

Old English *macian*, Its Origin and Dissemination

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Some years ago I published a study of the overlapping senses of two Middle English verbs, *dōn* and *māken*. In it (Kuhn 1980:5-6), I observed that, whereas Old English *dōn* was a common verb found in all known dialects of OE,¹ *macian* and *gemacian* were rare—hardly to be found outside the West Saxon dialect and totally absent from OE before King Alfred's time. I mentioned the five instances of the rare verbs in the works of Alfred and the single specimen of *gemacian* in *Genesis B*, a poem translated from Old Saxon, probably in the latter half of the ninth century, although it appears in a MS of about the year 1000. I suggested that OE *ge)macian* had been borrowed from Old Saxon and was even tempted to speculate that John the Old Saxon, one of the king's mass-priests, was Alfred's immediate source for the words. I characterized both as WS because, from Alfred's time to the end of the OE period, all examples that I had been able to find appeared in WS or mixed-WS texts. Since my principal concern in 1974² was the behavior of the ME verbs, I had no occasion to elaborate on the earlier history of *māken* at that time. I planned, however, to present the OE and OS evidence in a separate article. I had also begun to suspect that the ultimate source of the word would be found, not in OS, but in Old High German, and I needed time to make something more than a cursory examination of the OHG evidence.

Since 1974 I have searched the Old High German, and other Germanic languages, by no means exhaustively, but thoroughly enough to have found evidence sufficient, I believe, to establish a probability. I doubt that even a complete search would do more than corroborate my findings. I also extended my examination of the post-Alfredian OE texts, to learn if possible more precisely how and by whom *macian* and *gemacian* spread to the various parts of England. In this task, I received invaluable aid from that famous word-hoard, the *Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (1980), which increased considerably the evidence at my disposal and, especially, led me to examples in out-of-the-way places where I might never have thought to look for them. My original views regarding the West Saxonness of the two borrowings and the importance of Ælfric in their

dissemination remain essentially unchanged, although some details have had to be modified in the face of new evidence. I shall discuss the age of Alfred, the Old Saxon and Old High German sources, and the post-Alfredian spread of *macian* and *gemacian*, in that order.

The Alfredian Period

The first identifiable Englishman to use *macian* and *gemacian* was King Alfred, who used the former once in his translation of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care* and twice in his translation of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, the latter twice in the *Pastoral Care*. The examples follow. In the apparatus for this and the following sections, the senses in brackets refer to the longer lists of post-Alfredian examples below; when the usage survived in ME, a reference is given to the *Middle English Dictionary* entry, either *māken*¹ or *imāken*; full titles of the texts and bibliographical information will be found in the list of references at the end of this article. The Modern English renderings are more or less my own; in any case, I assume all responsibility for their accuracy.

macian

"to arrange (things)" [Sense I.12; *MED māken*¹ 10a.(a)].

Wite geara ðæt ðæt is þæt hehste god ðæt hit eall swa mihtiglice *macað* and eall ðing gesceop and eallum swa [ge]reclice *racað*. (Mark well that that is the highest good which so mightily *arranges* it all and created all things and so methodically governs in every way.) *Boe* (Sedgfield) 98.21.

"to act, behave, conduct oneself, live"; --with *hit* as object [IV.5].

Paulus . . . ðeah ðe he upaðened wære on his modes scearpnesse, ne forhogde he ðæt he hit eft gecierde to ðam flæsclican burcotum & stihtode hu men scoldon ðærinne *hit macian*. (Paul . . . although he was elevated in the keenness of his mind, he did not disdain to return it to the carnal bedchambers and direct how men should *conduct themselves* therein.) *PC* (Sweet) 99.11.

Hu se wisdom . . . sæde him bispell hu he *hit macian* scoolde gif he heora þegen beon scoolde. (How Wisdom . . . told him a fable about how he must *behave* if he became their servant.) *Boe* (Sedgfield) 3.

gemacian

"to make, manufacture" [I.2; *MED imāken* 1. (a)].

Soðlice, ða gimmas ðara halignessa to ðæm wæron *gemacod*,
ðæt hi scoldon scinan on ðæs hiehstan sacerdes hrægle.
(Truly, the gems of the sanctuaries were *made* to that end,
that they should shine on the vestment of the highest priest.)
PC (Sweet) 135.8.

"to cause"; --with *that*-clause: "to bring it about that (something happens)" [V. 4].

Suiðe ryhte se bið geteald to ðæm liceterum, se ðe on lareowes
onlicnesse . . . *gemacod* ðæt his ege & his onwald wierð to
gewunan & to landsida o[n] his scire. (He is very rightly
reckoned among the hypocrites, he who in the guise of a
teacher *brings it about that* his rule and the fear of him
become the custom and practice of his diocese.) *PC* (Sweet)
121.25.

"to cause, bring about (an action, a state or condition, an emotion)" [V.1].

Forþon her synt bu tu *gedon*,
ge þæt hæleða bearn he heofonrice³ sculon,
leode forlætan . . . eac is hearm gode,
modsorg *gemacod*.

(For now both two are *brought about*,⁴ both that the children
of men, the people, shall lose the kingdom of heaven . . . and
also grief to God, a mind-sorrow, is *caused* or *brought
about*.) *GB* (Krapp) 755.

The earliest instance of either verb in English may be the participle *gemacod* in *Genesis B*. The sense here should be compared with that of *macode* in *Heliant* 241 (below).⁵ It is easier to recognize the similarity than it is to give a firm definition. I believe, after having studied many similar examples in OE, ME, and the Continental West Germanic languages, that the sense is the one that I have chosen; however, a plausible argument could be made for a figurative use of "make, manufacture" [I.2], i.e. "to make (something non-material)".

If *gemacod* in *Genesis B* represents the poet's borrowing from his OS original, it is not an isolated phenomenon. In his edition of the poem, Klaeber (1931:49) listed 28 borrowings from Old Saxon, culled from various

studies by Eduard Sievers: 19 borrowed words, 4 grammatical forms, and 5 new meanings for native OE words. Most of the transplants were short-lived, but OS *herro* 'lord, master' became OE *herra* (also, by analogy with the comparative forms of OE *hēah* 'high', *hearra*, *hierra*, etc.), which survived as ME *herre* far into the fifteenth century, into the sixteenth in Scottish. Not even *herre*, however, became the common, everyday word in English that *māken* became.

The total absence of *macian* and *gemacian* in Old English before the Alfredian period suggests that the words were borrowed. The alternative to the assumption of borrowing is to suppose that the words existed in the spoken language for centuries before making their appearance in the written language. As a practicing lexicographer, I always preferred a plausible borrowing to the more difficult alternative. The rarity of the two verbs in the Alfredian period is also significant. Only two of Alfred's works contain them, and the total number of examples is only six. Of the five senses (or rather subsenses) represented, three look like derived, even rather sophisticated usages rather than the simpler senses which one would expect to be commonest in the spoken language: i.e. IV.5 in *PC* 99.11 and *Boe* 3; V.1 in *Genesis B*; and V.4 in *PC* 121.25. When the first senses of a word attested in a language are of this sophisticated sort, we frequently find that the word has already had a period of development in another language.⁶

I can think of no time more favorable to English borrowing from Old Saxon than the latter half of the ninth century. A copy of the OS *Genesis* must have been in England at that time, for *Genesis B* is clearly the work of an Anglo-Saxon poet, who handles OE like a native speaker and even shows traces of an Anglian dialect. At the same time, the English probably possessed a copy of the *Heliod*. It is hard otherwise to account for the eleventh-century copy by an English scribe, for there is no period in the tenth or eleventh century during which England was in really close contact with the Old Saxons.

The reign of King Alfred also found John the Old Saxon at the court of Wessex, perhaps in the company of other Old Saxons. We know little about John. He was a monk, but we do not know whether he had any special rank or office on the Continent. We are not even certain as to what monastery he came from. He was important enough to be mentioned twice by Asser, who described him as a man of "acute intellect". He and Grimbald, a Fleming, became Alfred's mass-priests. In the preface to his work, Alfred acknowledged John's assistance in the translation of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*. Later, Alfred made him abbot of his newly founded monastery at Athelney. All in all, John would seem to be a monk of sufficient stature to bring his own retinue to court—fellow monks, servants,

his own scribe perhaps. If so, there were other Old Saxons at Alfred's court, any one of whom could have contributed to the king's vocabulary.

As I have indicated elsewhere, *macian* and *gemacian* are West Saxon words. One small point remains to be clarified. Hildegard Rauh classified the words as WS but noted a single exception in *Genesis B* (Rauh 1936:31). I do not regard this as a real exception. Although the poem, which is written in the WS dialect, contains traces of Anglian dialect and may have been translated from the Old Saxon by a poet for whom WS was an acquired dialect, *gemacod* in line 755 shows no Anglian features and is merely OS *gimacod* with *e* substituted for *i* in the prefix.

The Old Saxon Background

The OS *Heliland*, a poem commonly dated in the first half of the ninth century, contains three examples of *makon* and three of *gimakon*.

makon

"to give; mete out" [Sense III].

That hi unreht gimet oðrumu manne,
menful, *mace*.

(That he, the wicked one, *should mete out* false measure to another man.) *Hel* (Behaghel, Sievers) 1698.

"to cause or bring about (a state or condition)" [V.1].

That uiti uwas tho agangan,
hard harmscare the im helag god,
mahtig *macode*.

(The affliction was ended then, the hard portion of trouble that holy God, the mighty one, *had caused* him.) *Hel* 241.⁷

"to put, place; throw, cast" [VIII.1].

Ne sculun gi suinum teforan
iuuua meregriton *macon*.

(Nor shall ye *cast* your pearls before swine.) *Hel* 1721.

gimakon

"to build, construct" [I.7].

That man thi her an thesaru hohe en hus *geuuirkea*,⁸
marlice *gemaco*.

(That for thee, here on this hill, one *build* a house, splendidly
construct [it].) *Hel* 3141.

Thiu marie burg

Hiericho hetid . . .

gimacod mid murum.

(That splendid city is called Jericho, *built* with walls.) *Hel*
3626.

"to give (a reward), pay (wages)" [III].

Uuandun sia suiðo

that man im mera lon *gimacod* habdi
uuið iro arabedie.

(They strongly believed that one should have *given* them a
greater payment for their toil.) *Hel* 3432.

