

# **The Faith Between the Lines:**

**A Survey of Doctrinal Language in the Old Northumbrian  
Glosses to the Gospel of Matthew in the *Lindisfarne Gospels***

**Research MA Thesis Medieval Studies**

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## Abbreviations

<i>ASC</i>	Benjamin Thorpe, ed. <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, According to the Several Original Authorities</i> . London (1861) 2 vols.
<i>B&amp;T</i>	J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> . Oxford (1882-1893); T.N. Toller, <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement</i> . Oxford (1908-1921)
<i>CHM</i>	J.R. Clark Hall, <i>A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> , 4 <sup>th</sup> ed. with suppl. by H.D. Meritt. Cambridge (1960)
<i>DOEC</i>	<i>Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus</i> . (2007) Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. eds. Toronto ( <a href="http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/">http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/</a> )
<i>HE</i>	<i>Venerabilis Bedae Historia Ecclesiastice Gentis Anglorum</i>
<i>HR</i>	Symeon of Durham's <i>Historia Regum</i>
<i>HSC</i>	Ted Johnson South, ed. <i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a Record of his Patrimony</i> . Suffolk (2002).
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>Mt</i>	The Gospel According to Matthew as recorded in the Latin Vulgate Translation by St Jerome
<i>RSB</i>	The <i>Regula Sancti Benedicti</i> ; John Fursden, ed. <i>The Rule of Our Most Holy Father St Benedict, Patriarch of Monks: From the Old English Edition of 1638</i> . London (1875).
<i>TOE</i>	J. Roberts, C. Kay and L. Grundy, eds. <i>A Thesaurus of Old English</i> . London (1995) 2 vols.
<i>VCA</i>	The <i>Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Anonymo</i>
<i>VCM</i>	The Metrical <i>Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Beda</i>
<i>VCP</i>	The Prosaic <i>Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Beda</i>

## Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

The present thesis will shed light on the semantic field of doctrine in the Old Northumbrian dialect, drawing evidence from the dialect's major material heritage which is the vernacular interlinear gloss in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* codex (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D IV) apparently written by the scribe who identifies himself as Aldred.<sup>1</sup> The Old Northumbrian doctrinal terms used in the gloss to the Gospel of Matthew will be compared to those employed in the West-Saxon translation of that Gospel found in MS CCCC 140.<sup>2</sup> The goal of this comparison is to observe whether Aldred's choice of doctrinal terms in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* provides any indication of being impacted by the English Benedictine Reform and the West-Saxon literary tradition. It is the earliest extant translation of the Gospels made in a religious environment which followed the original Rule of St Benedict. The translation was made during the early years of the English Benedictine Reform but its production took place far away from Wessex, the center of this reform. The semantic field of doctrine will be treated as in Nelius Halvorson's study of *Doctrinal Terms in Ælfric's Homilies*, which treats only West-Saxon lexicon but is the best representative of an Anglo-Saxon lexicological study concerning the semantic field of doctrine.<sup>3</sup>

Anglo-Saxon lexicological research has certainly not neglected the glosses in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. Some older studies, such as the doctoral dissertation of Hildegard Rauh (1936) have taken an overarching approach and have, for example, compared the entire Old Northumbrian and West Saxon Gospels of Matthew to identify their dialectal variations.<sup>4</sup> Albert Cook (1894) compiled a glossary of the entire *Lindisfarne Gospels* codex; however he offers this as a tool for other researchers rather than using the gathered information himself.<sup>5</sup> Joseph Tuso (1966) also looked at all the interlinear glosses in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and compared them with two other Old English translations of the Gospels known as the West-Saxon *Corpus Gospels* and the *Rushworth Gospels* (Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.19), which has a section glossed in Mercian and another section glossed in Old Northumbrian that relies closely on the gloss of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.<sup>6</sup> Finally, more recent studies such as those by Sara Pons-Sanz have looked at possible Scandinavian influence on the Old Northumbrian lexicon (2000), the translations of proper names (2001) and the way Aldred the glossator employed multiple glosses (2016).<sup>7</sup> Michelle Brown's

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout the present thesis I will refer to Aldred as the 'glossator' in the singular for convenience, yet fully aware that the matter of authorship is complex. This complexity will be discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>2</sup> The present study relies on Walter W. Skeat's edition of the Gospels: *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew: In Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions, Synoptically Arranged, with Collations Exhibiting all the Readings of all the MSS.* Cambridge (1887).

<sup>3</sup> Nelius O Halvorson. "Doctrinal Terms in Aelfric's Homilies". *University of Iowa Humanistic Series 5:1*. Iowa City (1932)

<sup>4</sup> Hildegard Rauh. *Der Wortschatz der altenglischen Uebersetzungen des Matthaeus-Evangeliums untersucht auf seine dialektische und zeitliche Gebundenheit*. Diss. Berlin (1936).

<sup>5</sup> Albert Stanburrough Cook. *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels: Lindisfarne Gospels or Durham Book*. Halle (1894).

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Frederick Tuso. *An Analysis and Glossary of Dialectal Variations in the Vocabularies of three Late Tenth-Century Old English Texts, the Corpus, Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels*. Diss. Michigan (1966)

<sup>7</sup> Sara M. Pons-Sanz. *Analysis of the Scandinavian Loanwords in the Aldredian Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels*. Valencia (2000); Sara M. Pons-Sanz. "Aldredian Glosses to Proper Names". *Anglia* 199 vol. 2 (2001); Sara M. Pons-Sanz. "A Study of Aldred's Multiple Glosses in the Lindisfarne Gospels". *The Old English*

various publications on the codex, its historical context and the Lindisfarne scriptorium are all valuable sources in their own rights and are often cited in descriptions of the manuscript.<sup>8</sup>

In what follows I explore the Lindisfarne glosses with a specific semantic field in mind, a point of view previously taken in publications like Shari Horner's "The Language of Rape in Old English Literature and Law", Rolf Bremmer's "Looking Back at Anger" and Nelius Halvorson's *Doctrinal Terms in Ælfric's Homilies*.<sup>9</sup> The first two of these publications are very similar because of their attention to the cultural background of their semantic subjects, rape and anger respectively, accompanied with a detailed philological analysis of the semantic field in question. Horner concludes, for instance, that rather than viewing the abundance of different terms for rape in Old English literature as a stylistic treasure, the eminent variation within the Old English corpus provides insight into attitudes towards sexual violence in Anglo-Saxon England. Bremmer's discussion of the concept of anger in Anglo-Saxon England first discusses the universal concept of anger, after which he surveys the different ways and words with which anger was expressed in a wide range of Old English texts from formal treatises to heroic literature. For a complete list of anger-related terms, he points the reader to an earlier study by Caroline Gevaert which sums up all the anger-related terms in Old English.<sup>10</sup>

In its approach, the present study follows Nelius Halvorson's study of doctrinal terms in the homilies attributed to Ælfric. Halvorson divides the Old English doctrinal lexicon into six categories. He compiles terms for each category and provides discussions on what these terms imply in their homiletic context, so that he can observe the influence of Christianity on Ælfric's native vocabulary. The six categories are as follows:

- The Deity
- The World, Angels and Devils
- Sin
- The Doctrine of Salvation
- Christian, Virtues, Qualities and Works
- The Future State

Halvorson's study states in conclusion that with the exception of terms designating worship, "the doctrinal concepts are almost invariably expressed by native words" rather than Latin or Greek loanwords.<sup>11</sup> He argues that this extensive Christian native vocabulary had had plenty

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*Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels: Language, Author and Context*. Julia Fernández Cuesta, Sara M Pons-Sanz, eds. Berlin (2016).

<sup>8</sup> Michelle P. Brown. *The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World*. London (2011); *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe*. London (2003); "The Lindisfarne Scriptorium from the Late Seventh to the Early Ninth Century". *St. Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to A.D. 1200*. Ed. Bonner, Gerald and DW Rollason and Clare Stancliffe. Woodbridge (1995) pp. 151-163.

<sup>9</sup> Shari Horner. "The Language of Rape in Old English Literature and Law: Views from the Anglo-Saxon(ist)". *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 277 (2006) pp. 149-181; Rolf H. Bremmer. "Looking Back at Anger: Wrath in Anglo-Saxon England". *The Review of English Studies* 275 vol 66(2015) pp. 423-448; Halvorson. "Doctrinal Terms". (1932).

<sup>10</sup> Caroline Gevaert. "Anger in Old and Middle English: a 'Hot' Topic?". *Belgian Essays on Language and Literature*. (2001) pp. 89-101

<sup>11</sup> Halvorson. "Doctrinal Terms". (1932) p. 6.

of time to develop since the English introduction to Christianity in the late sixth century. This does not mean, however, that ecclesiastical Latin had no influence on the Old English doctrinal lexicon, because many terms were coined in order to translate familiar Latin compounds and idiomatic phrases into Old English in a way clearly modeled after Latin syntax and morphology.<sup>12</sup> Many terms which Halvorson calls heathen are said to have changed connotations, taking on new Christian implications, of which *husl* [eucharist] is an example.<sup>13</sup> He explains that before the conversion the Anglo-Saxon *husl* meant ‘victim of sacrifice’, which changed in implication after the conversion to ‘the Christian sacrifice of the mass’.<sup>14</sup> Although Halvorson’s study abounds in detail and discusses each Old English term in several possible contexts, it fails to compare Ælfric’s homilies to other contemporary religious texts; it treats the entire body of *Catholic Homilies* and mentions the Scriptural or early exegetical inspirations such as Augustine and Bede, but Ælfric’s role within the English Benedictine Reform is only mentioned in passing twice.<sup>15</sup> The present study, however, will attempt to use the choice of doctrinal terminology used in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* gloss to establish how influential the English Benedictine Reform was in the North.

Other scholars have studied the Lindisfarne glosses to identify possible exegetical sources for the gloss, as well as insights into the reasons why Aldred glossed the manuscript. William Boyd (1976) devoted an entire study to the marginalia in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* to hypothesize about the available texts at Chester-le Street, as well as what these marginalia have to say about Aldred’s knowledge of New Testament exegesis.<sup>16</sup> A number of publications by Alan Ross shed more light on possible influences on the gloss, and suggests that Aldred relied on Bede and other early theologians like Aldhelm and Augustine.<sup>17</sup> Lawrence Nees’ article “Reading Aldred’s Colophon for the Lindisfarne Gospels”, lastly, assesses the colophon on the last page of John’s Gospel for its historical value and credibility, as well as criticizing the way previous scholarship has often taken the credibility of the colophon for granted. Nees sums up the sources which Aldred might have had available when he recorded this history of his community, which includes the names of previous community members and who was responsible for which part of producing the *Lindisfarne Gospels*; he reaches the conclusion that even though we cannot accept this tenth-century claim without question, it is very likely that Aldred’s version of events was the accepted and undoubtedly favored view on the manuscript’s history at the time of his writing.

The community of St Cuthbert has received much attention as far as the historical sources have allowed, with historical evidence becoming gradually scarcer around the late ninth and tenth centuries. Although the research tradition on this religious community will be synthesized below, some publications deserve mention beforehand because they have paved

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Halvorson. “Doctrinal Terms”. (1932) p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Halvorson. “Doctrinal Terms”. (1932) p. 61.

<sup>15</sup> Halvorson. “Doctrinal Terms”. (1932) p. 42, 51.

<sup>16</sup> William J.P. Boyd. *Aldred’s Marginalia*. Exeter (1976)

<sup>17</sup> Alan S.C. Ross. “A Connection Between Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels”. *Notes & Queries* 20 vol.2 (1969) pp. 482-492; “The Use of Other Latin Manuscripts by the Glossators of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels”. *Notes & Queries* 28 vol.1 (1981) pp. 6-11; Boyd. *Aldred’s Marginalia*. (1976) p. 12.

the way for studies like the present thesis. The edition and translation of the two early prose *Vitae* of St Cuthbert by Bertram Colgrave (1940) have made these early texts about the saint easily accessible and comparable, as well as offering an excellent historical background to the life of St Cuthbert.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, the proceedings of the conference marking the 1300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Cuthbert's death in Durham (1989), published as *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200*, presents the community in all its relevant periods and from the points of view of historiography, codicology, art history and theology.<sup>19</sup> Finally Karen Louise Jolly's *The Community of St Cuthbert in the Late Tenth Century* (2012) offers some detailed insights into Aldred, the author of the Lindisfarne gloss, and a solid analysis of the scarce evidence available for the community's activities in this century.<sup>20</sup>

Concerning the English Benedictine Reform and its impact on the vernacular language of faith and doctrine, there is a generous amount of research available which chapter 4 will summarize. An invaluable source of information is *The Monastic Order in England* by David Knowles (1940), which chronologically discusses the process of the English Benedictine Reform and its main advocates, Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald.<sup>21</sup> Various articles in the volume *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages* (2001) connect the reformative efforts of Charlemagne and his successors with the English reform.<sup>22</sup> Finally, Mechthild Gretsch's *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (2005) not only looks at the work of an important voice in the English Benedictine reform, but also at Ælfric's treatment of some early saints including St Cuthbert and St Benedict himself.<sup>23</sup>

The present study will be the first to approach the glosses in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* codex from the perspective of its doctrinal lexicon. The Old Northumbrian lexicon of doctrine will potentially provide new insights that will help answer the larger question of how religious life was experienced specifically within the community of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street during a time when drastic Church-reforms were altering the English experience and expectations of monasticism under ecclesiastical as well as royal influence. Chapter two will present the historical framework in which the *Lindisfarne Gospels* was initially created, preserved and modified with an eye on the community of St Cuthbert, the effects of the Viking Age and the influence exerted by the Benedictine reformers of the tenth century. The third chapter deals with the nature of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* manuscript and its glossator Aldred. Chapter four introduces the English Benedictine Reform, its European antecedent and the people who carried it out in the English monasteries. The fifth chapter will discuss the relations of the community of St Cuthbert with the southern English kings and the West-Saxon literary tradition. Chapter six will explain the method and data-collection of the

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<sup>18</sup> Bertram Colgrave, ed. *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life*. Cambridge (1940)

<sup>19</sup> Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, Clare Stancliffe, eds. *St Cuthbert, His Cult and his Community to A.D. 1200*. Suffolk (1995)

<sup>20</sup> Karen Louise Jolly. *The Community of St. Cuthbert in the Late Tenth Century: The Chester-le Street Additions to Durham Cathedral Library A.IV.19*. Ohio (2012)

<sup>21</sup> David Knowles. *The Monastic Order in England*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge (1976)

<sup>22</sup> Richard Gameson, Henrietta Leyser, eds. *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*. Oxford (2001)

<sup>23</sup> Mechthild Gretsch. *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge (2005)



present thesis, after which the relevant results of comparing the Old Northumbrian with the West-Saxon terms are discussed. The present paper will try to answer the following questions: First of all, which terms used to translate doctrinal lexicon in the Old Northumbrian gloss are uniquely Old Northumbrian or otherwise semantically different from their alternatives in the West-Saxon translation, and why? Secondly, is there a noteworthy pattern which can be discerned from the different choices in both translations? The conclusion will hypothesize about what Aldred's choice of glosses can tell about the possible impact of the Benedictine Reform on the community of St Cuthbert during their Chester-le Street sojourn, and suggest possible future research on the basis of the data gathered for the present thesis and beyond.

## Chapter 2: St. Cuthbert and his Community

“Of all the English saints none figures more prominently in the history of the north of England than St Cuthbert”.<sup>24</sup> Thus Bertram Colgrave introduces the man who was in his life everything from a playful boy to a bishop of the Northern-English Church. At least three narrative sources concerning the life of St Cuthbert were written shortly after his death in 687, including a *Vita* by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne, the *Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Anonymo* (VCA), and both a prosaic and a metrical *Vita* by the Venerable Bede, both called the *Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Beda* (VCP and VCM).<sup>25</sup> These three *vitae* all enjoyed wide circulation in England as well as on the continent, as can be seen from the large number of extant manuscripts for each text and their wide geographical spread.<sup>26</sup> More than two centuries later another Life of St Cuthbert was written by Ælfric in Old English, as part of his Lives of Saints collection, which illustrates Cuthbert’s continuing popularity and veneration. There is also the *Historia Sancto Cuthberto* (HSC), extant only in a late 11<sup>th</sup>-century form, which describes the history of the property of the constantly moving bishopric of St Cuthbert.<sup>27</sup> Aside from these texts in which St Cuthbert is the main subject, he is also featured in Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (HE), where his appearance to King Alfred in a vision before the Battle of Edington is briefly recorded and in the late 10<sup>th</sup>-century *Historia Regum* (HR) by Symeon of Durham, although the relevant section has recently been attributed to Byrthferth of Ramsey by Michael Lapidge.<sup>28</sup>

### The Life of St Cuthbert

Although the exact date is unclear, Cuthbert was born in approximately 633-635 into a wealthy Anglo-Saxon family, close to the modern Scottish border and at the same time that St Aidán founded the Celtic monastery at Lindisfarne.<sup>29</sup> According to both the VCA and VCP, Cuthbert was a tirelessly playful young boy until he was eight years old when his future holy occupation was prophesized to him by an even younger child.<sup>30</sup> The first chronological as well as geographical certainty about Cuthbert is that he became a monk in the monastery of Melrose in 651, after having miraculously seen St Aidan being carried to heaven by a host of

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<sup>24</sup> Colgrave. *Two Lives*. (1940) p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> The *Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Anonymo* and the *Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Beda* are edited and translated in Colgrave. *Two Lives*. (1940). The most recent edition of the Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert is Werner Jaager. *Bedas Metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti*. Leipzig (1935).

<sup>26</sup> Colgrave records 7 MSS of the VCA, 38 MSS of the VCP and 8 MSS of the VCM, further remarking that signs of at least 28 lost MSS can be found in manuscript catalogues and booklists, pp. 17-42. An eighth MS for the VCA is suggested in D.A. Bullough. “A Neglected Early Ninth-Century Manuscript of the Lindisfarne Vita S. Cuthberti”. *Anglo-Saxon England* 27 (1998) pp. 105-137.

<sup>27</sup> Mechthild Gretsch. “Cuthbert: Saint of all England”. *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge (2005) p. 76.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Arnold, ed. *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*. London (1885) vol II. p. 83; Michael Lapidge.

“Byrthferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia Regum* Attributed to Symeon of Durham”. *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1981) pp. 97-122.

<sup>29</sup> David Hugh Farmer. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. 5<sup>th</sup> rev. Ed. (2011) Online.

<sup>30</sup> Colgrave. *Two Lives*. (1985) p. 64. “*clamare cepit, O sancte episcopo et presbiter Cuðberhte, hec tibi et tuo gradui contraria nature propter agilitatem non conueniunt*” [he began to cry out: ‘O holy Bishop and priest Cuthbert, these unnatural tricks done to show off your agility are not befitting to you or your high office’]. All translations from the VCA and VCP are by Colgrave.

angels.<sup>31</sup> Although his career as a monk and later priest was abundantly filled with all sorts of miracles, the anonymous author of the *VCA* insists that Cuthbert was especially graced with humility, often commanding those who witnessed his miracles to keep these occurrences secret.<sup>32</sup> Cuthbert was appointed as prior in the monastery of Ripon by the abbot Eata around 655, where it is said he was visited by an angel in disguise who rewarded him for his flawless hospitality with *tres panes calidos insoliti candoris et gratiae*, one of a few food-related miracles connected to Cuthbert.<sup>33</sup> However, the Deiran under-king Alhfrith, who had recently been converted to Roman-Catholicism, drove out Cuthbert, Eata and the other Celtic monks approximately five years later, after which Cuthbert was made prior of Melrose instead.<sup>34</sup>

The faith of the Celtic monks at Melrose was put under high pressure, however, when it was decided at the Synod of Whitby in 664 that the entire English Church should take on the Roman-Catholic doctrine and liturgy. Cuthbert and Eata apparently accepted this change readily and resumed their roles as prior and abbot respectively, but this time at the monastery of Lindisfarne which was supposed to be swiftly reformed from the Celtic to the Roman-Catholic practice.<sup>35</sup> The monastery on Holy Island had been abandoned by the Irish abbot Colmán and a large group of Irish as well as English monks, and Colgrave has argued that the monastic life at Lindisfarne must have been in a miserable state before Cuthbert's arrival. The introduction of the traditional Benedictine Rule to the monks who were familiar with the much stricter Columban Rule, however, led to a noteworthy revival of the devotion at Lindisfarne.<sup>36</sup> In 676, three years after the birth of Bede, Cuthbert is supposed to have retired to the island of Farne to live as a hermit, and many chapters of his *vitae* concern the miracles he wrought in this time of contemplation. The entire third book of the *VCA* concerns his life as a hermit, as well as books 17-24 in the *VCP*. As he had foreseen himself, Cuthbert was elected to the bishopric of Lindisfarne in the year 684, but he would retire back to his hermitage as soon as 686 because he felt that his end was drawing near. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of March in 687 he laid down on his deathbed, *atque eleuatis ad coelum oculis, extensique in altum minibus, intentam supernis laudibus animam ad gaudia regni coelestis emisit*.<sup>37</sup>

#### Lindisfarne after St Cuthbert

There is much reliable historical information on the Lindisfarne community after Cuthbert's death, but generally speaking there was not much to record at length. The *Annales Lindisfarnensis et Dunelmensis* give an account of Cuthbert's successors in the episcopate; he was succeeded as bishop by Eadbert in 687, who was succeeded by Bishop Eadfrith in 699. When Eadfrith died in 722 the bishopric elected no new bishop for two years, after which abbot Æthelwold of Melrose accepted rule of the see until his death in 740. The

<sup>31</sup> G.G. Kenny. "St. Cuthbert". *The Irish Monthly* 50, no. 588 (1922) p. 237; Colgrave. *Two Lives*. (1985) p. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Colgrave. *Two Lives*. (1985) p. 82. "*si uotum uoueris, numquam te esse quamdiu uixero narraturum*" [that you vow never to tell the story so long as I am alive].

<sup>33</sup> Colgrave. *Two Lives*. (1985) p. 178. [three warm loaves of unusual whiteness and excellence].

<sup>34</sup> Kenny. "St. Cuthbert". (1922) p. 238; Colgrave. *Two Lives*. (1985) p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Colgrave. *Two Lives*. (1985) p. 7.

<sup>36</sup> Richard Gameson. "Why did Eadfrith write the Lindisfarne Gospels?". *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*. Oxford (2001) p. 51; Colgrave. *Two Lives*. (1985) p. 324.

<sup>37</sup> Colgrave. *Two Lives*. (1985) p. 284. [and, raising his eyes to heaven and stretching out his hands aloft, he sent forth his spirit in the very act of praising God to the joys of the heavenly kingdom].

Northumbrian King Ceolwulf is an interesting character in these annals, because he gave up his kingship after eight years to become a monk at Lindisfarne in 737 until he died in 760. Æthelwold's death in 740 resulted in the succession by Bishop Cynewulf, who held the see for as long as 40 years.<sup>38</sup>

The narrative entries for this period are not disrupted, but clearly there was little business of importance at Lindisfarne to report. The *Annales Lindisfarnensis* go into considerable depth concerning royal affairs in England as well as the Carolingian successions in continental Europe, and even specific biographical details on the Venerable Bede are described, but it seems that the situation at Lindisfarne must have been tranquil and consistent.<sup>39</sup> Bede's own *HE* and the *HR* are equally silent on the matter. The successor of Cynewulf, Higbald, was the last bishop of Lindisfarne before the monastic peace at Lindisfarne was violently disturbed by Norwegian invaders.<sup>40</sup>

### The Viking Threat and the Community's Journey

At the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, several events in Northumbria heralded a conflict which would exert pressure on the entire Anglo-Saxon realm for more than two centuries. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for the year 793 states that in Northumbria [*O*]n .vi. idus Ianuarii earmlice heðenra manna hergung adiligode Godes cyrican in Lindisfarenae þurh reaflac 7 mansleht.<sup>41</sup> A year later the monasteries at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, both commonly associated with the Venerable Bede, suffered the same fate.<sup>42</sup> Despite the fact that these first raids occurred in Northumbria, the majority of Danish attacks until 866 were focused on Carolingian Western-Europe or West-Saxon territory. In 867, however, a major battle was fought over York by kings Ælla and Osbert against the invading Danes, in which both Northumbrian kings perished and the surviving Northumbrians made peace with the Danish force.<sup>43</sup> Nicholas Higham has stated that this failure of the Northumbrians to defeat the invaders "presaged the collapse of the Anglo-Saxon state", but to speak of an Anglo-Saxon state at this time in history would ignore the unstable state of affairs in the mostly independent kingdoms in England which allowed for the highly opportunistic Danish incursion to succeed in the first place;<sup>44</sup> for example, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ASC)

<sup>38</sup> George Pertz, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores (in Folio)*. Hannover (1866) vol. 19. pp. 504-505.

<sup>39</sup> Pertz. *MGH: Scriptores*. (1866) p. 505: "731. Beda scripsit historiam Anglorum ad uendem regem [...] 768. Pipinus moritur, cui successit Karolus filius eius, ille scilicet magnus" [731. Bede has written the history of England at the request of the king [...] 768. Pippin died, whom his brother Charlemagne succeeded, that evidently great one]. Translation mine.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Benjamin Thorpe, ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, According to the Several Original Authorities: Volume 1: Original Texts*. London (1861) p. 101. [On the sixth day before the ides of January the attack of miserable heathen men crippled the church of God at Lindisfarne with robbery and homicide]. Translations of ASC mine, unless noted otherwise.

<sup>42</sup> Nicholas J. Higham. *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350-1100*. Gloucestershire (1993) p. 174.

<sup>43</sup> Higham. *The Kingdom of Northumbria*. (1993) p. 178

<sup>44</sup> Higham. *The Kingdom of Northumbria*. (1993) p. 179

reports that King Osbert had been deposed in favor of the new illegitimate King Ælla shortly before the battle at York.<sup>45</sup>

The community of St Cuthbert is said to have fled the monastery at Lindisfarne in the year 875, and was granted the old Roman fort of Chester-le Street in 883 by Guthred, who was then king of Northumbria. Guthred was of Danish descent, and had been elevated from serfdom to kingship in that same year; the *HR* states *Guthredo itaque ex servo omnium consensus in regem promote, sedes episcopalis quae prius erat in Lindisfarnensi insula instauratur in Cestre, quae antiquitus vocabatur Cunecestre, post septem annos transmigrationem ex insula Lindisfarnensi*.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, both King Guthred and Alfred consented to offer the community all the land between the rivers Tyne and Wear, which Michelle Brown argues may have been intended to construct an ecclesiastical buffer-zone between the Danish and English kingdoms.<sup>47</sup> Despite the remaining Danish threat, Chester-le Street would be the community's temporary home for as long as 112 years, until renewed Danish belligerence forced the community to move St Cuthbert's relics to Ripon, and shortly after that to Durham.

### The Community at Chester-le Street

"The sources for the cult of St Cuthbert, the history of the Lindisfarne to Durham community, and Northumbrian religious life as a whole are rich, but by comparison poor for the late tenth-century Chester-le Street era".<sup>48</sup> The major historical sources available for this period are the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* by Symeon of Durham, the *HR*, the *HSC* and the *Durham Liber Vitae*, but Gerald Bonner has argued that only the latter two can be viewed as contemporaneous and trustworthy sources, despite the limited scope of their historical contents.<sup>49</sup> The reasons for the community's settlement at Chester-le Street remain uncertain to historians, because a move back to Lindisfarne would have seemed a desirable move since it was in English-controlled territory again under Eadwulf of Bamburgh;<sup>50</sup> Bonner has suggested that its closer proximity to the increasingly powerful kingdom of Wessex made Chester-le Street a desirable environment, and Eric Cambridge has argued that the use of a timber church by the community suggests they had expected their stay to be much shorter than it turned out to be.<sup>51</sup>

There are very few manuscripts which were certainly in the community's possession during their Chester-le Street sojourn. Helmut Gneuss records five extant MSS, the

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<sup>45</sup> Thorpe. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (1861) vol. 1, p. 133. "*hi hæfdon heora cining aworpene · Osbriht · ond ungecynde cining underfengon · Ællan ·*". [they had cast out their king Osbert, and received an unnatural (claimless) king Ælla].

<sup>46</sup> Arnold. *Symeonis Monachi*. (1885) p. 114.

<sup>47</sup> Arnold. *Symeonis Monachi*. (1885) p. 115; Brown. *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe*. (2003) p. 87.

<sup>48</sup> Jolly. *The Community of St. Cuthbert*. (2012) p. 17.

