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## TWO PROBLEMATIC OLD ENGLISH WORDS

By R.I. PAGE

Those who have studied Jimmy Cross's formidable list of publications will realise that he has long had a healthy interest in some of the rarer Old English words, and a striving to understand their meanings. It is appropriate to offer as a birthday tribute this short examination of two Old English words each of which is recorded once only, and to wish him "Many hapax returns".<sup>1</sup>

### 1. *\*byrding*

The forms *byrdinge*, *byrdicge* occur in a pair of closely related glossary lists of textile-working terms. Presumably the two lexemes derive from the same original, as Meritt's supplement to Clark Hall suggests. The glossary lists in question are in Cotton Cleopatra A 3 (Ker no.143.2, Wright-Wülcker no.8: 262, 6-33) and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 1829 (Ker no.9d, Wright-Wülcker no.9: 293, 37 - 294, 20). More distantly related to them, and not containing the word under discussion, is a list in the recently published glossary of Bodley 730, 217-31.<sup>2</sup> The Bodley 730 list has fifteen Latin lemmata with corresponding Old English words: *textrina*, *tela*, *liciatorium*, *fusum*, *radium*, *cladica*, *deponile*, *vertellum*, *glomer*, *conductum*, *alibrum*, *stamen*, *subtemen*, *pectica*, *apidisca*. Cleopatra A 3 and Brussels 1829 omit from this list *alibrum*, intersperse among its items three new lemmata *nitorium*, *colus* and *plumaria*, and add six more items at the end. That the three glossary lists derive from a common archetype is shown by (a) the consistent order of their items, (b) their common citation of oblique forms of certain lemmata, as *fusum*, *radium*, and (c) the fact that they all contain lemmata which are corrupt, have analogical nominatives or are words so rare that they are not recorded in the Latin dictionaries, as *deponile*, *vertellum*, *glomer*, *pectica*. On the other hand, the Old English equivalents of these Latin technical terms differ a good deal from glossary to glossary.

It is clear, then, that the three glossaries contain a common list of lemmata to which there have been additions and/or deletions. Among the latter *plumaria* stands out by virtue of its meaning. As far as I can tell - and the meaning of both Latin and English words is sometimes uncertain - the other lemmata are words for textile implements or materials. *Plumaria* is in form the feminine of an adjective which was sometimes used as a noun. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* translates *plumarius*: "(of stuffs) Brocaded with a feather pattern; (masc. as sb.) a maker of such stuffs". For *ars*

*plumaria* Lewis & Short gives "the art of embroidering, embroidery". The two glosses for *plumaria* are *byrdicge* (Cleopatra A 3), *byrdinge* (Brussels 1829), both found only here. Bosworth-Toller translates *byrdicge* as "a weaver's tool", presumably because it appears in a list of weaver's tools; the Supplement emends this to "An embroideress", apparently regarding *plumaria* as feminine of the adjectival noun *plumarius*, "a maker of such stuffs". Bosworth-Toller omits *byrdinge*, but the Supplement curiously adds *byrdingc* with the sense "embroidering". Clark Hall confirms the Supplement's interpretations. At first glance it is hard to see why *byrdicge*, *byrdinge* should be given such different meanings since their only appearance is in these glossary lists where they translate the same word and, presumably, derive from the same original. They look to be related to OE *borda*, which the dictionaries translate as "embroidery", *gebyrdan*, "to border, fringe", with cognates in other Germanic languages. *Byrding* could be a verbal noun, but its -e ending in the glossary presents some difficulty unless it is assumed to be inorganic. The difficulty vanishes if we take *byrdinge* as a dative singular, glossing an ablative (*arte*) *plumaria*. Another of the Cleopatra A 3 glossaries (an alphabetical one, Ker no.143.1, Wright-Wülcker no.11: 354, 9) also has the item 'arte plumaria', glossed 'bleocraefte'. It is likely that this derives from a passage in Aldhelm's prose *De laudibus virginitatis* xv: "nisi panuculae . . . arte plumaria omne textrinum opus diversis imaginum thoracibus perornent".<sup>3</sup> So also, probably, does the pair *plumaria*, *byrdinge*.