The OS evidence indicates that *makon* and *gimakon* were part of the language as early as the first half of the ninth century. Sehrt's *Wörterbuch* (1925) records only these six examples from a rather lengthy poem.⁹ Only four senses are represented, and two of these, III and V.1, are certainly derivative. That does not mean, of course, that the simple, everyday senses were absent from the spoken language. And it was from the spoken OS of John the Old Saxon or one of his countrymen that King Alfred borrowed--there is no evidence that he was familiar with the *Heliand*.

The rarity of the two verbs in a poem as long as the *Heliand* is significant because it suggests that the words, though well established, were relatively new to the language, much younger than their competing synonyms, the very old verbs *dôn* and *gidôn*. These latter are recorded nearly 150 times in Sehrt.¹⁰ There are also fairly numerous examples of OS *-dôn* with prefixes other than *gi-*. The range of senses of the older verbs is much wider and more varied than that of *makon* and *gimakon*. These circumstances led me to suspect that the latter verbs were borrowed and to look for a possible source in Old High German.

Old High German Sources

I have not attempted anything like a complete study of *machôn* and *gimachôn* in OHG.¹¹ If such a study is to be made, it should be undertaken by specialists in Old High German, preferably with the aid of computers. I have limited my investigation to three writers: Otfrid of the ninth century, Notker of the tenth,¹² and Williram of the eleventh. These three provide an abundance of examples, more than enough for my purpose. I have selected the instances used here with care, striving to illustrate as many senses or subsenses as possible and trying to avoid examples which can be interpreted in more than one way. I use but one quotation per subsense but may give references to others if they seem significant.

Otfrid's birthplace is unknown but was probably not far from Weissenburg in present-day Alsace, a little north and east of Strassburg. His native dialect would presumably be South Rhine Frankish. He studied at Fulda, later lived and wrote and died (884) in the Benedictine monastery of Weissenburg. Although the place is close to the boundary with Alemannic, and Otfrid must have been acquainted with that dialect, in his poetry he speaks on two occasions of turning the Gospels into the Frankish tongue. The following examples (from Piper 1882, verified in Kelle 1963) show that *machôn* and *gimachôn* were well established in South Rhine Frankish by the first half of the ninth century.

machôn

"to cause (something) to be (changed or different)" [Sense V.3].

Sar kriachi ioh romani iz *machont* so gizami.

(Then the Greeks and the Romans *make it or cause it to be* so seemly or fitting.) I.1.13. See also I.1.14 and 15.

"to perform (a miracle)" [IV.3].

Then druhtin uwas er lobenti¹³ ther thaz uwas *machonti*.

(He was praising the Lord, who was *doing that*, i.e. miraculously restoring his speech.) I.9.31.

"to do (something)" [IV.1].

Thaz siu ouh furi thaz kind sar opphorotin gote thar,
so ther uuizzod hiaz iz *machon*, zua dubono gimachon.¹⁴

(That they also, for the child, should at once offer to God there, as the Law commanded it *to be done*, two pairs of doves.) I.14.24. See also II.8.22, II.8.30, and IV.35.3.

"to cause (a state or condition)" [V.1].

Ther man . . . *machot* sinan ruam mit seichonon maren.
(The man . . . *causes* or *achieves* his fame with glorious
miracles.) III.25.7. See also IV.12.54.

"to make (a plan)" [I.13].

Nu thie euarton bi noti *machont* thas girati.
(Now the priests of necessity *make* or *devise* that plan.)
IV.1.1. See also IV.6.16.

"to make or manufacture (something)" [I.2].

Thiu uuib . . . giangun heimortes . . . salbun iro *machon*.
(The women . . . went home . . . to *make* their ointments.)
IV.35.40.

gimachôn

With *thas*-clause: "to bring it about that" [V.4].

"*Gimachon*", quad, "in uara *thas* thar nist manno mera".
(*"I shall bring it about,"* said he, *"that* there shall be none
greater among men".) IV.8.21.

"to arrange or prepare" [I.12].

Uuir iz *gimachon* sono.
(*We shall arrange* or *prepare* it [the Passover] beautifully.)
IV.9.8.

Notker, nicknamed *Lebeo*, later *Teutonicus*, was born about 950 and died at St. Gallen, in present-day Switzerland, in 1022. His dialect was Alemannic. Two of his works have been chosen to provide a few illustrations of his usage, i.e. his translations of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and of Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*. Because of his habit of mixing German and Latin in one and the same construction, there are many passages in which his meaning is clear but his usage may be Latin rather than German. The following instances (*Boethius* from Piper 1882, with Sehrt and Starck 1933-34 in brackets; *Capella* from Piper 1882, with King 1979 in brackets) clearly represent OHG usage.

machôn (*Boethius*)

"to write or compose" [Sense I.8].

Ih tir er *teit*¹⁵ frolichiv sang; ih *machon* nu note charasang.
(Formerly I *composed* for thee joyful songs; I now of necessity *compose* sorrowful songs.) 7.6 [7.6]. See also *Capella* 792.17 [110.11].

"to cause (something) to be (different)" [V.3].

Unde den dag *machot* heiteren der uore finsterer uuas. (And *causes* the day to be bright which before was dark.) 17.18 [19.10]. See also 353.25 [387.10].

"to do or perform [IV.1].

Unde *machont* sie atohaften¹⁶ slih. (And they *make* a continuous gliding movement.) 347.2 [380.3].

gimachôn (*Boethius*)

"to make or manufacture" [I.2].

Taz mag man uoala sehen an dero spera diu in cella Sancti Galli nouiter *gemachot* ist sub Purchardo abbate. (One can readily see that on the sphere which was recently *made* in a cell of St. Gallen under Abbot Burchard.) 112.16 [123.3].

machôn (*Capella*)

"to cause (a state or condition)" [V.1].

Uuanda uuin *machot* keluste. (Because wine *causes* lust.) 690.23 [4.20]. See also 711.32 [28.15], 770.2 [86.9].

"to add up to, make up, form" [VII].

Ana daz sint, an sinemo houbete, dri sternen . . . tie ein engez triangulum *machont*. (On that one, on its head, are three stars . . . which *form* a narrow triangle.) 770.14 [86.18].

Williram was born near Worms, among the South Rhine Franks, not far from Otfred's Weissenburg. He studied at the University of Paris. He resided for some time at St. Michael's, Bamberg, in East Franconia, then moved to Fulda, and in 1048 became abbot of Ebersberg in upper Bavaria, where he remained until his death in 1085. One would expect his dialect to be mixed, but his translation and paraphrase of the Song of Songs (Song of

Solomon) is generally East Frankish in character. He used *machôn* freely, *gimachôn* occasionally, but like Notker he mixed German and Latin in such a way as to render many of his examples useless as evidence for the sense in OHG. The following instances from Seemüller 1878 will give some notion of the range of his usage.

machôn

"to build" [I.7].

Also *machon* ih tabernaculum. (Thus I *shall build* a tabernacle.) 4.9.11.

"to make, fashion" [I.2].

Uuahe goltketenon in lampreite uuie gebroihta *machen* uuir dir. (We *shall make* for thee artistic golden collars curved in the manner of lampreys.) 7.18.3. See also 7.18.2.

"to produce, emit, give off" [I.9].

Unte diu blud *machel* suozen stank. (And the flower *gives off* a sweet smell.) 14.42.2.¹⁷

"to make (something) out of (something else)" [I.3, but with genitive instead of an *of-* or *von-*phrase¹⁸].

Der cuning Salomon *machota* imo selbemo einan disk *des* holzes uone Libano. (King Solomon *made* for himself a ferculum *of the* wood of Lebanon.) 21.52.1.

"to cause (someone) to be (changed or different)" [V.3].

Sunter da mit *machot* ir sie luimhaftig stategero tugede. (But therewith you *cause* the ill-reputed one *to be* of constant virtue.) 33.72.8.

"to cause (a state or condition)" [V.1].

Diu uzzeria rinta eiusdem pomi in uuine getrunkeniu dualm *machel* den. (The outer rind of this fruit drunk in wine *causes* stupefaction in or for them.) 58.128.18.

With *se*: "to cause (something) to become (something else)" [V.2].

Mache mich dir *se* einemo insigele uber din herza. (*Turn* me or *make* me, for thee, *into* a signet over thy heart.) 62.137.1. See also 63.140.4 (with *in* instead of *se*).

gimachôn

"to build" [I.7].

An demo uuihuse ist diu uuere *gemachot*. (The rampart is *built* on the tower.) 26.58.15.

"to make or plant (a garden)" [figurative use of a subsense not present in OE].

Der din uueneger garto, der in Judaea uuas, der hat maniga garton *gemachot*. (Thy little garden, which was in Judea, which has *planted* many gardens.) 30.68.3.

This is but a small sampling of the OHG evidence. There are many more instances of *machôn* and *gimachôn* 'to make', etc., in the works of Otfrid, Notker, and Williram alone than I have been able to use here.¹⁹ The above examples show fifteen different senses or subsenses, rather evenly distributed between simple, probably primitive senses like "to make (a tangible object)" and more sophisticated, probably derivative senses like "to give off (an odor)". Four of the subsenses found in OE of the Alfredian period are also found in OHG: I.2, I.12, V.1, and V.4.²⁰ Two subsenses appearing in the *Heliand* also appear in OHG: I.7 and V.1. I am aware, of course, that the greater number and variety of the examples in OHG, as compared with OS, could be due to the greater abundance of written matter produced in the OHG area. But I am also aware that linguistic innovations, such as the coining of new words and the invention of new senses for old words, are more apt to be spawned in regions where there is much linguistic activity, either oral or written, than in regions where there is less activity, less social and intellectual ferment. It is difficult, in the nature of things, to prove conclusively that OS *makon* and *gimakon* were borrowed from OHG, yet I believe that the evidence presented here establishes a strong probability.

I foresee two possible objections to my view concerning the origin of OS *makon* and *gimakon*. First, these OS words show no trace of the High German consonant shift. Since OS had a spelling *ch*, which was pronounced much like the OHG *ch* (Holthausen 1921:23), one might expect the borrowed verbs to be written with *ch* rather than with *k*. Second, from the abundance of cognates or possible cognates in the regions which surrounded the land of the Old Saxons, one might argue that the two verbs must be of early Germanic origin, present in the ancestor of the West Germanic branch. The OHG area can be eliminated if *makon* and *gimakon* are borrowings, as can England if *macian* and *gemacian* were borrowed from OS.²¹ But we

are still left with Old Frisian *makia*, Middle Dutch *maken*, and one example in Old Low Franconian.²²

Neither objection impresses me as a real threat to my theory, and I shall deal with both briefly. The spelling *ch* is exceedingly rare in OS of the ninth century and, therefore, unlikely to have had any part in shaping the two borrowings from OHG. It is very probable, on the other hand, that the borrowers were aware of many OS/OHG pairs in which OS *k* (or *c*) corresponded to OHG *ch* (or *hh*): *bliken/er* *blīchen*, *mikil/michil*, *ôkian/ouchôn*, *riki/rīchi*, *thikkil/dicchi*, *uuacon/wachôn*, etc. They might easily, with these models in mind, reshape *machon* into *makon*.²³ The second objection might be valid if the OFris, MDu, and OLFranc evidence were contemporaneous with the *Heliand* and Otfrid, but, in all three languages, the earliest writings are considerably later. These apparent cognates are also borrowings, no doubt, from OS or some other Low German language or dialect which, in its turn, borrowed from OHG.

