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**Friedrich Lindenbrog's Old English
Glossaries Rediscovered**

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Abstract: This article presents the Old English lexicographical materials compiled by the humanist scholar Friedrich Lindenbrog (1573–1648), some of which were considered lost after World War II, but have been restored to the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg during the 1980s and 1990s. It traces the origins and provenances of the Old English glossaries contained in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Codd. germ. 22 and philol. 263, and discusses a selection of notable glosses and spellings, some of which are uniquely preserved in these manuscripts. Lindenbrog's lexicographical collections were considered useful in the eyes of other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars from Germany, whose materials are referenced here as well.

Key terms: Old English, lexicography, glossaries, humanism, Friedrich Lindenbrog, Ælfric of Eynsham, manuscript studies

1 Introduction

Extant surveys of the history of Old English Studies in the modern age have comprehensively addressed its beginnings in Tudor and Elizabethan England.¹ While the past three decades have also seen the long overdue acknowledgement of the contributions by leading Dutch scholars such as Jan de Laet (1581–1649), Jan van Vliet (1622–1666), and Francis Junius (1591–1677),² the history of studying early English in Germany, it seems, is still often reduced to its strictly academic past,

1 See, for example, Gneuss (1990 and 1996); Graham (2001); Brackmann (2012).

2 Dekker (1997 and 1999); Bremmer (1998 and 2008); Bremmer and Hoftijzer (1998); Hoftijzer (1998); Timmer (1957).

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that is, the age of national philology in the nineteenth century, represented by protagonists such as Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) or Jacob Grimm (1785–1863).³ Little research has been dedicated to the efforts of those German pioneers of Old English Studies of the sixteenth through to the eighteenth centuries who paved the way yet remain largely unknown today.⁴ One of these scholars was the Hamburg lawyer and philologist Friedrich Lindenbrog (also known as Lindenbruch, 1573–1648), who, in the words of Kees Dekker (2006: 193), was “the first non-English scholar to evince a more than rudimentary knowledge of Old English, something for which he has never received recognition”. This paper aims at remedying this deficit.

Lindenbrog, who was born in Hamburg and studied law and classical languages at Leiden University, was not the first German-speaking modern intellectual to take an interest in the Old English language.⁵ His humanist predecessors Heinrich “Glareanus” Loriti (1488–1563) and Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) had already outlined the “mixed state” of English and its Continental origins.⁶ Based on Münster’s observations on the names of the months in Bede’s *De temporibus*, the Swiss physician and bibliophile Conrad Gessner (1516–1565) proposed a set of questions on the Old English lexicon in his *Mithridates* (1555). Not much later, Marcus Welser (1558–1614), Augsburg astronomer and owner of manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon period, and Heidelberg law professor and diplomat Marquard Freher (1565–1614) knew and copied parts of Ælfric’s *Glossary* (Ker 1957: nos. 405 and 406; Buckalew 1978: 154). Freher (1609 and 1610) even printed some Old English prose.⁷ It was Lindenbrog, however, the protégé of arch-philologist Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), who clearly reached some proficiency in Old English and opened up a new perspective of its study in Germany, as is evident from his publications as well as his personal manuscripts and their later copies by other scholars, especially from northern Germany.

3 See, for example, Wischer (2012). On national philology, see, for example, Humboldt (1836: §§ 6 and 20) or Grimm (1822: xii).

4 Rare exceptions are Hetherington (1980) and Stanley (1982).

5 On Lindenbrog’s life, see especially Horváth (1988: 10–78), who discusses his methodology and reconstructs parts of his biography and his library, including some of the surviving correspondence; and Neef (1985).

6 See Loriti’s *De Geographia* (1527: 25–26) and Münster’s *Cosmographia* (1552: 45): “Anglica lingua mixta est ex multis linguis, praesertim Germanica et Gallica. Olim uero mere fuit Germanica [...]” (“The English language has been mixed from many tongues, especially German and French. However, it was once purely German [...].”). Parts of Münster’s work were excerpted by Lindenbrog in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek [= SUB], Cod. hist. 290, pp. 37–121.

7 For Welser’s interest in manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon period, see further Gneuss and Lapidge (2003: 51–53).

Lindenbrog is mainly known for his scholarship on the history of law, especially his monumental *Codex legum antiquarum* (1613). Yet his written correspondence and personal notes bear witness to a polyglottal polymath who entertained a far-reaching academic network in Europe and worked across the present-day academic divide of disciplines, languages, and cultures. He visited various European countries and their libraries and paid several visits to England, especially between 1614 and 1616, during which he collected Old English glosses and copied excerpts of several early English documents.

This article, which focuses on his early English lexicography, has two main parts: the first part focuses on the description of two of Lindenbrog's handwritten collections of Old English glossaries, which were only recently rediscovered. To understand the composite nature of these manuscripts and their value for Old English lexicography, it is necessary to trace the potential sources of these manuscripts and their complex history in close connection with Lindenbrog's biography. We also give a brief outline of the much understudied dissemination of Lindenbrog's Old English glossaries in Germany after his death. The second part (see below Section 4) focuses on those Old English glosses recorded by Lindenbrog which represent notable or hitherto unknown lemmata and spellings that derive from original early English manuscripts now lost. One of these lost manuscripts, we demonstrate, was probably a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century copy of Ælfric's *Glossary*, and the glosses traceable to it are of considerable lexicographical and linguistic importance.

2 Friedrich Lindenbrog's Old English Glossaries

Two of Lindenbrog's personal manuscripts, Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Codd. germ. 22 and philol. 263, were inspected by Neil Ker at the British Museum in London during January and February 1937.⁸ The loan had been arranged by the former Hamburg curator Hans Meier, who had emigrated to London with the Warburg collection in December 1933 (Klingler 2004: 270), even though the racial laws of Nazi Germany did not apply to him. Ker provided German descriptions of the contents for both manuscripts (see their front pastedowns) for the Hamburg Library and returned them on 4 March 1937.⁹ His *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* of 1957 references them in nos. 100, 405, and 406.¹⁰ In the

⁸ For the date, see the list of users in both manuscripts.

⁹ See the front pastedown attachments of Codd. philol. 263 and germ. 22.

¹⁰ However, Ker (1957: 141, 471, 507) prints the wrong shelfmark "MS. Germ. 32" for Cod. germ. 22 throughout, probably due to misreading an odd form of writing the number by a German librarian

Catalogue's introduction, Ker (1957: viii) expresses his gratitude to Meier, who – as appalling as things could become – was killed in a German air-raid on London in 1941.¹¹ The manuscripts of Lindenbrog's glossaries went on a fateful journey during World War II: evacuated to Lauenstein Castle in Saxony, both manuscripts ended up in USSR territory after 1945 (Krawehl 1997), with Cod. philol. 263 being returned with other manuscripts to the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin (then German Democratic Republic) in the late 1950s (Horváth 1999: 62). Cod. germ. 22, however, had since been considered missing or even lost (e.g., Bailey 1991: 1439; Considine 2009: 257), causing M. Sue Hetherington (1980: 79) to speculate:

Should Lindenbrog's Old English glossary be found, it would be interesting to determine whether this German scholar made use of comparative philology [...]. Its total word list must have exceeded that of any preceding Old English dictionary.

We are happy to report to readers of this journal that – virtually unnoticed by scholars of Old English – both manuscripts have returned to Hamburg: Cod. germ. 22 from Moscow in 1990 in the course of a restitutional exchange between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR; Cod. philol. 263 from East Berlin apparently in the early 1980s.¹² What follows next is a description of their contents, their sources, and the whens and hows of the potential compilation of their Old English glossaries.

on top of the list of manuscript users (see the end-papers of Cod. germ. 22). This mismatch seems to have been responsible for the manuscript's neglect by recent scholarship (see, for example, Considine 2009: 257). In his introduction to the fourth edition reprint of Zupitza (1880), currently the standard edition, Gneuss (2001: x–xi) mentions neither the past nor present existence of Cod. germ. 22. Ker himself was apparently unaware of the real whereabouts of the manuscripts at the time of his *Catalogue's* first publication.

11 See the anonymous obituary in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 1940/41 and Klingler (2004: 270).

12 Oliver Bock at the University of Halle deserves full credit for this discovery, which he made by tracing references to Lindenbrog's materials under the correct shelfmarks in the correspondence between Johann Martin Lappenberg (1794–1865) and Charles Purton Cooper (1793–1873) of the London Record Commission, then checking the current Hamburg stacks, and communicating the restored holdings of Codd. germ. 22 and philol. 263 to us. We wish to thank Dr Bock for generously sharing this information with us. We are further indebted to Monika Müller, former curator at the SUB Hamburg, now at Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, for clarifying the return dates of the manuscripts from the SUB records in an oral communication in October 2019.

2.1 Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 263

The items of this humanist *florilegium*, last studied by Ronald Buckalew in East Berlin in 1974, can be listed as follows:¹³

- (1) fols. 1r–8r: Lindenbrog's description of the library of Aloisio Valaresso in Venice; (fol. 8v blank).
- (2) fols. 9r–10v: A copy of Scaliger's poem *In pulicem Catharinae des Roches* (1615: 13–14, no. VI).
- (3) fols. 11r–15v: "Ex. V.C. bibliothecae S. Germani Parisiis". Lindenbrog's excerpts of the beginnings of *Psalm 6* and the *Canticum Symeonis* in Tironian notes with interlinear transcription (probably copied from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13160, fols. 1v and 107r), followed by a selection of Tironian notes and their Latin equivalents (source unknown).
- (4) fols. 16r–19v: "GLOSSARIUM THEOTISCUM". See next section.
- (5) fols. 20r–24r: An alphabetical list (letters A–D) of Latin idiomatic expressions with equivalents and explanations in Italian, occasionally in Greek; (fols. 24v–27v blank).
- (6) fols. 28r–31v: "Glossarii opus egregium totius linguae latinae uocabulorum copiosissimum feliciter incipit". Excerpts (letters A–C) from the *Liber glossarum*, copied from an unknown manuscript.
- (7) fols. 32r–36r: "GLOSSARIUM LATINO-SAXONICVM. ad MS. Cod. Velseri". See next section; (fols. 36v–39v blank).
- (8) fols. 40r–44r: Alphabetical Latin-Greek vocabulary. Source unknown; (fols. 44v–47v blank).
- (9) fols. 48r–51r: "Vocabula aliquot a Ditmaro plane novis aut minus consuetis Lat. linguae significationibus usurpata, vel etiam omnino barbara". Rare words and their meanings from Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicle*, large parts probably copied from the edition of Reineck (1580: 7); (fols. 51v–54v blank).
- (10) fols. 55r–63v: "GLOSSARIUM VOCUM SEMILATINARUM AUT BARBARUM". Not in Lindenbrog's hand. Source unknown; (fol. 64rv blank).
- (11) fols. 65r–77v: A copy of Fabricio Padovani's tract *De terre motu* (1601: 153–163); (fol. 78rv blank).
- (12) fols. 79r–81v: "Decretum Universitatis Oxoniensis damnans propositiones neotericorum infra scriptas siue Jesuitarum, siue Puritanorum, siue aliorum

¹³ Digital images of the manuscript can be found at <https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de/de/nc/detail.html?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=34531&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=2&tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&cHash=2cc68521e9bd145ec7c39bef0b85d10> [accessed 18 May 2021].

cuiuscunq. generis scriptorum”. A copy of John Lichfield’s 1622 pamphlet; (fols. 82r–84v blank).

2.1.1 The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Cod. philol. 263

We offer here a detailed description of the contents, the potential sources, and the historical background of the compilation of arts. (4) and (7):

(4) fols. 16r–19v: “GLOSSARIUM THEOTISCUM” [= Buckalew’s **QI**; Ker 1957: no. 405 (a)]¹⁴

This list of selective glosses from Ælfric’s *Glossary* (cf. Zupitza 1880: 301.10–315.15) shows an additional rubric by Lindenbrog reading “Ex membranis Fr. Pithoei, quas in Anglia Oxoniae nactus. titulus praeferebat BEDAM.”¹⁵ on its first page (see Figure 1). Ker reasons that the French lawyer and attorney general François Pithou (1543–1621) obtained a now lost Bede manuscript in Oxford in 1572, which contained a large fragment of Ælfric’s *Glossary* [**Q**] (see further below, pp. 629–633). Pithou, a friend of Scaliger, had known Lindenbrog at least since the latter’s move to Paris in 1599 (Horváth 1988: 24). Not only did he grant Lindenbrog access to his Ælfric-glosses, but he or his brother Pierre also communicated them to the antiquarian Jacques Bongars (1554–1612), to the Heidelberg librarian Jan Gruter (1560–1627), and to Marquard Freher.¹⁶ Fuller versions of Pithou’s glos-

¹⁴ Sigla according to Buckalew (1978: 154).

¹⁵ ‘From the manuscript materials of Fr[ançois] Pithou, which he obtained in Oxford, England. The title mentioned Bede’.

¹⁶ On this transmission, see also Ker (1957: no. 405) and Buckalew (1978: 154 and 1982: 26–27). For Bongars’s transcript [**Qb**], of only twenty-three glosses, perhaps copied from the original manuscript, see Berne, Burgerbibliothek, 468, fol. 195v (olim 4v). We are most grateful to Florian Mittenhuber for providing us with an image of this page. On Gruter’s lost copies, see his letter to Camden of 24 September 1610 (Smith 1691: 132). Freher’s manuscript is deemed lost, but see his *Orationis Dominicae* (1609: B1v–B2r), quoted by von Eckhart (1713: 194), and Freher’s *Decalogi Orationis Symboli Saxonica Versio vetustissima* (1610: B1r–C1r), which discuss glosses with reference to Pithou. See further n. 27 and the discussion of Cod. germ. 22, Section 2.2, art. (2). Lindenbrog’s brother Heinrich (1570–1642) provided Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611–1671), classical scholar and librarian at Leiden, with a now-lost copy of **QI**, which was, in turn, copied by the Dutch philologist Jan van Vliet in 1659 [**Qlv**]. This copy survives in London, Lambeth Palace Library, 783, fols. 248r–253v. From Heinrich Lindenbrog’s copy, Gronovius apparently made a further copy which he sent to Francis Junius for correction in 1651. This copy can be found in Leeuwarden, Tresoar 149 Hs., fols. 5–8 (Bremmer 1998: 207–208 and 2008: 164–166; Dekker 1999: 133–135). On further copies of these glosses by German scholars, see below pp. 637–639.

sary survive in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.ix, fols. 208r–213v [Qv], and in Cod. germ. 22, pp. 326–334b (on both see below, Section 2.2, art. [2]).

Lindenbrog's selective copy of the Pithou glosses in art. (4) seems to have been written on Continental, possibly French, paper, the jug watermark suggesting c. 1585–1610.¹⁷ He may have copied directly and selectively from François Pithou's manuscript.¹⁸ This must have happened sometime after Lindenbrog's potentially first meeting with Pithou on 13 August 1599 in Paris and before his departure from there in 1604.¹⁹ Pithou also had access to the Anglo-Saxon manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 943, copying parts of it before 1588 (Ker 1957: 439). Lindenbrog apparently used this copy in preparing his *Codex legum antiquarum* (Brotanek 1913: 195) and may have done the same with Pithou's Ælfric glosses (see below p. 625).

Lindenbrog's transcription of Old English minuscule is consistently insecure in the Pithou glosses. Spellings are not very precise and may betray his early inexperience with Old English.²⁰ A potentially misplaced section on fol. 17rb–va (*Textrinum opus – teulicueorc [...] Sicera – ælcēs cymes geuring*) was later earmarked and annotated on fol. 17rb as “in alio Gloß.”, i.e. apparently in art. (7), fol. 33va–b. However, there is no complete correspondence between the two sections – both contain independent forms and the sequence of glosses differs at the end. If this “in alio Gloß.” annotation is indeed by Lindenbrog, then it was clearly added after he had copied art. (7) and perhaps after the two glossaries were bound together in Cod. philol. 263. The overlap and later annotations confirm that he copied arts. (4) and (7) at different times and in different places. Latin titles of

17 On a very similar type of single-handle pot watermark, see Mosser et al. (1996–), POT.291.1.

18 Heinrich Lindenbrog's copy for Gronovius carries the note: “Haec vocabula Frater meus Fridericus ex membranis Francisci Pithaei [...] descripsit [...]” (“This wordlist was copied by my brother Friedrich from the manuscript materials of François Pithou”); cf. Dekker (1999: 133, n. 112). The note survives in van Vliet's copy in Qlv. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are our own.

19 Lindenbrog's potentially first travel to England took place right before that time, between 1 July and 13 August 1599, with a confirmed visit to London on 28 July. For Pithou's 1599 entry in Lindenbrog's *album amicorum*, see Hamburg, SUB, in scriin. 68, no. 298.