By this conjecture, *byrdinge* is the primary gloss, and *byrdicge* an attempt to emend the form whose -e ending looked wrong and whose connection with a supposed noun *plumaria* remote. A later glossator took *plumaria* as the nominative singular feminine of *plumarius*, and hence "embroideress". Since -icge was a known feminine nomen agentis suffix, he changed *byrdinge* to *byrdicge*. Thereby he produced a form which, to Mezger studying the word, looked anomalous since it had i-mutation in the stem syllable: contrast such forms as *galdrige*, "sorceress", *hundicge*, "huntress", *sealticge*, "dancer".<sup>4</sup> If I am right, *byrdicge* was not a genuine Old English word but a nonce-formation, created analogically to explain a baffling gloss. Perhaps it should be noted as such in future dictionaries.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile the question arises whether a translation "embroidery" is accurate for \**byrding*. This question implies three others: (i) what did *plumarius* mean, (ii) what did Aldhelm take it to mean, (iii) what did Aldhelm's glossators think he meant by it?

*Plumarius/ars plumaria* are difficult expressions, as several commentators have discovered. Indeed, they may never have had precise and unambiguous uses. Most revealing is the way Du Cange hedged his bets by citing, for *plumarii*, the comment that "aut acupingebant, aut arte textoria exprimebant in serico". Certainly *ars plumaria* is sometimes equated with *acupictura*, "embroidery", on the, I suspect specious, ground that *pluma*, "feather, quill", could be used in the sense *acus*, "needle". But *plumarius* is also likened to *polymitarius* which, by its etymology, implies weaving in diverse colours.

Michael Lapidge translates Aldhelm's elaborate image of *De laudibus virginitatis* xv:

. . . indeed, (in the case of) the weaving of hangings or carpets (*curtinarum sive stragularum textura*), if threads dyed with purple and indeed with diverse varieties of colours do not run here and there among the thick cloth-fibres and according to the embroiderer's art ornament the woven fabric (*textrinum opus*) with the varying outlines of pictures (*diversis imaginum thoracibus, v.l. thoraciclis*), but it is made uniformly with a monochrome dye, it is immediately obvious that it will not appear pleasing to the glances of the eye nor beautiful against the most exquisite elegance of ornaments. For the curtains of the ancient temple (*curtinae veteris delubri*) are not read to have glowed with one simple and single kind of dye, but are described as having blazed with gold, blue, purple, twice-dyed scarlet or vermilion with twisted cotton of diverse tints (*sed ex auro, iacintho, purpura, bis tincto cocco sive vermiculo cum bisso retorto . . . fulsisse*).<sup>6</sup>

The image is not precise, and could refer either to embroidery or some sort of multicoloured weaving, brocade-work or tapestry, though presumably the use of the word *imaginum* implies that its design was representational. However, I doubt if Aldhelm was using his words with clear understanding and with precision, since his prose derives from Biblical sources here, notably from a group of passages in Exodus where Jehovah gave and the Children of Israel followed instructions as to how to make fabrics, including curtains (*cortinae*), for the tabernacle: as examples, cf. the Vulgate text of Exodus xxxvi 35, 37:

fecit et velum de hyacintho purpura vermiculo ac bysso  
retorta opere polymitarario varium atque distinctum . . .  
fecit et tentorium in introitu tabernaculi ex hyacintho  
purpura vermiculo byssoque retorta opere plumarii.