The history of the Alfredian verbs *macian* and *gemacian* has now been traced as far back as I am able to trace it. We are ready to trace the development and dissemination of the two verbs in later Old English.

Expansion in Post-Alfredian Old English

Macian and *gemacian* appear with increasing frequency in OE of the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the lists below, I present 191 examples (including those quoted and those merely cited after "See also"). I am sure that I have overlooked a few instances, especially in Ælfric's *Grammar*, and a few I have omitted because their exact meanings eluded me. The five ninth-century meanings have survived, and 33 new senses or subsenses have developed or, if already present in the language, have appeared in writing. Some of the 38, including the seven technical senses in the *Grammar*,²⁴ did not apparently survive the OE period, but 26 appear in Middle English.

Ælfric's importance can hardly be overestimated. In his *Grammar* alone, there are at least 49 examples of *macian*. Setting aside these highly specialised senses, which did not become popular among non-grammarians, we find 77 examples in Ælfric's writings, representing (without the seven grammatical usages) 24 different senses or subsenses. The non-Ælfrician writings provide 65 of the examples, representing 21 senses or subsenses. Of the non-Ælfrician examples, 15 are in works presently attributed to Wulfstan, and these represent eight senses or subsenses. Three of Wulfstan's examples occur in his reworking of Ælfric's homily *De Falsis Diis*, where they have been taken over directly from Ælfric.²⁶

Most of the texts are West Saxon or basically WS in dialect, although the place of writing frequently cannot be determined. Of the texts whose provenience is known, a few were written outside Wessex, in Anglian or Kentish territory. In some of these there is little or no evidence of non-WS usage; in others, an occasional spelling or grammatical form betrays the writer for whom WS was a learned dialect imperfectly mastered. Wulfstan's works were written, for the most part, either at Worcester (old Mercian kingdom) or at York (old Northumbrian kingdom). They are, nevertheless, West Saxon, the work of a prelate who spoke and wrote WS wherever he happened to be and who undoubtedly carried with him scribes trained to write in that dialect. The writs and charters of the eleventh-century kings (Cnut, Harold Harefoot, Edward the Confessor) were written at various places for kings who spoke WS (when they spoke English) and by scribes trained in WS. The chronicles containing *macian* or *gemacian* were all written outside Wessex, but they were partly copies of WS originals and partly the work of scribes who followed the WS tradition: the *Peterborough Chronicle* (Northamptonshire, old Mercia), the *Worcester Chronicle* (Worcestershire, old Mercia), the *Abingdon Chronicle* (Berkshire, old Mercia), and the *Canterbury Chronicle* (Kent, old Kentish kingdom). The twelfth-century *Eadwine Psalter* (Canterbury, old Kent) is a mixture of dialects but predominantly WS. The record from St. Edmund's was made in Suffolk (old East Anglian kingdom) about the year 1060 but, since the only copy is of the thirteenth century, it is possible that the verb *macian* is a later substitution for the original word.

The only text which cannot be classified as WS, or chiefly WS, is the Kirkdale Inscription, carved in stone in the church at Kirkdale, North Riding, Yorkshire (old Northumbria), between 1055 and 1065. The inscription uses *o* for Germanic *a* before nasals, a feature which must be regarded as Anglian (in this case, Northumbrian) in a text of the eleventh century. It was carved for a benefactor with a Scandinavian name, and the grammatical form of the verb is incorrect, possibly indicating that the word was unfamiliar to the carver or to his employer.

In the lists, with some exceptions, I have limited the number of quotations to not more than two per sense or subsense. Wherever possible, there will be one quotation from Ælfric and one from a non-Ælfrician source. I have also tried to represent Wulfstan when quotations from his works were available. Although the quotations are restricted as to number, my references to unquoted instances under each sense or subsense are as exhaustive as I have been able to make them. All quotations and citations from Ælfric are taken from eleventh-century MSS; several non-Ælfrician items are taken from later copies, usually because of some light they may shed on the dissemination of *ge)macian* outside Wessex.

macian

I. "To make", etc.

1. "To create" [*MED māken* v.¹ 1. (a, b)].

Swa þæt hi þær gemetton ane mære þruh,
wiþ þone weall standande, *geworht*²⁶ of marmstane . . .
and þæt hlyd ðærto gelimlice gefeged,
eac of hwitum marmstane, swa swa hit *macode* god.

(So that they found there a splendid coffin, standing up against the wall, *wrought* or *made* of marble . . . and the lid thereto suitably fitted, also of white marble, just as if God had *made* or *created* it.) Ælfric, *Lives of Saints* (Skeat) I.436.83.

2. "To manufacture (a material object), make, construct" [*MED māken* v.¹ 2. (a)].

Hwæt þa Moyses het *macian* þa næddran.
(Lo, then Moses bade *make* the serpent.) Ælfric, *Homilies* (Pope) 656.329. See also Ælfric, *Hom* (Assmann) 61.232; *Lives* (Skeat) II.402.69; *Hom* (Pope) 691.273.

His broþor hatte Iubal, þe was fæder . . . þæra þe organan *macodan*. (His brother was named Jubal, who was the father . . . of those who *made*²⁷ musical instruments.) *Heptateuch* (Crawford) *Gen* 4.21 (passage believed to be non-Ælfrician).

3. With *of*: "to make (one thing) out of (another)" [*MED māken* v.¹ 2. (a)].

Se oðer leahtor is forligr . . . he befylð þone mann
and *macað* of cristes limum myltestrena limv,
and of godes temple gramena wununge.

(The second sin is fornication . . . it defiles the man and *makes*, of Christ's limbs, limbs of a prostitute, and of God's temple, a dwelling place of devils.) Ælfric, *Lives* (Skeat) I.356.278. See also Ælfric, *Hom* (Assmann) 35.279; *De Octo Vitiis* (Morris) 296 (passage almost identical with that from *Lives* above).

Cyswyrhtan gebyreð hundred cyse, & þæt heo *of* wringhwæge buteran *macige* to hlafordes beode. (It behooves the cheese-makers [to provide] one hundred cheeses, and that

they *should make* butter for the lord's table *out of* the whey
 wrung from the cheese.) Wulfstan, *Rectitudines*²⁸
 (Liebermann) 451.16 [Thorpe, I.438]. See also *Hep* (Crawford)
Gen 27.9 (believed non-Ælfician).

4. "To prepare (food)" [*MED* *māken* v.¹ 2. (b)].

Butan ge me secgan þæt þæt soð is be þisum,
 hwa þas mettas þicge þe we *maciað* Bele,
 ealle ge sceolan sweltan.

(Unless ye tell me that which is the truth about this, [i.e.]
 who eats these viands which we *prepare* for Bel, ye shall all
 die.) Ælfric, *Hom* (Pope) 697.382.

Ealne soðlice dæg estas on geþance grunað, se þe to gefyllene
 gyfernysse to æfenne, him estas *macað*. (All day, truly, he
 chews on delicacies in [his] mind, he who, to satisfy [his]
 gluttony at evening, *prepares* dainties for himself.) *Liber*
Scintillarum (Rhodes) 54. See also *Hep* (Crawford) *Gen* 27.9
 above.

5. "To dig (a pit)" [*MED* *māken* v.¹ 2. (e)].

He feol on pytt þa he *macode*.²⁹ (He fell into the pit which
 he *had dug*.) *Salisbury Psalter* (Sisam) 7.16.

6. "To inflict (a wound)" [*MED* *māken* v.¹ 2. (e)].

Eac swilce þa wunda þe þa wælhreowan hæþenan,
 mid gelomum scotungum, on his lice *macodon*
 wæron gehælede.

(Likewise the wounds which the bloodthirsty heathens, with
 continual shooting, *had inflicted* on his body were healed.)
 Ælfric, *Lives* (Skeat) II.326.182.

7. "To build (a house, building, or any large structure)" [*MED*
māken v.¹ 2. (b, c)].

Ðu *macast* ðreo fleringa binnan ðam arce. (Thou *shalt make*
 or *build* three storeys within the ark.) Ælfric, *Hep* (Crawford)
Gen 6.16. See also Ælfric, *Lives* (Skeat) II.180.181, 410.182;
Hom (Pope) 362.115, 763.21; *Hom* (Assmann) 98.203;
Admonitio (Norman) 48.

Me mæg in Maio Iunio & Iulio . . . fiscwer & milne *macian*.
 (In May and June and July . . . one can *build* a fish-weir and
 a mill.) Wulfstan, *Gerefa* (Liebermann) 454.9 (believed to be
 at least partially Wulfstan's).³⁰

Orm Gamal svna bohte Sēs Gregorivs minster ðonne hit wes
 æl tobrocæn & tofalan & he hit let *macan* newan from grunde.
 (Orm, Gamal's son, bought St. Gregory's minster [read:
 church] when it was completely ruined and collapsed, and he
 had it *built* anew from the ground up.) Kirkdale Inscription
 (Okasha), no. 64 (88).³¹ See also *Ger* 454.11; *Peterborough
 Chronicle*. (Plummer) 1095 (231);³² Wulfstan, *WHom*
 (Napier) 303.8 (this homily is no longer attributed to
 Wulfstan); *Charter of Harold Harefoot 1038* (Robertson)
 176.31 [Kemble, IV.57]; *Canterbury Chronicle* (extract in
 Plummer) 648 (28);³³ *De Sancto Johanne* (Kluge) 478.18
 (mid-twelfth-century MS).

8. "To write (a book, document, etc.), compose (a Psalm), make (a
 long story)" [*MED māken* v.¹ 5. (a, c-e)].

Langsume tale we magon *macian* be ðysum
 gif we wyllað secgan be þam ðe us secgað bec.
 (We could *make* a long tale about this if we wanted to tell [it]
 as the books tell us.) Ælfric, *Hom* (Pope) 731.80.

