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The Ælfrician Glossaries in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35: A New Edition and Commentary

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Abstract: The present study provides a full edition and commentary of the three glossaries in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35, fol. 57r–v. These glossaries, which were first partly edited and discussed by Liebermann (1894), are comprised of excerpts from Ælfric’s *Grammar* and *Glossary* arranged by subject. The selection of material from the two Ælfrician works witnesses to the interests of the glossator. The first glossary in Barlow 35 collects Latin grammatical terms and verbs followed by their Old English equivalents. The second glossary is drawn from the chapter on plant names of Ælfric’s *Glossary*, with interpolations from other chapters of the same work. This glossary also features twelfth-century inter-linear notations, which seem to have a metatextual function. The third glossary combines excerpts from Ælfric’s *Glossary* with verbs derived from the *Grammar*. Liebermann transcribed only part of the glosses and gave a brief commentary on the glossaries as well as parallels with Zupitza’s (1880) edition of Ælfric’s *Grammar* and *Glossary*; hence the need for a new edition, which is provided in the present study, along with a comprehensive discussion of the glossaries and a re-assessment of the correspondences concerning their Ælfrician sources.

1 Introduction

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35 preserves three Latin-Old English glossaries on fol. 57r–v, which were first discussed and partly edited by Felix Liebermann (1894). As noted by previous scholarship, the sources of these glossaries are Ælfric’s *Grammar* and *Glossary* (Ker 1957: no. 298; Buckalew 1978: 154; Lendinara 1999: 13, 214). Taken in their entirety, the three glossaries in Barlow 35 include 147 entries organized by subject.

The first glossary, on fol. 57r, includes 40 entries and is set out in three columns. Most interpretamenta are written on the line below their respective

lemmata, but in the second column (E) some entries feature both lemma and explanation on the same line (see Figure 1). This first glossary draws grammatical terms and explanations of verbs from Ælfric's *Grammar*, reworking them into word-pairs. Verbs are mostly taken from the chapter on the Latin third conjugation (ed. Zupitza 1880: 162–182).

The second glossary is much more extended; it is written on the upper half of fol. 57v and features 70 entries, with lemmata and interpretamenta written continuously (see Figure 2). This second glossary mostly overlaps with the chapter on plant names in Ælfric's *Glossary* (ed. Zupitza 1880: 310–311), with a few interpolations from other chapters. Several entries also feature twelfth-century additions; a later scribe copied interlineally the initial letters of a number of lemmata (see Figure 2, fol. 57v/1–19). The reason for these interlinear additions is unclear, but I believe that they might have had a metatextual function, which I shall discuss below (p. 224).

The third glossary is copied on the bottom half of fol. 57v; set out in six columns, it includes 35 glosses; interpretamenta are written mostly below their respective lemmata (see Figure 2). This third glossary has two main parts; the first section is drawn from Ælfric's *Glossary*, while the second section is comprised of Latin second-conjugation verbs taken from Ælfric's *Grammar* (ed. Zupitza 1880: 147–158). As in the first glossary, these excerpts from the *Grammar* are organized in word-pairs. The material in the third glossary – and, to a lesser extent, in the first glossary – suggests that the compiler selected the verbs on the basis of their Latin conjugation.

To the three glossaries, one must add one other gloss, *testu : crocsceard*, which is copied on folio 6r and is taken from Ælfric's *Grammar* (cf. ed. Zupitza 1880: 80.11 *testu : crocsceard*).¹ In order to provide a comprehensive study of the three glossaries, I shall first introduce the manuscript (Section 2); sources and analogues of the glossaries will be then discussed in Section 3; finally, a new edition and commentary of the three glossaries is offered in Section 4 (pp. 217–227).

2 The Manuscript: Barlow 35

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35 is a composite codex, comprised of four booklets in nine quires, dated to the tenth century. There is some disagreement amongst scholars about the origin of the manuscript. The prevalent view is that Barlow 35 is of continental origin and arrived in England by the end of the tenth

¹ Cf. Ker (1957: 356) and Doane (2007: 80).

century; the English additions to the codex date to the late tenth and early eleventh centuries (cf. Ker 1957: 355–356; Doane 2007: 75; Gneuss and Lapidge 2014: no. 541). However, according to the Bodleian Summary Catalogue, the codex is “made up of four MSS. written in the 10th and 11th centt., probably in England”, and booklets “A, B, C are in Caroline minuscule showing insular traits” (Madan, Craster, and Denholm-Young 1937: no. 6467). Bischoff (1997: XCVII 2.2.) considered fols. 1–5 of possible English origin (“in Engl[and] geschr[ieben]?”) and the rest later (than the tenth century) and written in England (“d[er] Rest jünger, in England geschr[ieben]”).²

Part A (fols. 1–5) includes calendarial rules, a version of the *Revelatio Esdrae*, and a fragment of part of a multiplication table (Doane 2007: 78; Liuzza 2010: 48); scribbles and drawings were added to the first folio, which was originally blank. Part B (fols. 6–43) preserves a copy of Alcuin’s *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin*. Part C (fols. 44–54) features an enlarged version of the *Scholica graecarum glossarum* (on which see Lendinara 2011), with a coda of entries drawn from Bede’s *De orthographia* (Lendinara 1999: 293), followed by a note on ‘vesper’ from Isidore’s *De natura rerum* (see Alcamesi 2010: 180). A Latin charm with heading in Old English was added on fol. 54v (Pettit 1999). In Part D (fols. 55–57), there is a version – apparently the only one attested to in Anglo-Saxon England – of pseudo-Cicero’s *Synonyma* and the three Ælfrician glossaries that are discussed in this study. The lists of pseudo-Ciceronian synonyms are set out in six columns (with the exception of the preface), on fols. 56rv–fol. 57, cols. 1–3 and col. 4, line 11. On the fourth column of fol. 57r, line 12, the first Ælfrician glossary begins, without either a break from the preceding work or a rubric; it ends on fol. 57r, line 26. The second Ælfrician glossary is written across the page on fol. 57v, lines 1–19. The third glossary is set out in six columns on fol. 57v, lines 20–31. The *Synonyma* and the glossaries are copied in different ink. The two works share the interest in lists of verbs: in the *Synonyma*, these are organized in groups of synonyms, while the first and the third Ælfrician glossaries collect Latin words followed by equivalents in the vernacular. The first glossary, in particular, is wholly based on grammatical material and preserves a batch of verbs with Old English equivalents; as such, it must have been considered as a proper continuation to the *Synonyma* by the compiler of Part D. Stokes (2014: 208) notes three English hands on the manuscript: one for the charm and the Ælfrician glossaries and two for the scribbles (cf. Ker 1957: 355–356).

