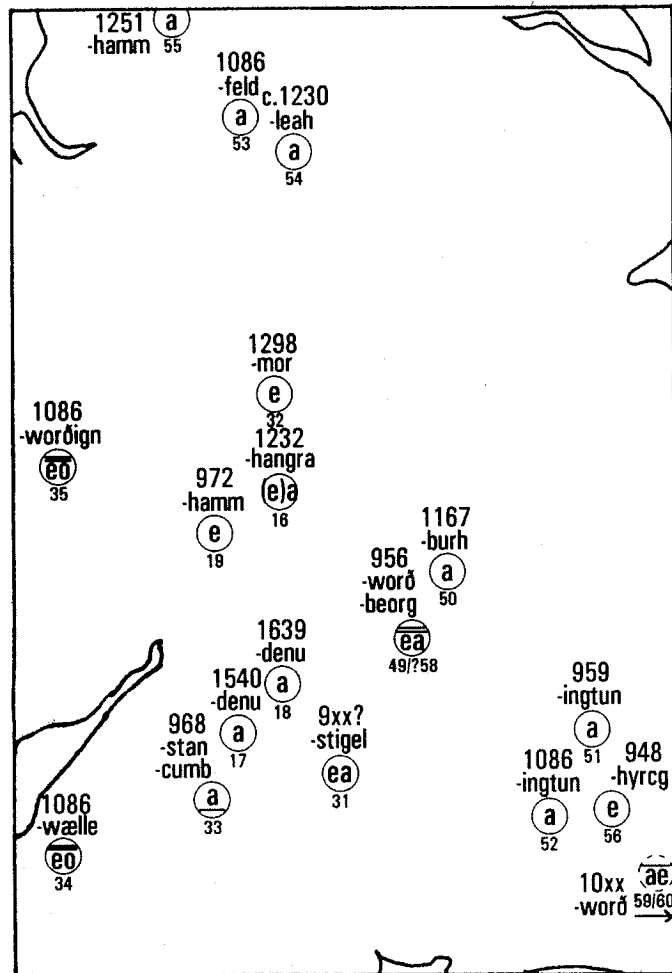


Fig. 5: PN's associated with the personal name *P(e)ada*, etc.

First vowel as shown, except that  $\ominus$  =  $\bar{e}$   
 Second syllable, where not *-a*:  
 $\ominus$  = *-eca*     $\ominus$  = *-el*     $\ominus$  = *-i* or *-el*  
 Numerals refer to list of place-names, Appendix II



## The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clause

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Charter boundary clauses are of primary significance to place-name scholars, supplying as they do early forms of many toponyms and otherwise unrecorded topographical information. As such, they are of interest to those concerned with patterns of settlement, estate history and historical geography.<sup>1</sup> They also constitute some of our earliest and most extensive evidence of non-literary texts in Old English.<sup>2</sup> Well over eight hundred sets of boundary clauses survive in charters dating or purporting to date from the Anglo-Saxon period. Most of these are attached to Latin diplomas. A significant number also appear in leases.

Comparatively few boundary clauses, however, survive in contemporary, or near contemporary form. The rest exist only as texts contained in medieval cartularies, copied, for the most part, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The reliability of these texts rests entirely on the competence of the scribes responsible for their transmission. Comparison of the single sheets with later copies does not generally inspire confidence in their abilities.<sup>3</sup> A further problem, and

<sup>1</sup> The chief exponent of this form of evidence is D. Hooke, whose work traces the boundaries of many estates. See, for example, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 2 (Woodbridge, 1990); *Pre-Conquest Charter-Bounds of Devon and Cornwall* (Woodbridge, 1994). The reader should, however, note the reservations of C. Hough in her review of Hooke's later work in *Nomina*, 18 (1995), 145-49.

<sup>2</sup> Important work in this field has been undertaken by P. R. Kitson, 'Quantifying qualifiers in Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 14 (1993), 29-82; 'The nature of Old English dialect distributions, mainly as exhibited in charter boundaries', in *Medieval Dialectology*, edited by J. Fisiak (Berlin and New York, 1995), Trends in Linguistic Studies and Monographs, 79, pp. 43-135. His forthcoming work, *Guide to the Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries*, promises to be of the highest significance to the further study of these texts.

<sup>3</sup> I have looked at cartulary copies of vernacular wills in "As fre as thowt?"

one which is particularly apparent in texts of this nature, is the possibility of interpolation. Unless a charter survives in demonstrably contemporary, single-sheet form, it is extremely difficult to tell whether its boundary clause is original to it or whether a separate survey has been incorporated into it thirty, or even three hundred, years later. In this article I identify a corpus of contemporary single-sheet diplomas dating from the Anglo-Saxon period, and use the result to establish a chronology of the introduction and development of the boundary clause over the period. Such a task has been greatly facilitated by the availability of two important research tools generously made available to me before publication: Susan Kelly's revised edition of Peter Sawyer's *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, and Simon Keynes's forthcoming *Anglo-Saxon Charters: Archives and Single Sheets*.<sup>4</sup> A list of these charters forms the Appendix. Charters are here referred to by their now-standard Sawyer number (abbreviated to S).

#### The production of boundary clauses

Up until the end of the ninth century, diplomas were produced in religious communities, but from the 930s and 940s some kind of centralized production appears to have become the norm. Whether this was carried out by a dedicated body of scribes forming a peripatetic royal chancery or by a rather less formal selection of major ecclesiastics from various scriptoria remains an issue of contention.<sup>5</sup> Although some

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some medieval copies and translations of Old English wills', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 4, edited by P. Beal and J. Griffiths (London and Toronto, 1993), 1-23.

<sup>4</sup> P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Society Historical Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968). Kelly's new edition includes the listing of several texts omitted by Sawyer (for example, the *Codex Aureus* inscription), and some additional material which has come to light since 1968.

<sup>5</sup> S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978-1016*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 13 (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 14-83, is a proponent of the former, Pierre Chaplais of the latter view ('The origin and authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon diploma', and 'The Anglo-Saxon chancery from the diploma to the writ', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 (1965-66), 48-61 and 160-76, reprinted in *Prisca Munimenta*,

earlier diplomas show signs of having been compiled in stages, it seems that, from the tenth century onwards, the whole text (including witness-list and boundary clause) was generally written by a single scribe.<sup>6</sup> Although the diploma was produced in some sense centrally, the boundary details were necessarily local affairs, undertaken by those with knowledge of the area to be surveyed. The resulting survey would be incorporated into the diploma by the main text scribe. It is important to recognize that the language of a boundary clause contained in a diploma dated after the 930s therefore stands at one level of copying removed from the original, independent of the status of the diploma itself.<sup>7</sup> This has obvious implications for the study of dialectology.

Two unattached boundary clauses exist in single-sheet form: S 1546B<sup>8</sup> and S 1547, both datable on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh century. These may have constituted the original texts of the estates surveyed.<sup>9</sup> Occasionally the clause has been inserted into a space originally left blank on the surviving single sheet, suggesting that the survey was not available to the scribe when he copied the main text.<sup>10</sup> Kelly lists a further sixty-eight unattached boundary clauses surviving in cartularies and registers, many of which may well have derived from such scribal memoranda.

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edited by F. Ranger (London, 1973), 28-42 and 43-62). Chaplais responded to Keynes in 'The royal Anglo-Saxon "chancery" of the tenth century revisited', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, edited by H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), 41-51).