Ne eac þæt gewrit þe unwis mann onginð to *macigenne*—ne
 bið hit na wislic to sprecanne ne god to understandenne. (Nor
 also that writing which the unwise man undertakes to
write—it is not wise to speak of nor good to take notice of.)
St. Nicholas (DOE) 3. See also *Eadwine Psalter* (Harsley),
 151st Psalm (268).³⁴

9. "To produce (a false appearance); give off (an odor)" [*MED
 māken* v.¹ 7. (a)].

Ðeah þe ic hæfde me on handa þa blostman,
 ne mihton hi swa wynsumne wyrtræð *macian*.
 (Though I had the blossoms in my hand, they could not
produce or *give off* so delightful a scent.) Ælfric, *Lives*
 (Skeat) II.362.107.

Manega drymenn *maciað*

menigfealde dydrunga þurh deofles cræft.

(Many sorcerers *produce* manifold illusions through the Devil's art.) Ælfric, *Hom* (Pope) 790.4. See also *Lives* (Skeat) I.470.465; *Admonitio* (Norman) 46.

10. "To exhibit (a quality), show (mercy)" [*MED* *māken* v.¹ *8b.* (a)].

Sweriað me nu . . . ðæt ge *don* [feci] eft wið me swylce mildheortnyssse swa ic *macode* [faciatis] wið eow. (Swear to me now . . . that ye *will show* in turn to me such kindness or mercy as I *have shown* toward you.) Ælfric, *Hep* (Crawford) *Josh* 2.12.

11. See *gemacian*.

12. "To arrange (things, an event), prepare; make (a feast), hold (a meeting)," etc. [*MED* *māken* v.¹ *10a.* (a)].

þænne *macast* gebeorscype [Cum facis conuiuium], clypa þearfan, wanhale, healte, blinde. (When [thou] *makest* a feast, invite the poor, the sick, the lame, the blind.) *LS* (Rhodes) 169.

Heofona rice ys gelic gewurden þam cyninge þe *macode* [*Lindisfarne Gospels*, *dyde*; *Rushworth Gospels*,⁸⁵ *workte*] his suna gyfata. (The kingdom of heaven is likened to the king who *made* a marriage feast for his son.) *West Saxon Gospels* (Skeat) *Mat* 22.2. See also *Nicodemus* (Hulme) 596 (OE in twelfth-century MS).

13. "To make (a bargain, an agreement); reach (a conclusion)" [*MED* *māken* v.¹ *10b.* (a), *10c.* (a)].

Hi togædere coman mid þam ilcan mannan þe ær þæt loc *makedon*. (They came together with those same men who *had* previously *made* that agreement or *reached* that conclusion.) *PChron* (Plummer) 1094 (229).

Dis forward was *makið* wið Ordric, hordere, þat es, ðæt ælc man in Sancte Eadmundes Byri, husfast on his owe land, sæl gifen . . . on peni at Petermasse. (This agreement was *made* with Ordric, the cellarer, that is, that each man in Bury St. Edmund's, being a householder on his own land, give . . . one

penny at Petermas.) *Record St. Edmund's* (Robertson 1939) 220.1 [Kemble, IV.280].³⁶ See also *Writ of Edward the Confessor* (Harmer) 355.1 (fourteenth-century copy, possibly spurious).

II. Grammatical uses. [All examples are from Zupitza's edition (1880) of *Ælfric's Grammar*.]

1. Of a declension: "to form (a case)".

Seo forme declinung *macjǣð* hire genitivvm on *se*. (The first declension *forms* its genitive in *-se*.) 21. See also 31.15.

2. Of a noun: "to form (case or gender)".

Sume naman þissere declinunge *macjǣð* heora menigfealdan dativvm and ablativvm on *bus*. (Certain nouns of this declension *form* their plural dative and ablative in *-bus*.) 26.4. See also 27.12, 31.18, 32.2, 32.5, 36.14, 38.7, 42.12, 43.11, 67.13, 69.9, 75.11 (twice), 75.17.

Sume syndon mascvlini generis . . . *fidicen* fiðelere . . . sume ðas *macjǣð* feminvm on *a*: *haec fidicina*. (Certain ones are of masculine gender . . . *fidicen* 'fiddler' . . . certain of these *form* the feminine in *-a*: *haec fidicina*.) 40.8. See also 36.9, 48.3, 48.11, 50.5, 51.15.

3. Of an adjective: "to form (case, gender, an adverb)".

Ealle hi *macjǣð* ablativvm on langne *i*. (All of them *form* the ablative in long *-i*.) 55.6.

þa oðre naman þissere geendunge synd adiectiva . . . and *macjǣð* mascvlinvm on *us* and feminvm on *a* and nevtrvm on *um*. (The other substantives with this ending are adjectives . . . and *form* the masculine in *-us*, the feminine in *-a*, and the neuter in *-um*.) 29.4. See also 44.4.

Sume of þissere declinunge *macjǣð*, of heora nevtrvm, adverbia . . . *uerum* soð and *uere* soðlice. (Certain ones of this declension *form*, from their neuter, adverbs . . . *uerum* 'true' and *uere* 'truly'.) 235.16.

4. Of a pronoun: "to form (number, case)".
 Se forma had, *ego*, *macað* his menigfealde getel *nos* we. (The first person, *ego*, *forms* its plural number *nos* 'we'.) 102.6.
 See also 103.11.
- þas twegen naman *macjað* heora ablativvm on *j*. (These two [pro]nouns *form* their ablative in *-j*.) 117.3.
5. Of a conjugation: "to form (person, tense)".
 Seo forme conivgatio ys þe *macað* ðone oðerne had on langne *as* . . . *amas* ðu lufast. (The first conjugation is that which *forms* the second person in long *-as* . . . *amās* 'thou lovest'.) 130.7.
- þeos forme conivgatio *macað* hyre praeteritvm perfectvm on feower wisan. (This first conjugation *forms* its past perfect in four ways.) 136.15. See also 152.15, 164.15.
6. Of a verb: "to form (tense, voice, mood, participle, supine)".
 Ealle ðas word and ma *macað* heora praeteritvm on *avi* and sopinvm on *atum*. (All these verbs and more *form* their preterite in *-āvi* and the supine in *-ātum*.) 137.12. See also 136.17, 138.5, 138.11, 145.5, 146.10, 153.4, 175.10, 204.3, 204.9.
- Ðas word synd ealle þære forman geðeodnyse and *macjað* gelome passiva. (These verbs are all of the first conjugation and often *form* passives.) 213.11. See also 121.1, 121.10.
- Sume word *macjað* heora imperativvm on *e*. (Certain verbs *form* their imperative in *-e*.) 210.7.
- þæt word *eo* ic fare . . . *macað* participivm *iens* farende. (The verb *eo* 'I go' . . . *forms* [its] participle in *-iens* 'going'.) 251.16.
7. Of a teacher: "to decide that (a case) should be formed (in a certain way)."
 Ys eac to witenne þæt ledene lareowas *macjað* on sumum namum accvsativvm on *im*. (You should also know that Latin teachers, in certain nouns, *form* the accusative in *-im*.) 75.4.

III. "To give, grant" [*MED mæken* v.¹ 11. (a,b)].

Gif he hwam abulge, gebete þæt georne and girne to godes
þeowum þæt hy him siððan absolutionem *macigan*. (If he
have angered someone, let [him] make amends for that gladly
and entreat God's servants that they afterward *grant* him
absolution.) Wulfstan, *WHom* (Napier) 180.12 (homily no
longer attributed to Wulfstan).

IV. "To do, perform", etc.

1. "To do (something), perform (an action), carry on (an activity),
lead (a life)" [*MED mæken* v.¹ 12a., 12b.].

Ac se lig . . . forswalde þe ðe þa ceaste *macedon*.
(But the flame . . . burned up those who *did* the quarreling.)
Ælfric, *Lives* (Skeat) I.182.222. See also Ælfric, *Lives*
II.406.127; *Hom* (Pope) 653.266, 709.609.

And æni man heonan forð . . . ciricmangunge³⁷ mid unrihte ne
macyge. (And henceforth let no man . . . *carry on* church
business wrongfully.) Wulfstan, *Laws V Æðelred*
(Liebermann) 241.10 [Robertson 1925:82; Thorpe, I.306].³⁸

Ðæt is laðlic lif þæt hi swa *maciað*. (That is a loathsome life
that they thus lead.) Wulfstan, *Institutes of Polity* (Jost)
no. 183 (127) [Thorpe, II.322]. See also Wulfstan, *Laws VI*
Æðelred (Liebermann) 250.15 [Robertson 1925:96; Thorpe,
I.318]; *IP* (Jost) no. 182 (126) [Thorpe, II.322]; *WHom*
(Napier) 219.3 (no longer attributed to Wulfstan).

2. "To accomplish, achieve" [*MED mæken* v.¹ 12a. (a)].

Swilce þing *maciað* þa mæran gebedu.
(Great prayers *accomplish* such things.) Ælfric, *Hom* (Pope)
364.153.

3. "To perform (a miracle, wondrous feat)" [*MED mæken* v.¹
12b. (g)].

And hi ealle sædon þæt se is soð god
þe swilce wundra *macað*.
(And they all said that he is the true God who *performs* such
miracles.) Ælfric, *Lives* (Skeat) I.476.56.

þonne wet se deoful and gewitnað þa halgan . . .
 and mid deofles mihte *macað* fela wundra.
 (Then the Devil rages and torments the holy ones . . . and,
 with Devil's might, *performs* many wonderful things.) Ælfric,
Hom (Pope) 606.365.

4. "To provide (amusement), make (sport)" [*MED* *māken* v.¹
12b. (d)].

þa bædon hig sume þæt Samson moste him *macian* sum gamen
 [ante eos luderet]. (Then certain of them asked that Samson
 might *make* some sport for them.) Ælfric, *Hep* (Crawford)
Judg 16.25.

5. "To act, behave, conduct oneself, live"; --usually with *hit* as
 object.

Swa he *hit macode* on his life. (Thus he *did* or *behaved*
 during his life.) Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies* (Thorpe) II.354.24
 [Godden, 203.110].

Riht is þæt mynecene mynsterlice *macian*. (It is fitting that
 nuns *should behave* or *live* in a monastic manner.) Wulfstan,
IP (Jost) no. 185 (128) [Thorpe, II.322]. See also Ælfric,
Lives (Skeat) I.520.556, 530.672, 536.786 (homily not by
 Ælfric); Wulfstan, *WHom* (Napier) 99.6 (interpolation not by
 Wulfstan).