20 Lindenbrog writes <u> for <p> and occasionally mistakes <c> for <t> (as in *Operarius – virhca* [= *wirhta*], fol. 16ra), writes <d> for <ð> (*smid* [= *smið*], 16ra), confuses <p> and <þ> (*Saltator – hleauere* [= *hleapere*], 16rb) and <ð> with (*Remex vel nauta – rebra* [= *reðra*], 16rb), later apparently correcting some of these errors himself. So, although he gradually seems to recognise <þ> as in *hynþ* (16va) or *ælþeodig* (16vb), he still confuses it with <p>, and seems unable to distinguish it from <p> (*blesus – þlips* [= *wlips*], 17ra). Initially the digraph <æ> is sometimes mistaken for <a> or misspelled as <ac> (*Accerceorl* [= *Æcerceorl*], 16ra), and <f> is mistaken for <s> (*vahrast* [= *wæhræft*], 16rb). These misrepresentations of Old English minuscule can apparently still be found in van Vliet's copy. Gronovius's Leeuwarden copy was heavily corrected by Junius, who complained about the amateurish orthography (see Dekker 1999: 134–135; Bremmer 2008: 166).

the thematic sections are in red capitals. The list in art. (4) ends after *Fusus – Spinl* (19vb) with a rubric reading “Hactenus ex MS. Pithoei.”²¹

(7) fols. 32r–36r: “GLOSSARIUM LATINO-SAXONICVM. ad MS. Cod. Velseri.” [= VI, Ker 1957: no. 406]

This is a selection of glosses from a lost manuscript of Ælfric’s *Glossary*, taken from the section Zupitza (1880: 308.5–322.2), showing partial overlap with glosses in art. (4) (Zupitza 1880: 308.5–315.15). Lindenbrog’s rubric may indicate that he copied directly from a manuscript [V] belonging to the Augsburg humanist Marcus Welser (1558–1614). The paper is clearly different from the Pithou copy in art. (4) and is typical of Southern Germany between c. 1590–1610.²² How and when exactly Lindenbrog accessed the Welser glosses is difficult to ascertain. Welser was a friend and co-editor of Lindenbrog’s Leiden teacher Scaliger, who may well have established the contact.²³ No correspondence between Lindenbrog and Welser seems to survive, but the two scholars directly communicated and it is probable that the Welser glosses were copied between 1604 and 1613.²⁴ This could have happened during one of Lindenbrog’s visits to Augsburg (if not through a book loan by Welser), but the exact date remains unknown. Fuller versions of the Welser glossary survive in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.ix, fols. 213r–215r [Vv], and in Cod. germ. 22, pp. 334b–346 (on both see below Section 2.2, art. [2]).

Lindenbrog seems to be slightly more consistent in his transcription here than in art. (4), writing <æ> consistently as a digraph, using both <ð> (*mærd*, 32rb, see Figure 2) and <th> (*thorn*, 32vb). The latter was probably regularly written for <þ>

²¹ ‘Up to this point from the manuscript of Pithou’.

²² For the tower watermark, see Piccard (1970, III: 68, nos. 358–365).

²³ See Gruter, Scaliger and Welser (1602–1603), and Scaliger’s letter to David Hoeschel of 9 March 1599 (Botley and van Miert 2012: 3.255–256). In a letter to Scaliger of 5 January 1602, Lindenbrog states that his edition of Germanic law codes could only be published when he returned to Augsburg (Botley and van Miert 2012: 4.163).

²⁴ We know through postscriptum notes in Lindenbrog’s surviving correspondence with Augsburg scholar David Hoeschel (1556–1617), a protégé of Welser’s, that Lindenbrog contacted Welser directly, at least between 1610 and 1613, but the subject matter of their letters remains unknown. See Lindenbrog’s letters in Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 4054, fol. 136 (“Salutem V. Ampliſſ. Dno. Marco Velsero a me dicas velim, cui etiam litteras tuas ut rectius curentur, dare potes”; ‘I would like you to extend my greetings to the most eminent Marcus Welser, to whom you can also hand your letters so that they may be delivered more directly’) and fol. 140. It took until 1613 for Lindenbrog’s *Codex legum antiquarum* to appear, the work containing a preface to the reader by François Pithou (fol. C2). In his personal exemplar of this work, Lindenbrog identifies Pithou, Freher, and Welser as those scholars whose criticism – unlike that of others – he would accept (Horváth 1988: 64).

as it often occurs in initial position. Confusion between <þ> and <p> is thus avoided (cf. *molduerp*, 32rb, see Figure 2), while <u> is used for <p> throughout.

Both Latin-Old English glossaries in Cod. philol. 263 were apparently used by Lindenbrog in creating the comparative glossary at the end of his monumental *Codex legum antiquarum* of 1613, which incorporates some Old English forms. Apart from quoting examples from William Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (1568), Lindenbrog occasionally refers to a “[Vetus] Glossar. Latino-Anglo-Saxon.” (Lindenbrog 1613: 1360, 1363 and *passim*) here, from which he quotes a selection of words.²⁵ Except for the gloss *raptor*, all quoted forms are found in the two glossaries in arts. (4) and (7) in Cod. philol. 263.²⁶ It seems clear from the Latin-Old English ordering and the generally limited amount of printed Old English glosses that Lindenbrog did not yet have access to much larger resources containing Old English before 1613. Selection and spellings indicate instead that he must have drawn primarily on Cod. philol. 263 or a collation of its two glossaries in preparing his edition. However, the single gloss *Raptor* – *ræfere*, which cannot be found in Cod. philol. 263, as well as some spellings in the printed work might suggest that Lindenbrog already possessed a longer version of the Pithou glosses then. Such a version would have resembled the glosses in Vitellius C.ix ([**Qv+Vv**]), which contains the *raptor* gloss on fol. 209va. Before 1613 such an extended version could have been in the possession of Gruter or Freher in Heidelberg (see below pp. 631–633).²⁷

Although both glossaries in Cod. philol. 263 exclude a number of entries found in Vitellius C.ix, they preserve several glosses no longer extant or fully

25 See “*Auca* Gos. [1360a] [...] *Armillā* beah. [1363b] [...] *Mensa* beod. *Refectorium* Beoddern. [1364b] [...] *Quaternio* Cine. *werdunia* [1377a] [...] *Adulter*, forligen. [1399a] [...] *Laquear* Fyrst. [1401a] [...] *Equus* Hors, *Equa* Mæra. [1434a] [...] *Pellicia* Pilce. [1455b] [...] *Vestimentum vel indumentum*, Roeff. [1464a] [...] *Raptor*. Reofere. *Messor*. Riftere. [1465a]”.

26 Cf. Hamburg, SUB, Cod. philol. 263, (a) Pithou glosses: *Auca* – *gos* (18ra), *Armillā* – *beah* (16va), *Equus* – *hors*, *Equa* – *mýre* [sic!] (18rb), *Mensa* – *beod vel mysc* (17rb), *Messor* – *riftere* (16vb), *Pellicia* – *pylce* (19vb), *Quaternio* – *Cine* (16vb), *Refectorium* – *Beoddenn vel gereordung hus* (17rb); (b) Welser glosses: *Adulter* – *forligen* (36rb), *Equus* – *hors*, *Equa* – *mæra* (32rb), *Laquear* – *fyrst* (33va), *Mensa* – *beod* (33vb), *Pellicia* – *pilyce* (33va), *Refectorium* – *beoddern oððe reordung hus* (33vb), *Vestis vel vestimentum vel indumentum* – *roef* (33rb).

27 Freher may have been introduced to Lindenbrog by Bongars as early as 1601 and evidently provided Lindenbrog with manuscripts before 1611. See Lindenbrog's postscriptum note in a letter of 15 February 1601 sent from Paris to Bongars (Hamburg, SUB, Sup. ep. 29, 48: “Iuves me velim, si quid ad istas leges notasti, aut si quid a Dn. Frehero impetrare potes, cui quæso me insinues, salutemque dicas ni grave sit officiosissime”; ‘I would like you to help me if you have any notes on these laws or if you could obtain anything from Freher, whom you may please remind of me and extend greetings, if this is not too heavy a duty for you’). See also above n. 24 and the preface to Lindenbrog's *Diversarum gentium historiae antiquae scriptores tres* (1611: b2).

legible in the Cotton manuscript due to damage from the Ashburnham House fire in 1731. These damaged glosses were printed by Ker (1957: 470–471) using Cod. philol. 263. Lindenbrog's inexperience in dealing with Old English minuscule script and its flexible orthography, however, makes it difficult to evaluate some of the forms preserved here.

2.2 Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 22 (olim Cod. philol. 237)

This manuscript, which was returned from the former USSR, was last studied by Ker in 1937 and is in excellent condition today.²⁸ All parts containing Old English, with the exception of art. (8), were written on two types of English paper, the jug and grapes watermarks suggesting a date around 1615/1616.²⁹ The front pastedown of the manuscript shows an ownership entry and a note in Lindenbrog's hand that identifies “Ælfricus Grammaticus” as pupil of Æthelwold, but also as first abbot of Abingdon and archbishop of Canterbury who died in 1006.³⁰ Another pastedown entry of 17 July 1895 by the Hamburg librarian Friedrich Burg mentions that a copy of Cod. germ. 22, once in possession of the Hamburg preacher Joachim Morgenweg (1666–1730), exists in Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 23 (see below p. 638).³¹ Lindenbrog's fair hand throughout, the paper date, the layout, and his copying habit for the Old English seem consistent enough to indicate that arts. (1)–(4) were written in sequence within a relatively short period, most prob-

28 Digital images of the manuscript can be found at <https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de/de/nc/detail.html?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=17604&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&cHash=9e629a7b94fd-d72716393ee1040d317c> [accessed 18 May 2021].

29 For the watermarks, see Mosser et al. (1996–: COL.040.1 and COL.037.1). That Lindenbrog copied on contemporary English paper during his visits to England 1614–1616 is evident from his copy of three Anglo-Saxon charters in Hamburg, SUB, Cod. theol. 1123, which he transcribed from London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii.29 and 33 (Sawyer: nos. 1171 and 587) and Cotton Domitian A. xiv, fols. 115r–116r (Sawyer: no. 418). His copy concludes: “Ex ipsis autographis hae tres donationes fuere transcriptae. Lundini Anno XP .MDCXV” (“From the same autographs these three donations have been transcribed. London, in the year of our Lord 1615”). For the corresponding 1615 grape watermark, see Mosser et al. (1996–: GRP.058.1). For descriptions of the manuscript predating Ker, see Münzel (1905: 38, no. 202) and further the summary in Horváth (1988: 111).

30 “Ælfricus Grammaticus Aethelwoldi discipulus, primo Abbas Abindoniensis: deinde in Archiepiscopum sublimatus Cantuariensem, obiit AN. DOMINI MVI. Pontificatus sui II.” On the confusion about the identity of Ælfric of Eynsham (d. c. 1010) in the past and its resolution, see Dietrich (1855 and 1856).

31 The note was apparently missed by Ker, who was otherwise aware of other German copies of Lindenbrog's glossaries.

ably during his visits to England between 1614 and 1616 on behalf of the Hamburg Senate.³² The materials in this manuscript can be described as follows:

(1) pp. 1–325: “GLOSSARIUM ANGLO-SAXONICO-LATINUM.”

The main part of Cod. germ. 22 is Lindenbrog's copy of the *Dictionarium Anglo-Saxonico-Latinum* or *Titus Dictionary* (today London, British Library, Cotton Titus A.xv and xvi), collected and composed by John Joscelyn with the help of Archbishop Matthew Parker's son, John Parker, between c. 1565 and c. 1585 (Graham 2000).³³ This monumental Old English-Latin list of some 23,000 entries was copied in abridged form by Lindenbrog, almost certainly during his visits to England in 1614–1616. During this time, he befriended Sir William Camden (1551–1623) and Sir Henry Spelman (1562–1641), former members of the discontinued Society of Antiquaries, and may also have met Sir Robert Cotton (1570–1631), from whose manuscripts he definitely excerpted.³⁴ The *Titus Dictionary* had passed into Cotton's possession, probably on Joscelyn's death in 1603, but we know for a fact that Cotton had loaned the dictionary together with Joscelyn's now lost *Grammar* of Old English to his former teacher Camden in November 1612 (Ker 1957: lv; Graham 2000: 84–85).³⁵ Given Lindenbrog's friendship with Camden and their exchange of materials, testified by several surviving letters, it is possible that Lindenbrog

32 The Hamburg Senate had sent Lindenbrog, a trained lawyer, to England in order to settle matters relating to the merchant adventurers and to improve future trade relations. See his letters to the Hamburg Senate written in London, 22 and 29 July 1614 (London, BL, Sloane 2882, fols. 44v and 45r). Lindenbrog seems to have travelled to England at least twice during this period, as is clear from his letter to Jacques Auguste du Thou, sent from London, 12 November 1615 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 836, fol. 278), in which he mentions being on a second visit that had lasted for about four months at the time of sending his letter (“[...] cuius causa ad Magnum Britanniae Regem iam secunda vice ab ampliss. Senatu Hamburgi missus fui. [...] cum Hamburgo discederem atque ex eo tempore nunc mensis agitur quartus”; “[...] for which I have been sent to the great king of Britain by the most high Senate of Hamburg for the second time. [...] when I departed from Hamburg, and since then it has now been four months’). Lindenbrog was definitely still in England in July 1616 (see n. 34), and he probably stayed until October of the same year (see his letter to Sir Henry Spelman [Hamburg, SUB, LA Lindenbruch, Friedrich: 1–2]).

33 The *Titus Dictionary* remains unedited. A digital edition and study of this dictionary in comparison with its German copies is currently in preparation by Melanie Vollbrecht at the University of Göttingen through a project funded by the federal state of Lower Saxony.

34 See Hamburg, SUB, Cod. jur. 2548, p. 394: “Hactenus cod. ms. Roberti Cottonis equitis Angli. Lundini Anno Christi 1616, 24 Julii” (‘Up to this point from the manuscript of Sir Robert Cotton of England. London, in the year of Christ 1616, 24 July’). On the history of the Society of Antiquaries, see DeCoursey (2015). For Lindenbrog's correspondence with Camden and Spelman, see below pp. 634–636 and nn. 62, 63 and 67.

35 Remains of a torn leaf of paper in Titus A.xvi (fol. 269*) seem to contain traces of excerpts of Ælfric's *Grammar* (cf. Zupitza 1880: 132.9–132.12), apparently in Joscelyn's hand.

had access to the *Titus Dictionary* through Camden, rather than Cotton, in London.³⁶ All entries are in Lindenbrog's fair hand and the copying process itself must have served as profound training in Old English for him.

During his 1614–1616 visits to England, Lindenbrog must have spent much of his time in libraries, transcribing parts of manuscripts, such as Cambridge, Trinity College O.I.14 and London, British Library, Royal 11 B.ii, and excerpting from printed books, such as Lambarde's *A Perambulation of Kent* (1596).³⁷ The latter could have clarified to him the "Saxon characters and their values" (Lambarde 1596: xi), if he had not already improved his knowledge of Old English minuscule since copying his earlier glossaries in Cod. philol. 263. Copying the *Titus Dictionary*, Lindenbrog rarely writes <d> for <ð> and later also alternates between <ð> and <th>, the latter probably used for <þ> exclusively. At the beginning of his copy, he occasionally mistakes Joscelyn's and Parker's carefully preserved Old English vernacular minuscule lower <ʀ> for <r>, as in the forms derived from OE *abysgian* 'to busy, engage (oneself/someone)' (p. 1b; see Figure 3). Misspellings and spelling adaptations remain a general problem in the assessment of Lindenbrog's materials, but there is enough evidence in Cod. germ. 22 to suggest that his knowledge of Old English and its original scripts was quickly improving throughout the copying process, probably also through his encounters with more original manuscripts and further instruction by his antiquarian friends.

The *Titus Dictionary* still groups together various grammatical forms, such as verb inflections in past and present tense, and derivations of the same headword. It is in these cases that Lindenbrog abridged and occasionally reordered the material, the final result being a compressed copy in art. (1) of c. 16,000 entries, which were taken fairly faithfully from the exemplar. No other entries from other sources were apparently added in Lindenbrog's copy.³⁸ Lindenbrog also retained Joscelyn's inconsistent abbreviations of source references and many of the c. 1,800 Old English–Early Modern English entries taken from the pioneering *Vocabularium Saxonicum* (1567) of Laurence Nowell (1530–c. 1570) and William Lambarde (1536–1601), lemmata that Joscelyn had referenced with the abbreviation "Laur."³⁹

³⁶ See Lindenbrog's exchange of materials with Camden in 1615 (see below n. 62) and his letter to Spelman of 1 November 1616 (Hamburg, SUB, LA Lindenbruch, Friedrich: 1–2), written shortly after his return to Germany. On Camden's delayed returning of Cotton's books, see Parry (1995: 76).

³⁷ Horváth (1988: 29, n. 102); cf. Hamburg, SUB, Cod. geogr. 63 (for Lambarde); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 98 Gud. graec. (for Trinity O. I. 14); Hamburg, SUB, Cod. jur. 2614 (for Royal 11 B.ii).

³⁸ On supplements in later copies of Lindenbrog's copy, see below Table 1.