² See <http://www.mgh-bibliothek.de/cgi-bin/digilib.pl?img=38&ident=h001460_47&dir=h&tit=>>.

3 Sources and Analogues of the Glossaries in Barlow 35

The three Latin-Old English glossaries in Barlow 35 can be classified as class glossaries; they are organized by subject and derive part of their material from Ælfric's *Glossary*. Ælfric composed his three educational works, the *Grammar*, the *Glossary*, and the *Colloquy* between 992 and 1002 (Hill 2007: 285); Kleist (2019: 127–129) narrows the temporal range to 993–998. The *Grammar*, the *Glossary*, and the *Colloquy* enjoyed a wide circulation, and the three glossaries in Barlow 35 are one of the offshoots of this tradition. Ælfric's *Grammar* (henceforth: ÆGr) and the *Glossary* (henceforth: ÆGl) are transmitted together in six medieval codices; in all manuscripts, the ÆGl immediately follows the ÆGr (Buckalew 1978: 153–155; Gneuss and Lapidge 2014: nos. 13, 115, 331, 336, 414, 686). Considered the first Latin grammar in any European vernacular language,³ ÆGr is organized in sections aimed to explain the Latin alphabet, syllables, diphthongs, parts of speech, genders, declensions, number; discussions of each verbal conjugation are followed by a separate chapter on passive forms; discrete chapters are also devoted to anomalous, defective, inchoative, and frequentative verbs. ÆGl is arranged in eight chapters organized by subject; an introductory chapter is followed by the sections *Nomina membrorum* ('Names of members' – parts of the body, members of the family, of the society, etc.); *Nomina auium* ('Names of birds'); *Nomina piscium* ('Names of fish'); *Nomina ferarum* ('Names of animals'); *Nomina herbarum* ('Names of herbs'); *Nomina arborum* ('Names of trees'); *Nomina domorum* ('Names of houses'). ÆGl shares the chapter-format with other Latin-Old English class glossaries such as the Antwerp-London class glossary, the Second Cleopatra Glossary, and the Brussels Glossary.⁴ Furthermore, it is worth noting that ÆGl and Antwerp-London presumably rely on the same sources (see Lazzari 2003; Porter 2011b; Porter 2018). ÆGr and ÆGl were copied and used well after the Anglo-Saxon period (see Hill 2007). A copy of the two works is preserved in Worcester, Cathedral Library, F.174, a thirteenth-century codex copied by the well-known 'Tremulous Hand of Worcester' (this version is edited by Butler 1981). The fourth of a group of four glossaries preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 730, which dates back to the early thirteenth century, is mostly based on the chapter *Nomina membrorum* of ÆGl, along with other material not derived from Ælfric (see Cataldi 2019). Both this glossary in Bodley 730

³ On the sources and aims of ÆGr, see Gneuss (1990); Menzer (2004).

⁴ For an overview of Latin-Old English class glossaries, see Lendinara (2009). Edition of the Antwerp-London class glossary in Porter (2011a); editions of the Second Cleopatra Glossary and of the Brussels Glossary in Rusche (1996).

and the glossarial material in Barlow 35 re-use material from ÆGl. In terms of these parallels, one might add the copies of ÆGr in the manuscripts London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A.x and Cambridge, University Library, Hh.1.10, which feature glosses and annotations in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and English from the second half of the eleventh century to the twelfth century (see Hunt 1991: I, 99–113; Pagan and Seiler 2019). The glossaries in Barlow 35 may therefore represent early instances of use and re-use of ÆGr and ÆGl, re-uses which are well documented up into the Early Middle English period.

4 Edition and Commentary of the Ælfrian Glossaries in Barlow 35

Below I offer a full edition with commentary of the three glossaries in MS Barlow 35. Comparisons with ÆGr and ÆGl are provided, with page and line numbers referring to Zupitza (1880), who used Oxford, St John's College, 154 (manuscript 'O') as his base text. Because all of the three glossaries derive material from the same source, glosses are numbered consecutively. Latin lemmata are capitalized – in this, I follow a consistent practice found in Barlow 35 – and all English interpretamenta are printed in small letters, including a number of occurrences that are capitalized in the manuscript. I keep the *punctus* that, in the manuscript, separates lemmata from interpretamenta; abbreviations are expanded and shown by italics, except *l* for *uel*, which is retained. Emendations are in square brackets. Word division has been regularised without notice.

4.1 Glossary I (see Figure 1)

Barlow 35, fol. 57r, cols. D-F

D 1 Signifer . tacenberend .