Aldhelm's English glossators produce some varied translations. The Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 1650 text of Aldhelm's prose work has (1092, f.10r) two interlinear glosses for *plumaria*, in different hands, 'multimoda' and 'awundenum', together with the marginal 'pluma dicta quasi piluma' which is taken from Isidore's *Etymologiae* xii 7, 8. Inevitably the derived text in Bodley, Digby 146, 1041, repeats the 'awundenum'. Also related to this Aldhelm passage, as its context in its glossary makes clear, is 'óy awundenan ryfte, febercræfte', rendering 'plumario' in Cleopatra A 3, Ker no.143.3, Wright-Wülcker no.12: 491, 3.

The only other glosses for *plumarius*, apart from the 'bleocræfte' already quoted, are three related ones, Épinal-Erfurt 699, Corpus 1450, of the form 'opere plumari(o), bisiuuidi uuerici', and a variant, 'opere plumario, bisiwed feðergeweorc', Cleopatra A

3, Wright-Wülcker no.11: 459, 27. Presumably the lemma comes from Exodus xxvi 1, 31: xxxviii 18.

The word *bleocraft* presents the multicoloured aspect of *plumarius*, a diversity that is also implied in *multimoda*. The verb *beseowian* is of rare occurrence in Old English, and has the sense "sew up, sew together"; in one example - perhaps not significant - 'besiwodon' for 'suto' in the Prudentius glosses of Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, 189: 854, it occurs in a general context implying braided fabric. *Awundenum* looks the most significant of these *plumarius* glosses. Forms of *awunden* translate forms of *contextus* and *tortus*, "interwoven, braided, twisted", in a group of glosses (as Wright-Wülcker 375, 30; 383, 19; Épinal-Erfurt 985), while the ? 3.plural past tense form 'auundun', 'awunden' gives 'intexunt', "interwove" (Épinal-Erfurt 507, Wright-Wülcker 422, 12). The pair 'plectra, auunden' (Corpus 1603, Wright-Wülcker 469, 17) may also fit here if *plectra* is related to (or a corrupt form of) *plecta*, "plait".

Finally there is the etymology of *\*byrding* to be taken into consideration. OE *borda* is related to OE *bord* which has the recorded meanings "board, table, shield, ship's planking, side of a ship". For the Old Norse equivalent de Vries suggests two homonyms, not cognate: *borð 1*, "edge, side, especially side of a ship", and *borð 2*, "board, table". ON *borði* (= OE *borda*) he derives, and I think correctly, from *borð 1*, "edge", and so he translates it "fringe, woven band" (*gewobenes band, borte, gewebe*). The Old High German cognate *borto* provides the clearest illustrations of this meaning, for its occurrence in glosses shows it with the senses "edge, fringe" and "fringed material, garment". So, it renders *limbus* with the added explanations *fasciola extrinsecus adsuta uesti* and *quod solent reges in circuitu diploidis portare*, as well as the rather less precise *fascia in fine uestimenti* and the erroneous *nimbus, fasciola transuersa ex auro assuta in linteis*; also *auriphrygium, lista* and *syрма*. With particular reference to clothing, *portun* glosses *toge* and *pr̄textę toęę*, as well as *clauus, clauata vestis*.<sup>7</sup> OE *borda* agrees, for it translates 'lesta' (= *lista*) in Corpus 1209, Wright-Wülcker 432, 26; and 'clauia' (? = *clavus*) in Corpus 479, Wright-Wülcker 364, 20, Meritt no.70, 20. There are also the related glosses 'clabatum, gybyrdid' (Épinal-Erfurt 228, Corpus 487, Bodley, Auct. F.1.16), 'clauatum, sutum, uel gebyrd' (Wright-Wülcker 205, 21), together with 'clauatæ, bebyrde, oððe bestefnde' (Wright-Wülcker 375, 41).

To sum up what we know of *\*byrding* from this: (a) it exploits diversity of colour, perhaps with the use of metallic gold as well as dyes, (b) this colour effect is achieved by interweaving or braiding different-coloured threads; it is possible - though I think this less likely - that it also employs embroidered decoration, (c) the typical form is of a long thin band or strip, often used as fringe or edging to material.

