapter combines and summarizes ideas from Chapters Two through Five (with some redundancy—I attempt to synthesize information scattered across several chapters here). The second section describes the common field formed by the overlapping areas of the four word-fields: the common field could be called the semantic field or conceptual field for the Old English concept ‘legal protection.’ The third part of this chapter analyzes the Other category of the combined field. Chapter Seven will offer more literary-critical discussion of some of the results generated in the dissertation and sketch out directions for future study based on these materials.

Section 1: Summary of Chapters Two through Five

Etymology The etymology gives some information about the various senses of the head-words. The two main senses for *mund*, HAND and PROTECTION, are joined in its etymology as ‘protecting hand.’ The etymology for *frið* reveals that there are two separate words in Old English spelled *frið*; knowing this allowed us to distinguish words for ‘woods’ (in charter bounds) from the others and eliminate them. Also, one can see the

source of the FREEDOM-sense (in Old English limited almost exclusively to Bible translations) in the Germanic roots of the word. The word *grið* cannot be traced further back than its immediate Scandinavian roots. In contrast, *borg*'s roots reveal that its BORROW/LOAN-sense and its SURETY-sense were originally fused; they diverge after the Old English period, and we distinguish them now as separate ideas. From this we can see that the etymologies for three of the four words help to distinguish their various senses.

Old English Glosses of Latin Old English glosses of Latin texts can reveal precise information about which meanings the Anglo-Saxons gave to particular words (depending on variables such as the date of the glosses and the education of the glossator or copyist, of course). The use of the various *mund*-words to gloss Latin words corresponds to *mund*'s subsenses: Latin agent nouns are glossed by *mundbora*, Latin words for defense (*patrocinium*, *presidium*, *munimen*, e.g.) are glossed by Old English words for protection, and so forth. *Mund*-words never gloss the Latin *manus*: the *hand*- (or *hond*-) words consistently gloss *manus* and occasionally *dexter*; *swiðre* usually glosses *dexter*, and *folm* glosses *palmus* (and occasionally *manus*). *Mund*-words always gloss Latin legal terms for some aspect of defense or protection.

The Latin words glossed by *frið*-words include most of the items with the "to set free" subsense (a sense not very evident elsewhere, except in Bible translations). The Latin glosses by *grið*- and *borg*-words were insignificant to a study of words for 'protection' (though *borg*-words frequently gloss words for loan and debt, and to a lesser extent those for surety).

**Table 6.1a: Location of *mund-* *frið-* *grið-* and *borg-*words
in Latin/Old English Glossaries**

	<i>mund</i>	<i>frið</i>	<i>grið</i>	<i>borg</i>
Antwerp Glossary	1	1		4
Cleopatra "	6			9
Corpus "	2			2
Epinal "	2			1
Erfurt "	2			1
Harley "	—	—	—	<u>1</u>
	13	1	0	18

**Table 6.1b: Location of *mund-* *frið-* *grið-* and *borg-* words
in Interlinear Glosses of Latin Texts**

	<i>mund</i>	<i>frið</i>	<i>grið</i>	<i>borg</i>
Aldhelm (De laude virginitatis)	19		2	2
Arundel Prayer Gloss	5			
Ælfric's Grammar				3
Boethius (Consolation of Pilosophy)	2		1	
Cuthbert (Bede's)	2	1		
Durham Proverbs		1		
Durham Ritual		1		
Hymn Gloss	2			1
Lorica of Gildas	2			
Matthew (Lindisfarne)		2		
Matthew (Rushworth)		5		1
Occasional Gl. (Bede)	1			
" " (Proverbs)				3
" " (Psalms)				1
Psalter Canticles				1
11 diff. Psalter Mss.		3		16
Regularis Concordia	2			
Sedulius (Carmen Paschale)	—	—	—	<u>1</u>
TOTAL Interlinear Gl.	35	13	3	29
plus Glossary items	<u>13</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>18</u>
TOTAL OE Glosses	48	14	3	47

Definitions The definitions given in dictionaries for the various terms in the word-fields introduce readers to legal terms with which they might not be familiar, and the definitions form a starting point for setting up the distinctions of sense in the field for the group of words formed on each head-word. The analysis in this dissertation has not been concerned with correcting or creating definitions, but only with describing precisely the relationships among the senses and subsenses of each word-field. Collocations of words in each field with others not in the field (often verbs) reveal the range of possible uses within the senses and subsenses and are not meant to be exhaustive.

Description and Location The description of each field reveals the “shape” of that field, that is, the relative proportions of its major sense divisions. The analysis of the words’ locations in various kinds of texts gives us additional information about how they were used. The proportion of the words’ uses in all the areas gives us general information about them. However, I am most interested here in their use in the Other category (discussed further, below) because I eventually want to know how the legal connotations affect the words’ use in the “other” texts and the literary interpretation of those texts.

Mund As we have seen, the *mund*-field contains 10% hand-words and 90% words with some kind of PROTECTION-sense. The head word has three different legal senses (protection, protector, and breach of protection), and there are compounds for each of these senses. All but two of the 17 *mund*-words are used in the Other category, and this shows that this legal concept was used extensively in many kinds of non-legal writing.

Among the *mund*-words, the analysis reveals that 60% of the non-gloss words with a PROTECTION-sense are used in non-legal texts, and this shows (again) the importance of the use of this legal concept outside the law codes. Further, about 50% of the entire field occurs in poetic or religious prose texts

in the Other category: 23% of words with a PROTECTION- or HAND-sense are in poetic texts, and another 22% of words with a PROTECTION-sense are in religious prose texts. By isolating the locations of *mund*-words by author, we noticed that *mund*-words were used by the Aldhelm glossator in a way that revealed a particular preference: after further examination of contexts, it appears that *mund*-words were not used when the saint whose story was being told had been martyred. We have also noticed that Ælfric distinguished between the usual *scyld*-words for protection against particular assaults and the use of *mund*-words for the “vertical” state of protection offered by God’s grace.

Almost all of the hand-words (96%) occur in Other texts; 88% of them are in poetry, especially in Beowulf, where hand imagery is very evident: Beowulf is the only text where *mund*-words with a HAND-sense outnumber those with a PROTECTION-sense, not surprising in a poem where the hero’s unarmed physical strength is an issue. The question raised above, and to be answered in future research, is whether the *mund* hand-words always bring a legal connotation; one could argue that they do.

Frið Of the four word-fields under consideration, the *frið*-field contains the largest number of different words and the largest number of items, but it is no more complex than the others. The PEACE-sense has about twice as many items as the PROTECTION-sense (64% to 29%), and the FREEDOM-sense occupies the remaining 7%. The FREEDOM-sense does not appear in the laws, and almost all its items appear in Bible translations. The 56 different words making up this field are mostly compounds formed on *frið* or its poetic equivalent *friðu*.

The most striking observation on the location of the *frið*-words is their very frequent use in historical writing, with almost all of these occurrences having the PEACE-sense (and using very few of the 56 words). The compounds formed on *frið*-words (which include most of the many distinct

words in this field) appear either in legal writing or in texts in the Other category. This distribution shows that the *frið*-words were very productive for word formation, and that, like *mund*, the concept they denoted was constructively employed in many kinds of texts both legal and non-legal.

Grið The general shape of the *grið*-field resembles that of *frið*, since they are terms with similar meanings, but as we have seen *grið* has a more localized and particular use (of certain places or events or people). The *grið*-field consists of a PEACE-sense (52% of field) and a PROTECTION-sense (47% of field); if the formulaic use of *griðbryce* is separated out (20%), then the PROTECTION-sense (47%) dominates the remaining PEACE-sense (32%).

The location of *grið*-words shows one pattern similar to *frið*: historical writing forms the largest category of *grið*-word uses, two thirds of these having the PEACE-sense, but employing only two of the ten different *grið*-words. We noticed above that one writer dominated the use of the *grið*-words in Old English. Considering Wulfstan's task of regularizing legal practices in the largely Scandinavian north, it is not surprising that he would use a variety of words from this field as he compiled law codes, homilies, and his Institutes of Polity, one of the earliest expositions on the relationship between ecclesiastical and secular power. Legal writing, by Wulfstan and others, uses eight of the ten words and, besides history, is the other large area of concentration (50% of the field); 81% of *grið*-words are used in legal or historical texts. Wulfstan's writing will be given more commentary below.

Borg The *borg*-words are included here because 5% of their occurrences are used as a synonym for *mund* in the laws. Generally, *borg* means SURETY (including the *mund* synonyms) in two thirds of its uses and LOAN in the other third.

Borg, like *grið*, is a word with very many legal uses and with a limited

number in the remaining categories of texts. Over half of all *borg*-words occur in legal writing, and while 90% of these have the SURETY-sense, only 5% of the total field is used with the PROTECTION-sense, and all of these items are in a context discussing breach of protection. Many of the items with the SURETY-sense have a purpose clause indicating the act or condition which is to be secured by the surety. *Borg* occurs many times in Bible glosses, but with its LOAN-sense in most instances.

Section 2: Combined Field, the Conceptual Field for *Mund*

Having reviewed some of the conclusions for the individual word-fields, we can now attempt to describe the combined field, or the area where the four word-fields overlap; this area can be called the semantic field or conceptual field for the Old English concept 'legal protection' and contains 910 items. In the following description I include the PEACE-sense (of *frið* and *grið*) as well as the PROTECTION-sense of all four words, *mund*, *frið*, *grið*, *borg*, since these two main senses are closely related: the power to protect creates conditions of peace. What is not included in this field from the analysis given in Chapters Two through Five are the items with a FREEDOM-sense (*frið*-words), the HAND-words (in the *mund*-field), and the *borg*-words with a SURETY- or LOAN-sense.

Table 6.2a: Locations of texts in the 4 word-fields of the Combined Field
 (numbers refer either to PROTECTION-sense alone,
 or to PEACE-sense + PROTECTION-sense)

	Law	Charter	Chron.	Other	Gloss	Glossary
Mund-field	37	34	11	94	35	13
224 (25%)						
Frið-field	57+35	3+2	181+8	77+103	9+3	0+1
479 (53%)						
Grið-field	15+42	42+2	41+21	7+28	0+1	0
199 (22%)						
Borg-field	8	0	0	0	0	0
<u>8 (1%)</u>	—	—	—	—	—	—
910 (100%)	194	83	262	309	48	14
	21%	9%	29%	34%	5%	2%
	30%					7%

The field formed by the PROTECTION-sense and the PEACE-sense of the *mund*, *frið*, *grið*, and *borg* word-fields is analyzed in Table 6.2b. This combined field has *frið*-words for about half its members; *mund*-words and *grið*-words each make up approximately one quarter of its members, with the *borg*-words representing less than 1%. The words located in the combined field fall into three areas of approximately equal numbers: legal writing (laws and charters) forms 30%, historical writing makes up 28%, and the Other



category contains 34%, with glosses comprising only 7% of the total field.¹ Texts such as poetry, homilies and other religious prose, Bible translations, and miscellaneous texts like Boethius, the Leechbook, and Byrhtferth's Manual form the Other category, and this category makes up a substantial proportion of the semantic field for 'legal protection,' just over one third.

**Table 6.2b: Locations and proportions of the 2 senses
in the Combined Field**

	Total	Legal			Other	Glosses	
		Law	Charter	History		Gloss	Glossary
Protection <i>(m, f, g, b)</i>	478	122	38	40	225	39	14
% of 478		26%	8%	8%	47%	8%	3%
% of 910	52%	13%	4%	4%	25%	4%	2%
Peace <i>(f, g)</i>	432	72	45	222	84	9	0
% of 432		17%	10%	51%	19%	2%	
% of 910	48%	8%	5%	25%	9%	1%	
	910	194	83	262	309	48	14

¹ Here we can also note Wulfstan's striking contribution to the combined field: of the 194 items in law codes, 123 items (63%) are Wulfstan's; of the 309 items in the Other category, 59 (19%) are his; so Wulfstan is responsible for 182 of the 910 items in the combined field, or 20%.

The relative proportions of the two main senses in the combined field are analyzed in detail in Table 6.2b. Here the 478 items (52%) meaning ‘protection’ from the *mund-* *frið-* *grið-* and *borg-* fields have been combined and are compared with those 432 items (48%) from the *frið-* and *grið-* fields meaning ‘peace.’ What is apparent here is that while the two sense areas of the whole field stand in approximately equal proportions to each other, Historical items dominate the PEACE-sense, and Other items dominate the PROTECTION-sense; Legal items provide a substantial minority of the PROTECTION-sense. (For further analysis of the Other area, see Section 3 below.)

Items from *frið* and *grið* together form three quarters of this combined field (see Table 6.2a); in the *frið* field the PEACE-sense dominates other senses by about two to one (see above, Table F2a), and the PEACE-sense occupies about half of the *grið* field (see above, Table G2a). However, when the fields are combined to show the relative proportions of all the Peace words and of all the Protection words in the conceptual field for the legal concept ‘*mund*,’ the PEACE-sense becomes the secondary one in all but the History and Charter categories, as Table 6.2b illustrates.

This seems reasonable when we consider the subject of these categories. The kind of discourse employed in historical and charter writing is concerned with long-term public issues. History records the large picture here, describing wars and truces (among other things) that cover wide areas and large numbers of people; charters (wills, writs, and charters proper) record the legal details for particular transactions among individuals and involving specific tracts of land and other kinds of property, the minutiae of history. Both kinds of writing are concerned with the long term and with the public matters of the kingdom, the national security, peace, and truce that *frið* and *grið* can denote.

By contrast, the use of *mund* and *borg* tends to reflect more private and local (and perhaps temporary) concerns, often among individuals. The

protection that *mund* denotes is bestowed by a person of power on individual persons, places, and events. The protection a surety (*borg*) provides is often of a still shorter term; (it may even be specified with a purpose clause to guarantee a very particular transaction or condition, as we have seen). The PROTECTION-sense is dominated by items in the Other category on which I will focus for the remainder of this chapter; it is these items which promise the most fertile ground for future critical work on this topic.

Section 3: Other category in the combined field

The four word-groups under consideration here have been discussed as legal terms at some length above, where we examined their occurrences in law codes and charters for each word-field. As we have seen, items in these word groups are also used in glosses and glossaries to translate Latin words, a function which generally places severe restrictions on semantic options. The use of the four groups in historical writing has been put in a separate category, in part because of the large number of items in the *frið*- and *grið*-fields in this area. Although it is less formulaic or semantically constrained than legal writing and glossing, historical writing tends to present information about events in a matter-of-fact way, much like newspaper writing in our own time. It thus leaves less room for “creativity,” or to put it differently, uses language in a more literal way, a less layered or less symbolic way, than writing in poetry and in prose religious texts, for example. Looking now at how the *mund*- *frið*- *grið*- and *borg*-words are used in the Other category’s various kinds of texts opens up new possibilities: it gives us a chance to see how the Anglo-Saxons used these words that have legal senses in kinds of discourse other than legal or historical writing, where the writers themselves may have been exploiting the words’ legal connotations for artistic or didactic purposes. Analyzing such uses may enable us to understand the words more as the Anglo-Saxons did and thereby to interpret the texts in which they occur more accurately, or more thoroughly, by including additional dimensions or layers

(the legal connotations in non-legal texts) which might otherwise be missed. The Other category is the largest among words in the combined field with a PROTECTION-sense (48% of 478); with the 20% of the PEACE-sense that the Other category occupies, it is also marginally the largest category of the field as a whole, with 34% of the 910 items in the combined field.

The Other category of the combined field can be divided into four sub-categories: Poetic, 46%; Religious Prose, 44%; Bible translations, 6%; and Miscellaneous, 4%. The items in the Other category are analyzed in detail in Appendix Ω, and selected features of this analysis are summarized in Tables 6.3a - 6.3d.

Table 6.3a: Location of items in Poetic Subgroup of Other category
(titles given only for texts with 3 or more items)

Title and # of items	Total (prot'n + peace)	<i>mund</i> (protection)	<i>frið</i> (protection + peace)*	<i>grið</i>
Andreas 14	9 + 5	3	6+5	
Beowulf 10	5 + 5	2	3+5	
Christ A, B, C 10	8 + 2	3	5+2	
Daniel 6	6 + 0		6+0	
Elene 4	2 + 2		2+2	
Genesis A, B 24	7 + 17	5	2+17	
Guthlac A, B 15	13 + 2	6	7+2	
Judith 2	2 + 0	1	1+0	
Juliana 5	4 + 1	3	1+1	
Battle of Maldon 4	1 + 3		1+2	0+1
Phoenix 2	2 + 0		2+0	
Paris Psalter <u>12</u>	<u>9 + 3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5+3</u>	<u>—</u>
Totals, 108	68 + 40	27	41+39	0+1
preceding 12 titles;				
31 other titles				
(w/ 1 or 2 items): <u>33</u>	<u>24 + 9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>15+9</u>	<u>0</u>
141	92 + 49	36	56+48	0+1
	(141)		(104)	
	65% + 35%			

141 = 46% of 309 ('Other' total from Table 6.2b)

***applies in both *frið* and *grið* columns**

The Poetic subcategory contains the largest number (141) of items among the Other subcategories in the combined field. There are over twice as many items with the PROTECTION-sense as with a PEACE-sense. These items are completely analyzed in Appendix Ω, and their share of the combined field is summarized in Table 6.3a. There are 44 different short titles in this group, 31 of which have one or two items only and contain 33 items total. The remaining 12 titles have from 3 to 27 items (108 total) and contain the balance of the 141 Other-Poetic items. Genesis A, B has 24 (out of 2936 lines), Guthlac has 15 (in 1379 lines), Andreas has 14 (in 1722 lines), Paris Psalter 12 (in the 150 psalms), Beowulf has 10 (in 3182 lines), and Christ has 10 (in 1664 lines); the rest have fewer. Among these, Beowulf, Andreas, Guthlac, and possibly Genesis A, B seem to be most promising for future study, some directions for which are presented in Chapter Seven.

**Table 6.3b: Location of items in Religious Prose Subgroup
of Other category**

	Total (prot'n+peace)	<i>mund</i> (prot'n)	<i>frið</i> (protection + peace)*	<i>grið</i>
Ælfric 38	25+13	21	4+13	0
Wulfstan 59	49+10	12	8+8	29+2
Gregory 12	12+0	8	4+0	0
other (Mart., anon. homs. and LS, Ben R, liturgy) <u>27</u>	<u>24+3</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11+2</u>	<u>1+1</u>
136	110+26	53	27+23	30+3
	80%+20%			

136=44% of 309 ('Other' total from Table 6.2b)

*applies in both *frið* and *grið* columns

The Religious Prose subcategory contains material attributed to Ælfric, Wulfstan, Gregory,² and anonymous homiletic and other texts. Wulfstan accounts for almost half of these items, Ælfric has about one quarter, and the anonymous homilies and saints' lives nearly that many; Old English Gregorian material has about 6%. The material of Wulfstan and Ælfric has been discussed above (Chapters Two and Four). The Religious Prose subgroup contains almost as many items as the Poetic subgroup, and together they form 89% of the Other category in the combined field.

² The material by St. Gregory (ca. 540-604) analyzed in this study consists of King Alfred's translations of the *Dialogues* of Gregory and the *Cura Pastoralis*, or Pastoral Care, "a guide to bishops in their exercise of spiritual authority [that] developed into a first-rate treatise on authority, as useful for the secular as for the spiritual leader" (H. R. Loyn, *Alfred the Great* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 1967] 55-56.

**Table 6.3c: Location of items in Bible Translation Subgroup
of Other category**

Title	total	<i>Mund</i>	<i>Frið</i> (protection + peace)*	<i>Grið</i>
Genesis	1		1+0	
Genesis (Ker)	1		1+0	
Joshua ³	4		1+3	
Judges	1		0+1	
Psalms	10		10+0	
Psalms Headings	2	1	1+0	
Matthew Marg (Li)	<u>1</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>0+1</u>	
	16+4	1	14+5	
	(20)		(19)	
	80%+20%			

20=6% of 309 ('Other' total from Table 6.2b)

*applies in both *frið* and *grið* columns

The Bible Translation subgroup contains 6% of the items in the combined field. As noted earlier, items with the FREEDOM-sense have been left out of the combined field for PROTECTION and PEACE. Those items, found almost entirely in the prose Psalter, would more than double the size of this group if included.

³ Note that in Joshua and Judges the PEACE-sense is more numerous than the PROTECTION-sense (4 instances to 1), reflecting the trend identified above at the end of Section 2: historical works tend to deal more with peace than personal protection.

The Miscellaneous subgroup is a small and insignificant group here, containing only 4% of the items in the combined field:

**Table 6.3d: Location of items in Miscellaneous Subgroup
of Other category**

Title	total	<i>Mund</i>	<i>Frið</i>	<i>Grið</i>
			(Protection+Peace)*	
Boethius	5	1	4+0	
Byr Manual	1	1		
Leechbook I	1		1+0	
Prognostications 4	1		0+1	
Prognostications 5.1	1			0+1
Record 10.8	1	1		
Rev'l Monast'm	<u>2</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>2+0</u>	<u>—</u>
	10+2	3	7+1	0+1
	(12)		(8)	
	83%+17%			

12=4% of 309 ('Other' total from Table 6.2b)

*applies in both *frið* and *grið* columns

Conclusions By combining the PROTECTION- and PEACE-senses of the four word-fields considered in the preceding chapters,⁴ we can generate the semantic field (or conceptual field) for the Old English concept 'legal protection.' Legal texts, historical writing, and other texts (exclusive of glosses) form three nearly equal-sized parts of this field, with the Other category being largest. It contains mainly Poetic and Religious Prose material in roughly equal proportions; considered collectively, these two subgroups constitute almost 90% of the Other category of the combined field. The PEACE-sense strongly predominates in the history area; the PROTECTION-sense strongly predominates in the Other area; and in the Legal area, PEACE- and PROTECTION-senses are nearly balanced, with Protection having a slightly larger share than Peace. The fact that the Other area is the largest area in this combined field, and that the PROTECTION-sense dominates here, once more shows the importance of the legal concept of *mund* in non-legal texts, reinforcing the conclusions reached earlier in the analysis in Chapters Two through Five.

Most of the Religious Prose subgroup of the Other category, and several of the texts with large numbers of items in the Poetic subgroup, show promise for future research with a more literary focus. The lexical and linguistic approach that this study employs to examine the data base has yielded interesting and valuable results so far, and these can be supplemented and developed by examining individual texts in more depth. When one compares the kinds of discourses examined here (legal, historical, religious instructional, poetic), it becomes obvious that the various subsenses distinguished above in the word-fields are not distributed randomly across the different kinds of discourses, but instead are genre sensitive. The more private, personal, and local nature of the concept of legal protection mentioned above—in contrast to the more public and national dimension in

⁴ It is conceivable that a few instances of other Old English protection-words (for a complete list, see above Chapter 1, note 25) could have legal connotations and need to be included here; if there were such they would form a very insignificant proportion of this field. The field I have described and analyzed is formed by the only words used in the OE law codes to mean 'legal protection.'

historical writing—becomes apparent when we examine the words analyzed in this study in such texts as homilies, the poetic lives of saints, and Beowulf, for example, and can lead to interesting interpretive studies of those texts and others, the prospects for which are outlined in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Literary Applications for Future Research

In the preceding chapters, this study analyzed lexical and linguistic elements of four word-fields and the semantic field for the Old English concept 'legal protection' and discussed the patterns formed by large numbers of items and their proportions in several categories. In those discussions, I mentioned intermittently the possibilities for further research and for fuller literary analysis. My study of the four word groups for *mund*, *frið*, *grið*, and *borg* showed that the several senses for the words are not spread randomly across various kinds of discourse but instead the words' meanings are genre sensitive. For example, about half the items in the conceptual field for *mund* mean 'protection,' but only a small proportion of these items in history texts mean 'protection.' Instead, the words in the conceptual field are more likely to mean 'peace' in historical writing. To assist a discussion of the words' distribution, we can specify four genres: legal, historical, religious instructional, and poetic. In the first group, the *mund frið grið borg* words will have a legal/technical sense, and in historical writing their use is likely to reflect these legal ideas. In religious instructional writing, the words may be used with their legal senses and/or their less technical senses; in poetic writing, the words are likely to include connotations or ambiguities not found in the other groups, in part because of the presence of narrative contexts. In non-legal contexts, a reader is justified in interpreting the legal terms' possible broader connotations.

The above analysis has also drawn attention to the possibility of commenting on the synonyms for 'protection' in some texts: certain writers made

careful and consistent lexical distinctions between apparent synonyms. In other texts, large numbers of synonyms for the *mund frið grið borg* words are present. In future work I hope to concentrate on the interaction between the *mund frið grið borg* words and other words in the list of synonyms for protection (see Chapter 1, note 25) in particular texts, and more research should be done on the individual word-fields in that list throughout the corpus of Old English. The literary analysis in this chapter will suggest directions for future research into the operation of the *mund frið grið borg* words and their senses in various genres, and on the relation of the protection words and their synonyms, in texts such as Wulfstan's and Ælfric's, in the poetic saints' lives Andreas and Guthlac A, and in Beowulf.

Part I: Wulfstan and Ælfric

Wulfstan During the years 1002 to 1023 when Wulfstan was archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester, he drafted a series of laws for Æthelred and another series for Cnut, he composed other legal texts for his own use (such as the Compilation on Status referred to above), and he composed the law codes Grið, Rectitudines Singularum Personarum and Gerefa. He compiled the Canons of Edgar for the guidance of the secular clergy, and his name is associated with several other texts as well. Eventually he composed the Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical, where he organized many of the legal ideas in the above texts along with theoretical ideas on the nature of kingship and the Church's role in society that he had developed as a result of his experience with the tenth-century monastic reforms. Much of Wulfstan's legal writing was directed at the largely Scandinavian north and east of England: from his see in York, the Archbishop was engaged in regularizing relations between the English and the Danelaw.

The occurrences of the *mund frið grið borg* words in the texts of Wulfstan can be considered here as legal uses of these words: although some of these occur in homilies, the Canons of Edgar, and the Polity, many of these instances lift whole

passages verbatim from his law codes, and in all cases the words are used with their literal legal force. Wulfstan employs the words we are considering as literal legal terms, and this usage represents one end of the continuum that extends from legal to poetic; it thereby forms a starting point for the more literary discussions of the other writers and texts below. As we have already seen, in Chapter Four, even Wulfstan's literal uses of a legal term like *grið* are quite rich; as we move away from these literal uses to the work of other writers, we will find increasing opportunities for interpretation, commentary, and rewarding semantic exploration.

Ælfric Viewed as a whole, the writings of Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham form an encyclopedic program of Christian instruction on universal history. The *mund frið grið borg* words examined in this study occur regularly in his writings, as the commentary in Chapter Six, Section 3 (on religious prose) shows. But whereas the legal concepts which these words denote are an important core concept in Wulfstan's writing, in Ælfric's work they occur incidentally, as needed, in contexts where we would expect them. Generally they are used with their literal legal meaning, but in contexts with theological overtones: the legal ideas apply to the kingdom of God and not to the secular realm.

The *frið*-words express the various peace senses. Christ keeps His Father's kingdom where no one can disrupt His peace (*his frið*, F150); a king makes peace with Judas Maccabeus (F238); repentant thieving birds seek refuge with Cuthbert (F181); and Judas Maccabeus seeks safe passage (*mid friðe moston faran*) through a town (F262). The *mund*-words also express their usual legal protection senses: God protects us as a father (M73.5), He protects particular places (M75.5), and His mercy protects us (M59). *Mundbora* is used of a Roman official (M108) and also of Christ, our Protector and Judge (M107).

Ælfric also employs these legal terms with some degree of freedom, in ways that are figural or that we might call slightly ironic, and by this freer use they emphasize key ideas in Ælfric's writing. For instance, in his metrical life of Mark

and in his homily on the passion of Peter and Paul, Ælfric writes that townspeople were glad to have the remains of the saints kept near at hand, to be their patron (M127) or protector (M149). In his homily for the second Sunday after Pentecost, Ælfric recounts the story of Lazarus and Dives in which Dives desires the poor man who had begged at his table to be his *mundbora*, and listeners are encouraged to ask similar poor saints to pray for them as *mundboran*. These four uses of the Old English *mundbora* employ the legal term in ways that do not carry its usual legal force: dead bodies and people without power do not normally serve as *mundboran*.