³⁹ The manuscript of this dictionary survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 63. The first name reference perhaps suggests that Joscelyn and Nowell were well acquainted. On the

Joscelyn's *Titus Dictionary* was still far from reaching a publishable state, as is clear from the abovementioned groupings as well as several empty columns and leaves reserved for supplements in the two volumes. At the end of the letter 'A', for example, Joscelyn left ample space for further entries and then started a second run through 'A', apparently with various additional forms taken from further lists used by Joscelyn and Parker in the compilation.⁴⁰ Although Lindenbrog does not leave any space in his copy in Cod. germ. 22, and instead adds a floral decoration as separation mark, he shows no signs of wanting to collate these extra entries into his copy. Oddly, Lindenbrog's letter 'G' includes a second run of thirty-five forms (pp. 144–145), all of which appear in Joscelyn's and Parker's single run of the letter. This may suggest that after abridging Lindenbrog read through this longest letter in the *Titus Dictionary* again and added some forms he had erroneously dropped before. Nevertheless, Lindenbrog's condensed copy seems to indicate that he was trying to bring an Old English-Latin dictionary, based on Joscelyn and Parker, somewhat closer to publication. The shorter glossaries collected in Cod. germ. 22 were perhaps supposed to supplement such an *opus magnum*.

(2) pp. 326–346: "GLOSSARIUM LATINO ANGLO-SAXONICUM BEDAE SIVE ÆLFRICI GRAMMATICI."

A selection of c. 1,300 glosses from Ælfric's *Glossary* (Zupitza 1880: 297.4–322.2), uniting and collating fuller versions of the Pithou and Welser glosses (see above Cod. philol. 263, arts. [4] and [7]), some of which are unusual or without parallel in known manuscripts (Figure 4; see the discussion below, in Section 4). Except for the first c. 190 of these glosses (Zupitza 301.8–322.2), whose source is unknown, this selection is closely paralleled by London, British Library Cotton, Vitellius C.ix, fols. 208r–215r and partly paralleled by both smaller glossaries **QI** and **VI** in Cod. philol. 263 (see above). Spellings largely correspond to Vitellius C.ix, but Cod. germ. 22 preserves all lemmata partly or entirely lost to fire in the Cotton manuscript, and occasionally adds alternative forms, the sources of which are not always clear.

Resolving the transmission of this important list with its unique forms is an extremely complex task and must inevitably begin with the history of the Vitellius C.ix glossary. This glossary occurs in a manuscript that contains materials by various early modern connoisseurs of Old English, and it shows fuller versions of

known sources of Joscelyn's dictionary, see Rosier (1960: 30–37) and Graham (2000: 134–138). For an edition of the *Vocabularium*, see Marckwardt (1952).

⁴⁰ Lists used in the compilation and later supplementing of the *Titus Dictionary* survive in London, British Library, Harley 6841, and Lambeth Palace Library 692 (see Graham 2000: 120–133).

both Cod. philol. 263, arts. (4) and (7) in sequence, avoiding any overlap between their glosses and adding two short excerpts from Ælfric's *Grammar* at the end.⁴¹ The scribe of the Vitellius list is unknown. According to Ker (1957: 470), the glossary was formerly titled "[Glossarium Latino-Saxonicum Bedæ repertum Oxoniae] Anno 1572", but the tops of the damaged pages leave legible only the date.⁴² However, Wanley's (1705: 238) description reads: "Fragmentum, ut dicitur Glossarii Anglo-Saxonici Bedae, quod repertum fuit Oxoniae, A.D. 1572",⁴³ indicating that he already assumed that the Vitellius list, as probably its original exemplar, was incomplete, covering only Zupitza (301.8–322.2). The second part of the Vitellius glosses (fols. 213rb–215ra [Vv]) is titled "Sequentia ex Augustana membrana"⁴⁴ (see Figure 5). This title obviously identifies the Augsburg manuscript that was at some point owned by Welser.⁴⁵ Ker (1957: no. 405) considers the Vitellius hand "English italic script" of the late sixteenth century, but the paper of Vitellius C.ix is definitely German, from late sixteenth-century Heidelberg.⁴⁶ It takes a quick excursus to reconcile these two observations.

François Pithou, with whom Ker (1957: 405) associates the lost Oxford manuscript, left France in the company of his brothers Pierre, Jean, and Nicholas in 1568, after having joined the Reformation.⁴⁷ Before his reconversion to Catholicism and return to France in 1576, Pithou travelled widely in Europe and apparently reached England in May 1572, perhaps in the company of his brother Pierre, where either or both must have acquired the Oxford manuscript.⁴⁸ François is re-

41 Among the authors are John Dee (1527–1608), Richard James (1591–1638), Patrick Junius (1584–1652), and John Leland (1506–1552). For the excerpts, see Ker (1957: 471).

42 The title was apparently taken from Hooper (1777: 99).

43 'A fragment, reportedly, of the Old English Glossary by Bede, which was found in Oxford in 1572'.

44 'The following are from the Augsburg manuscript'.

45 It is unlikely that the rubric would refer to an 'Augustus'-shelf mark in the Cotton collection or to a manuscript containing works by Augustine, as assumed by Buckalew (1982: 27).

46 See WZIS, Ref. No. DE4215-PO-25758 at <www.wasserzeichen-online.de/wzis/struktur.php?klassi=103001005010002&anzeigeIDMotif=15345> and Briquet (1907: 1.145). We are much indebted to Calum Cockburn for providing us with images of the Vitellius watermarks and to Dr Karin Zimmermann of Heidelberg University Library for confirming the identification.

47 On the life of François Pithou, see Grosley (1756: 2.106–243) and Banderier (2009). He and his brothers matriculated at Basle in June 1568; see Wackernagel (1956: 181–182, nos. 79–81, 84) and Banderier (2009: 391).

48 See the confirmable localisations of his correspondence in Banderier (2009: 406–408). On the Pithous' travel to England in the company of the Duke of Montmorency, see the letter of Claude Dupuy to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli of 15 August 1572; see de Rosanbo (1928: 286); Raugei (2001: I.56); Banderier (2009: 399). See further Grosley (1757: 2.110 n. [c]) *op. cit. Pithoeana*: "J'ai vú en Angleterre d'excellens Manuscrits [...]".

corded visiting the Palatina Library in Heidelberg in August 1573,⁴⁹ where, if we believe his biographer Pierre-Jean Grosley (1756: 2.110), he took longer residence during his exile, although the exact dates remain unknown. Grosley further claims that François Pithou also visited libraries in Fulda, Augsburg, St Gall, and Venice. In a letter to William Camden of 24 September 1610, Jan Gruter, last librarian of the Palatina (1603–1622), writes:

Et literas tuas binas, & librum *de lingua Anglo-Saxonum* uti etiam *Floribelli proverbialia Italica* necnon *Ælfrici nomenclaturam* denique *selectiora Britanniae adagia* recepi nunc primum in nundinis [...]. Librum Anglo-Saxonicum tradidi Frehero hic in manus; Ælfricum ei tradam Heidelbergæ; jam enim hinc decesserat, ut eum nanciscerbar. Nisi me memoria fallit, fere idem est, quem Beda nomine insignitum nobis ante communicarat Petrus Pithoeus (Smith 1691: 132, no. XCI).

'I have finally received both your letters and the book about the Anglo-Saxon tongue, also Floribelli's [= Fiordibello's] *Italian Proverbs* as well as the *Nomenclature of Ælfric*, finally, the very select *Proverbs of Britain*, here at the fairs (i.e. in Frankfurt a.M.) [...]. The book on Anglo-Saxon I have here given into the hands of Freher. I will hand him the Ælfric in Heidelberg, as he had already departed hence when I acquired it. If my memory does not fail me then it is almost the same as the one that, labelled under Bede's name, was formerly communicated to us by Pierre Pithou'.

This is proof that the Pithou glosses had been communicated to Gruter and, directly or indirectly, to Freher before 1610 by one of the Pithou brothers. If it was indeed Pierre, as the letter claims, then this must have happened before his death on 1 November 1596.⁵⁰ When and by whom the Augsburg sequence was then collated into Vitellius C.ix or an exemplar thereof remains unclear. It is worth noting in this regard that, unlike Lindenbrog's copies in Cod. philol. 263, Vitellius C.ix contains no "Hactenus ex MS. Pithoei." note and refers to the Augsburg manuscript without a reference to Welser (see fol. 213r, Figure 5), who might not yet have been the owner when the collation was undertaken. While it is possible, at least in theory, that one of the Pithou brothers, ardent collectors of manuscripts and glossaries that they were, had come across the Augsburg manuscript after 1572, neither Bongars's nor Lindenbrog's transcripts suggest that the Pithous knew the Augsburg glosses.

The person with an interest in Old English who had the strongest Augsburg connections, who was in close contact with Gruter, Welser, and Bongars, and who, like the Pithous, was a student of Jacques Cujas (1522–1590) in Bourges, is Heidel-

⁴⁹ See the letter of his brother Pierre to Scaliger (Botley and van Miert 2012: 1.54–57).

⁵⁰ Parts of Pierre Pithou's library passed into the hands of his brother François after his death.

berg scholar and diplomat Marquard Freher.⁵¹ That Freher used a version very close to Vitellius C.ix, is unmistakable from the printed glosses in his *Decalogi Orationis Symboli Saxonica* (1610: Br–Cr) and their spellings.⁵² His printed forms *hospes*, *hospitium*, and *monumentum vel sepulchrum* can only be found in the Augsburg section. It is therefore possible that Freher was in some way responsible for the collation, although the Vitellius C.ix list is neither in his hand nor Gruter's.⁵³

One can imagine that Camden requested a copy of the Heidelberg Pithou glosses mentioned to him in Gruter's letter and that either Gruter or Freher, upon comparing their own resources to Camden's "*Ælfrici nomenclatura*", sent what is now the Vitellius C.ix glossary with its Augsburg augmentation in return. This, of course, remains mere speculation, but it could plausibly explain how the Heidelberg paper reached England and, ultimately, Cotton's collection. Whether the hand in Vitellius C.ix is indeed English, as Ker claims, remains unclear. The mysterious scribe was certainly experienced in transcribing or copying Old English (though not without the occasional error), but <þ>, <ð>, and <p> are modernised here as <th>, rarely <d> and <w> throughout, which seems more typical of contemporary Continental transcribers.⁵⁴ On the other hand, there was certainly no shortage of itinerant students, humanists, and religious refugees from England in Heidelberg at the time (Toepke 1886: 2.61–263) who could have provided a transcript (and manuscript transport) for Camden. However, the identity of the fairly professional Vitellius scribe and the exact circumstances of the glossary's compilation and conveyance to England must remain, as yet, unresolved. What also remains obscure are the nature, sources, and whereabouts of the glosses that Camden sent to Gruter in 1610 and that Gruter promised to hand on to Freher.⁵⁵

51 On sources of Freher's and Gruter's publications, see Kühlmann et al. (2005: I). Welsler had been helpful to both Freher and Gruter in the preparation of some of their printed works. On Freher's contacts with Bongars, see Kohldorfer-Fries (2009: 25 and 180).

52 See "*Pecus vel jumentum. Nyten.*", "*Hospes, Cuma.*", "*Bellua. Egeslic nyten, on sæ, othe on lande.*", "*Hospitium, Gæsthus.*", "*Falsus vel mendax, Leas.*", "*Testis. Gewita.*", "*Testimonium, Gewitnys.*", "*Panis, Hlap, vel Laf.*", "*Monumentum vel sepulchrum, Byrigen.*".

53 Gruter had an English mother, spent several years during his childhood in England and was Cambridge-trained (see Forster 1967). We are grateful to Dr Karin Zimmermann at Heidelberg University Library for her support in excluding the possibility of a potential Freher or Gruter autograph.

54 See, for example, Freher's reprint of a passage of Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (1568: 18r–19r) in his *Decalogi* (1610: A2–3), in which he adapts Lambarde's printing of original <p>, <ð>, and <þ> to <w>, <d>, and <th>.

55 In theory, Camden's glosses could also have originated from Pithou's manuscript, either directly or through Bongars, whom Camden had met in person in 1608 (Kohldorfer-Fries 2009: 240). Camden had contacted Francois Pithou as early as 1586 asking for data he might contribute to his *Britannia* (see his letter in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Smith 74/75, fols. 7–8).

Equally unknown is the identity of the “*librum de lingua Anglo-Saxonum*” sent by Camden to Gruter and the origins of the grammatical excerpts that occur at the end of the Vitellius C.ix list.⁵⁶

Whatever the exact circumstances, the material derived from the Pithou and Welser manuscripts in Cod. germ. 22 art. (2) must have been combined in a common ancestor (α) of both Vitellius C.ix and Cod. germ. 22. That we are probably dealing with a common ancestor and not direct copying of one from the other is suggested by the fact that – aside from many shared errors – both Vitellius C.ix and Cod. germ. 22 sometimes preserve correct readings where the other errs.⁵⁷ It is therefore possible that those instances where Cod. germ. 22 shows a more correct reading than Vitellius C.ix derive from comparison with another source, in addition to α . This additional source, which we call γ , may have been a complete manuscript or transcript of *Ælfric's Glossary* that contained independent additions.⁵⁸ A few forms in Cod. germ. 22 that remain unexplained (such as *scolmægstre*, p. 331b) seem to point to Joscelyn (cf. Titus A.xvi, fol. 97v), but if Camden indeed provided Lindenbrog with the *Titus Dictionary*, as suggested above, he might have been able to offer additional material, such as a collation potentially sent to him by Gruter or Freher prior to Lindenbrog's visits to England in 1614–1616. Of course, Lindenbrog might also already have had a more complete collated version of the Pithou and Welser glosses with him in England, one whose spellings and forms he was improving and supplementing by means of various resources in his copy in Cod. germ. 22. These resources must also have contained the c. 190 glosses at the beginning of art. (2), which apparently derive from neither Pithou nor Welser.

(3) pp. 347–354: “EXCERPTA EX GRAMMATICA ANGLO-SAXONICO LATINA ÆLFRICI: *Qui tempore Atheluuoldi Præsulis vixit, anno MVI.*”

Continuous excerpts from *Ælfric's Grammar* from the section Zupitza (1880: 7.7–296.16). Lindenbrog's spellings indicate that his exemplar was very probably the version of *Ælfric's Grammar* in London, British Library, Royal 15 B.xxii [= Zupitza's R].⁵⁹ It is one of the few manuscripts of the text in which some Old

⁵⁶ Both pieces of evidence indicate that an original manuscript or excerpts of *Ælfric's Grammar* were available in Germany c. 1600. A fragment of *Ælfric's Grammar* of unknown provenance surfaced in Düsseldorf in the nineteenth century (Ker 1957: no. 384). It was until 1960 in the possession of the princes of Hohenzollern, now Bloomington, Indiana, University of Indiana, Lilly Library Add. 1000, with sister fragments surviving in London, British Library, Harley 5915, fols. 8–9.

⁵⁷ For examples, see, in Section 4.1 below, the discussion of the transcribed glosses corresponding to Zupitza (1880: 309.17–18 [*styre*] and 312.7 [*peretre*]).

⁵⁸ We have summarised our observations on the transmission in the stemma at the beginning of Section 4.

⁵⁹ See, for example, *Abies* – *aebis* (347b, cf. Zupitza 1880: 52.14) and *passim*.

English translations appear as added interlinear glosses. Lindenbrog's selection may have been influenced by these glosses, although not all forms excerpted by him are 'gloss-forms'. Royal 15 B.xxii, like Royal 7 C.iv in art. (4), belonged to Lord Lumley until his death in 1609 and then entered the Old Royal Library, newly located in St James's Palace before 1612.⁶⁰ The new librarian of James I, Patrick Young (1584–1652), one of the leading scholars of Greek at the time, may well have introduced Lindenbrog to these manuscripts and became a lifelong friend.⁶¹

(4) pp. 355–365: "EXCERPTA EX VETERE LIBRO SENTENTIARUM."

This part contains Lindenbrog's continuously excerpted forms from the interlinear Old English glosses to Defensor's *Liber scintillarum* found in London, British Library, Royal 7 C.iv, fols. 1r–100v (Rhodes 1889; Ker 1957: 256). The manuscript, like Royal 15 B.xxii in art. (3), was formerly in possession of Lord Lumley and very probably at St James's Palace when Lindenbrog consulted it. The quality of the gloss was later acknowledged by Francis Junius in his *Glossarium Gothicum* (1665: 4).

(5) pp. 366–382: "EXCERPTA EX MS. GLOSSARIO LATINO-THEOTISCO: Exemplar extat Florentiae in bibliotheca Laurentiana Magni Ducis."

A copy of the Latin-Old High German glosses that Lindenbrog excerpted in Florence in 1606 from Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana, Plut. 16.5 (Steinmeyer and Sievers 1882: 2.532–2.538) in non-alphabetical order. An alphabetically ordered copy by Lindenbrog for Camden of the same glosses can be found in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E.vi, fols. 12r–18r.⁶²

(6) pp. 382–383: "EXCERPTA EX ALIO VETUSTO MS. GLOSSARIO."

A copy of the Latin-Old High German glosses (Steinmeyer and Sievers 1895: 3.264–3.292) excerpted from Kiel, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. MS. KB 47, a manuscript formerly owned by Lindenbrog. A copy of these glosses by Lindenbrog for Camden can be found on a single leaf, now London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E.vi, fol. 23rv.⁶³

⁶⁰ See Ker (1957: no. 269) and Sears and Johnson (1956: 187).

⁶¹ See their correspondence preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 89 (Kemke 1898: 31, 61 and 103).