<sup>49</sup> Gerald Bonner. "St Cuthbert at Chester-le Street". *St Cuthbert, His Cult and his Community to A.D. 1200*. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, Clare Stancliffe, eds. Suffolk (1995) p.387

<sup>50</sup> Bonner. "St Cuthbert at Chester-le Street". (1995) p.389

<sup>51</sup> Ibid; Eric Cambridge. "Why Did the Community of St Cuthbert Settle at Chester-le Street?". *St Cuthbert, His Cult and his Community to A.D. 1200*. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, Clare Stancliffe, eds. Suffolk (1995) p.372

*Lindisfarne Gospels*, the *Durham Liber Vitae*, the *Durham Ritual*, a fragment of a Gospel of Luke and the *Vitae de Sancti Cuthberti* by Bede, which was part of Athelstan's gift to the community in 930.<sup>52</sup> It is noteworthy that none of these codices were actually created at Chester-le Street, but only glossed in the cases of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the *Durham Ritual* and added to in the case of the *Liber Vitae*, which means that unless all other evidence has since been lost the community of St Cuthbert did not have the means to produce new codices while residing at Chester-le Street. Rather than seeing this as a deterioration of liturgical practice, however, Karen Louise Jolly has argued that these marginalia and glosses are evidence of "clerical self-improvement", an unsurprising development for a community which probably expected to only stay at Chester-le Street for a short while.<sup>53</sup> Despite all the political and religious turbulence of the tenth century, the community can continually be seen as adapting to circumstances rather than dwindling. Its unceasing support from tenth-century West-Saxon monarchs like Athelstan and Edmund, of whom rich gifts are recorded in the *HSC*, is illustrative of St Cuthbert's continuing importance up until the move to Durham in 995.

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<sup>52</sup> Helmut Gneuss. "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100". *Anglo-Saxon England* 9 (1981) pp.1-60

<sup>53</sup> Jolly. *The Community of St Cuthbert*. (2012) p.14

### Chapter 3: The Manuscript and its Glossator

British Library, Cotton MS Nero D IV is one of the most prized pieces in the manuscript collections of the United Kingdom. Although the exact dating of its initial production is still a point of debate, the manuscript was probably made around the year 698, the year when St Cuthbert's coffin was first opened and revealed the saint's body uncorrupted.<sup>54</sup> Brown has proposed the codex may have been created for the occasion of Eadfrith's ascension of the episcopal seat at Lindisfarne in c.698, whether he was the actual scribe like the colophon suggests or the responsible patron.<sup>55</sup> The codex is one of a few magnificent treasure Gospel codices which were likely all produced at Lindisfarne around the beginning of the eighth century, the others being the *Echternach Gospels*, the *Durham Gospels* and the *Cambridge-London Gospels*, all of them marvelous specimens of Insular calligraphy and illumination.<sup>56</sup> The *Lindisfarne Gospels* codex's wealth in high-quality parchment and expensive pigments are indicative of the prosperity of the early community of St Cuthbert and a fitting representative of the Northumbrian Golden Age, a period in which the most holy Scripture was honored with the most lavish of pages.<sup>57</sup>

Approximately 250 years after the Latin Gospels were written in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, a priest in the community of St Cuthbert named Aldred added a complete interlinear translation of the Gospels and the prefatory texts into Old Northumbrian to the codex. There is little certainty as to why he did this, because there is no evidence of any responsible patron; the only hint at a motivation for the work is given in Aldred's colophon at the end of the Gospel of John in which he states:

*Aldred presbyter indignus 7 misserimus mið godes fylvmmme 7 sancti  
cvðberhtes hit ofergloesade on englisc. [...] Matheus dæl gode 7 sancti  
cuðberhti. Marcus dæl ðæm biscopelum. 7 lvcas dæl ðæm hiorode 7 æht ora  
seovlfres mið to inlade.: 7 sancti iohannes dæl ferore hine seolfne 7 feover  
ora seolfres mið gode 7 sancti cvðberhti*

[Aldred, unworthy and most miserable priest over-glossed it in English with the help of God and St Cuthbert. [...] The Matthew part for God and St Cuthbert, the Mark part for the bishop, and the Luke part for the community,

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<sup>54</sup> *HE*, Liber IV, c. 30, ll. 23-24: "Ut corpus illius post undecim annos sepulturae sit corruptionis immune repertum"

<sup>55</sup> Brown. "The Lindisfarne Scriptorium". (1995) p.154; it is noted that dating the initial production of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* has been the cause for an ongoing debate. For a summary of this debate up to 2003, as well as arguments for a later dating around c.721, see Lawrence Nees. "Reading Aldred's Colophon for the Lindisfarne Gospels". *Speculum* 78, vol.2 (2003) pp.369-377

<sup>56</sup> *Echternach Gospels*: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 9389; *Durham Gospels*: Durham Cathedral Library, MS A II 17; *Cambridge-London Gospels*: Cambridge, CCC MS 197B + London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho C V + Royal 7 C. XII. On the standards of early Lindisfarne manuscript production see Richard Gameson. "Why Did Eadfrith Write the Lindisfarne Gospels?". *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*. Richard Gameson, Henrietta Leyser, eds. Oxford (2001) pp.45-59

<sup>57</sup> Peter Hunter Blair. *Northumbria in the Days of Bede*. London (1976) p.157

and eight ores of silver for his induction. And the St John part for himself, and four ores of silver for God and St Cuthbert]<sup>58</sup>

Lawrence Nees has argued on the basis of this colophon that Aldred presumably worked for the benefit of the community, but clearly also had his self-interest in mind; he was likely campaigning for a better position than priesthood, and we know from a later colophon in the *Durham Ritual* that he succeeded in his promotion, being a provost of the community at least by 970.<sup>59</sup> Jolly stands by Nees' view that Aldred may be seen as a "self-promoter", given that our knowledge about him comes only from self-disclosure rather than mention in historical sources like the *Liber Vitae*.<sup>60</sup> He is the only scribe in the Chester-le Street community who names himself, whereas five other anonymous glossing hands can be found from this time and place, simply called "Scribes B-F".<sup>61</sup>

Other than the interlinear translation of the Gospels and prefatory texts, Aldred also added a total of 71 marginal annotations to the manuscript, excluding his colophon. These marginalia are described as evidence of Aldred's exegetical knowledge and available sources in the temporary Chester-le Street residence.<sup>62</sup> Even though these marginalia are not taken into account for the present study, they do give some indications about Aldred's intellectual capacity; he was not just a translator, but has had experience with the explanation or interpretation of Scripture. All these factors considered make Aldred an intelligent and ambitious man of God, who saw the opportunity to, in Nees' words, complete a treasure dedicated to God and his patron saint Cuthbert, while also fancying himself a place among its blessed creators.<sup>63</sup>

It should be noted that much recent scholarship has evaluated the likeliness of Aldred having been individually responsible for glossing the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. Even though Alan Ross, together with others, reassessed the manuscript and concluded in 1960 that the entire gloss had been written by a single hand, he divided the text of the gloss into three distinctive units on paleographical, orthographical and linguistic grounds.<sup>64</sup> Some recent scholarship has questioned whether these demarcations resulted from different scribes at work, or rather from changes of exemplars from which the glosses were copied or derived.<sup>65</sup> An alternative

<sup>58</sup> Quote and translation from Jolly. *The Community of St Cuthbert*. (2012) pp.52-53

<sup>59</sup> Nees. "Reading Aldred's Colophon". (2003) p.352; Jolly. *The Community of St Cuthbert*. (2012) p.40

<sup>60</sup> Jolly. *The Community of St Cuthbert*. (2012) p.37

<sup>61</sup> Jolly. *The Community of St Cuthbert*. (2012) p.74

<sup>62</sup> Boyd. *Aldred's Marginalia*. (1976) p.5

<sup>63</sup> Nees. "Reading Aldred's Colophon". (2003) p.344

<sup>64</sup> Alan S.C. Ross, Eric G. Stanley and T.J. Brown. "Some observations on the Gloss and the Glossator". *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis, Musei Britannici Codex Nero D.IV. vol. II. Commentariorum libri duo, quorum unus de textu evangeliorum latino et codicis oratione, alter de glossa anglo-saxonica*. Eds. T.D. Kendrick et.al. London (1960) pp. 5-33.

<sup>65</sup> This scholarship includes: Jolly. *The Community of St Cuthbert*. (2012); Tadashi Kotake. "Lindisfarne and Rushworth One Reconsidered". *Notes & Queries* 59 vol.1 (2012) pp. 14-19; All in the same volume: Marcelle Cole. "Identifying the Author(s) of the Lindisfarne Gloss: Linguistic Variation as a Diagnostic for Determining Authorship". *The Old English Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels: Language, Author and Context*. Julia



possibility which has been proposed on the basis of Aldred's own colophon and paleographical evidence is that he was responsible as a scribe for the glosses in the Gospel of John, but had a merely supervisory role for the rest of the manuscript.<sup>66</sup>

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Fernández Cuesta, Sara M Pons-Sanz, eds. Berlin (2016). pp. 169-188; Stewart Brookes. "The Shape of Things to Come? Variation and Intervention in Aldred's Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels. (2016) pp. 103-150; Nieves Rodríguez Ledesma. "Dauides sunu vs. filii david: The Genitive in the Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels". (2016) pp. 213-238.

<sup>66</sup> Skeat. *The Gospel According to Saint Luke*. (1874) p. vii; Cole. 'Identifying the Author(s) of the Lindisfarne Gloss. (2016) p. 172; the article by Ross et.al. "Some Observations on the Gloss and the Glossator". (1960) p. 24 points out some red ink corrections to glosses outside of the Gospel of John with a characteristic <þ> abbreviation rather than the <l> used in the main body to abbreviate Latin *vel* [or]. This could be indicative of supervisory work by Aldred after having written the gloss to John.

## Chapter 4: The English Benedictine Reform

It is essential to consider the Benedictine Reform in tenth-century England in the context of its Carolingian predecessor; the reformative efforts made by Charlemagne, his son Louis the Pious, and to a gradually decreasing extent Louis' successors. Dissatisfaction with the state of Christian faith in Western Europe was at least as old as St Boniface's famously agitated letter to Pope Zacharias from 742, reporting on a number of profanities which the local priests allowed to take place.<sup>67</sup> After Charlemagne succeeded Pippin as King of Francia, many royal as well as episcopal decrees currently known as *Capitularia* were promulgated; many of these reveal a wish to reform, or restore according to Julia Barrow, the role of the clergy in Francia in order to inspire an improved practice of Christianity for all inhabitants of the kingdom and later empire.<sup>68</sup> Despite the modern scepticism in historiography on how effective this reform actually was, scholars generally agree that the aims of the reformative effort were to improve Latinity among the clergy, to achieve a higher degree of theological education in the Carolingian monasteries and to administer a uniform doctrine and liturgy throughout the Carolingian episcopal sees.<sup>69</sup>

An important voice at the court of Charlemagne is one of a Northumbrian scholar, Alcuin of York, born in the year of Bede's death in 735. Alcuin had been taught at York's cathedral school, and continued to have a role in the education of Frankish clergy and nobility until shortly before his death in 804. A voluminous correspondence between Alcuin and addressees on the British Isles has survived among which Alcuin's often quoted written response to the first raid of Lindisfarne in 793, as well as a letter to Bishop Higbald of Lindisfarne which admonishes him as such: *Lectionis vero studium nullatenus dimitte, sed habeas tales iuvenes apud te, qui semper discant, et magis gaudeant discere quam inebriari*.<sup>70</sup> His influence on and valuing of regularized education has become clear in the most wide-spread capitulary of Charlemagne, the *Admonitio Generalis*, which instructs

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<sup>67</sup> Dabam Berolini. *MGH: Epistolae (In Quart)*: Hannover (1892) vol.3, pp.299-302

<sup>68</sup> On the terminological crux in describing the Carolingian reform, see Julia Barrow. "Ideas and Applications of Reform". *The Cambridge History of Christianity, 3: Early Medieval Christianities c.600-1100*. Thomas Noble, Julia Smith, eds. Cambridge (2008) pp.345-362

<sup>69</sup> Publications on the aims and limitations of the Carolingian reform are numerous, but for the sake of brevity only relatively few works will be mentioned in the present study. Those works which reveal scepticism about the effects of the reform: Janet Nelson. "On the Limits of the Carolingian Renaissance". *Studies in Church History* 14 (1977) pp.51-69; Peter Brown. *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, AD 200-1000*. Cambridge Mass. (1996); Philippe Depreux. "Ambitions et limites des réformes culturelles à l'époque carolingienne". *Revue Historique* 304:3 No.623 (2002) pp.721-753. On the educative aims of the reform: John Contreni. "The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture". *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume 2: c.700-c.900*. Rosamond McKitterick, ed. Cambridge (1995) pp.709-757; Rosamond McKitterick. "The Carolingian Renaissance of Culture and Learning". *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*. Joanna Story, ed. Manchester (2005) pp.151-166; John Contreni. "The Pursuit of Knowledge in Carolingian Europe". *Learning and Culture in Carolingian Europe: Letters, Numbers, Exegesis and Manuscripts*. John Contreni, ed. Farnham (2011) pp.106-141. On the doctrine and liturgy: Carine van Rhijn. *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*. Turnhout (2007); Yitzhak Hen. "The Romanization of the Frankish Liturgy: Ideal, Reality and Rhetoric of Reform". *Rome across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c.500-1400*. Claudia Bolga, Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, eds. Cambridge (2011) pp.111-123

<sup>70</sup> Berolini. *MGH: Epistolae*. (1895) vol.4, p.444. [Never give up the study of letters, but have such young men with you as are always learning and who rejoice more in learning than in being drunk] Translation from Blair. *Northumbria in the Days of Bede*. (1976) p.204

priests, bishops and all the secular inhabitants of Francia in the correct Christian life and conduct by means of quotes from patristic conciliar texts and illustrative Bible passages.<sup>71</sup> Coming from the same cultural milieu as Bede and Cuthbert, Alcuin's emphasis on reading and self-improvement among monks is not surprising. The Carolingian reform was to start in the monasteries, and by means of the priests should have gotten to the lay inhabitants of Francia.<sup>72</sup>

### The Anglo-Saxon Reformers

Ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England, however, was hardly thriving like its Carolingian neighbor. Political unrest and the gradual move of the Viking threat from Western Francia to England gave cause to a slow but steady destruction of Anglo-Saxon monasteries; "between c.830 and 880 all the monasteries of Wessex and south Mercia either had become extinct during the wars or had become houses where a number of priests or clerics lived together without any full regular life".<sup>73</sup> The beginning of the revival of monasticism, dated by David Knowles at c.940 during the reign of King Edmund, takes place against the same background as its extinction, one of conflict with Danish settlers. Dunstan, appointed as abbot of Glastonbury by King Edmund around 940, can be seen as inciting the monastic revival which resulted in what is now called the English Benedictine Reform. What began as the building of a few monasteries by Dunstan, on which the familiar Benedictine Rule was strictly imposed, became a royally sponsored effort to eject all secular clergy from the already scarce amount of southern English monasteries to replace them with Benedictine monks, as well as to found new monastic centres.

By 963 Dunstan had been consecrated as archbishop of Canterbury (959) and his cause had been joined by bishops Æthelwold of Winchester (963) and Oswald of Worcester (961), with the continuous support of the young King Edgar. As monasteries were depleted of secular clergy at a rapid pace, new Benedictine monasteries were founded around the religious centres of the three bishops. Around the year 972 a great synod was held at Winchester where the *Regularis Concordia* was promulgated, which was to be the universal consuetudinary for all monastic houses represented at that synod.<sup>74</sup> The monasteries were to be restored to their original function according to St Benedict, in which the monks lived "a distinctive if austere way of life [...] to attain perfection in their pursuit of a life devoted to God".<sup>75</sup> Although the *Regularis Concordia* gives the impression of being a group effort, the

<sup>71</sup> On Alcuin's influence on the *Admonitio Generalis*, see the relevant chapter in the most recent *MGH* edition: Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, Michael Glatthaar, eds. "Alkuins Anteil". *MGH: Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui In Usum Scholarum Separatim Editi. Die Admonitio Generalis Karls des Grossen*. Wiesbaden (2013) pp.47-62. I am aware of the possibility of ascribing some sections in the *Admonitio Generalis* often attributed to Alcuin to bishop Theodulf of Orléans instead, suggested by among others Donald Bullough's *Alcuin. Achievement and Reputation* (2004); Isabelle Rosé's "Le Roi Josias dans l'ecclésiologie politique" (2003); and Michel Lauwers' "Le Glaive at la Parole" (2004).

<sup>72</sup> Rhijn. *Shepherds of the Lord*. (2007) pp.24-25

<sup>73</sup> Knowles. *The Monastic Order*. (1976) p.24

<sup>74</sup> Knowles. *The Monastic Order*. (1976) pp.40-42. The *Regularis Concordia* is edited in Thomas Symons, ed. *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation: Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque*. London (1953)

<sup>75</sup> Mechthild Gretsch. *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*. Cambridge (1999) pp. 3-4

sections without obvious textual precedent are most often attributed to the hand of Æthelwold for stylistic reasons.<sup>76</sup> This attribution to Æthelwold is important, because it was also Æthelwold who had translated the Latin *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (*RSB*) into Old English, possibly well before his consecration at Winchester, and clearly this widely spread text did not suffice on its own in his view if he decided the English monasteries were in need of this new consuetudinary.<sup>77</sup> Julia Barrow's observation that the term 'reform' does not fit with the ideology of Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald should perhaps be reconsidered, because despite the fact that terms for 'reform' are rarely used by people like Æthelwold and King Edgar who favor of terms like 'cleanse' or 'root out', his authorship of both the Old English *RSB* as well as the original parts of the *Regularis Concordia* implies that the original Rule was in fact reformed rather than restored, a term which Barrow preferred in the earlier Carolingian context.<sup>78</sup>

### The Doctrine of the Reform

Although the doctrine imposed on the revived monastic communities was effectively the original Benedictine Rule that had been observed by the original Lindisfarne community as well, several innovations in the *Regularis Concordia* differentiate the doctrine of the original Benedictine Rule from the later 10<sup>th</sup>-century version of the rule. This chapter will therefore only deal with those features which are specific to the new reformed Benedictine doctrine as suggested in the *Regularis Concordia*.

The first peculiarity which is already addressed in the proem to the *Regularis Concordia* is the importance of the king and queen for the monastic community. Despite the fact that no secular overlordship is allowed in the *RSB* as well as the *Regularis Concordia*, the latter dictates the monarch's advice and consent should always be sought when a new abbot or abbess is elected.<sup>79</sup> The Rule as set forth by St Benedict leaves the instructions for electing a new monastic leader until the 64<sup>th</sup> chapter, and commands that either the whole community or a select few should perform the election, but no one from outside the monastery unless another non-secular leader in that diocese has obvious reason to discredit the election.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, the *Regularis Concordia* commands the monks to sing a psalm especially for the king after each of the regular hours as part of the daily liturgy.<sup>81</sup> The *RSB*, however, does not mention the king in any of its liturgical instructions.

The *RSB* also differs from the *Regularis Concordia* in its focus on the sinning of monks, as well as the appropriate punishments. The *RSB* contains several chapters which deal with the proper ways of excommunication or dealing with repeated offences, and many of the liturgical instructions are followed by a warning to those who fail to follow the Rule

<sup>76</sup> Gretsch. *The Intellectual Foundations*. (1999) pp. 125-127

<sup>77</sup> Gretsch. *The Intellectual Foundations*. (1999) pp. 235-241

<sup>78</sup> Julia Barrow. "The Ideology of the Tenth-Century English Benedictine Reform". *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*. Patricia Skinner, ed. Turnhout (2009) pp. 141-154; Julia Barrow. "Ideas and Applications of Reform". (2008) pp. 345-362

<sup>79</sup> Symons. *The Monastic Agreement*. (1953) p. 6

<sup>80</sup> John Fursden. *The Rule of Our Most Holy Father St Benedict, Patriarch of Monks: From the Old English Edition of 1638*. London (1875) p. 267-269

<sup>81</sup> Symons. *The Monastic Agreement*. (1953) p. 13

perfectly. As many as 10 out of the 73 chapters in the *RSB* deal directly with sin and punishment.<sup>82</sup> The *Regularis Concordia* on the other hand makes little mention of possible offences other than the command for monks to make daily confession of their sins after the Morrow Mass; however, this mention of sin and the possibility of punishment is taken up in chapter 21, which focuses on a monk's humility rather than his sins.<sup>83</sup>

Another change of doctrine is the shifting balance between manual and intellectual labor in the Benedictine monastery. Thomas Symons suggests that in tenth-century monasteries there was no other manual labor than the regular upkeep of the monastery because there is no mention of manual labor in the *Regularis Concordia*.<sup>84</sup> The intellectual work, or *lectio*, would involve book-production as well as the study of Scripture and its exegesis. Whereas all reading in the *RSB* seems to have been a communal affair, in which the designated *lectore* read aloud the appropriate lessons to a silent crowd of monks, the *Regularis Concordia* mentions a period between the None and the Compline reserved for strictly silent, and therefore presumably individual reading.<sup>85</sup> This was a period of four to five hours depending on the season, and only those monks who had manual labor to do were exempted from this moment of *lectio*. This long period of reading was preceded by two sessions of communal reading during the morning hours. The *RSB* allowed a substantial period for this spiritual labor as well, but only a total of three to four hours on regular days of the year.<sup>86</sup>

Finally, some smaller matters in which the *RSB* and *Regularis Concordia* differ are: the extent to which monks were allowed to individually define their participation in the liturgy postulated in the *Regularis Concordia*, as opposed to the *RSB* which leaves no room for individual interpretations.<sup>87</sup> Also, the abbot's relation to so-called 'strangers' is slightly different in the two texts. While in the *RSB* it is stated that the abbot should always dine with his guests, and occasionally admit one or more monks to his table,<sup>88</sup> the *Regularis Concordia* prevents such interaction by strictly forbidding all monks and the abbot from eating outside the refectory.<sup>89</sup> The guests of the monastery had to eat separately in the guesthouse and be served out of a separate kitchen. The value ascribed to the youthful inhabitants of the monastery is the final point of difference. Although the *Regularis Concordia* does not often mention youths in non-liturgical contexts, chapter 11 explicitly states that rather than youths, monks on a journey should take grown-ups with them so they may take profit from conversation.<sup>90</sup> The *RSB*, however, proclaims that even the younger monks should be called

<sup>82</sup> These are chapters: 23-28, 44-46, 70

<sup>83</sup> Symons. *The Monastic Agreement*. (1953) pp. 17-19

<sup>84</sup> Symons. *The Monastic Agreement*. (1953) p. xxxiv

<sup>85</sup> Symons. *The Monastic Agreement*. (1953) p. 55

<sup>86</sup> Knowles. *The Monastic Order*. (1976) pp. 5-6

<sup>87</sup> Symons. *The Monastic Agreement*. (1953) p. 37

<sup>88</sup> Fursden. *The Rule of St Benedict*. (1875) p. 231

<sup>89</sup> Symons. *The Monastic Agreement*. (1953) p. 62

<sup>90</sup> Symons. *The Monastic Agreement*. (1953) p. 7

to an abbot's counsel *quia sæpe juniori Dominus revelat quod melius est* <sup>91</sup> which suggests that the appreciation of the opinions of the young had seemingly changed.

### The West-Saxon Gospel Translation

While we know quite a lot about the Northumbrian translation of the Gospels because of Aldred's disclosures such as his colophon, albeit with the previously discussed caveats in mind, there is far less clarity about the context in which the West-Saxon translation of the Gospels was made. The extent to which the West-Saxon translation of the Gospels can be considered a product of the Benedictine Reform strongly depends on its dating; while its oldest manuscript, MS CCCC 140, dates from around the year 1000, Joseph Bosworth has dated its composition as early as 735.<sup>92</sup> This dating is based, however, solely on the assumption that Bede had actually translated the Gospel of John, an assumption for which there is no physical evidence. None of the surviving manuscripts of the West-Saxon Gospels, however, "appear to give the version in its original purity" according to Sir Frederick Madden, who was responsible for transcribing the charred remains of one of these manuscripts in the collection of Sir Robert Cotton.<sup>93</sup> More recent scholarship suggests a date of composition which is much closer to the production of the Corpus manuscript, likely during Ælfric's lifetime (c.955-1010).<sup>94</sup> If this is true, the prose-translation of the Gospels into West-Saxon can much more safely be seen as a product of the Benedictine Reform; however, the original composition need not have been within the time of the Reform, because the manuscripts on which Skeat's edition is based were all produced in the reformed scriptoria of Bath and Exeter. The time and place of their productions are highly indicative of a reformed environment, which suggests that the West-Saxon Gospels as we know them must be a product of the reformed doctrine.<sup>95</sup>

The intended use and audience for these translated Gospel manuscripts remains unclear. Roy Michael Liuzza has argued that the scarce number of remaining Gospel manuscripts compared to the relative abundance of surviving homiletic material may point to a negligible role in education for the prose Gospels. The surviving manuscripts were with no exception plainly written without any illumination or decoration, ruling them out as explicit objects of veneration. Liuzza concludes that their recorded medieval provenances, all within monastic libraries, suggest that these manuscripts were produced for the use of the Church rather than to edify the illiterate masses or secular aristocrats; homiletic material was better

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<sup>91</sup> [because the Lord often revealeth to the younger what is best] translation from Fursden. *The Rule of St Benedict*. (1875) p. 33

<sup>92</sup> Joseph Bosworth and George Waring. *The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels in Parallel Columns with the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale: Arranged with Preface and Notes*. London (1874) pp. ii, xii.

<sup>93</sup> Skeat. *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*. (1881) p. iii.

<sup>94</sup> Roy Michael Liuzza. "Who Read the Gospels in Old English?" *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*. Eds. Peter S. Baker and Nicholas Howe. Toronto (1998) p. 6.

<sup>95</sup> The MSS on which Skeat bases his column with the Old West-Saxon Gospels are MS CCCC 140 for the main text; variant readings were derived from Cambridge University Library MS II. 2. 11; MS Bodley NE. F. 3. 15; British Library MS Cotton Otho C. I. (missing the Gospel of Matthew since the Cotton library fire). All references to the West-Saxon Gospels in the present study are to MS CCCC 140.

suited for such tasks.<sup>96</sup> The question remains as to what use the Church had for such a text, much the same question as what use Aldred had in mind for his gloss.

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<sup>96</sup> Liuzza. "Who Read the Gospels in Old English?". (1998) pp. 5, 15.

## Chapter 5: St Cuthbert's Community and its Relations with the South

The following chapter will explore the relation of the tenth-century West-Saxon aristocracy with Northumbria at large, after which detailed reports of St Cuthbert's community in contact with southern ecclesiastical and secular aristocracy will be scrutinized, as well as Aldred's own possible connection with the south. Analysis of these factors shows that although St Cuthbert's community was not reformed, it was highly likely to be familiar with the southern Reform-movement and its advocates. It should be noted that many events in Northumbria in the period under scrutiny were only recorded in the D-manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which severely limits the reliability of these reports without confirmation by other historical sources.<sup>97</sup> These alternative sources are for instance Æthelwærd's *Chronicon* and Symeon of Durham's *Historia Regum*.

The kingdom of Northumbria suffered no shortage of different overlords during the tenth century, continuously shifting between Anglo-Saxon and Hiberno-Norse kings. Although the different manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* disagree on the exact date, this discussion of tenth-century politics takes off at King Æthelstan's succession of his deceased father King Edward the Elder, an event which took place in either 924 or 925. Æthelstan's succession made him king of Mercia, East-Anglia and Wessex, but in the first year of his kingship he offered his sister in marriage to the Northumbrian King Sihtric. After Sihtric's death in the next year, Æthelstan took the kingship of Northumbria upon him, obstructing the claim of Sihtric's heir Gothfrith whom Æthelstan expelled, and "he subjugated all the kings who were in this island [Britain]".<sup>98</sup> This made him the first southern king of Northumbria, and effectively the first king of Britain which is reflected on his coinage by the words *Rex Totius Britanniae*.