In fact there is an Anglo-Saxon craft that fits these requirements admirably, In a fascinating article Elisabeth Crowfoot and Sonia Chadwick Hawkes have drawn our attention to certain fragments of braided materials from early Anglo-Saxon graves, and compared

them with contemporary Continental finds.<sup>8</sup> They represent narrow strips of material woven by a method that produced different surface textures and could have employed threads of different colours. The technique is that of tablet-weaving, and the woven textile was often further adorned with brocade-work in gold thread or strip. Indeed, the gold is often all that survives, for the textile has rotted away and is represented only by pressure-marks upon the metal. As far as can be told from their disposition in graves and from contemporary writings, these braids were used as fringes to such garments as tunics and cloaks, as decorative belts or baldrics, and, in women's graves, as ornamental headbands and bracelets.<sup>9</sup> The archaeological material is inevitably early, applying to a period from the fifth to the seventh centuries (and so approaching the date when Aldhelm was writing); it is less clear that the fashion continued through the Anglo-Saxon period (and so to the time when Aldhelm was being extensively glossed). However, there are late tenth-/early eleventh-century references to gold-decorated headbands that were valuable enough to be cut up and given as bequests, and late drawings show important people wearing elaborate bands for their hair, and gold-fringed clothing.<sup>10</sup> The tenth-century tablet-woven braids from St Cuthbert's shrine have patterns of foliage, birds and animals (? Aldhelm's *diversis imaginum thoracibus*) and added gold brocade.<sup>11</sup> All this type of work fits the requirements of OE *\*byrding* admirably.

I therefore suggest the dictionary entry, *byrding*, "braiding, tablet-weaving". OE *borda* perhaps also needs revision. I once frivolously translated the Exeter Book, Maxims I, 63 truism, "fæmne at hyre bordan geriseð" as "a woman's place is at her embroidery".<sup>12</sup> Perhaps I should have been more precise: "tablet-weaving is a proper occupation for a woman".

## 2. *\*mexscofl*

OE *\*mexscofl* occurs once only, as the last item in the second list of tools and implements in *Gerefa*, a text that survives only in the late eleventh-/early twelfth-century MS CCC 383, pp.102-7.<sup>13</sup> In that list the word has the form *mexscofle*, presumably an accusative singular after the distant clause *man sceal habban*, though the endings of words in this text are not precise. Hitherto translations of this word have been consistent: Liebermann *Mistschaufel*; Skeat, Sedgefield, Bosworth-Toller Supplement, Clark Hall and Swanton "dung-shovel"; Vassallo *pala per il concime*. There are, however, two grounds for objection to this interpretation: (a) the form of the first element, and (b) the general context of the second *Gerefa* implement list.

(a) A translation "dung-shovel" requires, for the first element, OE *meox*, which has the occasional variant forms *miox*, *\*mix* (dative *mixe*), *myx*. The word is related to OHG *mist*, Gothic *maifstus*; an earlier OE *\*meoxt* has been postulated.<sup>14</sup> It appears that the Old English diphthong of the word is the result of fracture of *i* before  $\chi$  + consonant, which would give *io* > *eo* in some dialects, but would presumably be smoothed to *i* in Anglian.<sup>15</sup> Alternatively, West Saxon and Kentish palatal umlaut might also produce *i*, though Campbell

records that "meox . . . rarely has palatal umlaut".<sup>16</sup> To derive *mex-* from *meox-/miox-* would require the early Middle English monophthongisation of *eo* to *e*.<sup>17</sup> The date of the manuscript does not absolutely preclude this, but the monophthongisation is certainly not a sound-change generally evidenced in *Gerefa* as such forms as *behweorfan*, *betweox*, *fyrgebeorh*, *georne*, *seohhan*, *(in)weorc*, *weorðra* show. Thus, it is difficult to interpret *mex-* as a form of *meox-/miox-*, "dung".