⁶² Steinmeyer and Sievers (1879–1898) as well as the latest catalogue of manuscripts with Old High German glosses by Bergmann and Stricker (2005) neglect the Vespasian copies. On Camden's receipt of the glosses and other materials see his letter of 1 October 1615 to Lindenbrog in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Smith 74/75, p. 51. That at least fols. 12r–24v of Vespasian E.vi belonged to Camden is clear from this letter as well as his personal annotations in the manuscript.

⁶³ See previous note.

(7) pp. 384–390: “GLOSSARIUM Etlicher Behmischer Vocabel die in der Landsordnung zu befinden [...] seyn.”

A glossary of Czech legal terms, explained in German, probably created with the help of the 1604 print of the *Landordnung* by Peter Struba.

(8) p. 391: “Ex Bedæ Gutberto.”

A single paper leaf, c. 195 x 135 mm, containing thirty-four Latin-Old English glosses (Merritt 1945: no. 9) that were copied from a manuscript of Bede's verse *Vita Cuthberti*, now Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 2034 (4°) (Ker 1957: no. 100; Horváth 1988: 221–222).⁶⁴ GKS 2034 (4°) is now missing its first quire, which contained lines 1–348 of the metrical *Life*, but Lindenbrog extracts the gloss “*Caballum – hyrs*” (Jaeger 1935: l. 169; Ker 1957: 141), so he must still have had access to the complete text. The Copenhagen manuscript, now containing only 18 folios, once belonged to the monastic library of St Victor in Paris and was part of a larger manuscript carrying the old shelf mark “G G 7”, as is evident from Claude de Grandrue's 1514 catalogue (p. 166). It was probably during his time in Paris (1599–1604) that Lindenbrog came into possession of this manuscript, other quires of which now survive in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1340 (4°) and Hamburg, SUB, Cod. jur. 2541 (Jørgensen 1926: 41–42; Horváth 1988: 146–147). After his time in Paris, Lindenbrog transferred the manuscript, then probably still complete, to Gottorp library, where his brother Heinrich was librarian from 1610. From there two *membra disjecta* reached Copenhagen in 1735.⁶⁵

Dating the leaf is difficult, but the size and contents suggest that Lindenbrog kept it as a note sheet in the still complete “G G 7”-codex, all surviving parts of which measure c. 200 x 140 mm.⁶⁶ Comparing Lindenbrog's copy of the glosses to the original manuscript shows the same confusion about the Old English minuscule <æ>, descending <s>, <þ>, and <ð> that we can find in Cod. philol. 263. Due to the variant, often marginal, placing of the glosses in GKS 2034 (4°), Lindenbrog sometimes mismatches them with the wrong Latin form (e.g., *Domini – leoman*, *Amicum – fribode* [= *fribode*], cf. Merritt 1945: no. 9, l. 18 and 35). We may assume that the glosses were excerpted during the first decade of the seventeenth century and the leaf was attached to Lindenbrog's copy of Old English glossaries later, thus supplementing his collected Old English lexicographical materials in Cod. germ. 22.

⁶⁴ Digital images of the manuscript are available online at <www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/44/eng/>.

⁶⁵ On the mysterious circumstances of this transfer, see Horváth (1988: 36–40).

⁶⁶ Note also the reference to “*Petrus Blesensis*” at the bottom of the page (cf. the contents of Hamburg, SUB, Cod. jur. 2541) and the reference to Heinrich Canisius's edition of the *Vita Cuthberti* (1601–1604: 5.689–5.723), which must have been added to the leaf after 1604.

3 Lindenbrog's Old English Lexicographical Legacy in Germany

Cod. germ. 22 seems to collect in one volume all Old English lexicographical materials that Lindenbrog possessed by 1614–1616, and it probably remained his main private resource on the Old English lexicon until the end of his life. Since Joscelyn had not been able to realize the project of a printed Old English dictionary due to lack of support after Archbishop Parker's death, the idea might have grown on Lindenbrog. He remained in contact with Camden and Spelman after his return to Hamburg in autumn 1616, offering encouragement and support to the latter to enable the publication of his "Glossarium" (apparently the work which was to become Spelman's *Archaeologus* [1626]) on the Continent.⁶⁷ Lindenbrog travelled to England again from July to October 1627, visiting various palaces and libraries.⁶⁸ It is possible that he met Spelman again during this visit and that the two scholars further discussed the idea of a larger dictionary.

Universal or comparative philology was still the order of the day in the early seventeenth century, and it is plausible to assume that Lindenbrog kept collecting various specimens of Germanic languages for several years, intending to publish a comparative, rather than an exclusively Old English dictionary. The Dutch scholar Hugo de Groot (1583–1645), whom Lindenbrog had known since at least 1599, confirms in a letter of 1633 that upon a recent visit to Hamburg Lindenbrog was working on the compilation of a dictionary of Old Germanic, 'having support in books and human resources at his disposal that neither Spelman nor others had' at the time.⁶⁹ Although Lindenbrog worked mainly as a lawyer after his return to Germany in 1616, it thus seems that he indeed pursued the idea of publishing a larger dictionary of Germanic terms, perhaps even an exclusively Old English dictionary. We do not know if Lindenbrog knew about similar contemporary efforts of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–1650), Johan de Laet, or William Somner (1598–1669), who all had access to the *Titus Dictionary*, or whether that made him aban-

⁶⁷ See Lindenbrog's letters to Spelman of 1 November 1616 (Hamburg, SUB, LA Lindenbruch, Friedrich: 1–2) and of 20 October 1617 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 89, fol. 110v).

⁶⁸ An itinerary of his survives in Hamburg, SUB, Cod. geogr. 63, in which he praises the holdings and curiosities of the Library at Trinity College, Cambridge and the Bodleian Library in Oxford (pp. 28–34).

⁶⁹ "[...] multa habet adjuncta, quae nec Spelmannus, nec alii habuerunt." (Wilckens 1723: 55). For their acquaintance, see Lindenbrog's *album amicorum* in Hamburg, SUB, in scrin. 68, p. 94, no. 287.

don the project. Either way, no dictionary containing Old English of the later Lindenbrog, as described by de Groot, was ever printed.

Nevertheless, Lindenbrog's lexicographical collections were considered useful in the eyes of other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars from Germany. Despite the publication of Somner's first print of the *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* in 1659 – an edition of 450 copies – and Thomas Benson's revised second edition of 1701, it is remarkable that contemporary compatriots still based their own efforts in Old English philology on Lindenbrog's glossaries, which must have enjoyed some philological (if not manuscript) authority (see Table 1). Most of these materials have been neglected by scholars of early English, therefore we list them here.

Table 1: Friedrich Lindenbrog's Old English glossaries in Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 22 and Cod. philol. 263 and their copies by German scholars

Heinrich Lindenbrog (1611–1671)

- (1) Lost manuscript: a copy of Lindenbrog's Pithou glosses in Cod. philol. 263, fols. 16–19v made for Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611–1671), copied in 1659 by the Dutch scholar Jan van Vliet (1622–1666) into London, Lambeth Palace Library 783, fols. 248–253v.

Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611–1671)

- (2) Leeuwarden, Tresoar, 149 Hs, fols. 5–8: A copy of (1) made by Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611–1671) for Francis Junius (1591–1677), including the latter's corrections.

Abraham Hinckelmann (1652–1695)

- (3) Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 23: A faithful copy of all glossaries in Cod. germ. 22, except for the Cuthbert glosses (art. 8).

Dietrich von Stade (1637–1718)

- (4) Göttingen, SUB, philol. 249: A faithful copy of all glossaries in Cod. germ. 22, with a few supplementary Old English glosses taken from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printed works.⁷⁰
- (5) Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, IV.453: A collation of Lindenbrog's smaller glossaries into a single alphabetical glossary; pastedown: a seventeenth-century copy of *A Proverb from Winfrid's Time* by an unknown scribe, copied from the earliest print of Old English poetry by Serarius (1605).

Johann Georg von Eckhart (1664–1730)

- (6) Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, IV.495: A faithful copy of all exclusively Old English glossaries in Cod. germ. 22 (arts. [1]–[4], [8]) in several hands, including that of von Eckhart.
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⁷⁰ This manuscript is accessible online at <<https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN868887773>>.

Remarkably, another manuscript revenant from the USSR, Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 23, hitherto unnoticed, contains a faithful copy of Lindenbrog's Cod. germ. 22, except for the final leaf containing the Cuthbert glosses. It was apparently written before 1690 by the orientalist and Hamburg theologian Abraham Hinckelmann (1652–1695).⁷¹ Further copies and collations of Lindenbrog's materials in Cod. germ. 22 were produced by Dietrich von Stade (1637–1718) and Johann Georg von Eckhart (1664–1730) (Ker 1957: nos. 405 and 406). Von Stade's copy in Göttingen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, philol. 249, written c. 1710, is again a complete copy of Cod. germ. 22 (including the Cuthbert glosses).⁷² He must have had a better knowledge of Old English than Lindenbrog, as he corrects Lindenbrog's earlier misspellings in his copy, such as the forms of *abygian* (see Figure 3). Von Stade also supplements Lindenbrog's version of the *Titus Dictionary* with a handful of Old English glosses taken from works printed after Lindenbrog's death, such as Junius's *Gothicum glossarium* (1665), Thomas Marshall's *Observationes in Evangeliorum versiones perantiquas duas* (1665), George Hicke's *Institutiones grammaticae* (1689), and Benson's *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum* (1701). A late Hanover manuscript of von Stade, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, IV.453, shows him collating all of Lindenbrog's shorter Old English glossaries into a single one.⁷³ Von Stade also frequently conversed with von Eckhart, the private assistant of polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) at the court of Hanover during Georg Ludwig of Hanover's accession to the throne of England in 1714 as George I. Von Eckhart, who produced the *editio princeps* of the *Hildebrandslied* and became the Hanoverian court librarian in 1716, greatly supported Leibniz's universal philological studies. Various materials of von Eckhart on Germanic languages and especially on Old English

71 Note the endleaf with a note by Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739) and the title leaf with annotation “in manus B. Hinckelmanni” (“in the hand of B. Hinckelmann”), potentially indicating that the title page was drawn up by one of Hinckelmann's descendants. This manuscript is referenced by an entry on the front pastedown of Cod. germ. 22: “Cf. Cat. MS Morgenwegian[us] Nr. 172.” The catalogue by an anonymous of the manuscripts owned by the Hamburg preacher Joachim Morgenweg (1666–1730) indeed lists a “Glossario Anglo-Saxonico-Latinum” under no. 172 of the “Manuscripta” (1730: 14). Hinckelmann, originally from Döbeln in Saxony, later became a preacher in Hamburg. Large parts of Hinckelmann's library were acquired by Morgenweg in 1715 or 1716 (Brockelmann 1908: I. i). Morgenweg's books later became part of the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek where their shelfmarks were changed. The copy in Cod. germ. 23 was written on seventeenth-century paper from Bautzen/Budyšin, Saxony.

72 For a description, see Meyer (1893: I, 64–66), who wrongly believes von Stade's copy reflects the exemplar of the *Titus Dictionary* (p. 65).

73 For a short description, see Bodemann (1867: 78).

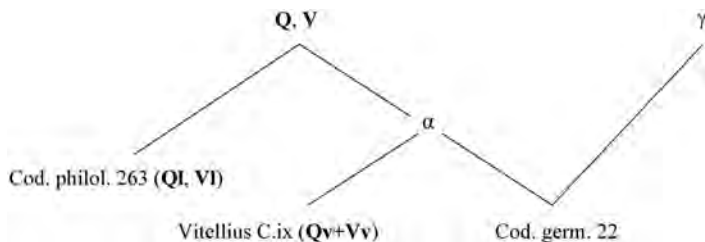
survive.⁷⁴ He also united all of Lindenbrog's exclusively Old English glossaries found in Cod. germ. 22 in one single, small-sized manuscript, Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS IV.495 (Bodemann 1867: 85).

Comparing and assessing the surviving manuscript evidence, we can conclude that these later scholars probably did not have access to more of Lindenbrog's materials than we hold in our hands today. No matter what command of Old English Lindenbrog reached during his life, and notwithstanding the activities of Gruter, Freher, and Welsler, he may be considered as one of the true pioneers of Old English studies in Germany on the basis of this rediscovered evidence. His glossaries in the Hamburg manuscripts, especially in Cod. germ. 22, are exceptional, because they belong to the first documents of the modern age that communicated a very substantial part of the Old English lexicon back to Northern Germany, the original homeland of some early English tribes. In abridging Joscelyn, Lindenbrog clearly shows some stringency that points towards the more standardised form of headword lexicography of future centuries. However, his lexicographical method in the glossaries as well as his influence on the study of the Old English language in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany deserve further intense study. So too, the later German scholars who made use of his glossaries and their materials listed here merit much more attention than has hitherto been paid to them by scholars of early English. Assessing their work will enable us to write the as yet unwritten history of early English studies in Germany before the era of academic philology in the late eighteenth century. This article is only taking a first step in this direction.

4 Notable Spellings and Forms

The following stemma summarizes our observations above concerning the descent of Cod. germ. 22, Cod. philol. 263, and Vitellius C.ix from the lost Old English manuscripts of Pithou and Welsler (further references to Zupitza 1880 will include page and line number only, omitting the date).

⁷⁴ A booklet of his with Old and Middle English *Pater Nosters* and other excerpts taken from Wanley's *Catalogue* (1705) survives in Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, IV.493. Von Eckhart probably also wrote large parts of the Old English glossaries in Celle, Bibliothek des Oberlandesgerichts, C 42, a manuscript once owned by the lawyer and former mayor of Hanover, Christian Ulrich Grupen (1692–1767).



Q = the lost, incomplete manuscript of *Ælfric's Glossary* that came into the possession of François Pithou, corresponding to Zupitza (301.8–315.15)

QI = the entries excerpted by Lindenbrog from **Q** in Cod. philol. 263, fols. 16r–19v

Qv = the entries derived from **Q** in the Vitellius C.ix transcript of *Ælfric's Glossary* (from Zupitza 308.5–315.15, combined with material from **V** by the copyist of **α**)

V = the lost manuscript of *Ælfric's Glossary* that came into the possession of Marcus Welser, corresponding approximately to Zupitza (308.5–322.2)

VI = the entries excerpted by Lindenbrog from **V** in Cod. philol. 263, fols. 32r–36v

Vv = the entries derived from **V** in the Vitellius C.ix transcript of *Ælfric's Glossary* (from Zupitza 308.5–315.15, combined with material from **Q** by the copyist of **α**)

α = the common source of Vitellius C.ix, fols. 208r–215r (**Qv+Vv**) and (apparently) most of Cod. germ. 22, pp. 326–346; in this common source, the glosses of **Q** and **V** had been collated in the section where they overlapped (corresponding approximately to Zupitza 308.5–315.15)

γ = a lost, unidentified manuscript or transcript of *Ælfric's Glossary* (possibly with material from other sources) that was collated with **α** by Lindenbrog for his copy of the *Glossary* in Cod. germ. 22, pp. 326–346

In the first and main list of forms below, we include only notable spellings or interpretamenta that, based on the stemma above, may be traced without doubt to a medieval manuscript of *Ælfric's Glossary*, that is, either **Q** or **V**. In practice, this means that any forms or spellings found only in Cod. germ. 22 have been excluded, since these likely derive from the lost **γ**, which was possibly an early modern production. A few forms unique to Cod. germ. 22 that nevertheless merit some attention may be found in a separate list at the end of this article. In the list of notable forms from **Q** and **V** below, we have included any English words that are rarely attested or otherwise unattested in the Old English period, rare or unusual spellings (as long as they are not clearly copyists' errors) as well as a few other forms that are notable for other reasons (see, e.g., Zupitza 309.17, 312.12, 316.17).

The forms below are listed in the order in which they occur in the relevant manuscripts. Where parallel entries exist in Zupitza's edition of *Ælfric's Grammar* and *Glossary*, we give page and line references, as well as Zupitza's form (drawn from his manuscript **O** [Oxford, St John's College 154]).

4.1 Spellings and Forms Securely Traceable to the Lost Pithou and Welser Manuscripts

302.16–17, Qv (fol. 208va): *Arsura vel vstulatio: bærnig* (cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Arsura vel ustulatio: bærnig -ett* [-ett added superscript; p. 329b])

Zupitza: *bærnet*

The gloss in **Qv** (and, judging from the Cod. germ. 22 gloss, perhaps in **Q** itself) presumably represents a form of *bærning* ‘burning’, somewhat less frequently attested in surviving Old English texts than *bærnet*. The suffix substitution perhaps indicates that the derivation of nouns in *-et* (never very common in any case) was no longer transparent when **Q** was written (Kluge 1926: § 144). The latest attestations of *bærnet* in the MED and OED2 are dated c. 1150.

306.3, Qv (fol. 209vb): *Glacies: ys* (cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Glacies: j̄s* [p. 333a])

Zupitza: *is*

If genuine, the only spelling of OE *is* ‘ice’ with *y*. The earliest <y>-spelling in the MED is dated c. 1250. See, however, the spelling *ysgeblæd*, DOE s.v. *is-ge-blæd* ‘chillblain?’.