In the year 940 Æthelstan died, after which his brother Edmund assumed the throne. The D-manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* describes how the Northumbrians "belied their fealty oaths, and chose Olaf Sihtricson of Ireland for their king".<sup>99</sup> Edmund, known for his peaceful and diplomatic rather than military approaches, repaired the loss of Northumbrian control by befriending King Olaf and convincing him as well as another Viking king, Ragnald Guthfrithson, to be baptized. A year after their baptisms, Edmund expelled them from the kingdom. Edmund's assassination in 946 led to the succession of his brother Eadred, who quickly resubmitted Northumbria as well as taking oaths of fealty from the Scottish lords. In 948 Eadred led a campaign into Northumbria to drive out sympathizers of Eric 'Bloodaxe' Haraldsson during which the monastery at Ripon was devastated. After the Danish army had brought great slaughter to the people of York Eadred prepared to return for vengeance, but the Northumbrian 'witan' forsook Eric and compensated Eadred before

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<sup>97</sup> London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B IV. The majority of this version of the ASC was written during the 11<sup>th</sup> century, although some 16<sup>th</sup>-century leaves were inserted which are not transcribed in Thorpe's edition. These leaves, however, cover the period from 409-633 and do not influence the present thesis.

<sup>98</sup> Higham. *The Kingdom of Northumbria*. (1993) p. 190; Thorpe. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (1861) vol. 2, p. 85. Translation by Thorpe, comment mine. "ealle þa cyngas þe on þyssum iglande wæron he gewylde" vol. 1, p. 199, only in the D-manuscript.

<sup>99</sup> Thorpe. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (1861) vol. 2, p. 89. Translation by Thorpe. "her Norðhymbra alugon hira getreow aða · 7 Anlaf of Yrlande him to cinge gecuron" vol. 1, p. 209.



this could happen.<sup>100</sup> It is however unclear to what extent Eadred had control over Northumbria during that time, since the ASC notes that the Northumbrians took Olaf Cwiran, and after that Eric Haraldsson again, as their kings before finally accepting Eadred as their king in 954.<sup>101</sup>

When Eadred died in 955, Edmund's son Eadwig began his short-lived reign over Wessex while his brother Edgar donned the Mercian crown as a start to a much longer kingship. Despite the fact that Eadwig ruled less than four years, the number of surviving charters and land leases signed by him reveal his ambition but also disclose the political instability of Wessex under his rule; approximately 60 grants of land are recorded in 956 alone, an amount which Chris Wickham remarks is unmatched by any of Eadwig's contemporaries.<sup>102</sup> His generous distribution of land, however, seems to have stabilized West-Saxon politics before the early death of Eadwig in 959, after which Edgar took over Wessex and reunited the kingdoms of Britain.<sup>103</sup> Another important aspect of Eadwig's reign was his feud with Dunstan, the royal advisor of long standing who was banished and fled to Western Europe in 956.<sup>104</sup> It was in his European sojourn that Dunstan saw reformed Benedictine monasteries in Flanders, from which he returned at least before 959 with great inspiration for the English Benedictine reform. Edgar elected Dunstan as archbishop of Canterbury which greatly empowered his plans to restore the monastic communities of England.

It is also during Edgar's reign that Northumbrian estates were clearly becoming part of the southern kings' property to distribute. Walter De Gray Birch's collection of charters by Anglo-Saxon kings records as many land grants in Northumbrian territory signed by Edgar as by all his predecessors back to Æthelstan, the *Rex Totius Britanniae*.<sup>105</sup> With the support of Edgar and Dunstan the episcopate of Winchester becomes Æthelwold's, and the English Benedictine reform started to take physical shape in the restoration of monasteries and the pressure on these communities to expel secular clergy.

#### Southern Interest in St Cuthbert

The veneration of St Cuthbert in the tenth century was by no means restricted to Northumbrian territory, as well as the influence of its ecclesiastical rulers. King Alfred's vision of St Cuthbert in his the *Historia Regum* is perhaps the most illustrative example of

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<sup>100</sup> Thorpe. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (1861) vol. 1, p. 213.

<sup>101</sup> Thorpe. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (1861) vol. 1, p. 215.

<sup>102</sup> Chris Wickham. "Problems in Doing Comparative History". *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*. Ed. Patricia Skinner. Turnhout (2009) pp. 19-21.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> The ASC and the *Vita Dunstani* give varying amounts of detail of Dunstan's exile from England. The ASC merely states "on þam ylcan geare wæs Dunstan abb· adræfed ofer sæ" [that same year the abbot Dunstan was driven away over sea]; Thorpe. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (1861) vol. 1, p. 217. The *Vita Dunstani* states "fremetent regis iram graviter incurrerunt, et propterea insanos fluctus turbidi aequoris periculoso navigio tranare, et incerta Galliarum exilia adire coactus est." [the murmur of the king incurred severe anger [in Dunstan], and therefore he sailed a ship over the insane wave of the dangerous stormy sea surface, and was unsurely forced to go into the Gaulish exiles] William Stubbs. *The Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury: Edited from Various Manuscripts*. London (1874) p. 34. Translation mine.

<sup>105</sup> Walter De Gray Birch. *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*. Cambridge (2013) 3 vols. The charters by Edgar concerning Northumbrian land are numbered 1052, 1112 and 1113. Two by Æthelstan, 685 and 703, and one by Eadred, 815.

Cuthbert's status south of the Humber, but evidence of a more administrative nature also suggests that the West-Saxon monarchs had an interest in St Cuthbert's community and cult.<sup>106</sup> Bishop Wigred of Chester-Le Street was summoned to a great council in Colchester by Æthelstan in 931 as representative of the remaining Northumbrian sees;<sup>107</sup> the royal gift to the community of that same king has been mentioned before;<sup>108</sup> the *HSC* describes Edmund kneeling before Cuthbert's tomb on his way north to wage war in Scotland;<sup>109</sup> Wigred's successor Ælfsige was apparently away on business to the south if we take Aldred's colophon in the *Durham Ritual* at face value, although no charter in the *Cartularium Saxonicum* mentions a Bishop Ælfsige as witness to any proclamation.<sup>110</sup> Gerald Bonner suggests that it was possibly the case that Ælfsige and Aldred had been summoned to witness the council of Winchester, famous for resulting in the *Regularis Concordia*. The community of St Cuthbert was one of only two surviving northern sees, and had adopted the original Benedictine Rule in Cuthbert's own time.<sup>111</sup>

David Rollason has evaluated the possible explanations for the apparent veneration of this northern saint far away in the south, and concluded that although it was very likely a matter of legitimate respect for this early English figure of Christianity, the veneration of this northern saint could also have helped stabilize the political control over Northumbria.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, after the Northumbrian archbishop Wulfstan's imprisonment by Eadred in 952 each new archbishop of York was elected from south of the Humber.<sup>113</sup> It should also be noted that many successive bishops of York after Wulfstan hailed from the eastern Danelaw, with Danish names and often a Danish background like Oscytel and his kinsman Thurcytel.<sup>114</sup> However, in Nicholas Higham's wording "the local community was neutralized rather than won over", which is indicative of the limited success the southern English kings had in exerting their overlordship.<sup>115</sup>

Another important point of debate pertinent to this thesis is to what extent Aldred may have been familiar with the southern English glossing tradition, or rather where he was trained as a glossator. Boyd has argued that Aldred worked in the context of monastic reform and a revival of ecclesiastical learning which is commonly identified as the Benedictine

<sup>106</sup> Arnold. *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*. (1885) vol II. p. 83

<sup>107</sup> Birch. *Cartularium Saxonicum*. (2013) vol. 2, pp. 357-359, no. 674; cf Gerald Bonner. "St Cuthbert at Chester-le Street". *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200*. eds. Gerald Bonner et.al. (1995) p. 394.

<sup>108</sup> Birch. *Cartularium Saxonicum*. (2013) vol. 2, pp. 374-375, no. 685

<sup>109</sup> ed. Ted Johnson South. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. Cambridge (2002) p. 67.

<sup>110</sup> Bonner. "St Cuthbert at Chester-le Street". (1995) p. 394; an often-recurring person by the name of Ælfsige is identified as either *Ælfsige minister* or *Ælfsige discipulus*. It is highly unlikely this is the same person because of the different ecclesiastical rank and because of how often he must have been at Edgar's court, even before his appointment as bishop.

<sup>111</sup> Bonner. "St Cuthbert at Chester-le Street". (1995) pp. 394-395.

<sup>112</sup> David Rollason. "St Cuthbert and Wessex: The Evidence of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183". *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200*. eds. Gerald Bonner et.al. (1995) pp. 413-424.

<sup>113</sup> Dorothy Whitelock. "The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries". *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*. London (1959) p. 72.

<sup>114</sup> Whitelock. "The Dealings with Northumbria". (1959) pp. 75-76.

<sup>115</sup> Higham. *The Kingdom of Northumbria*. (1993) p. 214.

Reform.<sup>116</sup> Philip Rusche, however, very recently evaluated the similarities between glossed 10<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts from south of the river Humber and Aldred's effort in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. Doing so, he disproved the suspicion that Aldred may have been trained in a southern scriptorium and was therefore not explicitly influenced by the Benedictine Reform; the Reform had not reportedly reached his community at Chester-le Street in the time of his glossing the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.<sup>117</sup> Rusche identifies five common characteristics of 10<sup>th</sup>-century southern glosses and compares these to Aldred's gloss.<sup>118</sup> Only one of these five characteristics can be found in Aldred's gloss, which is the morphemic style of glossing, and Rusche notes the likelihood that Aldred derived this from the older Psalter glosses rather than contemporary examples.<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, the southern manuscripts in which this detailed style of morphemic can be found are generally productions of the late 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, which makes it even less likely Aldred learnt this in a southern environment.

It is known from Aldred's own colophon in the *Durham Ritual* that he traveled to the south in 970 in the company of Bishop Ælfsige. Jolly argues that "although both men must have become aware of the (re)introduction of Benedictine monastic communal life to some large religious establishments, it seems to have had minimal effect on their community. Chester-le Street's *familia* remained secular clergy with perhaps a few monks under the dual headship of a bishop and a provost".<sup>120</sup> A major concern of the Benedictine Reform was that a monastic community should include no secular clergy and consist solely of monks at spiritual labor. If Aldred had any connection with the south when he was glossing the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, it is more likely to be an awareness of the West-Saxon literary tradition from before the Benedictine Reform such as the Psalter glosses and texts like Aldhelms *De Laudibus Virginitate*.<sup>121</sup>

In summary, although it is clear that the community of St Cuthbert must have been aware of the dealings of the southern kings during the tenth century, the effective influence of these kings was limited. The ecclesiastical government of Northumbria, however, was outsourced to archbishops elected from estates south of the Humber because these ecclesiastical seats of power were less prone to disloyalty than the Northumbrian secular courts; as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* relates few Northumbrian kings or nobles could be counted as loyal for a long time, with new kings often being accepted within years of their successors' ascensions. York was the political as well as ecclesiastical center of power in the North, and it is York in which the southern kings and archbishops invested their hopes and efforts; contact with the community at Chester-le Street was maintained, but however sincere the praise of St Cuthbert may have been, intensive contact with its community cannot be seen

<sup>116</sup> Boyd. *Aldred's Marginalia*. (1975) p. 4.

<sup>117</sup> Philip G Rusche. "The Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Benedictine Reform: Was Aldred Trained in the Southumbrian Glossing Tradition?". *The Old English Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels: Language, Author and Context*. Julia Fernández Cuesta, Sara M Pons-Sanz, eds. Berlin (2016). pp. 61-78.

<sup>118</sup> These characteristics are: heavy reliance on older English glosses, heavy reliance on reference works such as Isidore's *Etymologiae*, gradual replacement of Latin glosses with Old English glosses, use of specific grammatical indicators to handle inflectional and morphological differences between Latin and Old English, close attention to glossing individual morphemes rather than whole words.

<sup>119</sup> Rusche. "The Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Benedictine Reform". (2016) pp. 72-76.

<sup>120</sup> Jolly. *The Community of St Cuthbert*. (2012) p. 69.

<sup>121</sup> Rusche. "The Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Benedictine Reform". (2016) pp. 76-77.

as realistic. On these premises the present thesis will assume that at the time Aldred was glossing the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the community of St Cuthbert was not under any noteworthy influence of the southern Benedictine Reform.

## Chapter 6: A Survey of Doctrinal Language in the Gospel of Matthew

### 6.1: Data & Methods

The following analysis of the Gospel of Matthew is based on two of the MSS collated in Skeat's edition of 1887; MS CCCC 140 for the text of the West-Saxon Gospel and British Library MS Cotton Nero D IV for the text of the Old Northumbrian Gospel.<sup>122</sup> The corpus of the present study does not include any of the prefatory material from the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, because the West-Saxon MS does not contain the equivalent texts for comparisons sake. Doctrinal terms were marked throughout the Old Northumbrian gloss, after which all West-Saxon translations of these same doctrinal terms were collected. With the exception of a few cases in which the West-Saxon text lacked an equivalent term, every Old Northumbrian translation was compared to its direct West-Saxon counterpart. A word-to-word comparison of the translations sorted by the Latin lemmata can be found in Appendix A.

The collected terms were then sorted into Halvorson's proposed categories, being 'The Deity', 'The World, Angels and Devils', 'Sin', 'The Doctrine of Salvation', 'Christian Qualities, Virtues and Works' and 'The Future State'. The next step was to compare which terms were used to translate each Latin lemma and identify the meanings of these translated terms in detail. The following dictionaries and reference works were used for this part of the analysis: *A Thesaurus of Old English* (1995) by J. Roberts et.al. (*TOE*), *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1960) by J.R. Clark Hall (*CHM*), *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1882-1893) by J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller (*B&T*), *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement* (1908-1921) by T.N. Toller (*B&T*), *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (1949) by Carl Darling Buck (*SPIL*) and the online *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (*DOEC*). The detailed results of this process can be found in Appendix B.

My main analyses focused on 1) lemmata which are found in the Old Northumbrian translation, but not in the West-Saxon translation, and 2) semantically and contextually unique Old Northumbrian as well as West-Saxon terms. Both were sorted on the basis of Halvorson's categories mentioned above. A selection of the most illustrative translations was then compared in more detail. These comparisons include references to possible sources for the translations, feasible explanations for choices made by both translators and contextualisations for each instance that the Latin term in question is translated.

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<sup>122</sup> The author is aware that Skeat was occasionally inaccurate in his transcription of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* gloss in terms of spelling and spacial representation of the Old Northumbrian gloss in relation to the Latin main text. Even though orthography is no major concern of this study, there will be occasional notes on mistakes by Skeat which affect the meaning of terms. Observations and corrections are all based on the digital scan of British Library MS Nero D IV, which is available on [www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton\\_MS\\_Nero\\_D\\_IV](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Nero_D_IV). Cf. Julia Fernández Cuesta's "Revisiting the Manuscript of the Lindisfarne Gospels". *The Old English Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels: Language, Author and Context*. Julia Fernández Cuesta, Sara M Pons-Sanz, eds. Berlin (2016). pp. 257-285.

## 6.2: Findings and Analyses

Table 1 summarises the terms found in the Old Northumbrian, but not in the West-Saxon translation. These terms are only found in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* with the caveat that the present study's corpus only consists of two texts; these terms are likely to be found in other West-Saxon texts other than the West-Saxon Gospel translation with the exception of three terms which are definitely unique to the Old Northumbrian dialect.

**Table 1:**

### The Deity:

*Awurigde (suspendit)*  
*Bisen (parabola)*  
*Cnæht (puer)*  
*Foretaceno (prodigia)*  
*Heh seðel godes (thronus dei)*  
*Lege of ðornum (coronam de spinis)*

*Mersung (famam)*  
*Næglan on rode (crucifigo)*  
*Ðær byrig (Bethlehem)*  
*Ðegn (discipulus)*  
*Ðrouung (crux)*

### The World, Angels and Devils:

*Aldormon, latua (dux)*  
*Cynna, hædna (gens)*  
*Dioble (mamona)*  
*Dryum, tungulcræftga (magus)*  
*Esuice (hypocrite)*  
*In ðis woruld (in hoc saeculo)*  
*Mesapreost, biscopa (sacerdos)*

*Sunu cursunges (filium gehennae)*  
*Unfegernis (abominationem)*  
*Widerbraca, wider uorda (Satan)*  
*Wigbed (altare)*  
*Wiðerbraca (aduersarius)*  
*Wuðuta (scriba)*  
*Yfel with (phantasma)*

### Sin:

*Æd wuioton (improperabant)*  
*Arg (adultera)*  
*Bær synnig, yfel wyrcendum (publicanus)*  
*Cunnan (tempto)*  
*Cunnere (temptator)*  
*Dælan, sceadan, slitan (separo)*  
*Dead synig (reus)*  
*Derne legere, unclænas lustas (fornicatio)*  
*Dernunga ligan, uif giornian (adultero)*  
*Ebalsan (blasphemo)*  
*Ebolsung (blasphemia)*  
*Firinan (pecco)*  
*Forogas, geteled (contemnet)*  
*Gefræpgedon, geteldon (accusarent)*  
*Gestyred (uexatur)*  
*Heh synne (crimine)*  
*Idle, unwis (fatuus)*  
*Idle, unuis (racha)*

*Mid læððo (odio)*  
*Mis hæbban (male habo)*  
*Morsceaðo (latrones)*  
*Morður, morðor slago (homicidium)*  
*Nedunga, ðreatende (violenti)*  
*Nytanne (concupiscendam)*  
*Ondspyrrnan, ðrouigan (scandalizo)*  
*Ondspyrrnis (scandalum)*  
*Sceomage, forcwoeða (exprobare)*  
*Slæhtas (cadens)*  
*Swer (piger)*  
*Tellan (condemno)*  
*Ðiofonto (furtum)*  
*Ðuuenegu (philacteria)*  
*Unbliðe, wohful, yfel wyrcende (nequam)*  
*Un hælo (infirmus)*  
*Un hale (languidos)*  
*Unsoðfæste (iniustos)*

*Uræðes (irascetur)*  
*Witnesa, wutu (testes)*  
*Witnesa (testimonium)*

*Wohfull (peruersa)*  
*Wraðe (indignati)*  
*Yfle cuoeðan (maledico)*

### **The Doctrine of Salvation:**

*Geman, gelecnan, geboetan (curo)*  
*Wisfæst (perfectus)*  
*Eft to bietanne (reconciliare)*  
*Eft lesing (redemptionem)*  
*Hefignise (aegrotationes)*  
*Bæstere (baptista)*

*Gebegan (humilio)*  
*Gemænas (lugunt)*  
*Slitan, undon, untynan (soluo)*  
*Hehstald (uirgo)*  
*Behaldas ge (attendite)*  
*Gefroefre (reficiam)*

### **Christian Qualities, Virtues and Works:**

*Æd eaudan (reuelo)*  
*Aran (honoro)*  
*Beboden, befeastaad, betaht (desponsata)*  
*Bliðo (simplices)*  
*Boc freodomes (libellum repudii)*  
*Brydlopa, færma (nubtias)*  
*Derling, diora (dilectus)*  
*Eðor, lihtre (tolerabilis)*  
*Forebodagan (praedico)*  
*Forhogan, ofergaan (transgredio)*  
*Forworpnise, gefealnisse, ofercerr, ofer fær, ymbcerr (transmigrationem)*  
*Friðgeorne (pacifici)*  
*Geafo, husul (sacrificium)*  
*Gest (hospes)*  
*Ge undradon, worðadon (magnificabant)*  
*Giuian (peto)*  
*Glædnisse (gaudio)*  
*Godcund mæht (maiestate)*

*Helpan (miseror)*  
*Hogo, hogfæst, hogful (prudens)*  
*Hræfneð (sustinebit)*  
*Hrinas (aedificatis)*  
*Licewyrðe (placitum)*  
*Reht, rehtnise (rationem)*  
*Rehtlic (licet)*  
*Sæternes dæg, sabbatum, sunnadæg (sabbatum)*  
*Snotre (sapiens)*  
*Soðfæste (iustus)*  
*Streigdæs (spargit)*  
*Strion, forf (thesaurus)*  
*Symbel (festo)*  
*Doht (mente)*  
*Unscendende (innocens)*  
*Weorðan (adoro)*  
*Wynnsumiað (exultate)*

### **The Future State:**

*Awæccan (resurgo)*  
*Cursung (gehenna)*  
*Duro helles (portae inferi)*  
*Eft cynnes edniwung (regeneratione)*  
*Fiondgeldum (tormentis)*  
*Fordon, forfæran, losian (perdo)*

*Fylan (consummo)*  
*Fyres un drysnende (igni inextinguibili)*  
*Gecunned (torquetur)*  
*Lose, losing (perditionem)*  
*Touærd lif (futuro)*

Based on Rauh's dissertation (1936) as well as the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, only three of these terms are unique to the Old Northumbrian dialect: *bær synnig* for L. *publicanus* 'tax-collector, sinner', *gefræpgedon* for L. *accusarent* 'accuse, blame' and

*morsceaðo* for L. *latrones* ‘robbers’. See Rauh (1936) for a complete list of exclusively Old Northumbrian terms found in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

Table 2 below summarises all the Old-Northumbrian and West-Saxon terms which are semantically and contextually unique. The semantically unique Old Northumbrian and West-Saxon terms are listed together with a Modern English translation and their Latin lemmata. Those terms which are marked with an asterisk are terms which are used in both translations, but are still useful to determine the semantic difference of the unmarked terms. Also, some terms listed below do not appear in the above list because it is the semantic difference that matters here rather than the dialectal variation.

**Table 2:**

Old Northumbrian	West-Saxon	Latin	Modern English
<b>The Deity:</b>			
<i>Awurigde</i>	<i>aheng</i>	<i>suspendit</i>	hangs up, suspends
<i>Lege of ðornum</i>	<i>cyne helm of þorum</i>	<i>coronam de spinis</i>	crown of thorns
<i>Mersung</i>	<i>hlisan</i>	<i>famam</i>	fame
<i>Næglan on rode</i>	<i>on rode ahengan</i>	<i>crucifigo</i>	crucify
<i>Sægeð</i>	<i>bodað</i>	<i>nuntiabit</i>	announce, proclaim
<i>Ðegn</i>	<i>leorning cniht</i>	<i>discipulus</i>	disciple
<i>Ðroung</i>	<i>cwylminge</i>	<i>crux</i>	cross, crucifix

**The World, Angels and Devils:**

<i>Ældormenn, ældra, from æ craftgum, aeldo uutu</i>	<i>farisei, sundor halge</i>	<i>pharisaeus</i>	Pharisee
<i>Aldormon, latua</i>	<i>here toga</i>	<i>dux</i>	leader, commander, duke
<i>Cynna, hædna</i>	<i>þeoda*</i>	<i>gens</i>	people, nation
<i>Dioble</i>	<i>woruld welan</i>	<i>mamonae</i>	wealth, riches
<i>Eorðo*</i>	<i>land</i>	<i>terra</i>	earth, land
<i>Esuice, legeras</i>	<i>liccetere</i>	<i>hypocrita</i>	hypocrite
<i>Sunu cursunges</i>	<i>helle bearn</i>	<i>filium gehennae</i>	son of hell
<i>Wuðuta</i>	<i>writera</i>	<i>scriba</i>	scribe, secretary, clerk

**Sin:**

<i>Arg</i>	<i>for liger</i>	<i>adultera</i>	adulteress
<i>Bær synnig, yfel wyrceðum</i>	<i>manfull</i>	<i>publicanus</i>	tax collector, sinner
<i>Costung</i>	<i>gedeorf, gedrefednysse</i>	<i>tribulatio</i>	affliction, trouble
<i>Cunnan</i>	<i>gecostan*</i>	<i>tempto</i>	try, tempt
<i>Cunnere</i>	<i>costere*</i>	<i>temptator</i>	tempter
<i>Deglice*</i>	<i>onsundron</i>	<i>secreto</i>	secret, something hidden



<i>Dernunga ligan, uif giornian, synngian</i>	<i>unriht hæman</i>	<i>adultero</i>	commit adultery
<i>Esuice</i>	<i>hæpen</i>	<i>ethnicus</i>	heathen, pagan
<i>Feond*</i>	<i>unholda</i>	<i>inimicus</i>	hostile, unfriendly
<i>Gefræpgedon</i>	<i>wrehton</i>	<i>accusarent</i>	accuse, blame
<i>Morsceaðo</i>	<i>sceaþan</i>	<i>latrones</i>	robbers
<i>Nytanne</i>	<i>gewylnað</i>	<i>concupiscendam</i>	be desirous of, covet
<i>Ondspyrnan, ðrouigan</i>	<i>swycan, untreowsodan</i>	<i>scandalizo</i>	scandalize
<i>Ondspyrnis</i>	<i>geuntreowsode, swyedom, wiperræde</i>	<i>scandalum</i>	scandal
<i>Sceomage, forcuoeda</i>	<i>hyspan</i>	<i>exprobare</i>	reproach, reprove
<i>Scyld</i>	<i>gylt</i>	<i>debitum</i>	debt, sin
<i>Synnig beon</i>	<i>unriht hæman</i>	<i>moechor</i>	commit adultery
<i>Tellan</i>	<i>geniðran*</i>	<i>condemno</i>	condemn
<i>Unbliðe, wohful, yfel wyrcente</i>	<i>manfull</i>	<i>nequam</i>	wicked, evil
<i>Witnesa, wutu</i>	<i>onsagum</i>	<i>testes</i>	witnesses
<i>Woes, wohfulnise</i>	<i>facn</i>	<i>nequitia</i>	wickedness, malice
<i>Wraðe</i>	<i>gebolgene*</i>	<i>indignati</i>	angry, unworthy

### The Doctrine of Salvation:

<i>Andettan*</i>	<i>cyþan</i>	<i>confiteor</i>	confess, acknowledge
<i>Fordrifan*, adrifan*</i>	<i>awurpan</i>	<i>eicio</i>	cast out, drive out
<i>Gebegan</i>	<i>genyþeran</i>	<i>humilio</i>	humiliate, humble
<i>Gefroefre</i>	<i>geblissige</i>	<i>reficiam</i>	repaired, restored
<i>Hehstald</i>	<i>fæmne</i>	<i>uirgo</i>	virgin
<i>Hreownise*</i>	<i>dæd bote</i>	<i>paenitentia</i>	repentance
<i>Lytles geleafes</i>	<i>gehwædes geleafan</i>	<i>minimae fidei</i>	those of little belief
<i>Wisfæst</i>	<i>fullfremed</i>	<i>perfectus</i>	complete, finished

### Christian Qualities, Virtues and Works:

<i>Aran</i>	<i>arwurþan, wurþ scypan</i>	<i>honoro</i>	honor, respect
<i>Bebod</i>	<i>lara</i>	<i>mandatum</i>	command, order
<i>Beboden, befeastaad, betaht</i>	<i>beweddod*</i>	<i>desponsata</i>	betrothed, espoused
<i>Boc freodomes</i>	<i>hiwgedales boc</i>	<i>libellum repudii</i>	petition of divorce
<i>Brydlopa, færm</i>	<i>gyfata, gyftum</i>	<i>nubtias</i>	weddings
<i>Forhogan, ofergaan</i>	<i>forgyman</i>	<i>transgredio</i>	transgress, go over
<i>Forworpnise, gefealnisse, ofercerr, ofer fær, ymbcerr</i>	<i>geleorednysse*</i>	<i>trangmigrationem</i>	removal, transmigration
<i>Geadrade</i>	<i>gesomnode</i>	<i>coniunxit</i>	unite

<i>Godcund mæht</i>	<i>mænþrymme</i>	<i>maiestate</i>	dignity, majesty
<i>Godspell bodages</i>	<i>bodiað</i>	<i>euangelizantur</i>	were preached the Gospels
<i>Hogo, hogfæst, hogfull</i>	<i>gleaw</i>	<i>prudens</i>	wise, skilled
<i>Hræfneð</i>	<i>bið gehyrsum</i>	<i>sustinebit</i>	endure, sustain
<i>Reht, rehtnise</i>	<i>gerad</i>	<i>rationem</i>	reckoning, reasoning
<i>Rehtlic</i>	<i>alyfed*</i>	<i>licet</i>	lawful
<i>Somnigas</i>	<i>gaderap</i>	<i>congregat</i>	assembles, congregates
<i>Strion, forf</i>	<i>gold horde</i>	<i>thesaurus</i>	treasure
<i>Unscendende</i>	<i>unscyldig*</i>	<i>innocens</i>	innocent, pure
<i>Word*</i>	<i>gebed, spræce</i>	<i>sermo</i>	speech, homily

### The Future State:

<i>Costungum, fiondgeldum</i>	<i>tintregum</i>	<i>tormentis</i>	torments
<i>Cursung, tintergo</i>	<i>on helle</i>	<i>gehenna</i>	hell, place of torment
<i>Dead</i>	<i>forðferde</i>	<i>defunctus</i>	dead, deceased
<i>Forðon, forfæran, losian</i>	<i>amyran, for spilan</i>	<i>perdo</i>	lose, destroy
<i>Gecosted, gecunned</i>	<i>geðread</i>	<i>torquetur</i>	tortured
<i>Heofones wolcnum*</i>	<i>heofonan genipod</i>	<i>nubibus caeli</i>	clouds of heaven
<i>Lose, losing</i>	<i>for spillednesse</i>	<i>perditionem</i>	perdition, ruin

In what follows I analyse a selection of semantically different translations with the aim of hypothesizing as to whether their understanding of the Scripture at hand and their choice of doctrinal terms reveals any influence from the Benedictine Reform. Furthermore, it is my aim to establish to what extent, if at all, the Old Northumbrian gloss retains characteristically northern features.