<sup>6</sup> The following single-sheet charters appear, however, to have had their boundary clauses inserted by the main text scribe into spaces left blank for the purpose: S 512 (App. 51), S 535 (App. 56), S 717 (App. 75).

<sup>7</sup> Keynes notes, however, that there may have been a movement in Edward the Confessor's reign to authorize ecclesiastics to draw up their own charters ('Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1987), 185-222 (p. 213)).

<sup>8</sup> *Olim* S 255 MS 2.

<sup>9</sup> M. P. Parsons discussed early scribal memoranda in 'Some scribal memoranda for Anglo-Saxon charters of the 8th and 9th centuries', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, 14 (1939), 13-32.

<sup>10</sup> See note 6 above.

### The corpus

The Appendix lists those diplomas (excluding royal grants of privileges and restorations of property) which survive in contemporary, single-sheet form.<sup>11</sup> Figure 1 shows the distribution of those diplomas over the Anglo-Saxon period. They are binned into fifty-year intervals based on their earliest possible date of issue. The histogram distinguishes between those diplomas which contain no boundary clauses, those which incorporate boundary clauses in Latin, and those which have boundary clauses in Old English. In every case I have accepted Kelly's summary dating of the single sheet, even where the notes to the charter appear to challenge such a date. Opinion varies as to the exact status of many of the single sheets, particularly as to whether any given diploma is an original, a contemporary, or even slightly later copy. However, the bins (which accord with the practice of dating charters palaeographically to the nearest half century) are sufficiently wide that the distinction is rendered largely irrelevant. Where Kelly offers two alternative datings for a single sheet, I have included the charter in the Appendix, but omitted it from the dataset.<sup>12</sup> The Appendix gives details of each single sheet, together with edition and facsimile details.

Some revisions to the Sawyer and Kelly's handlists are necessary, and are noted below.<sup>13</sup> A couple of alterations, however, require more discussion. The two earliest single sheets listed in Kelly's revision of Sawyer to contain boundary clauses in English are S 56 (App. 7; dated AD 759) and S 59 (App. 10; dated AD 770). These two charters predate the next example (S 298 App. 33; AD 846<sup>14</sup>) by over three quarters of a century. S 56 reads:

<sup>11</sup> Excluded from the Appendix are those charters accepted as forgeries or which are demonstrably later copies.

<sup>12</sup> The status of S 546 (App. 57), S 704 (App. 73) and S 768 (App. 77) remains unclear. See the notes to the individual entries in the Appendix.

<sup>13</sup> S 19 App. 2 Latin *with bounds*; S 204 App. 31 English *with bounds*; S 214 App. 40 Latin *with English* (no bounds); S 338 App. 39 Latin *with bounds*, S 344 App. 41 Latin with English, *Latin bounds*; S 768 App. 77 Latin *with English bounds*; S 922 App. 88 Latin *with English bounds*.

<sup>14</sup> Excluding the anomalous S 204 (on which, see pp. 67–68).

donavimus... decem cassatorum. æt ONNANFORDA confinæ tamen ejusdem terræ. ab australi plaga Uuisleag. ab occidente Rindburna, a septentrionale Meosgelegeo; ab oriente vero Onnanduun<sup>15</sup>

S 59 reads:

Hii sunt termini donationis istius saluuerpæ cymedes halh huitan stan readan solo.<sup>16</sup>

It is hard to justify the description of the bounds to S 56 as English, housing as it does topographical terms within Latin compass directions, and I have therefore reclassified it as Latin with bounds. S 59 is more problematic. However, examination of the facsimile of the charter reveals that the boundary clause has been added by the main text scribe to the bottom right of the sheet. It seems probable that the scribe appears simply to have omitted the compass directions in his haste.<sup>17</sup> Something similar has presumably happened with S 204 (App. 31; datable to AD 844 × 845), an anomalous charter in the vernacular. The boundary clause (not noted by Kelly) as edited by Baines reads 'cisseðbeorg feowertreowehyl & eanburge mere. Tihhanhyl &ut bigeht `tu´ higida lond'.<sup>18</sup> Kelly has plausibly suggested that the whole document may

<sup>15</sup> W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols and index (London, 1885–99), no. 187.

<sup>16</sup> Birch, no. 203.

<sup>17</sup> I have excluded this charter from the dataset. It should also be noted that I have classified S 35 as wholly in Latin. Boundaries of meadows belonging to the estate are added in a hand of the ninth century to the original eighth-century single sheet.

<sup>18</sup> A. H. J. Baines, 'The boundaries of Wotton Underwood', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 21 (1979), 141–153 (p. 141). The precise interpretation of the boundary clause is difficult. Baines plausibly argues that *Cisseðbeorg* and 'Four-Tree Hill' describe the same point, giving four, rather than five, boundary marks to the estate (p. 144). '&ut bigeht' should be understood in conjunction with the following phrase '`tu´ higida lond', giving 'and land of (two) hides out along the Yeat'. Michael Reed identifies a different series of land-marks in M. Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley*, *Studies in Early English History*, 6 (Leicester, 1979), pp. 186–87.

have been a temporary record which was intended to be rewritten in a more formal manner (presumably in Latin) at a later stage, and certainly the form of the boundary clause lacking directional compass points supports this notion.<sup>19</sup> As the charter's status in this respect is unclear, it is omitted from the dataset.

### The development of the boundary clause in Anglo-Saxon England

The earliest single-sheet charter to have survived in contemporary form is S 8 (App. 1; AD 679). Although it includes no boundary clause, a statement within it notes that the estate lies 'iuxta notissimos terminos a me demonstratus et procuratoribus meis'.<sup>20</sup> The few single-sheet diplomas surviving from the eighth century to contain boundary clauses typically are formed by supplying vernacular place-names within a framework of compass directions and landmarks in Latin. S 23 (App. 3; AD 732) is an early example of the type:

termini vero terræ illius hec sunt. ab oriente terra regis. ab austro fluvius qui dicitur Liminae. ab occidente et in septentrione hudan fleot.<sup>21</sup>

The first vernacular boundary clause is S 298 (App. 33, datable to AD 846). It contains a level of detail which is particularly marked given the taciturnity of the contemporaneous clauses in Latin:

Ærest on merce cumb ðonne on grenan pytt ðonne on ðone torr æt mercecumbes æwielme ðonne on dene waldes stan ðonne on ðone díc ðær Esne ðone weg fordealf ðonon of dune on ðæs wælles heafod ðonne ðær of dune on broc oð tiddesford ðonne up on broc oð heottes díc to ðære flodan from ðære flodan of dune ðær fyxan dic to broce gæð 7 ðonne of dune on broc oð sæ. ðonne from ðyrelan stane up on broc oð smalan

<sup>19</sup> 'Anglo-Saxon lay society and the written word', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, edited by R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), 36–62 (pp. 55–56).

<sup>20</sup> Birch, no. 45. This formulation can be compared with the next earliest single-sheet charter to have survived, S 19 (App. 2, AD 697 or 712), which includes brief boundary markers at the end of a similar phrase: 'juxta notissimos terminos id est bereueg. et meguines paed et stretleg' (Birch, no. 97).