The *mund frið grið borg* words are used in other slightly unusual ways. In the metrical *vita* of Abdon and Sennes, the saints stand in an arena about to be destroyed by wild beasts. However, the beasts run in to the saints' feet *swylce hi fryðes bædon* (F185, as if they prayed for protection), and then the beasts protect the saints from their persecutors: the passage is doubly ironic. Elsewhere, Ælfric employs the peace/protection words, as often occurs elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon poetry, for the perversion of protection as practiced by the devil and his associates. In the life of Martin, a tree at a pagan shrine is protected (*gefriþed*, F385) and counted holy; elsewhere, a brazen image is protected (*gefriþode*, F302) by the devil; and the heathen pray for guardianship and protection (*munde and gescyldnysse*, M24), imploring both the vertical and horizontal protection discussed below.

The remarkable use of these terms in narrative passages like the ones just discussed produces effects that emphasize the ideas Ælfric is presenting, both by the aesthetic pleasure they give the reader and by a kind of figurative force. This is what we expect in a narrative context, as opposed to the words' literal use in a legal text or in historical writing. These passages illustrate legal terms used in extra-legal contexts in ways that invite commentary and exploration. The discourse here is different from the legal end of the legal-through-poetical continuum mentioned above, and the words we have been examining have effects beyond what we encountered in Wulfstan.

Ælfric's Use of Two Synonyms for the Concept 'Protection'

Ælfric's writings can also illustrate the importance of examining in any particular text the interplay between the peace/protection words and synonyms from the list of synonyms for protection (see Chapter One, note 25). In Ælfric's writing two different groups of words seem to indicate the Old English concept of legal protection: the *mund-* and *frið-* words which this study has described, and the *scyld-* words (*scyldian*, and *gescyldnysse*). Words from both groups are translated as 'protect' and 'protection' by Skeat in LS and by Thorpe in ÆCH vol. 1 and 2. In this section on Ælfric I will examine and compare his use of these synonymous word groups to see what if any lexical distinctions he makes.

A total of 124 homilies and saints' lives by Ælfric are extant—85 titles in the two series of Catholic Homilies and 39 of the 43 saints' lives edited by Skeat. Of these, approximately one third (46 texts, 28 homilies and 18 saints' lives) use either of the two sets of words being considered here. As I examined the sixty-six different passages containing these words, I grouped them according to part of speech and location, summarized below:

Table 7.1: Locations of *Scyld-* and *Mund-* words in Ælfric

	<i>scyld-</i> verbs	<i>scyld-</i> nouns	<i>mund- frið-</i> verbs	<i>mund- frið-</i> nouns	Total
<u>ÆCH</u>	19	12	2	5	38
<u>ÆLS</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>28</u>
	32	17	6	11	66

(4 *frið-* words which mean 'peace' have been omitted)

Approximately 33% of the Catholic Homilies have at least one of these passages, and these sermons use the words at a rate of 1.4 times per sermon. Approximately 40% of the LS have at least one of these passages, and they use the words about 1.5 times per title. So we can say that about one third of Ælfric's titles have one or two of these passages.

At first sight, Ælfric seems to treat the *mund- frið*-words and the *scyld*-words as synonyms. However, Ælfric does distinguish between the two sets of words, and we can point out what the lexical distinction is. This assists us in distinguishing the *mund- frið*-group from the larger set of all Old English protection words. It also helps define *mund* more precisely, and it shows how Anglo-Saxon writers distinguished among what appear to be synonyms.

The *scyld*-words and the *mund- frið*-group share the general sense ‘protection.’ This is evident in one of the two passages where the two word-groups appear together in one sentence. In a local conflict between Christians and pagans, “the heathen also . . . implored the guardianship and protection [*munde and gescyldnyssæ bædon*] of their false gods” (*ÆCH* v.1, pp. 504-05, hereafter cited in the form 1.504-05: Thorpe’s trans., used here throughout.). The syntax of compound direct objects implies an equivalence between the two terms. This is not so, however, in the second passage where the two word-groups occur together. In “On Auguries,” readers are told that they must not make inquiries in the old way at stones or wells or trees (the *friðgeardas* mentioned in Chapter Two), but instead “the Christian man must cry to his Lord with mind and with mouth, and beseech His protection [*his munda abiddan*], that He may shield him against the devil’s snares” [*þæt he hine scylde wið deofles syrunga*], (*ÆLS* XVII, lines 136-38, hereafter cited in the form XVII.136-38: Skeat’s trans., used throughout). From this we can propose a distinction: here the shielding is against something, while the protection exists in itself. We can also observe that the shielding is in this world (albeit against a spiritual adversary), and call it horizontal, while the protection comes from eternity and could be described as vertical. The shielding is an act, and the protection is the result of a relationship. This distinction will be borne out as we examine the other passages which use *scyld*-words and words from the *mund- frið*-group. In his preface to *LS* in the passage outlined above, Ælfric had used a *mund*-word to describe his purpose in writing: it was for encouragement, and *to munde us sylfum*, which Skeat translates “for our own security.” Knowing about the saints, and knowing that they intercede for believers with God, provides access to a kind of

security which exists regardless of particular situations or acts. The *mund- frið-* group in Ælfric reveals this condition of constantly available protection from above, while the *scyld-*words will be seen to indicate an act of protection against a foe in this world.

Twenty-three of the thirty-three *scyld-*verbs occur in passages where the threat is clearly identified. Besides the one described above, people are shielded from the devil's wiles or temptations and against sins or stains, as well as against a host of other threats. In all of these the threat is the object of a preposition *wið* or *fram*, and the phrase is used adverbally.

In the ten remaining passages where *scyld-*verbs are used, the shielding is against a foe which is evident from the context, even if it is not marked by a prepositional phrase. For instance, in a homily on the Lord's Prayer, listeners are exhorted to pray that they be shielded so they will not sink under trials—the foe has sent, and God allows, the trials: the supplicant's act initiates the shielding, or, one could say, the prayer is a shield.

The analogy of warfare is used in one of the homilies: "If a man shoot at thee, thou shieldest thyself, if thou seest it" (ÆCH 2.539). This shielding uses the analogy of physical warfare to describe battles against spiritual foes, and we should remember that the etymology of 'satan' is 'adversary.' In the story of St. Martin, he challenges the Emperor Julian by refusing to fight in his army, but if Martin must, he will stand before the enemy without physical weapons: Martin acts on his belief to shield himself with the cross rather than a "real" weapon, and this example encourages listeners to make similar choices (as Ælfric in his preface indicated was his intent). The shielding is against a present enemy identified in the story context and not by a phrase like "against the enemy."

In some of the other passages, what the shielding is against is less clear. It may be against all kinds of foes in day-to-day activity; acts of love may shield one from present dangers; or a saint's acts of faith may elicit God's protection. One passage where Ælfric employs a *scyld-*verb seems not to fit the pattern I am describing. There it sounds as if a principle of vertical protecting is already in

place, and as though acts do not initiate it. A bishop explains to Eugenia that she will “suffer persecutions because of her virginity, and yet be preserved” [*beon gescyld*] by God “who shields his chosen ones” [*þe gescyld his gecorenan*], (LS II.82-3). Here it seems that the protection is from above, in place and available at all times. However, the context shows that it can be regarded another way. The bishop has told Eugenia that she has pleased God by choosing virginity in the past; and, we can imagine her continuing to make choices which please God at various times in her life, as threatening situations arise: as she chooses the right way, she will be choosing God’s shielding against present foes with her acts of faith.

In all of these examples, the *scyld*-verbs indicate protection against foes present in this world initiated by the acts of a believer. The syntax and text may clearly designate the foe, or an audience may understand who the adversary is from the context, but all these passages fit this pattern (with varying degrees of precision).

The sixteen *scyld*-nouns indicate the same horizontal sort of protecting that the *scyld*-verbs do. Some of these involve military conflicts: in the one mentioned above, Martin has “no red shield” but instead the cross of Christ. In “The Maccabees” (ÆLS XXV), after a thoroughly successful campaign against the enemy nations (which the writer calls “the heathen,” line 449), the Israelites “came safe to their land” and made offerings to God, “thanking His protection” [*þanciende his gescyldnysse*] that they “had come again to their country” (lines 450-54). Here acts of God’s people result in military victories against the heathen nations, who in saints’ lives are agents of the devil in this world.

Military victories over the heathen figure prominently in another passage in “Maccabees.” “In those days he . . . defeat[ed] his enemies and especially the heathen . . .” (lines 684-86): this ancient warfare “had the significance of holy men who drive away vices and devils from them in the New Testament” (lines 701-704). These historical battles involve the horizontal protection we are discussing, and the victories there symbolize the victories believers can have in their daily struggles: “then shall we be God’s champions in the spiritual battle if we despise the devil

through true belief . . . and if we perform God's will with our works" (lines 697-700). In the above passage, they fight with spiritual weapons and pray for protection to overcome evil.

In another passage dealing with military conflicts, a homily on Midlent Sunday includes a retelling of the several acts of the Israelites in taking the promised land: they act in God's will against enemies in this world and they thereby call into operation the protection of God. The same homily sets forth the principle which the faithful follow in all the passages involving "shielding" in this world. Ælfric instructs his listeners that "Christian men should fight spiritually against sins" and "accursed spirits" (ÆCH 2.217), using the "ghostly weapons" which are "God's armor" [*Godes wæpnunge*], including "the shield of belief" [*þæs leafan scyld*]; this and the other familiar parts of the armor allow the faithful to "stand against the wiles of the devil" for "it is [a] contest against" the devil himself. Acting on one's true belief is how one wields these weapons and this is what is being done in all these examples involving the *scyld*-words.

In the seven remaining passages which involve *scyld*-nouns, the opponents of the shielding become clear from the context. In one homily readers are told that "our protection is in the hand of our Father." The context here identifies the foe: "the devil deceived Adam; and he is now even striving against our faith: but our protection [belongs to] our Father" (even as believers themselves resist the devil with their faithful acts). In these and similar situations the believer has overcome the foe through God's protection [*þurh Godes gescyldnysse*] to which he has access through his own believing acts.

From these examples, we can see that the *scyld*-words all indicate protection against an adversary in this world which is initiated by acts of the faithful. It remains to be seen whether the *mund- frið-* group is used differently.

Mund-verbs are used four times in the homilies and saints' lives. In a homily on the Lord's Prayer, we read that He who protects one as a father is, as it were, that person's head (ÆCH 1.275). And in St. Eugenia's life, the converted governor Philip gives the Christian community at Alexandria "many possessions for their

common use, and well protected them” (LS II.283). In both of these situations, an authority provides protection to those under him because of their relationship with him. This protection exists independent of the acts of those protected, and no adversary is mentioned (nor is one necessary to elicit the protection).

Mund-verbs are used in two passages concerned with protection of a sanctuary. In Anglo-Saxon thought, a sanctuary is a place of refuge, a place where the king guarantees that God’s protection will be available to those who can find it. In the relevant passage in scripture (1 Mac 3.27-4.54), we read that a central concern in “Maccabees” is defending the rebuilt sanctuary, and, after a series of battles, rededicating it. In Ælfric’s narrative, Judas fasted and prayed to God that He would protect them (*þæt he hi gemundian sceolde*) and defend His temple against the heathen.

This kind of protection is also evident later in “Maccabees.” The enemy king sends “a thane” to the temple at Jerusalem to take treasure; this person is “thrown down” and beaten by two angels and later explains that “the Almighty God protecteth the place,” *se ælmihtiga god mundað þa stowe* (line 804). The vertical protection of God is operating here because of the relationship of the place to God: it is consecrated ground, and this protection is available at all times.

In two passages in Ælfric, *frið*-verbs indicate an analogous sort of protection of a heathen holy place. In a homily on St. Benedict, a devil haunts a church raised on the foundation of what had been a shrine to Apollo. Eventually the holy man drives away the demon, and under a stone where he had been sitting the workmen find “a brazen image, which the devil had there protected” [*þe se deofol þær gefriðode*] (*ÆCH* 2.166-67). Again, in Ælfric’s life of St. Martin, the saint overthrows an idol “in a certain place; and there was a pine-tree close to the temple, protected and accounted very holy in heathen wise” [*an pin-treow wið þæt templ gefriðed*] (lines 389-91). These two passages show the sort of protection of sanctuaries described above, but the protection is inverted and turned to the wrong ends. It may not be a coincidence that a *frið*-word, not a *mund*-word, indicates this perversion of the concept of sanctuary.

The sort of protection being described here is also designated by the term *mundbora*, which means protector or guardian, the person who provides *mund*. The eight uses of this word in Ælfric's homilies and saints' lives always indicate the person who provides the condition of protection which exists because of a relationship of someone to this authority, the vertical relationship which accompanies the *mund* concept. In one instance, St. Sebastian was appointed by the Pope as *mundbora* of a Christian church in Rome during a time of persecution (LS V.349). In examples used above (p. 149), twice the bodies of departed saints are *mundbora* to a particular population (LS XV.102, St. Mark; ÆCH 1.384, Peter and Paul). Moreover, at the end of a homily, Christ is referred to as *ure Mundbora and Dema*, "our Protector and Judge" (ÆCH .350-1).

The remaining *mund*-nouns have been discussed above. Two occur in passages with *scyld*-words, and one in the preface. In these three, *mund* was translated as guardianship, protection, or security. In the one passage where *scyld* and *mund* did seem to be synonyms, perhaps the writer was placing the two modes in parallel, as if saying that the heathens too implore both the vertical and horizontal modes of protection. All three can serve to remind us of the characteristics that the seventeen *mund*- and *frið*- words indicate: the condition of protection constantly available from above which results from a relationship with someone in authority. The sixty-six *scyld*-words used in ÆCH and LS indicate different conditions of protection: there the protection results from individual acts by believers, and it results in their being shielded from forces also in this world. This shielding protection has for its source the same guardian as that which the *mund*- *frið*- words indicate, but it operates in a different mode, as we have seen. Realizing this helps us distinguish the *mund*- *frið*-group subset from the larger set of all Old English protection words, and this helps to define the *mund* concept more clearly. It also demonstrates Ælfric's consistent use of a precise distinction between two words that could seem at first to be interchangeable synonyms.

Part II: Old English Poetry

The preservation and transmission of literary culture during the Anglo-Saxon period in England devolved mainly upon the Church and depended almost entirely on her literate Anglo-Saxon monks; in them, as in the literature, what was Germanic and Christian met and interacted in interesting and revealing ways. While poetry was being written in the traditional poetic idiom, laws were being codified in the vernacular as well (from the seventh century onwards). So it is not surprising that Anglo-Saxon legal concepts and legal diction can be found in Old English poetry.

There are several ways to justify taking a “legal approach” to the literature of the Middle Ages. During this period, when the Christian world view shaped ideas about all areas of human activity, the law—divine law, natural law, and that posited by men—reflected the divine plan of God. We can also remember that Anglo-Saxon England was the first area of the west in which laws were codified in the vernacular, beginning shortly after 600 A.D. The literate Christian church gave the impulse to do this, partly because it was necessary to integrate the men and women of the Church into the already thoroughly developed system of Germanic law, and partly because it was natural for literate men to record things in writing. These same literate Christians were involved in transmitting the corpus of Old English writings that have come down to us, so it is not surprising that legal ideas show up in the literature, and it can be useful to approach the literature by means of some of those ideas.

The legal ideas indicated by the *mund frið grið borg* words form a coherent group, as the earlier chapters of this study reveal. The words occur in poetry with both their protection and peace senses, in some texts frequently, and often with many non-legal synonyms. We found that the words used literally by Wulfstan were often used by Ælfric with somewhat more freedom. This naturally happens in a narrative mode; in poetry we expect that the words

will be used freely very often, perhaps even ambiguously, as we study their usage. By examining the *mund frið grið borg* words' presence in particular literary texts, their relationship with synonyms in the list of synonyms for protection (identified above, Chapter One, note 25), and the nature of the type-scenes that they inhabit, important unifying themes may be identified.

God protects His saints as part of the plan for all mankind. Because this kind of protection was an important idea in the Church and its counterpart legal protection was important in Anglo-Saxon law, when the *mund frið grið borg* words are used in poetry it reminds us of the king's protection and, by extension, of its ideal functioning as envisioned by Wulfstan in Institutes of Polity, for example. When they are used to indicate God's protection, the use of these words emphasizes assurance: the one being protected is certain of the Almighty's absolute power to protect. In episodes where the saint is particularly at risk, the concept of protection is very likely to come into play; in the next two sections, the use of the Old English words for legal protection and some of their synonyms will be examined in Andreas, the Journey Charm, and Guthlac A. In the third section, the widespread presence in Beowulf of the concept of legal protection will be explored. Many of the synonyms for protection listed in Chapter One (note 25) are attested in Beowulf with a protection sense; if they occur in narrative contexts (type-scenes) that are analogous to legal situations, the possibility that these other protection words are functioning with a legal connotation exists and could be explored in future research.

Legal Diction in the Old English Andreas

When we look closely at Andreas and its sources, we discover that the poem is most like the Greek text *Praxeis Andreou kai Mattheia . . .* (The Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the Land of the Cannibals)—called P—and the Latin text *Recensio Casanatensis* —called C—which is very similar to the Greek version; there are nine manuscripts of P, and five different Latin recensions. The Andreas poet's text, however, contains legal diction throughout for which there are few analogous ideas in the sources. Sixty-three occurrences of *mund-* or *frið-*words (or their synonyms) indicate the Old English concept of legal protection. In all but three of these, there is not even an analogous passage in the plot as it is presented in P or C.

The poet has made the story of Andrew into a thoroughly Anglo-Saxon poem, and using legal concepts allows him to tell his version of the story in a particularly powerful way. The words the poet employs to indicate the concept of 'protection' are sometimes the *mund-* or *frið-*words themselves but usually are synonyms for these; groups of synonyms for any concept are required by a poetry whose line is composed of alliterating units and where ideas are often developed by the technique of enumeration and variation. Whether or not the poet of the extant version himself has added these legal ideas, the Anglo-Saxon legal concept of 'mund' is present and widespread in Andreas, it is emphasized in the poetry, and describing its occurrence there may provide us with a good way to understand this text.

We can begin to describe how this legal concept works in Andreas by looking at the places where the poet uses the *mund-* or *frið-*words themselves (not synonyms). In Section VII Christ explains that, in heaven, Cherubim and Seraphim stand before God and praise "the glory of the heavenly King, the protection of the Lord [*meotudes mundbyrd*]" (RKG¹ 193). In XIII, when Andrew wonders how much more suffering he will have to endure, God tells

¹ Translations are from R. K. Gordon, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: Dent, 1970), hereafter "RKG" with page number; Old English text and line numbers are from ASPR II.

him, “I guard your peace [*frið*], I surround you with the power of my protection [*mundbyrd*].” And in XV, after the Mermedonians are saved, they receive “baptism, the covenant of peace [*freoðuwære*, a legal term], a promise of glory, God’s protection [*meotudes mundbyrd*]” (RKG 209). We can see from these examples that *mundbyrd*, ‘legal protection,’ occurs several times, and *frið*-words also indicate related legal concepts.

In Section IX, when Andrew leads the captives out of prison, the sources have him say something like “go down by the fig tree and wait for me”; the Anglo-Saxon poet simply writes that he led them out of prison into the safety of the Lord [*on frið dryhtnes*]. God acts to protect what is His by exercising His power; these acts result in conditions of peace and safety, often indicated by *frið* and its compounds. The ideas of peace and protection are interconnected, and many times are associated in the text. For instance, Andrew explains that, as God sent the apostles out to save souls, He told them “I will preserve you in peace [*ic eow freoðohealde*]” (line 336). A boy about to be killed and eaten by the cannibals craves this safety (*friðes*), he cannot find protection (*freoðes*) from the people; but God defended him from the heathens, and eventually the boy receives *freoð unhwilen*, eternal peace or safety. These two paragraphs show the *mund*- and *frið*-words themselves being used to indicate protection, peace, and safety.

Synonyms are also used to emphasize the concept of legal protection. In Section IV where Andrew discusses God’s attributes with Christ, who has made Himself appear as the boat’s helmsman, Andrew says, “I myself know that the Creator of angels, the Lord of hosts, protects us [*us gescyldeð*]” (RKG 188). As this discussion is continued in V, Christ explains that the Jews rejected Him because “sinners could not recognize the royal child who was born to protect and comfort [*to hleo ond to hroðre*] mankind” (RKG 190, lines 565-67). And in VIII (line 824), protection is a characteristic of God: Andrew is carried by angels from the boat to Mermedonia, “borne in their embraces to the Father’s protection [*on fader wære*].”

The 22 formulas for the names of God, Andrew, or the pagans² form the largest category of the diction under consideration, including many of the synonyms for the *mund*- and *frið*-words. Besides His many other attributes, the names for God describe Him as guardian or protector of heaven, earth, towns, all creatures, kingdoms, victories, and of princes or nobles (using such words as *weard*, *helm*, *hleō*). These are used in appositive constructions which pile up attributes using the Old English technique of enumeration and variation: “then the holy Ruler and Master, Lord of angels, Keeper of the earth, departed to seek His dwelling-place, the glorious home, . . .” and so on (RKG 185; line 227ff). Similar formulas also describe Andrew and the pagans. For instance, Andrew is the “protector of warriors” (*wigendra hleo*), and the pagans are “heathen temple guardians” (*hæðene herigweardas*).

Besides the uses of the concept of legal protection already described, we notice that the Anglo-Saxon poet emphasizes it by contrasting it with its opposite. In Section I, God tells Matthew “I will send Andrew to you for a protection and a comfort in this heathen town; he will free you from this hostility;” (RKG 183; lines 110-11). The sources say something like “I will send Andrew to you, to free you from this hostility;” the Anglo-Saxon poet has added the idea “for a protection and a comfort” and used the alliteration to emphasize it by pairing it with its opposite “in this heathen town”: *to hleo ond to hroðre* for a protection and a comfort *in þas hæðenan burg* in this heathen town. The alliteration and contrast used together help emphasize the idea of protection.

Another way the poet uses an opposite concept to emphasize God's protection is by showing the perversion of this idea in the devil and his

² The following refer to God, except as indicated: *helm ælwihta* (guardian of all creatures: line 118), *æðelinga helm* (guardian of princes: lines 277, 623, 655); *wigendra hleo* (protector of warriors: 506, 896, 1450, 1672—the last 3 refer to Andrew); *rices hyrde* (guardian of the kingdom: 807); *neregend fira* (savior of men: 290, 1286), *nergend* (savior: 1377), *sawla nergend* (savior of souls: 549, 921); *burhweardes* (city's defender: 660), *middangeardes weard* (keeper of the world: 82, 227), *sigora weard* (lord of victories: 987), *weges weard* (ruler of wave: 601, 632), *wuldres weard* (glorious guardian: 596), *hæðene herigweardas* (heathen temple guardians: 1124—refers to the pagans).

associates the Mermedonians. In the Greek and Latin sources the devil is an old or lame man—here in the poet's legal diction he is called an outlaw. In Section II Matthew is told that Andrew will bring *frið* (peace, safety) to a place where cannibals guard the land, where they protect the country with murderous crimes. Here *frið* (safety) is contrasted with what the heathens offer; also, the words used elsewhere for God's protection are used ironically of the heathens: they "protect" the country with murders. This technique of describing the opponents of God as His opposite by using the same terms ironically can be seen in the situation of the boy about to be killed. A man was chosen by lot to be killed and eaten; in his stead he offers his own son (which is acceptable), the exact opposite of God offering His Son so that people might live. Also, some of the formulas for God's and Andrew's names are used of the jailers: they are prison guardians (*weardas* and *hyrdas*), and the heathen high priest is the temple guardian (*weard*). Andrew is told that he will fall into the "grasp of foes" (*in gramra gripe*) who later rush on him "with eager clutches" (*gifrum grapum*), the perverted inversion of the image of the protecting hand.

Even when the legal diction we have been describing is not present, we may find the theme of protection operating in important ways. In one instance, after Andrew frees the captives from prison, the Greek and Latin sources have God command clouds to carry Matthew and the 250 others into heaven. In the Old English, they were covered with clouds "lest wicked persecutors . . . should come to assail them with a flight of arrows" (RKG 198; line 1047). The clouds in this case are not merely the conventional conveyance of angels, but are there to provide protection.

There are other legal ideas here, which, if we searched them out, would give us even more insight. There are situations in this story which would have reminded an Anglo-Saxon audience of its laws against and compensations for such things as insult, slander, false accusation, false imprisonment; also, the various kinds of injuries that Andrew receives had their just compensations specified in Anglo-Saxon law. Still another example: in the last section, one

result of the Mermedonians being converted was that they would “abandon idolatry and old altars”; then, Andrew “cast down heathen temples, destroyed idolatry, overthrew false belief.” The Anglo-Saxons and their Scandinavian neighbors were periodically plagued with the temptation to return to their pagan ways, and laws against such practices were frequently included in their legal codes along with exhortations to serve the one true God and His church.

For one last glimpse into the mind of the Anglo-Saxon poet composing this saint’s life in a cultural milieu in which legal, poetic, and theological ideas merge and cooperate in interesting ways, we can read the aside the poet offers at the beginning of Section XIV, before the flood and conversion are described. Although the language in this passage does not contain the legal terms being discussed in this dissertation, the narrator’s comments here on the relationship between law and storytelling do support the idea that legal concepts were important to the poet and his audience. The poet apologizes for his lack of power to describe these miraculous events; it is beyond his ability, he says. There is much to tell, and someone “more learned in the divine law [*æglæwra*] than I am” (lines 1483-84) would be able to do so much more effectively; but, he says, he will attempt it, and goes on to finish the story. There are many first-person narrators in Old English poetry, but the self-reflexive nature of this one is very unusual. Significantly, we notice that he does not apologize for being a bad poet, or for being a novice scholar, or for lacking theological insight, but for being less skilled in understanding the law than he might be: to a medieval thinker, that is where things ultimately are held together, in the divine law of God’s plan. The irony of an “unskilled” poet’s using legal diction to emphasize his ideas was probably not lost on his Anglo-Saxon audience.

The Lorica of Love: God's Protection in the Journey Charm, Andreas, and Guthlac A

As we have seen, legal diction which contains the *mund frið grið borg* words may indicate the theme of God's protection in contexts where saints are in dire straits. In some places, Old English religious poetry emphasizes God's protection by linking it with the concept of God's protecting hand. I begin with a passage from the Lorica of Gildas, as an example of a prayer for protection identified as a 'lorica' (Latin for 'breastplate'):

*æfter þon beoðu me byrne seo gehealdfæstesðe
ymb min leomu ymb mine innoðas
þætte ðu ascufe from me ða ungesewenlican
slega næglas ða fæstniað ða laðwendan
gescyld soðlice god strongre byrnan
mid gescyldrum eaxle ond earmas
gemundbyrd elne mid þan elnbogan & hondum
fyste folme fingras mid þæm næglum*

(. . . be Thou a most secure lorica to me
as to my members and to my inner parts,
so that Thou thrust back from me the invisible
points of the shafts which the abhorred ones devise.
Cover then O God, Thou strong lorica,³
shoulders together with their blades, and arms;
protect forearms with elbows and hands,
fists, palms, fingers with nails; . . .)⁴

(Lorica of Gildas, lines 26 - 29)

³ Literally, with a strong breastplate.

⁴ J. H. C. Grattan and C. Singer, Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine, Publications of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum n. s. 3, (London: 1952) 140-41.

The *mund*-verb *gemundbyrdan* is used to implore God to be our breastplate (lorica) against the devil's temptations.

This prayer for protection has a counterpart in the ASPR.