6. "To act toward, deal with, treat".

Wyllelm kyng com . . . & Sancte Petres mynster to bysmere
macode. (King William came . . . and *treated* St. Peter's
 monastery shamefully.) *Worcester Chronicle* (passage in
 Plummer) 1068 (203).

Mace him swa madian & sisare. (*Treat* them like Madian and
 Sisara, or *deal with* them as [you did] with Madian and
 Sisara.) *EPs* (Harsley) 82.10.

7. "To get along, make out, fare".

þa befran heo þæt cild . . . hu hit *macode* on eallum ðam
 fyrste þæs geares ymbrynes. (Then she asked the child . . .
 how it *had fared* during all the time of that year's course.)
 Ælfric, *CHom* (Thorpe) I.566.20.

V. "To cause", etc.

1. "To cause or bring about (an action, a state or condition, an emotion)" [*MED* *māken* v.¹ 9. (a, b)].

Ðonne heo northweard bið, þonne *macað* heo lenctenlice emnihte on middeweardum hire ryne; eft ðonne heo suðweard bið, þonne *macað* heo hærfestlice emnihte. (When she [the sun] is northward, then she *causes* the vernal equinox in the middle of her course; again, when she is southward, then she *causes* the autumnal equinox.) Ælfric, *De Temporibus* (Henel) 38.45–46.

His sunu hatte Mars, se *macode* wfre saca.
(His son is called Mars, who always *brought about* strife.)
Ælfric, *Hom* (Pope) 683.126. See also Ælfric, *Lives* (Skeat) I.354.272, 356.282, 356.288.

His sunu hatte Mars, se *macode* wfre gewinn & wrohte.⁵⁹
(His son is called Mars, who always *brought about* conflict and strife.) Wulfstan, *WHom* (Bethurum) 223.59 [Napier, 106.25]. See also *PChron* (Plummer) 1052 (183), 1086 (220); *Abingdon Chronicle* (passage in Plummer) 1056 (186).

2. "To cause (a person or thing) to become (something else), make into, turn into"; --usually with *to* [*MED* *māken* v.¹ 14a. (a, b)].

Se ðe idele spellunge . . . lustlice gehyrð . . . *macað* . . . his eare him sylfum *to* deaðes geate. (He who listens with pleasure to frivolous talk . . . *turns* . . . his ear *into* a gate of death for himself.) Ælfric, *CHom* (Thorpe) I.492.19. See also Ælfric, *Lives* (Skeat) I.224.89, 358.310; *Hom* (Pope) 207.249, 682.107; *Hep* (Crawford) *Gen* 12.2; *De Sanguine* (Kluge) 62, fn. 3; *Letter to Sigeweard* (Crawford) 20.94; *Second Letter to Wulfstan* (Fehr) 204.148.

Hy . . . *maciað* eall heom sylfum *to* woruldwlence and *to* idelre rence þæt hi Gode sceoldan don *to* weorðunge. (They . . . *turn* everything that they ought to do for the glory of God *into* worldly pomp and vain ostentation for themselves.) Wulfstan, *IP* (Jost) no. 127 (101) [Thorpe, II.328]. See also *Hom* (Assmann) 173.130.

3. "To cause (a person or thing) to be (changed or different)";
 --followed by adjective [*MED māken* v.¹ 14b. (a-c)].

Nu þu, kyning, miht *macian* þe undeadlicne.
 (Now thou, O king, canst *cause* thyself to be immortal.)
 Ælfric, *Lives* (Skeat) II.420.357. See also Ælfric, *Lives*
 (Skeat) II.388.201; *Hom* (Pope) 650.203; *De Ses Etatibus*
 (DOE) 17.

þu bæde to drihtne of uran hearde lande, þe us nane wæstmas
 sellan nolde, and drihten hit *macode* þærrichte wæstembære.
 (Thou didst pray to the Lord about our hard land, which
 would give us no crops, and the Lord straightway *caused* it to
 be fruitful.) *St. Giles* (DOE) 173. See also *PChron*
 (Plummer) 963 (115); *St. Nicholas* (DOE) 18.

4. With *þæt*-clause: "to bring it about that (something happens
 or someone does something)"; --also same construction without
þæt [*MED māken* v.¹ 15. (d, e)].

He þa was *macigende* . . . *þæt* hi his lichaman on fyre
 forbærdan. (He [the emperor] was *bringing it about* . . .
that they would burn up his [the saint's] body in fire.)
Pantaleon (Matthews) 442.

þa comon hi to Medeshamstede . . . & eall *þæt* hi þær fundon,
macedon hit þa *þæt* ær was ful rice, þa hit wearð to nan þing.
 (Then they came to Peterborough . . . and all that they found
 there, [they] *brought it about that* [what] before was very
 rich, [that] it was then reduced to nothing.) *PChron*
 (Plummer) 870 (71; possibly an early-twelfth-century
 interpolation).

- VI. "To regard as, look on (someone) as; grant (someone) the status of
 (a god, a martyr)"; --with *to* [*MED māken* v.¹ 17. (a)].

þa cwelleras . . .
 on niht behyddon his halgan lichaman . . .
þæt huru ða cristenan ne becuman to his lice
 and him *to* martyre *macion* siððan.
 (The killers . . . hid his holy body by night . . . that, in any
 case, the Christians should not come to his body and *give* him
 the status of a martyr afterwards, or *regard* him as a martyr
 afterwards.) Ælfric, *Lives* (Skeat) I.146.460.

Sum man was gehaten Mercurius on life . . .
 þone *macodan* þa hæþenan him to mæran gode.
 (A certain man was named Mercury while he lived . . . whom
 the heathens *looked upon as or gave the status of* a great
 god unto themselves.) Ælfric, *Hom* (Pope) 684.136.

Ðone *macodon* þa hæþenan, be heora getæle, eac heom to
 mæran gode. (Him the heathens, in their estimation, also
regarded as or gave the status of a great god unto
 themselves.) Wulfstan, *WHom* (Bethurum) 223.67 [Napier,
 107.3].⁴⁰

- VII. "To add up to (a sum or result), make up" [*MED* *māken* v.¹
 19. (a, b)].

On ðam geare sind getealde . . . þre hund daga & fif & sixtig
 daga, & þær to eacan six tida, þe *macið* æfre embe þæt
 feorðe gear þone dæg & ða niht þe we hatað bissextum. (In
 the year are reckoned . . . three hundred and sixty-five days,
 and in addition thereto six hours, which, ever about the fourth
 year, *add up to* the day and the night that we call
 "bisextum".) Ælfric, *Temp* (Henel) 30.17.

- VIII. "To put, place, send"; --sometimes used figuratively.

1. "To locate (one's dwelling)" [*MED* *māken* v.¹ 21. (a)].

On swilcum he *macið* symle his wununge.
 (In such people, he [the Devil] always *places* his dwelling or
takes up his abode.) Ælfric, *Hom* (Pope) 277.230.

2. With *up*: "to hang (something) up".

Seo ealde cyrce was ealle behangen mid cricum
 and mid creopera sceamelum fram ende oð oþerne . . .
 and man ne mihte swa ðeah *macian* hi healfe *up*.
 (The old church was all hung round with crutches and with the
 stools of cripples from one end to the other . . . and one
 could not, however, *hang* the half of them *up*.) Ælfric, *Lives*
 (Skeat) I.468.434.

3. With *on*: "to put or send to" [*MED mæken* v. 1. (a)].

And þa behead se casere þæt mon pantaleon on carcerne
 beuce, & þa oðre þreo he het *macian on* mislicum wítum.
 (And then the emperor commanded that Pantaleon be locked
 in prison, and the other three he bade *send to* or *be put to*
 various tortures.) *Pant* (Matthews) 419.

4. With *to*: "to send (someone's life) to (destruction), put to (death)".

Saturnus . . . fordyde his agene bearn . . . & unfæderlice
macode heora lif *to* lyre sona in geogoðe.⁴¹ (Saturn . . .
 destroyed his own children . . . and in an unfatherly manner
put them *to* death early in youth.) Wulfstan, *WHom*
 (Bethurum) 222.42 [Napier, 106.6].

*gemacian*⁴²

I. "To make", etc.

1. "To create" [*MED imæken* v. 2. (c)].

Se ælmihtiga wyrhta hi *geworhte*⁴³ on anginne
 Ac he sylf was æfre, unbeginnen Scyppend,
 se ðe swa mihtiglice *gemacode* swylcne cræft.⁴⁴
 (The Almighty Workman *wrought* or *created* them in the
 beginning But he himself existed always, the Creator
 without beginning, he who so mightily *made* or *created* such a
 work [i.e. the universe].)⁴⁵ Ælfric, *Hexameron* (Crawford)
 36.38 [Norman, 5].

2. "To manufacture (a material object), make, construct" [*MED imæken* v. 1. (a)].

Smiðas hi *worhtan*⁴⁶ smallice mid cræfte
 and oft gesealdon þa sylfrenan godas,
 sumne to maran wurðe, be þam þe he *gemacod* was,
 sumne eac waelicor.
 (Smiths *made* them subtly with skill and often sold those
 silver gods, a certain one at a greater price, because of the
 way in which it was *made*, and another one more cheaply.)
 Ælfric, *Hom* (Pope) 688.204.

Ða, after feowertigum dagum, undyde Noe his eahðyrl, ðe he on ðam arce *gemacode*. (Then, after forty days, Noah opened his window, which he *had made* or *had constructed* in the ark.) Ælfric, *Hep* (Crawford) *Gen* 8.6. See also Ælfric, *Letter to Bishop Wulfsgige* (Fehr) 26.114.

3. With of: "to make or construct (something) of or out of (something)" [*MED imāken v. 1. (a)*].

And se þe beo tosliten beseo to þære næddran
þe of ðam are bið *gemacod*.

(And let him who shall be wounded look to the serpent which is *made of* brass.) Ælfric, *Hom* (Pope) 656.328.

- 4, 5, 6. See *macian*.

7. "To build" [*MED imāken v. 1. (b)*].

He be þam gemaron castelas let *gemakian*. (He let *build* castles on the borders.) *PChron* (Plummer) 1097 (233).⁴⁷

8. "To draw up (a charter, a writ)" [*MED imāken v. 2. (b)*].