<sup>21</sup> Birch, no. 148.

cumb fram smalan cumbes heafde to græwan stane ðonon wiðufan ðæs wælles heafod on odencolc ðonon on ðone healdan weg wið huitan stanes ðonon to ðæm beorge ðe mon hateð æt ðæm holne ðonon an haran stan ðonon on secgwælles heafod ðonon on ða burg eastewearde ðonon on ða lytlan burg westewearde ðonon to stræte ðonan benioðan wuda on geryhte ut on hreodpól ðonne up on afene oððæt ðe se alda suínhaga utscioed to afene ðonne be ðæm hagan on anne beorg ðonne on sueordleage wælle ðonon on wulfwælles heafod ðonon on wealweg on ðone stan æt ðære flodan from ðæm stane forð on ðone herepað on ðone díc ðonon of dune oð wealdene ford ðonon on ðone holan weg ðonon of dune on bróc on hunburgefleot 7 ðær to sæ.<sup>22</sup>

Only two other single-sheet diplomas containing a boundary clause in Old English survive from the ninth century (S 327 App. 36 AD '790' for 860; S 331 App. 37; AD 862). The latter retains a compass-point structure reminiscent of the Latin boundary clauses:

Ðanne sint ðes londes gemæra an westhealfę Scipfliot an norðhalfe Meodowæge an easthalfe Liofwynnemearc ðanne fram Cieldryðelonde west be ðaræ aldan stræte swæ sio twoentig eçra<sup>23</sup>

After the beginning of the following century the use of the vernacular becomes properly established and Latin boundary clauses cease to be used altogether. Typical of a mid-tenth century example of a vernacular boundary clause is S 649 App. 66 (AD 957), which proceeds logically from marker to marker in the course of its circular route:

Istis terminis ambitur prædicta tellus. þis synt þa land gemaera to cunic tune. ærest of bugla fenne 7 lang þa riscweges on eneda wylle þonon on þone mere of þam mere on holan bróc 7 lang broces to upwylle þonon to glaedtuninga wege of þam wege on earninga straete þonon on seaxa bróc 7 lang broces on gyruwan fen þa eft on bugla fen.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Birch, no. 451.

<sup>23</sup> A. Campbell, *Charters of Rochester*, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 1 (Oxford, 1973), no. 24.

<sup>24</sup> Birch, no. 1003.

It was clearly regular practice to include vernacular bounds in diplomas from the beginning of the tenth century; only two single-sheet diplomas produced thereafter lack such clauses. One of these charters is S 221 (App. 43; AD 883 × 911), a grant of land at two separate locations by Æthelred and Æthelflæd in exchange for another two pieces of land. It may well be that diplomas already existed for the estates in question and no new survey was required.<sup>25</sup> The single remaining exception is S 646 (App. 65; AD 957), which appears to be a straightforward grant of land by King Eadwig to Archbishop Oda at *Helig* (presumably Ely).

### Comparison with cartulary copies of genuine charters

For purposes of comparison, Figure 2 presents data from cartulary copies of genuine diplomas. Later single-sheet copies of earlier diplomas are also included here, including those listed in the Appendix, but excluded from the dataset of Figure 1. A charter was classed as genuine if it was considered to be so by the opinions of modern authorities summarized in Kelly's revision of Sawyer. No sustained attempt was made to check the accuracy of Kelly's entries.<sup>26</sup> Those diplomas specifically flagged in the notes by Kelly as having later boundary clauses were excluded from the dataset.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Eleven of the nineteen diplomas involving exchanges of land included in the datasets of Figures 1 and 2 lack boundary clauses. Only two of the charters containing bounds are dated to before AD 970.

<sup>26</sup> The following may, however, be noted: S 160 Latin *with bounds*; S 287 Latin with English, *Latin bounds*; S 481 Latin *with English bounds*; S 691 Latin with English (no bounds); S 1015 Latin *with English bounds*. The last of these is particularly interesting. It survives in two fifteenth-century manuscripts, one of which (Chelmsford, Essex Record Office Z18/1) translates the vernacular bounds into Latin. The translation, according to Hart, is 'by one well versed in Latin but ignorant of OE'. Fortunately, the second manuscript (Rouen, Arch. dép., Seine inférieure, 14. H. 145), believed to have been copied from an eleventh-century exemplar, preserves the Old English text. See further C. R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, Studies in Early English History, 5 (Leicester, 1966), pp. 251–52.

<sup>27</sup> S 50, S 219, S 292, S 339, S 367, S 431.

The problem, of course, with compiling a list of this nature is that critical opinion varies widely, and virtually every charter to receive attention has at some time or other fallen under suspicion. Some newer discoveries (for example, the series of diplomas from Barking) have not received the full glare of the critical spotlight, and their status has yet to be fully discussed. My general response has been to exclude those charters if there appears to be recent doubt about its authenticity, or if the charter shows evident signs of being tampered with, although at times it has been necessary to take a more or less arbitrary decision about charters which have generated conflicting views as to their status. Some inconsistencies in approach doubtless remain, and the figures (which certainly err on the conservative side) should be considered approximate and illustrative only. A discussion of the archive from Burton Abbey should give an idea of the selection process. Thirty-eight charters survive from the foundation. Of these, one is a vernacular will (S 1536), three are confirmation charters (S 395, S 397, S 906), and one is incomplete (S 1606). They are not considered here. Of the thirty-three remaining, Sawyer's edition of the archive listed seven as spurious or suspicious (S 484, S 545, S 576, S 739, S 879, S 928, S 930). S 739 appears to have undergone rehabilitation in more recent scholarly opinion, and is therefore included in the dataset. The shadow of doubt has since crept over S 392, S 479, S 768 (App. 77)<sup>28</sup> and S 917, and they are omitted from the dataset. Two charters (S 878 and S 922) are contemporary single sheets and are listed in the Appendix (nos 83 and 88). Two others (S 602<sup>29</sup> and S 623) are thought to be later single-sheet copies of authentic diplomas and appear as part of the dataset of Figure 2, as do the nineteen other charters existing only as cartulary copies.<sup>30</sup>

The data presented show interesting similarities with the material discussed earlier. Both sets display the predominance of the vernacular boundary clause from the beginning of the tenth century, and the corresponding cessation in the use of Latin bounds. The apparent

<sup>28</sup> Latin *with English bounds*.

<sup>29</sup> It is possible that S 602 is an original, hence Kelly's alternative dating and its inclusion in the Appendix (no. 61).