2 Simplex . ánfeald .

3 Composita . gefeged .

4 Optauimus . gewyscent .

Parallels in ÆGr and ÆGl
(ed. Zupitza 1880)

ÆGr 27.15 *signifer* tacnberend;

ÆGl 317.20 *signifer* tacnbora

ÆGr 70.1 *simplex* anfeald; similarly 87.8–9;
91.13; 105.21; 223.13

ÆGr 87.9 *ET COMPOSITA* þæt is, gefeged;
similarly 91.13–14; 105.21–106.1; 217.12

ÆGr 125.9–10 *OPTATIVVS* þæt is,
gewiscendlic

Barlow 35, fol. 57r, cols. D-F

- 5 Vtinam . eala .
- 6 Amare uolo . ic wille lufian .
- 7 Amabis . þu lufast .
- E 8 Eodem modo on þam ylcan gemete .
- 9 Amaueritis . þa ða ge lufedan .
- 10 Consolor . ic gefrefrige .
- 11 Gratulor . ic blissige .
- 12 Coniunctio . geþodnys .
- 13 Significatio . getácuncg .
- 14 Comoda *mihi* Ill panes læn me þreo hlafas .
- 15 Sagene . sænét .
- 16 Cunabulum . cidcradel .
- 17 Cupio ic gewilnige .
- 18 Acuo . ic hwette .
- 19 Sumo . ic underfo .
- 20 Ambigo . me twynað .
- 21 Detraho . ic tele .
- 22 Cogo . ic nyde .
- 23 Ácuo . íc hwette .
- 24 Vinco . ic oferswiðe .
- 25 Confundo . ic gemencge .
- 26 Como . ic geglencge .
- 27 Tempno . ic forseo .

Parallels in ÆGr and ÆGl
(ed. Zupitza 1880)

- ÆGr 125.12, 14–15, 16–17; 131.19–21;
132.1–9; 141.6–19; 142.1–6; 149.1–9;
200.3–4; 208.18; 209.1; 227.13 *utinam* [...] eala
- ÆGr 126.11 *amare uolo* ic wylle lufjan;
similarly 134.7–8
- ÆGr 131.7 *amabis* þu lufast
- ÆGr 130.10–11 *EODEM MODO* [...] on ðam
ylcan gemete; similarly 131.5
- ÆGr 133.17–134.1 *amaueritis* ðonne ge
lufjað gyt; cf. ÆGr 133.12–13 *amauissetis*
þa ða ge lufedon
- ÆGr 145.3 *consolor* ic gefrefrige
- ÆGr 145.14–15 *gratulor* ic blissige
- ÆGr 257.16–258.1 *CONIUNCTIO* mæg beon
gecweden geþeodnys
- ÆGr 119.12–13 *SIGNIFICATIO*, þæt ys,
getacnung; similarly 223.16; 242.17;
278.4–5
- ÆGr 135.7–8 *comoda mihi librum ad
legendum* læne me ða boc to rædenne
- ÆGl 320.14 *sagena* sænett
- ÆGr 85.9–10 *cunabula* cildecradulas
- ÆGr 166.4, 166.10 *cupio* ic gewilnige
- ÆGr 167.1 *acuo* ic hwette
- ÆGr 169.15 *sumo* ic underfo
- ÆGr 176.13 *ambigo* me twynað
- ÆGr 176.7 *detraho* ic tæle bæftan
- ÆGr 176.12–13 *cogo* ic nyde
- ÆGr 167.1 *acuo* ic hwette
- ÆGr 176.18 *uinco* ic oferswiðe
- ÆGr 178.8–9 *confundo* ic gemencge oððe
gescynde
- ÆGr 170.1 *como* ic geglencge
- ÆGr 170.6 *tempno* ic forseo

Barlow 35, fol. 57r, cols. D-F

- F 28 Studeo . ic gecnyrdlæce .
 29 Floreo . ic blowe .
 30 Vigeo . ic strangige .
 31 Zelor . ic andige .
 32 Lippus . sureagede .
 33 Consuesco . ic gewunige .
 34 Comprimo . ic ofþricce .
 35 Claudio . ic beluce .
 36 Succido . ic ceorfe .
 37 Extinguo . ic acwence .
 38 Construo . ic timbrige .
 39 Consequor . ic begyte .
 40 Sisto . ic sette .

Parallels in ÆGr and ÆGl
(ed. Zupitza 1880)

- ÆGr 154.5 *studeo* ic gecnyrdlæce
 ÆGr 154.9 *floreo* ic blowe
 ÆGr 154.14 *uigeo* ic strangige oððe geðeo
 ÆGr 146.8 *zelor* ic andige
 ÆGr 192.10–11 *lippus* sureagede
 ÆGr 165.8 *consuesco* ic gewunige
 ÆGr 170.4 *comprimo* ic samod ofðrycce
 ÆGr 171.4 *claudio* ic beluce
 ÆGr 172.3 *succido* ic forceorfe
 ÆGr 174.4–5 *extinguo* ic acwence
 ÆGr 175.11 *struo* and *construo* ic timbrige
 ÆGr 186.3–4 *consequor* ic begyte
 ÆGr 203.8 *sisto* ic sette

Notes on Glossary I

The first glossary features *glossae collectae* from ÆGr (plus one entry from ÆGl) organized to build a collection of grammatical terms, which includes definitions of the parts of speech (for example 12 *Coniunctio* : *geþodnys* ‘junction’), adjectives (for example 2 *Simplex* : *ánfeald* ‘uncompounded’, 3 *Composita* : *gefeged* ‘compounded’), nouns (15 *Sagene* : *sæné* ‘fishing net’; 16 *Cunabulum* : *cidcradel* ‘cradle’), and especially verbs, all equipped with Old English equivalents (which are also derived from ÆGr and ÆGl). Several entries have more than one occurrence.

1 *Signifer* : *tacenberend* ‘standard-bearer’ (see BT s.v. *tacn-berend*) not only corresponds to the passage of ÆGr noted by Liebermann, but also parallels ÆGl 317.20.

4 *Optauimus* stands for *optatius* ‘optative’.