307.12, Qv (fol. 210va): *Alauda: lafarca* (cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Alauda: laveric* [p. 334a])

Zupitza: *lauerce*

The etymologically appropriate <u> or <w> is not otherwise replaced by <f> in the nom. sg. of OE *lawerce* ‘lark’, but the oblique form *lafercan* does appear in the place-name *lafercan beorh*, found in three Worcester charters (Sawyer: nos. 1325, 1335, 1353).⁷⁵ The final <a> might be evidence for the existence of a masc. by-form of the wk. fem. *lāwerce* (cf. ON *lævirki* masc., thought to be a loan from Old English [de Vries 1977: 372; Orel 2003: 234; Kroonen 2013: 324]), though it may also be due to the general tendency of vowels in unstressed syllables to fall together in late Old English, or to the accidental transfer of the inflectional ending of the Latin lemma to the Old English gloss. If representative of a genuine medieval form, the *laveric* of Cod. germ. 22 may be compared with Middle English forms such as *laveroc* (q.v. in MED).

308.2, Q: *Scinifes: cnæt* (Qv: *Scinifes: cnæt* [fol. 210va]; Ql: *Scinifes: cnæt* [fol. 18rb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Scinifes: gnætt*, al’ *cnæt* [p. 334b])⁷⁶

Zupitza: *gnæt*

⁷⁵ See also Mawer and Stenton (1929: 262), and cf. German *Lerchenberg*.

⁷⁶ Alternative spellings in Cod. germ. 22 are often introduced by *al’*. As it is not clear whether this stands for *aliter*, *alibi*, or something else, we have left the abbreviation mark unresolved.

The earliest instance of English *gnat* with initial <c> (spellings with initial <k> appear in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; cf. MED s.v. *gnat* and OED2 s.v. *gnat* n.1). The interchange of initial <gn> and <cn> is presumably a sign that, at the time **Q** was written, the consonant clusters represented by these spellings were no longer thought to represent distinct sounds; cf. spellings with initial <cn> DOE s.v. *gnīdan*.

308.6, V: *Fannus: rihche* (Qv/Vv: *Fannus: reoche* vel *rihche* [fol. 210vb]; Vl: *Fannus: rihche* [fol. 32ra]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Fannus: hreohche* vel *rihche* [p. 334b])
Zupitza: *hreoche*⁷⁷

Anthony Esposito of the OED notes that the “vocalism [of this form] seem[s] characteristically late (cf. β forms at OED3 s.v. *reigh* n.)”.⁷⁸

308.7, V: *Polipos: lopstere* (Qv/Vv: *Polipos: lopstere* vel *loppestre* [fol. 210vb]; Vl: *Polipos: lopstere* [fol. 32ra]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Polypos: loppestre* vel *lopstere* [p. 334b])

Zupitza: *loppestre*

The syncopation of the medial vowel (from *loppestre* to *lopstere*) is notable; the earliest syncopated form cited in the OED2 (s.v. *lobster* n.1) is dated to 1314–1315. Syncopation is, however, found in the similarly-formed Old English hapax *wyrt-gælstre* ‘woman who performs magic using herbs’ (< *galan*), preserved in the mid-eleventh-century manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii (Chardonnens 2007: 406, l. 54).

308.10, V: *Concha: scella* (Qv/Vv: *Concha: scyl, scella* [fol. 210vb]; Vl: *Concha: scella* [fol. 32ra]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Concha: scyll, scella* [p. 334b])

Zupitza: *scyll*

V’s *scella* may be evidence for a weak (masculine?) by-form of the Old English feminine *jō*-stem *scyll* ‘shell’. Weak descendants of the same root occur sporadically in the Germanic languages, though not always with the same meaning (Lehmann 1986: 308; Orel 2003: 332–333). It is also possible, however, that the final <a> of *scella* derives from the transfer of the ending of the Latin lemma to the Old English gloss (cf. 307.12 above).

⁷⁷ **O** *hreoche* with *c* added above line.

⁷⁸ Private communication, 22 March 2017.

308.12, V: *Leo: le* (Qv/Vv: *Leo: le* [fol. 210vb]; Vl: *Leo: le* [fol. 32ra]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Leo: le* [p. 334b])

Zupitza: *leo*

The nom. sg. form *le*, securely reconstructible because of its presence in both **V** transcripts, is otherwise known only from the *Ormmulum*, but it is the expected early Middle English development of Old English *lēo* in Eastern and Northern England. PDE *lion* is a French loan (cf. 'Forms' and 'Etymology' OED2 s.v. *lion* n.).

309.6, V: *Equa: mæra* (Qv/Vv: *Equa: myre, mæra* [fol. 210vb]; Vl: *Equa: mæra* [fol. 32rb]; Ql: *Equa: mÿre* [fol. 18rb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Equa: myre, mæra* [p. 335a])

Zupitza: *myre*

Apparently, a reflex of the rarely-attested Anglian variant *mære* of OE *mÿre* 'mare'; see 'Forms' and 'Etymology' OED3 s.v. *mare* n.1. The form is unlikely to be a weak masculine, despite the <a> ending, which may have been transferred from the ending of the lemma.

309.10, V: *Talpa: moldwerp* (Qv/Vv: *Talpa: wandewurpa, moldwerf* [fol. 211ra]; Vl: *Talpo: molduerp* [fol. 32rb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Talpa: wandewyrpe, molduwerp* [p. 335a])

Zupitza: *wandewurpe*

Probably the earliest surviving occurrence of English *moldwarp* 'mole' (lit. 'earth-thrower') (first citation in MED s.v. *möld(e-werp(e* n.; OED3 s.v. *mouldwarp/ moldwarp* n.; dated before 1325). Ælfric's *wandewurpe* (also OE *wand* 'mole') is the most common term in surviving Old English texts (cf. OS *wandwerpa*, MLG *wandworp* [Carr 1939: 114; Tiefenbach 2010: 439]), but cognates of *moldwarp* are present in several older Germanic languages, e.g., late OHG/MHG *moltuuerf/ moltwerfe*, ODan *muldvarp*, OSw *muldvärpil* (see 'Etymology' OED3 s.v. *mouldwarp*). The form in **V** may therefore represent either a borrowing from another Germanic language or a descendant of an uncommon (or dialectal?) Old English word that has not left earlier traces in the written record. The final <f> in **Vv** results in a suspiciously German-looking form and is probably an error in transcription.

309.16–17, V: *Porcellus: gris* (Qv/Vv: *Porcellus: fearr, gris* [fol. 211ra]; Vl: *Porcellus: gris* [fol. 32rb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Porcellus: fearh, gris* [p. 335b])

Zupitza: *fear*

An early attestation of English *grice* 'pig, piglet', a Scandinavian loanword (ON *gríss*, ODan *gris*). Other pre-1300 occurrences include numerous place-names⁷⁹

⁷⁹ In addition to MED, see Smith (1970: I, 210).

and the Cleopatra text of *Ancrene Wisse* (cf. MED s.v. *gr̃s* n.1 and OED2 s.v. *grice* n.1). Old English *fearh* ‘young pig’, reflected in Ælfric’s original gloss, survives as ModEng *farrow*.

309.17–18, V: Iuuencus: steor (Qv/Vv: Iuuencus: *styre*, *steor* [fol. 211ra]; Vl: Iuuencus: *steor* [fol. 32rb]; cf. Ql: Iuuencus: *styre* [fol. 18va]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Juvencus: *stycr*, *steor* [p. 335b])

Zupitza: *stycr*

Steor ‘steer’ is not uncommon in Old English glosses, but it is worth noting that, in substituting the word for Ælfric’s *stycr*, **V** agrees with **W** (Worcester, Cathedral Library, F.174), written in the first half of the thirteenth century by the Tremulous Hand of Worcester. The form *styre* in **Qv** and **Ql** (and potentially **Q** itself) is presumably a transcription error for *stycr*.

310.4, VI (fol. 32va): Locus: gærschop (Vv: Locusta: *gærstapa* [fol. 211rb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Locusta: *gærstapa*, al’ *gærstapa* [p. 336a])

Zupitza: *gærstapa*

It seems more likely that **Vv**’s *gærstapa* was corrupted from a form of *gærshoppa* ‘grasshopper, locust’ than from Ælfric’s original *gærstapa*, which was the more common term in Old English (43 occurrences in the DOE vs. 22 of *gærshoppa*, nearly all of which are in glosses or glossaries). It is therefore probable that *gærshop* or something similar was the reading of **V** itself. The lexical substitution is paralleled by **W**’s (unmetathesized) *greshoppe*. The apparent loss of the final vowel is unique to **V** among Old English texts; the first comparable form attested in the MED (s.v. *gras-hoppe*) is dated ‘a1325’.

***35.7 VI (fol. 32va): Gurgulio: myte** (Vv: Gurgulio: *myce* [fol. 211rb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Gurgulio: *myce* [p. 336a])

Zupitza: *ymel oððe ðrotbolla*

This entry is notable for two reasons: first, it appears to have been added to **V** from a list of third-declension nouns ending in <o> in the *Grammar*; second, it preserves the only recorded occurrence of English *mite* in the period between the composition of the Old English Antwerp-London Glossaries (Porter 2011: 60, no. 528 and 61, no. 548) and Chaucer’s “Wife of Bath’s Tale”. For the lemma, cf. DMLBS s.v. *curculio* ‘weevil, worm’, often confused with *gurgulio* ‘throat’. **VI** *myte* was probably the spelling in **V**; the spelling *myce* in **Vv** is presumably due to the confusion of <c> and <t> sometimes found in this transcript (cf. fol. 212ra: “Pirus [...] *perecre*” [for *peretre*]; 212vb: “Regula: *regolscicca*” [for *regolsticca*]).

310.5, V: *Formica: myre* (Qv/Vv: *Formica: myre, ætmette* [fol. 211rb]; VI: *Formica: myre* [fol. 32va]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Formica: æmette, al' myre* [p. 336a])

Zupitza: *æmette*

V apparently replaced Ælfric's *ætmette* (ancestor of both *ant* and now-dialectal *emmet* 'ant') with *myre*, probably the earliest attestation of English *mire* 'ant', most commonly found as the second element of *pismire* (q.v. in OED3; cf. also *pissant*).⁸⁰ Cognates occur in most Germanic languages (see 'Etymology' OED3 s.v. *mire* n.2; Orel 2003: 268–269; Kroonen 2013: 368), and the word was perhaps borrowed into Old English through Old East Norse, as suggested by the MED (cf. ODan weak feminine *myre* 'ant'). The presence of *myre* in a version of Ælfric's glossary raises the possibility that entries like "*Mire: formica*" in some early Old English dictionaries – explained by the OED3 (s.v. *mire* n.2) as the possible result of a misunderstanding of the nickname *Myranheafod* 'Horsehead' in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – may instead derive from genuine manuscript evidence (see also "*Pistrinum: bæchus*" below). For discussions of the word based on the early dictionary entries, particularly Benson's *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum*, see Cortelyou (1906: 45–46) and Holthausen (1916: 311).

311.11, Qv/Vv: (fol. 211vb): *Pionia: peoni* (cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Pionia: peoni* [p. 336b])

Zupitza: [no gloss]

Although an Old English weak noun *peonia* / *pionia* 'peony' survives (see, e.g., de Vriend 1984: 108–109), Ælfric apparently left Latin *pionia* unglossed (perhaps because the Old English borrowing was virtually identical to the lemma and no gloss was thought to be necessary), and Zupitza does not report an English equivalent from any manuscript. It is not possible to determine whether the reading *peoni* was taken from **Q** or **V**.

311.13–14, V: *Pastinaca: pastanel* (Qv/Vv: *Pastinaca: wealmora, pastanel* [fol. 211vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Pastinaca: wealmora, pastanel* [p. 337a])

Zupitza: *wealmoru*

Wealmoru and *feldmoru* are the most common Old English translations of *pastinaca* 'parsnip'; the gloss *pastanel* is a French loan. According to the AND, typical Anglo-Norman derivatives of Latin *pastinaca* and its relatives include *pasnepe*, *pastinace*, and *pannaise*, but **V**'s *pastanel* is paralleled by some Occitan and

⁸⁰ The earliest certain citations in the MED and OED3 occur in the ME *Physiologus*, written in the first half of the thirteenth century. The MED s.v. *mire* n.2 records possible onomastic evidence from earlier in the thirteenth century.

French dialectal forms with <l> in the ultimate or penultimate syllable; these are attested beginning around the year 1220 and likely derive from hypothetical diminutives or by-forms of *pastinaca* like **pastinacula* or **pastinalia* (see FEW s.v. *pastinaca*, esp. forms under II.1.a.α.c' and II.1.a.α.d'). For other Anglo-Norman and Middle English words for parsnip, see Hunt (1989: 199).

312.7, V: Radix: rote (Qv/Vv: Radix: *wyrtruma*, *rote* [fol. 212ra]; VI: Radix: *rote* [fol. 32vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Radix: *wyrtruma*, *rote* [p. 337b])

Zupitza: *wyrtruma*

The weak feminine noun *rōte* 'root' and the related strong feminine *rōt* occur in later Old English texts; both words are derived from Old Norse (cf. 'Etymology' OED3 s.v. *root* n.1). In the twelfth century, the weak form seems to appear only in texts found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303 (s. xii med) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (s. xii 2).⁸¹

312.7, V: Pirus: peretre (Qv/Vv: Pirus: *pyrege*, *peretre* [fol. 212ra]; Ql: Pirus: *vyrige* [fol. 18vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Pirus: *pyrige*, *peretre* [p. 337b])

Zupitza: *pyrige*

Though VI does not contain this item, the Ql gloss *vyrige* (for *pyrige*) shows that Qv/Vv must have taken *peretre* from V. The gloss is almost certainly an error for *peretre*, probably on the part of the early modern transcriber, who frequently confuses <c> and <t> (see *35.7 "Gurgulio: *myte*" above, after 310.4). If we are correct in hypothesizing that Cod. germ. 22 derives at least partly from the exemplar of Qv/Vv, the form *peretre* preserved in Cod. germ. 22 provides additional evidence for the <t> spelling. If the gloss means 'pear tree', as the lemma leads one to expect, this is probably the earliest recorded occurrence of the compound 'pear tree' in English outside of personal names (first attested c. 1230), and perhaps its earliest occurrence in any context (cf. MED s.v. *pěre-trē*, OED3 s.v. *pear tree*). However, judging by other spellings in Qv/Vv and VI, V usually preserved final <ou> or <ow> in forms of words ending in *-treow* (see VI *treou*, *boctreou* on fol. 32va). It is possible, therefore, that V's *peretre* represents AN *piretre* or *peretre* 'pellitory' and results from the scribe of V confusing Latin *pirus* 'pear tree' with *piretrum* 'pellitory' (cf. Hunt 1989: 208; AND s.v. *piretre*; MED s.v. *peltre*).

312.12, V: Abies: lind (Qv/Vv: Abies: *æps*, *lind* [fol. 212ra]; Ql: Abies: *æus* [fol. 19ra]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Abies: *æps*; Tilia: *lind* [p. 337b])

⁸¹ For manuscript dates, see the catalogue in Da Rold et al. (2010); for occurrences, see Belfour (1909: 134, l. 10–11); Napier (1894: 4, l. 49); Treharne (1997: 134, l. 120, 138, 243).

Zupitza: *æps*

VI does not contain this item, but the **QI** gloss *æus* (for *æps*) shows that **Qv/Vv**'s *lind* must have come from **V**. *Lind* (usually 'linden' or 'lime-tree') does not elsewhere gloss or translate *abies* 'fir' in Old or Middle English (see Hunt 1989: 1), and it seems unusual for a term originally meant for a deciduous tree to be applied to a conifer. The reading of Cod. germ. 22 suggests that a copying in error in **Qv/Vv** caused a gloss intended for Latin *tilia* (not included in Ælfric's original text but found in several other Old English glossaries⁸²) to be associated with *abies* instead. See, however, the note OED2 s.v. *lind*: "[i]n Middle English poetry often used for a tree of any kind" (cf. also MED s.v. *līnd(e* sense 2).

313.3, Q: Pascua: wesa (or wæsa?) (Qv/Vv: Pascua: *wesa*, *læspa* [fol. 212rb]; QI: Pascua: *pæsa* [fol. 19ra]; VI: Pascua: *læswa* [fol. 32vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Pascua: *wesa*, *læspa* [p. 338a])

Zupitza: *læsa*

It is not possible to determine whether the root vowel of the gloss was written <e> or <æ> in **Q**, but it seems certain that the first letter was <w>. It is possible that *wesa* or *wæsa* is simply a corrupt form of OE *læs/læswa* 'pasture', but this word survives and indeed thrives throughout the Middle English period (cf. MED s.v. *lēswē*, OED2 s.v. *leasow* n.), so it seems unlikely that the term would have been unfamiliar to the scribe of **Q**. Another, more speculative analysis might explain *wesa/wæsa* as a genuine noun meaning 'pasture' related to ME *wesen* 'to pasture, tend livestock', found twice in the early Middle English *Life of St Margaret* and derived from the IE root **wes-* 'to pasture' by way of a hypothesized Old English strong verb **wesan* (see Pokorny 1959: 1171; Stiles 1985; cf. Hittite *wesi-* 'pasture for cattle', cited by Lehmann 1986: 406, who discusses other Germanic and Indo-European cognates).