Ðis writ was *gemaced* at Windlesoran on feorðe Easter dæi.
(This writ was *written* or *drawn up* at Windsor the fourth day of Easter.) *Writ of Edward the Confessor, 1049-66* (Harmer) 260.32 [Kemble, IV.209]. See also *Charter of King Cnut, 1029* (Robertson) 160.5 [Kemble, IV.24], a twelfth-century copy.

- 9, 10. See *macian*.

11. "To make or give (a sign or signal)" [*MED māken v. 1. 2. (a)*].

þam gedonum *gemacedum* tacne [Quo peracto facto signo], on cyrcean si ongunnen æfenræding. (That signal [a knocking on the table] having been *given*, let the evening reading be begun in the church.) *De Consuetudine* (Logeman) 393.399.

12. See *macian*.

13. "To make (a bargain, an agreement)".

Her swutelap on þisse cristes boc þa forewordan þe þe prior on baþan & ealle þa gebroþran habbaþ *gemaked* wið sawi & wiþ þeodgifu, his wif. (Here it shows in this book of Christ the agreement which the prior of Bath and all the brethren

have *made* with Sæwi and with ðeodgyfu, his wife.) *Record Bath* (Earle) 270.⁴⁸

Ailric hafet gegyfen þat land at Greneford into Westminstre for þare forewarde þe þare gebroðera [? þa gebroðeran] & he *gemaked* habbet. (Ailric has given the land at Greenford to Westminster because of the agreement which those brethren and he have *made*.) *Writ of Edward the Confessor* (Harmer) 354.5 [Kemble, IV.214], a thirteenth-century copy.

II, III. See *macian*.

IV. "To do, perform", etc.

1. See *macian*.

2. "To finish (a meal)".

þa drihtnes þenung was *gemacud* þa. (The Lord's Supper was finished then.) *West Saxon Gospels* (Skeat) *John* 13.2.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7. See *macian*.

V. "To cause, bring about".

1. "To cause (an action, a state or condition, an emotion)".

Seo yfele gitsung . . . *gemacað* reaflic & unrihte domas. (Avarice . . . *causes* robbery and unjust judgements.) Ælfric, *De Octo Vitiis* (Morris) 296. See also Ælfric, *Second Letter to Wulfstan* (Fehr) 210.166.

Rodbeard eorl & Eadgar æþeling . . . þara cinga sehte swa *gemacedon*. (Earl Robert and Prince Edgar . . . thus *brought about* a reconciliation of the kings.) *PChron* (Plummer) 1091 (227).

2. "To cause (a person) to become (a martyr, wife, devil)"; --with or without *to*.

Paulus siððan forestop Stephanum on Godes gelaðunge . . . ðone ðe he ær, ehtende, martyr *gemacode*. (Paul afterwards took precedence of Stephen in God's Church . . . whom he previously, persecuting, *had made or caused to be* a martyr.) Ælfric, *CHom* (Thorpe) II.82.24 [Godden, 48.204].

Seo *gemacode* to deoflum þa witegan englas. (She [Pride] turned into, or caused to become, devils, the beautiful angels.) Ælfric, *Second Letter to Wulfstan* (Fehr) 204.148. See also Ælfric, *Lives* (Skeat) I.72.366.

3. "To cause (a person or thing) to be (changed or different)";
--usually followed by an adjective.

Some eunuchi synd þe beoð swa acennede, and some eunuohi synd þe synd fram mannum swa *gemacode*. (Some eunuchs [there] are who are born so, and some eunuchs [there] are who are made so by men.) Ælfric, *Hom* (Pope) 624.44. See also Ælfric, *CHom* (Thorpe) II.88.29 [Godden, 54.48]; *Hom* (Pope) II.416.275.

Se eorðlica man þe hord hæfð on his madmhuse--he smealice þencð . . . hu he mage þæt hus fæstast *gemakigan* mid locum and mid weardum. (The worldly man who has a hoard in his treasure house--he searchingly thinks . . . how he can make that house most secure with locks and with guards.) *Three Tests* (Ker), 273. See also *St. Giles* (DOE) 59, 164.

4. With *þæt*-clause: "to bring it about that (someone does something or that something happens)".

Se preost . . . *gemacode þæt* seofon nacode wimmen urnon plegende on heora gesihðum. (The priest . . . caused that seven naked women ran dancing in their sight.) Ælfric, *CHom* (Thorpe) II.162.31 [Godden, 96.155]. See also Ælfric, *CHom* (Thorpe) I.6.11, II.488.20 [Godden, 283.119]; *Lives* (Skeat) II.250.498, 416.275 (inaccurately defined in BTS), 422.373.

Se manfulla deofol . . . *gemacað þæt* se man hywað hwilum hine sylfne þeh mihtine & unforhtne þe nah on his heortan anigne cufscype. (The wicked Devil . . . brings it about, however, that the man at times feigns himself strong and unafraid, who has no courage in his heart.) Wulfstan, *WHom* (Bethurum) 188.88 [Napier, 53.13]. See also Wulfstan, *WHom* (Bethurum) 187.83 [Napier, 53.7], (Bethurum) 188.104 [Napier, 54.4], (Napier) 98.25 (interpolation, not by Wulfstan); *Chrodegang* (Napier) 57.11; Ælfric, *Hep* (Crawford) *Esod* 5.21 (believed non-Ælfrician); *PChron* (Plummer) 1075 (211).

VI. "To regard as; assign (someone inferior) status, consider (someone less) powerful".

Loca ðu nu georne

ðæt ðu swa swyðe ne dwelige ðæt ðu *gedon*⁴⁹ wylle
ðone Sunu læssan ðonne his leofa Fæder is,
oððe *Heora Bega Lufu*, be ðinum lytlan andgite,
unmihtigran *gemacian* wylle.

(Take heed now earnestly that thou err not so greatly that thou wilt *regard* the Son *as* less than his beloved Father is, or wilt *regard* the Holy Ghost, according to thy puny understanding, *as* less mighty.) Ælfric, *Hes* (Crawford) 39.78 [Norman, 6]. See also Ælfric, *De Creatore* (DOE) 37.

VII, VIII. See *macian*.

Some Manuscripts

The increasing use of *macian* and *gemacian* during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the number and varied nature of the texts in which the verbs appear, and the abundance of new senses developed—all point to wide dissemination of the borrowings in late Old English. Solid evidence that *macian* had taken root in old Northumbrian territory is provided by the Kirkdale Inscription. For further evidence of the dissemination, we may look to the history of some of the MSS, both earlier and later ones. Each MS listed below meets two requirements: first, it must contain one or more examples of *macian* or *gemacian*, and second, it must be linked to some specific locality at one or more points in its history.

It will be noted that a fair number of the MSS (thirteen, by the numbering in Ker 1957)⁶⁰ are connected with Wessex, the earliest English home of the two verbs. These are distributed among seven centers, with Winchester standing out above the others. Mercia takes the lion's share (seventeen), but thirteen of these belong to a single center. Worcester was an outstanding center of learning and MS production in OE times and continued to be important in the ME period. We should not forget, however, that a part of Worcester's supremacy was due to the fact that it suffered less than any other Anglian center from the depredations of the Danes and the ruthless destruction wrought by William the Conqueror. Worcester also had an advantage in its possession of the "tremulous hand", whose glosses and annotations make it so easy to identify those MSS which were in Worcester during the first half of the thirteenth century. Kent claims

eleven MSS, of which nine are connected with Canterbury. The latter was a magnet for MSS as well as for pilgrims during the later Middle Ages, and the use of press marks and careful cataloguing at Christ Church and St. Augustine's make it rather easy to identify MSS that have ever been in their possession. Northumbria, East Anglia, Essex, and Sussex are sparsely represented.

Wessex:

Bath, Somerset.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 140 (Ker no. 35). *West Saxon Gospels*, written at Bath in the first half of the eleventh century. Early-twelfth-century "Record Bath" was written over an erasure on a blank space in the MS. The MS was certainly at Bath in the second half of the eleventh century and in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Exeter, Devonshire.

CCCC 190B (Ker no. 45). A compilation of ecclesiastical laws and customs, probably made at Worcester about the middle of the eleventh century for Archbishop Wulfstan, containing Ælfric's first and second vernacular letters to Wulfstan. Additions to the MS, made at Exeter in the second half of the eleventh century, include Ælfric's letter to Bishop Wulfsgie.

CCCC 191 (Ker no. 46). *Rule of Chrodegang*, copied at Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century, probably from a Winchester exemplar.

Malmesbury, Wiltshire.

British Library, Cotton Otho C.1, vol. I (Ker no 181). *West Saxon Gospels*, badly damaged by fire, was at Malmesbury in the middle of the eleventh century, probably written there in the first half of the eleventh century.

Salisbury, Wiltshire.

Salisbury Cathedral MS. 150 (Ker no. 379). The *Salisbury Psalter*, glossed at Salisbury about 1100.

Sherborne, Dorsetshire.

BL, Cot. Tiberius C.1, fols. 43-203 (Ker no. 197). Prose texts (see Ker 1959) written in the second half of the eleventh century, either at Sherborne or at Salisbury.

Southwick Priory, Hampshire.

BL, Cot. Vitellius A.15, fols. 4–93 (Ker no. 215). *Gospel of Nicodemus*, written in the mid-twelfth century. The MS was at Southwick Priory in the thirteenth century.

Winchester, Hampshire.

CCCC 191 (Ker no. 46)—see Exeter.

CCCC 178A and CCCC 162 (Ker no. 41)—see Worcester.

BL, Cot. Otho B.2 and Cot. Otho B.10 (Ker no. 175)—see London.

BL, Cot. Tiberius B.5 and Nero D.2—see Battle Abbey.

BL, Cot. Tib. B.11 (Ker no. 195). Alfred's translation of Pope Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, written by the king's scribes, probably at Winchester.

BL, Cot. Titus D.26, 27 (Ker no. 202). Ælfric's translation of *De Temporibus*, written at Winchester in the first half of the eleventh century.

Bodleian MS. Hatton 20 (Ker no. 324)—see Worcester.

Mercia:

Abingdon, Berkshire.

BL, Cot. Tiberius B.1 (Ker no. 191). The *Abingdon Chronicle*, written at Abingdon in the middle of the eleventh century.

London, Middlesex.

CCCC 383 (Ker no. 65). Contains *Rectitudines* and *Gerefa*, probably compiled for St. Paul's, London, about 1100.

BL, Cot. Otho B.2 and Cot. Otho B.10 (Ker no. 175). A copy of the copy of Alfred's translation of the *Pastoral Care* which Alfred sent to Heahstan, Bishop of London (died 897). The surviving copy was probably made in London, the original probably in Winchester.