### Crux:

Although both translators used the common term *rode* to translate Latin *crux*, ‘cross’, in most cases, there is one verse in which both translators chose different alternative translations. Mt.10:38 reads as follows in the Latin original: *qui non accipit **crucem** suam et sequitur me non est me dignus*.<sup>123</sup> The West-Saxon translator used the term *cwylminge* to translate *crucem* here, which means ‘suffering’ or ‘extreme pain’.<sup>124</sup> This term appears as translation in another famous gloss as well, the gloss to Aldhelm’s *De Laude Virginitatis*.<sup>125</sup> In this text, *cwylmingce* glosses Latin *cruciatu* ‘torture’.<sup>126</sup> It appears that the West-Saxon translator

<sup>123</sup> Mt.10:38, [He who does not accept his **cross**, and follows me, he is not worthy of me] All Modern English translations of the Gospel of Matthew are mine.

<sup>124</sup> *TOE*. p. 117.

<sup>125</sup> Louis Goossens. *The Old English Glosses of MS. Brussels, Royal Library 1650*. Brussels (1974) l. 3130.

<sup>126</sup> *DOEC*.

intended to express the complete dedication which Jesus demanded from his disciples; if the disciples would not accept the severe torture of the crucifix, yet still wanted his blessing, they would be worse than the hypocrites and Pharisees. Interestingly, aside from its use in descriptions of religious zeal the Old English term *cwylminge* was associated with ‘torture’ and ‘suffering’ by Ælfric in a description of hell.<sup>127</sup>

The Old Northumbrian translation in this verse is very similar but has a slightly different nuance to it. Aldred used the term *ðrouung*, which similarly to *cwylminge* implies suffering, but adds the implication of ‘martyrdom’.<sup>128</sup> Even though this does not change the meaning of this verse significantly, this additional implication clarifies the intent of Jesus’ speech; he demands that his disciples are prepared to accept martyrdom in order to be allowed into heaven. Halvorson observed that Ælfric also commonly used the term *ðrouung* to indicate the Passion of Christ, which is similar to Aldred’s usage of the term.<sup>129</sup>

Evaluating the significance of these different translations, it is clear that Aldred has taken the most straight-forward metaphorical approach by translating *crucem* as ‘martyrdom’ rather than simply ‘torture’. Usage of the term *ðrouung* is not limited to Ælfric’s homilies and the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, but can also be found in King Alfred’s translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*. The West-Saxon translation is more literal and was possibly based on the gloss of Aldhelm’s *De Laude Virginitatis* which was often copied completely with its glosses during the mid-tenth century and beyond.<sup>130</sup>

## Discipulus:

Both translators used a single term to translate the many occasions in which the Latin *discipulus* appears, except for the three occasions in which Aldred simply copied the Latin with an Old English inflection. The difference between the two translations is, however, quite revealing in terms of its relation to the old and new Benedictine ideologies. While Aldred’s choice was always to translate the term as *ðegn*, ‘servant’ or ‘follower’, the West-Saxon translator used the term *leorningcniht*.<sup>131</sup> This term focuses on the ‘learning’ aspect which was involved, but the term *cniht* gives the translation the important implication of ‘youth’.<sup>132</sup> Younger and consequentially inexperienced monks were incited by the *Regular Concordia* to take lessons from the company of experienced adult monks, or in the case of the Gospel of Matthew, from Jesus himself.<sup>133</sup> The term *leorningcniht* is also common in Ælfric’s homilies to describe the disciples of Jesus, which are also written from a reformed Benedictine

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<sup>127</sup> DOEC; Pope. *Homilies of Ælfric*. (1968) p. 76.

<sup>128</sup> TOE. p. 30.

<sup>129</sup> Halvorson. “Doctrinal Terms”. (1932) p. 54.

<sup>130</sup> Karl Schiebel. *Die Sprache der altenglischen Glossen zu Aldhelms Schrift ‘De Laude Virginitatis’*. Diss. Halle (1907) p. vi.

<sup>131</sup> CHM. p. 357.

<sup>132</sup> CHM. p. 72.

<sup>133</sup> Symons. *The Monastic Agreement*. (1953) p. 7

standpoint.<sup>134</sup> The fact that these two texts reflect one of the concerns of the Benedictine Reform whereas Aldred's translation does not helps to prove that Aldred was not impacted by the reform before or while he was glossing the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. When the term *ðegn* occurs in Ælfric's corpus it refers to these disciples only three times, whereas on all other occasions it refers to all of God's servants, i.e. the Saints.<sup>135</sup>

### **Ethnicus:**

Both the time of Matthew's writing and the time of the tenth-century English kingdoms are concerned with troublesome *ethnici*, 'pagans' or 'heathens'. The West-Saxon translator and Aldred differ in their choice of term to translate Latin *ethnicus*, and their different choices indicate interesting differences of interpretation. In all three occurrences of the Latin term it refers to a group of people who resist Jesus' preaching, and which should even be shunned according to Mt.18:17, *sit autem et ecclesiam non audierit sit tibi sicut **ethnicus***.<sup>136</sup> The West-Saxon translation of this term is *hæþen*, which is quite a neutral term unsurprisingly meaning 'heathen' or 'pagan'.<sup>137</sup> Many religious West-Saxon texts like the Old English Genesis and the Old English *Ecclesiastical History of England* by the Venerable Bede and Ælfric's writings use the term *hæþen* to describe pagans.

Aldred clearly decided to take a less neutral option when translating this term, because his choice *eswice* implies hostility as well as non-Christianity. According to the *CHM*, an *æswica* is a 'violinator of God's laws', a 'deceiver' or a 'traitor'.<sup>138</sup> It is likely that Aldred's relative proximity to the invading Danish pagans and his community's recent conflict with these foreign non-Christians made his evaluation of an *ethnicus* biased, resulting in a more inimical translation. The term was certainly known in West-Saxon as well, because Ælfric also uses compound terms with *æswic* in his homilies when referring to 'offence', but clearly the West-Saxon translator was less inimical towards the pagans than Aldred.<sup>139</sup>

### **Gehenna:**

This alternative name for Hell is mentioned three times in the Gospel of Matthew, but the difference between the Old Northumbrian and West-Saxon translations says a lot about the approaches of both respective translators. The West-Saxon translation is always a variant form of *helle*, which is a clear and straight-forward interpretation of the Latin *gehenna*. An example of this is Mt.5:30 where *totum corpus tuum eat in **gehenna*** is translated as *eal þin lic-hama fare to **helle***.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> *DOEC*.

<sup>135</sup> *DOEC*.

<sup>136</sup> Mt.18:17, [and if he will not hear the church, let him be to you as a **heathen**]

<sup>137</sup> *TOE*. p. 661.

<sup>138</sup> *CHM*. p. 11

<sup>139</sup> Halvorson. "Doctrinal Terms". (1932) p. 40.

<sup>140</sup> Mt.5:30, [your whole body be sent into **hell**]

Aldred translated the term *gehenna* with two different glosses, both of which were commonly associated with hell but which function metaphorically. These terms are *tintergo* ‘torture’ or ‘punishment’ and *cursung* ‘damnation’ or ‘place of torment’.<sup>141</sup> This metaphorical way of describing hell was also observed by Halvorson in his description of Ælfric’s work in which he states “terms pertaining to hell are in the main those that describe the nature, place and torments of hell”.<sup>142</sup> The term *tintergo* is used on one occasion by the West-Saxon translator to translate *tormentis* at Mt.4:24, *variis languoribus et tormentis*, which is once again a literal rather than metaphorical translation.<sup>143</sup>

### Hypocrita:

This term is closely related to *ethnicus* mentioned above, because on most occasions it refers to the same scribes and Pharisees. The Latin term *hypocrita* is used 11 times in the Gospel of Matthew, referring to the Jews who oppose Jesus in ten of these cases. This reference to the heathen Jews becomes most clear in chapter 23 where the same phrase *vae vobis scribae et pharisaei hypocritae* is repeated six times.<sup>144</sup> On these occasions Aldred translated Latin *hypocrita* as *legeras*, ‘liars’ or ‘makers of false pretences’.<sup>145</sup> The only time that *hypocrita* is not used to refer to the scribes and Pharisees is at Mt.7:5, where Jesus addresses his own followers and implies a hypothetical ‘hypocrite’ in the neutral sense of the word rather than using it to indicate a specific group of people; *hypocrita, eice primum trabem de oculo tuo et tunc uidebis eicere festucam de oculo fratris tui*.<sup>146</sup> Here Aldred translated the Latin term with *esuica*, ‘deceiver’ or ‘traitor’. It is clear that Aldred translated contextually because he translated the same Latin term *hypocrita* with different terms depending on context, it is however unclear why he chose the same term he used to translate *ethnicus*. It may be explained by the fact that these instances share the connotation of ‘treason’ whereas the Pharisees were not his followers in the first place, hence were no traitors.

The West-Saxon translation has the same translation for every instance of the term *hypocrita*, which is *liccetera* meaning ‘deceiver’ or ‘hypocrite’.<sup>147</sup> Although this translation is semantically accurate, it does not distinguish between Jesus referring to the Pharisees or his own followers in the case of Mt.7:5.

### Nequam:

The Latin term *nequam*, which means ‘wicked’ or ‘evil’ occurs three times within the Gospel of Matthew. In every case the chosen translation by the West-Saxon translator is the term

<sup>141</sup> CHM. p. 342, 76.

<sup>142</sup> Halvorson. “Doctrinal Terms”. (1932) p. 88.

<sup>143</sup> Mt.4:24, [various diseases and torments]

<sup>144</sup> Mt.23:13,15,23,25,27,29, [woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, **hypocrites**]

<sup>145</sup> B&T. p. 632.

<sup>146</sup> Mt.7:5, [**Hypocrite**, reject the beam of your own eye and then see to removing the stick from your brother’s eye]

<sup>147</sup> CHM. p. 217.

*manfull*, which is an accurate translation in the sense that it also means ‘wicked’.<sup>148</sup> It is a common West-Saxon term and occurs multiple times within the corpus attributed to Ælfric in which it sometimes insinuates ‘sinful’. The component *man-* is identified by Halvorson as meaning ‘crime’ or ‘sin’, and can also be found in terms like *mandæd*, ‘criminal act’ or more rarely on its own as *man*, ‘crime’.<sup>149</sup> Aldred did not use the component *man-* in the Gospel of Matthew but instead used three different translations in one single and two double glosses.

The first occasion is Mt.6:23, *si autem oculus tuus nequam fuerit totum corpus tuum tenebrosum erit*.<sup>150</sup> In this context the intended meaning is clearly ‘evil’ rather than ‘sinful’, but the first element of Aldred’s double gloss here is *unbliðe* which generally translates as ‘unhappy’.<sup>151</sup> In this context Aldred most likely intended ‘angry’, which the *B&T* dictionary also gives as a meaning for *unbliðe*.<sup>152</sup> Aldred may also have interpreted this evil eye as an expression of discontentedness, i.e. not being content with just heavenly reward; the line after Mt.6:23 expresses that one has to choose between earthly wealth and heavenly wealth. The second element of the gloss on this occasion is *yfel wyrcente* meaning ‘evil-doing’, in which *yfel* conveys the same meaning as the *man-* component in the West-Saxon translation.

The second instance of *nequam* is at Mt.13:38, *zizania autem filii sunt nequam*.<sup>153</sup> The term *yfel wyrcente* is used again, in a double gloss together with the term *wohful* ‘wicked’.<sup>154</sup> Although the component *woh-*, ‘wrong’, ‘evil’, ‘crooked’ or ‘bent’, is used outside of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the compound *wohful* is unique to this Old Northumbrian codex. Both terms, *yfel wyrcente* and *wohful*, generally share the same meaning.

The third instance of *nequam* is at Mt.20:15, *oculus tuus nequam est quia ego bonus sum* which refers back to the evil eye mentioned at Mt.6:23.<sup>155</sup> The context of this question is the discontent of workers who were paid their due while others who had worked less were paid an equal amount. This time the only translation is *wohgfull*, a variant spelling of *wohful* which was used at Mt.13:38. Although idiomatically the *oculus nequam* can very well be translated as ‘wicked eye’, the *CHM* dictionary notes that Ælfric sometimes used *woh* to indicate ‘iniquity’, which would be a more precise interpretation in the present context.<sup>156</sup>

## Paenitentia:

The concept of repentance is one of the focal points of the original *Regula Sancti Benedicti* as well as the *Regularis Concordia*, both of which emphasize the role of penance as part of the daily liturgy. The *RSB* instructs the Benedictine monks to *mala sua praeterita [...] in oratione*

<sup>148</sup> *CHM*, p. 229.

<sup>149</sup> Halvorson, “Doctrinal Terms”. (1932) pp. 38-39.

<sup>150</sup> Mt.6:23, [if your eye is **evil** then your whole body shall be dark]

<sup>151</sup> *CHM*, p. 371.

<sup>152</sup> *B&T*, p. 1093.

<sup>153</sup> Mt.13:38, [the cockle shells are the children of evil]

<sup>154</sup> *CHM*, p. 417.

<sup>155</sup> Mt.20:15, [is your eye evil, because I am good]

<sup>156</sup> *CHM*, p. 417

*Deo confiteri, et de ipsis malis de caetero emendare.*<sup>157</sup> The *Regularis Concordia* gives clear instructions to the monks to recite at least seven Penitential psalms during the daily service in its first chapter.<sup>158</sup> It is therefore interesting to see that Aldred's gloss relies on a single term to translate Latin *paenitentia*, whereas the West-Saxon translation has two alternative translations. The preferred term in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* involves variant forms of *hreownise*, derived from the common verb *hreowsian* which means 'to repent' or 'to feel sorrow'.<sup>159</sup> Even though this is the only way of translating *paenitentia* in the Old-Northumbrian Gospel of Matthew, the term is not characteristic of explicitly northern language; the term can be found in numerous southern religious texts such as Ælfric's homilies and in King Alfred's Old English translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*. The West-Saxon translator used the term *hreowsian* as well, but did so only once at Mt.27:3 when Judas Iscariot expresses his regret at betraying Jesus.<sup>160</sup> This is the only occasion in the Gospel of Matthew in which an explicit sin can be connected to the act of penance, which is Judas' betrayal.

The second alternative in the West-Saxon translation is *dæd bote*, which means 'penitence' as well, but it is used as a translation in all cases when people are commanded or enticed to do penance in the liturgical sense;<sup>161</sup> when John the Baptist invites people into the river at Mt.3:2, or when the future generation after Jesus' martyrdom is described at Mt.12:41. Although this term is most often found in religious texts, it can also be found in legal contexts such as the first law code of King Edmund.<sup>162</sup> Both translations can be found in Halvorson's study of Ælfric's homilies, and he differentiates between the two by stating that *hreowsian* is more emotionally charged, implying feelings of sorrow or lamentation; *dæd bote* refers to the act of penance and making amends, or even implies reparation of past faults.<sup>163</sup> The two terms are sometimes even found as part of the same phrase as in *his synna mid dædbote behreowsað*.<sup>164</sup> By translating *paenitentia* with *hreowsian* only in the case of Judas, the West-Saxon translator recognized the fact that Judas expressed a feeling of remorse rather than doing functional penance. Aldred used the term *hreowsian* often throughout the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, which probably implies that he generally perceived the act of penance as being an emotionally charged activity.

<sup>157</sup> Fursden. *The Rule of Our Most Holy Father St Benedict*. (1875) p. 43; [daily to confess our past evils to God in prayer, and to amend them for the time to come] translation by Fursden.

<sup>158</sup> Symons. *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*. (1953) pp. 12-14.

<sup>159</sup> CHM. p. 193.

<sup>160</sup> Skeat. *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*. (1887) p. 228; "Ða geseah iudas þe hyne belæwde. Ðæt he fordemed wæs. Ða ongann he hreowsian." [Then Judas saw, who had betrayed him, that he was damned, and he began to repent] translation mine.

<sup>161</sup> CHM. p. 81.

<sup>162</sup> Felix Liebermann, ed. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle (1903) vol.1 pp. 184-187.

<sup>163</sup> Halvorson. "Doctrinal Terms". (1932) pp. 57-59.

<sup>164</sup> Halvorson. "Doctrinal Terms". (1932) p. 58; [his sins with repentance amended] translation mine.

## Pharisaeus:

The group of Jews that is mostly known for criticizing and condemning the ways of Christ during his lifetime, the Pharisees, still lingers as a negative adjective in Modern English. To be ‘pharisaic’ is synonymous to being ‘sanctimonious’ or ‘hypocritical’, a connotation which was commonly advocated in medieval exegesis.<sup>165</sup> The West-Saxon translator chose to rely on this piece of common knowledge by calquing the Latin name *pharisaeus* throughout Matthew except for a single case, Mt.12:38. This is the first verse to mention the Pharisees, and in this case the translator opted to voice the connotation by rendering *Tunc responderunt ei quidam de scribis et phariseis* as *Ða andswarodun hym sume þa boceras ond þa **sundor halgan***, in which *sundor halgan* should be understood as meaning ‘sanctimonious’.<sup>166</sup> This term, however, is commonly used to refer to the Pharisees throughout the Old-English corpus.<sup>167</sup> By rendering the first occurrence of *pharisaeus* in an explanatory way the translator made sure the term would pose no problems in further verses, giving the name the negative connotation which it usually received, and which was very probably already known to the readers of the Gospel translation.

Aldred treated the Pharisees in a completely opposite manner throughout the Gospel of Matthew. First of all, he never calqued the term like the West-Saxon translator did. More importantly, his translations imply a degree of respect towards the Pharisees rather than the disdain which was common in exegesis of the Gospels. The first occurrence in Mt.12:38 is translated with *from æ cræftgum*, which implies they were ‘skilled at the law’. His rendition in Mt.22:15 is *aeldo uutu* which means they were ‘sages’ or ‘old and wise’.<sup>168</sup> This term is used in a context where the Pharisees are explicitly trying to tempt Jesus into making a mistake, which makes the respectful treatment seem out of place; *tunc abeunt **Pharisei** consilium inierunt et caperunt eum in sermon*.<sup>169</sup> Every other translation within the Gospel of Matthew just implies they were old and respectable, but as Thijs Porck’s recent dissertation has shown old age within a religious context was a reason for respect in Anglo-Saxon England as long as the old man’s mental capacities had not paid the price of senility.<sup>170</sup> Aldred’s gloss implies no such deterioration of the Pharisean minds, and his translations of the term *pharisaeus* imply a sense of respect for this pre-Christian community which is lacking from the West-Saxon translation. Interestingly, Ælfric gave the Pharisees similar credit in one of his homilies by calling them *þa sundorhalgan þa ealdan witan*, but noted that they will not be granted access into heaven in that same homily.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Patrizia Lendinara. “The ‘Unglossed’ Words of the Lindisfarne Glosses”. *The Old English Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels: Language, Author and Context*. Julia Fernández Cuesta, Sara M Pons-Sanz, eds. Berlin (2016) p. 352.

<sup>166</sup> Mt.12:38, [Then some of the scribes and Pharisees answered him].

<sup>167</sup> *DOEC*

<sup>168</sup> Lendinara. “The ‘Unglossed’ Words”. (2016) p. 352.

<sup>169</sup> Mt.22:15, [then the **Pharisees** went to consult among themselves how to catch him in his words]

<sup>170</sup> Thijs Porck. *Growing Old Among the Anglo-Saxons: the Cultural Conceptualisation of Old Age in Early Medieval England*. Diss. Leiden (2016)

<sup>171</sup> John Collins Pope, ed. “Dominica VII post Pentecosten”. *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection, Being Twenty-One Full Homilies of his Middle and Later Career for the Most Part Not Previously Edited with some Shorter Pieces Mainly Passages added to the Second and Third Series*. Oxford (1967) p. 532.



## Publicanus:

This term was treated as one of the “unglossed” terms in Patrizia Lendinara’s article “The ‘Unglossed Words of the Lindisfarne Gospels’” because even though it is not a proper name Aldred leaves it without a gloss four times across the codex. On the other 25 occasions, of which four appear in the Gospel of Matthew, the term receives a translation. Aldred’s most common translation for the term is *bær synnig*, meaning ‘public sinner’, which Lendinara believes to have been coined by Aldred himself, given that it only occurs in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the Northumbrian part of the *Rushworth Gospels*.<sup>172</sup> This translation may have originated from a misunderstanding on Aldred’s part, possibly perceiving the *publicanus* as an abbreviated form of *publicus peccator*.<sup>173</sup> At Mt.9:11, however, the plural *publicanis* is translated with a different term which Lendinara seems to have missed even though it is in the same line as the *bær synnig* gloss; Aldred used *yfel wyrceandum*, meaning ‘evil’ or ‘sinful workers’, on this occasion when glossing *quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducat magister vester*.<sup>174</sup> The *publicanus* in question is in fact Matthew himself, but the voice that calls him a *publicanus* is one of the Pharisees. This change of perspective may explain why Aldred translated this term differently than his usual exclusively Old Northumbrian *bær synnig*. By glossing *publicanis et peccatoribus* with *yfel wyrceandum 7 synfullum* Aldred effectively made a repetition, using two words which mean the same.

The West-Saxon translator used the same term on all occasions, which is the term *manfull*, ‘sinful’ or ‘evil’. This term does not distinguish the *publicanus* from other sinners in any way, and the term is not used exclusively to refer to of tax-collectors. The aforementioned quote from Mt.9:11 is translated as *hwi ys eower lareow mid manfullum 7 synfullum*, making a semantic repetition in the same way that Aldred did in the Old-Northumbrian. However, the West-Saxon translator did not use a different term for when the voice is Pharisaic.

## Sermone:

When translating the term *sermone*, the West-Saxon translator made a distinction between two different kinds of ‘speech’ whereas Aldred translated all cases with the same term *word*. Looking at the treatment of this term by the West-Saxon translator, however, each alternative translation is clearly assigned to a specific context. When *spræce* is used to translate *sermon* in the West-Saxon Gospel, it is meant as a conversation or narrative; *interrogabo uos et ego unum sermonem* is rendered as *ic ahsige eow anre spræce* which points to a demand for an answer.<sup>175</sup> The sermons given by Jesus, and subsequently spread by his disciples, are treated with the same term in examples such as Mt.10:14 where Jesus orders his disciples to spread his message: *et quicumque non receperit uos neque audierit sermones uestros* which is

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<sup>172</sup> Lendinara. “The ‘Unglossed’ Words”. (2016) p. 353.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Mt.9:11, [why does your master eat with tax-collectors and sinners]

<sup>175</sup> Mt.21:24, [I will ask of you one word]

translated as *And swa hwa swa eow ne under fehð ne eowre **spræca** ne gehyrð.*<sup>176</sup> When *sermonem* is translated as *gebed*, however, the intended ‘speech’ is Jesus’ prayer towards God, which means there is no conversation involved. The occasion for this term is Mt.26:44 after the Last Supper, *orauit tertio eundem **sermonem** dicens* which is translated as *gebæd þryddan siðe cweþende þæt ylce **gebed**.*<sup>177</sup>

Even though Aldred used only one term to translate all cases of *sermone*, Bosworth and Toller’s *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* suggests that the Anglo-Saxon term *word* could carry a variety of different connotations including ‘a single word’, ‘a command’, ‘a message’ or even ‘language’ in general.<sup>178</sup> It makes sense that if Aldred understood this term as having such a multitude of possible interpretations he would use it in various different occasions. The *Thesaurus of Old English* supports this multitude of possible meanings as well, suggesting that the meaning of *word* was supposed to be embedded in the context rather than in the term itself.

### Transmigrationem:

Despite the fact that the term *transmigrationem* only occurs in the first chapter of the Gospel of Matthew, Aldred translated it with six different terms whereas the West-Saxon translator consistently used the same term, *geleorednysse*. In many cases the multitude of possible translations can be explained by subtle changes of context, however the Latin term *transmigrationem* only occurs in combination with the term *babylonis*, signifying that it is always specifically implies the ‘Babylonian Exile’. Aldred translated the term with a double gloss twice at Mt.1:12 and Mt.1:17,<sup>179</sup> and with a triple gloss twice at Mt.1:11 and Mt.1:17,<sup>180</sup> all of which appear on the same folio of the manuscript. Even though it is hardly a surprise to find multiple glosses in Aldred’s translation, the rest of folio 28r contains only three other double glosses as well as many unglossed personal names given that this folio contains the genealogy of Christ.<sup>181</sup> It is tempting to believe that Aldred wanted to draw attention to the topic of exile because of his community’s history, effectively exiled from its original monastery at Lindisfarne by the pressing Viking threats. Such an analysis is in line with Nees’ theory that Aldred equated himself with characters from Scripture as a literary technique, in this case equating his community with the Old Testament Jewish migrants forced to remove themselves from Babylon, described in the book of Ezra.<sup>182</sup>

The terms which Aldred used have slight differences in explicit meaning, but can all be used to describe the ‘Babylonian Exile’ as well as the migration of Cuthbert’s community in different ways. *Forworpnise* implies ‘rejection’ or ‘expulsion’, *gefealnisse* implies ‘ruin’, *geliornisse* implies ‘departure’, *ofercerr* and *ofer faer* imply ‘passing over’ or ‘traversing’,

<sup>176</sup> Mt.10:14, [and those who will not receive you nor hear your words]

<sup>177</sup> Mt.26:44, [he prayed for the third time saying the same prayer]

<sup>178</sup> *B&T*. p. 1264.

<sup>179</sup> *Ymbcerr l gefealnisse* and *ymbcerr l from oferfær*

<sup>180</sup> *Ofer cerr l in ymbcerr l in geliornisse* and *forworpnise l ymbcerr l ofer fær*

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Pons-Sanz. “Aldredian Glosses to Proper Names”. (2001).

<sup>182</sup> Nees. “Reading Aldred’s Colophon”. (2003).

and *ymbcerr* implies ‘migration’.<sup>183</sup> It is, however, unclear what Aldred had in mind when glossing this idiomatic term this extensively because the implications of the separate terms vary so widely within identical contexts in the Latin original. The numerous glosses convey different aspects of exile, all of which the community of St Cuthbert had experienced.

### Tribulatio:

This term is used three times in the Gospel of Matthew, and all three instances are found in chapter 24. The term is used to indicate the hardship before the Day of Judgment as Jesus predicts it for his disciples. The West-Saxon translator used two different but related terms to translate the various forms of *tribulation*: *gedrefednysse*, meaning ‘trouble’ or ‘distress’, and *gedeorf*, meaning ‘hardship’ or ‘difficulty’. At Mt.24:9 *tunc tradent vos in tribulationem et occident vos* is translated as *Donne syllað hi eow on gedrefednysse 7 ofsleað eow*.<sup>184</sup> The context for the other translation *gedeorf* is at Mt.24:21 which speaks of the hardships right before the Day of Judgment, in the phrase *erit enim tunc tribulatio magna qualis non fuit ab initio mundi* which is translated as *witodlice þonne byð swa mycel gedeorf swa næs of middan-geardes*.<sup>185</sup>

The Old Northumbrian translation, however, reveals a different interpretation of this term on Aldred’s part; he consistently glossed *tribulatio* as *costung*, which means ‘temptation’ or ‘test’ and is associated with the Devil or Hell across the rest of Aldred’s gloss. Interpreting *tribulatio* as a ‘test’ in the context of this chapter in the Gospel of Matthew is not surprising, especially in its last occurrence: *statim autem post tribulationem dierum illorum [...] uirtutes caelorum commouebuntur*.<sup>186</sup> The fiendish connotation, however, is harder to explain or justify because this ‘test’ is effectively an act of God.