313.14–15, V: Loculus: cyste uel mydercæne (or mydercene?) (Qv/Vv: ***** *cyste* vel *mydercene* [fol. 212va; leaf damaged]; QI: Loculus: *cyste uel myderce* [fol. 19ra]; VI: Loculus: *cyste* vel *mydercæne* [fol. 33ra]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Loculus: *cyst oððe myderice*, al' *mydercæne* [p. 338b])

Zupitza: *cyst oþþe myderce*

The second gloss given by **V**, *mydercæne* (or *mydercene*), seems to be derived from the Old English weak noun *myderce* 'chest' (used by Ælfric), with the weak oblique ending *-an* reanalyzed either as part of the root or as part of a (diminutive?)

⁸² E.g., the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary (Pheifer 1974: 52, l. 1004) and the Antwerp-London Glossaries (Porter 2011: 78, l. 1150).

suffix (cf. DOE s.v. *-cen*; OED2 s.v. *-kin* suffix). The **V** gloss therefore supports the argument of Carleton Brown regarding the formation of ME *mudirkins* ‘chests’, a hapax found only in a manuscript of the thirteenth century lyric *The Latemest Day*: “Being only of the weak declension the form of the plu. [of *myderce*] in Old English would be *mydercan*. ‘Mudirkins’ [...] appears therefore to be an instance of a double plural ending” (Brown 1932: 190; see MED s.v. *mūdirkin*).

314.4, Q and/or V: Sera: hæspe (or hespe?) (Qv/Vv: Sera: *hæpse*, *hospe* [fol. 212va]; Ql: Sera: *hæcæse* [fol. 19va]; Vl: Sera: *hæspe* [fol. 33ra]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Seta: *hæpse*, al’ *hewse* [p. 338b])

Zupitza: *hæpse*

Because both **Ql** and **Vl** preserve the unmetathesized form (**Ql** *hæcæse* presumably for *hæspe*), it is unclear whether this form originally appeared in **Q**, **V**, or both. **Qv/Vv**’s second gloss *hospe* (with unexpected vocalism) may be an error for *hespe*. In any case, the only other instance of *hæpse* ‘hasp’ without metathesis recorded by the DOE occurs here in the **W** manuscript (s. xiii) of Ælfric’s glossary. The unmetathesized form is standard in the other Germanic languages and becomes standard in English beginning in the thirteenth century (cf. MED s.v. *hasp(e)*; OED3 s.v. *hasp* n.).

314.12, V: Superhumerales: hæfodlyn (Qv/Vv: Superhumerales: *sculdorhrægel*, *hoefodlyn* [fol. 212vb]; Vl: Superhumerales: *hæfodlyn* [fol. 33rb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Superhumerales: *sculdorhrægle*, *hæfodlyn* [p. 339a])

Zupitza: *sculdorhrægel*

Qv/Vv and **Vl** commonly employ *oe* or *œ* for expected *æ* (which is found in Cod. germ. 22), so the first element of this word can probably be reconstructed as *hæfod-*. OE *hæfodlīn* appears elsewhere only as the second element of a compound *bisceophæafodlīn*, glossing *infula* (which can refer to various ecclesiastical vestments or parts thereof) in the Antwerp-London Glosses (Porter 2011: 92; cf. DOE s.v. *bisceophæafodlīn*; DMLBS s.v. *infula*). A Middle English reflex, *hauedlīn*, appears in the c. 1200 Trinity Homilies, also referring to a part of the priest’s vestments, though it is unclear whether the term should here be translated ‘amice’ or ‘linen hood’ (Morris 1873: 173; cf. OED3 s.v. *head-line* n.1). Both of these meanings (among others) have also been suggested for the fairly well-attested Old Norse cognate of the word, *hǫfuðlīn* (Cleasby-Vigfusson s.v. *hǫfuð-līn*; Fritzner₄ s.v. *hǫfuðlīn*; Falk 1919: 193–194, 219). The lemma *superhumerales* would seem to demand the meaning ‘amice’ or ‘pallium’ for the gloss in **V** (cf. OED3 s.v. *superhumeral*).

314.15, V: *Calciamentum*: *sceon* (Qv/Vv: *Calciamentum*: *gery*, *sceon* [fol. 212va]; Ql: *Calciamentum*: *gery* [fol. 19vb]; Vl: *Calciamentum*: *sceon* [fol. 33rb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Calciamentum*: *gery*, *sceon* [p. 339a])

Zupitza: *gescy*

The gloss *gery* must be a corruption of Ælfric's *gescy* 'pair of shoes' (a collective neuter), but it is present in all witnesses to **Q** and may represent the reading of **Q** itself. **V**'s *sceon* must be interpreted as a nominative plural form of *sceō/scōh* 'shoe', which typically declines as a strong masculine noun with nominative/accusative plural *sceōs/scōs* (Hogg and Fulk 2011: § 3.25). A weak plural *scheon/schon* does, however, begin to appear in the thirteenth century, and is attested in some manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* (see MED s.v. *shō* sense b, OED2 s.v. *shoe* n. sense 1.a).

314.15, V: *Subtalaris*: *swiftleres* (Qv/Vv: *Subtalaris*: *swiftlere* [fol. 212va]; Ql: *Sutularis*: *suiptlere* [fol. 19vb]; Vl: *Subtalaris*: *suiptleres* [fol. 33rb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Subtalaris*: *swiftlere* [*al'* *sutularis* written above line; p. 339a])

Zupitza: *swiftlere*

The plural forms of both the lemma (*subtalaris* 'slippers') and the gloss are paralleled in manuscript **C** of Ælfric's *Glossary* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 449, s.xi 1); all other copies give singular *subtalaris* and singular *swiftlere*.

315.8–9, V: *Refectorium*: *beodderm oþþe reordinghus* (Qv/Vv: *Refectorium*: *beodderm* vel *gereordunghus* [fol. 213ra]; Ql: *Refectorium*: *Beodden* uel *gereordunghus* [fol. 19vb]; Vl: *Refectorium*: *beodderm o' reordinghus* [*o'* presumably for *oððe* or *othe*, here and elsewhere; fol. 33vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Refectorium*: *beodderm oððe gereordunghus* [with *ge* underlined; p. 340a])

Zupitza: *beodderm oððe gereordunghus*

A variant of *gereordunghus* 'refectory' without the *ge-* prefix apparently occurs only here (though *gereordunghus* is itself a hapax, so the significance of the presence or absence of *ge-* is difficult to determine). Initial *ge-* was frequently omitted in **V**; cf., e.g., *leaful gadering* as a gloss of *ecclesia* (**VI** fol. 32vb) in place of Zupitza's *geleafful gegæderung* (313.11).

315.9, VI (fol. 33vb): *Tapeta*: *tapit 1 soethlægl* (Qv/Vv: *Tapeta*: *sethhrægel* [fol. 212va]; Ql: *Tapeta*: *sedhregl* [fol. 19vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Tapeta*: *sethhrægel* [p. 340a])

Zupitza: *sethhrægel*

It is not possible to tell whether **VI**'s odd *soethlægl* is a new corruption or one taken over from **V** itself, but *tapit* was apparently present in **V**. The word is clearly derived from its Latin lemma *tapeta* (attested with various meanings but for Ælfric clearly 'seat covering'), but it differs in form from the attested Old English loan-

word *tæpped/tæppet*. It seems likely, instead, that **V**'s *tapit* represents a re-borrowing, probably through AN *tapit*, attested with the meanings 'carpet' or 'tapesty' (cf. AND s.v.). After **V**, the next English attestations of this re-borrowing appear in the late fourteenth century (see MED s.v. *tapēt(e)*, OED2 s.v. *tapet* n.).

315.11, V: Minister: ðeingman (Qv/Vv: Minister: *then, theingman* [fol. 213ra]; Ql: Minister: *pen* [fol. 19vb]; Vl: Minister: *theingman* [fol. 33vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Minister: *ðen, ðeingman* [p. 340a])

Zupitza: *pen*

V seems to have uniquely preserved a form of *þeingman* 'servant' in place of Ælfric's *þegn* 'retainer'. The missing first <n> could perhaps be due to an omitted or misinterpreted abbreviation sign in an antecedent manuscript (i.e. *þeingman*), though it is more likely that the form derives from minim confusion of a form like *ðenigman*, an attested variant spelling of the word. It is probably safe to dismiss Buckalew's (1982: 27–28) interpretation of the **Vv** and **Vl** forms as evidence for an otherwise unattested Old English borrowing of ON *þingmaðr* (see OED3 s.v. *Thingman*).

315.15, V: Sicera: siser (or sicer?) (Qv/Vv: Sicera: *ælces cynnes gewring* [fol. 213rb]; Ql: Sicera: *ælces cymes geuring* [fol. 17va]; Vl: Sicera: *siser* [fol. 33vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Sicera: *ælces cynnes gewring buton win anum, siser* [p. 340a])

Zupitza: *ælces cynnes gewringc buton wine anum*

V's *siser* or *sicer* is the only known instance of an English borrowing of Latin *sicera* 'intoxicating drink' in the period between the Old English translation of Chrodegang's *Rule* and Chaucer's "Monk's Tale" (cf. MED s.v. *sīser*). In the OE *Rule of Chrodegang*, however, the noun is a weak masculine, *sicera*, *-an* (Langefeld 2003: 295), which suggests that **V**'s *sicer* may either have been borrowed from the Latin independently of the earlier Old English word or borrowed indirectly through French (cf. AND *cicer*, *sicer*). In both Vitellius C.ix and Cod. philol. 263, *sicera* is the final lemma supplied with a gloss copied from **Q**, which seems to have ended here. All remaining glosses in both transcripts must have come from **V**.

315.16, V: Manutergium: handclað (Vv: Manutergium: *handclath* [fol. 213rb]; Vl: Manutergium: *handclað* [fol. 33vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Manutergium vel mantile: *scet, handclað* [p. 340a])

Zupitza: *manuterium † mantile: scet*

V's *handclað* 'hand-towel' is a partial loan-translation of *manutergium* 'towel'. The Old English word is rare, occurring elsewhere only in one of Ælfric's homilies and in a batch of Latin-Old English glosses from another source also found in Vitellius C.ix and the Hamburg manuscript (see DOE s.v. *hand-clāþ*; Ker 1957:

471 [glossing *vespera*, of unknown significance]; Clemons 1997: 424 [rendering *linteum* 'towel']. An early Middle English occurrence is found in the Trinity Homilies (Morris 1873: 163). The Old Norse cognate *hand-klæði* is comparatively more common (37 citations in DONP) and may well be the source of the English word.

316.10, V: Vestiarium: scrudhus (Vv: Vestiarium: *scrudhus* [fol. 213va]; VI: Vestiarium: *scrudhus* [fol. 34ra]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Vestiarium: *hrægelhus*, al' *scrudhus* [p. 340b])

Zupitza: *hrægelhus*

Ælfric's Old English gloss *hrægelhus* 'vestry' is last attested in English c. 1225, presumably because the first element of the word was no longer readily understood (cf. MED s.v. *rail*, OED3 s.v. *rail* n.1 sense 1). The scribe of **V** or his exemplar replaced the obsolescent *hrægel-* with the less opaque *scrud-*, likely after the model of the fairly common Old Norse word for 'vestry', *skrúð-hús* (30 citations in DONP; see also *skrúða-hús*). A Middle English compound *schroude-hous* appears much later in *Cleanness* with the meaning 'place of shelter', but this is probably an unrelated poetic nonce-formation (cf. MED s.v. *shrōud* sense 2.a).

316.14, Vv (fol. 213va): Pistrinum: bacchus (cf. Cod. germ. 22: Pistrinum: *bæcern*, *bacchus* [p. 341a])

Zupitza: *bæcern*

The only Middle English attestation of a reflex of OE *bæcern* 'bakehouse, bakery' occurs in the **W** manuscript of Ælfric's *Glossary*, at this location. The word and compound element *-ærn* 'building' had apparently ceased to be widely intelligible by the early Middle English period (cf. OED3 s.v. *earn* n.1), leading to the replacement of *bæcern* both here and in the thirteenth-century Wintenev copy of the Benedictine Rule (Schröer 1978: 95, 139) with forms of the new compound *bæchūs* (cf. MED s.v. *bāk(e)-hōus*; OED3 s.v. *bakehouse*). Edward Lye's *Dictionarium* includes an entry "*Bæchus. Pistrinum*", for which Lye cites Ælfric's *Glossary*. Lye probably took this entry from Somner's *Dictionarium*, which has the entry "*Bæc-hus. i.e. bæc-ern*". These entries must stem ultimately from **V** or closely a related manuscript. Previous scholars' difficulty in tracking down Somner and Lye's source until now is presumably the cause of the question mark (recently removed) preceding the item "*bæchus*" under 'Forms', OED3 s.v. *bakehouse* (see also 'Formica, myre' above).

316.17, Vv (fol. 213vb): Dolium: cypæ (cf. Cod. germ. 22: Dolium: *icyf*, *cypæ* [p. 341a])

Zupitza: *cyf*

Zupitza does not record any other manuscript that glosses *dolium* 'barrel, cask' with a form of *cýpe*, usually 'basket' (cf. DOE s.v. *cýpe*2; OED2 s.v. *kipe*), instead

of *cȳf*, usually ‘tub, vessel (for liquids)’. However, the same gloss-lemma combination *dolium* : *cype* is recorded in two related glossed manuscripts of Aldhelm’s prose *De virginitate* (Napier 1900: 97; Goossens 1974: 380). The reading *cypæ* of **Vv** (and presumably **V** itself), if not simply due to confusion of *cȳf* and *cȳpe*, may therefore suggest some familiarity with the wider Old English glossing tradition.

316.17, Vv (fol. 213vb): Cupa: foett (cf. Cod. germ. 22: Cupa: *tunna, fætt* [p. 341a])
Zupitza: *tunne*

Vv’s *foett* presumably represents a form *fætt* in **V** (as in Cod. germ. 22; cf. remarks under ‘*Superhumeralē*: hæfodlyn’ above). Zupitza does not record any other manuscripts that gloss *cupa* ‘tub, vat’ with *fæt* ‘vessel, container’ instead of *tunne* ‘barrel, cask’ (but for the equivalence of the two terms cf. OED2 s.v. *fat* n.1 sense 2.a, esp. first citation).

317.11–12, Vv (fol. 214ra): Excusator: beladigere; 319.12–13, Vv (fol. 214va): Proditor, traditor: læwere (cf. Cod. germ. 22: Excusator: *beladiend, beladigere* [...] Proditor, traditor: *læwere*, al’ *læwa* [pp. 341b, 343b])

Zupitza: *beladiend*⁸³ [...] *læwa*

These two entries are treated together because they show similar processes at work. In the first case, the agentive suffix *-end* of *beladiend* ‘defender’ was changed to the more modern *-ere*, resulting in a new formation that appears to occur only here; cf. OED3 s.v. *-end* suffix1, note under ‘Etymology’: “Although some of the more common nouns [in *-end*] survive into Middle English, the suffix has by this time ceased to be productive (largely superseded by *-er* suffix1).” Similarly, by the time **V** was written down it must have been felt that the meanings of agent nouns with the weak masculine ending *-a* (see Kluge 1926: §§ 12–16) were no longer readily intelligible in all circumstances, resulting in the replacement of *læwa* ‘traitor’ with *læwere*. The latter has not appeared in any dictionaries but is also attested in two variant manuscripts of Ælfric’s Second Series Palm Sunday homily, both probably from the early twelfth century (London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A.ix and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302; see Godden 1978: app. crit. at 138.44).

317.15–16, V: Antela: forðboga (Vv: Antela: *forthboga* [fol. 214ra]; Vl: Antela: *forðboga* [fol. 34vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Antela: *forðgyrd, forðboga* [p. 342a])
Zupitza: *forðgyrd*

⁸³ Following his usual typographical practice, Zupitza prints *beladjend*.

The DMLBS defines *antela* as ‘breast girth or forebeak of saddle (saddle-bow)’. The DOE records four instances of *forþgyrd*, all glossing *antela* (cf. also *forþgegyrd*). **V**’s *forðboga*, on the other hand, seems to occur only here, and we have not been able to identify direct cognates in Old Norse or other languages, but the gloss evidently derives from the Old English use of *boga* to refer to a saddle-bow (cf. DOE s.v. *boga* sense 6; DONP s.v. *bogi* sense 7; see also OE *sadolboga* and ON *sǫðul-bogi*).

318.7, V: Porta: burhgeat (Vv: Porta: *burhgeat* [fol. 214rb]; Vl: Porta: *burhgeat* [fol. 34vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Porta: *burhgeat, portgeat* [p. 342b])

Zupitza: *portgeat*

Both *burhgeat* and *portgeat* are well-attested in Old English with the meaning ‘entrance to a city/town’. The element *port-* may have been replaced with *burh-* in **V** because the less restrictive meaning of the noun *port*, which in Old English seems to have been able to signify either a port specifically or a town or city in general, had been lost by the early Middle English period (BT s.v. *port* sense 2, MED s.v. *pōrt* n.2; cf. the use of *port* in Zupitza 318.9, cited below).