<sup>30</sup> S 24, S 548, S 549, S 554, S 557, S 569, S 599, S 628, S 707, S 720, S 739, S 749, S 853, S 863, S 920, S 923, S 924, S 929, S 1017.

continuation of use throughout the period of diplomas lacking any form of boundary clauses within this dataset can largely be explained by the practices of cartulary scribes, many of whom evidently found Old English beyond their abilities. It is certainly true that particular archives contain suspiciously long runs of charters lacking boundary clauses: no diplomas with boundary clauses survive in the series of charters witnessed only in a recently-discovered sixteenth-century transcript of a last cartulary from Barking Abbey for example; and boundary clauses are omitted from sixteen of the nineteen charters which survive in cartulary copies alone from Burton Abbey. However, thirteen of these retain the Latin phrase introducing the boundary section, indicating that the clauses were once there. Of the three lacking an introductory clause, one (S 853) concerns common land. It is exceptionally unusual for charters involving common land to include boundary clauses: only two of the fifteen charters from either dataset contain them, one of which is spurious.<sup>31</sup>

Practice can, of course, vary within a particular manuscript. The early thirteenth-century Bury cartularist of Cambridge University Library, Mm.4.19, for example, painstakingly reproduces the text of the boundary clause in the second diploma he tackles (S 507), then, clearly finding the whole business laborious and troublesome, leaves spaces elsewhere for a linguistically more competent scribe to fill with the Old English versions of the charters he copies (including the bounds to S 703). A couple of gaps, overlooked by the second scribe, remain unplugged.<sup>32</sup>

While vernacular boundary clauses are an easy (and obvious) target for omission from these later cartulary copies, there is no reason why

<sup>31</sup> S 214, S 323, S 581, S 634, S 668, S 691, S 700, S 719, S 730, S 780, S 839, S 853, S 886, S 1022 (with boundary clause), S 1025 (spurious; with boundary clause). Interestingly, bounds are given for five of the hides in S 668; the other five are described with this note 'Ponne syndon þa fif hida be Eastun tune gemænes landes on gemænre mearce swa swa hit þær to be limped.' (Birch, no. 1145). All these charters form part of the dataset under discussion with the exception of S 214 (included in the dataset of Figure 1), S 323 (a confirmation charter) and S 1025 (spurious), with consequent inflation of the numbers of charters appearing to lack boundary clauses.

<sup>32</sup> The first scribe, for example, leaves a gap of twenty lines on fo.108rv for a vernacular copy of the will of Ælfric Modercope (S 1490).

scribes would leave out the terse Latin boundary clauses characteristic of the eighth and ninth centuries. It therefore seems likely that very early diplomas did not routinely include boundary clauses: none of the ten charters dating from the seventh century accepted here as genuine contains them.<sup>33</sup> The earliest charter to include a vernacular boundary clause is S 286 (AD 838), which retains an essentially NSEW structure comparable to Latin bounds of a similar date:

Hiis autem notissimis predictus agellulus circumcingitur terminis. On eastan ealles folcesweg. 7 an suðan se weg se ðe lið to ðam ilcan lande oð ðone hyge. 7 swa up be trindteaganhrucge. þurh ðone wude forð be culufransola oð ðane dic. 7 an weasten sealta dic. norð to rode. 7 on norðan sioilta roda. oð ða east roda.<sup>34</sup>

This charter is dated eight years earlier than S 298 (AD 846), the earliest single-sheet charter containing a vernacular boundary clause, which, as we saw above, presented an extremely detailed set of bounds.<sup>35</sup> S 286 represents a kind of a midpoint between the short Latin compass-directed bounds and the more detailed circumnavigatory style of the later vernacular bounds, and as such may indicate that vernacular bounds with a simple structure initially derived from that of Latin bounds were developed somewhat earlier in the ninth century than surviving examples suggest. The differences between the style of these two charters (S 286 from Christ Church, Canterbury, S 298 from Old Minster, Winchester) may, of course, also be a result of differing practices of different archives: the individual foundations responsible for the production of these early charters doubtless influence the form that they take. Unfortunately, the patchy survival of early charters from these foundations makes direct comparison difficult. Any attempts to plot the development of boundary clauses within a particular archive is complicated by the whole problem of centralized production later in the

<sup>33</sup> S 7 (AD 675), S 8 (AD 679), S 235 (AD 685 × 787), S 12 (AD 689), S 45 (AD 692), S 65A (AD 693 × 709), S 65B (AD 693 × 706), S 15 (AD 694), S 16 (AD 699), S 20 (AD 699).

<sup>34</sup> Birch, no. 419.

<sup>35</sup> See pp. 68–69 above.

period.<sup>36</sup> It should also be emphasised that the survival of a charter in a particular archive does not necessarily mean that the document was originally produced at that foundation. Among the early charters, S 178 (App. 26), for example, was apparently drawn up in Mercia for an estate in Kent and follows the formulas of the Worcester scriptorium, although it is preserved in the archives of Christ Church, Canterbury.<sup>37</sup>

### Conclusion

The following pattern of development suggests itself from the material presented above: boundary clauses in Latin appear in charters from about AD 700, containing vernacular terms housed within compass directions. The earliest surviving vernacular boundary clauses, dating from the first half of the ninth century, show variation in form, although it seems likely that they would initially have retained a comparatively simple structure like their Latin counterparts. The vernacular type of boundary clause establishes itself during the ninth century, and becomes predominant by the beginning of the tenth, after which point boundary clauses in Latin cease to be used. The corpus of later copies of authentic charters appears to show continuous use of the diploma lacking any form of bounds over the entire Anglo-Saxon period. However, investigation reveals that vernacular clauses were very often omitted by cartulary scribes, who seem to have found the exercise taxing on both their patience and their linguistic skills. It is in fact clear from the evidence supplied by the single-sheet corpus that it was normal practice to include vernacular boundary clauses in all diplomas from the tenth century onwards.

<sup>36</sup> See p. 64 above. A starting-point towards this end might be to compare the language of those scribes known to have been responsible for a number of charters from various archives. They are listed below in the Appendix.

<sup>37</sup> N. P. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester, 1984), p. 169. Similarly, as Kelly observes in her notes to the charter, there appears to be no good reason why S 649 (App. 66) has been preserved at Winchester, as the estate was claimed by Thorney. S 1005 (App. 99), which survives from Christ Church, deals with land in Cornwall and is noted by Kelly as being a stray from a West Country archive.

### APPENDIX

Charters are listed here in chronological order. The edition cited is one which includes a full text of the diploma in question. The information given here is drawn entirely from Kelly's revised edition of Sawyer and Keynes's forthcoming *Anglo-Saxon Charters: Archives and Single Sheets*. The notes to the entries summarize information of direct relevance to the status of the boundary clause, together with any information about the scribe's other productions.

The following abbreviations have been used:

B	W. de Gray Birch, <i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , 3 vols and index (London, 1885-99)
BA Facs.	<i>Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> , edited by S. D. Keynes, Anglo-Saxon Charters Supplementary Volume 1 (Oxford, 1991)
BM Facs.	<i>Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum</i> , edited by E. A. Bond (London, 1873-78)
Burton	P. H. Sawyer, <i>Charters of Burton Abbey</i> , Anglo-Saxon Charters 2 (Oxford, 1979)
Davidson	J. B. Davidson, 'On some Anglo-Saxon charters at Exeter', <i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i> , 39 (1883), 259-303
K	J. M. Kemble, <i>Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici</i> , 6 vols (London, 1839-48)
N & S	A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, <i>The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents</i> (Oxford, 1895)
OS Facs.	<i>Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts</i> , edited by W. B. Saunders, Ordnance Survey (Southampton, 1878-84)
Rochester	A. Campbell, <i>Charters of Rochester</i> , Anglo-Saxon Charters 1 (London, 1973)

1.	S 8
Date:	AD 679
Language:	Latin
SS:	BL Cotton Augustus ii. 2 (s.vii <sup>2</sup> )
Facsimile:	<i>BM Facs.</i> , i. 1
Archive:	Christ Church, Canterbury (from Reculver)
Edited:	B 45