In Anglo-Saxon times, before taking a lengthy trip, we might have recited something like the Journey Charm that F. P. Magoun has referred to as a kind of "lorica" (ASPR VI 137). In the Journey Charm, the writer has combined the language of legal protection with the image of the protecting hand of God. Invoking a litany of Bible heroes, both men and women (Abraham, Jacob, David, Joseph, Eve, Anna, Elizabeth, Sarah, Mary the mother of Christ, Peter and Paul), and a thousand angels, the charm reads "May they lead me and guard me [*friðion*] and protect my path, wholly preserve me and rule me, shaping my work; may I have the hope of heaven, a hand to guard my head [*hand ofer heafod*], saints to shield me, a company of conquering, righteous angels." (RKG 91).

In this passage, as in the one which follows, God's power to protect is associated with the image of the hand of God, both times in the same sentence. The Journey Charm ends: "May I meet with friends, so that I may dwell in the Almighty's protection [*frið*], guarded from the enemy who seeks my life, set amid the glory of the angels, and in the holy hand of the Mighty One of heaven, while I may live in this life. Amen" (RKG 92). Here the idea of protection has been linked with an image of the power of God. This imagery juxtaposes hand and protection, in a way that combines the old mythic sacral power latent in 'hand' in Germanic culture with the Christian concept of healing, blessing hands, presented as one of the most common icons of divine power.

A passage from Gregory the Great's Moralia on Job⁵ clearly explains

⁵ A treatise not intended for the general public but which would strongly influence the biblical scholars of the Middle Ages, according to Jeffrey Richards, Consul of God 262-63.

the Church's idea behind the power of God to protect persons in their struggle with the forces of evil. Moralia on Job 2.6:

And the Lord said unto Satan, Behold, he is in thine hand; but save his life.

His [Gregory's] commentary: Here again, the safeguard of protection goes along with the permission to smite, and the dispensation of God both(;) while guarding, forsakes his elect servant, and while forsaking, guards him. A portion of him He gives over, a portion He protects. For if He had left Job wholly in the hand of so dire a foe, what could have become of a mere man? . . . Thus the holy man is given over to the adversary's hand, but yet in his inmost soul he is held fast by the hand of his Helper. For he was of the number of those sheep, concerning whom Truth itself said in the Gospel, Neither shall any man pluck them out of My hand (Jn 10.28). And yet it is said to the enemy, when he demands him, Behold, he is in thine hand. The same man then is at the same time in the hand of God, and in the hand of the devil. For by saying, he is in thine hand, and straightway adding, but save his life, the pitiful Helper openly showed that His hand was upon him whom He yielded up, and that in giving He did not give him, whom, while He cast him forth, He at the same time hid him from the darts of his adversary.⁶

This passage and its commentary are a particularly clear exposition of God's power manifest in His protecting hand and also of His initiating its use.

The principle of God's protection is illustrated to some degree in all of the OE poetic saints' legends, Elene, Judith, Juliana, Andreas, and Guthlac, but it is most frequent in Guthlac A and Andreas. By comparing Andrew's situation

⁶ A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church Anterior to the Division of the East and West, trans. by members of the English Church, (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1844) v.1, 133.

to that of Job, above, we can clearly see the Anglo-Saxon poet describing Andrew's plight and triumph in terms almost identical with those used by Gregory of Job.

In Andreas Section VIII, Christ reveals Himself to Andrew while he and his disciples, sitting in front of the city gates, are discussing their miraculous boat ride; He then tells Andrew "I will protect thee [*ic þe friðe healde*], so that foul foes, hostile evildoers, may do no harm to thy soul" (RKG 196; lines 915-17). And again, shortly after this, He says "Now Andrew, thou shalt quickly venture into the grasp of foes; . . . thy body shall be rent with wounds . . . ; thy blood shall run forth They cannot give thy life over to death, though thou suffer a blow, the stroke of sinful men" (RKG 197; lines 950-56)—much like Gregory's commentary.

Andrew goes into the city, prison guards are struck dead, Matthew and the others are led forth, and so on. But all this time Andrew is invisible (lines 986-89): ". . . none of the sinful men could see him. The Lord of victories had with His love surrounded [him] in that place with His protection [*wære betolden*]." This invisibility will not last, however.

Now the townspeople, having been deprived of their food source, draw lots; as Andrew watches the scene where the man to be eaten offers his son in his stead, it seems grievous to Andrew, but he then sees God protect the boy. After this the devil appears in the assembly of the Mermedonians and tells them that this is all Andrew's doing; he challenges the apostle, who answers from invisibility. Now God tells Andrew to be brave—"hide not from the throng; 'show thyself, . . . make steadfast thy heart, that in thee they may perceive My power. They in their guilt cannot and are not able to give thy body over to wounds and death against my will, though thou suffer a blow, evil cruel strokes. I shall stand by thee" (RKG 201; lines 1211-18)—once again, this is much like Gregory's explanation of God's statement to the devil in Job 2.6.

The plight of Guthlac and God's response in Guthlac A follow a similar pattern; here the hand imagery mentioned above is even more evident. In Guthlac's story, the saint has taken up residence in the fens and is under attack by the demons who consider it their territory. Guthlac tells them that "my heart is never frightened nor fearful, but He who governs the works of all mighty things holds me safe [*frið*] above mankind" (RKG 261, line 309). Of course the holy hermit must suffer much tribulation later on, for the testing of his own faith and the strengthening of that of his readers: the wicked spirits "were fiercely eager to attack him with greedy clutches"; however, "God willed it not that his soul should suffer that agony in his body; yet He granted that they should lay hands upon him" but while still protecting Guthlac.

This reflects Gregory's commentary almost exactly, as does the response of St. Bartholomew, Guthlac's guardian spirit, who descends from heaven to end the torments: the *mundbora* keeps Guthlac's soul in protection, and he tells the demons that they may not break a bone or wound him or bruise his body, but that Guthlac will keep his dwelling place. In fact, the fiends must become obedient to Guthlac, after "healing all his pains with [their] hands" (RKG 267, line 705). Guthlac has been able to withstand these torments because of his faith, which he had declared to the fiends earlier: "I desire ... security [*frið*] from God; my spirit shall not fall into error with you, but God's hand shall mightily protect me [*mec dryhtnes hond mundað mid mægne*]," (RKG 260, line 257).

This brief illustration from Guthlac A shows how a poet could combine an Anglo-Saxon legal concept with ideas of the church in a powerful example both of God's attributes and of the saints' proper response. This diction which combines hand imagery with the idea of legal protection occurs in Guthlac an average of once every twelve lines. In Andreas, a poem for which there are well-known sources, we find the poetic diction which includes the concept of legal protection over 60 times in places where there is nothing to elicit it in the

Greek or Latin recensions which were the poet's ultimate or immediate sources. These examples show the Church coopting the old legal ideas of the Anglo-Saxons for their own purposes.

When we read the poems with these ideas in mind, we find that they add another level of unity to what are already thoroughly artful poems and not merely pedantic imitations of earlier Latin texts. We also find that this reading illuminates in a new way the Anglo-Saxon culture which produced it: that literate Anglo-Saxon poets were able to use complex Christian themes in the traditional Germanic poetic idiom and include the legal diction that was becoming part of the written vernacular corpus shows a culture "creating itself" in its vernacular. The poetry composed in this way must have provided the Church with a powerful and beautiful new voice with which to make its ideas known to the recently converted English people and their pagan neighbors—powerful in part because of the analogies between some of the ancient Germanic legal concepts and Christian ideas (which are often stated in legal terms). This combination of Germanic, Christian, and legal ideas was widespread in the poetic corpus and thus shows that Andreas, Guthlac, and the other Old English saints' lives formed not an isolated, specialized genre, but an important part of the Anglo-Saxon poetic mainstream.

Mund-words and Their Synonyms in Beowulf

As Beowulf prepares to seek out and do battle with Grendel's dam, he asks Hrothgar to "be in a father's place for me when I am gone: be guardian of my young retainers, my companions, if battle should take me" (lines 1480-81; page 26: the line numbers given are Klaeber's, from the third edition, and the

translations in quotation marks are from Donaldson's prose translation, hereafter cited in the form 1480-81/26). Guardian here is *mundbora*, literally the bearer of mund, i.e., protector/guardian. Legally, every person in Anglo-Saxon society had to have a lord, and here Beowulf is in effect deeding over his men's allegiance to Hrothgar in the event he should fail to return. The only other use of *mundbora* in Beowulf describes a different kind of guardian: late in the poem, the dragon near the hoarded treasure is referred to as the *maðma mundbora*, the 'guardian of the treasure.' The same legal term used positively to designate a proper legal guardian is here used negatively to describe one of the monsters representing the destructive forces of evil and the chaos that confronts civilization. These two uses of this legal term, then, illustrate one of the major conflicts in the poem.

The kind of legal protection conferred by a father or king, or its perversion, appears many times in Beowulf. I have outlined references below to over 100 passages where this concept occurs, and organized the discussion in several categories according to who does the protecting. The examples include the words for 'protection' discussed in the first six chapters above as well as the plentiful synonyms for this concept.⁷ I have included passages where the sense is protection, whatever the Old English word is. *Healdan* (hold), for example, is included only where it has the sense 'keep' or 'guard,' as are verbs like *wacian*, *ealgian*, *nerian*, and *werian*. My purpose here is to show that these passages are plentiful and apply to all the main characters and some of the minor ones, in the main episodes and in the digressions. In future research I hope to determine whether the narrative contexts (sometimes called

⁷ I.e., words from the list of synonyms in Chapter 1, note 25 that occur in by Klaeber's glossary. Future research would justify keeping or culling words from the following: *beorg*, *beorgan*, *bebeorgan*, *ymbbeorgan*, *bebeorgan*, *heafod beorg*; *belucan*; *ealgian*; *eodor*; *fæsten*; *fæðm*; *healdan*, *hyldo*, *gehyld*, *behealdan*; *hedan*, *behelan*; *helm* (and cpds. *grim-*, *guð-*, *niht-*, *scadu-*); *hyrde* (and cpd. *grund-*); *hleo* (and *-burh*); *nerian*, *genesan*; *scead* (and *scadu-helm*); *scyld*, *scyldan*; *ðeccean*; *wær*, *friðo-wær*; *warian*; *weard*, m. (and cpds. *bat-*, *eorð-*, *eðel-*, *gold-*, *hord-*, *hyð-*, *land-*, *ren-*, *sele-*, *yrfe-*, *hlaford*), *weard*, f. (and cpds. *æg-*, *eoton-*, *ferh-*, *heafod-*), *weardian*; *werian*, *bewerian*, *wergend*; *wine*, (and cpds. *fræa-*, *freo-*, *gold-*, *guð-*, *mæg-*, *wen-*, *-drihten*, *-leas*, *-mæg*); *ymbefon*.

type-scenes) in which protection words appear are analogous to particular legal situations. If they are, and if I can clarify the relationship between the synonyms for protection that appear in Beowulf and the conceptual field for 'mund,' then perhaps an important controlling theme in Beowulf can be identified and analyzed for the first time.

One large category of words has been omitted. I have excluded the words for armor when they indicated literally the kind of protection that armor provides. The physical security that the armor may or may not give its wearer in this poem about warfare is of a different order than the protection based on relationships between people that I am describing in this study; references to this legal protection would be obscured by including the words that indicate literal armor. Only when the armor word is used metaphorically (as *wedra helm* is of Beowulf, for instance) have I included it.⁸

God as protector The words for protection are used for the Christian God in eight instances, and these eight examples all illustrate a protection which never fails. As *wuldres Hyrde* (line 931) "the Guardian of heaven" (p. 17), God keeps Beowulf safe (1658/29): *he is manna gehyld* (3056), "He is man's protection" (p. 53). Beowulf tells Hrothgar that he would not have survived the fight with Grendel *nymðe mec God scylde*, "if God had not guarded me" (29).

The plight of the Scyldings before Beowulf arrives contrasts God's protection with its opposite (the perversion of protection by the demons). For twelve years Grendel had been devastating the company at Heorot to the extent that they were praying to heathen gods in their temples. "They did not know how to praise the Protector of Heaven" (*heofena Helm*, 182/4), the narrator

⁸ One other example may be mentioned here. The half-line *Nihthelm geswearc*, "night's cover lowered" (1789/31), indicates a threat to the men at Heorot because the night protects "the walker in darkness" (p. 13) and later in the poem night protects "the old night flyer" (48), both of whom represent the forces of evil and chaos. The metaphorical use of *helm* here produces an irony on protection and contributes to the motif I will be describing in a way that numerous references to literal armor do not.

explains, and adds: “Woe is him . . .” (*Wa bið þæm . . .*, 183) who, under such stress, must give his soul “into the fire’s embrace,” *in fyres fæþm*, where there is no hope, but “well is the man” (*Wel bið þæm . . .*, 186) who in death finds God and “peace in the embrace of the Father” (*ond to Fæder fæþmum freoðo wilnian*, 188). The parallel construction of *Wa . . .* and *Wel . . .* highlights the opposition between hellfire’s “embrace” and that of a protecting Father. As in much Old English poetry, the words for protect and protection are sometimes used of monsters, fiends, and the devil, the sense inverted ironically to show evil’s perversion of the good.

Monsters The words for protection in Beowulf are used of Grendel and his dam eleven times, and of dragons seventeen times (one of these in the Sigemund digression). The dragons are *weard* or *hyrde* of hoard, barrow, or gold fourteen times, and *mundbora* once, and in the other two passages the dragon guards or keeps watch over the treasure. The dragon is consistently a “guardian,” but his various epithets show that he has perverted this activity: he is a night ravager, the evil doer, a harmer of folk (twice), monster (four times), a foe (with various pejorative adjectives, six times), and so on.

Grendel’s and his dam’s perversion of the activity of protection show more variety. Like the dragon, he is a *hyrde* (“fosterer of crimes, 753/14) and, with Beowulf, a *renweard* (house guardian, 770): men suffered “when Grendel guarded [*warode*] the gold-hall” (1253/23). Beowulf says that he “hewed the house-guardians [*huses hyrdas*]” (1666/29); Grendel’s dam is “guardian of the deep pool [*grundhyrde*]” (2136/37) where she would “protect [*beorgan*] her life” (1253) against Beowulf. Besides these ironic uses of protection words applied to the monsters, there is another pattern that shows their perversion of appropriate protection. A king “holds” his realm: his power provides stability and peace, and as a result he can confer protection on individuals and designate an area as a refuge. In analogous fashion, Grendel and his dam “hold

the moors" (line 24, p. 3), the "wolf-slopes" (24), and the "flood's tract" for fifty years (27), and it is into this "refuge" (*fenfreoðo*, 851) that the wounded Grendel flees. The monsters' lonely occupation of deserted wastes provides a refuge for their kind only, in tracts even the noble stag fears to traverse: "that is no pleasant place" (1372/25). Their security in the fens is actually opposite to that in the stable realm of a just king, and the "guarding" the monsters do is fatal.

So far we have seen that the attributes of an Almighty God and those of the forces of evil have been stated in terms which include the words for protection; we can also find very numerous places where kings (including Beowulf) as well as other kinds of people are described in terms of their role as protectors. These people's activity in the world of the poem helps determine whether a social order will survive. The protection motif I am describing is not merely an ideal, nor does it form only a surrounding spiritual or mythical dimension applicable only to God or monstrous demons; instead, the large numbers of these references show that, in the world of the poem, civilization and people's proper participation in it are described in terms of protection.

Kings The rulers in Beowulf are indicated by names and circumlocutions of various kinds. A common formula at the opening of a speech includes *maðelode* (he spoke), as in *Hrothgar maðelode, helm Scyldinga* ("Hrothgar spoke, protector of the Scyldings (371/6; and 456, 1321): this occurs three times, each time as the opening line of one of the poem's forty-three sections. Epithets like this and other naming phrases are used approximately 250 times in *Beowulf*. Of these, 30 epithets (about 12%) include protection words.

Hrothgar, "lord of the Danes" and "the glorious ruler" figures prominently in much of the poem as an exemplary ruler. Protection words are

used of Hrothgar 22 times in Beowulf. Some are epithets like the three above: he is protector of the people, refuge of warriors, keeper of the land, and so forth, nineteen times.⁹ Elsewhere, the narrator tells us that Hrothgar “held the wide kingdom” (p. 9), and as Hrothgar narrates stories to Beowulf, he tells how he and his companions defended themselves (*weredon*, 1327/24), and how he “protected [the Ring-Danes] in war” (1770/31; Klaeber gives “protect” for *belucan*). In the passage referred to above (page 183), Beowulf asks Hrothgar to act “in a father’s place” as *mundbora* (1479, 1480/26) to his men. All of these examples show Hrothgar acting in his proper role as a powerful king who can provide protection

Hygelac, Beowulf’s king, is referred to four times with epithets referring to protection (*folces hyrde* and *eorla hleo*, each twice), and protection words are used of him in two passages where he defends treasure (1204) and his hoard (2955), and protects the spoils of war (1205). The old king who was the last of his race and who left the treasure hoard to the dragon 250 years before Beowulf’s time is referred to with epithets for protection twice. In the digressions, other kings are named and referred to with epithets and constructions containing protection words: in the prologue, Scyld is “protector of the Scyldings [*wine Scyldinga*]” (l. 30), and Sigemund (*wigendra hleo*, 899), Heremod (*folc gehealdan*, 911), Heardred (*helm Scyldinga*, 2381), a Swedish king (*folces hyrde*, 2981), and Finn (*wige forþingan*, 1084) all have epithets using protection words. When Finn swears to “hold . . . in honor” the survivors of battle, protection from vengeance is the issue (1099). The 39 instances in the passages cited above refer to nine different kings and show them in their proper royal roles as protectors of their retainers, their folk, and their kingdoms.

⁹ *leodegyrgean* protector of the people, 269; *eodor Scyldinga* protector of the Scyldings 428, 663; *wigendra hleo* refuge of warriors, 429; *eorla hleo* protector of earls, 1035, 1866, 2142; *folces hyrde* folk’s guardian, 610; *rices wearde* and *rices hyrde*, guardian of the kingdom, 1390, 2027; *eþelweard* guardian of the land, 616, 1702; *beahhorda weard* guardian of the ring-hoards, 921; *hordweard*, guardian of the hoard, 1047.

Beowulf The Beowulf poet refers to the poem's hero with words having a protection sense 18 times. Eleven of these are epithets much like the ones used of Hrothgar and listed above, with the addition of *lidmanna helm*, protector of seafarers (1623/29), and *Wedra helm* (twice, mentioned above). He is called protector or defender of warriors, seafarers, earls, Weather-Geats, the folk, and the kingdom, and this list illustrates the appropriate range of duties for the king as protector. The other references to protection associated with Beowulf show that this role forms a large part of the hero's purpose. He sought to protect himself against whales in the youthful swimming contest in Section VIII, and Wiglaf urges him to "protect [his] life with all [his] might" (2668/47) against the dragon. These two do not necessarily show him to be a protector of others, but several others do, all associated with the fight against Grendel.

As Hrothgar prepares to rest on the night of Grendel's attack, he counsels Beowulf to "guard the best of houses" and "keep watch against the fierce foe" (658 and 660/12), both references to Beowulf's adopted role as protector of the Scyldings at Heorot. The poet refers to both Grendel and Beowulf in one passage as the two fury-filled *renweardas*, "house-guardians," both of whom sought to "control the hall" (770/14). And after he has "saved Hrothgar's house from affliction" (15), the old king advises the hero to carefully guard the new kinship in which Hrothgar says he loves him as a son, a metaphorical guarding of a relationship which typifies all *mund* relationships. These examples show that the mighty hero, perhaps the ablest fighter in the world of the poem, is regarded as protector in a substantial number of instances, and this illustrates the principle of proper leadership in early Germanic civilization. Beowulf and the other kings mentioned all have great power, and its just and responsible use includes the power to protect.

Other protectors There are thirty-nine other passages in the epic poem in which people other than kings, princes and heroes protect. People

guard each other, but when this is not done, chaos can enter. The hoard at the poem's end rests "in the hall without guardian" (3127/54); originally, it had been made safe "by having its entrances skillfully hidden" (p. 39), but that was not enough to keep the dragon, or rust and decay, away from the treasures. When people live in groups, they trust each other to perform responsibly; one kind of protecting that occurs in this poem includes the guard duty which inevitably becomes the lot of some soldiers. The *endesæta* (241), the coast guard near Heorot, is referred to by protection words eight times, and an outpost near Hygelac's court is mentioned in a similar way three times. Fortified towns are also indicated with protection words three times. A standard-bearer in battle is a *hyrde* (2505), and twice people hold land in an occupying or protecting way (1214, 1265).

Eight times in connection with the fight at Heorot, soldiers' duty is described in terms of protecting each other. This sometimes fails, but what is at stake here is the kind of protection based on mutual trust that allows for social order. Hrothgar "had set a hall guard" (667/12) who keeps watch against monsters (668/12), but "warriors slept who should hold" Heorot (704/13). Some guarded weapons; they "wish[ed] to protect Beowulf's life" (796/14), but "none thought he could defend" Heorot (937). At other times men occupy the hall (1237) and watch over it (1407).

In the context of Beowulf's fight with the dragon, protection is mentioned several times in connection with his retainers and others there. The man who stole the cup from the dragon's hoard asks his master "for a compact of peace" (*friðowære bæd*, 2282): he is asking his lord to protect him. Beowulf's cowardly retainers "protected their lives," not his, when "they crept to the wood" (2598-99/45). Wiglaf speaks of the proper sort of protection in this scene three times (2655, 2877, 2882) and keeps a death watch over Beowulf's corpse (and the dragon's, 2909/51). These thirty-nine examples of the protection words being used of places and common folk illustrate the

extent to which stability is maintained (or not) in this military society as a result of the protection from higher orders of society being delegated and acted upon in the lower echelons.

In Hrothgar's sermon Hrothgar's sermon on pride in Sections XXIV and XXV contains the last five examples of the protection words under consideration here; two others were mentioned above in the section on Hrothgar. In his sermon's advice to Beowulf (and to the audience of the poem), Hrothgar cautions that after one has power over a kingdom and folk, he may forget his proper place and "his portion of pride increases"; then *se weard swefeð / sawele hyrde*, "the watcher sleeps, the soul's guardian" (1741-42/30) and "he cannot protect himself" against "the accursed spirit" (31). After an example of one who does not guard treasure carefully (1757), he urges Beowulf to protect himself against the wickedness he has been describing (*bebeorh þe*, 1758). The protection that we have been outlining is here used metaphorically of Christian values in something like a homiletic context. The prideful person he describes ignores the transience of his life and depends on his own strength, when he should have the wisdom to see that his strength comes from the Almighty. Hrothgar's sermon could be seen as the heart of the poem, since in its particulars it can be read practically as an outline of the important events of the whole poem. This observation is accurate in the somewhat limited reading of the poem that wishes to emphasize the Christian elements: the futility of human power does not preclude the operation of God's protecting power in the world of the poem; the power of the Almighty ultimately holds the forces of destruction at bay and can keep human society secure.

The observations that I have been making also apply in a broader reading of the poem that would deemphasize the Christian elements. In this reading, the futility of human power becomes evident in the third episode,

where several individuals who are the last of their races fade out of the picture, leaving only a rusting treasure hoard or a burial mound on a prominent headland. Despite this outcome, readers are aware of an important theme: the proper use of power in the world of the poem creates order and allows a society to continue in peace and security. All the words catalogued here—*mund*-words and other words designated by Klaeber to mean ‘protect’ or ‘protection’—indicate a kind of proper civilizing human activity (or its perversion) in their narrative contexts. Identifying the interplay between all the words for protection, and analyzing their widespread use in narrative contexts with legal overtones, may indicate the operation of an important controlling theme in Beowulf.

This chapter has attempted to illustrate how the ideas generated in the analysis of a semantic field can be applied to literary topics. As the discussions in earlier chapters demonstrated, the senses of the *mund frið grið borg* words are not interchangeable but instead are genre sensitive. When we look at the words’ use in Wulfstan and Ælfric on the one hand, and in poetic texts on the other, we notice several things that can lead toward interesting and fruitful research for Anglo-Saxon studies in the future.

Analyzing the entire field forces one to seek out all occurrences of a word and leads the research into seldom studied texts. In a “personal communication” with Jonathon Wilcox about relative proportions among the kinds of Old English texts, Antonnette diPaolo Healey of the DOE Project in Toronto reported that prose texts comprise about 69% of the corpus and poetry only about 6%, with glosses making up the remaining quarter.¹⁰ This leads to the conclusion that studying what may appear to be the more interesting poetic texts ignores over 90% of the corpus. By looking at the whole corpus we are

¹⁰ Jonathon Wilcox, “Famous Last Words,” Four Last Things: Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell in the Middle Ages, ed. Allen J. Frantzen (Chicago: Illinois Medieval Assoc., 1994) 2.

more likely to place things we find accurately in their proper context.

The writings of Ælfric were important as religious instruction in their own time and set a stylistic standard for eloquent Old English prose whose influence extended beyond the Anglo-Saxon period. As we pursue the *mund-* words in the homilies of Ælfric, we find that his religious instructional writing often took the form of narrative, thus placing it at a slight remove from Wulfstan's writing at the literal/legal end of the spectrum we have identified. By studying the appearance of the *mund frið grið borg* words in Ælfric's texts we discovered that in narrative contexts often they were employed with a degree of artistic effect, emphasizing the theological ideas there. We also discovered that Ælfric made a careful lexical distinction between the *mund-* words and one of their synonyms, and this should encourage us to look for such distinctions elsewhere in the Old English corpus. Semantic studies such as the one made here allow us to identify and carefully examine such relationships.