There are occasional curious vowel spellings in *Gerefa*, as *creafte* for *cræfte* (Liebermann §7), so such a form as *mex-* need not be a serious objection, but the interpretation "dung-shovel" faces a further one:

(b) *Gerefa* has two lists of tools and utensils, called here for convenience A (Liebermann §15) and B (Liebermann §17). How the lists were made up is a question of some complexity. In some parts they show a strong tendency to alliteration (*cyfa*, *cyflas*, *cyrne*, *cysfæt*, *ceodan* and *systras*, *syfa*, *sædleap* in list B, for instance). This might suggest that their material was drawn from glossaries arranged in alphabetical order. To a great extent, however, the lists also bring together things related semantically, by their use in the context of householding. So, A begins with woodworking implements and goes on, perhaps, to cooper's and wheelwright's tools; it continues with implements for working the earth, for reaping, mowing and harvesting; then farrier's equipment, and finally a long list of tools used in textile preparation which could come from the sort of glossary entry entitled *de textrialibus*.<sup>18</sup> List B is different. It consists almost entirely of indoor equipment, that of kitchen, foodstore and winnowing barn. The last five items, as they are arranged in the manuscript, are:

*fyrgebeorh*. *meluhudern*. *ælhyde ofn-*  
*race*. *mexscofle*.

Some of these present no difficulty. *Fyrgebeorh* is some sort of fire-guard: *meluhudern* some sort of meal-hopper: *ofn* an oven-rake. *Ælhyde* has long been a source of debate.<sup>19</sup> Recently I suggested that its first element is related to OE *ælan*, "kindle", *æled*, "fire", and hence that *ælhyde* was a fire-cover, perhaps designed to keep embers glowing overnight but to prevent a flare-up.<sup>20</sup> In that case the context of these four items is fire, oven, meal, which suggests brewing or baking. To interpret *mexscofle* as "dung-shovel" cuts it off from its neighbours, unless - as seems unlikely - the compiler was thinking of a shovel for feeding dung as a fuel into an oven or furnace. Indeed, in the usual sense of the term - a shovel for spreading muck afield or for turning a compost heap - a dung-shovel ought not to be in list B at all; it belongs with the outdoor tools of A.

The question then arises: is it possible to suggest a meaning for *\*mexscofl* appropriate to the context of list B? The other *-scofl* compounds recorded in Old English are all gloss or glossary words. The first elements are (i) a noun, the material shovelled, in 'uatilla [for *batilla*], *gloedscofl*' in Épi.al-Erfurt 1065, Corpus

2076, "ember-shovel", (ii) a noun, the general circumstance of the shovel's use, as 'batilla, fyrscofl' in Wright-Wülcker 358, 16, "fire-shovel", and 'uentilabrum, windsobl' in Wright-Wülcker 478, 25, "wind-shovel, winnowing-shovel", (iii) either a noun or a verbal stem, the function of the shovelling, in 'clausus, steorsceofol' in Wright-Wülcker 312, 4: 539, 41; 'gubernaculum, steorsceofl' in Wright-Wülcker 182, 10; 'faselo, steolsceofle' [wrongly for *steor*-] in Boulogne-sur-Mer 189, 875, "steer-shovel, rudder", (iv) a verbal stem in 'uentilabrum' translated by 'windiuscoful' [wrongly for *windui*-] in Rushworth, Matt. iii 12, "winnowing-shovel". As used in these compounds *-scofl* defines a tool actually used in shovelling, or something of the same general shape as in 'steorsceofl'.

Thus *\*mexscofl* could have, as its first element, either a noun or a verb stem. It is very tempting to link the first element *mex-* with the modern word "mash" in its brewing sense of (vb.) "mix malt with hot water to form wort", and (n.) "malt mixed with hot water to form wort". A mash-shovel could then be some sort of large wooden spoon for making or stirring the mix, with *-scofl* used only to define the shape of the implement. Middle English would call this a *mashel*, *masherolle* or *mashrother*, while EDD has the compound *mashing-shovel*, whose "general appearance is something like a shovel. It is used in stirring up the mash, or wetted malt, in the act of extracting the wort". Alternatively, perhaps, a *\*mexscofl* could be a malt-shovel used for adding malt to the water, or even for scattering or turning the malt on the malt-floor. This sort of meaning would fit elegantly to the end of list B.