2. S 19  
Date: AD 697 or 712  
Language: Latin with bounds  
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 1 (s.vii/viii)  
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 1  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from Lyminge)  
Edited: B 97
3. S 23  
Date: AD 732  
Language: Latin with bounds  
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 91 (s.viii<sup>1</sup>)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, i. 6  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from Lyminge)  
Edited: B 148
4. S 89  
Date: AD 736  
Language: Latin with bounds  
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 3 (s.viii<sup>1</sup>)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, i. 7  
Archive: Worcester  
Edited: B 154
5. S 24  
Date: AD 741  
Language: Latin  
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 101 (s.viii)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, i. 8  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from Lyminge)  
Edited: B 160
6. S 31  
Date: c. AD 748 × 762  
Language: Latin  
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 3 (s.viii<sup>2</sup> or s.viii/ix; excluded from dataset)  
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 3  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from Reculver)  
Edited: B 199

7. S 56  
Date: AD 759  
Language: Latin with bounds  
SS: BL Add. Ch. 19789 (s.viii med)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 2  
Archive: Worcester  
Edited: B 187
8. S 96  
Date: AD 757  
Language: Latin  
SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 3 (s.viii<sup>2</sup> or s.ix<sup>1</sup>; excluded from dataset)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 3  
Archive: Uncertain (possibly Malmesbury)  
Edited: B 181
9. S 106  
Date: AD 764 for 767  
Language: Latin  
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 26, 27 (s.viii<sup>2</sup>)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, i. 9  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: B 201
10. S 59  
Date: AD 770  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: Worcester D. & C. Additional MS in safe (s.viii<sup>2</sup> or s.ix<sup>1</sup>; excluded from dataset)  
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Worcester Charter  
Archive: Worcester  
Edited: B 203
11. S 35  
Date: AD 778  
Language: Latin (with later vernacular bounds excluded from dataset)  
SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 34 (s.viii<sup>2</sup>)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 4  
Archive: Rochester  
Edited: *Rochester*, 9



12. S 114  
Date: AD 779  
Language: Latin with bounds  
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 4 (s.viii<sup>2</sup>)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, i. 10  
Archive: Evesham  
Edited: B 230
13. S 123  
Date: AD 785  
Language: Latin  
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 5 (s.viii<sup>2</sup> or s.ix<sup>1</sup>; excluded from dataset)  
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 5  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: B 247  
Note: The same scribe is believed to have written S 155.
14. S 128  
Date: AD 788  
Language: Latin  
SS: Canterbury D. and C. Chart. Ant. M. 340 (s.viii<sup>2</sup>)  
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 2  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: B 254
15. S 139  
Date: AD 793 × 796  
Language: Latin  
SS: BL Add. Ch. 19790 (s.viii/s.ix)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 5  
Archive: Worcester  
Edited: B 274
16. S 153  
Date: AD 798  
Language: Latin  
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 97 (s.viii/s.ix)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, i. 12  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from Lyminge)  
Edited: B 289

- Note: The scribe is also believed to have written S 188, S 1268 (witnesses only), S 1436, S 1482 (main text only)
17. S 40  
Date: AD 805  
Language: Latin  
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 87 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 8  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: B 322
18. S 41  
Date: AD 805 × 807  
Language: Latin  
SS 1: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 100 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
SS 2: BL Stowe Ch. 8 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
Facsimile 1: *BM Facs.*, ii. 7  
Facsimile 2: *OS Facs.*, iii. 8  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: B 318
19. S 161  
Date: AD 805  
Language: Latin  
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 9 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 9  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: B 321
20. S 163  
Date: AD 808  
Language: Latin with bounds  
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 98 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 9  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: B 326
21. S 165  
Date: AD 811  
Language: Latin with bounds

- SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 31 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 10  
 Archive: Rochester  
 Edited: *Rochester*, 17
22. S 168  
 Date: AD 811  
 Language: Latin  
 SS 1: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 10 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
 SS 2: BL Stowe Ch. 10 (s.x<sup>1</sup> with Latin and vernacular bounds; excluded from the dataset)  
 Facsimile 1: *BM Facs.*, i. 14  
 Facsimile 2: *OS Facs.*, iii.10  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 335  
 Note: The scribe of MS 1 is thought to have written S 177 (no. 25) below.
23. S 169  
 Date: AD 812  
 Language: Latin  
 SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. C. 1278 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 6  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 341
24. S 173  
 Date: AD 814  
 Language: Latin  
 SS: BL Harley Ch. 83 A. 1 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 14  
 Archive: Bath or Worcester  
 Edited: B 343
25. S 177  
 Date: AD 814  
 Language: Latin with bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 74 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 13  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury

- Edited: B 348  
 Note: See note to S 168 (no. 22) above.
26. S 178  
 Date: AD 815  
 Language: Latin with bounds  
 SS: BL Stowe Ch. 12 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 12  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 353
27. S 186  
 Date: AD 822  
 Language: Latin with bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 93 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 15  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 370  
 Note: The scribe is also believed to have written S 187 (no. 28) below.
28. S 187  
 Date: AD 823  
 Language: Latin with bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 75 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 16  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 373  
 Note: See note to S 186 (no. 27) above.
29. S 188  
 Date: AD 831  
 Language: Latin with bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 94 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 20  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 400  
 Note: See note to S 153 (no. 16) above.
30. S 293  
 Date: AD 843

- Language: Latin with bounds  
 SS: BL Stowe Ch. 17 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 17  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 442
31. S 204  
 Date: AD 844 × 845  
 Language: English, with bounds  
 SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. C. 1280 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>; excluded from dataset, see pp. 67–68 above)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 8<sup>38</sup>  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: F. E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1914), no. 3.
32. S 296  
 Date: AD 845  
 Language: Latin  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 60 (s.ix med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 29  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 449  
 Note: The same scribe is thought to have written S 1194 and S 1510.
33. S 298  
 Date: AD 847 [= 846]  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 36 (s.ix med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 30  
 Archive: Old Minster, Winchester  
 Edited: B 451
34. S 316  
 Date: AD 855 for ? 853  
 Language: Latin with bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 71 (s.ix med)

<sup>38</sup> Not 18, *pace* Kelly/Sawyer.

- Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 31  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 467  
 Note: The scribe is also thought to have written S 328 (no. 35), S 332 (no. 38), S 344 (no. 41), S 1195, S 1196, S 1197.
35. S 328  
 Date: AD 858  
 Language: Latin with English, Latin bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 66 (s.ix med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 33  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 496  
 Note: See note to S 316 (no. 34) above.
36. S 327  
 Date: AD '790' for 860  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 29 (s.ix<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 35  
 Archive: Rochester  
 Edited: Campbell, *Rochester*, 24  
 Note: The charter has had its operative details altered in the tenth century, but the boundary clauses appear to have been written by the original text scribe. They are therefore included within the dataset. The scribe is also thought to have written S 331 (no. 37), S 1276.
37. S 331  
 Date: AD 862  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 32 (s.ix<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 36  
 Archive: Rochester  
 Edited: *Rochester*, 25  
 Note: See note to S 327 (no. 36) above.
38. S 332  
 Date: AD 863  
 Language: Latin with bounds

- SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. M 14 (s.ix med)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 10  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 507  
 Note: See note to S 316 (no. 34) above.
39. S 338  
 Date: AD 867  
 Language: Latin with bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 95 (s.ix<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 37  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 516
40. S 214  
 Date: AD 869  
 Language: Latin with English (s.ix or s.x?; excluded from dataset)  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 76  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 39  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 524
41. S 344  
 Date: AD 873  
 Language: Latin with English, Latin bounds  
 SS: BL Stowe Ch. 19 (s.ix<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 19  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 536  
 Note: See note to S 316 (no. 34) above.
42. S 350  
 Date: AD 898  
 Language: Latin with English, English bounds  
 SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. F. 150 (s.ix/s.x)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 12  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 576
43. S 221

- Date: AD 901  
 Language: Latin  
 SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 27 (s.ix/s.x)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 1  
 Archive: Much Wenlock  
 Edited: B 587
44. S 367  
 Date: AD 903  
 Language: Latin with English bounds (excluded from dataset, see note below)  
 SS: BL Stowe Ch. 22 (s.x)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 3  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 603  
 Note: Some authorities believe that this charter, while tenth-century, is not contemporary. The bounds are written in a different, later hand from the main text of the charter.
45. S 416  
 Date: AD 931  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Charter viii. 16 (s.x<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 3  
 Archive: Old Minster, Winchester  
 Edited: B 677  
 Note: The same scribe is believed to have written S 425 (no. 46).
46. S 425  
 Date: AD 934  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 65 (s.x<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 5  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 702  
 Note: See note to S 416 (no. 45) above.
47. S 447  
 Date: AD 939  
 Language: Latin with English bounds

SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 23 (s.x<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 9  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 741  
 Note: The scribe is also believed to have written S 464 (no. 49), S 512 (no. 51) below.

48. S 449  
 Date: AD 939  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Charter viii. 22 (s.x<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 8  
 Archive: Old Minster, Winchester  
 Edited: B 734

49. S 464  
 Date: AD 940  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 62 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 10  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 753  
 Note: See note to S 447 (no. 47) above.

50. S 470  
 Date: AD 940  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Winchester College, Muniment Room, Cabinet 7, Drawer 2, no. 2 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Winchester College 3  
 Archive: New Minster, Winchester  
 Edited: B 748

51. S 512  
 Date: AD 943  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Stowe Charter 24 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 25  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 780

Note: See note to S 447 (no. 47) above. The boundary clause has been inserted in a space originally left blank.

52. S 495  
 Date: AD 944  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 63 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 1  
 Archive: Evesham  
 Edited: B 792

53. S 497  
 Date: AD 944  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Stowe Ch. 25 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 26  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 791  
 Note: The same scribe is believed to have written S 510 (no. 54), S 528 (no. 55), S 535 (no. 56), S 552 (no. 58).

54. S 510  
 Date: AD 946  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 73 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 12  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 813  
 Note: See note to S 497 (no. 53) above.

55. S 528  
 Date: AD 947  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 83 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 13  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 820  
 Note: See note to S 497 (no. 53) above.

56. S 535

Date: AD 948  
 Language: Latin with English bounds (s.x med)  
 SS: BL Stowe Ch. 26  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 27  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 869  
 Note: See note to S 497 (no. 53) above. The boundary clause has been inserted into a space originally left blank.

57. S 546  
 Date: AD 949  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS 1: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. R. 14 (s. x ?; excluded from dataset)  
 SS 2: BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 57 (s.xi)  
 Facsimile 1: *OS Facs.*, i. 15  
 Facsimile 2: *BM Facs.*, iii. 15  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 880  
 Note: It is thought that this diploma could be an early forgery.

58. S 552  
 Date: AD 949  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 44 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 16  
 Archive: Abingdon  
 Edited: B 877  
 Note: See note to S 497 (no. 53) above.

59. S 563  
 Date: AD 955  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Marquess of Bath, Longleat, Muniments 10565 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Marquess of Bath 2  
 Archive: Glastonbury  
 Edited: B 903

60. S 594  
 Date: AD 956

Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 41 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 18  
 Archive: Abingdon  
 Edited: B 935

61. S 602  
 Date: AD 956  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Stafford, William Salt Library, 84/1/41 (? s.x med or s.xi<sup>2</sup>; excluded from dataset)

Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 4  
 Archive: Burton  
 Edited: *Burton*, 17

62. S 618  
 Date: AD 956  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 43 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 9  
 Archive: Abingdon  
 Edited: B 965

63. S 624  
 Date: AD 956  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 45 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 20  
 Archive: Abingdon  
 Edited: B 961  
 Note: This charter has been identified with the scribe of S 646 (no. 65), although the identification has been questioned. The operative details of the charter, together with the bounds, dating clause and witness-list have been added by the scribe in darker ink.

64. S 636  
 Date: AD 956  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 12 (s.x med)

Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 21  
 Archive: Old Minster, Winchester  
 Edited: B 926  
 Note: The last sentence of the boundary clause has been added by a different scribe.

65. S 646  
 Date: AD 957  
 Language: Latin  
 SS: Bodleian Eng. hist. a. 2, no. V (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 5  
 Archive: Uncertain (probably Ely)  
 Edited: B 999  
 Note: Possibly by the same scribe as S 624 (see no. 63 above)

66. S 649  
 Date: AD 957  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Winchester D. & C. Library Showcase (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Winchester 2  
 Archive: Old Minster, Winchester  
 Edited: B 1003

67. S 677  
 Date: AD 958  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Wells D. & C. Wells Cathedral Charter 1 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Wells  
 Archive: Wells  
 Edited: B 1040  
 Note: Part of the boundary clause has been added in a different hand over an erasure.

68. S 684  
 Date: AD 960  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Exeter D. & C. 2522 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Exeter 5  
 Archive: Exeter  
 Edited: B 1056

69. S 690  
 Date: AD 961  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 39 (s.x med)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 23  
 Archive: Abingdon  
 Edited: B 1066  
 Note: The scribe of the main text and boundary clause of this charter is also thought to have written S 687, S 703 (no. 72), S 706 (no. 74), S 717 (no. 75).

70. S 697  
 Date: AD 961  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Harley Ch. 43 C 2 (s.x<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 11  
 Archive: Old Minster, Winchester  
 Edited: B 1072

71. S 702  
 Date: AD 962  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: London Westminster Abbey, W.A.M. X (s.x<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Westminster 6  
 Archive: Westminster  
 Edited: B 1085

72. S 703  
 Date: AD 962  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Harley Ch. 43 C 3 (s.x<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 25  
 Archive: Bury St Edmunds  
 Edited: B 1082  
 Note: See note to S 690 (no. 69) above.