### 6.3: Discussion

Now the questions posed at the start of the present thesis can be answered, the first of which was which terms used to translate doctrinal lexicon in the Old Northumbrian gloss are specific to that translation? To begin with there are the three terms which were mentioned before, *morsceaðo* for *latrones*, *gefræpgedon* for *accusarent* and *bær synnig* for *publicanus*. There are a few other exclusively Old-Northumbrian terms in the translation by Aldred, but although they are dialectically different from their West-Saxon alternatives they are semantically too similar to take up in the analysis.<sup>187</sup> There are more terms, however, which are not exclusively Old Northumbrian but which do not appear in the West-Saxon translation and which are semantically different from the West-Saxon alternative. These terms are all Old Northumbrian terms mentioned in Table 1 which are not marked with an asterisk.

<sup>183</sup> *CHM*. pp. 135, 112, 216, 255, 429.

<sup>184</sup> Mt.24:9, [then they shall deliver you to **distress** and kill you]

<sup>185</sup> Mt.24:21, [then there shall be great **hardship**, such as has not been since the beginning of the world]

<sup>186</sup> Mt.24:29, [Immediately after the **test** of these days [...] the powers of heaven shall be moved]

<sup>187</sup> These exclusively Old-Northumbrian terms are *forwost* L. *princeps*, *morðor slago* L. *homicidia*, *ofstigan* L. *descendere*. Rauh. *Der Wortschatz der Altenglischen Uebersetzungen des Matthaeus-Evangeliums*. (1936) pp. 44-45.

Aldred's translation, being a word-for-word gloss, effectively has only one stylistic tool with which he can decorate his words and that is lexical variation and alliteration. This is not variation in the poetic sense, which can be found abundantly in such poems as *The Battle of Brunanburh* or *Beowulf*, but in a prosaic sense which is eloquently discussed by Frances Lipp on the topic of Ælfric's prose.<sup>188</sup> He identifies the usage of synonymous terms in close proximity as a stylistic device derived from early-medieval Latin prose, the result of which was a great clarity of meaning in texts such as the *Catholic Homilies* and the *Lives of the Saints* by Ælfric.<sup>189</sup> It is not hard to imagine that clarity was one of Aldred's most pressing concerns when translating the Gospel of Matthew, a concern which he expresses by adding multiple semantically or grammatically different glosses in many occasions such as the following examples: glossing L. *nequam* 'evil' at Mt.6.23 with *unbliðe* 'angry' and *yfel wyrcente* 'evil-doer', and glossing L. *discipuli* 'disciples' at Mt.26:8 with *discipulas* 'disciples' and *ðegnas* 'servants'.

In answer to the second question, which patterns may be discerned from comparing the two translations, literary style also plays a major role. The first striking factor about Aldred's translations as compared to the West-Saxon is his insightful use of metaphors, as well as his contextualised translations of some original Latin metaphors. In many cases the West-Saxon translation can be perceived as the more literal one, whereas Aldred's gloss rather functions as an appropriation of the Latin. His translation of *crux* is a good example because of how the symbol of the cross is equated with the act of martyrdom by Aldred's decision to gloss it as *ðrouung* (martyrdom, suffering). The Old Northumbrian translations of *gehenna* are similar appropriations of the Latin term which explain the nature of hell, whereas the West-Saxon version is a literal translation. Aldred's lexical choices, however, does not appear to be unique and of his own design, even though he retains a personal translation approach with occasional unique terms; many of his more creative glosses also appear in for instance Ælfric's homilies which we know were written by a rhetorically studied author, although it is unclear what his literary antecedents were,<sup>190</sup> which would suggest that Aldred was familiar with the West-Saxon literary tradition and Ælfric's work. Some examples of terms Aldred's and Ælfric's texts have in common are: *ðrouung* 'torture' which Aldred uses to gloss L. *crucem* at Mt.10:38, *esuice* 'violator of Gods laws' which Aldred uses to gloss L. *ethnicus*, and *cursung* 'place of torment' which Aldred uses to gloss L. *gehenna* 'hell'. Furthermore, Aldred and Ælfric reveal a similar attitude towards the Pharisees by referring to them as old and knowledgable, which suggests both authors worked with similar exegesis of the New Testament from the West-Saxon tradition at hand.

The appearance of these terms in other religious codices than the *Lindisfarne Gospels* suggests that these glosses were formulaic and common exegetical devices, a prevalent

<sup>188</sup> Cf. W.F. Bolton. "'Variation' in The Battle of Brunanburh". *The Review of English Studies*. Vol.19, no. 76 (1968) pp. 363-372; Frances Randall Lipp. "Ælfric's Old English Prose Style". *Studies in Philology*. Vol.66, no. 5 (1969) pp. 689-718.

<sup>189</sup> Lipp. "Ælfric's Old English Prose Style". (1969) p. 707.

<sup>190</sup> Lipp. "Ælfric's Old English Prose Style". (1969) p. 690.

phenomenon in tenth and eleventh century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts with religious texts.<sup>191</sup> The widely circulated Latin text *De Laude Virginitatis* by Aldhelm for example was often copied together with the same Old English gloss, and as previously mentioned Aldred probably drew from a range of exemplars to compile his gloss rather than having originally composed it himself.<sup>192</sup>

The other interesting pattern in Aldred's gloss is his highly personal glossing style. Certain terms in the Gospel of Matthew which resonate with the history of St Cuthbert's community appear to have inspired Aldred while he was glossing them; in the analysis of both translations for *transmigrationem*, a term which refers to a single phenomenon, the West-Saxon translator rendered all occurrences of the Latin word in the same way. The Old Northumbrian gloss reveals no less than six different terms for this concept, which can possibly be explained by the community's history of forced migration from its origin at Lindisfarne, similar to the intended 'Babylonian Exile'. Another good example is the way Aldred translates *ethnicus* with a much more hostile term than the West-Saxon translator used, which reflects the violent history of the community and the Danish *ethnici*. Research based on Aldred's colophon has already suggested that it was one of Aldred's goals to equate himself and the other producers of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* with characters from Scripture, i.e. the Evangelists;<sup>193</sup> the bias that invades Aldred's glosses to concepts which he personally relates to only strengthens this sense that he attempted to equate his own community with events taken from Scripture.

It is important to note that despite their different approaches and dialects, Aldred and the West-Saxon translator do rely on the same vocabulary in the majority of their translations. A general look at the data in both appendices will reveal that many translation choices were identical in both texts, usually concerning terms which appear very often such as *mæht* for L. *uirtus* 'power' or *witgo* for L. *propheta* 'prophet'. Despite the fact that the doctrinal lexicon is largely identical, however, orthographical and grammatical differences give Aldred's gloss a characteristic northernness; some examples concerning the orthography are Aldred's usage of <u> for /w/ as well as /u/ next to using the runic wynn /p/ which is used across the West-Saxon literature. The term *esuice* 'violator of God's laws' is a good example of this, which occurs in West-Saxon texts as *æspice*. Another feature is the representation of long vowels by a double vowel grapheme, such as in the term *befeastaad* 'pledged' which glosses L. *desponsata* 'wedded'.<sup>194</sup> An example from the grammatical point of view is Aldred's

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Schiebel. *Die Sprache der altenglischen Glossen zu Aldhelms*. (1907); Matthew T. Hussey. "Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Isidorean Exegesis in Old English Glosses: Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 319". *The Review of English Studies*. Vol. 60, no. 247 (2009). pp. 681-704.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. Ross. "A Connection Between Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Gloss". (1969) pp. 482-492; Kotake. "Lindisfarne and Rushworth One Reconsidered". (2012) pp. 14-19; Cole, Marcelle. "Identifying the Author(s) of the Lindisfarne Gloss". (2016). pp. 169-188.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Nees. "Reading Aldred's Colophon". (2003) pp. 333-377; Jolly. *The Community of St. Cuthbert*. (2012) pp. 41-60; Michelle P. Brown. "'A Good Woman's Son': Aspects of Aldred's Agenda in Glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels". *The Old English Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels: Language, Author and Context*. eds. Julia Fernández Cuesta, Sara M Pons-Sanz. Berlin (2016) pp. 13-36.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Marcelle Cole. "Towards a Nuanced History of Early English Spelling: Old Northumbrian Witnesses and Northern Orthography". *Revisiting the Medieval North of England: Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Anita Auer & Denis Reveney, eds. Cardiff (forthcoming).

advanced use of genitival *-es* inflections across more noun categories than just the *a*-stems, which is a process that would later affect all dialects of the English language.<sup>195</sup> These features make Aldred's gloss distinctly Old Northumbrian even though the bulk of his lexicon can be found in West-Saxon as well.

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<sup>195</sup> Ledesma. "Dauides sunu vs. filii david". (2016) pp. 213-238.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion

The literary endeavours of Aldred have given historians a detailed look into the Northern England of the tenth century, supplying large quantities of evidence for linguistic, theological and historical research in his interlinear and marginal glosses as well as the extensive colophon. The present thesis aimed to make observations about the doctrine of the community of St Cuthbert, but the nature of the available evidence has rather led to observations on Aldred as an individual translator which may or may not reflect any qualities of his community. As Rusche pointed out, it is unclear where Aldred came from, in what kind of environment he learnt to gloss manuscripts and which literary traditions, especially in the highly technical style of glossing, he was familiar with.<sup>196</sup> Cole has argued that the gloss was likely a compilation of various sources which Aldred sometimes appropriated in his personal linguistic style, a view which is supported by the results of my analyses.<sup>197</sup>

The evidence gathered in the present thesis has first of all not revealed a connection of the Lindisfarne gloss to the ideological innovations which were specific to the Benedictine Reform. The environment in which Aldred produced his gloss was not monastic by any means, living in a community of secular clergy and a relatively small amount of ordained monks.<sup>198</sup> A monastic community under the doctrine of the Benedictine Reform would have expelled all secular clergy, which would hypothetically have left the Chester-le Street community at two or three members.<sup>199</sup> With the Benedictine Reform having left no notable mark on Aldred's gloss it is unlikely that he had been trained as glossator in the south of England, resonating with Rusche's claim.<sup>200</sup> The gloss shows some lexical similarities with the corpus of the prolific and reformed author Ælfric, but since Aldred glossed the *Lindisfarne Gospels* before Ælfric started writing all this may possibly reveal is a reliance on the same exegetical tradition and exemplary texts, with the possibility of pure coincidence ever present. A number of terms which Aldred's gloss shares with the corpus of Ælfric also occur in important religious texts like the Old English *Cura Pastoralis* translated by King Alfred, which preceded the influence of the Benedictine Reform by decades. The West-Saxon translation, however, has certainly revealed influence from the Benedictine Reform in some of its translations such as the one for *L. discipulus, leorningcniht* 'student boy'.

Beyond the matter of doctrinal influences on Aldred's gloss, however, the analysis of this doctrinal lexicon in both the Old Northumbrian and West-Saxon translations of the Gospel of Matthew has led to some interesting observations on the nature of Aldred's gloss. The question why Aldred glossed the *Lindisfarne Gospels* was tentatively answered by his own colophon as follows:

“for God and St Cuthbert [...] for the bishop [...] for the members of the community [...] for himself so that, through the grace of God, he may gain acceptance into

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<sup>196</sup> Rusche. “The Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Benedictine Reform”. (2016) pp. 76-77

<sup>197</sup> Cole. “Identifying the Author(s)”. (2016) p. 187.

<sup>198</sup> Brown. “A Good Woman's Son”. (2016) p. 32.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> Rusche. “The Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Benedictine Reform”. (2016) pp. 76-77.

Heaven, happiness and peace, and through the merits of St Cuthbert, advancement and honor, wisdom and sagacity on earth.”<sup>201</sup>

Few modern researchers, however, wish to take Aldred’s colophon at face-value anymore.<sup>202</sup> The comparison between Aldred’s gloss and the West-Saxon counterpart has appeared to be enlightening. Despite the format of his translation being a word-for-word gloss to the Latin text, Aldred was clearly concerned with adding rhetorically engaging language to his work. The limitations of his format forced him to resort to metaphors and lexical variation, because elaborate sentence-structures or syntactic variation would force him away from the original Latin sentence. Nees has suggested that “Aldred obviously had some Latin as well as Anglo-Saxon”, yet the amount of lexical variation across the gloss suggests that Aldred knew much more than “some” Anglo-Saxon.<sup>203</sup> Producing manuscripts worthy of God was a major responsibility of Benedictine monks, and by adding this rhetorically solid gloss to an already prolific Gospel-manuscript Aldred most likely sought to assure the “acceptance into Heaven” which he speaks of in the colophon. Jolly’s remark that the scriptorium at Chester-le Street was most likely not equipped to make a whole new manuscript explains Aldred’s decision to exercise this art in an existing codex.<sup>204</sup> His glosses add a layer of rhetoric and exegesis to the Latin text which reveals Aldred’s interpretation of the Gospel of Matthew, or at least the interpretation expounded in his exemplars. At the same time, however, his gloss reveals an awareness of highly advanced glossing techniques and a familiarity with the same literary tradition that Ælfric was aware of, even though the latter would use that knowledge to develop the new reformed literary tradition which the late 10<sup>th</sup> century is so well known for.

Aside from the rhetorical approach to glossing the Latin text, there is also a clear layer of authorial bias and personalisation in some of the glosses. Subjects from the story of the Gospel that were closely related to the history of Aldred’s community were sometimes given overly zealous attention in the form of extensive multiple glosses, or otherwise translations which led to unusual interpretations of common subjects which can be feasibly explained by Aldred’s personal attitude to these subjects. Images of a banished community in ruin as well as a group of unforgivable and hostile pagans are put into the gloss whereas the West-Saxon translator approaches these topics in a simple and factual way. Even though Aldred’s self-promotion has been often noted in research of his colophon, the way he connects the history of his own community with the story in the Gospels has not been noted as far as the author is presently aware. Unless some of Aldred’s sources were also produced by members of the same community with a similar bias, it is likely that these biased translations were devised by Aldred himself rather than based on an exemplar. These personal touches to the translation, combined with its Northern-dialectal grammar and orthography, give it the characteristic northernness which has led to such an abundance of research into this specific gloss.

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<sup>201</sup> Nees. “Reading Aldred’s Colophon”. (2003) p. 341. “*gode 7 sancti cuðberhti [...] ðæm biscop [...] ðæm hiorode [...] ðæte he hæbbe ondfong ðerh godes mīlsæ on heofnu. seel 7 sibb on eorðo forðgeong 7 giðyngo uisdom 7 snyttro ðurh sancti cuðberhtes earnunga*”. Translation by Nees.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Nees. “Reading Aldred’s Colophon”. (2003) p. 336.

<sup>203</sup> Nees. “Reading Aldred’s Colophon”. (2003) p. 344.

<sup>204</sup> Jolly. *The Community of St Cuthbert*. (2012) p. 72.



Making definitive conclusion in the present thesis was obviously hindered by the same problems all research of Aldred's gloss have faced; the scarcity of historical context which we can draw on with relative certainty. The fact that it is impossible to ascertain to what extent this gloss is Aldred's own work rather than a mix of available translations, glosses and exegetical material makes it frustrating to research, yet worthwhile at the same time. By identifying characteristics of the gloss in comparison with the more widely spread prose translation in West-Saxon it becomes possible to see where Aldred might have gone against the grain, places where the work is most likely his own.

Further research on Aldred's doctrinal lexicon could obviously involve the other three Gospel books in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, in which his work on the Gospel of John may be of particular interest because he admits having a deeper personal relation to this Gospel. A stylistic comparison of this Gospel with the other three in the same codex may reveal information about the role of Aldred as an author and translator as opposed to a compiler of available exemplary material. Also, a survey of all religious texts which might have possibly been available in the library of Chester-le Street, based on the exegetical details of Aldred's interlinear and marginal glosses, would be a valuable tool in helping to reconstruct the authorship of Aldred's gloss in detail. More definitive research on the Old Northumbrian parts of the *Rushworth Gospels* could prove highly valuable in this regard, because recent publications have refuted the idea that these parts were directly based on Aldred's gloss but rather based on a shared exemplar.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Cf. Kotake. "Lindisfarne and Rushworth One Reconsidered". (2012) pp. 14-19; Kotake. "Did Owun Really Copy from the Lindisfarne Gospels? Reconsideration of his Source Manuscript(s)". *The Old English Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels: Language, Author and Context*. Julia Fernández Cuesta, Sara M Pons-Sanz, eds. (2016) pp. 377-396.

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## Appendix A

Latin <sup>206</sup>	Modern English <sup>207</sup>	Old Northumbrian	West-Saxon <sup>208</sup>
Abominationem	Detestation	Unfegerneris	Onsceonunge
Absconditio*	The hidden, unknown	Degolnis	Diglum, digelnesse
Abscondo*	Hide, conceal	Deglan, hydan	Behyddan
Abundantia	Abundance, plenty	Monigfaldnisse	
Accusarent	(They) accuse, blame	Gefræpgedon, geteldon	wrehton
Adicientur	(They would) direct their thoughts toward	To ge eced biðon	To ge eacnode
Adimpleo*	Fill, fulfill	Fyllan	Gefyllan
Adoro*	Worship, honor	Weorðan	Eaðmeddan, gebiddan
Aduersarius*	Adversary, opposite	Fiond, wiðerbraca	Wiðerwinna
Aduersum	Against, harm	Wið	Agen
Adultera	Adulteress	Arg	For liger
Adultero*	Commit adultery	Dernunga ligan, uif giornian, synngian	Unriht hæman
Aedificatis	(You all) build, construct	Ge timbras, hrinas	Timbriað
Aegrotationes	Sicknesses, illnesses	Hefignise, untrymnisse	Adla
Aelemosyna	Alms	Ælmissa	Ælmessan
Altare*	Altar	Wig bed	Weofud
Amat	(He) loves	Lufias	Lufaþ
Ammirabantur	(They were) surprised	Ge uundrade weron	
Angeli caelorum	Angels of heaven	Englas heofna	Englas
Angeli dei in caelo	Angels of God in heaven	Englas godes in heofnum	Godes englas on heofne
Angelus*	Angel	Engel	Engel
Angelus domini	Angel of the Lord	Engel drihten, drihtnes	Drihtnes engel
Animus*	Soul, spirit	Sauel	Sawl
Apostolorum	Of the apostles	Apostolorum	Apostola
Apparuit	(He has) appeared, shone forth	Æd eaude	Ætwyde

<sup>206</sup> If more than one variant form of the same Latin lemma was found in London, British Library MS Nero D IV, only the headword is presented in this table, regardless of the actual presence of the headword form in the MS. These headwords are marked with an asterisk (\*). If only one variant form was found it shall be presented as it was found in London, British Library MS Nero D IV without any marking.

<sup>207</sup> Modern English definitions in this table are all paraphrases of Leo F Stelten, ed. *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin: with an appendix of Latin expressions defined and clarified*. Edinburgh (1995). Lemmata marked with an asterisk \* are presented as the first person singular in the case of verbs, and as nominative singular in the case of nouns and adjectives. To avoid ambiguity in the translations of variant forms, grammatical designators have been added in italics where needed.

<sup>208</sup> The West-Saxon translation of the Gospels is a prosaic rendition separated from the Latin original, unlike the Old-Northumbrian translation which glosses the original word for word. Therefore, it may happen that a Latin term has no direct equivalent in the West-Saxon translation.

Attendite	<i>Imp.</i> Hearken, consider, listen	Behaldas ge	Warniað eow
Baptismum	Baptism	Fulwiht	Fulluht
Baptista*	John the Baptist	Bæstere, fulwihtere	Fulluhtere, fulwihtere
Baptizo*	Baptize	Fulwan	Fullan
Beatus*	<i>Adj.</i> Blessed	Eadig	Eadig
Beelzebub*	Beelzebub	Belzebub	Belzebub
Bene facere	<i>Inf.</i> Do well, do good works	We doa	Wel to donne
Benedictus*	<i>Adj.</i> Blessed	Gebledsad	Gebletsod
Bethlehem	Bethlehem	Bethlem, ðær byrig	Bethleem
Blasphemia*	Blasphemy	Ebolsung	Bysmur spæc
Blasphemo*	Blaspheme	Ebalsan	Bysmor spræcan
Bonus*	<i>Adj.</i> Good	God	God
Cadens	Falling (into sin)	Fallas, slæhtas	Feallende
Caelestis	<i>Adj.</i> Heavenly, divine	Heofonlic	Heofonlica
Caelum*	Heaven	Heofon	Heofon
Caminum ignis	Fiery furnace	Ofn fyres	Fyres ofen
Caritas	Charity, love, affection	Lufo	Lufu
Caro*	Flesh, body	Lichoma	Flæsc, mann
Cathedra*	Chair, seat, throne	Seatul, stol	Lareow setl
Christus*	Christ	Crist	Crist
Clibanum	Oven, furnace	Heofone	
Columbus*	Dove, pigeon	Culfre, staplas	Culfre
Concilio	Win over, unite	Boetanne	Geþeahte
Concupiscendam	(May I) be desirous of, covet	Nytanne, wilnanne	Gewylnað
Condemno*	Condemn	Geniðran, getelan	Genyþrian
Confiteor*	Confess, acknowledge	Ondetan, geondetan	Cypan, andettan
Congregat	(He) assembles, congregates	Somnigas	Gaderap
Coniunxit	(He will) unite	Geadrade	Gesomnode
Consolabuntur	(They will) be consoled	Gefroefred biðon	Gefrefrede
Consummatio*	End of the world	Endung woruldes	Worulde ge endung
Consummo*	Consume, finish	Endan, fylan	Ge endan
Contemnet	(He) despises, defies	Forogas, geteled	Bið unge hyrsum
Cor*	Heart	Hearta	Heorte
Coronam de spinis	Crown of thorns	Lege of ðornum	Cyne helm of þornum
Corpus*	Body	Lichoma, lic	Lichama
Credo*	Believe, trust	Gelefan	Gelyfan
Crimine	Sins, offenses	Heh synne	Butan leahtre
Crucifigo *	Crucify	Ahengan, næglan on	Ahangan, on rode



		rode	ahengan
Crux*	Cross	Rod, unhæl, ðrouung	Rode, cwymlinge
Cupierunt	(They have) longed for, desired	Gewilliadon	Gewilnudon
Curo*	Take care of, heal	Geman, gelecnan, geboetan	Hælan
Daemon*	Evil spirit, demon	Diwl, diouel, dioblæ, diowbla	Deofle, deofol
Daemonia habo*	Contain a demon	Diwl hæbban	Deofol seoc hæbban
Debiles	<i>Pl.</i> Weak, infirm	Unhale	Wanhale
Debitum*	Debt, sin	Scyld	Gylt
Defunctus*	<i>Adj.</i> Dead, deceased	Dead	Forðferde
Deus*	God	God	God
Dei filius	Son of God	Godes sunu	Godes sunu
Delicta	Crimes, sins	Synna	Gyltas
Demitte	<i>Imp.</i> Forgive	Forgef	Forgyf
Dereliquisti	(You have) forsaken, abandoned	Forleorte ðu	Forlete þu
Desponsata	<i>Pl.</i> Betrothed, espoused	Beboden, befeastaad, betaht, biwoedded	Beweddod
Detestari	Curse, detest	Adustriga	
Diabolus*	Devil, Satan	Diwl, diobul, diable	Deofle, deofol
Die iudicii	Day of Judgement	Dæg domes	Domes dæg
Dignus*	<i>Adj.</i> Worthy, deserving	Wyrðe, clæne	Wyrþe
Diiudicare	<i>Inf.</i> Judge, examine	Ofoeme	Tocnawan
Dilectus	<i>Adj.</i> Beloved, lovely	Derling, diora, leaf	Gecorena, leofa
Diliges proximum	Love thy neighbor	Lufa ðe nesta	Lufa þinne nehstan
Diligo*	Love	Lufian	Lufan
Dimitto*	Send away, forgive	Forletan, forgeafan	Forlætan, forgeafan
Discipulus*	Disciple	Discipul, ðegn	Leorning cniht
Discite	(He) learns	leornas	Leorniaþ, leornigeaþ
Doceo*	Teach, instruct	Læran	Læran
Doctrina*	Teaching, doctrine	Lar	Lare
Domine*	Lord	Drihten, hlaferd	Drihten, hlaford
Dux	Leader, commander, duke	Aldormon, latua	Here toga
Ecclesia*	Church, assembly	Cirice	Cyricean
Eicio*	Cast out, drive out	Drifan, fordrifan	Adryfan, awurpan
Eiecto	Drive out	Fordraf	Ut adryfenum
Electus*	<i>Adj.</i> Chosen, elect	Gecorene	Gecorene
Eructabo	(I shall) utter, declare	Ge yppe, loccete	Bodige
Ethnicus*	Heathen, pagan	Esuice	Hæpen

Euangelium	The Gospel	Godspell	God spel
Euangelizantur	(They are) preached the Gospel	Godspell bodages	Bodiað
Exalto*	Lift up, glorify	Ahefan	Upp ahefan
Exaudiantur	(They are) favorably heard	Biðon gehered	Syn gehyrede
Exit daemonium	Destroy the demon	Ge eade ðe diowl	Se deoful hyne forlet
Exprobare	<i>Inf.</i> Reproach, reprove	Of sceomage	Hyspan
Exultate	<i>Imp.</i> (You all) rejoice	Wynnsumiað	Geblissiað
Falsus*	<i>Adj.</i> False, lying, deceptive	Leas	Leas, leoger
Famam iesu	Fame of Jesus	Mersung hælendes	Hælendes hlisan
Fatuus*	<i>Adj.</i> Foolish	Idle, unwis	Dysege
Fecit	(He has) Created	Geworhte	Worhte
Festo	Feast, festival	Symbel	Freols dæge
Fidelis	<i>Adj.</i> Faithful	Geleaf full, trewufæst	Getrywe
Fides*	Faith, religion	Geleafa	Geleafan
Filium gehennae	Son of hell	Sunu cursunges	Helle bearn
Filius dauid*	Son of David	Sunu dauides	Dauides sunu
Filius dei*	Son of God	Sunu godes	Godes sunu
Filius hominis*	Son of men	Sunu monnes	Mannes sunu
Flagello*	Whip, strike, lash	Geswingan	Swingan
Fornicatio*	Fornication	Derne legere, unclænas lustas	Forlegenyssye þyngum
Frater*	Brother	Broðer	Broþor, broður
Furo*	Steal	Forstelan	For stælan
Furtum*	Theft, robbery	Ðiofonto, stalo	Stale
Futuro	<i>Adj.</i> Future	Touærd lif	Þære towearðan
Gaudio*	Rejoice	Glædnisse	Blysse, gefean
Gehenna*	Hell, place of torment	Cursung, tintergo	On helle
Gens*	People, nation	Cynna, hædna, ðeada	Þeoda
Gloria	Glory, honor	Wuldra	Wuldre
Glorifico*	Glorify, extol	Geuldradan	Wuldran
Hereditatem	Inheritance	Erfe weardnisse	Æhta
Homicidium*	Homicide, murder	Morður, morðor slago	Mann slyht, manslaga
Honoro*	Honor, respect	Aran	Arwurþan, wurþ scypan
Hospes	Guest	Gest	Cuma
Humilio*	Humiliate, humble	Gebegan, eðmodigan	Ge eaðmetan, genyþeran
Hypocrita*	Hypocrite	Esuice, legeras	Liccetere
Ieiuno*	Fast, abstain from food	Fæstan	Fæstan
Iesus*	Jesus	Hælend	Drihten, hælend