5 *Vtinam* and *eala* are always employed within brief sentences in ÆGr; the entry *Vtinam* : *eala* ‘o that!’ in Glossary I is a good example of how the compiler reworked the material from ÆGr into word-pairs.

6–7, 9 Three glosses related to the verb *amare* ‘to love’. 9 *Amaueritis* : *þa ða ge lufedan* shows that the glossator confused *amaueritis* ‘you [pl.] would love’ (or

‘you [pl.] will have loved’, if intended as a future perfect) with *amauissetis* ‘you [pl.] would have loved’.

12 *Coniunctio* : *geþodnys* ‘junction’ parallels *ÆGr* 257.16–258.1 rather than the passage indicated by Liebermann (*ÆGr* 129.15), which refers to *coniugatio uerborum* ‘conjugation of verbs’ and not *coniunctio* ‘conjunction’. This is another instance that shows that the compiler reworked the *Ælfrician* material into word-pairs.

14 *Commoda mihi III panes* : *læn me þreo hlafas* ‘lend me three loaves’ is presumably drawn from *ÆGr* 135.7–8 *commoda mihi librum ad legendum* : *læne me ða boc to rædenne* ‘lend me the book to read’; however, the entry is somewhat shorter than its source and also differs in the noun used as example (*boc* ‘book’, instead of *hlafas* ‘loaves’). Liebermann (1894: 414 n. 5) convincingly proposes a reference to Luke xi.5, which perhaps influenced the adaptation of *ÆGr* 135.7–8 into this gloss.

15–16 Lemmata 15 and 16 are written on the same line [= 57r/E15], with the interpretamenta on the line below. *Cidcradel* stands for *cildcradel* ‘child’s cradle’.

17–40 A group of first-person singular indicative present verbs, which were glossed by the corresponding vernacular verb form introduced by the personal pronoun *ic*. This batch of verbs was mostly excerpted from the chapter on the Latin third conjugation of *ÆGr*, but with some interpolations: second-conjugation verbs (glosses 28–30: *Studeo* : *ic gecnyrdlæce* ‘I study’, *Floreo* : *ic blowe* ‘I flourish’, *Vigeo* : *ic strangige* ‘I grow strong’); first-passive conjugation (31 *Zelor* : *ic andige* ‘I envy [sb./sth.]’). A further two first-passive conjugation verbs are found earlier in the glossary: 10 *Consolor* : *ic gefrefrige* ‘I comfort [sb.]’; 11 *Gratulor* : *ic blissige* ‘I rejoice’. However, it is worth noting that the compiler also included a third-passive conjugation verb (gloss 39 *Consequor* : *ic begyte* ‘I pursue [sb./sth.]’); and a defective third-conjugation verb (40 *Sisto* : *ic sette* ‘I set, place [sth.]’). The latter is derived from a section of *ÆGr* which is different from the one that served as a source for the other verbs. This suggests that the glossator deliberately selected this verb because its conjugation agrees with the other third-conjugation verbs. Furthermore, in cases where *ÆGr* has more than one vernacular equivalent, the glossator chose only one interpretamentum, as in 30 *Vigeo* : *ic strangige* ‘I grow strong’ and 25 *Confundo* : *ic gemencge* ‘I mingle [sth.]’.

23 *Ácuo* : *ic hwette* ‘I whet [sth.]’ doubles gloss 18. In this second instance, the glossator included accent marks; moreover, the interpretamentum is written vertically in what seems to be a different ink. It is possible that the scribe mistakenly copied *acuo* twice and added the interpretamentum only when revising the text.

32 *Lippus* : *sureagede* ‘blear-eyed’ (see BT s.v. *sureagede*) is the only adjective of this section; it is drawn from ÆGr’s chapter on fourth-conjugation Latin verbs.

35 *Comprimo* : *ic ofpricce* ‘I press [sth.]’ is another instance in which the glossator built a word-pair, this time by omitting *samod* ‘together’.

4.2 Glossary II (see Figure 2)

Barlow 35, fol. 57v/1–19	Parallels in ÆGr and ÆGL (ed. Zupitza 1880)	Letters written above the lemma
41 Herba græs oððe wyrt .	ÆGL 310.8 <i>herba</i> gærs oððe wyrt	
42 Allium . leac .	ÆGL 310.8 <i>allium</i> leac	
43 Dilla . docca .	ÆGL 310.8 <i>dilla</i> docca	<i>il</i>
44 Lubestica . lufestie .	ÆGL 310.8–9 <i>libestica</i> lufestice	
45 Febrefug[ia] . feferfugiae .	ÆGL 310.9 <i>febrefugia</i> feferfugje	<i>ebr</i>
46 Simfoniaca . hennebelle	ÆGL 310.9 <i>simphoniaca</i> hennebelle	<i>imf</i>
47 Auadonia . feltwyrt .	ÆGL 310.10 <i>avadonia</i> feltwyrt	
48 Aprotanum . suþerne wudu .	ÆGL 310.10 <i>aprotanum</i> suðerne wudu	
49 Sinittia . grundswelige .	ÆGL 310.10–11 <i>sinitia</i> grundeswelige	<i>init</i>
50 Feniculum . finol .	ÆGL 310.11 <i>feniculum</i> finol	erased: <i>en?</i>
51 Anetum . dile .	ÆGL 310.11 <i>anetum</i> dile	
52 Electrum . elehtre .	ÆGL 310.11–12 <i>electrum</i> elehtre	<i>lec</i>
53 Malua . hocleaf .	ÆGL 310.12 <i>malua</i> hocleaf	<i>alu</i>
54 Malua crispa . simeringwyrt .	ÆGL 310.12 <i>malua crispa</i> simæringcwyr	
55 Polipedium . hremmes fot .	ÆGL 310.12–13 <i>polipedium</i> hremmes fot	erased: <i>oli?</i>
56 Consolda . dæges eage .	ÆGL 310.13 <i>consolda</i> dæges eage	<i>ons</i>
57 Solsequium . solsece .	ÆGL 310.13–14 <i>solsequium</i> solsece	<i>ols</i>
58 Slarigia . slaræge .	ÆGL 310.14 <i>slaregia</i> slarege	<i>lar</i>
59 Adriaca . galluc .	ÆGL 310.14 <i>adriaca</i> galluc	<i>dri</i>
60 Ruta . rude .	ÆGL 310.14 <i>ruta</i> rude	<i>ut</i>
61 Betonica . seo læsse bisceopwyrt .	ÆGL 310.14–15 <i>betonica</i> seo læsse bisceopwyrt	<i>et</i>
62 Petrocilinum . petersylige .	ÆGL 310.15 <i>petrocilinum</i> petersylige	partly erased – illegible
63 Costa . cost .	ÆGL 311.1 <i>costa</i> cost	
64 Epicurium . halswyrt .	ÆGL 311.1 <i>epicurium</i> halswyrt	<i>pic</i>
65 Millefolium . geruwe .	ÆGL 311.1 <i>millefolium</i> gearewe	<i>ill</i>