Another important effect of studying the words' occurrences in all texts is that it enables us to locate their poetic use in the larger context of Anglo-Saxon culture as a whole. For instance, we see legal diction widely used in one text where its well-known sources had little or none; when the poet has the narrator comment on his need to know the law in order to tell stories effectively, we begin to realize how important the interaction between the legal and poetic ends of the spectrum we have identified must have been. Elsewhere, we notice the concept of the protecting hand of God mentioned frequently in several texts where Christian characters are at risk; when we are able to make the connection between this concept and the parallel ancient legal concept of the king's protection, we can see both the poetry and the legal and church history in a new light. And finally, as we notice in Beowulf that many characters and episodes are described in ways that employ the legal diction, the imagery of protecting hands, and the concepts of peace and protection that this

dissertation has analyzed, we are encouraged once again to pursue the concepts identified in this study in their interesting poetic contexts and elsewhere in Old English as a way of placing them intelligently in the Anglo-Saxon culture that produced them.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Dates for the Anglo-Saxon Laws Examined in this Study

Appendix A: Dates for the Anglo-Saxon laws examined in this study

(w=compiled by Wulfstan)	proposed date (and authority)	<i>m, f, g, b</i>	words
Laws of Æthelberht	602-603 (<u>GdA</u> III.2)	<i>m f</i>	
Laws of Hlothhere & Eadric	685-686 (<u>GdA</u>)	<i>m</i>	
Laws of Ine	688-94 (on internal evidence: Attenborough 34)		<i>b</i>
Laws of Wihtred	695 (<u>GdA</u> III.24)	<i>m</i>	
Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum	885 (D. Whitelock, <u>EHD</u> 416)	<i>f</i>	
Laws of Alfred	892-93 (<u>GdA</u> III.34)	<i>m f</i>	<i>b</i>
Laws of Edward (I)	901-924 (<u>GdA</u>)		<i>b</i>
Edward (II)	later than I, and ca. 920 (Attenborough 205)	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>
Laws of Æthelstan (II)	926-30 (<u>EHD</u> 417)	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>
Æthelstan (IV) (V) (VI)	929-939 (<u>GdA</u>)	<i>m f</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>Dunsæte</i>	935?: (<u>GdA</u>)	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>
Law of Pax	(10th century fragment)	<i>m g</i>	
Laws of Edmund (II)	939-46 (<u>EHD</u> 427)	<i>m f g</i>	<i>b</i>
Laws of Edgar (III)	959-63 (<u>EHD</u> 431)		<i>b</i>
Edgar (IV)	962-63 (<u>EHD</u> 434)	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>
Laws of Æthelred (I)	980-1013 (<u>GdA</u>)	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>
Æthelred (II)	991 or 994 (<u>EHD</u> 437)	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>
Æthelred (III)	997 (<u>EHD</u> 439)	<i>f g</i>	<i>b</i>
w Laws of Edward & Guthrum	1002-1008 (D. Whitelock 1941)	<i>m f g</i>	<i>b</i>
w Æthelred (V; VI)	1008 (<u>EHD</u> 442)	<i>m f g</i>	<i>b</i>
w Æthelred (VIII)	1014 (<u>EHD</u> 448)	<i>m f g</i>	<i>b</i>
w Æthelred (X)	1009-16 (<u>GdA</u> ; fragment)	<i>f</i>	

Wulfstan's Compilation on Status:	1002-23 (<u>EHD</u> 468)	
w <i>Gepynchðo</i>		<i>m</i>
w <i>Hadbot</i>		<i>f g</i>
w Law of <i>Grið</i>	after Compilation on Status, before Laws of Cnut (D. Bethurum 1950 463)	<i>m f g b</i>
w Proclamation of Cnut	1020 (internal evidence)	<i>f</i>
w Laws of Cnut (I; II)	1020-23 (<u>EHD</u> 454)	<i>m f g b</i>
w <i>Norðhymbra Preosta Lagu</i>	1020-23 (<u>EHD</u> 471)	<i>m f g</i>
w Rectitudines Singularum Personarum	1020-23 (D. Bethurum 1963)	<i>f</i>
w <i>Gerefa</i>	1020-23 [2nd part of Rect.]	<i>f</i>
w <i>Episcopus</i>	1000-1050: (<u>GdA</u>)	<i>f</i>
<i>Be Wifmannes Beweddunge</i>	975-1030 (<u>GdA</u> ; Liebermann and Whitelock both place this nearer 1030)	<i>b</i>
Law of Wergilds	944-1060: (<u>GdA</u>)	<i>m b</i>
<i>Northhymbra Cyricgrið</i>	1015-1050: (<u>GdA</u>)	<i>f g</i>

APPENDIX M

The *Mund*-words arranged by forms

**Appendix M: *Mund*-words arranged by forms (nouns; verbs;
compounds; hapax legomena)**

Item	Short title	Latin Word, or OE Syntactic Function	Latin Meaning or OE Meaning
<i>Mund</i> , f.			
nom. s. <i>mund</i>			
	interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
1	Ald V 3.2 15	<i>patrocinium</i> glossed by <i>mund</i>	protection, (legal) defense
2	Ald V 9 61	<i>patrocinium</i> " " <i>mund</i>	protection, (legal) defense
	OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
3	Law Abt 76.1	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	value of <i>mund</i>
◦ 4	Law Northu 19	" " "	church's right of protection
5	Law Abt 75.1	subj. of <i>betan</i>	comp'n for violation of <i>mund</i>
◦ 6	Law Wer 4	subj. of <i>standan</i>	(king's) <i>mund</i>
◦ 7	Ch 1064.11	subj. compl. of <i>beon</i>	guardian
8	Ch 1067.4	" " " "	guardian
• 9	Ch 1521.11	" " " "	guardian
10	Ch 1525.6	" " " "	guardian

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4. Whitelock's trans. (and see below, M31); *mæðe and munde* occurs as a formula in Wulfstan 10 times; here the ideas occur together, *mæðe and ... mund*, (in a law code compiled by Wulfstan) as well: one pays compensation for violation of a sanctuary according to its 'status' and 'the value of its *mund*' (Bethurum, Homilies of Wulfstan 357).
6. Here, all parties place their hands on one weapon, and swear to uphold the king's *mund*.
7. The formula is *geheald and mund*, protector and guardian.
9. Whitelock translates 'guardian' but has a note for alternative trans: could be protection.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
• 11 Ch 1536.67	" " " "	protector
12 Ch 1608.8	" " " "	guardian
13 Ch I Wm. (Dug 39W)	" " " "	protector
14 Ch 1047.4	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	guardian
15 Ch 1232.17	" " " "	guardian
16 Ch 1536.29	" " " "	protector
nom. pl. <i>mundes</i> [sic]		
17 Ch 1490.13	subj. compl. of <i>beon</i>	executor
acc. s. <i>mund, munde</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
18 Ald V 1 854	<i>patrocinium</i> glossed by <i>munde</i>	protection, (legal) defense
19 Ald V 13.1 789	<i>patrocinium</i> glossed by <i>munde</i>	protection, (legal) defense
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 20 Law 2 Em 7.3	DO of <i>ræran</i>	establish mund
21 Law Wer 4	" " "	establish mund
22 Law Wi 8	DO of <i>agan</i>	have (rt. to amt. of) guardianship
23 Law 6 Atr 34	DO of <i>betan</i>	fine for breach of mund
24 Æ C Hom I 34	DO of <i>biddan</i>	guardianship
◦ 25 Law 2 Em 1.1	DO of <i>don</i>	shelter
26 Conf 4 (Fowler)	DO of <i>giefan</i>	protection

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11. Similar to 7: people are named to be '*mund* and friend and advocate' of a foundation, the three legal duties and rights of an A-S person; here, against the alienation of lands of a religious foundation, a big problem.
20. Establishing *mund* probably involves the same oath as 6.
25. The formula *mete and munde* occurs here and in a confessional (M26) in a ms. associated with Wulfstan; here a kindred who deny these to a perpetrator shall be free from vendetta.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
• 27 Ch 985.4	DO of <i>habban</i>	amt. of mund (like status, rank)
◦ 28 Christ A, B, C 92	DO of <i>healdan</i>	virginity? integrity? bride price?
29 L Pr II 46	DO of <i>sellan</i>	protection
gen. s. <i>munde</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
30 Bo Gl P.3.56	<i>præsidio</i> glossed by <i>munde</i>	defense
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 31 W Hom 20.1 26	obj. of <i>bedælan</i>	protection
32 W Hom 20.2 28	" " "	protection
33 W Hom 20.3 27	" " "	protection
34 W Pol 2.1.1 214	" " "	protection
35 W Pol 2.1.2 109	" " "	protection
36 Hom U 38.14	" " "	protection
37 W Pol 6.2 136	w/ <i>weorðan</i>	protection
38 Law Grið 3	" "	protection
39 Æ LS (Augurs.) 136	gen. of thing w/ <i>abiddan</i>	protection
40 Ch 1447.32	w/ <i>myndgian</i>	guardianship
dat. s. <i>mund, munde</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
41 Bo Gl P.3.50	<i>præsidio</i> glossed by <i>munde</i>	defense
42 Reg C Gl 1.130	<i>munimen</i> glossed by <i>munde</i>	defense
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 43 Law Gepyncðo 7	dat. of comparison?	amt of prot'c'n (like status, rank)

27. Cnut grants Christ Church, Canterbury, its proper status and rank (which had gradually been reduced).

28. Masc. adj. marks this as the only use in OE of *mund* as a marriage term; see 50.

31 - 38, and 43. *Mæðe and munde* here refers to persons, not churches (as in 4, 27, 44).

43. Another law code compiled by Wulfstan, which like several others that he compiled deals with the status of individuals in society.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
44 Hom U 40 9	" " "	amt of prot'c'n (like status, rank)
45 Law Grið 1	obj. of <i>be</i> in rubric	'mund' itself
46 Law 8 Atr 5.1	obj. of <i>be</i> w/ <i>betan</i>	fine for breach of (king's) mund
47 Law 1 Cn 3.2	obj. of <i>be</i> w/ <i>wesan</i>	fine for breach of (king's) mund
48 Ch I Wm (Dug 6)	obj. of <i>on</i> w/ <i>wesan</i>	under protection
49 Ch 1118.9	" " " " "	under protection
◦ 50 Ch 1531.35	obj. of <i>to</i> w/ <i>giefan</i>	as a marriage payment
51 Æ LS (Preface) 35	" " "	for security
52 Hom U 35.2 45	obj. of <i>bufan</i> w/ <i>wesan</i>	above hand
53 Ch 1477.10	obj. of <i>mid</i> w/ <i>standan</i>	mund
◦ 54 W Hom 19.47	obj. of <i>under</i>	under protection
dat. pl. <i>mundum</i>		
55 And 489	dat. of means, manner	with hands
56 And 746	" " "	with hands
57 Beo 234	" " "	with hands
58 Beo 3021	" " "	with hands
59 El 723	" " "	with hands
60 Gen A, B 1040	" " "	with hands
61 Gen A, B 1363	" " "	with hands
62 Jud 225	" " "	with hands

50. Whitelock notes *to mund and to maldage* is a Scand. expression, here 'as a marriage payment and according to our contract'; "OE *mund* does not occur with this meaning" (price paid to bride's guardian prior to marriage, A-S Wills 195). See 28.

54. A passage which unites several concepts under consideration here: "And I give you enough prosperity and abundance, and you dwell safely in the land in peace and security under my protection," *on griðe and on friðe under minre munde*.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 63 Max I 104	" " "	in its power
64 M Ep 1	" " "	with hands
65 Phoen 331	" " "	with hands
66 Mart 5 (Res. Day)	dat. of degree of difference	by (three) hands
◦ 67 Beo 513	obj. of <i>bregdan</i>	hands
68 Beo 1458	obj. of <i>mid</i>	in hands
69 Beo 3090	" " "	with hands
70 Gen A, B 1523	" " "	with hands

Verbs/verbals

Mundian, gemundian

interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
71 Hy Gl 2 2.8	<i>fove</i> glossed by <i>gemunda</i>	cherish, love, support, assist
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
72 Æ Abus Mor 241	<i>mundian</i> completes <i>sculan</i>	to protect
73 Æ LS (Mac'b's) 335	<i>gemundian</i> completes <i>sculan</i>	to protect
73.5 Æ C Hom I 19.274	<i>mundað</i>	protects
74 Æ C Hom II 7.48	<i>gemundað</i>	protects
75 Æ LS (Eug'a) 282	<i>gemundode</i>	protected
76 Ch 1447.29	<i>to mundgenne</i>	(act) as guardian
77 Chron E 1037.2	<i>mundode</i>	protected
◦ 78 Guth A, B 257	<i>mundap</i>	guard
◦ 79 Hom U 40.14	<i>mundie</i>	ought to defend

63. The sea has a ship in its power; all these dative plurals [*mundum*, M55-M70] mean literal hands, even here where the sea is personified as holding the ship, thereby revealing the easily transferred sense hand=power.

67. *Bregdan* takes a dative object.

78. *Frið*, *mund*, and *hand* together: *Ic me frið wille æt gode gegyrnan; ... mec dryhtnes hond mundap mid mægne*: I desire security (*frið*) from God; ... the Lord's hand will guard(*mundap*) me with its might.

79. This passage, like its analogue in Polity, outlines the duties of a Christian king: he is to further and protect (*friðie*) the Church and defend (*mundie*) God's people.

Mundbyrdan, gemundbyrdan

interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
◦ 80 Lor Gl I 29	<i>tege</i> glossed by <i>gemundbyrd</i>	protect
81 Lor Gl I 33	<i>tege</i> glossed by <i>gemundbyrd</i>	protect
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
82 Bo 35.18	<i>gemundbyrde</i>	he would protect
◦ 83 GD 1 4.43.12	<i>mundbyrde</i>	protected
84 Gen A, B 2473	<i>gemundbyrdan</i> completes <i>willan</i>	to protect
85 Hom S 39	<i>mundbyrden</i>	ought to protect
86 LS 8 (Eust) 4	<i>gemundbyrde</i>	he protected

Amundian

87 Æ Hom M 15.183	<i>amundige</i>	he would protect
88 Ch 1486.7	<i>amundie</i>	you will protect
89 Ch 1501.16	<i>amundige</i>	he will protect

Compounds

*Mundbora, wk. m.*nom. s. *mundbora*

interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
90 Ald V 1 2512	<i>advocatus</i> glossed by <i>mundbora</i>	(legal) advocate
91 Ald V 1 4760	<i>patronus</i> glossed by <i>mundbora</i>	protector
92 Ald V 13 4877	<i>patronus</i> glossed by <i>mundbora</i>	protector
glossary item:		
93 Ant Gl 6 575	<i>advocatus patronus vel interpellator</i>	advocate protector or interrupter
	glossed by <i>forspeca vel mundbora</i>	
94 Cl Gl 1 4776	<i>patronus</i> glossed by <i>mundbora</i>	protector
95 Corp Gl 2 17.644	<i>subfragator</i> glossed by <i>mundbora</i>	supporter
96 Ep Gl 799	<i>suffragator</i> glossed by <i>mundbora</i>	supporter
97 Erf Gl 1 934	<i>suffragator</i> glossed by <i>mundbora</i>	supporter

80. The Lorica [breastplate] of Gildas is an elaborate prayer for protection.

83 (and 182). This story in the Dialogues is cited in one of Gregory's sermons as an example of his teaching that one should invoke the saints for protection.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
98 Beo 2777	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	guardian
99 Capt 1	appositive	protector
100 Chron D 975.2	"	protector
101 Chron E 975.1	"	protector
102 Exhort 46	"	protector
◦ 103 GD 1 29.71.11	"	protector
104 GD Pref.4 31.305.19	"	protector
105 Guth A, B 694	subj. of <i>habban</i>	guardian
106 Res 108	appositive	succorer
107 Æ C Hom I 24.24	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	protector
· 108 Æ LS (Apoll.) 98	" " " "	prefect
109 Beo 1480	" " " "	guardian
◦ 110 Byr M 1 72.11	" " " "	protector
111 Ch 1482.46	" " " "	patron
112 GD 1 10.71.14	" " " "	protector
113 GD Pref 4 55.341.14	" " " "	protector
114 Guth A, B 787	" " " "	guardian
115 Hell 70	" " " "	preserver
116 Jul 147	" " " "	protector
117 LS 18.2 (Mary) 699	" " " "	protector
118 LS 24 (Michael) 143	" " " "	protector
119 Rid 17.1	" " " "	protector
◦ 120 LS 18.1 (Mary) 695	subj. compl. of <i>beon</i>	protector
121 P Ps 120.5	subj. compl. of <i>weorðan</i>	protector

103. Fathers of the Church series editor Zimmerman notes in Gregory's Dialogues that a 'protector' was "an ecclesiastical official who acted as spokesman for the Church when its rights were in question."

108. A prefect, a high official of varying rank, presided over a command, department, commission, etc.

110. Those calculating the calendar had to make sure that March, "protector and most honored of all the months" (during which Creation and the Passion both occurred), had its proper length.

120. Parallel ms. to 117 has *mundbore*, wk. fem. aj., in the analogous passage.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
nom. pl. <i>mundboran</i>		
122 LS 35 (Vit Pat) 146	subject	protectors
· 123 Æ C Hom I, 23.32	subj. compl. of <i>beon</i>	protectors
acc. s. <i>mundboran</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
124 Ar Pr Gl 1 38.1	<i>patronum</i> glossed by <i>mundboran</i>	protector
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
125 Jul 212	DO of <i>habban</i>	protector
acc. pl. <i>mundboran</i>		
126 LS 32 (Peter/Paul) 371	subject	protectors
127 Æ C Hom I, 26.30	DO of <i>habban</i>	patrons
gen. s. <i>mundboran</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
128 Reg C Gl 1.166	<i>patroni</i> glossed by <i>mundboran</i>	protector
129 Cuth Gl 1 119	<i>patroni</i> glossed by <i>mundboran</i>	protector
130 Cuth Gl 1 123	<i>patroni</i> glossed by <i>mundboran</i>	protector
131 Occ Gl 45.4 2	<i>patroni</i> glossed by <i>mundboran</i>	protector
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
132 LS 12 (Jn Bapt) 152	possessive	protector
133 Gu A, B 541	"	protector
dat. s. <i>mundboran</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
134 Ald V 3.1 41	<i>aduocato</i> glossed by <i>mundboran</i>	advocate
135 Ald V 7.1 141	<i>aduocato</i> glossed by <i>mundboran</i>	advocate
136 Ald V 9 173	<i>aduocato</i> glossed by <i>mundboran</i>	advocate
137 Ald V 12 25	<i>aduocato</i> glossed by <i>mundboran</i>	advocate
138 Ald V 13.1 2587	<i>aduocato i iudice</i> glossed by <i>þingere, mundboran</i>	advocate or judge
139 Ald V 14 110	<i>advocato</i> glossed by <i>mundboran</i>	advocate
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
140 LS 25 (Michael) 88	apposition	guardian

123. Those who pray for us are our advocates (*ðingeras*) and therefore our protectors.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
141 Chron A 823.9	obj. of <i>to w/ secan</i>	for protection
142 Chron C 823.8	" " " " "	for protection
143 Chron D 823.10	" " " " "	for protection
144 Chron E 823.9	" " " " "	for protection
◦ 145 Chron A 921.53	" " " " "	for protection
146 Chron A 921.72	obj. of <i>to w/ ceosan</i>	protector
147 Rec 10.8 23	" " " " "	protector
148 Æ C Hom I, 23.26	obj. of <i>to w/ habban</i>	protector
149 Æ LS (Mark) 97	" " " " "	protector
150 Æ LS (Seb'stn) 349	obj. of <i>to w/ settan</i>	protector
151 Christ A, B, C 22	obj. of <i>to w/ weorðan</i>	guardian
152 Law E Gu 12	obj. of <i>for w/ beon</i>	protector
153 Law 8 Atr 33	" " " " "	protector
154 Law 2 Cn 40	" " " " "	protector
155 W Hom 19.53	" " " " "	protector

dat. pl. *mundborum*

interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
156 Ald V 1 2512	<i>aduocato</i> glossed by <i>mundborum</i>	advocate
157 Ar Pr Gl 1 35.40	<i>patrociniis</i> glossed by <i>mundborum</i>	protection, (legal) defense

Mundbyrd, f.

nom. s. *mundbyrd*

glossary item:		
158 Cl Gl 2 669	<i>patrocinium</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrd</i>	protection
159 Corp Gl 2 14.10	<i>patrocinium</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrd</i>	protection
160 Ep Gl 800	<i>suffragium</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrd</i>	favorable decision (vote)
161 Erf Gl 1 935	<i>subfragium</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrd</i>	favorable decision, support

145. Earl Thurferth and the "holds" submit to K. Edw.; a 'hold' is "a Scand. title, applied to a class of nobleman in the Danelaw" (Whitelock Chronicle 60).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
162 Law Abt 8.1	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	mundbyrd[amt for comp of vio]
163 Law Abt 15.1	" " "	mundbyrd [amt of comp for vio]
164 Law Grið 8	" " "	mundbyrd [amount "]
165 Law Wi 2	" " "	mundbyrd [amount "]
166 Dream 129	" " "	help
◦ 167 Law Af I 3.1	subj. of <i>betan</i>	guardianship[amount "]
168 Law Af I 3.2	" " "	guardianship [amount "]
◦acc. s. <i>mundbyrde, mundbyrd</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
169 Ald V 1 4262	<i>patrocinium</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrde</i>	protection
170 Ald V 13.1 789	<i>patrocinium</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrde</i>	protection
171 Ald V 13.1 4383	<i>patrocinium</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrde</i>	protection
172 Ar Pr Gl 1 35.24	<i>paternitatem</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrde</i>	guardianship
glossary item:		
173 Cl Gl 1 4726	<i>patrocinium</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrde</i>	protection
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
174 Gu A, B 880	DO of <i>ceosan</i>	help
175 Gen A, B 2708	DO of <i>ceosan</i>	protection
176 Chron A 921.58	DO of <i>secan</i>	protection
177 Jul 169	DO of <i>secan</i>	protection
178 Law 4 As 6.3	DO of <i>betan</i>	mundbyrd [amount of comp. for violation]
◦ 179 Bede 5 20.15	DO of <i>blissian</i>	protection
◦ 180 Kt Ps 105	acc. w/ <i>cierran</i>	protection
181 Jud 2	DO of <i>findan</i>	protection

167, 168. The passage in Alfred's laws where *borg* is used as if it were *mund*; see B33, 73, 142.

179. *blissian* w/ acc., not gen. or dat., the only such ex'l in OE; cited by Dic. of OE.

180. Kt Ps is a problematic mixture of Kentish and West Saxon forms (ASPR VI lxxxiii).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 182 GD 1 4.43.12	DO of <i>forgiefan</i>	protection
183 Law HI 1.14	DO of <i>forgielðan</i>	mundbyrd [amount of comp. for violation]
184 PPs 70.5	DO of <i>habban</i>	protection
185 And 721	DO of <i>herian</i>	protection
186 LS 25 (Michael) 174	DO of <i>liefan</i>	guardian
187 And 1630	DO of <i>onfon</i>	protection
188 Guth A, B 184	DO of <i>sellan</i>	protection
acc. pl. <i>mundbyrda, mundbyrd</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
189 Ar Pr Gl 1 42.1	<i>suffragia</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrda</i>	favorable decision, support
190 Ar Pr Gl 1 43.1	<i>patrocinia</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrd</i>	protection
gen. s. <i>mundbyrde</i>		
191 Ald V 1 3775	<i>patrocini</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrde</i>	protection
192 Ald V 13.1 3883	<i>patrocinii</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrde</i>	protection
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
193 Law Af 1 5.2	possessive	guardianship [amt. of fine for violation]
194 And 1432	"	protection
195 Ps Head 17.3	gen. w/ <i>ðancian</i>	deliverance
dat. s. <i>mundbyrde</i>		
glossary item:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
196 Cl Gl 1 4793	<i>presidio</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrde</i>	defense, protection
◦ 197 Cl Gl 3 743	<i>sub pretextu</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrde</i>	covered
198 Cl Gl 3 1074	<i>sub pretextu</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrde</i>	covered
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
199 Gen A, B 1946	manner	protection

182. see 83

197, 198. *under mundbyrde* glosses *sub pretextu*: from *prætexo* (?) which has a meaning 'to cover'; *prætectu* is immediately from *prætexus, -us* literally 'pretense' (a covering of a different sort than that indicated by most uses of *mundbyrd*). *Prætexo* may have been confused with *prætego*, to cover, shelter, protect.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
200 Gen A, B 2529	manner	protection
201 Mart 5 (Marcel')	means	protection
202 Gen A, B 1752	obj. of <i>on w/ libban</i>	protection
203 Law Grið 14	obj. of <i>on</i> , d. of rest	mundbyrd:protection
204 Ch 1510.4	obj. of <i>to</i> , purpose	protection
205 PPs 83.12	obj. of <i>to</i>	for protection
206 Bede 5 19.23	obj. of <i>mid w/ scyldan</i>	patronage
207 GD Pref 3 20.222.9	obj. of <i>under</i> , d. of rest	protection

dat. pl. *mundbyrdum*

interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
208 Hy Gl 2 93.3	<i>patrociniis</i> glossed by <i>mundbyrdum</i>	protection

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
209 GD 2 38.176.27	obj. of <i>in</i>	care
210 LS 18.2 (Mary) 322	obj. of <i>on</i> , d. of rest	protection

Mundbyrdnes, f.nom. s. *mundbyrdnesse*

° 211 Ch 1121.19	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	protection
212 Ch 1129.20	" " "	protection
213 Ch 1142.22	" " "	protection
214 Ch 1146.23	" " "	protection

acc. s. *mundbyrdnysse*, *mundbirdnesse*

215 Ch 1150.11	DO of <i>tobrecan</i>	protection
216 LS 23 (Mary of Eg.)	obj. of infinitive	protection

gen. s. *mundbyrdnysse*

217 LS 23 (Mary of Eg.)	g. w/ <i>myndgian</i>	protection
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dat. s. *mundbyrdnysse*

° 218 LS 23 (Mary of Eg.)	obj. of <i>to w/ ceosan</i>	protector
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211 - 214. Four writs from what Harmer calls "the 'shall have' group" (306 ff): highly formulaic.

218. As agent: Skeat translates *to mundbyrdnysse geceose wið þin agen bearn*, "and [Mary of Egypt will] choose [Mary] for my protector against thine own Son."

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
219 LS 23 (Mary of Eg.)	obj. of <i>to w/ faran andrædan</i>	protection

*Mundbryce, m.*nom. s. *mundbryce, mundbreche*

220 Ch 357.3	subj. compl. in long list	fine for breach of protection
221 Law 2 Cn 12	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	m-br itself; [pay. for] vio. of mund

acc. s. *mundbryce -bryces -brice -brices*

222 Ch I Hen (29436) 3	DO of <i>unnan</i>	fine for vio. of mund
223 Ch 1148.9	DO of <i>unnan</i>	fine for vio. of mund
224 Ch 1151.4	DO of <i>weorðan</i>	fine for vio. of mund
225 Ch 1152.5	DO of <i>weorðan</i>	fine for vio. of mund
226 Law Grið 6	DO of <i>agan</i>	(amt., value of) mundbreach
227 Law Grið 11	DO of <i>betan</i>	vio. of mund
228 Ch 1098.15	DO of <i>habban</i>	(amt, value of) mundbreach
229 Law 6 Atr 34	DO of <i>forgieldan</i>	fine for mundbreach
230 Law Grið 11	DO of <i>wyrca</i>	vio. of mund

dat. s. *mundbryce, -brice*

231 Law 1 Cn 2.5	obj. of <i>be w/ betan</i>	breach of king's mund
232 Law 2 Cn 42	obj. of <i>be w/ betan</i>	fine for breach of mund
233 Law 8 Atr 3	obj. of <i>be w/ betan</i>	fine for breach of king's mund
234 Law 2 Em 6	obj. of <i>be w/ cweðan</i>	violation of mund
235 Law 1 Cn 3.2	obj. of <i>æt w/ wesan</i>	fine for breach of king's mund

*Mundgripe, m.*acc. s. *mundgripe*

236 Beo 750	DO of <i>metan</i>	handgrip
237 Beo 1531	DO of <i>truwian</i>	handgrip

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
dat. s. <i>mundgripe</i>		
◦ 238 Beo 1933	obj. of <i>æfter</i>	seizure (arrest)
◦ 239 Beo 963	obj. of <i>for</i> d. of cause	hand-grip
240 Beo 377	obj. of <i>on</i> d. of rest	hand-grip
Hapax legomena		
<i>Feðemund</i> , f.		
dat. pl. <i>feðemundum</i>		
240.5 Rid 15.15	means w/ <i>wyrca</i> n	forepaws
<i>Mundbeorg</i> , m.		
nom. pl. <i>mundbeorgas</i>		
241 PPs 124.2	subject of <i>wesan</i>	protecting hills, great mountains
<i>Mundcræft</i> , m.		
acc. pl. <i>mundcræftas</i>		
242 M Charm 9 14	DO of <i>cunnan</i>	skill to protect
<i>Mundheals</i> , f.		
acc. s. <i>mundheals</i> sic		
243 Christ A, B, C 440	DO of <i>ceosan</i>	protection
<i>Mundiend</i> , m.		
nom. s. <i>mundiend</i>		
244 Ch 1486.49	subj. compl. of <i>beon</i>	protector
<i>Mundrof</i> , aj.		
nom. s. <i>mundrof</i>		
245 Rid 87.2	modifies subject	CH: strong with the hands

238. Here *wælbende ...handgewripene ... mundgripe* (deadly bonds ... handwrought ... arrest) stand in close proximity to each other; see 239.

239. *Wælbedde ... clammum wriþam ... mundgripe* (on deathbed ... bind with hard grasp ... handgrip) in close proximity, and closely parallel, with 238.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Mundwist</i> , f. dat. s. <i>mundwiste</i> 246 Hom M 1 147	obj. of <i>of w/ animan</i>	guardianship
<i>Scaftmund</i> , f. nom. pl. <i>scæftamunda</i> *247 Law Pax 1	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	(hand)span

249 items (including 73.5 and 240.5)

247. "Scæftamund=scaftmund": CH; see Chapter 2, note 4 above, p. 33.