318.9, V: Castellum: castel (Vv: Castellum: *castel* [fol. 214rb]; Vl: Castellum: *castel* [fol. 34vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Castellum: *wic oððe lytle port, al’ castel* [p. 342b])

Zupitza: *wic oððe litel port*

By the date at which **V** was likely written (on which see the concluding remarks in Section 4.3), OE *castel*, which in earlier texts usually meant ‘village’ or ‘town’ (as originally did its Latin etymon, *castellum*), had acquired the new meaning ‘castle’ through the influence of AN *castel* (cf. OED2 s.v. *castle* n., note under ‘Etymology’). In **V**, the lemma *castellum* was probably also understood in the medieval sense ‘castle’ rather than ‘town’ (cf. DMLBS s.v. *castellum* senses 1 and 2) and the gloss altered accordingly.

319.7–8, Vv (fol. 214va): <Cim>entum: geræbered lym (part of lemma damaged; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Cimentum: *andweorc to wealle, vel geræbe redlym* [p. 343b])

Zupitza: *andweorc to wealle*

The glosses in **Vv** and Cod. germ. 22 seem to represent a corruption of the phrase *gebærned lim* ‘burnt lime’, attested in Old English as a gloss of *calx viva* ‘quicklime [i.e. calcium oxide]’, the key ingredient in cement (cf. DOE s.v. *gebærned* sense 2.b.; Oliphant 1966: 44). Zupitza does not record any other manuscripts that substitute this phrase for Ælfric’s less specific *andweorc to wealle* ‘material for a wall’.

320.2, Vv (fol. 214va): Vilis: unwurthZupitza: *waclic*

The **Vv** scribe usually wrote <th> for <ð>, so **V** probably read *unwurð* ‘worthless’. The word does not gloss *vilis* in other manuscripts of Ælfric’s *Glossary*, but the combination does appear twice in the glossed copy of Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 214 (Hale 1978: 306, 318).

320.3, V: Limen: oferslæge oþþe oferthrexwold (Vv: *Limen: oferslæge othe oferthrexwold* [fol. 214vb]; Vl: *Limen: oferslæge o’ oferthrexuold* [fol. 35va])Zupitza: *oferslege oððe þrexwold*

OED3 records only one instance of the compound *overthreshold* (q.v.), in Wycliffe’s Bible as a literal translation of *superliminare* ‘lintel’ (Ex 12:22); in the **V** transcripts the word apparently simply means ‘threshold’. It is possible that *ofer-* was mistakenly added to *þrexwold* through a misunderstanding of Ælfric’s double gloss, which was read as if the prefix of the first term could be understood to apply to the second as well (i.e. *ofer-slege oððe -þrexwold*).

320.3, Vv (fol. 214vb): Cyphus: næp (cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Scyfus: læfel vel næp* [p. 344a])Zupitza: *sciffus: læfel*

Cyphus and *sciffus* are both recorded variant forms of *scyphus* ‘cup, bowl’ (see MLD q.v.). Ælfric’s *læfel* ‘cup, bowl’ is fairly well attested in Old English but recorded only once (doubtfully) after the early thirteenth century in Middle English (cf. MED s.v. *lavel*). OE *hnæpp* ‘cup, bowl’, of which **Vv**’s *næp* must be a form, fared better in the post-Old English period and remains in occasional dialectal use (see OED3 s.v. *nap* n.1).

320.3–4, V: Vrceus: amber (Vv: *Vrceus: amber* [fol. 214vb]; Vl: *Vrceus: amber* [fol. 35va]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Vrceus: ceac vel amber* [p. 344a])Zupitza: *ceac*

Like the previous example, this is a case of **V** substituting a more common and long-lived Old English word for an apparently moribund one. *cēac* ‘bowl, basin’ does not seem to have been used past the twelfth century (except in manuscript **W** of Ælfric’s *Glossary*), while *amber* remains in use as a term for various vessels and measures until the nineteenth (see MED s.v. *ambre*, OED3 s.v. *amber* n.1).

[N/A] V: Ouile: fald (Vv: *Ouile: fald* [fol. 214vb]; Vl: *Ouile: fald* [fol. 35vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: *Ouile: fald* [entry added in margin; p. 344a])

[Not in Zupitza]

This entry is unremarkable except for the fact that it appears to be found in no other manuscript of Ælfric's *Glossary* or *Grammar*. The closest parallel in the Old English glossographical tradition comes from the Second Cleopatra Glossary, where *fald* 'pen, enclosure' glosses *uolio*, presumably an error for *ouile* (Rusche 1996: 441/579).

320.7 Vv (fol. 214vb): Mausoleum: truh vel oferwere (Vl: Mausoleum: *thruh* [fol. 35vb])

Zupitza: *pruh oððe ofergeweorc*

Vv's *oferwere* should be read *oferwerc*. Forms of this word without the prefix *ge-* appear elsewhere in Old English in two related glosses of *sarcophagus* in copies of Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* (Goossens 1974: 370/3391; Napier 1900: 93/3501; see OED3 s.v. *overwork* n. sense 1).

320.9 V: Flasco: flasc 1 buteruc (Vv: Flasco: *flac vel butheruc* [fol. 214vb]; Vl: Flasco: *flasc o' buteruc* [fol. 35vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Flasco: *butruc*, al' *flasc vel buteruc* [p. 344b])

Zupitza: *butruc*

Ælfric gives only the gloss *butruc* 'bottle'. A weak feminine noun *flaxe*, *flasce* 'flask' occurs some twenty times in surviving Old English texts, but **V** appears perhaps to have preserved a strong by-form. See DOE s.v. *flaxe*, *flasce*.

320.10 V: Corbis, cophinus: wilige oþpe barawa (Vv: Corbis, cophinus: *wilige othe barawa* [fol. 214vb]; Vl: Corbis: *uilige o' barawa* [fol. 35vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Corbis, cophinus: *wilige oððe meoxbearwe*, al' *barawa* [p. 344b])

Zupitza: *wylige oððe meoxberewe*

V is unique among the witnesses of the *Glossary* in leaving off the first element of *meoxbearwe* 'dung-barrow', thus providing a rare instance of the simplex *bearwe* 'barrow, hand-barrow' (cf. DOE s.v. and OED2 s.v. *barrow* n.3), elsewhere attested in Old English only in the long list of tools and utensils in the Anglo-Saxon legal text known as *Gerefa* (Liebermann 1903–1916: I, 455). The Old English word and its derivative *meoxbearwe* are weak feminine nouns, and the *-a* ending of **V**'s *barawa* is probably not evidence of a masculine by-form so much as a sign of the falling together of vowels in unstressed syllables. The next attestations of the word occur in the fourteenth century (cf. MED s.v. *barwe* n.).

320.15 Vv (fol. 214vb): Malleus: slæig hamer (cf. Cod. germ. 22: Malleus: *slæig hamer* [p. 344b])

Zupitza: *slecg*

The modern reader may instinctively think of ModEng *sledgehammer* when faced with this gloss, but multiple factors militate against claiming this to be a form of that word. First of all, the earliest unambiguous instance of the compound dates from 1495 (OED2 s.v. *sledge-hammer* n.). Perhaps more importantly, the entry “*Malleus, slegc, hamur*”, where the Old English has been interpreted as two separate glosses rather than a compound, occurs in the First Cleopatra Glossary (Stryker 1951: 309/286). The reading of **Vv** and Cod. germ. 22 (and presumably **V**) perhaps derives from familiarity with a similar glossing tradition and should also be taken as two alternative glosses *slæg* and *hamer*, even if the copyist of α and its descendants **Vv** and Cod. germ. 22 wrote them as one word.

320.18 V: Palatium: cynebold (Vv: Palatium: *cynebold* [fol. 214vb]; Vl: Palatium: *cynebold* [fol. 35vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Palatium: *cynebold* [p. 345a])

Zupitza: *kynelic botl* (**J**: *cynebotl*)

The exemplar of **V** here must have had a reading close to that of manuscript **J** of the *Glossary* (London, British Library, Cotton Julius A.ii), which is the only other witness to contain a form of the compound *cynebotl* ‘palace’ (also attested in Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*) instead of the phrase *kynelic botl* (cf. DOE s.v. *cyne-botl*). **V** is unique, however, in using the form *-bold*, typical of Mercian texts, rather than West Saxon *-botl* (Sievers-Brunner: § 201.3, n. 4).

321.7–8 V: Gazophylacium: hordhus [7] maðma hus (Vv: Gazophylacium: *hordhus*, *mathma hus* [fol. 215ra]; Vl: Gazophylacium: *hordhus* 7 *maðma hus* [fol. 35vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Gazophylacium: *hordhus*, *mathma hus* [p. 345a])

Zupitza: *maðmhus*

The compound *hoard-house* is attested with the meaning ‘treasury, treasure-house’ in Middle English texts of the fourteenth century onward, but not elsewhere in Old English (cf. MED s.v. *hord hous*, s.v. *hōrd* n.1 sense 2.(c); OED2 s.v. *hoard-house* s.v. *hoard* n.1 under ‘Compounds’). Cf., however, the Old English hapax *goldhordhūs* ‘treasury-house’, the existence of which suggests that *hordhūs* could also have been in use in the Anglo-Saxon period, at least in glossaries.

321.10 V: Procax: mah; Procacitas: mahnessa (Vv: Procax: *mah*; Procacitas: *mahnessa* [fol. 215ra]; Vl: Procax: *mah*; Procacitas: *mahneþa* [fol. 35vb]; cf. Cod. germ. 22: Procax: *mah*; Procacitas: *mahnessa* [p. 345a])

Zupitza: *gemah* [...] *gemagnys*

Once again, **V**’s aphetic forms are rare in Old English. *Mah* ‘impudent’ appears elsewhere only in a single gloss, also of *procax* (Meritt 1945: 26.31), and we have been unable to find any other examples of *gemahnes* ‘impudence’ without the *ge*-prefix. In copying the same portion of Ælfric’s *Glossary*, the tremulous scribe of

manuscript **W** retained <i> as the reflex of OE *ge-* (cf. MED s.v. *imouh* and *imouhnesse*). In any case, the word family seems to have fallen out of use early in the Middle English period, and the only instances of its survival in texts not originally written before the Conquest are two occurrences in the Lambeth Homilies and Laȝamon's *Brut* (see MED s.v. *māh*).

4.2 Notable Glosses in Cod. germ. 22 of Unknown Origin

A number of interesting glosses in Cod. germ. 22 are without parallel in Vitellius C.ix or Cod. philol. 263. As we have mentioned above, in addition to α (containing material from both **Q** and **V**), Cod. germ. 22 also drew on at least one other, unknown copy of Ælfric's *Glossary*, which we call γ . At present, we cannot be sure whether γ was a medieval copy of the *Glossary* or an early modern transcript. If the latter, it may have been augmented with additions taken from Joscelyn or some other later source. As a result, while the following entries in Cod. germ. 22 are interesting enough to merit some discussion, we keep them separate from the forms above because their medieval origin cannot be verified; while some may go back to the Old English glossarial tradition, others may be antiquarian inventions.

[N/A] Cod. germ. 22 (p. 328a): *Compater: godsib*

[Not in Zupitza]

There are only seven recorded occurrences of *godsibb* (cf. DOE s.v.) in the Old English corpus, and none of them are glosses. The presence of this gloss in Cod. germ. 22 was mentioned by Ker (1957: 407, n. 1) and discussed by Buckalew (1982: 44–45), who noted the presence of the same word-pair in the margin of a transcript that Nowell made of a lost manuscript of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary* in 1565 (London, Westminster Abbey, 30). To explain the presence of the gloss in Cod. germ. 22, Buckalew (1982: 44–45) plausibly hypothesizes: “The manuscript Nowell transcribed may have been among those which, like **Q** and **V**, were taken to the Continent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only to disappear later.”

301.12, Cod. germ. 22 (p. 329a): *Consiliarius: rædbora 7 gyfa*

Zupitza: *rædbora*

The first element of *rædbora* is evidently meant to be applied to *-gyfa* as well, but *rædgyfa* is significantly less common than *rædbora* (10 occurrences vs. c. 30), and it is not found in any extant manuscript of Ælfric's *Glossary*. *Rædgyfa* appears mainly in later texts, possibly reflecting the influence of the comparatively common Old Norse cognate *rādǫgjafi* (52 citations in DONP).

304.12, Cod. germ. 22 (p. 331b): *Scholasticus: scolman, al' scolmægstre*Zupitza: *scolman*

A term *scolmægstre* is not otherwise attested in surviving Old English texts, but Lindenbrog's direct source here may well have been Joscelyn's dictionary, which does include the word (Titus A.xvi, fol. 97v: "*Scolmægstre. pædagogus. a scholemaster*"). It also appears in Nowell and Lambarde (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden supra 63, fol. 128r: "*Scolmægistre. a Scholemayster*"). This leaves unanswered, of course, the questions of where Joscelyn, Nowell, and Lambarde found *scolmægstre* and whether it is a genuine Old English word. Borrowings from Latin *magister* are well attested in Old English (see BT s.v. *magister, mægister*), and the word *schoolmaster* appears in Middle English as early as *Ancrene Wisse* and the Katherine Group (MED s.v. *scōle-maister*, OED3 s.v. *schoolmaster* n.1); so, while some early antiquarian may have simply invented an Old English ancestor, it is not impossible that it occurred in an eleventh- or twelfth-century Old English manuscript no longer extant. If *scolmægstre* was the Old English form, the ending *-mægstre* rather than *-mægister* may be evidence of influence from the ON wk. m. *skólameistari*, a fairly common word attested as early as 1224 (cf. DONP s.v.).

310.5, Cod. germ. 22 (p. 336a): *Eruca: mælsceafa, al' meselscæfa*Zupitza: *mælsceafa*

The later history of OE *mælsceafa* 'caterpillar' can be seen at MED s.v. *mǎl-shǎve* and OED3 s.v. *malshave*. The alternative form *meselscæfa* in Cod. germ. 22 is interesting in that the medial <s> in the first element has a parallel in the Tremulous Hand's copy of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary* (**W**). The MED and OED both consider the **W** form, *mæslesceafe*, a scribal error. This may be so, but if it is, it is an error that is not unique to **W**. Any future research into the identity of γ and its relationship to other manuscripts of the *Glossary* should be attentive to other possible errors or unusual forms shared with **W**.

[N/A] Cod. germ. 22 (p. 338b): *Clava: batt*Not in Zupitza (occurs in Cod. germ. 22 after Zupitza 314.4: *Clavus: nægel*)

OED2 s.v. *bat* n.2, cites *Ancrene Wisse* as the word's earliest occurrence, noting skeptically that Somner "alleged" an OE "**bat* (feminine) 'fustis'." That the word was in fact in use at least as early as the late Old English period is confirmed by the presence in an eleventh-century glossary of "*hęc clava batt*" (Napier 1900: 186). The fact that the Cod. germ. 22 entry has the same lemma (as opposed to Somner's *fustis*) is perhaps a sign that it derives from a genuine Old English text, but we cannot be certain.

4.3 Conclusions

Our examination of the early modern descendants of **Q** and **V**, and especially of the forms presented in Section 4.1 above, allows us to draw some tentative conclusions about the date and character of these lost copies of *Ælfric's Glossary*. The forms securely attributable to **Q** generally do not deviate markedly from those of **O** (Oxford, St John's College 154, s.xi in.), the basis of Zupitza's edition, although a few examples (e.g., 302.17 **Q** *bærnig* vs. **O** *bærnet* and 308.2 **Q** *cnæt* vs. **O** *gnæt*) may point to a later rather than earlier date of origin for the manuscript, perhaps in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. **V**, on the other hand, frequently differs from the language of *Ælfric's* not only in its more modern, Anglian-tinged, and often chaotic spelling, but also in its frequent replacement of the Old English glosses found in all other manuscripts of the *Glossary* with newer terms, many of which occur here for the first time in English. Some of these were native formations (e.g., 313.15 **V** *mydercæne* vs. **O** *myderce*, 321.7 **V** *hordhus* vs. **O** *maðmhus*, the aphetic forms in 321.10), while others were clearly borrowed from or influenced by French (e.g., 311.13 *pastanel*, 315.9 *tapit*) and Old Norse⁸⁴ (e.g., 309.16 *gris*, 312.7 *rote*, 314.12 *hæfodlyn*, 315.16 *handclað*, 316.10 *scrudhus*), and potentially other languages as well (309.10 *molwewp*). The impression that one gets from these glosses is that **V** was a very late manuscript, possibly even of the early thirteenth century. The reconstructed **V** may therefore stand alongside the Tremulous Hand of Worcester's manuscript of **W** (Worcester, Cathedral Library F.174) as one of the latest textual witnesses to *Ælfric's Grammar* and *Glossary*.

The early modern transcripts derived from **Q** and **V** are of substantial importance to the study of *Ælfric's Glossary* and to the medieval English glossarial tradition as a whole. In any future editions and studies of the *Glossary*, the readings of these two lost manuscripts (when securely recoverable from the transcripts) should be given equal weight to the readings of the extant medieval witnesses of the text. Though we do not have a complete picture of either **Q** or **V**, a more detailed comparison of the transcripts to surviving manuscripts would likely allow us to determine their textual affiliations. **V**, at least, is also important for reasons beyond the textual criticism of the *Glossary*. As the analysis above shows, even though **V** was probably one of the least faithful witnesses to *Ælfric's* original text, its late date makes it a remarkable example of the preservation, adaptation, and practical use of an Old English educational text in the early Middle English period.