Barlow 35, fol. 57v/1–19	Parallels in <i>ÆGr</i> and <i>ÆGl</i> (ed. Zupitza 1880)	Letters written above the lemma
66 Tanicetum . helde .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.1–2 <i>tanicetum</i> helde	<i>ani</i>
67 Saxifriga . sundcorn .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.2 <i>saxifriga</i> sundcorn	<i>axi</i>
68 Citsona . fanu .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.2 <i>citsana</i> fana	<i>its</i>
69 Calamus . † canna . † arundo . hreed .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.2–3 <i>calamus</i> † <i>canna</i> † <i>arundo</i> hreed	<i>alam</i>
70 Papauer . papig .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.3 <i>papauer</i> papig	<i>ap</i>
71 Absinthium . wærmōd .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.3 <i>absinthium</i> wermod	
72 Vrtica . netele .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.4 <i>urtica</i> netle	<i>rti</i>
73 Archangelica . blindnetele .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.4 <i>archangelica</i> blindnetle	
74 Plantago . wegbræde .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.4 <i>plantago</i> wegbræde	<i>lant</i>
75 Quinquefolium . fifleafe .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.5 <i>quinquefolium</i> fifleafe	<i>uinq</i> (partly erased)
76 Vinca . perfince .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.5 <i>uinca</i> perfince	<i>inc</i>
77 Marubium . hárhune .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.5 <i>marubium</i> harhune	<i>arub</i>
78 Camicula . argentilla .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.6 <i>camicula</i> argenteille	
79 Fraga . strewberian wisan .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.6 <i>fraga</i> streowberjan wisan	partly erased: <i>rag?</i>
80 Ciminum . cymen .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.6–7 <i>ciminum</i> cymen	
81 Modera . cicena mete .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.7 <i>modera</i> cicena mete	<i>od</i> (partly erased)
82 Apium . merce .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.7 <i>apium</i> merce	<i>pi</i>
83 Lappa . clate . oððe clifwyr̃t .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.7–8 <i>lappa</i> clate oððe clifwyr̃t	<i>lap</i>
84 Helena . horselene .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.8 <i>helena</i> horselene	<i>el</i>
85 Sandix . wad .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.8 <i>sandix</i> wad	<i>and</i>
86 Caula . caul .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.8–9 <i>caula</i> † <i>magudaris</i> cawul	
87 Cresco . cærse .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.9 <i>cresco</i> cærse	
88 Mente . minta .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.9 <i>menta</i> minte	<i>ent</i>
89 Cerpillum . fille .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.9 <i>serpillum</i> fille	<i>erp</i>
90 Artemesia . mugcwyr̃t .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.10 <i>artemesia</i> mugcwyr̃t	
91 Saluia . saluie .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.10 <i>saluia</i> saluje	<i>alu</i>
92 Fel terre . † . centaria . eorðgealla .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.10–11 <i>fel terrae</i> † <i>centauria</i> eorðgealla	<i>el</i>
93 Ambrosia . hindheoleoð .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.11 <i>ambrosia</i> hindheolað	
94 Pionia .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.11 <i>pionia</i>	partly erased: <i>io?</i>
95 Mandragora .	<i>ÆGl</i> 311.11 <i>mandragora</i>	<i>and</i>

Barlow 35, fol. 57v/1–19	Parallels in ÆGr and ÆGl (ed. Zupitza 1880)	Letters written above the lemma
96 Pollegia . hulwyr̥t .	ÆGl 311.11–12 <i>pollegia</i> hylwyr̥t oððe dweorge dwesle	<i>oll</i>
97 Organum . organe	ÆGl 311.12 <i>organum</i> organe	<i>rg</i>
98 Cardux . þistel .	ÆGl 311.13 <i>cardus</i> þistel	partly erased: <i>ard?</i>
99 Hermodactula . crawanleac .	ÆGl 311.13 <i>hermodactula</i> † <i>tidolosa</i> crawan leac	<i>erm</i>
100 Pastinata . wealmoru .	ÆGl 311.13–14 <i>pastinaca</i> wealmoru	partly erased: <i>ast?</i>
101 Lilium . lilige .	ÆGl 311.14 <i>lilium</i> lilje	<i>lil</i>
102 Rosa . rose .	ÆGl 311.14 <i>rosa</i> rose	<i>or</i>
103 Viola . clæfre .	ÆGl 311.14 <i>uiola</i> clæfre	<i>iol</i>
104 Agrimonia . garclife .	ÆGl 311.14–15 <i>agrimonia</i> garclife	
105 Rafanum . rædic .	ÆGl 311.15 <i>rafanum</i> rædic	<i>af</i>
106 Filex . fearn .	ÆGl 311.15 <i>filex</i> fearn	<i>ile</i>
107 Carex . segc .	ÆGl 311.15 <i>carex</i> sege	
108 Iuncus . † . scirpus . rixs	ÆGl 311.16 <i>iuncus</i> † <i>scirpus</i> risc	<i>unc</i>
109 Sabina . sauene .	ÆGl 312.9 <i>sabina</i> sauene	<i>ab</i>
110 Epiaster . merce .	ÆGr 27.8 <i>apiaster</i> merce; ÆGl 311.7 <i>apium</i> merce	<i>pia</i>
111 Malagma . cliþa .	ÆGr 33.13; ÆGl 302.18 <i>malagma</i> cliðaða	<i>alag</i>