Peterborough, Northamptonshire.

Bodl. Laud Misc. 636 (Ker no. 346). The *Peterborough Chronicle*, written at Peterborough in the first half of the twelfth century.

Worcester, Worcestershire.

CCCC 178A and CCCC 162, pp. 139–60 (Ker no. 41). Contains

Ælfric's *Hexameron*, *De Octo Vitiis*, and *De Sanguine*, as well as numerous Ælfrician homilies, including his *De Falsis Diis* (Pope, 676–712), *Sermo de Die Iudicii* (Pope, 590–609), and most of his OE preface to the first series of the *Catholic Homilies* (Thorpe, 2.line 28 to 6.line 34), compiled in the first half of the eleventh century, probably at Winchester. The MS was at Worcester in the eleventh century and in the first half of the thirteenth.

CCCC 190B (Ker no. 45)—see Exeter.

CCCC 198 (Ker no. 48). Contains many of Ælfric's homilies, including *Dominica Septuagesima* (Thorpe, II.72–88), *Dominica in Sexagesima* (Thorpe, II.88–98), *Sancti Benedicti Abbatis* (Thorpe, II.154–88), and *Passio Sancti Sebastiani Martyr* (*Lives*, I.116–46), compiled in the first half of the eleventh century. Additions made in the second half of the eleventh century include *De Sancto Johanne*. The MS was at Worcester in the first half of the thirteenth century.

CCCC 201B (Ker no. 49). Contains Ælfric's first OE letter to Wulfstan, portions of Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, including the section *Be Myncecanan*, lines 1–2 (Jost no. 185, 128 [Thorpe, II.322]), and numerous homilies by Wulfstan or formerly attributed to him; among the last, Napier no. 38 (180). The MS was compiled about the middle of the eleventh century, probably at Worcester or York.

BL, Cot. Faustina A.10A (Ker no. 154). Contains Ælfric's *Grammar*, copied in the second half of the eleventh century. The MS was at Worcester in the first half of the thirteenth century.

BL, Cot. Nero A.1, fols. 70–177 (Ker no. 164). Contains extracts from Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, including most of the section *Be Sacerdum* (Jost nos. 110–29, pp. 90–103 [Thorpe, II.326–28]) and the section *Be Munecum* (Jost nos. 173–84, pp. 123–27 [Thorpe, II.322]), and *Laws V Ædelred*, compiled early in the eleventh century, probably for Wulfstan either at Worcester or at York.

BL, Cot. Otho C.1, vol. 2 (Ker no. 182). Contains Ælfric's *De Creatore et Creatura*, *De Sex Etatibus Mundi*, and part of his homily *De Populo Israhel, Quando Uolueris* (Pope, 641–53.line 268), probably written at Worcester in the eleventh century. The MS was at Worcester in the first half of the thirteenth century.

BL, Cot. Tiberius B.4 (Ker no. 192). The *Worcester Chronicle*, probably written at Worcester in the eleventh century.

Bodl. Hatton 20 (Ker no. 324). A copy of King Alfred's translation of the *Pastoral Care*, with directions that it be sent to Worcester. The MS was at Worcester in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, probably written at Winchester, A.D. 890–97.

Bodl. Hatton 76A (Ker no. 328). Contains Ælfric's translation of *Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem*, written in the first half of the eleventh century. The MS was at Worcester in the first half of the thirteenth.

Bodl. Hatton 113, 114 (Ker no. 331). Contains numerous homilies by Ælfric and Wulfstan, including Wulfstan's *De Septiformi Spiritu* (Bethurum, 185–91 [Napier, 50–56]) and his version of *De Falsis Diis* (Bethurum, 221–24 [Napier, 104–07]), written at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century.

Bodl. Hatton 115 (Ker no. 332). Contains Ælfric's *Hexameron* and a number of his homilies, including *Alia Visio* (Thorpe, II.348–56), *Sermo de Die Iudicii* (Pope, 590–609), *De Populo Israel*, *Quando Uolueris* (Pope, 641–53), and *Wyrðwriteras Us Secgæð* (Pope, 728–32), written in the second half of the eleventh century. The MS was at Worcester in the first half of the thirteenth.

Bodl. Hatton 116 (Ker no. 333). Contains Ælfric's *Hexameron*, *De Octo Vitiis*, *De Sanguine*, and a number of homilies, including Ælfric's *Natale Sancti Clementis Martyris* (Thorpe, I.556–76), *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae Virginis* (Assmann, 24–48), *Sermo in Natale Unius Confessoris* (Assmann, 49–64), and Wulfstan's *De Septiformi Spiritu* (Bethurum, 185–91 [Napier, 50–56]), written in the first half of the twelfth century. The MS was at Worcester in the first half of the thirteenth.

Bodl. Junius 121 (Ker no. 338). Contains Ælfric's second vernacular letter to Wulfstan, and most (Thorpe, I.2.line 28 to 6.line 34) of Ælfric's OE preface to the first series of *Catholic Homilies*, written at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century. The MS was at Worcester in the first half of the thirteenth.

Kent:

Canterbury.

Trinity College, Cambridge B.15.34 (Ker no. 86). Contains numerous homilies by Ælfric and Wulfstan, including Ælfric's *Dominica Quinta Post Pascha* (Pope, 357–68) and Wulfstan's *De Septiformi Spiritu* (Bethurum, 185–91 [Napier, 50–56]), written in the mid-eleventh century, probably at Canterbury.

Trinity College, Cambridge R.17.1 (Ker no. 91). The *Eadwine Psalter*, made in the mid-twelfth century at Christ Church, Canterbury.

Durham Cathedral Library B.3.32B, fols. 56–127 (Ker no. 107). Ælfric's *Grammar*. Probably written at Canterbury.

BL, Cot. Claudius B.4 (Ker no. 142). Contains the first six books of the *Heptateuch*, written in the first half of the eleventh century, then apparently in Kent in the twelfth century, at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in the later Middle Ages.

BL, Cot. Tiberius A.3, fols. 2-173 (Ker no. 186). Contains Ælfric's *De Temporibus*, written in the mid-eleventh century, probably at Canterbury in the late Middle Ages.

BL, Cot. Vespasian D. 14, fols. 4-169 (Ker no. 209). Contains *De Octo Vitiis*, *De Sancto Johanne*, and Ælfric's homily, *Alia Visio* (Thorpe, II.348-56), probably written at Canterbury or Rochester.

BL, Harley 3271 (Ker no. 239). Contains Ælfric's *Grammar*, written in the first half of the eleventh century. The MS was at Christ Church, Canterbury, at the end of the Middle Ages.

BL, Royal I.A.14 (Ker no. 245). *West Saxon Gospels*, written in the second half of the twelfth century. The MS was at Canterbury in the fourteenth century.

BL, Royal 7.C.4 (Ker no. 256). Contains *Liber Scintillarum*, written in the mid-eleventh century. The MS was at Canterbury in the thirteenth.

Rochester, Kent.

CCCC 303 (Ker no. 57). Contains *St. Giles*, *St. Nicholas*, and numerous homilies by Ælfric, including *Natale Sancti Clementis Martyris* (Thorpe, I.556-76), *Dominica XVII post Pentecosten* (Thorpe, I.490-500), *Dominica Septuagesima* (Thorpe, II.72-88), *Dominica in Sexagesima* (Thorpe, I.88-98), *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae Virginis* (Assmann, 24-48), *Passio Beatae Margaritae Virginis et Martyris* (Assmann, 170-80), *Sermo de Memoria Sanctorum* (Skeat, I.336-62), *De Doctrina Apostolica* (Pope, 622-35), and *De Falsis Diis* (Pope, 676-712), written in the first half of the twelfth century, probably at Rochester.

BL, Cot. Vespasian D.14 (Ker no. 209)—see Canterbury.

Bodl. Bodley 340 and Bodley 342 (Ker no. 309). Contains numerous homilies from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, including *Dominica XVII post Pentecosten* (Thorpe, I.490-500), *Natale Sancti Clementis Martyris* (Thorpe, I.556-72), *Dominica Septuagesima* (Thorpe, II.72-88), *Dominica in Sexagesima* (Thorpe, II.88-98), *Sancti Benedicti Abbatis* (Thorpe, II.154-88), and *Alia Visio* (Thorpe, II.348-56). The MSS were at Rochester in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, probably written there.

Northumbria:

Durham.

Cambridge University Library Gg.3.28 (Ker no. 15). Contains the most complete copy of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, first and second series, and the only complete copy of *De Temporibus*, written about A.D. 1000. The MS was at Durham in the twelfth century and in the later Middle Ages.

St. John's College, Oxford 154 (Ker no. 362). Contains the only complete copy of Ælfric's *Grammar*, written early in the eleventh century. The MS was at Durham about 1200.

York.

CCCC 201B (Ker no. 49)—see Worcester.

BL, Cot. Nero A.1, fols. 70–177 (Ker no. 164)—see Worcester.

East Anglia:

Bury–St. Edmund's, Suffolk.

BL, Cot. Julius E.7 (Ker no. 162). Contains Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* and *De Falsis Diis* (Pope, 676–712), written early in the eleventh century, at Bury in the thirteenth.

Essex:

Sandon.

BL, Royal 15.B.22 (Ker no. 269). Contains most of Ælfric's *Grammar*, written in the second half of the eleventh century. The MS was at Sandon at the end of the Middle Ages.

Sussex:

Battle Abbey.

BL, Cot. Tiberius B.5, vol. 1, fols. 2–73, 77–88 and Cot. Nero D.2, fols. 238–41 (Ker no. 193). Contains Ælfric's *De Temporibus Anni*, written in the first half of the eleventh century, perhaps at Winchester. The MS was at Battle Abbey in the twelfth century.

Our knowledge of the process of dissemination leaves much to be desired. The forty-one MSS listed above are but a few of the surviving MSS containing *macian* or *gemacian*. There are many others of whose

history during the OE period we are, at present, wholly ignorant. If the eighteen localities in fifteen different counties (above) were plotted on a map of England, we should see large blank spaces everywhere, and well over half of the English counties might be labeled *terra incognita*. It is not the fact of the dissemination which is in doubt. That is obvious from the use of the two borrowings from Old Saxon (from Old High German) in all parts of England during the Middle English period, as well as from the place of *make* in present-day English as one of our commonest verbs. The process, not the fact, is obscure. We can only infer that *macian* and *gemacian* spread outward from centers like Worcester and Durham and London (as well as other centers for which no hard evidence survives) into the blank spaces on our map. If the evidence presented in this section and the preceding one can make the burden of inference a little lighter, I shall be content.