The Old English word for the noun "mash" is of rare occurrence. Indeed, the Toronto Concordance cites only two examples, both from a single legal document, Robertson CIV. The lexeme occurs as the first element of a compound in *maxwyr*t, "wort", several times in the Leechdoms. The entries in MED, OED show no record of the simplex in independent use in Middle English, though again it occurs in compounds, as in *masshfat/meschefate/maxfat*, "mash-tub". The verb "mash" does not survive in the Old English documents, but appears occasionally in Middle English as *mashen/meshe/meisse*, and there is also the verbal noun, *maschyng/meisshing/maskyng* sometimes used as an attributive as in *maskyngfatt/meshyng vatte*. Cognates in other Germanic languages and the Old and Middle English forms make it clear that (i) the vowel of OE *masc*, "mash", was long, derived from Gmc *ai*, (ii) there were in Middle English times variant forms with *a* and *e*, presumably representing forms without and with *i*-mutation, (iii) from Old English times onwards the final consonant of the stem is variously represented by *sc* (*sh/ssh/sch*) and *x*. Thus it may be possible to postulate, besides the recorded OE *māsc* and the element *māx-*, alternative forms of the noun, *\*māsc* and *\*māx*. For the verb "to mash" OED finds it desirable to postulate an *i*-mutated form *\*māscan*. In a compound such as *\*mexscofl*, the vowel of the first element would presumably undergo shortening at some time in the Old English period.<sup>21</sup>

It remains to show that the Gerefa spelling *mex-* is not inconsistent with a form *\*māx-*. I suspect this is a matter of orthography. The Gerefa scribe's spelling is not consistent, and



he shows a tendency to confuse the graphs æ and e even in words of close proximity: as *hrædra*, *rædran* but *redre* (Liebermann §1), *wædsæd* but *linsed* (Liebermann §12); and in unstressed syllables as in *ægðær* (Liebermann §1) against *ægðer* (Liebermann §3, 4). Indeed, Liebermann points out that, elsewhere in this manuscript, the scribe "schreibt oft e für æ".<sup>22</sup> Thus the interpretation *mex-*, "mash", need cause no worry, and I would suggest a revised dictionary entry, *mexscofl*, "mash-shovel".