Iesus christus	Jesus Christ	Hælend crist	Hælend crist
Ignis*	Fire, lightning	Fyr	Fyre
Igni inextinguibili	Inextinguishable fire	Fyres un drysnende	Unadwæscendlicum fyre
Immunditia	Uncleanness, impurity	unclæno	Unclænnysse
Incredulitas*	Unbelief	Ungelefenise	Ungeleafulnesse
Indignati	<i>Adj.</i> Angry, unworthy	Ablonegne, wraðe	Gebolgene
Infernum	<i>Adj.</i> Of hell, infernal	Helle	Helle
Infirmus	<i>Adj.</i> Weak, sick	Untrum, un hælo	Untrum
In hoc saeculo	In this world	In ðissum life, in ðis woruld	On þisse worulde
Inimicus*	<i>Adj.</i> Hostile, unfriendly	Fiond	Feond, fynd, unholda
Iniquitas*	Sin, injustice	Unrehtwisnis	Unrihtwisnys
Iniuriam	Injury, injustice	Baeligniso, laæðo	Teonan
Iniustos	<i>Plu.</i> Unjust, godless	Unsoðfæste	Unrihtwisan
Inludebant	(They) mocked, deceived	Bismeredon	Bysmorudun
Inludentes	<i>Adv.</i> Mocking	Bismerdon	Bysmeredon
Innocens*	<i>Adj.</i> Innocent, pure	Un scendende, unscyldig	Un scyldig
Inproperabant	(They) reproached, taunted	Æd wuioton	Hyspdun
Irascetur	(They are) being angry	Uræðes	Yrsað
Iudaeos	Jews	Iudeum	Iudeum
Iudico*	Judge, decide	Doeman	Deman
Iugum	Yoke, fetter	Geoc	Geoc
Iuramenta	<i>Plu.</i> Oaths	Aðas	Aðas
Iuro*	Swear, take an oath	Suerian	Swerian
Iustus*	<i>Adj.</i> Just, righteous	Soðfæste	Rihtwise
Iustifico*	Justify, do justice	Soð fæstan	Gerihtwisan
Iustitia*	Justice, innocence, righteousness	Soðfæstnisse	Rihtwisnyss
Languidos	<i>Adj.</i> Infirm, sick, weak	Un hale, untrymmigo	Untruman
Languor*	Sickness, infirmity	Unhælo, untrym	Adle
Latrones	Robbers, thieves	Morsceaðo	Sceaþan
Laua	<i>Imp.</i> Wash, bathe	Ðuah	Þweah
Lex*	Law	Æ	Æ
Libellum repudii	Petition of divorce	Boc freodomes	Hiwgedales boc
Librum repudii	Book of divorce	Bod freodomes	Hiw gedales boc
Licet	<i>Adj.</i> Lawful, allowed	Is gelefed, is rehtlic	Alyfed, ys alyfed
Luceat	(He) shines, gives light	Lihteð	Onlihte
Lugunt	(They) lament, bewail	Gemænas	Wepað

Lumen*	Light, brightness	Leht	Leoht
Lux*	Light, dawn	Leht	Leoht
Magister*	Master, teacher	Larua	Lareow
Magus*	Learned man, magician	Dryum, tungulcræftga	Tungol witegan
Magnificabant	(They) exulted, glorified	Ge undradon, worðadon	Mærsodon
Maiestate	Dignity, majesty	Godcund mæht	Mænþrymme
Male*	Badly, grievously	Yfle	Yfel
Male habo*	Have evil	Mis hæbban, unhale, yfle hæbban	Yfel hæbban, untrume, seocum
Maledico*	Curse, speak evil	Awoergedan, yfle cuoeðan	Awyrigan
Mamonae	Wealth, riches <sup>209</sup>	Dioble	Woruld welan
Mandatum*	Command, order	Bebod, bod	Bebod, lara
Mandauī	(I have) commanded	Ic bebead	Bebead
Mente	Mind	Ðoht	Mode
Merces*	Reward, wages	Mearda	Mede
Mimimae fidei	Those of little belief	Lytles geleafas	Gehwædes geleafan
Mirabilis*	Adj. Wonderful, marvelous	Wundurlic	Wundorlic
Miror*	To wonder	Gewundran	Wundrian
Misericordia*	Compassion, mercy	Miltheortnisse	Mildheortnysse
Miseror*	Pity, have mercy, have compassion	Helpan, milsan,	Gemiltsan
Mitis*	Adj. Meek, mild, gentle	Biluit, milde	Bilwite, liðan
Mitti in gehennam ignis	Sent into the fires of Hell	Gesende in tintergo fyres	Asend on helle fyr
Mitti in ignem aeternum	Sent into the eternal fire	Sende in fyr ece	On ece fyr asend
Modicae fidei	Those of little belief	Lytles geleafa	Lytles geleafan
Moechor*	Commit adultery	Gesyngan, synnig beon	Unriht hæman, syngan
Monumentum*	Monument, grave	Byrgenne	Byrgene
Mors*	Death	Dead	Dead
Mundo*	Cleanse, purify	Geclænsian	Geclænsian
Mundo*	World, earth	Middangeard	Middan earde
Munus	Gift, offering	Ðing	Lac
Mysteria	Mysteries	Clæno hryno, diopnise, gesægnise	Gerynu
Nequam	Adj. Wicked, evil	Unbliðe, wohful, yfel wyrcente	Manfull
Nequitia	Wickedness, malice	Woes, wohfulnise	Facn
Nomine domini	In the name of the Lord	Noma drihtnes	Drihtnes naman

<sup>209</sup> Stelten's *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin*. (1995) p.156 offers a lemma for the word *mammona* from Matt.6:24 "*non potestis Deo servire et mammonae*" [You cannot serve God and mammon]. Although the actual meaning of *mammona* is "wealth, riches" in the New Testament it signifies a Syriac idol of wealth and greed, explaining the Old Northumbrian translation "*dioble*".

Nubere	<i>Inf.</i> Marry	Wifege	Wifienne
Nubibus caeli	Clouds of heaven	Wolcnum heofnes	Heofonan genipod, heofones wolcnum
Nubtias	Weddings	Brydlopa, færmō	Gyfata, gyftum
Nuntiabit	(He shall) announce, proclaim	Sægeð	Bodað
Occido*	Kill, slay	Ofslan, ofslagan	Ofslean
Occultum	Secret, hidden sin	Gedegled, gehyded	Dihle þing
Odio	Hate, detest	Mid læððo	Hatað
Onus	Burden	Byrðen	Byrþyn
Opera Christi	Works of Christ	Werca cristes	Cristes weoruc
Oratio*	Prayer	Gebed	Gebæd
Oro*	Pray, plead	Gebiddan	Gebiddon
Pacifici	Peace offerings	Friðgeorne, subsume	Ge sybsuman
Paenitentia*	Repentance, penance	Hreownise	Dæd bote, hreowsian
Parabola*	Parable, similitude	Bisen, bispell	Big spel
Pascha	Easter	Eastro	Easter þenunga, eastro
Pascit	(He) feeds, shepherds	Foedas	Fet
Passurus	(He shall) suffer	Geðrowed	Þrowigenne
Pater*	Father	Fader	Fæder
Pati	<i>Inf.</i> Suffer	Geðolega	Þolian
Patientiam	Patience	Geðyld	Geþyld
Pax*	Peace, prosperity	Sibbe	Syb
Peccatus*	Sin	Synn	Synn
Pecco*	Sin, transgress	Firinan, synnigan	Syngan
Perditionem	Perdition, ruin	Lose, losing	For spillednesse
Perdo*	Lose, destroy	Fordon, forfæran, losian	Amyran, for spilan
Perfectus*	<i>Adj.</i> Complete, finished	Wisfæst	Fullfremed
Periurabis	Swear falsely	Ðerh suere ðu to suiðe	Forswere
Persequentibus	<i>Plu.</i> Persecuted, pursued	Oehtendum	Ehteras
Perseuerauerit	(He shall) have persevered, persisted	Ðerh wunað, ðerh wunia wælla	Þurh wunaþ
Peruersa	<i>Adj.</i> Evil, perverse	Wohfull	Þwyre
Pessimae	Of evil, of the worst	Wyrresto	Wyrrestan
Peto*	Ask, beg, beseech	Gebiddan, giuian	Gebiddan
Phantasma	Phantom, apparition	Yfel wiht	Scinlac
Pharisaeus*	Pharisee	Ældormenn, ældra,	Farisei, sundor halge

		from æ craftgum	
Philacteria	Phylacteries, reliquaries <sup>210</sup>	Đuuenegu	Heals bac
Piger	<i>Adj.</i> Lazy, slothful	Swer	Slawa
Placitum	Agreement, purpose	Licewyrðe	Swa gecweme
Portae inferi	Gates of hell	Duro helles, geatt helles	Helle gatu
Potest*	Might, power	Mæht, onweald	Anweald, miht
Praecipio*	Instruct, teach, preach	Bebeadan	Bebeadan
Praedico*	Preach, predict	Bodagan, forebodagan	Bodian
Princeps*	Leader, ruler	Aldormonn, forwuostum	Ealdor
Procidit	(He shall) fall down	Feoll	Afeoll
Prodigia	Wonders, miracles	Foretaceno	Fore beacn
Propheta*	Prophet	Witgo	Witega
Prophetia	Prophecy	Witgiung, witgum	Witegung
Propheto*	Foretell, prophesy	Gewitgan	Witegan, segan
Prudens*	Wise, prudent, skilled	Hogo, hogfæst, hogfull	Gleaw
Publicanus*	Tax collector, sinner	Bær synnig, yfel wycendum	Manfull
Puer*	Child, boy	cnæht	Cild, cnapa
Quaero*	Require, ask for, desire	Soecan, biddan	Secan
Qui in caelis	Who is in heaven	Seðe in caelis, seðe in heofnum	Seþe on heofonum, þe on heofenan is
Rabbi	Master, teacher	laruwa	Lareow
Racha	Silly person, fool	Idle, unuis	Awordena
Rationem	Reckoning, reasoning	Reht, rehtnise	Gerad
Reconciliare	<i>Inf.</i> Reconcile, absolve	Eft to bietanne	Gesybsuma
Reddo*	Restore, give back	Forgeldan	Agyfan, aguldan
Redemptionem	Redemption, deliverance	Alesenis, eft lesing	Alysednesse
Reficiam	Repaired, restored	Gefroefre	Geblissige
Regeneratione	Rebirth, renewal	Eft cynnes edniwung	Edcenninge
Regnum*	Kingdom, reign	Ric	Rice
Relinquo*	Forsake, abandon	Forleoran	Forleton
Remitto*	Pardon, forgive	Forgefan	Forgyfan
Requiem	Rest	Rest	Reste
Resplenduit	(He) shines, is bright	Eft gescean	Scean
Restituo*	Replace, return	Ge edniuan	Aþenan, edniwan
Resurrectione*	Resurrection	Erist	Æryst
Resurgo*	Rise again, rise from	Arisan, awæccan	Arisan

<sup>210</sup> Stelten (1995) lacks a lemma for the word *philacteria*, so the definition for this lemma was taken from Albert Blaise. *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs du Moyen-Âge. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis LXX*. Turnhout (1975)

	the dead		
Reuelo*	Reveal, disclose	Æd eaudan	Onwreon, onwruġan
Reus	Accused, criminal	Dead synig, scyldig	Scyldig
Rex	King	Cynig	Cynig
Rogo*	Ask, beseech	Bedan, biddan	Bædan, biddan, cwæðan
Sabbatum*	Sabbath, seventh day	Sæternes dæg, sabbatum, sunnadæg	Reste dæg
Sacerdos*	Priest	Biscopa, mesapreost, sacerda	Sacerdas
Sacrificium	Sacrifice, offering	Geafo, husul	Onsægdnyse
Saeculi	Lifetimes, worlds	Woruldes	Worulde
Saluo*	Save, keep, rescue	Hælan, gehaligan	Hælan
Salutate	Beadas hælo, groetas	Gretað	
Sancto*	Adj. Holy, saintly	Halig	Haligre
Sano*	Heal, cure	Hælan	Hælan
Sapiens*	Adj. Wise, sensible	Snotre, mið wisdom	Wisdom, wisun
Satan*	Satan, the devil	Widerbraca, wider uorda	Deoful, on bæc, satanas
Scabellum	Stool, altar step	Fot seoemel	Fot scamul
Scandalum*	Scandal, obstacle	Ondspyrnis	Geuntreowsode, swyedom, wiperræde
Scandalizo*	Scandalize	Ondspyrnan, ðrouigan	Swycan, untreowsodan
Scriba*	Scribe, secretary, clerk	Boecera, wuðuta	Bocere, writera
Secreto	Secret, something hidden	Deglice	Diglice, onsundron
Seducio*	Lead astray, deceive	Gesuican	Beswican
Senior*	Elder	Ældre	Ealdra, hlaforð
Separo*	Separate, sunder	Dælan, sceadan, slitan, suindrian	Asyndrian, ge twæman
Sepulcrum*	Tomb, grave	Byrgenne	Byrgene
Sepulturam	Burial place	Bibyrġnisa	Be byrgenne
Sermo*	Speech, homily	Word	Gebed, spræce
Signum*	Sign, signal	Becon, tacon, tungel	Tacn
Simplices	Those simple, upright	Bliðo, mildo	Bylwite
Soluo*	Undo, set free	Slitan, undon, untynan	Towurpan
Spargit	(He) sows, scatters	Streigdæs	Towyrpð
Sperabunt	(They shall) trust, hope	Hyhtað	Gehyhtað
Spiritus*	Spirit, soul	Gast	Gast
Sponsa*	Bride	Bryde	Brude
Sponsus*	Bridegroom	Brydguma	Brydguma
Spurcitia	Filthiness	Unclæna	Fylpe
Staturam	Form, height	Licnesse, to lengo	Anlicnesse
Stella*	Star	Stearra	Steorra

Stulto	<i>Adj.</i> Silly, stupid	Dysge	Dysigan
Supplicium aeterno	Eternal submission	Tintergo ecce	Ece susle
Surgo*	Rise up, awake	Arisan	Arisan, cumin
Suspendit	(He) hangs up, suspends	Awurigde	Aheng
Sustinebit	(He shall) endure, sustain	Hræfneð	Bið gehyrsum
Synagoga*	Synagogue	Somsungum	Gesomnungum
Templum*	Temple, church	Temple	Templ
Tempto*	Try, tempt	Gecostan, cunnan	Costian
Temtationem	Temptation	Costung	Costnunge
Temtator	Tempter	Costere, cunnere	Costniend
Tenebrae*	Darkness, shadows	Ðiostro	Þystru
Terra*	Earth, land	Eorðo	Eorðan, land
Testes	Witnesses	Witnesa, wutu	Onsagum
Testimonium	Testimony, evidence	Cyðnisse, witnesa	Gecyðnesse
Thesaurus*	Treasure	Forf, strion	Gold horde
Thronus dei	Throne of God	Heh seðel godes	Godes þrym setl
Timeo*	Fear, dread	Ondredan	Ondrædan
Timore	<i>Noun.</i> Fear, dread	Ege	Ege
Tolerabilis	<i>Adj.</i> Light, bearable	Eðor, lihtre	Acumendlicre
Tormentis	Torments	Costungum, fiondgeldum	Tintregum
Torquetur	(He is) tortured	Gecosted, gecunned	Geðread
Traditionem	Tradition	Selenise, setnesa	Lage
Transgredio*	Transgress, go over	Forhogan, ofergaan	Forgyman
Transmigrationem	Removal, transmigration	Forworpnise, gefealnisse, geliornisse, ofercerr, ofer fær, ymbcerr	Geleorednysse
Tribulatio*	Affliction, trouble	Costung	Gedeorf, gedrefednysse
Ualentibus	<i>Adj.</i> Strong, powerful	Ðæm halum	Halum
Uerbum*	Word, speech	Word	Word
Ueritas*	Truth, fidelity	Soðfæstnis	Soðfæstnysse
Uexatur	(He is) oppressed, tormented	Is gestyred	Gedreht
Uigilate	<i>Imp.</i> (You all) keep watch, be on guard	Wæccas	Waciað
Uiolenti	<i>Adj.</i> Violent, furious	Nedunga, ðreatende	Nead et strece
Uirgo*	Virgin, maiden	Hehstald	Fæmne
Uirtus*	Virtue, power	Mægu, mæht	Mæge, mihta, wundru
Uisionem	Vision, appearance	Gesihða	Secgean
Uita*	Life	Lif	Life
Uiuo*	Live, am alive	Lifan	Lyfan



Uoluntatem patris	Will of the Father	Willo faderes	
Uxor*	Wife	Wif	Wif

## Appendix B

In the present chapter each doctrinal term or phrase will be discussed on its own within the category it belongs to (cf. Halvorson's categories).<sup>211</sup> Each entry will work as such: first, the Latin term is presented in italics, and will be marked with an asterisk if multiple occurrences have been reduced to the dictionary lemma as can be found in Leo F. Stelten's *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin*.<sup>212</sup> Immediately after the Latin term, the translation from that same dictionary will be presented within square brackets. All translations or definitions after that derive from various reference works on Old English and will be referenced separately by means of abbreviations and page numbers within brackets.<sup>213</sup> References to other publications than these standard reference works, as well as extensive translations, will be supplied as footnotes.

### The Deity:

Terms and phrases associated with God:

*Caelestis*: [adj. heavenly] both the ONbr and WS translate this with a form of *heofonlic* [heavenly] (*CHM* 178), literally meaning 'from heaven' (*TOE* 653).

*Deus*\*: [God] both the ONbr and WS use the etymologically Germanic term *God* [God] (*CHM* 157) exclusively.

*Domine*\*: [Lord] both the ONbr and WS use the same two terms, *drihten* [ruler, lord] (*CHM* 89) and *hlaford* [lord, ruler] (*CHM* 185), the first of which is used the most in both translations. According to the *TOE* the term *hlaford* is far more ambiguous than *drihten*, and can be used to describe almost any person of rank or in a leading position (*TOE* 1078).

*Fecit*: [created] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *geworhte* [constructed, made] (*CHM* 427), past participle of *gewyrcean* [to build, make, create] (*CHM* 427). The term is retained in the archaic adjective 'wrought'.

*Nomine Domini*: [in the name of the Lord] both the ONbr and WS translate this as *drihtnes naman* [in the Lord's name], however the ONbr respects Latin word-order by using *noma drihtnes*.

*Pascit*: [feeds, shepherds] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *fedan* [feed, nourish, foster] (*CHM* 113). It is commonly associated with the nourishing of livestock (*TOE* 216), so the translation retains the metaphor of God as a shepherd.

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<sup>211</sup> See Halvorson. "Doctrinal Terms". (1932) p. 3.

<sup>212</sup> Leo F Stelten, ed. *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin: with an appendix of Latin expressions defined and clarified*. Edinburgh (1995).

<sup>213</sup> These abbreviations are *TOE*: J. Roberts, C. Kay and L. Grundy, eds. *A Thesaurus of Old English*. London (1995) 2 vols; *CHM*: J.R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. with suppl. by H.D. Meritt. Cambridge (1960); *B&T*: J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford (1882-1893); T.N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement*. Oxford (1908-1921); *SPIL*: C. D. Buck. *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages: A Contribution to the History of Ideas*. Chicago (1949)

*Potest\**: [might, power] the terms used to translate this term are spelled differently, but otherwise the same in both the ONbr and WS; the ONbr uses *onweald* [power] (CHM 268) and *mæht* [might, strength] (CHM 237), whereas the WS uses *anweald* and *miht*. Only *miht* may also imply ‘physical strength’ next to the common connotations of ‘authority’ and ‘might’ (TOE 1179).

*Qui in caelis*: [who is in heaven] the ONbr translation of this phrase is always a variation of *seðe in heofnum*, with the Latin original *caelis* replacing *heofnum* only once in Mt.18:14. The WS translator uses this rendition as well, but only once in Mt.23:9. The term *seðe* is often used across the Old English corpus to render the Latin relative pronoun *qui*. The commoner translation in the WS is *þe on heofonum*, to which the implied *is* was added in Mt.12:50.

*Thronus dei*: [throne of God] the ONbr translation of this phrase is *heh seðel godes* [exalted throne of God], in which the adjective *heh* literally means ‘high’ but clearly indicates superiority or divinity (TOE 421, 524, 1051). The WS translation *godes þrym setl* is very similar, although it uses the adjective *þrym* which is less metaphorical, meaning ‘glorious’ (CHM 364).

*Uirtus\**: [virtue, power] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with varying spellings of *mægu* and *mæht* [might, strength] (CHM 237). In the case of Mt.14:2, when Herodes describes miracles he suspects are wrought by John the Baptist (*uirtutes inoperantur in eo*)<sup>214</sup>, the WS translation uses *wundru* [miracles] (CHM 425) instead.

*Uoluntatem patris*: [will of the Father] this phrase occurs only once, and is not translated in the WS version. The ONbr translation is *willo faderes* [will of the father].

Terms and phrases associated with Jesus Christ:

*Apparuit*: [appeared, shone forth] both the ONbr and WS render this term as *æd eaude*, although the WS spelling is *ætywde*. The Latin term *apparuit* appears only once in Mt. The TOE notes that *ætywan* implies the ‘manifestation’ or ‘revealing’ of what was first unknown (TOE 478).

*Bethlehem*: [Bethlehem] this is consistently calqued as *bethleem* in WS. The ONbr reads *bethlem* in Mt.2:6 and Mt.2:8, but Mt.2:1 and Mt.2:16 render it with the explanatory gloss *ðær byrig*, which literally means ‘that town’.

*Coronam de spinis*: [crown of thorns] in the ONbr this is translated as *lege of ðornum*. The noun *lege* is associated with ‘lying’ as well as with ‘sickness’ and ‘death’, but in the present context probably means ‘drape of thorns’ (TOE 32). The connotation of ‘death’ is however still appropriate in the context of Jesus’ crucifixion. The WS translation is *cyne helm of þornum*, which is a more literal translation of the Latin *coronam* because it connotes a royal crown (TOE 540).

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<sup>214</sup> [miracles are wrought by him] translation mine.

*Crucifigo*\*: [crucify] both the ONbr and WS translate this verb with *ahengan*, which literally means ‘to hang’ (CHM 16). In the WS the verb is often expanded as *on rode ahengan*, which means ‘hang on the cross’. The ONbr alternative to *ahengan* is *næglan on rode*, ‘nail to the cross’ (CHM 245), which is a less ambiguous phrase for the manner of execution.

*Crux*\*: [cross] although both the ONbr and WS translate this as *rod*, which literally means ‘cross’, each translation refers to the torture device with additional terms unique to each translation.<sup>215</sup> The ONbr uses *ðrouung* in Mt.1:38, which means ‘suffering’ or ‘martyrdom’ (CHM 364), whereas the WS uses *cwylminge* in this verse which also means ‘suffering’ (CHM 78) but is not usually connotated with ‘martyrdom’. Ælfric, however, has used it to imply crucifixion (CHM 78).

*Electus*\*: [adj. chosen, elect] both the Onbr and WS use variant forms of *gecorene* for this term, the past participle of *ceosan* [choose, elect] (CHM 67).

*Famam Iesu*: [fame of Jesus] the important term here is Latin *famam*, which is the renown or fame of Jesus. The Latin phrase occurs only once in Mt. The ONbr translation is *mersung*, which actually means ‘description’ or ‘characteristics’ (CHM 226). The WS, however, translates this as *hlisan* which means either ‘rumor’ or ‘fame’ (CHM 186), which renders the Latin more accurately.

*Filius David/Dei/hominis*\*: [son of David/God/men] these phrases, which always refers to Jesus, are translated in the same ways in ONbr and WS except for the word-order; while the WS uses *Dauides/Godes/mannes sunu*, the ONbr places the elements in reverse order to remain faithful to the Latin word-order which is glossed word for word.

*Iesus (Christus)*: [Jesus (Christ)] the proper name Jesus is always translated as *hælend* except for two lines in the WS rendition of Mt.15:27-28, when Jesus is addressed by a father whose daughter is healed by Jesus; here the translation is *drihten* [Lord] (CHM 89). The term *hælend* literally means ‘healer’ or ‘savior’ (CHM 165).

*Luceat*: [shines, gives light] both the ONbr and WS translate this as *(on)lihte*, which could imply either that Jesus ‘illuminated’ or that he ‘made lighter, relieved’ as in giving medical care (TOE 130, 710).

*Nuntiabit*: [announce, proclaim] the ONbr translation of this term is *sægeð*, a variant form of *secgan* [to say, speak] (CHM 301). The WS translation is *bodað* [proclaim] (CHM 53) which is also used to render ‘preach’. The Latin term occurs only once in Mt.12:18, when the prophecy of Isaias is quoted: *iudicium gentibus nuntiabit*.<sup>216</sup> Keeping in mind the legal connotation within this context, *bodað* is the more accurate translation (TOE 481).

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<sup>215</sup> The word *rod* to designate the cross is peculiar to Old English; except for Gothic, which has *galga* for cross, every other recorded Indo-European language uses a term derived from the Latin *crux*. See Carl Darling-Buck. *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages: A Contribution to the History of Ideas*. Chicago (1949) pp. 902-903

<sup>216</sup> [proclaim judgement to the gentiles] translation mine.

*Opera Christi*: [works of Christ] both the ONbr and WS translate this as *Cristes weoruc*, although the ONbr respects Latin word-order by using *werca Cristes*.

*Parabola*\*: [parable, similitude] both the ONbr and WS translate this as *bispell* in varying spellings, which means ‘parable’ or ‘proverb’ or ‘similitude’ (*CHM* 50). The ONbr alternatively uses the term *bisen* sometimes, which can mean the same as *bispell* but usually implies ‘example’ (*CHM* 49).

*Prodigia*: [miracles, omens] the ONbr translation of this term at its only occurrence (Mt.24:24) is *foretaceno*, literally a ‘prognostic sign’ or ‘omen’. The WS translation is *fore beacn*, which *B&T* renders as fore-token (*B&T* 305); this term is also recorded in Ælfric’s homilies (*CHM* 126).

*Puer*\*: [child] the ONbr translation of this term is consistently *cnæht*, which may imply a ‘youth’ or ‘boy’, but also means ‘servant’ in different contexts (*CHM* 72). The WS uses two alternative translations, both of which are less ambiguous than the ONbr: either *cild* or *cnapa*. Although *cnapa* may also imply ‘servant’, this meaning is rarely found in Old-English (*B&T* 161).

*Resplenduit*: [shines, is bright] both the ONbr and WS translate this with a variant form of *scean* [to shine, be resplendent] (*CHM* 292).

*Suspendit*: [hangs up, suspends] the ONbr translation of this term is *awurigde*, which literally means ‘strangle’ or ‘suffocate’, but can also imply ‘to damn’ or ‘curse’ (*CHM* 30). The only time this term appears it describes Judas’ suicide after he has betrayed Jesus, for which both the literal meaning as well as the implied meaning are appropriate. The WS translation is the more neutral term *aheng* [he hangs] (*CHM* 16).

Terms associated with Jesus’ disciples:

*Apostolorum*: [of the apostles] both the ONbr and WS render this with the Latin term, *apostolorum* and *apostola* respectively, but only the WS naturalizes it with the vernacular genitive plural inflexion. This is, however, the only time a variant form of Latin *apostolus* appears within the Vulgate Gospel of Matthew.

*Discipulus*\*: [disciple] the ONbr uses *ðegn* [servant] (*CHM* 357) in every case except for a double gloss in Mt.26:40 and a single gloss in Mt.27:57, in which a form of Latin *discipulus* is written with Northumbrian inflection. The WS translate this as a variant form of *leorning cniht* [student, disciple] (*CHM* 216) at every occurrence. Although both translations imply obedience and serving, the WS clearly emphasizes the aspect of their being students of Jesus’ faith.

## The World, Angels and Devils:

Terms associated with the World:

*Altare*\*: [altar] the ONbr translation is *wigbed* [altar] (*CHM* 403) which is related to the similar WS translation *weofud* [altar] (*CHM* 403).

*Caro*\*: [flesh, body] the ONbr translation is always *lichoma* [body] (*CHM* 217). The WS translation is either *flæsc* [flesh] as opposed to the soul (*CHM* 120) or *mann* [person] (*CHM* 229).

*Columbus*\*: [dove] the ONbr and WS both translate this term as *culfre* [dove] (*CHM* 76), only the ONbr adds the term *staplas* [pillars] in the double gloss in Mt.21:12, which suggests Aldred was unsure whether the Latin term was *columbas* or *columnas*.

*Cor*\*: [heart] although the spellings differ, both the ONbr and WS translate this term as *hearta* [heart] (*CHM* 179).

*Corpus*\*: [body] both the ONbr and WS translate this with a variant spelling of *lichoma* [body] (*CHM* 217), but the ONbr also uses the abbreviated form *lic*.

*Dux*: [leader, commander, duke] although this is a neutral term for ‘leader’ by itself, it is used in Mt.2:6 to designate Jesus, the *dux qui reget populum meum Israhel*.<sup>217</sup> The ONbr translations of this are *aldormon* [chief, nobleman] (*B&T* 34) or *latua* [leader in war, general] (*B&T* 606). The WS translation is *here toga* [general] (*B&T* 533), so the intent here was unambiguously military.

*Ecclesia*\*: [church, assembly] both the ONbr and WS translate this with a form of *cirice* [church, congregation] (*CHM* 69) which several Germanic languages derived from the Greek term *κυριακόν* (*SPIL* 1476).