⁸⁴ Indeed, Buckalew (1982: 27–28) believed that the **V** glosses had a “Scandinavian” character, although one of his examples of a supposed Old Norse loanword was erroneous (see above, p. 650).

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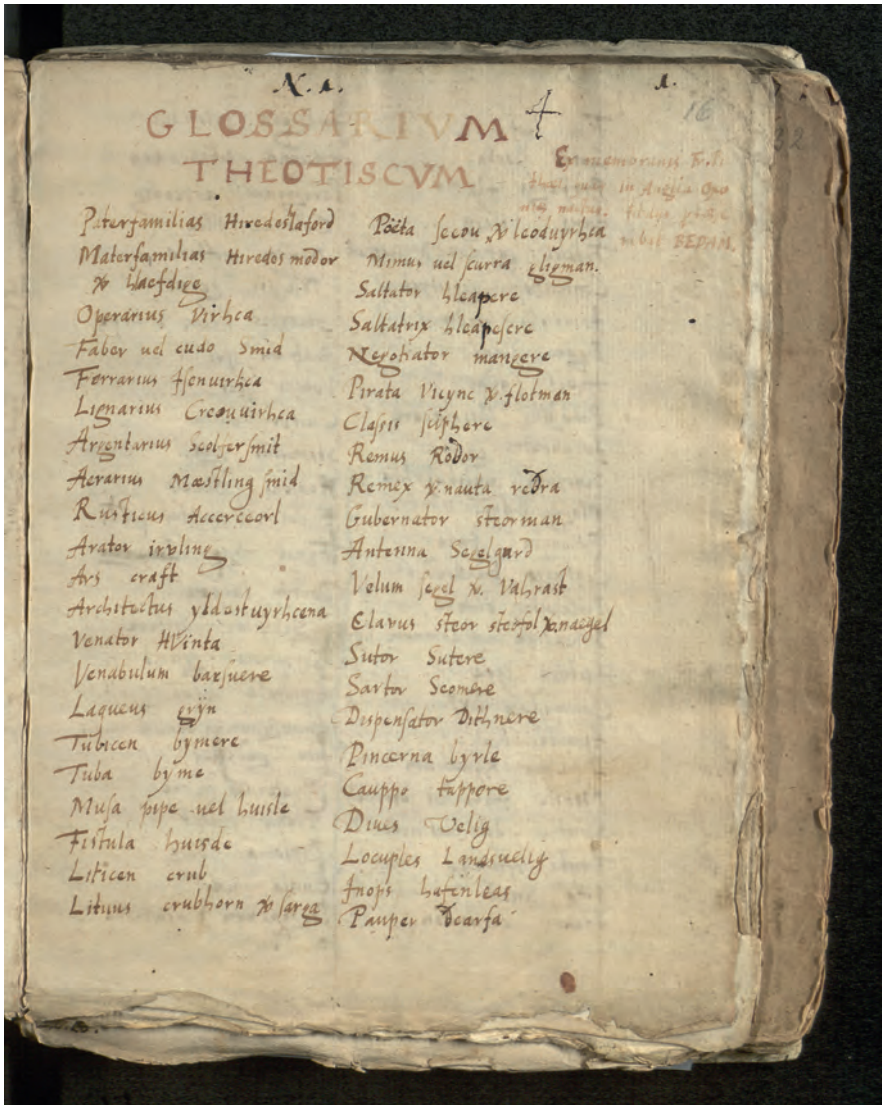


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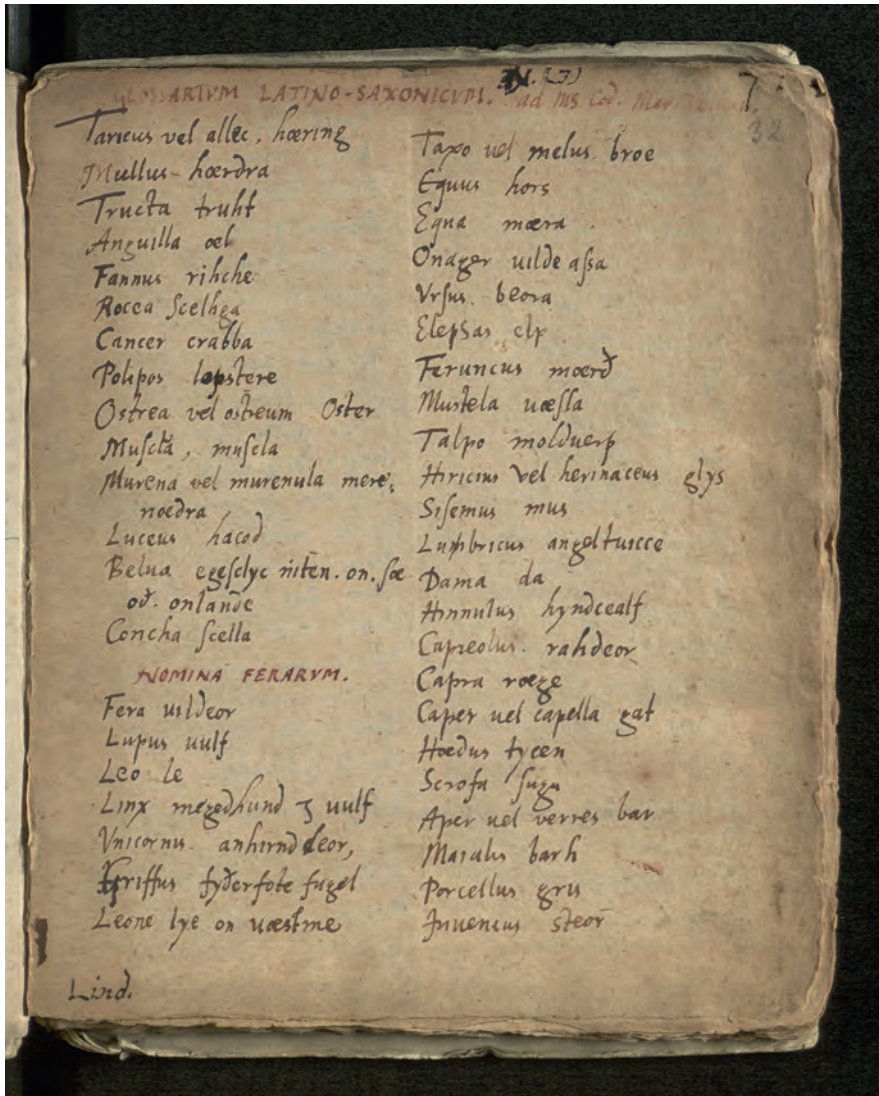


Figure 2: Hamburg, SUB, Cod. philol. 263, fol. 32r (detail); © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, 2018

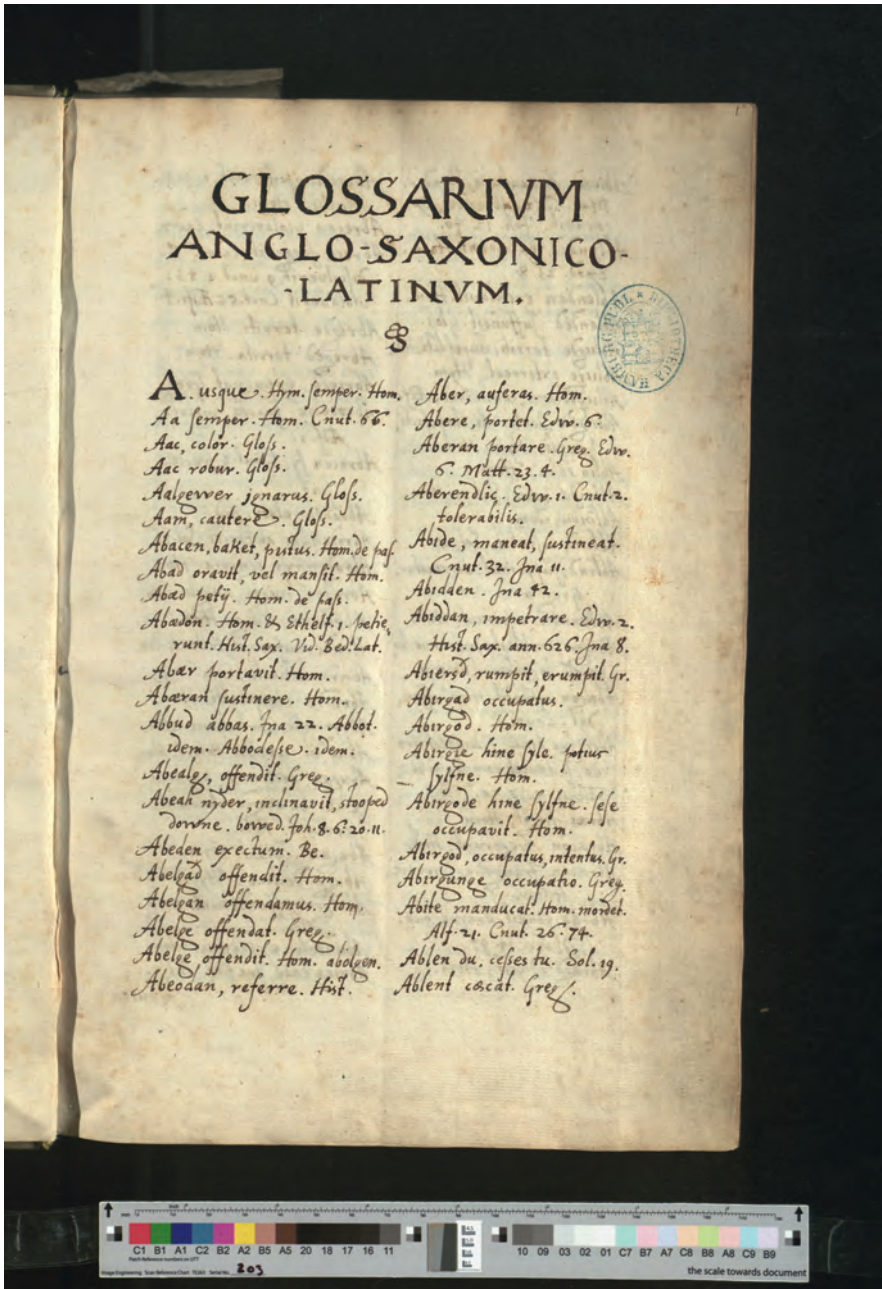


Figure 3: Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 22, p. 1; © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, 2018

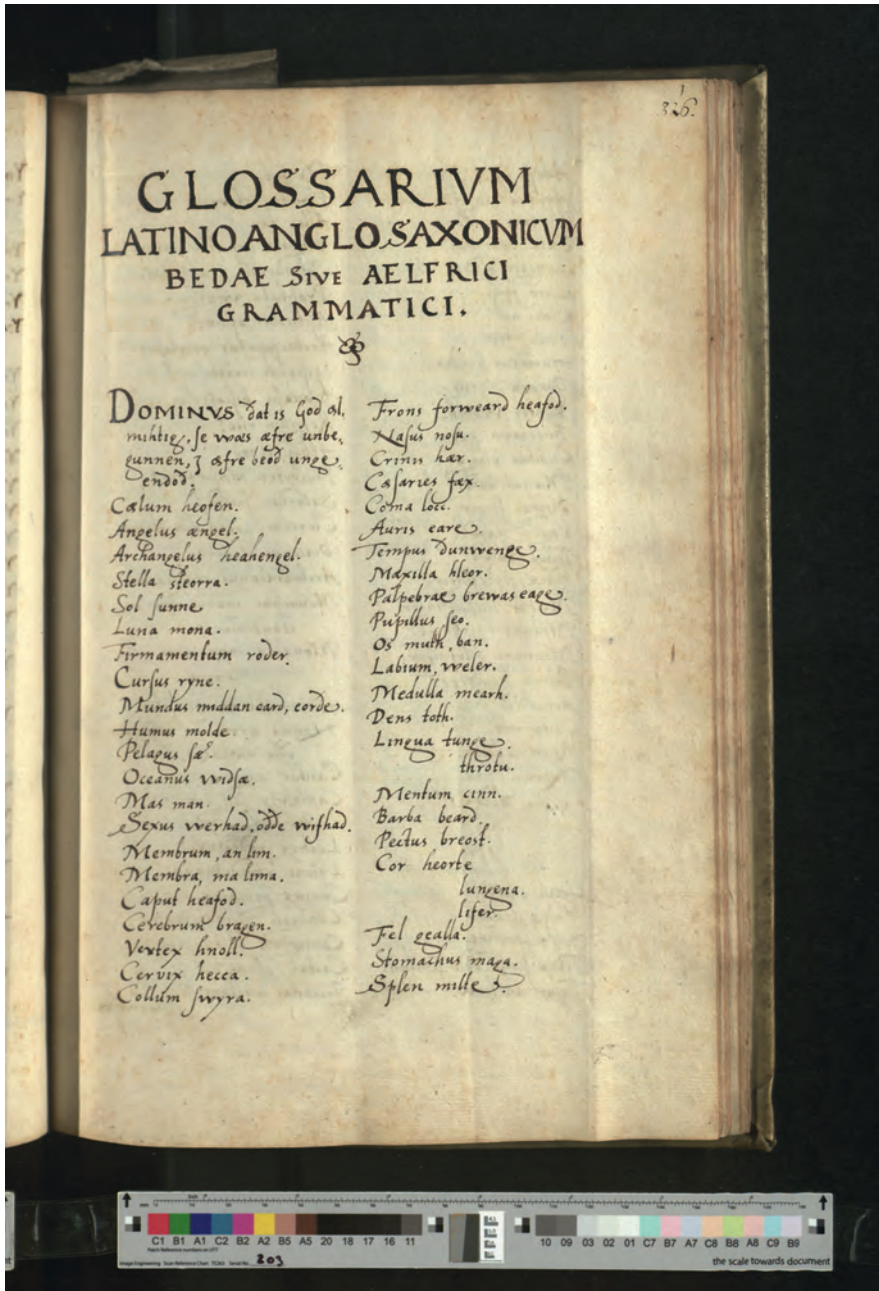


Figure 4: Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 22, p. 326 (detail); © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, 2018

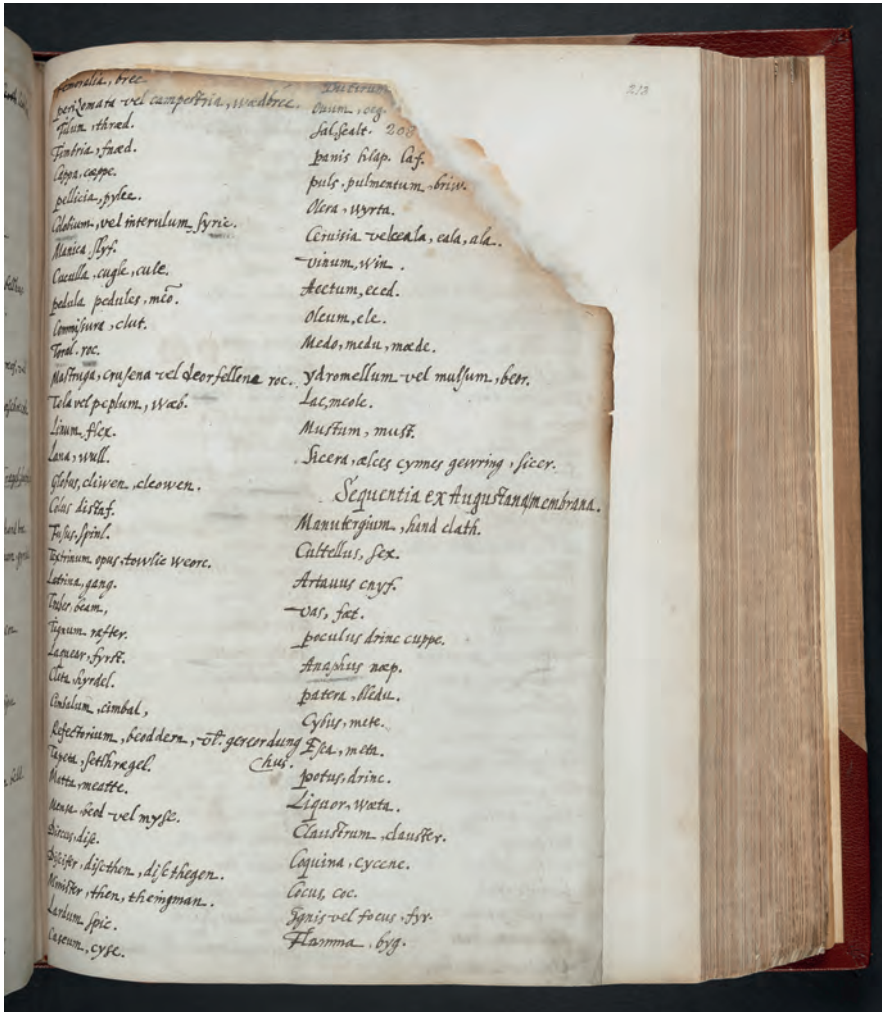


Figure 5: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.ix, fol. 213r (detail); © The British Library Board, 2021