73. S 704  
 Date: AD 962  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, D/DP T 209 (s.x<sup>2</sup>; omitted)

- from dataset; see note below)
- Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 6  
 Archive: Buckfast  
 Note: The MS could be an eleventh-century imitative forgery. The boundary clause, dating clause and witness-list has been added after folding.
- Edited: F. Rose-Troup, 'The Anglo-Saxon charter of Ottery St Mary', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 71 (1939), 201-20 (pp. 250-51)
74. S 706  
 Date: AD 962  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 28 (s.x<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 24  
 Archive: Uncertain  
 Edited: B 1083  
 Note: See note to S 690 (no. 69) above.
75. S 717  
 Date: AD 963  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Stowe Ch. 29 (s.x<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 30  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: B 1101  
 Note: See note to S 690 (no. 69) above. The boundary clause has been inserted into a space originally left blank.
76. S 736  
 Date: AD 965  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Dorchester, Dorset Record Office, D. 124 (s.x<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Earl of Ilchester 1  
 Archive: Abbotsbury  
 Edited: B 1165
77. S 768  
 Date: AD 968  
 Language: Latin with English bounds

- SS: Stafford, William Salt Library, 84/2/41 (s.x; omitted from dataset; see note below)
- Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 7  
 Archive: Burton  
 Edited: Sawyer, *Burton*, 23  
 Note: The MS could be an eleventh-century imitative forgery
78. S 772  
 Date: AD 969  
 Language: Latin with English bounds (s.x<sup>2</sup> or s.xi<sup>1</sup>; omitted from dataset)  
 SS: BL Add. Ch. 19793  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 29  
 Archive: Worcester  
 Edited: B 1229
79. S 795  
 Date: AD 974  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: PRO, PRO 30/26/11 (s.x<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. PRO  
 Archive: Exeter (from Crediton)  
 Edited: B 1303
80. S 830  
 Date: AD 976  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Exeter D. & C. 2523 (s.x<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Exeter 7  
 Archive: Exeter (from Crediton)  
 Edited: Davidson, pp. 281-83
81. S 864  
 Date: AD 987  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 14 (s.x<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 36  
 Archive: Rochester  
 Edited: *Rochester* 30
82. S 1863



Date: c. AD 987  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Burton-on-Trent Museum, Burton Muniment 3 (s.x<sup>2</sup> or s.xi med;  
 omitted from dataset)  
 Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 10  
 Archive: Uncertain  
 Edited: H. P. R. Finberg, 'Supplement to the early charters of Devon  
 and Cornwall', in W. G. Hoskins, *The Western Expansion of  
 Wessex*, University of Leicester, Occasional Paper 13 (Leicester,  
 1960), pp. 23-35 (pp. 33-35)  
 Note: The charter has been damaged.

83. S 878  
 Date: AD 996  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Stafford, William Salt Library, 84/3/41 (s.x<sup>2</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 12  
 Archive: Burton  
 Edited: *Burton*, 27

84. S 890  
 Date: AD 997  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Stowe Ch. 34 (s.x/s.xi)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 35  
 Archive: Exeter  
 Edited: *OS Facs.*, iii. 35  
 Note: The scribe is also believed to have written S 1492. Additional  
 bounds have been added on the dorse of this charter, datable to  
 the second half of the eleventh century.

85. S 892  
 Date: AD 998  
 Language: Latin with English, English bounds  
 SS: Bodleian, Eng. hist. a. 2 no. VI (s.x/s.xi)  
 Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 13  
 Archive: Coventry  
 Edited: N & S, 8

86. S 898

Date: AD 1001  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 22 (s.x/s.xi)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 12  
 Archive: Coventry  
 Edited: K 705

87. S 916  
 Date: AD 1007  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Bodleian, Eng. hist. a. 2 no, VII (s.xi<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 16  
 Archive: St Albans  
 Edited: N & S, 11

88. S 922  
 Date: AD 1010  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Stafford, William Salt Library, 84/5/41 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 17  
 Archive: Burton  
 Edited: *Burton*, 32

89. S 950  
 Date: AD 1018  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Stowe Ch. 38 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 39  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
 Edited: *OS Facs.*, iii. 39  
 Note: The scribe is also believed to have written S 22, S 319, S 914  
 MS 9, S 985.

90. S 977  
 Date: AD 1021 × 1023  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 24 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>)  
 Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 16  
 Archive: Evesham  
 Edited: K 736

91. S 961  
Date: AD 1024  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: Dorchester, Dorchester Record Office, D 124 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>)  
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Earl of Ilchester 2  
Archive: Abbotsbury  
Edited: K 741
92. S 963  
Date: AD 1031  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 69 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 18  
Archive: Exeter (from Crediton)  
Edited: K 744
93. S 971  
Date: AD 1031  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS 1: Exeter D. & C. 2525 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>)  
SS 2: Canterbury D. & C. Ch. Ant. C 1311 (s.xi<sup>2</sup>; fragment: excluded from dataset)  
Facsimile 1: *OS Facs.*, ii. Exeter 11  
Facsimile 2: *BA Facs.*, no. 31  
Archive: Exeter/Christ Church, Canterbury (? from Crediton)  
Edited: Davidson, pp. 290-92
94. S 974  
Date: AD 1035  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 41 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>)  
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 42  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: *OS Facs.*, iii. 42
95. S 994  
Date: AD 1042  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: BL Harley Ch. 43. C. 8 (s.xi med)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 24

- Archive: Old Minster, Winchester  
Edited: K 763
96. S 1044  
Date: AD 1042 × 1044  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 68 (s.xi med)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 25  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: K 769
97. S 1003  
Date: AD 1044  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: Exeter D. & C. 2526 (s.xi)  
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Exeter 12  
Archive: Exeter  
Edited: J. B. Davidson, 'On the early history of Dawlish', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 13 (1881), 106-30 (pp. 108-11)
98. S 1004  
Date: AD 1044  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: Dorchester, Dorset Record Office, D. 124 (s.xi med)  
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Earl of Ilchester 3  
Archive: Abbotsbury  
Edited: *OS Facs.*, ii. Earl of Ilchester 3
99. S 1005  
Date: AD 1044  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 59 (s.xi med)  
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 26  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: K 770
100. S 1008  
Date: AD 1045  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: BL, Cotton Ch. viii. 9 (s.xi med)

Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 31  
 Archive: Old Minster, Winchester  
 Edited: K 781

101. S 1019  
 Date: AD 1049  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. C. 1281 (s.xi med)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 24  
 Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from St Petroc's, Bodmin)  
 Edited: *OS Facs.*, i. 24

102. S 1027  
 Date: AD 1059  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Exeter D. & C. 2527 (s.xi med)  
 Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Exeter 14  
 Archive: Exeter  
 Edited: Davidson, pp. 296-98

103. S 1028  
 Date: AD 1059  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Paris, Archives nationales, Cartons des rois, K. 19 no. 6 (s.xi med)  
 Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 21  
 Archive: St Denis  
 Edited: F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, The Ward Bequest, 10 (Manchester, 1952), pp. 538-39

104. S 1031  
 Date: AD 1060  
 Language: Latin with English bounds  
 SS: Hertford, Herts. Record Office, D/ELw Z 22/4 (s.xi med)  
 Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 22  
 Archive: Westminster  
 Edited: F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London, 1970), pp. 334-35