Notes on Glossary II

Glossary II is a collection of plant names; it includes only nouns and is the most extended of the three glossaries in Barlow 35. Its layout differs from Glossaries I and III, the entries being written continuously rather than in columns. As noted by Liebermann (1894: 414) and Ker (1957: 356), the second glossary almost entirely derives from the chapter *Nomina herbarum* of ÆGl. Therefore, analogues to the second Barlow 35 glossary occur in similar chapters on plant names in Latin-Old English class glossaries such as the Antwerp-London class glossary, the Brussels Glossary and the Second Cleopatra Glossary, as well as the two twelfth-century alphabetical herbal glossaries known as Durham Glossary and Laud Herbal Glossary.⁵ The sec-

⁵ On Old English plant names and related chapters in Latin-Old English glossaries, see Pheifer (1974: xxxviii–xxxix); Rusche (2003); Rusche (2008); Sauer and Kubaschewski (2018).

ond Barlow 35 glossary is a faithful rendition of its Ælfrician source, almost without any omission or variation in order,⁶ and also includes the two entries that are not glossed in ÆGl (94 *Pionia* ‘peony’ and 95 *Mandragora* ‘mandrake’). Glossary II would therefore be of little interest, were it not for a particular palaeographic and metatextual feature. Above most of the lemmata, a later hand, of the twelfth century, rewrote some of the letters of the Latin words. These letters are mostly the second, third, and fourth letters of the lemma, with omission of initials; however, in some cases, these ‘tags’ extend beyond the fourth or reproduce the first, second, and third letters. It is likely that, in most cases, this later scribe felt no need to mark the initials of the lemmata because they are capitalized. The reason behind these ‘tags’ is not immediately clear; to my knowledge, this feature is not paralleled by any other glossary of the period. According to Liebermann (1894: 414), this intervention is aimed as a concession to later readership to facilitate reading; Ker (1957: 356) states that “[t]he script [insular letter-forms, high *e* ligatures] offended a twelfth-century reader who put in some letters of most of the Latin lemmata on f. 57v in their normal caroline forms”, an explanation with which Doane (2007: 80) seems to agree. According to Faulkner (2008: 74), “graphs common to Caroline and insular minuscules (like *b* and *l*) are among those transcribed, which suggests that the transliterator’s main interest was in the morphology of the script. It is possible he was learning to imitate a pre-Conquest hand”. The hypothesis is tempting, although this would not explain why this feature involves only specific lemmata and their initial letters. In my opinion, the later scribe of Barlow 35 may have selected some words in order to alphabetize them at a later stage; the rewriting of letters above the lemmata represents a ‘tag’ for a reshuffling and later ordering of the words in *ABC*-, or even *ABCD*-order. Latin-Old English alphabetical glossaries “underwent progressive refinement”, and this kind of arrangement is found in a work such as the Harley Glossary, which was copied at around the same time as the glossaries in Barlow 35 and is in *ABC*-order, with “traces of attempts to arrive at an *ABCD*-order” (Lendinara 1999: 16). The hypothesis that these marks were a means to prepare alphabetization is also paralleled by the glossarial activity of the period: the Durham Glossary and the Laud Herbal Glossary are in *A*- and *AB*-alphabetical order; they also embed material from earlier Latin-Old English glossaries (see Pfeifer 1974: xxxviii–xxxix; Rusche 2003; Rusche 2008). To these parallels, one might also add that the chapter on plant names in the Brussels Glossary shows sporadic traces of alphabetization (Rusche 2003: 182).

⁶ As in Glossary I, there is a tendency towards simplification: see glosses 86, 96, 99, in which the glossator dropped either the second lemma or the second interpretamentum occurring in ÆGl.

Glosses 109–111 deserve some further comment. They are essentially additions to the chapter of *Nomina herbarum*. Liebermann (1894: 414–415) argued that they derive from a different part of ÆGr and ÆGl (“Hierauf folgen drei Glossen, die bei Ælfric an anderer Stelle stehen”). Gloss 109, *Sabina* : *sauene*, is from ÆGl, as Liebermann notes (more specifically, it is an entry from the chapter *Nomina arborum*); but glosses 110–111 may actually derive from ÆGl rather than from ÆGr, as suggested by Liebermann. Gloss 110, *Epiaster* : *merce*, is by all means a variant of gloss 82 *Apium* : *merce*, while gloss 111 parallels an entry of ÆGl’s chapter *Nomina membrorum*. Most importantly, it seems that the compiler of the second glossary in Barlow 35 added these entries because they were thought to fit with the other plant names. *Sabina* refers to the ‘savin juniper’, a shrub (see BT s.v. *safine*). *Apiaster* is an ‘umbelliferous plant’, perhaps the *melissa officinalis* or lemon balm (DMLBS s.v. *apiaster*). A *malagma* (Greek μάλαγμα) is an ‘emollient, poultice’ (DMLBS s.v. *malagma*), which suggests that the compiler’s interest in herbs also extended to their practical use. Notably, these additions fit with the selection of material found in other herbal glossaries. The gloss *Sabina* : *sauine* is found in the Laud Herbal Glossary, no. 1299 (Stracke 1974: 59); the same glossary also includes the entry 171 *Apiaster* : *wude merche* (Stracke 1974: 25). *Apiaster* : *vude-merce* is also in the Durham Glossary, no. 33 (von Lindheim 1941: 9). The chapter on plant names in the Brussels Glossary features the entries 305 *Apium* : *merce* and 394 *Malagma* : *sealf* (Rusche 1996: 562, 564), while the Antwerp-London class glossary includes 1018 *Apiaster* : *wude merce* (Porter 2011a: 74).