*Gens*\*: [people, nation] this term is treated in multiple ways by both the ONbr and WS; the ONbr translates this as *cynna* [race, people] (*CHM* 80), *hædna* [family, tribe] (*CHM* 164) or *ðeada* [gentiles] (*CHM* 357). The WS also uses the term *þeoda* [gentiles].

*Hypocrita*\*: [hypocrite] both the ONbr and WS use terms meaning ‘hypocrite’ and ‘deceiver’ to translate this term, *legeras* (*CHM* 213) and *liccetere* (*CHM* 217) respectively. The ONbr, however, also uses *esuice* which means ‘offender’ or sometimes ‘violator of God’s laws’ (*CHM* 11).

*In hoc saeculo*: [in this world] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variations on *in ðis woruld* [in this world]. The ONbr, however, also takes a temporal rather than geographic approach and alternatively uses *in ðissum life* [in this lifetime].

*Iudaeos*: [Jews] both the ONbr and WS translate this with a loan from the Latin, *Iudeum*.

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<sup>217</sup> [the commander that shall rule my people Israel] translation mine

*Magus*\*: [magician, learned man] the ONbr translates this term as either *dryum* [sorcerer] (CHM 90) or *tungulcræftga* [astrologer, magician] (CHM 350). The WS translates this term as *tungol witegan* [star prophet, astrologer] (CHM 350). Although magicians and astrologers were often criticized as being partnered with the Devil, the three magi mentioned in the second chapter of Matthew are well known exceptions to this opinion; Isidore of Seville stated in his *Etymologiae* that *cuius artis scientia usque ad Evangelium fuit concessa, ut Christo edito nemo exinde nativitatem alicuius de caelo interpretatur*.<sup>218</sup>

*Mundo*\*: [world, earth] both the ONbr and WS translate this with a variant form of *middangeard* [earth, the world] (CHM 236).

*Pharisaeus*\*: [Pharisee] the Phariseans are basically the main opposition to Jesus' new faith, and are portrayed in several ways, of which some are explicitly negative. The ONbr uses the terms *ældormenn* [chiefs, leaders] (CHM 94), *ældra* [old, primitive] (CHM 94) and *from æcraftgum* [skilled at legislation] and *aeldra uutu* [old wise]. The WS translator sometimes calls them by name with the term *farisei*, but otherwise uses *sundor halge* [sanctimonious]. The word 'pharisaical' is still a synonym for sanctimonious in Modern English.<sup>219</sup>

*Princeps*\*: [leader, ruler] this term preceeds many different words with genitive inflexions, e.g. *princeps sacerdotum*, and is therefore very neutral by itself. The ONbr translation is either *aldormonn* [chief, leader] (CHM 94) or *forwuostum* [captain] (CHM 135). The WS translation is always *ealdor* [elder, leader] (CHM 94).

*Propheta*\*: [prophet] both the ONbr and WS translate this consistently with variant spellings of *witgo* [prophet, soothsayer] (CHM 413).

*Prophetia*: [prophecy] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *witgiung* or *witegung* [prophecy, prediction] (CHM 413).

*Propheto*\*: [foretell] the ONbr and WS both translate this verb with variant forms of *gewitgan* [predict] (CHM 413). The WS however alternatively writes the neutral *segan* [speak] (CHM 301) in a context where a prophet is the related subject.

*Rabbi*: [master, teacher] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant spellings of *laruwa* [teacher, preacher] (CHM 212).

*Regnum*\*: [kingdom, reign] both the ONbr and WS translate this with the term *rice* [kingdom, diocese] (CHM 281).

*Rex*: [king] both the ONbr and WS translate this with the term *cyning* [king, God] (CHM 79).

*Sacerdos*\*: [priest] the ONbr and WS both use variant forms of the Latin loanword *sacerdos* [priest] to translate this term. The ONbr, however, also uses the compound *mesapreost* [mass-priest] (CHM 227) as well as *biscopa* [bishop] (CHM 49) in one double gloss in Mt.2:4.

<sup>218</sup> [Knowledge of this skill was permitted only up until the time of the Gospel, so that once Christ was born no one thereafter would interpret the birth of anyone from the heavens] translation from Stephen A. Barney et al. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*. Cambridge (2006) p. 183.

<sup>219</sup> "sanctimonious, adj." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 12 October 2016.

Although this might appear to be faulty, the gloss in question is for *principes sacerdotum*, implying the head-priest which effectively is the bishop.

*Saeculi*: [lifetimes, worlds] both the ONbr and WS translate this as *woruldes* [worlds, ages] (*CHM* 419).

*Scabellum*: [stool, altar step] both the ONbr and WS translate this with a variant spelling of *fot seoemel* [footstool] (*CHM* 291).

*Scriba*\*: [scribe, secretary, clerk] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of the term *boecera* [scholar, scribe] (*CHM* 53). The ONbr often uses the alternative term *wuðuta* [sage, scribe, Pharisee] (*CHM* 391) whereas the WS alternatively uses *writera* [scribe, author] which does not carry the negative connection with the Phariseans.

*Senior*\*: [elder] both the ONbr and WS translate this with a variant spelling of *ældre* [elder, ancestor] (*CHM* 94). The WS, however, translates the term as *hlaford* [lord, leader] on several occasions.

*Spiritus*\*: [spirit, soul] both the ONbr and WS translate this as *gast* [spirit, soul] (*CHM* 148).

*Synagoga*\*: [synagogue] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *somnungum* [congregation, assembly] (*CHM* 289), giving it a meaning closely related to the word *cirice* [church, congregation].

*Templum*\*: [temple] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *templ* [temple] (*CHM* 339).

*Terra*\*: [earth, land] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *eorðo* [earth, ground] (*CHM* 106). The WS alternatively uses *land* [land, soil] (*CHM* 210) which can also imply ‘property’.

*Uita*\*: [life] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *lif* [life] (*CHM* 218).

*Uiuo*\*: [live, am alive] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *lifan* [to live] (*CHM* 218).

Terms associated with Angels:

*Angeli caelorum*: [angels of heaven] the ONbr translation, being a gloss, treats this phrase word for word and translates both words, *englas heofna* [angels of heaven]. The WS translation ignores the *caelorum* and shows only *englas* [angels].

*Angeli dei in caelo*: [angels of God in heaven] both the ONbr and WS stay faithful to the original and translate the entire phrase in similar terms, *godes englas on heofne*; the ONbr retains the Latin word-order and writes *englas godes in heofnum*.

*Angelus*\*: [angel] like every other Indo-European language, both the ONbr and WS render this term with a loanword derived from the Greek *αγγελος*, which in the case of Old English is *engel* (*SPIL* 1486).



*Angelus domini*: [angel of the Lord] both the ONbr and WS translate this as *drihtnes engel* [angel of the Lord] but the ONbr retains the Latin word-order, writing *engel drihtnes*.

Terms associated with Devils:

*Abominationem*: [detestation] the ONbr translation is *unfegernis*, which is a negation of *fægernes* [beauty] (*CHM* 109). The WS translation is *onsceonunge* [abomination], which is also associated with ‘fear’ and ‘hate’ (*CHM* 266).

*Absconditio*\*: [the hidden, unknown] both the ONbr and WS translate this with the same term related to secrecy, *degolnis* [secret, mystery] (*CHM* 85), albeit in varying spellings.

*Abscondo*\*: [hide, conceal] both the ONbr and WS translate this verb with a form of *hydan* [hide, conceal] (*CHM* 200). In one case, Mt.11:25, the ONbr translates Latin *abscondisti* as *gedeigeldes*, adding the stronger connotation of ‘secrecy’ noted in the previous paragraph.

*Aduersarius*\*: [adversary, opposite] the ONbr translations are either *fiond* [enemy] (*CHM* 115) or *wiðerbraca* [the Devil] (*CHM* 414), both of which are contained in one double-gloss in Mt.5:25. The WS translation is *wiðerwinna* [opponent] (*CHM* 415) and has no connection to the Devil. However, since the term occurs only in the sermon on the mount (Mt.5:25) the Devil is never implied with this term in the Gospel of Matthew.

*Beelzebub*: [beelzebub] both the ONbr and WS render this with the same term, *belzebub*.

*Daemon*\*: [evil spirit, demon] both the ONbr and WS use terms derived from Latin *diabolus* [devil]. However, the spellings vary a lot even within the same dialect. The ONbr uses forms like *diwl*, *diouel*, *dioblæ* and *diowbla*, whereas the WS uses *deofle* or *deofol*.

*Daemonia habo*\*: [contain a demon] the ONbr translate this as *diwl hæbban* [have a demon], with variant spellings of *diwl* as mentioned above. The WS translation adds the word *seoc* [sick] (*B&T* 863) to make *deofol seoc hæbban*, which could mean [have devil sickness]. This makes the situation sound more like an affliction or injury, which is usually the case in the context of the Gospel.

*Diabolus*\*: [devil, Satan] this term is treated the same as *daemon* (see above) in both the ONbr and WS.

*Filium gehennae*: [son of hell] although most constructions involving Latin *filium* [son of] are translated similarly in the ONbr and WS, on this phrase the translators took different approaches with similar meanings. The ONbr translation is *sunu cursunges* [son of damnation], and the WS translation is *helle bearn* [hell’s offspring].

*Mamona*: [wealth, riches] this term was a potential point of difficulty for translators of the Gospel of Matthew. On the one hand, it literally means ‘wealth’ and the WS translation uses this meaning by translating it as *woruld welan* [prosperity of the world] (*CHM* 401). The ONbr translation *dioble* [demon] (*CHM* 84) is however more apt, because the *mamon*

discussed in Mt.6:24 was perceived as a Syriac idol of greed in early exegesis by for instance John Chrysostom and the Vulgate translator Jerome himself.<sup>220</sup>

*Phantasma*: [phantom, apparition] the ONbr translation of this term is *yfel wiht* [evil being] (*CHM* 409) which is not as accurate as the WS *scinlac* [spectre, apparition] (*CHM* 295).

*Satan*\*: [Satan, the Devil] the ONbr renditions of this name are *widerbraca* [adversary, Satan] (*CHM* 414) and *wider uorda* [adversary] (*CHM* 415).

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<sup>220</sup> Brian S Rosner. *Greed as Idolatry: The Origin and Meaning of a Pauline Metaphor*. Cambridge (2007) pp. 22-23.

## Sin:

### General terms:

*Accusarent*: [accuse, blame] the ONbr translates this in a double gloss as *gefræpgedon* [accuse] (*CHM* 137) and *geteldon* [charge against] (*CHM* 339). The WS translation is *wrehton* [accuse, impeach] (*CHM* 422) which has a less legislative connotation, but rather implies a provocation on the accuser's part.

*Aduersum*: [against, harm] the ONbr translates this as *wið* [against, opposite] (*CHM* 414) which is a common preposition in OE. The WS translates this as the preposition *agen* [contrary, against] (*CHM* 263).

*Cadens*: [falling into sin] both the ONbr and WS have a similar translation for the Latin word *cadens* as meaning just 'falling', namely *fallas* and *feallande* respectively. In the ONbr case, however, there is a second gloss which translates it as *slæhtas* [slay, slaughter] (*CHM* 309). This form is unique to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* gloss.

*Condemno*\*: [condemn] the Onbr and WS both translate this with forms of *geniðran* [accuse, condemn] (*CHM* 251). The Onbr alternatively uses the more administrative term *tellan* [charge against, reckon] (*CHM* 339).

*Contemnet*: [despises, defies] the Onbr translates this term as either *forogas* [transgresses, trespasses] (*CHM* 128) or *geteled* [condemns] (*B&T* 451). The WS translates this term with *bið unge hyrsum* [is disobedient] (*CHM* 377), which leans more towards the 'defies' meaning of the Latin term.

*Crimine*: [sins, offenses] the ONbr translates this term as *heh synne* [high sins] (*CHM* 335). The WS translates this as *butan leahtre* [exceptional offences] (*CHM* 213). Both translations highlight the fact that no ordinary sins are discussed.

*Debitum*\*: [debt, sin] the Onbr translates this term as *scyld* [guilt, debt] (*CHM* 298). The WS translates this term as *gylt* [guilt, offence] (*CHM* 163). The ONbr is the only one which possibly recognizes the monetary aspect of *debitum*.

*Delicta*: [crimes, sins] the ONbr translates this with *synna* [sins, crimes] (*CHM* 335). The WS translates this with *gyltas* [offences] (*CHM* 163).

*Dereliquisti*: [forsaken, abandoned] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *forleorte ðu* [you have abandoned] (*CHM* 130).

*Diiudicare*: [judge, examine] the ONbr translates this term with *ofdoeme* [judge] (*CHM* 84). The WS, however, translates this with *tocnawan* [distinguish, acknowledge] (*CHM* 343). In the context of Mt.16:3,<sup>221</sup> when Christ demands that his disciples recognize the face of heaven, the WS translation is the more accurate choice. The ONbr translator was probably misled by the term *iudicare* [judge].

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<sup>221</sup> "faciem ergo caeli diiudicare nostis" [know then how to discern the face of heaven]

*Ethnicus*\*: [heathen, pagan] the ONbr translates this term as *esuice* [offender, hypocrite]. The WS translates this as *hæpen* [pagan], which is a less hostile translation than the ONbr alternative.

*Exprobare*: [reproach, reprove] the ONbr translates this term as *of sceomage* [put to shame] (*B&T* 741), or as *forcuoeda* [speak ill of, reprove] (*CHM* 125) which both emphasize the aspect of reputation. The WS translation is *hyspan* [mock, scorn] (*CHM* 202), which is less accurate in the context of Mt.11:20, because he reports seriously on the failure of other cities to do penance.<sup>222</sup>

*Falsus*\*: [false, lying, deceptive] the ONbr and WS both translate this term as *leas* [false, deceitful]. The WS alternatively translates this as *leoger* [liar], which has the same implications.

*Fatuus*\*: [foolish] the ONbr translates this term as either *idle* [useless] (*CHM* 202) or *unwise* [foolish, ignorant] (*CHM* 387). The WS translates this with *dysege* [foolish, ignorant] (*CHM* 92), which means the same as *unwise*.

*Flagello*\*: [whip, strike] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *geswingan* [to strike, whip, chastize] (*CHM* 333).

*Indignati*: [angry, unworthy] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *gebolgene* [angry, offended] (*CHM* 2). The ONbr alternatively translates it with the term *wraðe* [furious] (*CHM* 422) which makes the emotion of anger stronger.

*Infirmus*: [weak, sick] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *untrum* [infirm, sick] (*CHM* 386). The ONbr translates it as *un hælo* [sickness] (*CHM* 380) in one double gloss.

*Inimicus*\*: [hostile, unfriendly] contrary to most other terms, the WS translation has more alternative translation than the ONbr. Both translations use *feond* [adversary, foe] (*CHM* 115), but only the WS uses *unholda* [monster, devil] (*CHM* 381) as well, which renders a more specifically diabolic meaning.

*Iniquitas*\*: [sin, injustice] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *unrehtwisnis* [unrighteousness] (*CHM* 383).

*Iniuriuam*: [injury, injustice] the ONbr translates this term with either *baeligniso* [injustice] (*CHM* 40) or *laeðo* [wrong, injury] (*CHM* 210). The WS translates this term with *teonan* [injury, wrong] (*CHM* 339).

*Iniustos*: [unjust, godless] the ONbr translates this term as *unsoðfæste* [untruthful] (*CHM* 384). The WS translates this term as *unrihtwisan* [unrighteous] (*CHM* 383).

*Irascetur*: [being angry] the ONbr translates this term as *uræðes* [be angry] (*CHM* 421). The WS translates this term as *yrsað* [enrage, be angry] (*CHM* 203).

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<sup>222</sup> “*tunc coepit exprobare civitatibus,[...] quia non egissent paenitentiam*” [he then began to reproach those cities [...] because they had not done penance]

*Iudico*\*: [judge, decide] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *doeman* [judge] (CHM 84).

*Languidos*: [infirm, sick] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *untruman* [infirm] (CHM 386). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *un hale* [sick] (CHM 380).

*Languor*\*: [sickness, infirmity] the ONbr translates this term with either *unhælo* [sickness] (CHM 380) or *untrym* [infirmity] (CHM 386). The WS translates this term as *adle* [disease] (CHM 3).

*Male*\*: [badly, grievously] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *yfel* [bad, evil] (CHM 428).

*Male habo*\*: [contain evil] both the ONbr and WS translate this term as *yfel hæbban* [hold illness] (CHM 428). The ONbr alternatively uses the terms *mis hæbban* [being ill] (CHM 238) or *unhale* [sick, ill] (CHM 380). The WS alternatively uses *untrume* [infirm, sick] (CHM 386) or *seocum* [feeble, diseased] (CHM 302).

*Nequam*: [wicked, evil] the ONbr translate this term in three different ways: *unbliðe* [joyless, unfriendly] (CHM 371), *wohful* [wicked] (CHM 417) and *yfel wyrcente* [evil-doing] (CHM 429). The WS translates the term as *manfull* [wicked, evil] (CHM 229) exclusively.

*Nequitia*: [wickedness, malice] the ONbr translates this term as either *woes* [evil] (B&T 1263) or *wohfulnise* [wickedness] (CHM 417). The WS translates this term as *facn* [deceit, crime] (CHM 108).

*Occultum*: [secret, hidden sin] the ONbr translates this term as either *gedegled* [hidden, concealed] (CHM 85) or *gehyded* [hidden] (CHM 200) which literally means ‘covered in skin’ (SPIL 851). The WS translates this similarly to the first Northumbrian option, using *dihle þing* [hidden affair] (CHM 85).

*Passurus*: [suffer] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *geðrowed* [endure, suffer] (CHM 364).

*Peccatus*\*: [sin] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *synn* [sin, crime] (CHM 335) exclusively.

*Pecco*\*: [sin, transgress] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *synnigan* [to sin] (B&T 965). The ONbr alternatively translates the term with *firinan* [to sin, commit adultery] (CHM 119).

*Persequentibus*: [persecutors] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *ehtere* [persecutor] (CHM 103).

*Peruersa*: [evil, perverse] the ONbr translates this term as *wohfull* [wicked] (CHM 417). The WS translates this term as *þwyre* [perverse, angry] (CHM 367).

*Pessimae*: [of evil, of the worst] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *wyrresto* [worst] the common superlative of *yfel* (*CHM* 408).

*Publicanus*\*: [tax collector, sinner] the ONbr translates this term as either *bær synnig* [notorious sinner] (*CHM* 32) or *yfel wyrkendum* [evil-doer] (*CHM* 429). The WS translates this term with variant forms of *manfull* [evil, sinful] (*CHM* 229). Neither translation renders the term as ‘tax collector’, which was the literal function of a *publicanus*.

*Racha*: [silly person, fool] the ONbr translates this term as either *idle* [worthless, vain] (*CHM* 202) or *unuīs* [foolish, ignorant]. The WS translates this term as *awordena* [worthless] (*B&T* 63).

*Relinquo*\*: [forsake, abandon] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *forleton* [abandon, neglect] (*CHM* 130).

*Reus*: [accused, criminal] both the ONbr and WS translate this term as *scyldig* [criminal, guilty] (*CHM* 299). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *dead synig* [deed-guilty] (*CHM* 336).

*Secreto*: [secret, something hidden] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *deglice* [secret, hidden] (*CHM* 85). The WS alternatively translates this term as *onsundron* [private, separated] (*CHM* 267).

*Spurcitia*: [filthiness] the ONbr translates this with a simple negative construction, *unclæna* [unclean] (*CHM* 372). The WS translates this term as *fylþe* [filth, impurity] (*CHM* 144).

*Stulto*: [silly, stupid] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *dysigan* [foolish, stupid] (*CHM* 92).

*Testes*: [witnesses] the ONbr translates this term as either *witnesa* [witnesses, testimonies] (*CHM* 414) or *wutu* which is a peculiar spelling of *witung* [knowing, telling] (*B&T* 309). The WS translates this term as *onsagum* [affirmation, accusation] (*CHM* 266).

*Testimonium*: [testimony, evidence] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *cyðnesse* [testimony] (*CHM* 81). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *witnesa* [witnesses, testimonies] (*CHM* 414).

*Tribulatio*\*: [affliction, trouble] the ONbr translates this term as *costung* [temptation, testing] (*CHM* 73). The WS translates it as either *gedeorf* [hardship, trouble] (*CHM* 84) or *gedrefednysse* [trouble, distress] (*CHM* 88).

*Uexatur*: [oppressed, tormented] the ONbr translates this term as *is gestyred* [is excited, agitated] (*CHM* 324). The WS translates it as *gedreht* [vexed, tormented] (*CHM* 87).

*Uiolenti*: [violent, furious] the ONbr translates this term as either *nedunga* [by force] (*CHM* 249) or *ðreatende* [violent, threatening] (*CHM* 362). The WS translates it as *nead et strece* [violent and forceful] (*CHM* 249,323).

Peccata Operis [Sinful works]:

*Adultera*: [adulteress] the ONbr translates this term as *arg* [craven, wretched] (*CHM* 96) which seems to have no connotation with adultery. The WS translates this as *for liger* [adulteress] (*CHM* 130) which does literally translate the Latin term.

*Adultero*\*: [commit adultery] the ONbr uses a different term for every occasion of this lemma, *dernunga ligan* [secretly fornicate] (*CHM* 83,219), *uif giornian* [desire a wife] (*CHM* 154) and *synngian* [commit adultery] (*CHM* 336). The WS translation is consistently *unriht hæman* [fornicate unlawfully] (*CHM* 165).<sup>223</sup>

*Fornicatio*\*: [fornication] the ONbr translates this with either *derne legere* [fornication] (*B&T* 314) or *unclænas lustas* [unclean desires] (*CHM* 222). The WS translates this with *forlegenysse byngum* [purposely fornicating] (*CHM* 130), which emphasizes the intentional act of the fornication.

*Furo*\*: [steal] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *forstelan* [steal, rob] (*CHM* 132).

*Furtum*\*: [theft, robbery] both the ONbr and WS translate this with variant forms of *stalu* [theft, robbery] (*CHM* 318). The ONbr alternatively translates this term with *ðiofonto* [thieve] which is actually a verb. It only occurs in Old English twice, both occurrences appearing in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

*Homicidium*\*: [homicide, murder] the ONbr translates this with either *morður* [murder] (*CHM* 241) or *morðor slago* [murder] (*CHM* 241). The WS translates this with either *mann slyht* [manslaughter, murder] (*CHM* 229) or *manslaga* [manslaughter, homicide] (*CHM* 229).

*Latrones*: [robbers] the ONbr translates this term as *morsceaðo* [robbers] (*CHM* 241). The WS translates this term as *sceaþan* [criminals, thieves] (*CHM* 293), which is also associated with the Devil according to the *CHM*.

*Moechor*\*: [commit adultery] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *gesyngan* [commit adultery] (*CHM* 336). The ONbr alternatively uses a less specific term, *synnig beon* [being guilty] (*CHM* 336). The WS alternatively translates this term with *unriht hæman* [fornicate unlawfully] (*CHM* 165) which was also used for the Latin verb *adultero*.

*Occido*\*: [kill, slay] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *ofslean* [destroy, kill] (*CHM* 260).

*Philacteria*: [reliquaries] the ONbr translates this term as *ðuuenegu* [phylactery, strap] (*CHM* 367). The WS translates this term as *heals bac* [phylactery, necklace] (*CHM* 173). Both alternatives are derived of objects which one could wear as a reliquary. Although reliquaries

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<sup>223</sup> For an in-depth discussion of the lexicon of adultery and rape, see Horner. “The Language of Rape”. (2006)

were common, they were frequently looked down upon by monastic voices such as Boniface and Isidore.<sup>224</sup>

*Scandalum*\*: [scandal] the ONbr translates this term as *ondspyrnis* [offence] (*CHM* 20). The WS translates this term as either *geuntreowsode* [offended] (*CHM* 386), *swycdom* [scandal, betrayal] (*CHM* 332) or *wiperræde* [perverse, unpleasant] (*CHM* 414).

*Scandalizo*\*: [scandalize] the ONbr translates this term as either *ondspyrgan* [offend] (*CHM* 20) or *ðrouigan* [suffer, atone] (*B&T* 1072). The WS translates this as either *swycan* [deceive] (*CHM* 332) or *untreowsodan* [offend] (*CHM* 386).

*Separo*\*: [separate, sunder] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *asyndrian* [separate, divide] (*CHM* 28). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *dælan* [divide, separate] (*CHM* 82), *sceadan* [divide, separate] (*CHM* 291) or *slitan* [tear, split] (*CHM* 310) which has a more aggressive connotation. The WS alternatively translates it as *getwæman* [divide into two] (*CHM* 351).

Peccata Oris [Sins of the mouth]:

*Blasphemia*\*: [blasphemy] the ONbr translation of this noun is always a variant form of *ebolsung* [blasphemy] (*CHM* 429), which literally translates as ‘wicked chant’. The WS translation is always a variant form of *bysmur spæc* [blasphemy] (*CHM* 50) which literally translates as ‘filthy speech’. Both terms therefore focus on the oral aspect of blasphemy.

*Blasphemo*\*: [blaspheme] the ONbr always translates this as a variant form of *ebalsan* [blaspheme], the verbal form of *ebolsung*. The WS translates this as a variant form of *bysmor spræcan* [blaspheme] which is the verbal form of *bysmur spæc*. All comments in the previous paragraph apply here as well.

*Inludabant*: [mocked, deceived] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *bismeredon* [mocked, blasphemed] (*CHM* 50).

*Inproperabant*: [reproached, taunted] the ONbr translates this term as *æd wuioton* [reproach] (*B&T* 240). The WS translates this term as *hyspdun* [mocked, scorned] (*CHM* 202).

*Maledico*\*: [curse, speak evil] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *awyrgan* [curse, damn] (*CHM* 30). The ONbr alternatively uses a very literal translation, *yfle cuoeðan* [speak evil] (*CHM* 428) which accurately renders both components of the Latin verb.

*Periurabis*: [swear falsely] the ONbr translates this term with a whole phrase, *ðerh suere ðu to suiðe*. The first word *ðerh* literally translates the first Latin syllable *per*, which means ‘through, by means of’, after which *suere ðu* renders *iurabis* which means ‘you will swear’. Skeat’s edition fails to mention that the words *to suiðe* [too much] are separated from the rest of the gloss in the actual manuscript.<sup>225</sup> It is therefore unclear what Aldred really meant with

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<sup>224</sup> Barney et al. *The Etymologies*. (2006) p. 183.

<sup>225</sup> Skeat. *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*. (1887) p. 49



this gloss, since this is the only occurrence of the word *periurabis* in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. The WS translates it with a single word, *forswere* [swear falsely] (*CHM* 132).

*Seducor*\*: [lead astray, deceive] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *beswican* [deceive, seduce] (*CHM* 45).

*Tempto*\*: [try, tempt] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *gecostan* [tempt, try] (*CHM* 73). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *cunnan* [make trial of] (*CHM* 76).

*Temptationem*: [temptation] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *costung* [temptation, testing] (*CHM* 73).

*Temptator*: [tempter] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *costere* [tempter] (*CHM* 73). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *cunnere* [tempter] (*CHM* 76).

Peccata Cordis [Sins of the heart]:

*Concupiscendam*: [be desirous of, covet] the ONbr and WS both translate this with a variant form of *willan* [desire] (*CHM* 410), being *wilnanne* and *gewylnað* respectively. The ONbr has an alternative translation in the term *nytanne*, which is not used in Old English outside of this particular double gloss. It is most likely related to the term *neotan* [to use, to enjoy].

*Cupierunt*: [longed for, desired] both the ONbr and WS use variant forms of *willan* [desire] (*CHM* 410), *gewilliadon* and *gewilnudon* respectively.

*Immunditia*: [uncleanness, impurity] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *unclænnysse* [impurity] (*CHM* 372).

*Incredulitas*\*: [disbelief] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *ungeleafnesse* [unbelief] (*CHM* 377).

*Odio*: [hate, detest] the ONbr translates this term as the dative singular with a preposition, *mid læððo* [with hatred] (*CHM* 210), so that *unum odio habebit* is correctly translated as ‘have hatred with one’.<sup>226</sup> The WS simplifies this phrase into the verb (*ænne*) *hatað* [he hates one] (*CHM* 170).

*Piger*: [lazy, slothful] the ONbr translates this term as *swer* [sluggish, inactive] (*CHM* 328). The WS translates this term as *slawa* [slow, lazy] (*CHM* 309).

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<sup>226</sup> This phrase is from Mt.6:24, “*Nemo potest duobus dominis servire aut enim unum odio habebit et alterum diligit*” [No man can serve two lords, so that he has hatred towards one and loves the other] translation mine.