Notes

1. Moreover, it appears, as a simplex or with various prefixes, in the earliest MSS of the OE period as well as in OE texts which are generally believed to have been composed in earliest times.
2. Like many *Festschriften*, the one for Pyles reached publication only after long delays.
3. MS *-rices*.
4. Note that, in this sense, the participles *gedōn* and *gemacod* are synonyms, interchangeable it would seem. I shall call attention to such parallel usages from time to time in order to remind us that the OE *macian* and its cognates entered the West Germanic languages, not as coinages designed to close a gap in the vocabulary, but as competitors with already established words such as OE *dōn* and *wyrcean*.
5. It is impossible to make any comparison with the Old Saxon *Genesis*, for the Vatican fragment does not contain the original of this passage, nor does it contain any example of OS *makon* or *gimakon*.

6. I do not mean to suggest that the senses which appear in *Genesis B* and in Alfred's works were the only ones borrowed. The borrowed words must have had other senses as well in the spoken OE of Alfred's time.

7. Cf. *Genesis B* 755. The same uncertainty noted in that line is also encountered here.

8. Synonymous with *gemaco*.

9. I am so confident of Sehart's thoroughness that I have made no special search of my own for these verbs in the *Heliand*.

10. 148 by my count: *dôn* 109, *gidôn* 39.

11. See *mahhôn* and *gimahhôn* in most OHG grammars and dictionaries. The writers whom I quote in this article regularly used *ch* for the /hh/ from Germanic /k/.

12. Although he lived on into the early eleventh century.

13. Kelle: *lobonti*.

14. This is the plural accusative of the weak noun *gimachs* 'a pair', not a form of the verb *gimachôn*.

15. Observe that *machôn* and *tuôn* are here used as synonyms.

16. Sehart and Starck: *siu atahaften*.

17. Cf. also the eleventh-century Austrian *Merigarto* :

Allesua ist ein prunno der *machot* suosze stimma. (Also there is a spring that *emits* or *gives off* a sweet sound.) Braune 1928:159.52. [I.9].

18. Cf. *Exsors Cantilena de Miraculis Christi*:

Von dem wasser *machot* er den win. (*Out of the water, he makes the wine.*) Schröder 1972:19.210 [I. 3].

19. *Tuôn* 'to do' and *gituôn*, however, are by far the more frequent verbs throughout the OHG period.

20. A more thorough search of OHG might reveal the fifth, but I leave that discovery to someone else.

21. The rare Old Icelandic *maka* was almost certainly borrowed from one of the Low German languages or dialects, possibly from Flemish.

22. Psalm 56.7: *macodon*. See Kyes 1969:44.

23. Lest there be any misunderstanding, I am not one of those who believe in the impossible, for example, that an Anglo-Saxon scop, with no special knowledge of the Old Norse and Old English sound changes, could transpose *Bjólfr* to *Bōowulf* or *Áli* to *Onela*.

24. Dr. Cynthia Bland of the *Middle English Dictionary* staff has called my attention to the use of *māken* v.¹ by some fifteenth-century English grammarians whose work has only recently been made available in Thomson 1984 (for information on the dates and character of the MSS, the medieval background of the grammars, etc., see Thomson 1979). The usages which are closest in sense to those in Ælfric's *Grammar* appear in the following MSS: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 356B, fols. 163^r-64^v, 167^v-68^r (mid-fifteenth-century) [Thomson, 66-67, 104]; Cambridge University Library MS. Additional 2830, fols. 54^v-56^v (1434-35) [Thomson, 70-73]; Bodleian MS. Rawlinson D.328, fols. 80^r-83^r (1444-83) [Thomson, 76-79]; and Trinity College, Dublin MS. 430, pp. 3-11 (early sixteenth-century) [Thomson, 188-89]. A few examples will illustrate the senses represented in these additions to our corpus of Middle English:

1. Of an adjective: to form (case): "*Senior* . . . ys þe masculyn gender all only and *makyth* þe ablatiue case synguler in -e only" (78, from Rawlinson).

2. To compare (an adjective): "Nown adiectiuus betokenyng qualite or quantite . . . may be *maad* more or less" (70, from Cambridge).

3. Of an adjective: to make (comparison), form (its comparative and/or superlative): "Thes v nownys [adjectives] . . . *makyth* comparson [sic] oute of rule" (76, from Rawlinson); "How many byn owte-sette of þe secund party of þe rule? This noun [adj.] *iuenis*, *makyng iunior*", etc. (67, from Peniarth; a gerund *makyng* also occurs [70, from Cambridge]).

25. We may also note that Ælfric used *macian* once, *gemacian* twice, in his second letter to Wulfstan.

26. Note that *gewyrca* and *macian* are used as synonyms.

27. Bosworth-Toller Supplement "to subject to operation, manage, use" may provide a more nearly literal rendering of *caenentium* than mine, but it is so far-fetched and so unlike any of the attested senses of OE *ge)macian* or of ME *i)māken* or of their Germanic cognates that I believe we should accept the obvious OE meaning and assume that the translation is not literal.

28. Now regarded as either by Wulfstan or revised by him.

29. *Vespasian Psalter, dyde* (Kuhn 1965:7.15); *Regius Psalter, workte* (Roeder 1904:7.16).

30. See Wulfstan, *WHom* (Bethurum) 46; also Bethurum 1950:456, and McIntosh 1949:126.

31. Carved in Anglian territory (North Riding, Yorkshire) between 1055 and 1065, showing Anglian features. The form *macan* looks like ME but is probably a simple error.

32. Written in Anglian territory, but this portion of the text is generally in the WS dialect.

33. The dialect of this passage is generally WS.

34. Mid-twelfth-century MS, chiefly late WS, but mixed with early WS, Mercian, and Kentish, and showing some ME features.

35. The gloss to Matthew is basically Mercian, but with a considerable admixture of WS.

36. A thirteenth-century copy of an original c.1060; contains many ME spellings.

37. The word *ciricmangung* occurs only here and, in identical form and context, in *VI Ædelred* 15. As a compound of *cirice* 'church' and *mangung* 'business', it would appear to be a general term meaning "church business, the business affairs of a church or the Church". The interpretation

"simony" must be wrong, for *mid unrihte* 'with wrong, wrongfully' indicates that not all *ciricmangung* was bad. It is hardly possible that Wulfstan would distinguish between wrongful simony and good simony.

38. I have adopted Liebermann's transcription, from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 201, mid-eleventh-century.

39. Wulfstan's rewrite of Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis*.

40. Again, Wulfstan's rewrite of Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis*.

41. Wulfstan's rewrite of Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis*. For Ælfric, see *Hom* (Pope) II.xxi, 682.107 [Sense V.2].

42. There is another *gemacian* in OE, with a meaning like "to make equal or like, liken, compare". *Gemacian* v.² appears only in a single gloss in the mid-tenth-century glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*:

& cneatum sittendum in ðingstowe cneureso *gemacade* vel *gemacað* [comparat] iudea. (And [he] *likened*, or *likens*, [that] generation of Jews to boys sitting in the marketplace). Skeat 1874:5.13. [Cf. Luke 7.31, 32: Cui ergo similes dicam homines generationis hujus? . . . Similes sunt pueris sedentibus in foro.]

Because OE *macian* and *gemacian*¹ never have this meaning, we must treat this Anglian verb as a different word from the *gemacian*¹ which is treated in this article. *Gemacian*² is evidently derived directly from OE *gemaca* 'mate, equal, peer', etc. It may even be a nonce word invented by the glossator.

In Middle English, there is a similar verb, *māken* v.² 'to mate with, marry; to match (something)'. It is a rare word, for which the *Middle English Dictionary* was able to supply only six examples, including two MS variants to the texts of *Piers Plowman*. The *MED* derives it, not from *māken* v.¹, but from ME *māke* n.¹ 'mate, spouse', etc.; 'equal, peer', etc. Since *māken*² and OE *gemacian*² show only a very general semantic similarity and none of the examples of *māken*² is from the Northern dialect of ME and almost three centuries intervene between the Northumbrian verb and the earliest example of *māken*², it is most unlikely that the ME word has any connection with the Northumbrian.

Scholars in the OHG field generally include examples of *machôn* and *gimachôn* with such meanings as "to join together, unite, bring

together, put or fit together", etc., under the homonymous verbs meaning "to make, do, cause", etc. Whether this practice is correct or incorrect, I am not prepared to say at this time. I can be certain only that the current practice in Old and Middle English (which I have adopted in this article) is supported by all of the OE and ME evidence.

43. Observe that *gewyrcean* is used with the same meaning as *gemacian* below.

44. For a garbled copy of this passage, see Ælfric, *De Creatore* (DOE) 60.

45. My interpretation of *gemacode* here is basically that of the Bosworth-Toller Dictionary and John R. Clark Hall. The former (see *cræft*) glossed *se ðe . . . gemacode swylcne cræft* "who made such a work". In this rendering, I take it that *work* means "the thing made". The latter defined *cræft* in one sense as "work or product of art", citing the *Hexameron* example as his authority. Under *cræft*, sense IV, the Bosworth-Toller Supplement gave the definition, "a machine, instrument, engine" (all material objects produced by art or skill), supporting the definition with eight OE examples, including five from Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. More recently, Pope has pointed out that *cræft* in one specific instance (*Hom* I.xia, 471.208) clearly means "work of art, creation", the creation referred to being none other than the universe created in the beginning of time by the agency of the Second Person of the Trinity. I cannot, therefore, accept Crawford's "who so mightily made such skill", which Pope (II, Glossary) has already termed "a mistranslation". Nor can I accept Norman's "who made so powerfully with such art", which ignores the plain syntax of the OE. The BTS *gemacian*, sense III, "to use", is supported only by this one example from the *Hexameron* and perhaps by the equally improbable rendering of *macodan* in *Hep Gen* 4.21, which I have already dealt with under *macian* I, 2.

46. *Wyrcean* is synonymous with *gemacian* here.

47. This text was written in Anglian territory, but the pre-twelfth-century portions were copied from basically West Saxon exemplars.

48. Written into a copy of the *West Saxon Gospels* at Bath, Somerset, not long after 1106.

49. Note parallel use of *gedōn* and *gemacian*.

50. Wherever Ker combines MSS or parts of MSS, I treat the combination as one MS unit. I have leaned heavily on Ker (and the many scholars whom he cites as authorities) in my remarks on the dates and history of the MSS dealt with in this section.

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