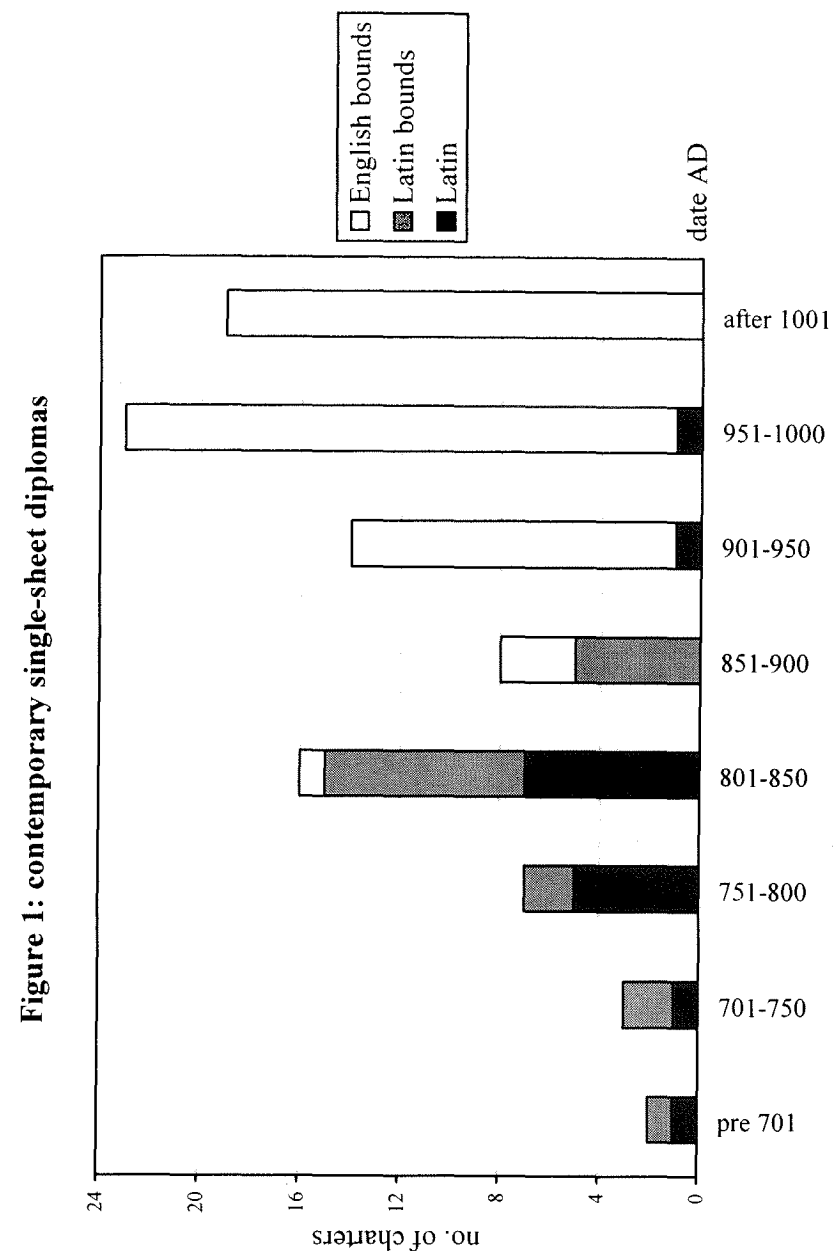
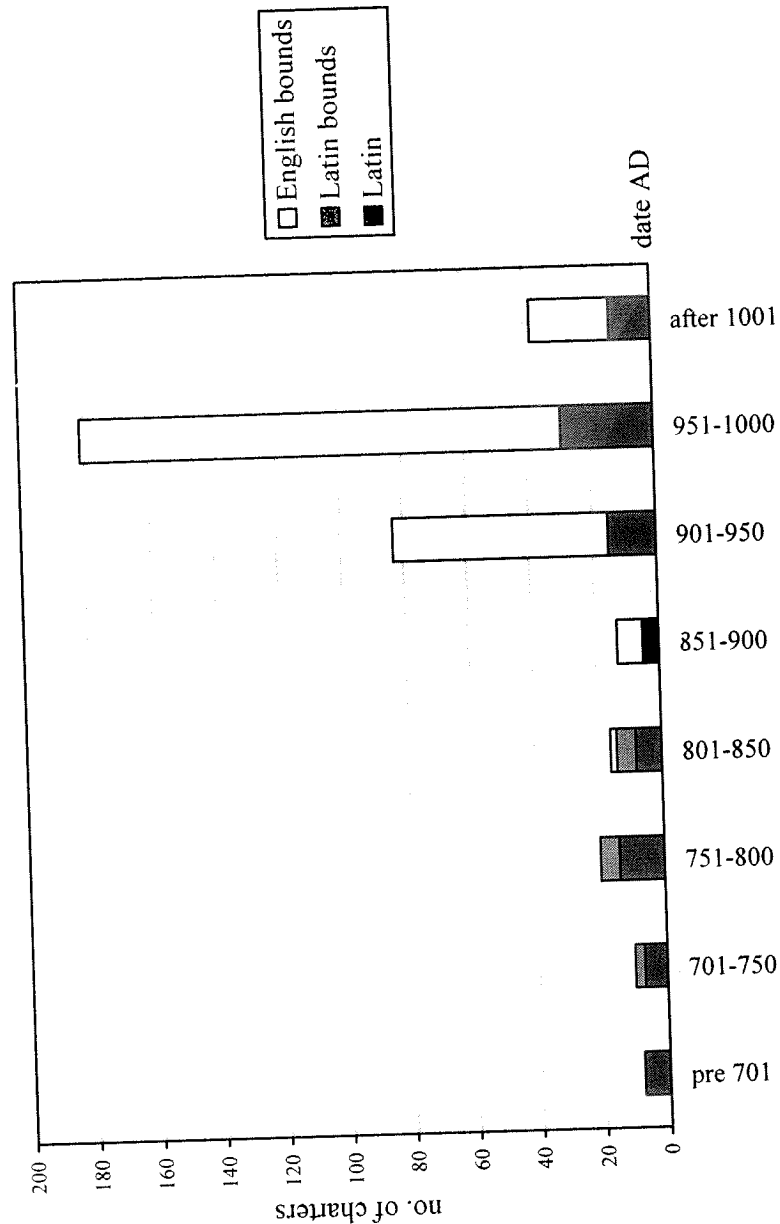


Figure 2: non-contemporary copies of genuine diplomas



## The Interpretation of Hypocoristic Forms of Middle English Baptismal Names

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Most of the name forms I am going to discuss are correctly termed Middle English, but a few are possibly Welsh or Gaelic (or are Anglo-Celtic hybrids) and a handful belong truly to Scots. For our evidence of the spoken forms of medieval names we are of course entirely dependent on written sources, particularly administrative, fiscal and legal records where, until well into the fifteenth century, scribes generally represented baptismal names in conventional latinised forms. Nevertheless, colloquial forms do appear in these records, sometimes as forenames, more often as bynames or surnames, and from this large body of evidence we can be sure that baptismal names were used in a wide variety of hypocoristic or pet forms, especially by ordinary folk.<sup>1</sup> The problem is to know

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<sup>1</sup> A conclusion endorsed by the literature of the period. The *locus classicus* is *Vox Clamantis*, I, 783-91, in *Complete Works of John Gower*, edited by G. C. Macaulay, 4 vols (Oxford, 1899-1902), where the rioting peasants of the 1381 poll tax revolt are epitomised as *Watte, Thomme, Symme, Bette, Gibbe, Hykke, Colle, Geffe, Wille, Grigge, Dawe, Hobbe, Lorkyn, Hudde, Judde, Tebbe, Jakke* and *Hogge*. For comments on this passage (and the tavern scene in Langland's *Piers Plowman*, passus V) see C. W. Bardsley, *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature* (London, 1888), p. 6, E. Weekley, *Jack and Jill: a Study in Our Christian Names* (London, 1939), pp. 151-52, and C. Clark, 'Onomastics', in