## The Doctrine of Salvation:

### The Person and Work of Christ:

*Animus*\*: [soul, spirit] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *sauel* [soul, spirit] (CHM 290).

*Curo*\*: [heal, take care of] the ONbr translates this term as either *geman* [to take care for, heal] (CHM 154), *gelecnan* [to heal, cure, treat] (CHM 208) or *geboetan* [to repair, cure, attend to] (CHM 45). The WS always translates it as *hælan* [to heal, save] (CHM 165).

*Laua*: [wash, bathe] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *þweah* [wash, cleanse] (CHM 367).

*Perfectus*\*: [complete, finished] the ONbr translates this term as *wisfæst* [wise, learned] (CHM 412). The WS translates this term as *fullfremed* [perfect, completely] (CHM 142). Although the ONbr translation is semantically inaccurate, *wisfæst* has been used in other Old English texts to mean God's wisdom.<sup>227</sup>

*Perseuerauerit*: [persevered, persisted] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *ðerh wunað* [persevered, continued] (CHM 367). The ONbr adds the term *wælla* [determination, will] (CHM 410) to this translation once. Although Skeat's edition suggests the gloss was intended as *ðerh wunia wælla*, after comparing f.45v of the manuscript I would argue it should rather be *ðerh wælla wunia* [by means of determination continue] which is also more linguistically sound.

*Reconciliare*: [reconcile, absolve] the ONbr translates this term as *eft to bietanne* [makes whole] (CHM 102). The WS translates this term as *gesybsuma* [reconciles] (CHM 305).

*Reddo*\*: [restore, give back] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *forældan* [make good, requite] (CHM 128). The WS alternatively translates it as *agyfan* which amounts to exactly the same as *forældan* since it is a cognate of *agylðan*.

*Redemptionem*: [redemption, deliverance] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *alysednesse* [redemption, ransom] (CHM 18). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *eft lesing* [redemption] (CHM 102).

### Conditions for Salvation:

*Aegrotationes*: [sicknesses, illnesses] the ONbr translates this term as either *hefignise* [heavinesses, afflictions] (B&T 525) or *untrymnisse* [illnesses] (CHM 386). The WS translates this term as *adla* [diseases, sicknesses] (CHM 3).

*Baptismum*: [baptism] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *fulwiht* [baptism, Christianity] (CHM 143).

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<sup>227</sup> TOE. p. 362.

*Baptista*\*: [John the Baptist] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *fulwihtere* [baptizer] (CHM 143). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *bæstere* [baptizer] (CHM 32). Since all occurrences of the Latin term *baptista* are meant to indicate John the Baptist, every translation in both the ONbr and WS is preceded by a form of the name *iohannes*.

*Baptizo*\*: [baptize] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *fulwan* [to baptize] (CHM 143).

*Confiteor*\*: [confess, acknowledge] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *andettan* [to confess, promise] (CHM 20). The WS alternatively translates it as *cypan* [to testify, confess] (CHM 81) which has a more legal connotation than *andettan* (TOE 478, 480).

*Debiles*: [weak, infirm] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *unhale* [sick, ill] (CHM 380).

*Demitte*: [forgive] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *forgef* [forgive, overlook] (CHM 128).

*Dimitto*\*: [send away, forgive] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *forletan* [permit, pardon] (CHM 130) and *forgeafan* [forgive, overlook] (CHM 128).

*Eicio*\*: [cast out, drive out] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *fordrifan* [drive away, expel] (CHM 125) and *adrifan* [drive out] (CHM 4). The WS alternatively translates it with *awurpan* [cast out, throw away] (CHM 30).

*Exiit daemonium*: [destroy, eject the demon] the full Latin phrase from Mt.17:18 which needed translation was *exiit ab eo daemonium*.<sup>228</sup> The ONbr translates the phrase as *ge eade from him ðe diowl* [the demon went from him] which accurately renders the phrase word for word. The WS translates it as *se deofol hyne forlet* [the devil released him] which simplifies the Latin dative *eo* to accusative *hyne*, resulting in the transitive verb *forletan*.

*Humilio*\*: [humiliate, humble] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *eðmodigan* [humiliate one's self, condescend] (B&T 387). The ONbr alternatively translates it with *gebegan* [abase, humiliate] (CHM 48). The WS alternatively translates it with *genyþeran* [depress, abase] (CHM 251).

*Lugunt*: [lament, bewail] the ONbr translates this term as *gemænas* [lament, complain of] (CHM 226). The WS translates this term as *wepað* [complain, bewail, mourn over] (CHM 404).

*Paenitentia*\*: [repentance] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *hreownise* [repentance] (CHM 193). The WS alternatively translates it with *dæd bote* [penitence, atonement] (CHM 81).

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<sup>228</sup> [the demon had disappeared from him] translation mine.

*Remitto*\*: [pardon, forgive] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *forgefān* [forgive, overlook] (*CHM* 128).

*Soluo*\*: [undo, set free] the ONbr translates this term with either *slitan* [split, divide] (*CHM* 310), *undon* [loosen, separate] (*CHM* 374) or *untynan* [open, unfenced] (*CHM* 267). The WS translates this term with *towurpan* [throw out, break in pieces] (*CHM* 347) exclusively.

*Virgo*\*: [virgin] the ONbr translates this term as *hehstald* [unmarried, virgin] (*CHM* 167). The WS translates this term as *fæmne* [maid, virgin, bride] (*CHM* 109).

The Means of Grace:

*Attendite*: [hearken, listen] the ONbr translates this term as *behalðas ge* [behold, consider, beware, restrain] (*CHM* 39) which can have many different meanings depending on its context. The WS translates it with *warniað eow* [take heed, warning] (*CHM* 397) which renders the Latin without ambiguity.

*Iuramenta*: [oaths] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *aðas* [oaths] (*CHM* 28).

*Iuro*\*: [swear, take an oath] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *suerian* [swear] (*CHM* 331).

*Minimae fidei*: [those of little belief] the ONbr translates this as *lytles geleafes* [pl. of little faith] (*B&T* 407). The WS translates it as *gehwædes geleafan* [pl. of scant faith] (*CHM* 197).

*Modicae fidei*: [those of little belief] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *lytles geleafa* [pl. of little faith].

*Reficiam*: [repaired, restored] the ONbr translates this term as *gefroefre* [consoled] (*CHM* 138). The WS translates this term as *geblissige* [gladdened, made happy] (*CHM* 52).

## Christian Qualities, Virtues and Works:

### Christian Virtues:

*Amat*: [loves] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *lufias* [love, cherish] (*CHM* 222).

*Caritas*: [charity, affection] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *lufu* [love, affection] (*CHM* 222).

*Credo*\*: [believe, trust] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *gelefan* [believe, trust] (*CHM* 218).

*Innocens*\*: [innocent, pure] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *unscyldig* [guiltless, innocent] (*CHM* 384). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *unscendende* [blameless, uncorrupted] (*CHM* 384).

*Iustus*\*: [just, righteous] the ONbr translates this term as *soðfæste* [true, honest] (*CHM* 314). The WS translates this term as *rihtwise* [righteous, just] (*CHM* 282).

*Iustitia*\*: [justice, righteousness] the ONbr translates this term as *soðfæstnisse* [truth, fidelity] (*CHM* 314). The WS translates this term as *rihtwisnyss* [righteousness, justice] (*CHM* 283).

*Maiestate*: [dignity, majesty] the ONbr translates this term as *godcund mæht* [divine power, authority] (*CHM* 157, 237). The WS translates this term as *mægenþrymme* [glory, virtue] (*CHM* 226, 364).

*Misericordia*\*: [compassion, mercy] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *miltheortnisse* [mercy, pity] (*CHM* 237).

*Patientiam*: [patience] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *geðyld* [patience] (*CHM* 368).

*Rationem*: [reckoning, reasoning] the ONbr translates this term as either *reht* [proper, right] (*B&T* 796) or *rehtnise* [rightness, equity] (*CHM* 282). The WS translates this term as *gerad* [reason, wisdom] (*CHM* 276).

*Veritas*\*: [truth, fidelity] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *soðfæstnis* [truth, fidelity] (*CHM* 314).

### Christian Qualities:

*Beatus*\*: [blessed] this Latin term is very formulaic, and is therefore also formulaically translated in both Old English dialects as *eadig* [blessed] (*CHM* 92).

*Benedictus*\*: [blessed] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *gebletsod* [blessed, ordained] (*CHM* 51).

*Bonus*\*: [good] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *god* [good] (*CHM* 157) which is obviously a term with many possible synonyms but generally means anything like ‘favorable’.

*Desponsata*: [betrothed, espoused] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *beweddod* [betrothed, married] (*CHM* 47). The ONbr alternatively translates this term as either *beboden* [committed] (*CHM* 35), *befeastaad* [fastened, pledged] (*CHM* 37) or *betaht* [dedicated, betrothed] (*CHM* 45).

*Dignus*\*: [worthy, deserving] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *wyrðe* [worthy, honorable] (*CHM* 404). The ONbr alternatively translates this term as *clæne* [honorable, pure] (*CHM* 70).

*Dilectus*: [beloved, lovely] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *leofa* [beloved, dear] (*CHM* 215). The ONbr alternatively translates it as either *derling* [favorite] (*CHM* 85) or *diora* [beloved, precious] (*CHM* 85). The WS alternatively translates it as *gecorena* [elect, precious, dear] (*CHM* 73).

*Exaudiantur*: [favorably heard] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *biðon gehered* [they are obeyed, listened to] (*CHM* 182).

*Fides*\*: [faith, religion] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *geleafa* [belief] (*CHM* 218).

*Gloria*: [glory, honor] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *wuldra* [glory, splendor, praise] (*CHM* 424).

*Hospes*: [guest] the ONbr translates this term as *gest* [guest, stranger] (*CHM* 154). The WS translates this term as *cuma* [stranger, guest] (*CHM* 76).

*Lex*\*: [law] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *æ* [law, custom] (*CHM* 4).

*Licet*: [lawful] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *alyfed* [lawful, permissible] (*CHM* 18). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *rehtlic* [right, proper, correct] (*CHM* 282).

*Mente*: [mind] the ONbr translates this term with *ðoht* [thought, mind] (*CHM* 361). The WS translates this term with *mode* [mind, spirit] (*CHM* 239).

*Mirabilis*\*: [wonderful, marvelous] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *wundorlic* [wonderful, remarkable] (*CHM* 425).

*Mitis*\*: [meek, mild, gentle] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *bilwite* [innocent, pure, gentle] (*CHM* 48). The ONbr alternatively translates this term with *milde* [mild, kind] (*CHM* 237). The WS alternatively translates this term with *liðan* [gentle, soft, calm] (*CHM* 221).

*Oratio*\*: [prayer] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *gebæd* [prayer, religious service] (CHM 36).

*Pacifici*: [peace offerings] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *ge sybsuman* [to reconcile] (CHM 305). The ONbr alternatively translates it with *friðgeorne* [peacable] (CHM 140).

*Prudens*\*: [wise, skilled] the ONbr translates this term with either *hogo* [careful, prudent] (CHM 188), *hogfæst* [cautious, wise] (CHM 189) or *hogfull* [thoughtful, careful] (CHM 189). The WS translates this term as *gleaw* [keen, skilful, wise] (CHM 156).

*Sancto*\*: [holy, saintly] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *halig* [sacred, venerated, holy] (CHM 167).

*Sapiens*\*: [wise, sensible] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *wisdom* [wisdom, knowledge] (CHM 412). The ONbr alternatively translates it with *snotre* [clever, intelligent] (CHM 313).

*Simplices*: [those simple, upright] the ONbr translates this term as either *bliðo* [friendly, kind] (CHM 52) or *mildo* [kind, gentle] (CHM 237). The WS translates this term as *bylwite* [simple, innocent, gentle] (CHM 48).

*Sperabunt*: [trust, hope] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *hyhtað* [hope, trust, rejoice] (CHM 201).

*Thesaurus*\*: [treasure] the ONbr translates this term with either *strion* [treasure, property, gain] (CHM 324) or *forf*, which only appears in this place in the entire Old English corpus and has proved impossible to define exactly. In the present context it could mean ‘boar’, as a piece of valuable livestock, or it could be an abbreviation of *forfang* [reward for rescuing property] (CHM 128) which is also legally associated with livestock.<sup>229</sup> The WS translates this term with *gold horde* [treasure of gold] (CHM 158).

*Tolerabilis*: [light, bearable] the ONbr translates this term as either *eðor* [easy, pleasant] (CHM 203) or *lihtre* [light, easy] (CHM 219). The WS translates this term as *acumendlicre* [tolerable] (CHM 3).

*Ualentibus*: [strong, powerful] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *hælum* [healthy] (CHM 165).

*Uerbum*\*: [word, speech] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *word* [speech, statement] (CHM 418).

Good Works:

*Adimpleo*\*: [fill, fulfill] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *gefyllan* [fill up, satisfy] (CHM 143).

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<sup>229</sup> TOE. p. 623.

*Adoro\**: [worship, honor] the ONbr translates this term with *weorðan* [honor, worship, exalt] (*CHM* 404). The WS translates this term as either *eaðmeddan* [adore, humble oneself] (*CHM* 98) or *gebiddan* [worship, pray] (*CHM* 48).

*Aedificatis*: [build, construct] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *timbrian* [edify, construct] (*CHM* 340). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *hrinas* [touch, reach] (*B&T* 561).

*Aelemosyna*: [alms] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *ælmissa* [alms] (*CHM* 8).

*Bene facere*: [do well, do good works] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *wel to donne* [to do well] (*CHM* 401).

*Congregat*: [assembles, congregates] the ONbr translates this term as *somnigas* [assembles, unites] (*CHM* 289). The WS translates this term *gaderap* [gathers, assembles] (*CHM* 146).

*Coniunxit*: [unite] the ONbr translates this term as *geadrade* [gathered, assembled] (*CHM* 146). The WS translates this term as *gesomnode* [assembled, united] (*CHM* 289).

*Consolabuntur*: [be consoled] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *gefrefran* [to cheer, console] (*CHM* 138).

*Diliges proximum*: [love thy neighbor] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *lufa ðe nesta* [love your neighbor] (*CHM* 249).

*Diligo\**: [love] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *lufian* [love, cherish] (*CHM* 222).

*Discite*: [learns] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *leorniaþ* [learns, studies] (*CHM* 216).

*Doceo\**: [teach, instruct] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *læran* [teach, instruct, guide] (*CHM* 209).

*Doctrina\**: [teaching, doctrine] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *lar* [doctrine, preaching] (*CHM* 212).

*Euangelium*: [the Gospel] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *godspell* [gospel, glad tidings] (*CHM* 158) which accurately calques the Greek compound εὐ-αγγέλιον [good message].

*Euangelizantur*: [were preached the Gospel] the ONbr translates this term as *godspell bodages* [were preached the Gospel] (*CHM* 53). The WS translates this term as *bodiað* [were preached] (*CHM* 53) without referring to the Gospel.

*Exalto\**: [lift up, glorify] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *ahefan* [lift up, raise] (*B&T* 31).



*Exultate*: [rejoice] the ONbr translates this term as *wynnsumiað* [rejoice, exult] (*CHM* 426). The WS translates this term as *geblissiað* [rejoice, exult] (*CHM* 52).

*Festo*: [feast, festival] the ONbr translates this term as *symbol* [feast-day, holy day] (*CHM* 335). The WS translates this term as *freols dæge* [festive, free day] (*CHM* 139).

*Gaudio*\*: [rejoice] the ONbr translates this term as *glædnisse* [gladness, joy] (*CHM* 156). The WS translates this term as either *blysse* [happiness, bliss] (*CHM* 52) or *gefean* [to be glad, rejoice] (*B&T* 391).

*Glorifico*\*: [glorify, extol] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *wuldran* [glorify, praise, extol] (*CHM* 425).

*Honoro*\*: [honor, respect] the ONbr translates this term as *aran* [honor, respect] (*CHM* 24). The WS translates this term as either *arwurþan* [honor, revere, worship] (*B&T* 51) or *wurþ scypan* [respect, worship] (*CHM* 404).

*Ieiuno*\*: [fast, abstain from food] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *fæstan* [abstain from food] (*CHM* 110).

*Iustifico*\*: [justify] the ONbr translates this term as *soðfæstan* [justify] (*CHM* 314). The WS translates this term as *geihtwisan* [justify, make righteous] (*CHM* 283).

*Libellum repudii*: [petition of divorce] the ONbr translates this term as *boc freodomēs* [writing of freedom, emancipation] (*CHM* 138). The WS translates this term as *hiwgedales boc* [writing of divorce] (*CHM* 184) which has a less ambiguous meaning than *freodomēs*.

*Librum repudii*: [book of divorce] both the ONbr and WS treat this term in exactly the same way as the above term *libellum repudii*.

*Magister*\*: [master, teacher] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *lareow* [teacher, preacher, master] (*CHM* 212).

*Magnificabant*: [exulted, glorified] the ONbr translates this term as either *ge undradon* [admired] (*CHM* 425) or *wordaðon* [honor, worship, celebrate] (*CHM* 404). The WS translates this term as *mærsodon* [glorified, honored] (*CHM* 226).

*Mandatum*\*: [command, order] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *bebod* [command, order, decree] (*CHM* 35). The WS alternatively translates this term as *lara* [doctrine, precept] (*CHM* 212).

*Mandauī*: [commanded] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *bebead* [instructed, commanded] (*CHM* 35).

*Miror*\*: [to wonder] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *wundrian* [wonder, be astonished, admire] (*CHM* 425).

*Miseror\**: [pity, have mercy] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *gemiltsan* [pity, show mercy] (*CHM* 237). The ONbr alternatively translates this term with *helpan* [support, benefit] (*CHM* 177).

*Mundo\**: [cleanse, purify] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *geclænsian* [cleanse, purify, chasten] (*CHM* 70).

*Nubere*: [marry] the ONbr translates this term as *wifege* [take a wife, marry]. The WS translates this term as *wifiene*, which is the same term spelled differently.

*Nubias*: [weddings] the ONbr translates this term as either *brydlopa* [weddings, bridal ceremonies] (*CHM* 59) or *færmo* [feasts] (*B&T* 280). The WS translates this term as either *gyfata* [wedding gifts] (*B&T* 474) or *gyftum* [dowries] (*CHM* 155).

*Oro\**: [pray, plead] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *gebiddan* [to pray, beseech, beg] (*CHM* 47, 48).

*Pascha*: [Easter] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *eastro* [Easter] (*CHM* 98). The WS alternatively translates this term with *easter þenunga* [Easter service, mass] (*CHM* 357).

*Peto\**: [ask, beg, beseech] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *gebiddan* [[to pray, beseech, beg] (*CHM* 47, 48). The ONbr alternatively translates this term with *giuian* [to ask] (*CHM* 156).

*Placitum*: [agreement, purpose] the ONbr translates this term with *licewyrðe* [pleasing, praiseworthy, accepted] (*CHM* 218). The WS translate this term with *swa gecweme* [pleasant, acceptable] (*B&T* 381).

*Praecipio\**: [instruct, teach, preach] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *bebeadan* [to instruct, command, proclaim] (*CHM* 35).

*Praedico\**: [preach, predict] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *bodian* [preach, proclaim, predict] (*B&T* 114). The ONbr alternatively expands this term as *forebodagan* [forebode, proclaim] (*B&T* 305).

*Quaero\**: [require, ask for, desire] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *secan* [seek, long for, look for] (*CHM* 301). The ONbr alternatively translates it with *biddan* [to pray, beseech, beg] (*CHM* 47, 48).

*Reuelo\**: [reveal, disclose] the ONbr translates this term with *æd eaudan* [reveal, disclose] (*CHM* 203). The WS translates this term with variant forms of *onwreon* [uncover, reveal] (*CHM* 268).

*Rogo\**: [ask, beseech] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *biddan* [to pray, beseech, beg] (*CHM* 47, 48). The WS alternatively translates this term with *cwæðan* [to say, speak] (*CHM* 78).

*Sabbatum*\*: [Sabbath] the ONbr translates this term with either *sæternes dæg* [Saturday, Saturn's day]<sup>230</sup>, *sabbatum* which is the Latin term inflected as an Old English dative plural, or *sunnadæg* [Sunday] (*CHM* 327). The WS translates this term with *reste dæg* [Sabbath-day, day of rest] (*CHM* 280).

*Sacrificium*: [sacrifice, offering] the ONbr translates this term as either *geafo* [gift, sacrifice] (*CHM* 153) or *husul* [housel, sacrifice] (*CHM* 196). The WS translates this term as *onsægdnyse* [sacrifice, offering] (*CHM* 266).

*Saluo*\*: [save, keep, rescue] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *hælan* [save, cure] (*CHM* 165).

*Sano*\*: [heal, cure] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *hælan* [save, cure] (*CHM* 165).

*Sermo*\*: [speech, homily] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *word* [speech, statement] (*CHM* 418). The WS alternatively translates it with either *gebed* [prayer, service] (*CHM* 36) or *spræce* [discourse, narrative] (*CHM* 316).

*Spargit*: [sows, scatters] the ONbr translates this term with *streigðæs* [scatters, disperses] (*CHM* 323). The WS translates this term as *towyrpð* [breaks in pieces, dissipates] (*CHM* 347).

*Sponsa*\*: [bride] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *bryde* [bride, wife] (*CHM* 59).

*Sponsus*\*: [bridegroom] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *brydguma* [bridegroom] (*CHM* 59).

*Sustinebit*: [endure, sustain] the ONbr translates this term with *hræfneð* [endure, suffer] (*B&T* 784). The WS translates this term with *bið gehyrsum* [is obedient] (*CHM* 182).

*Transgredio*\*: [transgress, go over] the ONbr translates this term with either *forhogan* [to neglect, disregard] (*CHM* 129) or *ofergaan* [to transgress, overstep] (*CHM* 256). The WS translates this term with *forgyman* [to neglect, transgress] (*CHM* 128).

*Transmigrationem*: [removal, transmigration] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *geleorednyse* [departure, transmigration] (*CHM* 216). The ONbr alternatively translates it with *forworpnise* [outcasting] (*CHM* 136), *gefealnisse* [ruin] (*CHM* 112), *ofecerr* [passing over] (*CHM* 255), *ofer fær* [passing over] (*CHM* 255) or *ymbcerr* [migration] (*CHM* 429).

*Uigilate*: [keep watch, be on guard] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *wæccas* [watch, wake] (*CHM* 391).

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<sup>230</sup> The edition by Skeat erroneously transcribes this gloss as *æternes dæg* on page 97. However, Skeat does transcribe the explanatory note next to the gloss "*ðæt wæs ðæra iudea sunnadæg*" [that was the Jewish Sunday] translation mine.

*Uxor*\*: [wife] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with *wif* [woman, wife] (*CHM* 408).

## The Future State:

### Death:

*Defunctus*\*: [dead, deceased] the ONbr translates this term as *dead* [dead] (CHM 82). The WS translates this term as *forðferde* [departed, dead] (CHM 133).

*Monumentum*\*: [monument, grave] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *byrgenne* [grave, sepulchre] (CHM 62).

*Mors*\*: [death] both the ONbr and WS translate this term as *dead* [dead] (CHM 82).

*Regeneratione*: [rebirth, renewal] the ONbr translates this term as *eft cynnes edniwung* [again born anew]. The WS translates it as *edcenninge* [regeneration] (CHM 99).

*Resurrectione*\*: [resurrection] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *erist* [resurrection, awakening] (CHM 10).

*Resurgo*\*: [rise again, rise from the dead] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *arisan* [get up, originate] (CHM 24). The ONbr alternatively translates this term as *awæccan* [to awaken, revive] (CHM 29).

*Sepulcrum*\*: [tomb, grave] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *byrgenne* [grave, sepulchre] (CHM 62).

*Sepulturam*: [burial place] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *be byrgenne* [burial] (CHM 35).

*Surgo*\*: [rise up, awake] the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *arisan* [get up, originate] (CHM 24). The WS alternatively translates this term as *cumin* [recover, come to oneself] (CHM 76).

### The Intermediate State:

*Futuro*: [future] the ONbr translates this term as *touærd lif* [approaching, impending life] (CHM 347). The WS translates this term as *þære toweardan* [the future, the time to come] (CHM 347).

*Perditionem*: [perdition, ruin] the ONbr translates this term as either *lose* or *losing* which both mean [loss, destruction] (CHM 222). The WS translates this term as *for spillednesse* [waste, destruction, perdition] (CHM 132).

*Perdo*\*: [lose, destroy] the ONbr translates this as either *fordon* [bring to nought, ruin, destroy] (CHM 125), *forfæran* [lose, casue to perish, destroy] (CHM 128) or *losian* [perish, lose] (CHM 222). The WS translates this as either *amyran* [disturb, waste, destroy] (CHM 19) or *for spilan* [lose, bring to nothing, destroy] (CHM 132).

*Procidit*: [fall down] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *feoll* [fall, fail, die] (CHM 112).

## The Last Judgment:

*Consummatio*\*: [end of the world] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *worulde ge endung* [ending, death of the world] (*CHM* 105).

*Consummo*\*: [consume, finish] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *endan* [finish, destroy] (*CHM* 105). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *fylan* [rot, become foul] (*B&T* 345) which seems erroneous in the context of Mt.11:1.<sup>231</sup>

*Die iudicii*: [day of judgment] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *domes dæg* [judgment day] (*CHM* 87).

## Salvation and Heaven:

*Caelum*\*: [heaven] both the ONbr and WS translate this term as *heofon* [sky, heaven] (*CHM* 176).

*Merces*\*: [reward, wages] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *mede* [reward, meed] (*B&T* 675).

*Nubibus caeli*: [clouds of heaven] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *heofones wolcnum* [clouds of heaven]. The WS alternatively translates it as *heofonan genipod* [cloud, mist of heaven] which implies that something is obscured by the cloud (*CHM* 250).

*Requiem*: [rest] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *rest* [rest, sleep] (*CHM* 280).

## Condemnation and Hell:

*Caminum ignis*: [fiery furnace] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *fyres ofen* [furnace of fire] (*CHM* 254).

*Gehenna*\*: [hell, place of torment] the ONbr translates his term as either *cursung* [damnation, place of torment] (*CHM* 76) or *tintergo* [torture, punishment] (*CHM* 342). The WS translates this term as *on helle* [in hell] (*CHM* 176).

*Ignis*\*: [fire, lightning] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *fyr* [fire] (*CHM* 144).

*Igni inextinguibili*: [inextinguishable fire] the ONbr translates this term as *fyres un drysnende* [inextinguishable fire] (*CHM* 374). Forms of the verb *drysnan* appears only in the ONbr Gospels (*CHM* 90, 374). The WS translates this term as *unadwæscendlicum fyre* [unquenchable fire] (*CHM* 369).

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<sup>231</sup> Mt.11:1: “*Et factum est cum consummasset iesus praecipiens*” [It happened that Jesus **finished** commanding] Translation and emphasis mine.

*Infernum*: [of hell, infernal] both the ONbr and WS translate this term as *helle* [hell] (*CHM* 176).

*Mitti in gehennam ignis*: [sent into the fires of Hell] the ONbr translates this phrase as *gesende in tintergo fyres* [sent into the fires of torture]. The WS translates this phrase as *asend on helle fyr* [sent into hell's fire].

*Mitti in ignem aeternum*: [sent into the eternal fire] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *on ece fyr asend* [sent into eternal fire] specifically concerning the Latin word order which the ONbr retains.

*Portae inferi*: [gates of Hell] both the ONbr and WS translate this term with variant forms of *helle gatu* [gate to hell] (*CHM* 150). The ONbr alternatively translates it as *duro helles* [door of hell] (*CHM* 90). No translation, however, renders Latin *portae* as a plural.

*Supplicium aeterno*: [eternal submission] the ONbr translates this term as *tintergo ecce* [eternal torture] (*CHM* 342). The WS translates this term as *ece susle* [eternal torment, misery] (*CHM* 327).

*Tormentis*: [torments] the ONbr translates this term as either *costungum* [temptations, tribulations] (*CHM* 73) or *fiondgeldum* [demonical possessions] (*CHM* 115). The WS translates this term as *tintregum* [tortures, torments] (*CHM* 342).

*Torquetur*: [tortured] the ONbr translates this term as either *gecosted* [tempted, tried] (*CHM* 73) or *gecunned* [tried, experienced] (*CHM* 76). The WS translates this term as *geðread* [threatened, abused] (*CHM* 362).