NOTES

- 1 No work of this sort can be done without reference to A.diP. Healey and R.L. Venezky, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Toronto, 1980) and to N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957). References to dictionaries in this paper are, I hope, self-evident, though I should perhaps list J. de Vries, *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leiden, 1962). References to Old English texts and to editions of Old English manuscripts are: L. Goossens, *The Old English Glosses of MS. Brussels, Royal Library, 1650 (Aldhelm's De Laudibus Virginitatis)*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren XXXVI, 74 (Brussels, 1974), controlled by the facsimile of the manuscript, ed. G.v. Langenhove (Bruges, 1941); H.D. Meritt, *Old English Glosses (a Collection)*, MLA General Series 16 (New York, 1945; repr. 1971) no.70 for Leiden Voss. Lat. Fol. 24; *idem*, *The Old English Prudentius Glosses at Boulogne-sur-Mer*, Stanford Studies in Language and Literature 16 (Stanford, 1959); A.S. Napier, *Old English Glosses Chiefly Unpublished*, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series 11 (Oxford, 1900), no.1 for Bodley, Digby 146; J.D. Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (Oxford, 1974); A.J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1956); H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, EETS OS 83 (London, 1885) pp.35-107 for the Corpus Glossary: T. Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, ed. R.P. Wülcker, 2 vols. (London, 1884). I should like to thank Mildred Budny for drawing my attention to some of the technical problems of \*byrding, and Michael Lapidge for valuable comment on an early draft of this paper.
- 2 T. Hunt, "The Old English Vocabularies in MS. Oxford, Bodley 730", *English Studies* 62 (1981) pp.201-9.
- 3 *Aldhelmi Opera Omnia*, ed. R. Ehwald, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 15 (Berlin, 1919) p.244. For the link with Aldhelm see H. Lübke, "Über verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen einiger altenglischer Glossare", *Archiv f.d. Studium d.neueren Sprachen* 85 (1890) p.400.
- 4 F. Mezger, "Ae. cræftiga 'artifex' - ae. byrdicga 'plumaria'", *Archiv f.d. Studium d.neueren Sprachen* 163 (1933) pp.42-6.
- 5 W. Klump disagrees, claiming that byrdicge is the primary form, byrdinge "nur Schreibfehler", but he gives no discussion, *Die altenglischen Handwerkeramen sachlich und sprachlich erläutert*, Anglistische Forschungen 24 (Heidelberg, 1908) p.93.
- 6 *Aldhelm. The Prose Works*, trans. Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (Ipswich and Cambridge, 1979) pp.71-2.
- 7 E. Karg-Gasterstädt and T. Frings, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1968-), and T. Starck and J.C. Wells, *Althochdeutsches Glossenwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1972-), s.v.
- 8 Elisabeth Crowfoot and Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, "Early Anglo-Saxon Gold Braids", *Medieval Archaeology* 11 (1967) pp.42-86.
- 9 Crowfoot and Hawkes, pp.47-8, 50, 58-64.
- 10 Dorothy Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (Cambridge, 1930) pp.28-9 (*healfne bænd gylden*), 64-5; *idem*, *The Will of Æthelgifu: a Tenth-century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript* (Oxford,

- 1968) pp.12-13; C.R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: a New Perspective* (Manchester, 1982) pp.174-9. Gale R. Owen thinks there was no continuity between the early use of braids as headbands and the bands of the tenth and eleventh centuries ("Wynflæd's Wardrobe", *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979) p.214). She regards the early use as a "short-lived luxury fashion", though I am not clear how she knows, given the absence of grave-goods for the middle period. Continental graves show that braided headbands continued in use into the seventh century, and there are gold-adorned braids (though not a headband) in the Taplow burial (? seventh-century).
- 11 Grace M. Crowfoot, "The Braids" in *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (Durham, 1956) pp.433-52.
- 12 R.I. Page, *Life in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1970) p.66.
- 13 F. Liebermann edited *Gerefa* several times, most readily accessible in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle a.S., 1903-16) I, pp.453-5 whose readings I have quoted, controlling them from the manuscript. Other references to this text are: text with translation by W.W. Skeat in W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages* (5th ed., Cambridge, 1910) pp.571-6; edition by W.J. Sedgefield in *An Anglo-Saxon Prose-book* (Manchester, 1928) pp.334-6; translation by Michael Swanton in *Anglo-Saxon Prose* (London and Totowa, N.J., 1975) pp.25-7; text with Italian translation by Antonina M. Vassallo in *Quaderni di Filologia Germanica*, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia Università di Palermo I (1980).
- 14 F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (8th ed., Strassburg, 1915) p.311, under *Mist*.
- 15 A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959) §§ 148, 228.
- 16 Campbell, § 305.
- 17 K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1914-) I, § 357.
- 18 As, for instance, Wright-Wülcker, 262.
- 19 H.D. Meritt, "Conceivable Clues to Twelve Old English Words", *Anglo-Saxon England* I (1972) pp.193-4.
- 20 R.I. Page, "'The Proper Toil of Artless Industry': Toronto's Plan for an Old English Dictionary", *Notes and Queries* N.S. 22 (1975) pp.148-9.
- 21 Campbell, § 285.
- 22 Liebermann, p.448 note.