4.3 Glossary III (see Figure 2)

Barlow 35, fol. 57v, cols. A-F

- A** 112 Stragula . wæstlingc .
 113 Sagum hwitel .
 114 Pluuinar . pyle .
 115 Turribulum . storcylle .
 116 Pons . brygc .
 117 Vadum . ford .
B 118 Pratum . mæd .
 119 Aqua . wæter .
 120 Gutta . † stilla . dropa .
 121 Stagnum . mere .
 122 Amnis . eâ .
 123 Flumen . flod .

Parallels in ÆGr and ÆGl (ed. Zupitza 1880)

- ÆGl 314.18 *stragula* wæstlingc
 ÆGl 314.18 *sagum* hwitel
 ÆGl 314.18 *puluinar* pyle
 ÆGl 314.6 *thuribulum* storcylle
 ÆGl 313.3–4 *pons* brygc
 ÆGl 313.4 *uadum* ford
 ÆGl 313.4 *pratum* mæd
 ÆGl 313.4 *aqua* wæter
 ÆGl 313.4–5 *gutta* † *stilla* dropa
 ÆGl 313.5 *stagnum* mere
 ÆGl 313.5 *amnis* ea
 ÆGl 313.5–6 *flumen* † *flumenus* flod

Barlow 35, fol. 57v, cols. A-F

- C** 124 Ripa . stæð .
 125 Litus . sæstrand .
 126 Alueus . stream .
 127 Torrens . burna .
 128 Riuus . riðe .
 129 Fons . wyll .
 130 Arena . sandceosol .
- D** 131 Gurges . wyl .
 132 Viuarium . fiscpol .
 133 Latex . burna . oððe broc .
 134 Stimulus . gád .
 135 Aculeus . sticels .
- E** 136 Equor . sæ .
 137 Maneo . ic wunige .
 138 Cigeo . ic lapige .
 139 Lugeo . ic heofige .
 140 Studeo . ic gecnyrdlæce .
 141 Horreo . ið andþracige .
 142 Suadeo . ið tihte .
- F** 143 Vigeo . ic strangie .
 144 Subaudis . is word .
 145 Subaudio . ic underhluste .
 146 Subaudis . þú underhlyst .
 147 Subaudit . he underhlyst .

Parallels in ÆGr and ÆGl (ed. Zupitza 1880)

- ÆGl 313.6 *ripa* stæp
 ÆGl 313.6 *litus* sæstrand
 ÆGl 313.6 *alueus* stream
 ÆGl 313.6–7 *torrens* burna
 ÆGl 313.7 *riuus* rið
 ÆGl 313.7 *fons* wyll
 ÆGl 313.7 *arena* sandceosol
 ÆGl 313.7–8 *gurges* wæl
 ÆGl 313.8 *uiuarium* fiscpol
 ÆGl 313.8–9 *latex* burna oððe broc
 ÆGl 304.3 *stimulus* gad
 ÆGl 304.3 *aculeus* sticels
 ÆGl 297.9 *mare t aequor* sæ
 ÆGr 155.17–156.1 *maneo* ic wunige
 ÆGr 156.15 *cico* ic gelaðige
 ÆGr 156.5–6 *lugeo* ic heofige
 ÆGr 154.5 *studeo* ic gecnyrdlæce
 ÆGr 212.3–4 *horreo* ic anðracyge
 ÆGr 155.5–6 *suadeo* ic tyhte
 ÆGr 154.15 *uigeo* ic strangige oððe geðeo
 ÆGr 151.2 *svbaudis* ys word
 ÆGr 151.2–3 *subaudio* ic underhlyste
 ÆGr 151.3 *subaudis* ðu underhlyst
 ÆGr 151.3–4 *subaudit* he underhlyst

Notes on Glossary III

As noted above, Glossary III is comprised of two main parts:

112–136 Glosses from ÆGl; four from *Nomina domorum* (112–115);⁷ a large excerpt from *Nomina arborum* (116–133), which mostly includes names of elements of landscape; two entries from *Nomina membrorum* (134–135); and a gloss, derived

⁷ On *stragula*, see also Lendinara (1999: 57–58).

from the opening chapter of ÆGI (136 *Equor* : *sæ* ‘sea’),⁸ which is thematically close to the glosses taken from *Nomina arborum*. All batches generally retain the order of their source and do not show any sign of re-arrangement.

137–147 A batch of verbs from ÆGr, mostly drawn from the chapter on the Latin second conjugation. This batch does not feature interpolations, except for gloss 141 *Horreo* : *iċ andþracige* ‘I dread [sth.]’, which is a second-conjugation verb derived from the chapter on inchoative verbs, and that was not copied in its inchoative form (ÆGr 212.4 *horresco ic onginne to andþracigenne* ‘I begin to dread [sth.]’). This, again, suggests that the glossator deliberately selected verbs on the basis of their conjugation.⁹ As in Glossary I, these entries are first-person singular indicative present forms. On the other hand, glosses 144–147 all refer to the three singular persons of the indicative present of *subaudio*, which, although technically a fourth-conjugation verb, is nevertheless taken from the same chapter as the other verbs (*subaudio* is mentioned as part of an example related to the second-conjugation verb *docere* in ÆGr 150.21–151.4). These final entries are especially notable for the interpretamenta *ic underhlyste*, *ðu underhlyst*, *he underhlyst*, which are loan translations of the Latin lemmata (*subaudio* = *sub* + *audio* : *under* + *hlyste*) and, along with the derivate form *underhlystunge* (151.1), are not elsewhere attested other than in ÆGr.