APPENDIX F

The *Frið*-words arranged by forms

**Appendix F: *Frið*-words arranged by forms (nouns; verbs; compounds;
hapax legomena)**

Item	Short Title	Latin Word, or OE Syntactic Function	Latin Meaning or OE Meaning
<i>Frið</i> , mn.			
nom. s. <i>frið</i>			
interlinear gloss:		Latin word:	Latin meaning:
1	Mt Gl (Ru) 10.12	<i>pax</i> glossed by <i>frið</i>	peace
2	Mt Gl (Ru) 10.13	<i>pax</i> " " "	peace
OE item:		syntactic function:	OE meaning:
3	Hom U 40.32	subj. of <i>cuman</i>	peace
4	W Pol 2.1.1 12	" " "	peace
5	W Pol 2.1.2 10	" " "	peace
6	Gu A, B 407	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	peace
7	Law Af I 5.4	" " "	sanctuary
8	Or 4 10.202.18	subj. of <i>aliefan</i>	peace
9	Or Head 256.10	" " "	peace
10	Law 2 Em 1	subj. of <i>beon</i>	public peace
11	Law 6 As 12.3	" " "	security
12	Law 5 As Prol 1.0	subj. of <i>healdan</i>	public peace
13	Law 6 Atr 8	" " "	maintain peace
14	Hom U 41.2	subj. of <i>weorðan</i>	peace
15	Or 3 5.106.20	" " "	quietness
16	Chron E 1086.95	subj. of <i>forgietan</i>	security
17	Dan 463	subj. of <i>gescyldan</i>	protection
18	Law 2 Atr 6.1	subj. of <i>settan</i>	truce
19	Christ A, B, C 1652	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	peace
20	Law A Gu 1	" " " "	peace
21	Or 1 10.48.32	" " " "	freedom
22	P Ps 143.2	" " " "	security
23	P Ps 148.14	" " " "	security

acc. s. *frið, fryð*

interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
25 Dur Rit Gl 3 37	<i>pacem</i> glossed by <i>frið</i>	peace
26 Mt Gl (Li) 10.34	<i>pacem</i> " " "	peace
27 Mt Gl (Ru) 10.34	<i>pacem</i> " " "	peace
27.5 Mt Gl (Ru) 10.34	<i>pacem</i> " " "	peace
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
28 Chron A 865.1	DO of (<i>ge</i>) <i>niman</i>	make peace
29 Chron D 865.1	" " "	" "
30 Chron E 865.1	" " "	" "
31 Chron A 866.1	" " "	" "
32 Chron C 866.1	" " "	" "
33 Chron D 866.1	" " "	" "
34 Chron E 866.1	" " "	" "
35 Chron C 867.1	" " "	" "
36 Chron C 867.4	" " "	" "
37 Chron D 867.1	" " "	" "
38 Chron A 867.10	" " "	" "
39 Chron E 867.7	" " "	" "
40 Chron C 868.4	" " "	" "
41 Chron D 868.4	" " "	" "
42 Chron A 868.1	" " "	" "
43 Chron E 868.4	" " "	" "
44 Chron A 871.33	" " "	" "
45 Chron D 871.36	" " "	" "
46 Chron E 871.38	" " "	" "
47 Chron A 872.1	" " "	" "
48 Chron C 872.31	" " "	" "
49 Chron D 872.1	" " "	" "
50 Chron E 872.1	" " "	" "
51 Chron A 873.1	" " "	" "
52 Chron C 873.1	" " "	" "
53 Chron C 874.1	" " "	" "
54 Chron A 876.1	" " "	" "
55 Chron D 876.1	" " "	" "

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
56 Chron E 876.2	" " "	" "
57 Chron C 877.1	" " "	" "
58 Chron A 989.4	" " "	" "
59 Chron A 1001.16	" " "	" "
60 Chron A 1001.27	" " "	" "
61 Chron C 1002.1	" " "	" "
62 Chron D 1002.1	" " "	" "
63 Chron E 1002.1	" " "	" "
64 Chron C 1009.24	" " "	" "
65 Chron D 1009.32	" " "	" "
66 Chron E 1009.31	" " "	" "
67 Chron C 1011.10	" " "	" "
68 Chron D 1011.10	" " "	" "
69 Chron E 1011.10	" " "	" "
◦ 70 D Alf 11	" " "	" "
71 Josh 9.6	" " "	" "
72 Mald 36	" " "	" "
73 Or 1 10.46.7	" " "	" "
74 Or 2 2.66.17	" " "	" "
75 Or 3 1.96.14	" " "	" "
76 Or 3 5.106.22	" " "	" "
77 Or 4 12.210.9	" " "	" "
78 Or 5 2.218.29	" " "	" "
79 Or 5 7.228.25	" " "	" "
80 Or 5 7.230.28	" " "	" "
81 Or 6 13.268.7	" " "	" "
82 Or 6 35.292.9	" " "	" "
83 Or Head 320.2	" " "	" "
84 Æ LS (Apoll's) 223	DO of <i>habban</i>	have peace
85 Gen A, B 1299	" " "	have sanctuary
86 Josh 2.19	" " "	have sanctuary, refuge
87 Law 2 Atr 2	" " "	to be afforded protection

70. One of the Chronicle poems attributed to Wulfstan (Death of Alfred).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
88 Law 2 Atr 2.1	" " "	to be afforded protection
89 Law 2 Atr 3	" " "	to enjoy protection
90 Law 2 Atr 3.1	" " "	to be afforded protection
91 Law 2 Atr 3.2	" " "	to be afforded protection
92 Law 2 Atr 3.3	" " "	to have protection
93 Or 2 8.92.6	" " "	to make peace
94 Or 3 5.104.12	" " "	to have peace
95 Or 3 5.106.15	" " "	to have peace
96 Or 3 5.106.18	" " "	to have peace
97 Or 3 7.116.4	" " "	to have peace
98 Or 4 13.212.13	" " "	to have peace
° 99 Or 6 13.268.19	" " "	to have freedom
100 Rid 73.22	" " "	to have peace
101 Law 6 As 8.9	DO of <i>healdan</i>	to be loyal re: maint'c pub. security
102 Law 6 As 10	" " "	to observe decrees for " "
103 Law 6 As 11	" " "	to observe decrees for pub. security
104 Law 5 Atr 1.1	" " "	to maintain peace
105 Law 10 Atr 2.1	" " "	to maintain peace
106 Chron A 877.3	" " "	to keep peace
107 Chron D 877.5	" " "	to keep peace
108 Chron E 877.6	" " "	to keep peace
109 Chron C 878.2	" " "	to keep peace
110 Chron D 1066.34	" " "	to keep peace
111 Hom U 41.14	" " "	to maintain peace
112 Lit 4.2 6	" " "	to maintain peace
113 Chron A 885.31	DO of <i>brecan</i>	to violate the peace
114 Chron D 885.31	" " "	to violate the peace
115 Chron E 885.20	" " "	to violate the peace
116 Chron C 886.27	" " "	to violate the peace
117 Chron A 911.1	" " "	to break the peace
118 Chron C 911.1	" " "	to break the peace

99. Here *frið and sibbe* is translated 'freedom and peace,' *sibb* being used very many times as a synonym for *frið* ; it also frequently glosses *pax*.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
119 Chron D 911.1	" " "	to break the peace
120 Chron C 914.1	" " "	to break the peace
121 Chron D 914.1	" " "	to break the peace
122 Chron A 917.1	" " "	to break the peace
123 Chron A 921.5	" " "	to break the peace
124 Chron A 906.1	DO of <i>fæstnian</i>	to establish peace
125 Chron C 906.1	" " "	to establish peace
126 Chron D 906.2	" " "	to establish peace
127 Chron E 906.1	" " "	to establish peace
128 Chron D 926.2	" " "	to establish peace
129 Chron C 1055.21	" " "	to confirm peace
130 Law 2 Atr 1	DO of <i>bycgan</i>	to buy peace
131 Chron C 1016.90	" " "	to buy peace
132 Chron D 1016.98	" " "	to buy peace
133 Chron E 1016.94	" " "	to buy peace
134 Christ A, B, C 1339	DO of <i>(ge)beodan</i>	to offer refuge/proclaim prot'n
135 Or 3 1.98.29	" " "	to offer peace
136 Or Head 192.5	" " "	to offer peace
137 El 1181	DO of <i>agan</i>	to have protection
138 Gen A, B 2473	" " "	to have peace (my trans.)
139 Or 1 10.48.26	DO of <i>begietan</i>	to obtain peace
140 Or 4 6.174.24	" " "	to have peace
◦ 141 Chron D 959.7	DO of <i>beterian</i>	to improve the peace
142 Chron E 959.7	" " "	to improve the peace
143 Or 5 15.250.16	DO of <i>geceosan</i>	to wish for peace
144 Or 6 35.292.11	" " "	to wish for peace
145 Chron A 921.58	DO of <i>secan</i>	to ask for peace
146 Or 3 9.136.27	" " "	to seek peace
147 Law Cn 1020.3	DO of <i>wyrcean</i>	to establish security
148 Law Episc 4	" " "	to effect peace
149 Or 4 7.182.8	DO of <i>abrecan</i>	to break the peace

141, 142 "This passage is written in alliterative prose, and is in the style of Archbishop Wulfstan II of York" (Whitelock, A-S Chronicle 74).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
150 Æ LS (Thomas) 80	DO of <i>awierdan</i>	to violate his peace
151 Or 5 3.220.18	DO of <i>gedon</i>	to make peace
152 Or 4 10.202.7	DO of <i>findan</i>	to make peace
◦ 153 GD 1 4.43.13	DO of <i>forgiefan</i>	to give peace
154 Chron A 911.1	DO of <i>forseon</i>	to scorn peace
◦ 155 Gu A, B 257	DO of <i>gegiernan</i>	to gain security
157 Or 3 5.106.22	DO of <i>lufian</i>	to love peace
158 Law Af I 5	DO of <i>settan</i>	to grant right of sanctuary
159 Æ Gen Ep 56	DO of <i>willan</i>	to desire peace
160 Christ A, B, C 999	DO of <i>gewinnan</i>	to gain refuge
161 Law 4 Eg 16	obj. of <i>ymbe</i>	about peace
162 Chron D 1049.1	" " "	about peace
163 Or 3 11.142.1	" " "	about peace
164 And 1029	obj. of <i>on w/ gelædan</i>	to lead into safety [=protection]
◦ 165 M Charm 11.37	" " " w/ <i>wunnian</i>	to dwell in protection

gen. s. *friðes* (*fryðes*, *friðæs*)

interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
166 Dur Prov 24	<i>propitiacione</i> glossed by <i>friðes</i>	appeasement
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
167 And 447	obj. of <i>wilnian</i>	to desire safety [=protection]
168 And 1125	" " "	to crave safety "
169 Æ Gen Ep 40	" " "	to desire peace
170 Æ Gen Ep 82	" " "	to desire peace
171 Bede 3 1.154.4	" " "	to sue for alliance
172 Dan 209	" " "	to pray for indemnity "
173 Josh 9.6	" " "	to desire peace
174 LS 28 (Neot) 150 "	" "	to ask for peace

153. Ms. C has *læcedom and mundbyrde* (M83) where this Ms. has *frið and læcedom*.

155. A key concept: the saint desires security (*frið*) from God whose hand will guard him with its might (*mundað mid mægne*). see F165 and F254 as well.

165. A key concept: traveller prays to be kept in God's protection, and "in His holy hand": the power to protect creates security, *frið*'s primary sense.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
175 Met 1.33	" " "	to wish for peace
176 Or 3 9.136.8	" " "	to wish for peace
177 Or 4 6.174.23	" " "	to wish for peace
178 Or 4 6.178.5	" " "	to seek peace
179 Or 4 6.180.11	" " "	to sue for peace
180 Or 4 10.202.16	" " "	to seek peace
181 Æ C Hom II 10.194	obj. of <i>biddan</i>	to ask for refuge
182 Æ Hom 22.225	" " "	to ask for refuge
183 Æ Hom M 15.56	" " "	to ask for peace
184 Æ Hom M 15.79	" " "	to ask for peace
185 Æ LS (Abd. & Sen.) 53	" " "	to ask for peace
186 Fates 88	" " "	to pray to ... for peace
187 Gen 42.21	" " "	to beseech for help [protec'n]
188 Gen (Ker) 42.21	" " "	to beseech for help [protec'n]
189 Or 1 10.48.17	" " "	to ask for an agreement [truce]
190 Or 1 10.48.26	" " "	to ask for peace
191 Or 4 11.204.34	" " "	to ask for peace
192 Or 4 11.206.1	" " "	to ask for peace
193 Or 4 13.210.19	" " "	to beg for peace
194 Chron C 1009.24	obj. of <i>giernan</i>	to ask for peace
195 Chron D 1009.28	" " "	to ask for peace
196 Chron E 1009.27	" " "	to ask for peace
197 Chron C 1011.1	" " "	to ask for peace
198 Chron D 1011.1	" " "	to ask for peace
199 Chron E 1011.1	" " "	to ask for peace
200 Chron C 1004.2	partitive w/ <i>ceapian</i>	to buy peace
201 Chron D 1004.2	" " "	to buy peace
202 Chron E 1004.2	" " "	to buy peace
203 Law 3 Atr 15	gen. w/ <i>weorðian</i>	to be entitled to protection
204 Chron E 1095.56	" " "	to be entitled to protection
205 Law 6 As 8.9	partitive w/ <i>aslacian</i>	to be negligent re pub. security
206 Part 12	obj. of <i>earnian</i>	to earn peace

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
° 207 Mald 36	gen. w/ <i>healdan</i>	to keep peace
208 Law 2 Em 5	obj. of <i>þancian</i>	to thank one for immunity [prot']
209 Law 2 Cn 13	obj. of <i>wealdan</i>	to grant security
° 210 Law 5 Atr 26.1	<i>ymbe friðes bote</i>	for promotion of public security
211 Law 6 Atr 31	" " "	for promotion of public security
212 Law 6 Atr 32	" " "	for promotion of public security
213 Law 2 Cn 8	" " "	for promotion of public security
214 Law 2 Cn 8	" " "	for promotion of public security
215 Hom U 40.185	" " "	for promotion of public security
216 Hom U 40.185	" " "	for promotion of public security
217 Law 4 Eg 14.1	<i>to friðes bote</i>	for promotion of public security
218 Law 1 Atr 1	" " "	for promotion of public security
219 Law 3 Atr 1	" " "	for promotion of public security
220 Law Af I 5.2	possessive	fine for violating Ch. sanctuary
221 Jul 319	possessive	peace
dat. s. <i>friðe</i>		
222 And 915	manner, w/ <i>healdan</i>	to keep safe, protect
223 And 1432	" " "	to keep guard
224 Christ A, B, C 488	" " "	to keep in peace
225 Gen A, B 2529	" " "	to keep in peace
226 Gu A, B 309	" " "	to hold safe [=protection]
227 Sat 309	means, w/ <i>befæðman</i>	to enfold in protection
228 Or 3 1.96.22	obj. of <i>onfon</i>	to make peace
229 Law A Gu 5	purpose w/ <i>sellan</i>	to give as security for peace
230 Chron A 823.9	obj. of <i>to w/ gesecan</i>	to appeal for peace
231 Chron C 823.8	" " " " "	to appeal for peace
232 Chron D 823.10	" " " " "	to appeal for peace

207. Fred Robinson suggests that the use of the genitive (rather than the expected accusative or dative) in this collocation may have helped "suggest the speech of a non-native" ("Some Aspects of ... Maldon" p. 27); he notes several 'foreignisms' in this speech. See note to G39.

210. 'Public security' is *frið*'s primary sense, and a central concern in many law codes.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
233 Chron E 823.9	" " " " "	to appeal for peace
234 Or 5 7.228.12	" " " " "	to go for shelter [=protection]
235 Or 5 12.242.30	" " " " "	to seek peace
236 Or 5 15.250.13	" " " " "	to seek peace
237 Law E Gu Prol 1	obj. of <i>to</i> w/ <i>fon</i>	to enter into relations of peace
238 Æ LS (Mac's) 583	" " " " "	to make peace
239 Chron C 1055.21	obj. of <i>to</i> w/ <i>sprecan</i>	to discuss peace
240 Chron C 1066.50	" " " " "	to settle a peace
241 Ch 1510.4	obj. of <i>to</i> w/ <i>befæstan</i>	to entrust for security
242 Law 6 As 8.4	obj. of <i>to</i> w/ <i>fylstan</i>	to help maintain security
243 And 617	obj. of <i>to</i> w/ <i>hogian</i>	to think about peace
244 Dan 61	obj. of <i>to</i> w/ <i>standan</i>	to stand as sanctuary
245 Dan 712	obj. of <i>to</i> , manner	for protection
246 Hom S 25.379	obj. of <i>to</i>	to peace
247 Law 4 Eg 2	obj. of <i>to</i>	to security
248 Law 4 Eg 12.1	obj. of <i>to</i>	for security
249 Law 4 Eg 15	obj. of <i>to</i>	to security
250 Æ Hom M 14.312	obj. of <i>on</i> w/ <i>wunian</i>	to dwell in peace
251 Æ Let 4 (Sig) 508	" " " " "	to continue in liberty
252 Josh 23.1	" " " " "	to dwell in peace
253 Judg 8.28	" " " " "	to remain in peace
◦ 254 W Hom 19.47	" " " " "	to dwell in security
255 Gen A, B 1256	obj. of <i>on</i> w/ <i>wesan</i>	to be in peace
256 Gen A, B 1869	" " " " "	to be in peace
257 Æ Hom M 14.295	obj. of <i>on</i> w/ <i>beon</i>	in security
258 Gen A, B 18	obj. of <i>on</i> w/ <i>libban</i>	to live in peace
259 Dan 436	obj. of <i>on</i> w/ <i>treddian</i>	to walk in [God's] keeping [prot']
260 Law 6 As 8.7	obj. of <i>on</i> , dat. of rest	in the public security
261 Or 5 1.214.20	obj. of <i>on</i> , dat. of rest	in peace

254. & ge orsorge wuniap on lande on griðe & on friðe under minre munde, "and you shall dwell without care in your land, in peace and in freedom under my protection"; here Wulfstan uses three of the key words considered in this study together.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
262 Æ LS (Mac's) 440	obj. of <i>mid w/ faran</i>	to go in peace
263 Chron E 1094.38	obj. of <i>mid w/ faran</i>	to go in peace
264 Mald 175	obj. of <i>mid w/ ferian</i>	to pass in peace
265 Or 6 34.290.17	obj. of <i>mid w/ gesettan</i>	to settle peaceably
266 Chron A 920.3	obj. of <i>mid</i> , manner	with peace
268 Law 2 Atr 7.2	obj. of <i>wið</i>	(give money) as price of truce
269 Chron A 865.1	" " "	(give money) for peace
270 Chron D 865.1	" " "	(give money) for peace
271 Chron E 865.1	" " "	(give money) for peace
272 Chron C 866.1	" " "	(give money) for peace
273 Or 4 6.174.24	" " "	(want tribute) for peace
274 Bo 26.60.4	obj. of <i>æfter w/ oleccan</i>	to cringe for protection
275 Or 3 9.136.21	obj. of <i>æfter w/ secan</i>	to seek one for peace
276 Or 4 7.182.9	obj. of <i>æfter w/ sendan</i>	to send for peace
277 Chron A 865.1	obj. of <i>under</i>	under cover of the peace
278 Chron C 866.1	obj. of <i>under</i>	under cover of the peace
279 Or 4 12.210.9	obj. of <i>under</i>	under the peace
◦ 280 Chron E 1011.12	obj. of <i>for</i>	for all this truce [despite trib.]
281 Law Af Rb 5	obj. of <i>be</i>	re: privilege of sanctuary

Friðu (*frioðulo*, *freoðulo*), m.

acc. s. *friðo*, *fryðo*, *frioðo*, *freoðo*, *freoðu*

◦ 282 And 918	obj. of <i>wilnian</i>	to crave protection
283 Beo 183	" " "	to find peace
284 Dan 218	" " "	to beg indemnity [=protection]
285 Hell 95	" " "	to pray for protection
286 P Ps 55.8	" " "	to call for help
287 Gen A, B 54	DO of <i>beniman</i>	to take [away] peace

280. I.e., the army harried them in spite of "all this truce and tribute" (*for eallum griðe and friðe and gafole*).

282. *Friðu* occurs in poetry only; according to Tolkien, *frið* is synonymous and "represent[s] a variant of this u-declension noun transferred to the normal masculine declension" (*Exodus*, ed. Tolkien, p. 67 note 422).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
288 Gen A, B 1510	DO of <i>brucan</i>	to enjoy peace
289 Gen A, B 1759	DO of <i>onfon</i>	to receive peace
290 Phoen 594	obj. of <i>in</i>	in safe-keeping [=protection]
291 Gen A, B 1150	obj. of <i>on</i>	in peace
gen. s. <i>freoða, fryða; freoðo</i>		
292 Christ A, B, C 771	obj. of <i>wilnian</i>	to beseech (one) for protection
293 Seasons 9	" " "	to beg for peace
294 Gen A, B 1346	possessive	of peace
295 Gen A, B 1836	"	of peace
dat. s. <i>freoðo</i>		
296 And 336	manner, w/ <i>healdan</i>	in peace
<i>Freoðu, f.</i>		
acc. s. <i>freoðe</i>		
297 And 1129	DO of <i>findan</i>	to find protection
Verb		
<i>Friðian, gefriðian</i>		
infinitive <i>friðian (gefriðian, friðion)</i>		
298 Æ Ls (Eug'a) 209	completes <i>willan</i>	would let go free
299 Chron A 921.69	" "	would keep peace
300 Chron A 921.69	" "	to want to keep peace
301 Law 2 As 20.3	" "	to want to respect
302 Or 4 1.160.10	" "	to wish to protect
303 Or 4 1.160.8	completes <i>sculan</i>	ought to protect
304 Rid 16.4	" "	ought to keep safe [=protect]
◦ 305 Chron E 1093.3	completes <i>behet</i>	to vow to secure
◦ 306 Ps 49.23	completes <i>magan</i>	to be able to deliver [L. <i>eripio</i>]

305. Whitelock translates the formula in *Godes cyrcean griðian & friðian* 'to protect and secure'—see F307.

306. The first 50 psalms have a prose OE translation that is not interlinear and which does not always follow the Latin exactly—where I can, I give the Latin which the OE translates; in some cases there is no Latin equivalent for the Old English (see 318).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 307 Hom U 27.2	future sense	to maintain sanctity [of church]
308 Hom U 48.57	" "	to maintain sanctity
309 Law 1 Cn 2	" "	to maintain sanctity
310 Law 1 Cn 4	" "	to maintain sanctity
311 Law 6 Atr 42.3	" "	to maintain security
◦ 312 Law Had 1.1	" "	to protect
313 Law 2 Ew 4	" "	to shield
314 M Charm 11.21	subjunctive sense	to protect
prs. indic. 1 s.		
315 Hom S 47.84	<i>freopige</i>	I will intercede [=protect]
316 Ps 49.16	<i>gefriðie</i>	I will deliver [L. <i>eripio</i>]
317 W Hom 19.78	<i>gefripige</i>	I will protect
prs. indic. 2 s.		
◦ 318 Ps 11.9	<i>gefriðast</i>	you will deliver [no Latin]
319 Ps 34.17	<i>gefriðast</i>	you will rescue [L. <i>restituo</i>]
320 Rev Mon 72	<i>fripast</i>	you protect
321 Ps 11.8	<i>gefreoðast</i>	you will keep [=prot'] [L. <i>custodio</i>]
prs. indic. 3 s.		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
322 Ps Gl J 71.12	<i>liberabit</i> glossed by <i>gefriþað</i>	he shall deliver
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 323 Law Rect 20.2	<i>gefriðað</i>	he protects
324 Ps 33.22	"	he will redeem [L. <i>redimo</i>]
325 Ps 40.1	"	he will deliver [L. <i>libero</i>]
326 Gu A, B 242	<i>freopað</i>	he will protect
327 Rid 91.3	"	it guards [=protect]

307. Here Robertson translates *griðian & friðian* (this passage is in 6 Atr 42.3) "to maintain the security and sanctity" (of the church of Christ); see F305.

312. Whitelock translates *friðian & nerian* 'protect and defend'; Ms. H has *griðian* for *nerian*.

318. Here (and in other items labelled similarly) the Old English expands the verse and there is no Latin equivalent, see 306.

323. A law code attributed to Wulfstan.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
328 Bo 34.91.24	<i>frīðað</i>	it protects
° 329 Glor I.27	<i>freoðiaþ</i>	all will observe [=protect]
prs. subjv. s.		
330 Ben RW 64.39	<i>frīðige</i>	ought to protect
331 Law 2 As 20.3	"	men shall respect
332 Law 2 Atr 1.2	"	one provides protection
333 Law Cn 1020.12	"	one protects
° 334 Law Ger 2	"	he protects
° 335 W Pol 2.1.1 29	"	he should protect
336 W Pol 2.1.2 22	"	he should protect
337 Ps 19.1	<i>gefriðie</i>	may it protect you [L. <i>protego</i>]
338 Ps 26.5	"	he may protect [no Latin]
339 Ps 24.15	"	you may deliver [L. <i>eripio</i>]
340 Ps 30.2	"	you may deliver "
341 Ps 32.16	"	he may deliver "
342 Ps 33.7	"	he shall deliver them "
343 W Pol 2.1.1 5	<i>frīðie</i>	he ought to protect
344 Hom U 40.14	<i>fryðie</i>	he ought to protect
present imperative singular		
345 Mart 5 (Marina) 1318	<i>gefriða</i>	protect (him)
346 Ps 7.1	"	deliver (me) [L. <i>eripio</i>]
347 Ps 17.41	"	deliver (me) "
348 Ps 21.19	"	save (me) [L. <i>libero</i>]
349 Ps 24.18	"	deliver (me) [L. <i>eripio</i>]
350 Ps 24.20	"	deliver (Israel) [L. <i>redimo</i>]
351 Ps 30.1	"	rescue (me) [L. <i>eripio</i>]
352 Ps 30.18	"	deliver (me) "
353 Ps 38.10	"	deliver (me) "

329. Lumby's trans: [Sunday] all will hold and observe [=keep; *healdað and freoðiaþ*].

334. The lawcode Gerefa is attributed to Wulfstan.

335. Thorpe translates (?) *fryðrige & frīðige* 'that he further and protect' God's church.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
354 Ps 42.1	<i>gefriða</i>	deliver (me) [L. <i>eripio</i>]
355 Phoen 630	<i>gefreoþa</i>	protect (us)
356 Res 59	<i>gefreoða</i>	preserve (my soul)
preterite indicative 1st singular		
357 Rim 40	<i>freoðode</i>	I protected
preterite indicative 2nd singular		
358 Hom S 40.1 107	<i>gefreoðodest</i>	you have set us free
359 Hom S 40.3 126	"	you have set us free
360 Ps 29.1	<i>gefriðadest</i>	you have defended me (<i>upheald</i>) [no Lat.]
preterite indicative 3rd singular		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
361 Cuth Gl 1 18	<i>regebat</i> glossed by <i>friðode</i>	he kept
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
362 Æ C Hom II 11.193	<i>gefriðode</i>	he had protected
363 CP 21.167.21	"	it protects
364 Jud 2	"	he guards
365 Ps 26.6	"	he has protected [L. <i>protego</i>]
366 Ps 33.4	"	he delivered (me) [L. <i>eripio</i>]
367 Ps 43.8	"	it has not saved (me) [L. <i>salveo</i>]
368 Ps Head 27.1	"	he has delivered (me)
369 Ps Head 32.1	"	he has delivered (me)
370 Ps Head 45.2	"	he has protected (me)
371 Ps Head 46.1	"	he has delivered (me)
372 Bede 2 6.116.4	<i>freoðode</i>	he protected
373 El 1142	"	he guarded
374 Rid 9.3	"	she guarded
375 Christ A, B, C 586	<i>gefreoðade</i>	he safeguarded
376 Gu A, B 440	"	he guarded
377 Jul 563	"	he defended
378 And 1029	<i>gefreoðode</i>	he set free
379 Bo 39.133.10	<i>gefriðode</i>	he saved [defended, protected]]
380 Guth A, B 393	<i>freoðade</i>	he protected
381 Rev Mon 79	<i>friþode</i>	he protected

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
382 L S 24 (Michael) 42	<i>gefryðode</i>	he protected
preterite plural		
383 Ch 325.2	<i>gefriðodon</i>	protected
preterite subjunctive singular		
384 Gu A, B 146	<i>gefreoðode</i>	he might protect
past participle		
385 Æ LS (Martin) 388	<i>gefriðed</i> , nom. s.	protected
386 CP 16.105.25	<i>gefriðod</i> , " "	delivered
387 GD Pref 3 14.199.17	<i>gefreoðod</i> , " "	protected
388 Gu A, B 407	<i>gefreoþad</i> , " "	kept
° 389 Law 2 Cn 80.1	<i>gefriðod</i>	preserved
390 M Charm 1.59	" " "	kept safe
391 Ps Head 47.3	" " "	set free
392 CP 51.399.26	<i>gefriðode</i> , nom. pl.	set free
393 GD Pref 4 57.343.37	<i>gefreoðode</i> " "	redeemed
394 Hom S 40.1 17	<i>gefriðode</i> " "	freed
395 Hom S 40.2 15	<i>gefreoðode</i> " "	freed
396 Hom S 40.3	<i>gefriðode</i>	freed
397 Lch 1.1	<i>gefriþedum</i> , dat. pl.	protected
inflected infinitive		
398 Ps 41.9	<i>to gefriþianne</i>	to deliver [no Latin]

Other nouns, adjectives, and compounds

Unfrið-group

Unfrið, m.

nom. s. *unfrið*

399 Law Cn 1020.5	subj. of <i>cuman</i>	hostility
400 Law Cn 1020.4	subj. of <i>standan</i>	hostility
401 Chron E 1123.78	subj. of <i>weaxan</i>	hostility
402 Chron E 1124.20	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	hostility
403 Chron A 1001.1	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	fighting

389. "Lit. 'Let every man leave my hunting alone where I wish to have it preserved' "
(Robertson 359).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
404 Chron E 1135.18	" " " "	disturbance
acc. s. <i>unfrið</i>		
405 Chron E 1124.1	obj. of <i>for w/ wesan</i>	hostility
406 Chron E 1128.1	" " " " "	hostility
dat. s. <i>unfriðe (unfriða)</i>		
407 Chron C 994.17	obj. of <i>midw/ cuman</i>	to come in hostility
408 Chron E 994.20	" " " " "	to come in hostility
° 409 Chron E 1048.35	obj. of <i>mid w/ faran</i>	to carry war
410 Chron E 1101.3	obj. of <i>midw/ fundian</i>	to set out to carry war
411 Chron E 1101.27	obj. of <i>mid w/ secan</i>	to come with warlike intent
412 Chron A 921.15	obj. of <i>mid</i> , manner	with hostility
413 Chron A 905.1	obj. of <i>to w/ aspanan</i>	to seduce to break the peace
414 Chron D 905.1	obj. of <i>to w/ gelædan</i>	to induce to break the peace
415 Chron C 905.1	dat. w/ <i>gelædan</i>	to induce to break the peace
416 Chron A 905.16	obj. of <i>to w/ spanan</i>	to entice to war
417 Law Northu 56	obj. of <i>for</i> , cause	on account of war
418 Or 1 1.17.21	" " " "	on account of hostility
419 Law 2 Atr 6	obj. of <i>on w/ licgan</i>	to exclude from truce

Unfriðhere, m.nom. s. *unfriðhere*

420 Chron C 1009.24	subj. of <i>cuman</i>	raiding army
421 Chron D 1009.28	" " "	raiding army
422 Chron E 1009.27	" " "	raiding army

dat. s. *unfriðhere*

423 Chron D 1007.1	IO of <i>gelæstan</i>	to pay to the (hostile) army
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Unfrið, aj.nom. s. *unfrið*

424 Chron E 1046.29	part of subj. of <i>licgan</i>	hostile ships lay
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dat. s. *unfriðe*

425 Chron E 1007.1	IO of <i>gelæstan</i>	to pay to the hostile army
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409. *bæd hine faran in to Cent mid unfriða*; Whitelock translates 'ordered him to carry war into Kent'.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Unfriðflota</i> , m.		
nom. s. <i>unfriðflota</i>		
426 Chron C 1000.3	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	enemy fleet
427 Chron E 1000.4	" " "	enemy fleet
 <i>Unfriðland</i> , n.		
acc. s. <i>unfriðland</i>		
° 428 Law 2 Atr 3.1	obj. of <i>on w/ cuman</i>	region not included in truce
<i>Unfriðmann</i> , m.		
gen. pl. <i>unfriðmanna</i>		
° 429 Law 2 Atr 3.3	possessive	of a man not included in truce
<i>Unfriðscip</i> , n.		
nom. s. <i>unfriðscyp</i>		
° 430 Law 2 Atr 2	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	ship of region not incl'd in truce
 <i>Friðstol</i> , m.		
nom. s. <i>friðstol</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
431 Ps Gl G 17.3	<i>refugium</i> glossed by <i>friðstol</i>	refuge
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
432 P Ps 89.1	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	refuge
acc. s. <i>friðstol</i>		
433 Law Grið 16	DO of <i>secan</i>	to seek a sanctuary
434 P Ps 90.9	DO of <i>settan</i>	to make a refuge
dat. s. <i>friðstole</i>		
° 435 Hom S 7.202	obj. of <i>to w/ gehatan & gelaðan</i>	summoned & invited to (royal) throne of peace
° 436 Hom S 40.1 332	" " " " " " "	sum'n'd/invited to peace throne

428, 429, 430. these are hapax legomena, but listed here with the rest of this group.
 435, 436, 437, 438. The corresponding four sentences in these passages are nearly identical; Ker notes the correspondence between F436 and F438 only.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
· 437 Hom S 40.3 361 " " " " " " "	" " " " " " "	sum'n'd/invited to peace throne
· 438 Hom U 3 164 " " " " " " "	" " " " " " "	sum'n'd/invited to peace throne
439 Chron C 1006.13	obj. of <i>to w/cuman</i>	to come to a sanctuary
440 Chron D 1006.14	" " " " "	to come to a sanctuary
° 441 M Ps 93.19	obj. of <i>to w/wesan</i>	refuge
442 P Ps 93.19	" " " " "	refuge
dat. pl. <i>friðstolum</i>		
443 Ch 1622.6 (Somner)	obj. of <i>in</i>	sanctuary

Friðstow, f.nom. s. *friðstow*

444 Bo 34.89.10	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	asylum
445 Met 21.16	" " " "	peace-place
° 446 Ps 9.9	" " " "	refuge [<i>refugium</i>]
447 Ps 17.1	" " " "	refuge [<i>refugium</i>]
° 448 Ps 30.3	subj. compl. of <i>beon</i>	refuge [<i>refugii</i>]

acc. s. *friðstowe*

449 Law Af E1 13.2	DO of <i>secan</i>	to seek shelter
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dat. s. *friðstowe*

450 CP 21.165.23	obj. of <i>to w/ gesettan</i>	to appoint as a sanctuary
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Friðriend, m.nom. s. *friðriend*, *gefriðriend*, *friðigend*

451 Ps 17.29	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	protector [<i>protector</i>]
° 452 Ps 32.17	" " " "	helper [<i>adjutor</i>]
453 Ps 39.21	" " " "	deliverer [<i>liberator</i>]

435, 436, 437, 438. The corresponding four sentences in these passages are nearly identical; Ker notes the correspondence between F436 and F438 only.

441. Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter [M Ps]

446. Tupper's trans. in Fox ('peace-place') seems less than useful; context demands 'refuge.'

448. see F455: *friðstow* parallel with *gefriðriend* [*protectorem*]

452. parallel with *gescyldend* [*protector*]

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
454 Hom U 37.185	subj. compl. of <i>beon</i>	protector
• 455 Ps 30.3	" " " "	protector [<i>protectorem</i>]
 ° <i>Friðowær</i> , f.		
acc. s. <i>friðuware, freoðowære, friðowære</i>		
456 Beo 1095	DO of <i>getruwan</i>	to confirm a peace compact
° 457 Ex 303	DO of <i>healdan</i>	to keep a promise of protection
458 P Ps 118.158	" " "	to keep peace compact
gen. s. <i>friðowære</i>		
459 Beo 2278	obj. of <i>biddan</i>	ask for a compact of peace
dat. s. <i>freoðuware</i>		
460 And 1630	obj. of <i>onfon</i>	to receive a covenant of peace
 <i>Friðbrec</i> , f.		
nom. s. <i>friðbrec, friðbræc, frithbrice, frithesbroce</i>		
461 Law 2 Atr 6	subj.	breach of the truce
• 462 Law 2 Atr 5.2	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	breach of the truce
463 Ch 499.4	in a list of fines . . .	fine for breach of truce
 <i>Friðleas</i> , aj.		
nom. s. <i>friðleas</i>		
464 And 29	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	savage
nom. pl. <i>friðelease</i>		
465 El 126	subj. of <i>feallan</i>	barbarians

455. See 448.

456. *Fæst* occurs in the same line with *friðowær* in all three instances in acc. s.

457. Tolkien follows several other editors in supplying a missing half-line here; ASPR lets it stand.

462. 'Breach of truce' is caused by 8 or more deaths (2 Atr).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Friðsum</i> -group		
<i>Friðsum</i> , aj.		
nom. pl. <i>friðsume</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
° 467 Mt Gl (Ru) 5.9	<i>pacifici</i> glossed by <i>friðsume</i>	peaceful (peacemaker)
gen. s. <i>gefryðsumre</i>		
° 468 Ps Gl F 70.3	<i>munitum</i> glossed by <i>gefryðsumre</i>	strength
<i>Friðsumian</i>		
present indicative 3 s.		
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
469 Prog 4 .14	<i>friðsumað</i>	to reconcile
<i>Friðað</i> , m.		
nom. pl. <i>friðapas</i>		
° 470 Chron C 1012.19	subj. of <i>aswerian</i>	to swear peace
471 Chron D 1012.20	" " "	to swear peace
° 472 Chron E 1012.19	subj. of <i>swerian</i>	to swear peace
<i>Friðmann</i> , m.		
nom. s. <i>friðman</i>		
473 Law 2 Atr 3.1	subj. of <i>cuman</i>	one included in a truce
474 Law 2 Atr 3.4	subj. of <i>fleon</i>	one included in a truce
gen. pl. <i>friðmanna</i>		
475 Law 2 Atr 3	partitive	one included in a truce
<i>Cyricfrið</i> , mn.		
nom. s. <i>cyricfrið</i> , <i>ciricfrið</i>		
476 Law Abt 1.3	subj. of <i>gieldan</i>	fine for vio'n of church sanct'y

467. Rushworth has *þa sibsume 7 friðsume* for the Beatitudes' "peacemakers"; see F509.

468. *In locum munitum* glossed by *on stowum gefryðsumre*; both parallel w/ a protecting God

470, 472. *Friðapas* is not compound in C and E.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
477 Law Norgrið 2 gen. s. ciricfriðes	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	fine for vio'n of church sanct'y
478 Law Af I 2.1	possessive	fine for vio'n of church sanct'y

Friðlic, aj.acc. pl. *friðlice*

◦ 479 Law 5 Atr 3.1	DO of <i>rædan</i>	(determine) merciful (punishm'ts)
• 480 Law 6 Atr 10.1	DO of <i>rædan</i>	merciful
• 481 Law 2 Cn 2.1	DO of <i>rædan</i>	merciful

Friðsocn, f.acc. s. *friðsocne*

◦ 482 Law 8 Atr 1.1	DO of <i>secan</i>	sanctuary
483 Law 1 Cn 2.3	DO of <i>secan</i>	sanctuary

Friðoscealc, m.nom. s. *freoðoscealc*

486 Gen A, B 2301	// to subj. of <i>secgan</i>	minister of peace [angel]
nom. pl. <i>freoðoscealcas</i>		
487 Gen A, B 2498	subj. of <i>sprecan</i>	minister of peace

Friðbena, m.nom. s. *friðbena*

488 Law 5 Atr 29	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	suppliant for protection
nom. pl. <i>friðbenan</i>		
489 Law 6 Atr 36	" " " "	suppliant for protection

479, 480, 481. All are *f. steora*, which Liebermann trans. *schonende Strafen*; Robertson queries 'does this refer to substitution of mutilation for capital punishment?' (327); Whitelock affirms that it does, so that the criminal's soul may be saved (DW 1968).
 482. *swa deope friðsocne*, 'so inviolable a sanctuary': Robertson's note, and the cross-references, imply that this phrase refers to the residence of the king.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Friðgild</i> , n.		
dat. pl. <i>friðgildum</i> , <i>friðgegyldum</i>		
490 Law 6 As 1	obj. of <i>on</i>	peace association
491 Law 6 As 8.9	obj. of <i>to</i>	peace association
 <i>Friðosped</i> , f.		
acc. s. <i>freoðosped</i>		
° 492 Gen A, B 1197	DO of <i>ahebban</i>	CH: abundant peace
gen. s. <i>friðospede</i>		
493 Rid 59.3	obj. of <i>biddan</i>	peace abounding
 <i>Friðgeard</i> , m.		
nom. s. <i>friðgeard</i>		
° 494 Law Northu 54	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	sanctuary
dat. pl. <i>friðgeardum</i>		
° 495 Christ A, B, C 391	obj. of <i>in</i>	court of peace
 <i>Friðsplott</i> , m.		
dat. pl. <i>friðsplottum</i>		
° 496 W Can 1.1.1 16	obj. of <i>on w/ drifan</i>	peace-place
° 497 W Can 1.1.2 16	" " " " "	peace-place

492. CH's definition seems to fit the context better than Mason's trans., 'sagacious leadership': here the *frið*-compd. is parallel with "dominion and authority" of the people, from which the peace which is *frið*'s primary sense would arise; trans. also makes best sense for Rid 59.3 (F493).

494. Here, as in Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar (F496, 497), the law describes and forbids religious activities at what had been sacred trees, rocks, and wells.

495. In this passage, heavenly beings hover around the throne in the 'courts of peace,' an interesting use of the word in light of the comment on 494.

496, 497. Fowler offers several parallels to these passages, and sources in penitentials (26).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Friðowebbe</i> , f.		
nom. s. <i>freoðuwebbe</i>		
° 498 Beo 1940	subj. of <i>onsecan</i>	one who weaves peace
dat. s. <i>freoþuwebban</i>		
499 Wid 5	// to obj. of <i>mid</i>	weaver of peace
 <i>Friðowebba</i> , m.		
nom. s. <i>friðowebba</i>		
° 500 El 85	// w/ subj. of <i>abeodan</i>	weaver of peace
 Hapax legomena [items 428, 429, and 430 in <i>unfrið</i> -group are also hapax legomena]		
<i>Deorfrið</i> , n.		
acc. s. <i>deorfrið</i>		
° 501 Chron E 1086.23	DO of <i>settan</i>	protection for game [deer- <i>frið</i>]
<i>Fenfreoðo</i> , f.		
dat. s. <i>fenfreoðo</i>		
501.5 Beo 851	obj. of <i>in</i>	fen-refuge
<i>Ferðfriðende</i> , aj.		
nom. pl. <i>ferðfriþende</i>		
502 Rid 38.1	in subject phrase	life-saving
<i>Frið</i> , wk. aj.		
nom. s. <i>friðe</i>		
503 Rid 9.9	in subject phrase	beautiful
<i>Friða</i> , m.		
nom. s. <i>freoða</i>		
504 P Ps 70.3	// w/ subject	protector

498. Donaldson *Beowulf* p. 34 n. 3: "daughters of kings were frequently given in marriage to the king of a hostile nation in order to bring about peace."

500. Here the peace-weaver is an angel, who has come from the glorious Protector=*weard*.

501. A poetic passage with rhyme: *He sætte mycel deorfrið, & he lægde laga þær wið ...*

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Friðburg</i> , f.		
acc. s. <i>friðbyrig</i>		
505 Law 2 Atr 2.1	object of <i>to w/ ætfeon</i>	to reach town included in truce
<i>Friðcandel</i> , f.		
nom. s. <i>friðcandel</i>		
506 Gen A, B 2540	subject of <i>gan</i>	peaceful luminary [i.e., sun]
<i>Friðgeorn</i> , aj.		
nom. pl. <i>friðgeorne</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
° 509 Mt Marg (Li) 5.9	<i>pacifici</i> glossed by <i>friðgeorne</i>	peacemakers
<i>Friðgewrit</i> , m.		
nom. pl. <i>friðgewritu</i>		
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
510 Law 2 Ew 5.2	subj. of <i>secgan</i>	treaties
<i>Friðgisl</i> , m.		
acc. s. <i>friðgislas</i>		
511 Law Duns 9.1	DO of <i>lætan</i>	peace-hostages
<i>Friðhus</i> , n.		
nom. s. <i>frifhus</i>		
glossary item:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
512 Ant Gl 6 658	<i>asilum</i> glossed by <i>friðhus</i>	sanctuary
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Friðland</i> , n.		
dat. s. <i>friðlande</i>		
513 Chron E 1097.26	object of <i>innan</i>	land at peace
<i>Friðleasa</i> , m.		
acc. s. <i>friðleasan</i>		
° 514 Law 2 Cn 15	DO of <i>healdan oððe feormian</i>	to maintain or harbor outlaw

509. Lindisfarne gospel has *sibsume* & *friðgeorne* for *pacifici*, peacemakers; see F467.

514. Robertson, Laws: “the term ‘*friðleas*’ does not occur elsewhere” and cites Toller Suppl.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Friðmal</i> , n. nom. pl. <i>friðmal</i> 515 Law 2 Atr 1 Pream.	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	truce
<i>Friðobeacen</i> , n. acc. s. <i>freodobeacen</i> 516 Gen A, B 1044	DO of <i>settan</i>	sign of immunity [=protection]
<i>Friðoburh</i> , f. acc. s. <i>freoðoburh</i> 517 Beo 518	DO of <i>secan</i>	stronghold
<i>Friðosibb</i> , f. nom. s. <i>friðusibb</i> 518 Beo 2016	// w/ subject	peace pledge
<i>Friðotacn</i> , n. acc. s. <i>friðotacen</i> 519 Gen A, B 2370	DO of <i>settan</i>	sign of peace
<i>Friðoðeawas</i> , mp. nom. pl. <i>freododeawas</i> 520 Gen A, B 78	subj. comp. of <i>wesan</i>	amity, quiet
<i>Friðowang</i> , m. acc. s. <i>freoðowong</i> 521 Beo 2957	DO of <i>ofergan</i>	stronghold
<i>Friðoweard</i> , m. nom. s. <i>freoðuward</i> 522 Gu A, B 172	// to subj. of <i>wesan</i>	protector
<i>Friðscip</i> , n. dat. s. <i>friðscipe</i> 523 Law Rect 1.1	object of <i>to</i>	ship for defense
<i>Friðwite</i> , n. dat. or acc. s. <i>frithwite</i> 524 Ch 1 Wm (Dav 7)	object of <i>on</i>	penalty for violation of peace

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Mæðelfrið</i> , mn. nom. s. <i>mæthlfriþ</i> 524.5 Law Abt 1.3	subj. of <i>gielðan</i>	fine for breach of peace in meeting place
<i>Woroldfrið</i> , n. nom. s. <i>woroldfrið</i> ° 525 Law 2 Atr 1	subj. of <i>standan</i>	a general truce

520 total

N. B.: some items were eliminated as analysis revealed that they did not belong in this field, and their numbers are missing; other items were added after numbering was set up, and they get a decimal .5. I have also identified three other *frið*-words; all are anomalous in some way and have not been included in the appendix or the word counts. They are

frid Charter 1155 (Harmer 114) 3

fride Charter 783 (Birch 1277) 1.1

frihidbriche Charter II Henry (Hearne) 1

524.5 "Letters between *M* and *frið* erased; *Mæðl frið* is found in a copy of [ms.] made in 1589" (Attenborough 4).

525. Robertson thinks that this term denotes the general truce established in this law code (dated 991, immediately after the Battle of Maldon); there are many compounds on *frið* in this text, and this term would distinguish the general truce from the many individual ones set up in various districts.

APPENDIX G

The *Grið*-words arranged by forms

**Appendix G: *Grið*-words arranged by forms (nouns; verb;
compounds; hapax legomena)**

Item	Short title	Latin Word, or OE Syntactic Function	Latin Meaning or OE Meaning
<i>Grið</i> , n.			
nom. s. <i>grið</i>			
	OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
1	Law Grið 1	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	(God's) protection
2	Law I Cn 2.1	" " "	" protection
3	Law Norgrið 5	" " "	protection of a church acc'g to rank
4	Law Pax	" " "	(extent of king's) peace
° 5	Law III Atr 1	subj of standan	king's peace
6	Law Grið 31.1	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	protection (by Christ, of ev. church)
7	W Pol 2.1.1 206	" " " "	protection (rt. of sanct'y in church)
8	W Pol 2.1.2 101	" " " "	protection (same)
9	Chron C 1006.39	" " " <i>beon</i>	truce
10	Chron D 1006.42	" " " "	truce
11	Chron E 1006.41	" " " "	truce
12	Prog 5.1	" " " "	peace
acc. s. <i>grið</i> (<i>gryð</i>)			
13	Chron C 1002.3	DO of <i>settan</i>	arrange a truce
14	Chron D 1002.1.4	" " "	arrange a truce
15	Chron E 1002.3	" " "	arrange a truce
16	Chron E 1046.26	" " " *	give a safe conduct
17	Chron C 1052.39	" " "	make a truce
18	Chron D 1052.2.50	" " "	make a truce
19	Chron C 1011.10	DO of <i>niman</i>	make peace

5. "The king's peace [*grið*] shall continue to be maintained" as it was in the past, "so that breach of the peace which he establishes in person" shall be bootless [... *þæt þæt sy botleas þæt he mid his agenre hand sylð*].

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
20 Chron D 1011.10	" " "	make peace
21 Chron E 1011.10	" " "	make peace
22 Chron D 1052.1.14	" " <i>sellan</i>	grant protection
23 Chron E 1075.20	" " "	give safe conduct
24 Chron D 1076.1.21	" " "	give safe conduct
25 Law Grið 4	DO of <i>agan</i>	to have protection (for a given time)
26 Law Grið 5	" " "	to have protection " " " "
27 Chron E 1037.2	DO of <i>secan</i>	seek protection
28 Chron E 1048.78	" " "	seek protection
29 Law III Atr 1.1	DO of <i>betan</i>	pay comp. for breach of peace
30 Law III Atr 1.2	" " "	pay comp. for breach of peace
31 Chron E 1048.59	DO of <i>giefan</i>	give peace
32 Chron D 1066.1.34	" " "	give quarter
33 Ch 1110	DO of <i>habban</i>	have protection
34 Law III Atr 13	DO of <i>tobrocian</i>	break peace (of a lord)
35 Chron E 1048.76	DO of <i>sceawian</i>	grant safe conduct (for a given time)
36 Chron E 1070.24	DO of <i>biddan</i>	ask for truce
37 Chron E 1094.3	DO of <i>æftercweðan</i>	repudiate a truce
38 W Hom 10c	DO of <i>scyrðan</i>	violation of sanctuary [my trans.]
° 39 Mald 34	DO of <i>fæstnian</i>	establish truce
40 Chron D 1067.1.11	obj. of prep. <i>on</i>	under protection (with verb of motion)
acc. pl. <i>griðas</i>		
41 Chron E 1087.64	DO of <i>gyrndan</i>	ask for truce
gen. s. <i>griðes</i> (<i>gryðes</i>)		
42 Law VIII Atr 1	w/ <i>weorð & beon</i>	be entitled to exercise right of protection (church)
43 Law II Cn 82	" "	be entitled to protection

39. The Viking messenger suggests that the king "establish a truce with that gold" (Gordon 330) in the passage which Fred Robinson describes as Old English with a Scandinavian accent ("Some Aspects of ... Maldon," p. 27); see note to F207.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 44 Chron E 1095.11	" "	be entitled to protection
45 Chron E 1048.68	w/ <i>giernan</i>	ask for safe conduct
46 Chron E 1048.74	" "	ask for safe conduct
47 Chron D 1075.1.22	w/ <i>biddan</i>	ask for protection
[<i>grypes bruches</i> in Ch 1162 listed with <i>griðbryce</i> , below, item 127]		
gen. pl. <i>griða</i>		
48 Law I Cn 2.1	modifier in subj. compl.	(of all kinds of) protection
49 Law Grið 1	" " " "	(of all kinds of) protection
dat. s. <i>griðe</i> (<i>gryðe</i> , <i>grype</i>)		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
50 Bo Gl P.5.55	<i>praesidio</i> glossed by <i>on griðe</i>	under protection
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
51 Chron E 1070.17	DO of <i>secan</i>	seek protection
52 Law V Atr 10.1	obj. of <i>on w/ wesan</i>	be under special protection (of God, king)
53 Law VI Atr 13	" " " " "	be under special prot'n (of God, king)
54 Law I Cn 2.1	" " " " "	be in prot'n (of Christ himself)
55 Law Grið 31	" " " " "	be under special prot'n (of God)
56 W Pol 2.1.1 205	" " " " "	be under special prot'n (of God)
57 W Pol 2.1.2 100	" " " " "	be under special prot'n (of God)
58 Law V Atr 21	" " " " "	be under special prot'n (of God, king)
59 Law VI Atr 26	" " " " "	be under special prot'n (of God, king)
60 Hom U 40 (Nap 50)	" " " " "	be under special prot'n (of God, king)
61 Chron E 1048.81	" " " " "	under protection
62 Law I Cn 2.1	obj. of <i>on w/ witan</i>	(show respect) for protection
63 Law Grið 31.1	" " " " "	(show respect) for protection
64 W Pol 2.1.1 206	" " " " "	(show respect) for protection
65 W Pol 2.1.2 101	" " " " "	(show respect) for protection
66 W Hom 20.1	" " " " "	(show respect) for (God's) sanctuary

44. In 1095, King William, angry with Robert of Mowbray, Earl of Northumbria, who will not come to court, ordered him "to come to court at Whitsuntide if he wanted to be entitled to protection" (Whitelock 172): presumably, one must pledge loyalty to receive this special protection.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
67 W Hom 20.2	" " " " "	(show respect) for (God's) sanctuary
68 W Hom 20.3	" " " " "	(show respect) for (God's) sanctuary
◦ 69 W Hom 19	obj. of <i>on w/ wunian</i>	dwelt in peace [my trans.]
70 Chron C 1055.7	obj. of <i>on w/ underfon</i>	take (someone) into protection
71 Ch 1098	obj. of <i>on w/ standan</i>	be under protection (of God)
72 Chron C 1004.5	obj. of <i>under</i>	under (cover of the) truce
73 Chron D 1004.1.6	" " "	under (cover of the) truce
74 Chron E 1004.6	" " "	under (cover of the) truce
75 Chron C 1041.6	" " "	under a safe conduct
76 Chron D 1041.1.6	" " "	under a safe conduct
77 Chron E 1046.53	" " "	under protection
◦ 78 Law II Em 7.1	obj. of <i>mid</i> (w/ v. of motion)	under safe conduct
79 Chron E 1094.13	" " " " " " "	peaceably
80 Chron E 1095.18	" " " " " " "	with a safe conduct
81 LS 29 (Nicholas)	" " " " " " "	with protection
82 Chron C 1011.10	obj. of <i>for</i>	for (in spite of) truce
83 Chron D 1011.1.10	" " "	for (in spite of) truce
◦ 84 Chron E 1011.12	" " "	for (in spite of) truce
85 Chron D 1075.1.9	obj. of <i>of</i> (w/ v. of motion)	out of (his) jurisdiction
86 Chron D 1075.1.25	" " " " " " "	out of (their) jurisdiction
87 Law Grið 1	obj. of <i>be</i>	concerning 'grið' [in rubric]

69. Wulfstan uses three words this study is considering together: the Lord speaks to Moses, Lev. 26, *ge orsorge wuniap on lande on griðe & on friðe under minre munde*, "you will dwell safely in the land in peace and security under my protection" (my trans.).

78. The earliest use of *grið*, in a law code regulating vendetta: the heir of one slain gives security to the slayer's advocate, "... that he [the slayer] may approach under safe conduct [*mid griðe nyr*] " to pay wergeld.

84. After the English had made a truce with a harrying army, the army continued its plunder in spite of *griðe and gafol* (*griðe and friðe and gafole* in E), "all this truce and tribute" (Whitelock 91).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
Verb:		
<i>Griðian</i>		
infinitive:		
88 Law VI Atr 42.3	<i>griðian</i>	maintain security (of church)
89 Law I Cn 2	"	maintain security (of church)
90 Law I Cn 4	" completes <i>byrian</i>	to maintain security (of holy things)
◦ 91 Law Grið 3	"	able to give sanctuary (my trans.)
92 Hom U 27	<i>þurfan</i> (takes inf v) <i>griðian</i>	maintain security (of church)
93 Hom U 48	<i>griðian</i>	maintain security (of church)
94 W Hom 10c	<i>griðian</i>	to protect
95 W Hom 20.2	"	to protect
96 W Hom 20.3	"	to protect
• 97 Chron E 1093.3	<i>griðian</i>	to protect

prt. indic. 3 s.

interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
98 Ald V 1	<i>eripuit, liberavit</i> glossed by <i>griðode</i>	to free, deliver,
99 Ald V 13.1	" " " " "	to free, deliver,

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
100 W Pol 2.1.1 213	<i>gegriðode</i>	(churches) 'grithed' (Thorpe) =
101 W Pol 2.1.2 108	"	security (of churches) maintained

91. A basic concept, here in Law of Grið; the larger context reads as follows (with Thorpe's translation: *& hwilum wæran heafodstedas & healice hadas micelre mæðe & munde wyrðe & griðian mihton þa, þe þæs beðorf[ton] & þærto sohton, aa be ðære mæðe, þe þærto gebyrede*: "and formerly the chief places and exalted degrees were entitled to great dignity and 'mund' [respect and protection–Whitelock; Swanton], and could give protection [or sanctuary, my trans.] to those who needed it, and sought it, always according to the dignity which appertained thereto" (Thorpe's translation).

97. See note at 102, next page.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
• 102 Chron C 1016.90	<i>griðode</i>	come to terms
103 Chron D 1016.1.98	<i>gryðede</i>	come to terms
104 Chron E 1016.94	<i>griðede</i>	come to terms
105 Chron E 1046.21	<i>griðode</i>	make peace
106 Chron D 1063.1.1	<i>griðede</i>	make peace
107 Chron C 1066.23	<i>griðede</i>	give protection
108 Chron E 1070.1	<i>griðede</i>	make peace
109 Chron D 1071.1.1	<i>gryðode</i>	make peace
110 Chron E 1072.4	<i>griðede</i>	make peace
111 Chron D 1073.1.1	<i>gryðode</i>	make peace
112 Chron E 1087.83	<i>griðode</i>	make a truce
prt. indic. 3 pl.		
113 Law Grið 24	<i>griðedan</i>	protect (laws protect Church and ch'men)
114 Law Had 11	<i>griðedon</i>	protect " " " "
115 Chron D 1068.1.4	<i>gryðedon</i>	make peace
116 Chron E 1068.4	<i>griðedon</i>	make peace
117 Chron E 1070.3	<i>griðedon</i>	make a truce
118 Chron E 1087.50	<i>griðodon</i>	make a truce
119 Chron E 1087.78	<i>griðedon</i>	make a truce
120 Chron E 1114.4	<i>grifedon</i>	make a truce

Compounds:

Griðbryce, m.nom. s. *griðbryce*° 121 Law I Cn 3.2 subj. of *wesan* fine for violation of protection

97, 102. In these items and several Chronicle items following, *griðian* means either 'give protection' (for the winner of a conflict) or 'come to terms' (for the loser); we see these as quite different concepts, but for the Anglo-Saxons these ideas would have seemed reciprocal, more of a two-way relationship (like guest-host) and so they use the same word.

121. A basic principle: *griðbryce* (fine for breach of protection) for a principal church is equal to the payment of the fine for the king's *mund*.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
acc. s. <i>griðbryce</i>		
° 122 Law VIII Atr 4	" " "	amends for breach of protection
123 Law VIII Atr 5.1	" " "	amends for violation of protection
124 Law I Cn 3	DO of <i>betan</i>	amends for breach of protection
125 Law II Cn 15	DO of <i>agan</i>	have rcp't of fine for breach of peace
126 Law II Cn 61	DO of <i>fullwyrca</i>	be guilty of capital deed of violence

- Items in charters: *grið- griþ- gryð- gryþ- grith-*
-bryce -bryche -bryces -brice -brices -breche -breches
-breces -bruche -bruches -bruces

		Formula Type (after Harmer):
127 Ch 1162 (Harm in Clemoes) 3	<i>gryþes bruches</i>	#1 see note below.
128 Rec 6.10 (Stanley) 2	<i>griðbrices</i>	#1
129 Ch 783 (Birch 1277) 1.1	<i>griþbrice</i>	
130 Ch 986 (Harm 28) 3	<i>griðbryces</i>	#1
131 Ch 1065 (Harm 4) 3	<i>griðbryce</i>	#1
132 Ch 1078 (Harm 18) 7	<i>grithbreche</i>	#3
133 Ch 1084 (Harm 24) 6	<i>griðbryce</i>	#3
134 Ch 1088 (Harm 33) 4	<i>griþbrices</i>	#1
135 Ch 1089 (Harm 34) 4	<i>griðbrices</i>	#1
136 Ch 1091 (Harm 38) 2	<i>griðbrices</i>	#1
137 Ch 1093 (Harm 40) 2	<i>grit[h]bruche</i>	#1
138 Ch 1094 (Harm 41) 3	<i>griðbruche</i>	#1

122. Amends for breach of the church's protection are made according to the nature of the offense and in proportion to the status of the church.

Items in charters: as these important documents were copied by scribes not literate in Old English and as the language lost its inflectional endings, the spelling of this term showed great variations; I have listed them here in a group and not tried to sort out their inflections. Where it is possible, the formulas are analyzed according to the types identified by F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 2nd ed. (Stamford: P. Watkins, 1989) 63-64; these are explained more fully in the text of Chapter 4, Section 3, above.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
139 Ch 1095 (Harm 42) 6	<i>griðbruche</i>	#2
140 Ch 1100 (Harm 47) 3	<i>gryþbryce</i>	#1
141 Ch 1109 (Harm 61) 3	<i>griðbryce</i>	#1
142 Ch 1125 (Harm 81) 3	<i>griþbryce</i>	#1
143 Ch 1126 (Harm 82) 3	<i>griðbrice</i>	#1
144 Ch 1127 (Harm 83) 3	<i>grithbrice</i>	#1
145 Ch 1142 (Harm 98) 12	<i>griðbryce</i>	#4
146 Ch 1146 (Harm 102) 13	<i>griðbrice</i>	#4
147 Ch 1148 (Harm 104) 9	<i>griðbrice</i>	#4
148 Ch 1149 (Harm 105) 2	<i>gryðbrice</i>	#1
149 Ch 1150 (Harm 106) 2	<i>grit[h]brice</i>	#1
150 Ch I Hen (Birch) 8	<i>grithbreces</i>	
151 Ch I Hen (Gibbs 23) 2	<i>griþbrice</i>	#1
152 Ch I Hen (PRO 1907 10) 5	<i>grithbreces</i>	#1
153 Ch I Hen (Somner) 8	<i>griðbreces</i>	
153.5 Ch II Hen (PRO 1912 3) 9	<i>grihbreches</i>	
153.6 Ch II Hen (Heame) 1	<i>grihbriche</i>	
154 Ch I Wm (Davis 7) 1	<i>grithbryche</i>	#3
155 Ch I Wm (Hardwick) 4	<i>griðbryces</i>	#1
156 Ch I Wm (Hunt 2) 3	<i>griðbryce</i>	#1
157 Ch I Wm (PRO 1907 3) 1	<i>grithbruces</i>	#1
158 Ch I Wm (PRO 1908 2) 2	<i>grithbrice</i>	
159 Ch II Wm (Gibbs 9) 2	<i>griðbrice</i>	
159.5 Ch II Wm (PRO 1906) 22	<i>gridbreches</i>	
160 Ch Steph (PRO 1912 2) 8	<i>griðbreches</i>	
161 Ch Taunton (Rob App I 4) 3	<i>griþbrice</i>	
162 Ch Taunton (Rob App I 4) 10	<i>griðbrice</i>	
163 Ch Taunton (Rob App 4) 16	<i>griðbrice</i>	
164 Ch Taunton (Rob App I 4) 20	<i>griðbrice</i>	

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>*Cyricgrið</i> n.		
nom. s. <i>ciricgrið</i> (<i>cyricgrið</i>)		
165 Law VIII Atr 4	subj. of <i>beon</i>	protection of church
166 Law Norgrið 8	subj. of <i>beon</i>	fine for violation of right of sanctuary
167 Law VI Atr 14	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	right of sanctuary (w/in) church
168 Law I Cn 3	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	protection of church
169 Law Grið 31.1 "	" "	right of sanctuary (w/in) church
170 W Pol 2.1.1 206	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	right of sanctuary (w/in) church
171 W Pol 2.1.2 101	" " "	right of sanctuary (w/in) church
172 Law E Gu 1	subj. of <i>standan</i>	sanctuary (w/in) church
173 Law I Cn 2.2	" " "	protection by church
174 Law Grið 2	" " "	right of sanctuary (w/in) church
175 Hom U 40	" " "	right of sanctuary (w/in) church
176 Hom U 41	" " "	sanctuary (w/in) church
177 W Pol 2.1.1 205	" " "	right of sanctuary (w/in) church
178 W Pol 2.1.2 100	" " "	right of sanctuary (w/in) church
acc. s. <i>ciricgrið</i> (<i>cyricgrið</i>)		
179 Law VIII Atr 1.1	DO of <i>abrecan</i>	violate protection of church
180 Law I Cn 2.3	" " "	violate protection of church
181 Law Northu 19	" " "	violate protection of church
182 Law VIII Atr 3	DO of <i>betan</i>	[amends for] violation of prot'n of church
183 Law I Cn 2.5	" " "	[amends for] violation of prot'n of church
 <i>*Handgrið</i> n.		
nom. s. <i>handgrið</i>		
184 Law E Gu 1	subj. of <i>standan</i>	prot'n granted (by king) in person
185 Law I Cn 2.2	" " "	prot'n granted (by king) in person
186 Law Grið 2	" " "	prot'n granted (by king) in person

Cyricgrið. 'church-grið,' G172-178, G167, occurs in formulaic conjunction with 'king's hand-grið,' G184-190, G191, respectively; translation: *cyricgrið*, right of sanctuary within the walls of a church, and *cyninges handgrið*, protection granted by king in person, shall remain equally inviolate.

Handgrið. see note on *cyricgrið*.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
187 Hom U 40	" " "	prot'n granted (by king) in person
188 Hom U 41	" " "	prot'n granted (by king) in person
189 W Pol 2.1.1 205	" " "	prot'n granted (by king) in person
190 W Pol 2.1.2 100	" " "	prot'n granted (by king) in person
191 Law VI Atr 14	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	prot'n granted (by king) in person

*Griðleas*dat. s. *griðleas*

192 W Hom 20.1	obj. of <i>to</i> : subj comp of <i>wesan</i>	(sanctuaries) are violated
193 W Hom 20.2	" " " " " " "	(sanctuaries) are violated
194 W Hom 20.3	" " " " " " "	(sanctuaries) are violated

Hapax legomena:

Hadgrið n.acc. s. *hadgrið*

195 Law Grið 19	DO of <i>healdan</i>	CH–privilege re: peace of holy orders
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Hælnesgrið n.acc. s. *hælnesgrið*

196 Law Grið 19	" " "	CH–peace privileges attaching to a sanctuary
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Griðlagu f.nom. s. *griðlagu*

197 Law Grið 9	subj. of <i>standan</i>	Thorpe–'grið'-law (stands)
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*Ungrið*dat. s. *ungride*

198 Ch 1098	obj. of <i>on</i> w/ <i>standan</i>	(incur) enmity (of God)
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201 items (with addition of items 153.1, 153.2, 159.5)

APPENDIX B

The *Borg*-words arranged by forms

Appendix B: Borg-words arranged by forms (nouns; verbs; compounds; hapax legomena)

Item	Short title	Latin Word, or OE Syntactic Function	Latin Meaning or OE Meaning
<i>Borg</i> , m.			[© = with purpose clause]
nom. s. <i>borg</i> , <i>borh</i> , <i>boroh</i>			
glossary item:		Latin word:	Latin meaning:
° 1	Æ Gram	<i>fenus</i> glossed by <i>borh</i>	interest
2	Cl Gl 1	<i>fænus</i> glossed by <i>borh</i>	interest
3	Cl Gl 3	<i>fenus</i> glossed by <i>borg</i>	interest
4	Corp Gl 2	<i>fænus</i> glossed by <i>borh</i>	interest
5	Hl Gl	<i>fenus usura; lucrum</i> glossed by <i>borg</i>	interest; money
6	Erf Gl 1	<i>vas</i> glossed by <i>borg</i>	surety
7	Ep Gl	<i>vadimonium</i> glossed by <i>borg</i>	promise secured by <i>vas</i> (surety)
° 8	Cl Gl 1	<i>bux</i> ?? glosses <i>borg</i>	??
OE item:		syntactic function:	OE meaning:
9	Law I Atr 1.7	subj. of <i>gielðan</i>	surety
10	Law III Atr 6.2	" " "	surety
11	Law II Cn 30.6	" " "	surety
° 12	Law II Cn 20	subj. of <i>gehealdan</i> , <i>gelædan</i>	surety
13	Law III Eg 6	" " " "	surety
14	Law III Eg 6.1	subj. of <i>aberan</i>	surety
15	Law I Atr 1	subj. of <i>healdan</i>	surety
° 16	Ch 1460	subj. of <i>sweotolian</i>	surety
17	Æ Cath Hom II 3	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	surety ©
18	GD Pref 3(c)	" " " "	surety

1. Ælfric's Grammar is not a glossary, but the lists of words in paradigms seem to be most like that category of the four in use here; this one reads in part *Sume habbað scortne o: tempus tima, temporis; ...nemus holt, nemoris; fenus borh, fenoris* etc. See also 124, 125.

8. *Bux*? same glossary as 145.

12. "Everyone shall be brought within a hundred and under surety, and his surety shall hold and bring him to the performance of every legal duty" (Robertson *Laws* 184-85); see 37.

16. A charter drawn up by Wulfstan settling his dispute with Bishop Athelstan.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
° 19 Ch Peterbor	subj. compl. of <i>wesan</i>	surety
20 Law Af I 1.8	" " " "	surety
nom. pl. <i>borgas</i>		
21 Law V As Procl. 1.3	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	sureties (pledges)
acc. s. <i>borg, borh</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
° 22 Sed Gl 2	<i>venerantur</i> [<i>fenerantur</i>] = <i>borg gildað</i>	to lend on interest
23 Mt Gl (Ru) 5.42	<i>mutuor</i> glossed by <i>niman on borg</i>	borrow
glossary item:		
° 24 Ant Gl 2	<i>res credita</i> glosses on <i>borg geseald</i>	loaned things
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
25 Law E Gu 3	DO of <i>findan</i>	to find surety
26 Law III Eg 7	" " "	to find a surety
27 Law VIII Atr 27	" " "	to find surety ©
28 Law I Cn 5.3	" " "	to find surety ©
29 Law II Cn 25	" " "	to find a surety
30 Law II Cn 36.1	" " "	to find surety ©
31 Law Grið 17	" " "	to find a surety
° 32 W Pol 6.1	" " "	to find surety ©
° 33 Law Af I 3	DO of <i>abrecan</i>	to violate protection

19. *þa was him boroh* [list of names]: see 128, 132 for similar variant spelling, all from Peterborough Charter.

22. *venerantur*, i.e. *fenerantur*.

24. *on borh* is 'as a loan', so, "goods loaned or given as a loan" or "sold with surety": all such transactions required a surety (see note to 37). According to the editors, the Latin term is in "a series of terms belonging to Roman law, which appears to be quite out of its place ..." in a glossary of Ælfric (Wright and Wülker I.116).

32. "Winchester glossator: *plegges*" – Wulfstan editor Jost's note on this *borh*; OED gives 'plege plegge' as late Middle English forms for 'pledge.'

33. This passage in Alfred's Law (with items 73, 74, 75, 142) and II Cn 58 (items 34, 35, 36) are the two passages in which *borg* is used as a synonym for *mund*.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 34 Law II Cn 58	DO of <i>abrecan</i>	to violate protection
◦ 35 Law II Cn 58.1	" " "	to violate protection
◦ 36 Law II Cn 58.2	" " "	to violate protection
◦ 37 Law III Eg 6	DO of <i>habban</i>	to have a surety
38 Law I Atr 1	" " "	to have a surety
39 Law I Atr 3	" " "	to have a surety
40 Law II Atr 9.1	" " "	to have security
41 Law II Ew 3.2	DO of <i>nabban</i>	not to have security
42 Law I Atr 4.1	" " "	not to have surety
43 Law II Cn 33.1	" " "	not to have surety
44 Law II Cn 35	" " "	not to have surety
45 Law V Atr 20	DO of <i>sculan</i>	owe a debt
46 Law VI Atr 25.2	" " "	owe a debt
47 Law I Cn 17.3	" " "	owe a debt
48 Ch 1488	DO of <i>agioldan</i>	pay a debt
49 Hom M 11	DO of <i>astandan</i>	endure a debt
50 Ch 1488	DO of <i>forgiefan</i>	forgive a debt
51 Law II Atr 8	DO of <i>settan</i>	to furnish surety ©
52 Law II As 1.3	obj. of <i>on w/ gan</i>	to stand as surety ©
53 Law II As 6.1	" " " " "	to stand surety ©
54 Law VI As 12.2	" " " " "	to stand surety
55 Ch 1461	obj. of <i>on w/ gan</i>	to act as security
56 Law II Ew 3	obj. of <i>on w/ niman</i>	to stand surety ©
57 Law II Ew 3.1	" " " " "	to stand surety
58 Law II As 7	" " " " "	to stand surety
59 Law VI As 12.2	" " " " "	to stand surety ©
60 Law II As 20.1	obj. of <i>on w/ settan</i>	to place under surety
61 Law II As 20.4	" " " " "	to place under surety

34. King's protection (see 73).

35. Archbishop's or *æðeling's* protection (see 74).

36. Bishop's or ealdorman's protection (see 75).

37. "Every man shall see that he has a surety"—the basic legal concept here; see 12.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 62 CP 28	obj. of <i>on w/ began</i>	to pledge oneself [CH]
◦ 63 CP 13	obj. of <i>on w/ beran</i>	to be responsible for
64 Law II Cn 20	obj. of <i>on w/ bringan</i>	to bring under surety
65 Law VI As 1.4	obj. of <i>on w/ habban</i>	to stand surety ©
66 Hom S 14	obj. of <i>under w/ sellan</i>	to give under security
acc. pl. <i>borgas</i>		
67 Law I Atr 1.5	DO of <i>settan</i>	to appoint sureties ©
68 Law II Cn 30.3	" " "	to appoint sureties ©
◦ 69 Th Cap 1	DO of <i>asecan</i>	to demand payment from debtors
70 Ch 1489	DO of <i>scyttan</i>	to pay debts
gen. s. <i>borges</i>		
glossary item:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
◦ 71 Ant Gl 2	<i>inficiatio vel abiuratio</i> = <i>borges ansæc</i>	to deny a debt or to deny an oath
◦ 72 Cl Gl 1	<i>inficiatio et abiuratio</i> = <i>borges andsaca</i>	to deny a debt or to deny an oath
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 73 Law Af I 3	<i>borges bryce w/ gebetan</i>	to pay compensation for violation of protection
◦ 74 Law Af I 3.1	" " " "	to pay comp. for vio'n of prot'n
◦ 75 Law Af I 3.2	" " " "	to pay comp. for vio'n of prot'n
76 Law Ine Rb	<i>borges ondsæc</i>	repudiation of bail

62. *Forðæm ðu eart on borg began ðinum friend* Sweet translates as "because thou hast pledged thyself to thy friend."

63. Sweet translates "let those consider how pure they ought to be who carry in their breasts the ever living vessels to the eternal temple on their own responsibility"; *on hira agenne borg* here seems analogous to *on his agenon borge* in 90 and 91 below where the lord acts as surety for the men of his own household.

69. The Latin version [elsewhere in the manuscript] of this passage and item 79 below confirm that what is being condemned here is demanding payment from a debtor on fast days; item 84, in the introduction to Alfred's laws, condemns the same practice.

71, 72. see 76, 77: the same OE phrase is equivalent to the two Latin phrases.

73, 74, 75. see 33, 34, 35, 36, and 142.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
77 Law Ine 41	<i>borges oðsacan</i>	to repudiate bail
78 Hom M 11	<i>borges alætan</i>	to pardon a debt
gen. pl. <i>borga</i>		
° 79 Th Cap 1	<i>borga manian</i>	to make claims on debtors
dat. s. <i>borge</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
° 80 Occ Gl 49	<i>mutuum</i> glossed by <i>to borge</i>	borrower
glossary items:		
° 81 Ant Gl 2	<i>Ipotheca</i> glossed by <i>feohlænung butan borge</i> (OE: lending w/o surety)	
82 Cl Gl 1	<i>mutuo</i> glossed by <i>borge</i>	loan
83 Cl Gl 1	<i>fenore</i> glossed by <i>borge</i>	interest
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
° 84 Law Af E1 34.2	obj. of <i>to w/ sellan</i>	to give as a loan, to lend
85 Mart 5	" " " " "	to give as a loan
86 Ps 36.25	" " " " "	to give as a loan
87 Ps 36.20	" " " " "	to give as a loan
° 88 Law Wif 6	obj. of <i>to w/ fon</i>	to take possession of the 'borh' (deposit)
° 89 Law I Ew 1.5	obj. of <i>to w/ settan</i>	to place under distraint

79. like 69, condemns demanding payment for a loan on fast days; see 84.

80. *mutuum* aj. m/n nom/acc s. 'in exchange'; noun n. nom/acc s. something borrowed, obtained on loan. Prov. 22.10 in DOE fiche (22.7).

81. *Ipotheca* = pledge, security for a loan; OED s.v. *hypothec*: "a security established by law in favor of a creditor over a subject belonging to his debtor, while the subject continues in the debtor's possession." Anglo-Saxon property transactions must have a *borg*, so one without a *borg* would be incomplete. In same list referred to in 24.

84. "If you give money as a loan to your friend who will live with you, do not press him as a needling and don't oppress him with the interest."

88. in this case, the *borh* was the deposit the bride's family had made; & *fo to þam borge se ðe ðæs weddes waldend sy* –and let him take possession of the 'borh' who has control of the 'wed' (Thorpe).

89. to place under distraint is to put a claim on goods to get their value for a debt; forbidden by II Cn 27 (Attenborough 204; Thorpe 68).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
° 90 Law II Cn 31	obj. of <i>on w/ habban</i>	to be responsible as surety
° 91 Law I Atr 1.10	" " " " "	to be responsible as surety
92 Law II Cn 20	obj. of <i>on w/ gebringan</i>	to bring under surety
93 Law II Cn 33	obj. of <i>under w/ gebringan</i>	to place under surety ©
94 Law I Atr 4	obj. of <i>under w/ gebringan</i>	to place under surety ©
95 Law IV Eg 3	obj. of <i>under w/ wesan</i>	to be under surety

*Borghiend, m.*nom. s. (*borghiend, borgiend, borgigend*)

interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
° 96 Ps Gl D 108.11	<i>fenerator</i> glossed by <i>borghiend</i>	lender, usurer
97 Ps Gl G 108.11	" " " "	lender, usurer
98 Ps Gl K 108.11	" " " "	lender, usurer
99 Occ Gl 50.1 (Ps 108.11)	" " " "	lender, usurer
100 Ps Gl H 108.11	" " " <i>borgiend</i>	lender, usurer
° 101 Ps Gl J 108.11	<i>venerator</i> glossed by <i>borgigend</i>	lender, usurer

Verbs/verbals

Borgian

° 102 Ps Gl D 36.21	<i>mutuatur</i> glossed by <i>borgað</i>	to borrow
103 Ps Gl E 36.21	<i>mutuatur</i> glossed by <i>borgað</i>	to borrow
104 Ps Gl G 36.21	<i>mutuabitur</i> glossed by <i>borgað</i>	to borrow
105 Ps Gl H 36.21	<i>mutuabitur</i> glossed by <i>borgað</i>	to borrow
106 Ps Gl I 36.21	<i>mutuabitur</i> glossed by <i>borgað</i>	to borrow
107 Ps Gl J 36.21	<i>mutuabitur</i> glossed by <i>borgað</i>	to borrow
108 Ps Gl K 36.21	<i>mutuabitur</i> glossed by <i>borgað</i>	to borrow
109 Ald V 1	<i>sequestra</i> glossed by <i>borgiendre</i>	female depositary, trustee
110 Ald V 13.1	<i>sequestra</i> glossed by <i>borgiendre</i>	female depositary, trustee

90, 91. see 63.

96. Ps 108.11: *Scrutetur fenerator omnem substantiam eius et diripiant alieni omnes labores eius. /Ascrudnie borghiend ealle spede his & reafien fremde ealle geswinc his.*101. *venerator*, i.e. *fenerator*.102. Ps 36.21: *Mutuatur peccator et non soluet iustus autem miseretur et commodat. Borgað se synfulla agylt se ryhtwisa ofearmað & alenð.*

glossary item:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
° 111 Ps Gl F 108.11	<i>foenerator</i> glossed by <i>borgiende w/ wesan</i>	to keep borrowing
112 Cl Gl 1	<i>commodarent</i> glossed by <i>borgedan</i>	to lend
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
113 Mt (WSCp) 5.42	<i>borgian</i> completes <i>willan</i>	to want to borrow
114 Ps 36.20	<i>borgiað</i>	to borrow
<i>Aborgian</i>		
115 Law Wif 1	& <i>aborgian his frind ðæt.</i>	to guarantee
116 Law Wif 2	& <i>hit aborgian his frynd.</i>	to guarantee
117 Law Wif 5	& <i>aborgian frynd þæt.</i>	to guarantee
118 Law II As 20.5	<i>aborgie</i>	to act as surety
119 Ch 1211	<i>aborgude æt Godan</i>	to borrow from Godan
<i>Onborgian</i>		
° 120 Ch 1387	<i>onborgede æt Beorhnoðe</i>	to borrow from Beorhnoð
° 121 Rec 28.4	<i>onborgede at Beorhtnoðe</i>	to borrow from Beorhtnoð

Compounds

Borhhand, fm.nom. s. *borhhand*, *borhhond*, *boruhhand*

interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
° 122 Occ Gl 49	<i>fideiussor</i> glossed by <i>borhhond</i>	one who gives surety
glossary item:		
123 Ant Gl 6	<i>sponsor, præ, fideiussor, vas,</i> glossed by <i>borhhand</i>	bondsman, surety

111. of the several versions here for Ps 108.11, this one has *syn hi borgiende ealle spede his* “may they keep borrowing all his money” (“they” being the strangers of the verse’s second half) rather than *ascrudnie borhgiend ealle speda his* “may the usurer search all his substance.”

120, 121. *onborgian* used only in these 2 manuscript versions of the same charter.

122. Prov. 20.18 in DOE fiche (20.16).

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
◦ 124 Æ Gram	<i>vas</i> glossed by <i>borhhand</i>	surety
◦ 125 Æ Gram	<i>praes</i> glossed by <i>borhhand</i>	surety
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
126 Ch Peterbor	subj. compl. w/ <i>wesan</i>	security
◦ 127 Ch Peterbor	" " " "	surety
◦ 128 Ch Peterbor	subj. compl. w/ <i>wesan</i>	security
129 Ch Peterbor	" " " "	security
130 Ch Peterbor	" " " "	security
nom. pl. <i>borhhanda, boruhhanda</i>		
131 Ch Peterbor	subj. compl. w/ <i>wesan</i>	sureties
◦ 132 Hom S 49	" " " "	sureties
133 LS 23 Mary of Eg.	obj. of <i>to</i>	security
dat. s. <i>borhhande</i>		
interlinear gloss:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
*134 Occ Gl 49	<i>vas</i> glossed by <i>borhhande</i>	surety
<i>Borggelda, m.</i>		
nom. s. <i>borggelda, borggylda</i>		
135 Ps Gl A 108.11	<i>fenerator</i> glossed by <i>borggelda</i>	lender, usurer
136 Ps Gl B 108.11	<i>fenerator</i> glossed by <i>borggelda</i>	lender, usurer
137 Ps Gl C 108.11	<i>fenerator</i> glossed by <i>borggylda</i>	lender, usurer
dat. s. <i>borggeldum, borhgeldum</i>		
◦ 138 Ps Ca A 1	<i>debitoribus</i> glossed by <i>borggeldum</i>	debtor
◦ 139 Hy Gl 2	<i>debitoribus</i> glossed by <i>borhgeldum</i>	debtor

124, 125. see 1.

127. Scandinavian *festermen* equivalent to, and used here interchangeably with, *borhhand*. (Robertson Laws 330).

128. *boruhhand* in Peterborough Charter; see also 19, 132.

132. *boruhhanda* in Hom S 49 (Brot 2): Dedication of a Church [not seen]. See also 19, 128.

134. Prov. 22.41 in DOE fiche (22.26).

138, 139. same Latin hymn; OE slightly different.

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Borgbryce</i> , m.		
nom. s. <i>borgbryce</i>		
140 Law Ine 31	subj. of <i>wesan</i>	compensation for violation of surety
acc. s. <i>borgbryce</i>		
141 Law Af I 1.8	DO of <i>betan</i>	compensation for violation of bail
dat. s. <i>borgbryce</i>		
° 142 Law Af Rb 3	object of <i>be</i>	re: violation of king's protection
<i>Borhfæst</i> , adj.		
nom. s. <i>borhfæst</i>		
143 LS 35 (Vit Patr)	subj. compl. w/ <i>wesan</i>	to be bound by pledge or surety
OE item:		
nom. pl. <i>borhfæste</i>		
144 Chron D 1052	subj. compl. w/ <i>wesan</i>	to be bound by pledge or surety
verb formed on adj: <i>geborhfæstan</i>		
glossary item: Latin word:		
° 145 Cl Gl 1	<i>intertiare</i> ?? glossed by <i>geborhfæstan</i>	(OE: to bind by pledge or surety)
<i>Werborg</i> , m.		
OE item:		
acc. s. <i>wærborh</i>		
146 Law II Em 7.2	DO of <i>findan</i>	to find surety for payment of <i>wergeld</i>
147 Law Wer 3	" " "	to find surety for payment of <i>wergeld</i>
dat. s. <i>werborge</i>		
148 Law Wer 3	object of <i>to</i>	as a surety for payment or <i>wergeld</i>
<i>Inborh</i> , m.		
acc. s. <i>inborh</i>		
149 Law II Ew 3.1	DO of <i>toberan</i>	to make security
150 Law Duns 8	DO of <i>settan</i>	to place security

142. see also 33 (and 34, 35, 36; 73, 74, 75).

145. ? Could this possibly be *inter* + *tueor* watch, guard, protect?

OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Godborg</i> , m. gen. s. <i>godborges</i>		
◦ 151 Law Af I 33 dat. pl. <i>godborgum</i>	w/ <i>oncunnan</i>	a pledge under sanction of God
◦ 152 Law Af Rb	object of <i>be</i>	re: pledge under the sanction of God

Hapax legomena

glossary item:	Latin word:	Latin meaning:
<i>Borggilefde</i> nom./acc. s.		
153 Corp Gl 2	<i>vadimonium</i> glossed by <i>borggilefde</i>	promise secured by <i>vas</i> (surety)
<i>Borgwedd</i> , n. nom./acc. s.		
154 Cl Gl 2	<i>vadimonium</i> glossed by <i>borgwed</i>	promise secured by <i>vas</i> (surety)
OE item:	syntactic function:	OE meaning:
<i>Borhleas</i> , adj. acc. s. <i>borhleas</i>		
155 Law III Atr 5	w/ <i>habban</i>	to possess something w/o a surety
<i>Borgsorg</i> , f. nom. s.		
◦ 156 Rim 61	<i>borgsorg biteð</i>	anxiety about money-matters gnaws at one

Lindgeborga

nom. s.

151, 152. *Godborg*, occurring here only, “contrasted with *mennisc borg* [Af 1.8]” is “an appeal to God instead of a human surety” (Attenborough 196).

156. ‘borrow-sorrow’; E. G. Stanley (in “Studies in the Prosaic Vocabulary of Old English Verse,” *NM* 72: 402-3) considers whether the ms. *burg sorg* actually needed to be emended, then seems to concur with the editors’ good sense.

OE item:
 ° 157 Elene 11

syntactic function:

OE meaning:

*Wæs se leodhwata lindgeborga
 eorlum arfæst.*

The valiant one was a protecting
 shield, respected by the nobles.

N. B.: The *burhbryce* in 4 Atr 4.1 “can hardly be anything but a corruption of *borgbryce* (cf. Af 3)” (Robertson, Laws 325). This occurrence was discovered late and was not included in the word counts above.

157. Grein’s emendation from *leodhwata lindgeborga* to *lindhwata leodgeborga* (the shield-valiant one [was] a protector of the people) makes the best sense of the several suggestions in Krapp’s notes, ASPR II 132; however, I see no need to emend.

APPENDIX Ω

Locations of Words in the Titles of the Other Category

Appendix Q; Locations of Words in the Titles of the Other Category

Short Title	<i>Mund</i>-words (Protection)	<i>Frið</i>-words (Protection- + Peace-sense)*	<i>Grið</i>-words	<i>Borg</i>-words [Surety + Debt]†	Total
POETIC;					
Andreas	3 [2 hand]	6+5 [1 set free]			9+5
Beowulf	2 [10 hand]	3+5			5+5
Capt	1				1+0
Christ A, B, C	3	5+2			8+2
D Alf		0+1			0+1
Daniel		6+0			6+0
Dream	1				1+0
Elene	[1 hand]	2+2			2+2
Exodus		1+0			1+0
Exhort	1				1+0
Fates		0+1			0+1
Gen A, B	5 [3 hand]	2+17			7+17
Glor I		1+0			1+0
Guth A, B	6	7+2			13+2
Hell	1	1+0			2+0
Judith	1 [1 hand]	1+0			2+0
Juliana	3	1+1			4+1
Kt Ps	1				1+0
L Pr II	1				1+0
Maldon		1+2	0+1		1+3
Max I	[1 hand]				
M Charm 1:		1+0			1+0
9:	1				1+0

*applies in *frið*, *grið*, and Total columns

†[minor senses in brackets]

Short Title	<i>Mund</i> -words (Protection)	<i>Frið</i> -words (Protection- + Peace-sense)*	<i>Grið</i> -words (+ Peace-sense)*	<i>Borg</i> -words [Surety + Debt]†	Total
(Poetic, cont'd)					
M Charm 11:		2+0			2+0
Met Ep	[1 hand]				
Meters		1+1			1+1
M Ps		1+0			1+0
Partridge		0+1			0+1
Phoenix	[1 hand]	2+0			2+0
Paris Psalter	4	5+3			9+3
Resignation	1	1+0			2+0
Riddle 9:		1+1			1+1
15	[1 hand]				
16:		1+0			1+0
17:	1				1+0
38:		1+0			1+0
59:		0+1			0+1
73:		0+1			0+1
87:	[1 hand]				
91:		1+0			1+0
Riming Poem		1+0		[1 debt]	1+0
Satan		1+0			1+0
Seasons		0+1			0+1
Widsith	—	<u>0+1</u>	—	—	<u>0+1</u>
Totals:	36	56+48	0+1		92+49
		104			141
	[22 hand]	[1 set free]		[1 debt]	[24 items in minor senses]

165 total

*applies in *frið*, *grið*, and Total columns

†[minor senses in brackets]

Short Title	<i>Mund</i> -words (Protection)	<i>Frið</i> -words (Protection- + Peace-sense)*	<i>Grið</i> -words	<i>Borg</i> -words [Surety + Debt]†	Total
RELIGIOUS PROSE;					
Ælfric;					
Æ Abus Mor	1				1+0
Æ C H I 19:	1				1+0
23:	2				2+0
24:	1				1+0
26:	1				1+0
34:	1				1+0
Æ C H II 3:				[1 surety]	
7:	1				1+0
10:		1+0			1+0
11:		1+0			1+0
Æ Gen Ep		0+3			0+3
Æ Gram				[2 surety + 1 debt]	
Æ Hom 22		1+0			1+0
Æ Hom M 14:		0+2			0+2
15: 1		0+2			1+2
Æ Let 4		0+1			0+1
Æ L S Ab. & Sen.		0+1			0+1
Apoll.	1	0+1			1+1
Augs.	1				1+0
Eug'a	1	[1 free]			1+0
Macc's	1	0+2			1+2
Mark	1				1+0
Martin		1+0			1+0
Preface	1				1+0
Sebas'n	1				1+0
Thomas		0+1			0+1
L S 8 (Eustace)	1				1+0
23 (Mary Eg.)	4			[1 surety]	4+0

*applies in *frið*, *grið*, and Total columns

†[minor senses in brackets]

Short Title	<i>Mund</i> -words (Protection)	<i>Frið</i> -words (Protection- + Peace-sense)*	<i>Grið</i> -words (Protection- + Peace-sense)*	<i>Borg</i> -words [Surety + Debt]†	Total
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(Religious Prose, cont'd)**Gregory;**

GD 1 (C)	3				3+0
(H)	1	1+0			2+0
GD 2 (C)	1				1+0
GD Pref 3 (C)	1	1+0		[1 surety]	2+0
GD Pref 4 (C)	2	[1 free]			2+0
CP		2+0		[2 surety]	2+0

Wulfstan;

Conf.	1				1+0
W Can 1:		1+0			1+0
2:		1+0			1+0
W Hom 10c:			2+0		2+0
19:	2	1+1	0+1		3+2
20.1:	1		2+0		3+0
20.2:	1		3+0		4+0
20.3:	1		3+0		4+0
Hom U 38:	1				1+0
40:	2	1+3	3+0		6+3
41:		0+2	2+0		2+2
48:		1+0	0+1		1+1
W Pol 2.1.1:	1	2+1	7+0		10+1
2.1.2:	1	1+1	7+0		9+1
6.1:				[1 surety]	
6.2	1				1+0

*applies in *frið*, *grið*, and Total columns

†[minor senses in brackets]

Short Title	Mund-words (Protection)	Frið-words (Protection- + Peace-sense)*	Grið-words	Borg-words [Surety + Debt]†	Total
(Religious Prose, cont'd)					
Anonymous;					
Ben Rule W		1+0			1+0
Hom M 1:	1				1+0
11:				[2 debt]	
Hom S 7:		1+0			1+0
14:				[1 surety]	
25:		0+1			0+1
39:	1				1+0
40.1:		1+0			1+0
		[2 free]			
40.2:		[1 free]			
40.3:		1+0			1+0
		[2 free]			
47:		1+0			1+0
49:				[1 surety]	
Hom U 3:		1+0			1+0
27:		1+0	0+1		1+1
35.2:	[1 hand]				
37:		1+0			1+0
L S 12:	1				1+0
18.1:	1				1+0
18.2 :	2				2+0
24:	1	1+0			2+0
25:	2				2+0
28:		0+1			0+1
29:			1+0		1+0
32:	1				1+0
35:	1			[1 surety]	1+0
Lit 4.2		1+0			1+0
Mart 5	1	1+0		[1 debt]	2+0
	[1 hand]				
Th Cap				[2 debt]	

Short Title	<i>Mund</i> -words (Protection)	<i>Frið</i> -words (Protection- + Peace-sense)*	<i>Grið</i> -words (Protection- + Peace-sense)*	<i>Borg</i> -words [Surety + Debt]†	Total
-------------	------------------------------------	--	--	--	-------

(Religious Prose, cont'd)

Totals:	53	27+23	30+3		110+26
		50	33		136
	[2 hand]	[7 free]		[11 surety + 6 debt]	[26 items in minor senses] 162 total

BIBLE TRANSLATIONS;

Genesis		1+0			1+0
Genesis (Ker)		1+0			1+0
Joshua		1+3			1+3
Judges		0+1			0+1
Psalms (prose psalter)		10+0			10+0
		[24 free]	[3 debt]		
Ps Heading	1	1+0			2+0
		[4 free]			
Mt (WSCp)				[1 debt]	
Mt Marg (Li)	—	<u>0+1</u>	—	—	<u>0+1</u>
Totals:	1	14+5			15+5
		19			20
		[28 free]		[4 debt]	[32 items in minor senses] 52 total

*applies in *frið*, *grið*, and Total columns

†[minor senses in brackets]

Short Title	<i>Mund</i> -words (Protection)	<i>Frið</i> -words (Protection- + Peace-sense)*	<i>Grið</i> -words	<i>Borg</i> -words [Surety + Debt]†	Total
MISCELLANEOUS;					
Boethius	1	4+0			5+0
Byrhtferth's M	1				1+0
Lch I (Herb)		1+0			1+0
Prog. 4		0+1			0+1
Prog. 5.1			0+1		0+1
Record 10.8	1				1+0
28.4				[1 debt]	
Rev'l Monast.	—	<u>2+0</u>	—	—	<u>2+0</u>
Totals:	3	7+1	0+1		10+2
		8			12
				[1 debt]	[1 minor sense item]
					13 total

SUMMARY;

Poetic	36	56+48	0+1	0	92+49
		104	1		141
Religious	53	27+23	30+3	0	110+26
Prose		50	33	0	136
Bible trans.	1	14+5	0	0	15+5
		19			20
misc.	3	7+1	0+1	0	10+2
	—	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	—	<u>12</u>
Totals:	92	104+77	30+5	0	227+82
		181	35		309
[minor sense: 24 hand;		36 free;		11 surety, 12 debt]	<u>83</u>

Grand Total, items in Other category 392

*applies in *frið*, *grið*, and Total columns

†[minor senses in brackets]

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SHORT TITLES FOR OLD ENGLISH TEXTS CITED

(Following Mitchell et al., "Short Titles of Old English Texts" and Healey and Venezky, Microfiche Concordance to Old English; fuller information on editions used may be found in Healey and Venezky.)

SHORT TITLE	COMMON TITLE
Aldhelm, <u>De laude virginitatis</u> (Latin prose glossed in Old English)	
AldV 1	Old English glosses on Aldhelm's
AldV 3.1	<u>De laude virginitatis</u> ; different
AldV 3.2	numbers indicate different
AldV 7.1	manuscript sources.
AldV 9	
AldV 12	
AldV 13.1	
AldV 14	
And	<u>Andreas</u> (vol. 2)
AntGl	Antwerp Glossary
ArPrGl	Arundel Prayer Gloss

Ælfric:

ÆAbusMor	<u>De duodecim abusivis</u> (ed. Morris)
ÆCHom I	Catholic Homilies, First Series (ed. Thorpe)
ÆCHom II	Catholic Homilies, Second Series (ed. Godden)
ÆGenEp	Epilogue to Genesis
ÆGram	Ælfric's Grammar
ÆHom	Homilies, Supplementary Collection (ed. Pope)
ÆHomM 14	Homily on Esther (ed. Assman)
ÆHomM 15	Homily on Judith (ed. Assman)
ÆLet 4	Letter to Sigeward
ÆLS	Ælfric's Lives of the Saints (ed. Skeat)
Bede	<u>Ecclesiastical History of the English People</u> (ed. Miller)
BenRW	Benedictine Rule, Winteney Version
Beo	<u>Beowulf</u> (ASPR vol. 4)
Bo	Boethius, <u>Consolation of Philosophy</u>
BoGl	Boethius Gloss
ByrM 1	<u>Byrhtferth's Manual</u>
Capt	The Capture of the Five Boroughs (ASPR vol. 6)

Charters in English

(with number assigned in Sawyer 1968; editor and number in edition, in parentheses)

- Ch 300 (Birch 459)
- Ch 325 (Birch 493)
- Ch 327 (Birch 502)
- Ch 357 (Robertson 13)
- Ch 424 (Birch 699)
- Ch 457 (Birch 647)
- Ch 499 (Birch 794, MS. B)
- Ch 663 (Birch 1002)
- Ch 783 (Birch 1277)
- Ch 985 (Harmer 26)
- Ch 986 (Harmer 28)
- Ch 1028 (Harmer Appendix 2)
- Ch 1033 (Rose-Troup)
- Ch 1036 (Kemble 813)
- Ch 1047 (Robertson 95)
- Ch 1064 (Harmer 2)
- Ch 1065 (Harmer 4)
- Ch 1067 (Harmer 7)
- Ch 1078 (Harmer 18)
- Ch 1084 (Harmer 24)
- Ch 1088 (Harmer 33)
- Ch 1089 (Harmer 34)
- Ch 1091 (Harmer 38)
- Ch 1093 (Harmer 40)
- Ch 1094 (Harmer 41)
- Ch 1095 (Harmer 42)
- Ch 1098 (Harmer 45)

Ch 1100 (Harmer 47)
Ch 1109 (Harmer 61)
Ch 1110 (Harmer 62)
Ch 1118 (Harmer 74)
Ch 1121 (Harmer 77)
Ch 1125 (Harmer 81)
Ch 1126 (Harmer 82)
Ch 1127 (Harmer 83)
Ch 1129 (Harmer 85)
Ch 1142 (Harmer 98)
Ch 1146 (Harmer 102)
Ch 1148 (Harmer 104)
Ch 1149 (Harmer 105)
Ch 1150 (Harmer 106)
Ch 1151 (Harmer 109)
Ch 1152 (Harmer 110)
Ch 1162 (Harmer in Clemoes)
Ch 1165 (Birch 34)
Ch 1211 (Harmer 1914 #23)
Ch 1232 (Robertson 113)
Ch 1387 (Napier and Stevenson 4)
Ch 1447 (Robertson 44)
Ch 1460 (Robertson 83)
Ch 1461 (Robertson 77)
Ch 1477 (Kemble 844)
Ch 1482 (Harmer 1914 #2)
Ch 1486 (Whitelock 15)
Ch 1488 (Whitelock 18)
Ch 1489 (Whitelock 26)
Ch 1490 (Whitelock 28)

Ch 1501 (Whitelock 16/1)
Ch 1510 (Robertson 6)
Ch 1521 (Whitelock 29)
Ch 1525 (Whitelock 37-38)
Ch 1531 (Whitelock 31)
Ch 1536 (Whitelock 17)
Ch 1608 (Hart)
Ch 1622 (Somner)
Ch IHen (Birch)
Ch IHen (BLAdd 29436)
Ch IHen (Gibbs 23)
Ch IHen (PRO1907 10)
Ch IHen (Somner)
Ch IWm (Davis 7)
Ch IWm (Dugdale 6)
Ch IWm (Dugdale 39W)
Ch IWm (Hardwick)
Ch IWm (Hunt 2)
Ch IWm (PRO1907 3)
Ch IWm (PRO1908 2)
Ch IIWm (Gibbs 9)
Ch Peterbor (Robertson 40)
Ch Steph (PRO1912 2)
Ch Taunton (Robertson Appendix I)
Ch Head 165 (Birch 339) [Charter Heading]

ChristA,B,C	<u>Christ</u> (ASPR vol. 3)
ChronA	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A-Text (The Parker Chronicle)
ChronC	C-Text
ChronD	D-Text
ChronE	E-Text
CIGl	Cleopatra Glossary
Conf	<u>Handbook for the Use of a Confessor</u>
CorpGl	Corpus Glossary
CP	Gregory the Great, <u>Pastoral Care</u>
CuthGl	Gloss on Bede's Vita S. Cuthberti (verse)
DAIf	<u>The Death of Alfred</u> (ASPR vol. 6)
Dan	<u>Daniel</u> (ASPR vol. 1)
Dream	<u>Dream of the Rood</u> (ASPR vol. 2)
DurProv	Durham Proverbs
DurRitGl	Durham Ritual, Gloss
El	<u>Elene</u> (ASPR vol. 2)
EpGl	Epinal Glossary
ErfGl	Erfurt Glossary
Ex	<u>Exodus</u> (ASPR vol. 1)
Exhort	<u>An Exhortation to Christian Living</u> (ASPR vol. 6)
Fates	<u>The Fates of the Apostles</u> (ASPR vol. 2)
GD	Gregory the Great, <u>Dialogues</u>
GDPref 2	<u>Dialogues</u> , Pref. to Bk. 2
GDPref and 3	Pref. and Bk. 3
GDPref and 4	Pref. and Bk. 4

Gen	<u>Genesis</u> (Old English Bible)
GenA,B	<u>Genesis</u> (verse; ASPR vol. 1)
Glor I	<u>The Gloria</u> (ASPR vol. 6)
GuthA,B	<u>Guthlac</u> (ASPR vol. 3)
Hell	<u>The Descent into Hell</u> (ASPR vol. 3)
HIGl	Harley Glossary
HomFr I	Homiletic Fragment (ASPR vol. 2)

Miscellaneous Homilies:

HomM 1
 HomM 11
 HomS 7
 HomS 14
 HomS 25
 HomS 39
 HomS 40.1
 HomS 40.2
 HomS 40.3
 HomS 47
 HomS 49
 HomU 3
 HomU 27
 HomU 35.2
 HomU 37
 HomU 38
 HomU 40
 HomU 41
 HomU 48

HyGl	Hymn Gloss
Josh	<u>Joshua</u> (Old English Bible)
Jud	<u>Judith</u> (verse; ASPR vol. 4)
Judg	<u>Judges</u> (Old English Bible)
Jul	<u>Juliana</u> (ASPR vol. 3)
KtPs	Psalm 50 (ASPR vol. 6)

Laws of England (all from Liebermann, GdA)

LawAbt	Æthelberht
LawAfE1	Alfred-Ine (Introduction to Alfred)
LawAfRb	Alfred-Ine (Headings to Alfred)
LawAf 1	Alfred-Ine (Alfred)
LawAGu	Alfred and Guthrum
LawIAtr	I Æthelred
LawIIAtr	II Æthelred
LawIIIAtr	III Æthelred
LawVAtr	V Æthelred
LawVIAtr	VI Æthelred
LawVIIAtr	VIII Æthelred
LawXAtr	X Æthelred
LawIIAs	II Æthelstan
LawIVAs	IV Æthelstan
LawVAsProl	V Æthelstan (Prologue)
LawVIAs	VI Æthelstan
LawCn1020	Cnut, 1020
LawICn	I Cnut
LawIICn	II Cnut
LawDuns	Dunsæte
LawIIIEg	III Eadgar
LawIVEg	IV Eadgar

LawEGu	Edward and Guthrum
LawIEm	II Eadmund
LawEpisc	Episcopus
LawIEw	I Edward
LawIIew	II Edward
LawGer	Gerefa
LawGeþyncðo	Geþyncðo
LawGrið	Grið
LawHad	Hadbot
LawHI	Hlothære and Eadtic
LawIne	Alfred-Ine (Ine)
LawIneRb	Alfred-Ine (Headings to Ine)
LawNorgrið	Norðhymbra cyricgrið
LawNorthu	Norðhymbra preosta lagu
LawPax	Pax
LawRect	Rectitudines
LawWer	Wer
Law Wi	Wihtræd
LawWif	Wifmannes bewedding
Lch I (Herb)	Pseudo-Apuleius: Herbarius
Lit 4.2	Bidding Prayers
Lit 5.9.2	Rubrics and Directions for the Use of Forms of Service
Lit 6.1	On Alleluia
LorGl 1 (Grattan-Singer)	<u>Lorica</u> of Gildas, Gloss
LPr II	The Lord's Prayer II (ASPR vol. 6)

Lives of Saints, author unknown:

- LS 8 (Eustace)
- LS 12 (Nativity of John the Baptist)
- LS 18.1 (Nativity of Mary)
- LS 18.2 (Nativity of Mary)
- LS 23 (Mary of Egypt)
- LS 24 (Michael)
- LS 25 (Michael)
- LS 28 (Neot)
- LS 29 (Nicholas)
- LS 32 (Peter & Paul)
- LS 35 (Vitas Patrum)

Mald	<u>The Battle of Maldon</u> (ASPR vol. 6)
Mart	Martyrology
Max I	<u>Maxims I</u> (ASPR vol. 3)
MCharm 1	Metrical Charm for Unfruitful Land (ASPR vol. 3)
MCharm 9	Metrical Charm for Loss of Cattle (ASPR vol. 3)
MCharm 11	A Journey Charm (ASPR vol. 3)
MEp	Metrical Epilogue [to Bede's <u>HE</u>]
Met	<u>The Meters of Boethius</u> (ASPR vol. 5)
MPs	Metrical Psalms 90.15 - 95.2
Mt(WSCp)	Matthew, West Saxon version
MtGl (Li)	The Lindisfarne Gospels (Mt)
MtGl (Ru)	The Rushworth Gospels (Mt)
MtMarg (Li)	The Lindisfarne Gospels (Marginalia to Mt.)

Occasional Glosses:

OccGl 45.4	to Bede's <u>HE</u>
OccGl 49	to Bible, Proverbs
OccGl 50.1.2	to Bible, Psalms
Or	Orosius
OrHead	Orosius Headings
Part	<u>The Partridge</u> (ASPR vol. 3)
Phoen	<u>The Phoenix</u> (ASPR vol. 3)
PPs	<u>The Paris Psalter</u> ASPR vol. 5)
Prog	Prognostics
Ps	Psalms 1-50 (ed. Thorpe)
PsCaA	Vespasian Psalter Canticles
PsCaG	Vitellius Psalter Canticles

Psalter Glosses

PsGIA	Vespasian Psalter
PsGIB	Junius Psalter
PsGIC	Cambridge Psalter
PsGID	Regius Psalter
PsGIE	Canterbury Psalter
PsGIF	Stowe Psalter
PsGsG	Vitellius Psalter
PsGIH	Tiberius Psalter
PsGII	Lambeth Psalter
PsGIJ	Arundel Psalter
PsGIK	Salisbury Psalter
PsHead	Psalter Headings

Records:

- Rec 6.10 Christ Church, Canterbury, Writ of
William I
- Rec 10.8 Exeter, List of Relics
- Rec 28.4 Crediton, Pledge of Eadnoth

- RegCGI Regularis Concordia, Gloss
- Res Resignation (ASPR vol. 3)
- RevMon Revival of Monasticism
- Rid Riddles, (ASPR vol. 3)
- Rim The Riming Poem (ASPR vol. 3)
- Sat Christ and Satan (ASPR vol. 1)
- Seasons The Seasons for Fasting (ASPR vol. 6)
- SedGI Sedulius, Carmen Paschale
- ThCap 1 Theodulf of Orleans, Capitula
- Vitas Patrum see LS 35
- Wid Widsith (ASPR vol. 3)

Wulfstan:

- WCan Canons of Edgar, (ed. Fowler)
- WHom Homilies (ed. Bethurum)
- WPol Institutes of Polity (ed. Jost)