5 Conclusions

The evidence suggests that whoever compiled the three Ælfrian glossaries copied in Barlow 35 had selected material from ÆGr and ÆGI and reorganized it in thematic series.¹⁰ This is particularly evident in the case of the material derived from ÆGr, which was employed to build word-pairs and series of verbs mostly based on Latin conjugations. In this context, it is perhaps not surprising that the first glossary continues the series of *Synonyma pseudo-Ciceronis*, betraying a similar interest in verbs. Accordingly, the third glossary – which is informed by the

⁸ Although Liebermann (1894: 415) states that the latter is drawn from ÆGr 155.17, there is no related occurrence in the text.

⁹ Note that gloss 143 *Vigeo* : *ic strangie* repeats gloss 30.

¹⁰ A comparison with the variants recorded in Zupitza’s apparatus does not reveal significant analogies with any of the manuscripts used in his edition, except for a few correspondences shared by Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 449 (Zupitza’s ‘C’) and glosses 68, 72, 78, 86, 89; and by London, British Library, Cotton Julius A.ii (Zupitza’s ‘J’) and glosses 1, 15, 78, 86.

same principles as the first one – also features the same layout in columns found in the *Synonyma* and in the first glossary.¹¹ Furthermore, a gloss such as 14 *Commoda mihi III panes : læn me þreo hlafas* shows that the compiler did not simply copy the glosses but sometimes reworked them (or worked on a copy where such changes were already found). This aspect is also demonstrated by the adaptation of material from *ÆGr* into word-pairs (for example 5 *Vtinam : eala*; 12 *Coniunctio : gepodnys*); by the simplification of entries which originally included more than one lemma or interpretamentum (for example 25 *Confundo : ic gemencge*; 86 *Caula : caul*); and by mistakes (9 *Amaueritis : þa ða ge lufedan*). The second glossary differs from I and III in layout and in that it is a faithful copy of its source. However, it also shows traces of re-organization – namely, the addition of three glosses to the chapter, an addition which fits with compilations of plant lists of the period. The most interesting aspect of Glossary II is perhaps the intervention of a later, twelfth-century reader who ‘tagged’ specific Latin lemmata by rewriting their initial letters in the space between the lines. I have suggested that these mark-ups tagged words to prepare an alphabetization in *ABC*-, or even *ABCD*-order, a hypothesis that is based on parallels with the organizational criterium of alphabetical glossaries of the period such as the Harley Glossary and the Laud and Durham herbal glossaries. However, Glossary II also shows a thematic unity with Glossary III, which includes an excerpt from the chapter on the name of trees of *ÆGl*. This excerpt is focused on elements of landscape. Overall, the use of material from *ÆGr* and *ÆGl* in the three *Ælfrician* glossaries in Barlow 35 bears witness to the interests of the glossator, who produced three brief class glossaries with a selection of Latin grammatical terms and verbs, as well as sections devoted to discrete lexica, such as plant names and elements of landscape. The twelfth-century additions show that this selection was of interest to at least one later reader of the manuscript.¹²

¹¹ I am currently working on an edition of the version of the *Synonyma pseudo-Ciceronis* in Barlow 35.

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57
(ult.)

fluxe	Incumbere	falliceo	Trabatur	Eodem modo	Studeo.
plene	Instare	Recipio	Vacillat	Onfajlcangemere.	legecnyulace.
cumulate	Pgere	Spondeo	nutat	Amauhuril	flopeo.
affatum	admit	firmo	hescat	hadagelupedan.	icblope.
alide	Unguere	fidetepono	reprimat	Conflopi	Ugeo.
abunde	pmere	Clades	Astuat	legepcepuge.	lestpangigo.
atit	Capit	pldes	Dubitat	Gpazulop	Zelop.
agubari	affectat	Spondes	Ambigio	icbliffge.	leandige.
inmum	adepiat	Receptat	flucuat	Conuicio.	Lippus.
Stuctose	adpare	admissa	Incertis	sepodnys	Supraesede.
ibit	adapit	Gaudiu	Dubius	Significatio.	Confusio.
nixe	Instare	Lectia	Signifer	Commoda inuipant	Comprimo.
etule	Inmtere	Urtas	Taciturnitas	Lenneppuolapaz	leopfrice.
mpense	Exgere	Voluntas	Simplex	Saghe.	Amabulu.
upicle	Lice		Anfals	Sénte.	leopadel.
Xanima	Liberté.	Lulus	Composita	Cupiocepilange.	Succido.
ūmauoluntate	uselt	Iocus	gepege.	Acuo.	lehpice.
Dehantus	Tuait	Lulus	Oprauim.	Sumo.	leundipio.
upidis	Concidit	Lulus	gepyselat.	Ambigo.	me epynal.
erius	Dat	Lascia	Vinam	Deceptio.	lecele.
rdent	Remittat	Acps	Eala.	Cogo.	lenydo.
legatis	tribuat	Ambigui	Amareuolo.	Vinco.	leophspe.
tinanti	Inpunge	Dubiu	lepillulupian.	Conquendo.	legamenoge.
iolati	Sine fraude	Incerta	Amabit	Como.	legeglunge.
imoderati	Promit	Lauat	pulupast.	Tempno.	lequluo.

Figure 1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35, fol. 57r; Glossary I begins in col. D with the first lemma "Signifer". © Reproduced by permission of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

Figure 2: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35, fol. 57v © Reproduced by permission of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford