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Abbreviations

ADS	Archaeology Data Service
ASPNS	Anglo-Saxon Plant-Name Survey
BML	British Medieval Latin
BSBI	Botanical Society of the British Isles
CGL	*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*
CNo.	Catalogue Number
COD	*Concise Oxford Dictionary*
DMLBS	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*
DOE	*Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto)
DOEPN	*Dictionary of Old English Plant Names* (online)
DOEWC	*Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (online)
DOI	Digital Object Identifier; *Dictionary of the Irish Language Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials*
DOST	*Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*
DSL	*Dictionary of the Scots Language* (online)
EDD	*English Dialect Dictionary*
EPNE	*English Place-Name Elements* (A. H. Smith)
Gk, Gr.	Greek
HTOED	*Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
LAE	*Linguistic Atlas of England*
Lat	Latin
MCOE	*Microfiche Concordance to Old English*
ME	Middle English
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MHG	Middle High German
MLG	Middle Low German
ModE	Modern English
ModIce	Modern Icelandic
ModLG	Modern Low German
ODEE	*Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OF	Old French
OHG	Old High German
OI	Old Irish
OIce	Old Icelandic
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*
ON	Old Norse
OS	Old Saxon
PASE	*Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* (online)
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PN W	*Place-Names of Wiltshire* (J. E. B. Gover et al.)
PN Wo	*Place-Names of Worcestershire* (A. Mawer et al.)

RCHM(E)	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments (of England)
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
spp.	species (botanical, singular)
ssp.	species (botanical, plural)
TOE	*Thesaurus of Old English*
VEPN	*Vocabulary of English Place-Names*

Short Titles

Old English source texts may be indicated by short titles assigned by the *Dictionary of Old English* and *Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, which refer to specific editions of the texts. They occur particularly in the appendices, and examples include: Lch II (1); Med 3 (Grattan-Singer). The key to these references can be found at the DOE website under 'Research Tools' then 'List of Texts'. See http://www.doe.utoronto.ca.

Botanical Latin

Plant-names in botanical Latin aim to provide an international identification for a particular plant or group of plants. They are followed by abbreviations indicating the botanist who assigned and/or reassigned the name, and the most common abbreviation is 'L.' indicating 'Linnaeus', the famous Swedish botanist. Examples include: *Bellis perennis* L. (daisy); *Betula pendula* Roth. (silver birch).

Dates

Manuscript dates are often given in a form beginning 's.' (for *saeculo* 'in the century'). Some examples follow:

s. xi^{in} beginning of the 11th century
s. xi^{1} first half of the 11th century
s. xi^{med} middle of the 11th century
s. xi^{2} second half of the 11th century
s. xi^{ex} end of the 11th century

What was *Lybcorn*?

Audrey Meaney[1]

1. Introduction

A few medical remedies in Old English (OE) — mostly herbal recipes for emetics and purgatives shared between the *Leechbook*s — include among their ingredients a number of occurrences of the word *lybcorn*. The interpretation of this word has proved difficult, partly because, unlike many Old English plant names, it is purely Germanic and not borrowed (or, apparently, translated) from Latin or Greek. The suffix *-corn*, however, would seem to indicate that it is some kind of seed or fruit.

The only other context in which *lybcorn* is found is in glossaries, in manuscripts dating from about 800 AD up to the twelfth century, but whose evidence is not easy to interpret. Hence, modern editors have translated *lybcorn* variously, and sometimes at variance with the contexts of the remedies in which they occur. It seems to me that the only way to get closer to establishing what *lybcorn* was is to examine and investigate the whole body of evidence about it.

Lyb is found in Old English as a simplex noun, and also as the first element of a number of compounds (sometimes, however, prefixed by the negative or pejorative *un-*). The meanings of these nouns usually fall within a semantic group and are not too difficult to deduce. It therefore seems best to work from the known (or easily deduced) to the unknown, so I discuss first the simplex noun and the other compounds, leaving *lybcorn* itself for later consideration.

2. The simplex *lyb*

The simplex *lyb* (sometimes spelt *lib*, and sometimes with *-bb-*), of neuter gender, is rare. In Bald's *Leechbook*, after a recipe for eye drops made from celandine juice and honey, the writer comments: 'That is a salutary remedy for dimness of eyes' (*Þæt bið anspilde lyb wiþ eagena dimnesse* (Cockayne 1864–6: II.30–1; MS 4).[2] Here, there is no need to assume that anything

[1] Dr C. P. Biggam has collaborated on and contributed to several sections of this paper. I would like to thank her for her work on my text, especially the complex footnotes.

[2] Manuscript numbers in the form 'MS 4' refer to the list in Appendix 3. References to texts containing *lybcorn* or *giþcorn* are numbered as in Appendices 1 and 2 respectively. Information on the Anglo-Saxon medical texts mentioned in this paper can be found in Section 7. This article contains a number of medical terms, for which see the 'Glossary of Medical Terms' in this volume.

more than contemporary medicine is involved.[3] In the *Lacnunga*, however, the writer sets out a diminishing charm reminiscent of the 'Ten Green Bottles', and then suggests its uses:

> *Wið cyrnel Neogone wæran noðþæs sweoster þa wurdon þa nygone to VIIII ⁊ þa VIII to VII ⁊ þa VII to VI ⁊ þa VI to V ⁊ þa V to IIII ⁊ þa IIII to III ⁊ þa III to II ⁊ þa II to I ⁊ þa I to nanum. þis þe lib be*[4] *cyrneles ⁊ scrofelles ⁊ weormes ⁊ æghylces yfele. sing benedicite nigon siþum* (Pettit 2001: I.106–7; II.298; MS 7).[5]
>
> For a swelling: Nine were *Noþþæs* sisters; then the nine became 8 & the 8 [became] 7 … & the 2 [became] 1, & the 1 [became] none. This may be for you *lib* against swelling & scrofula & worms & every kind of evil. Sing the *Benedicite* nine times.

Here the translation could as well be 'charm' as 'cure, medicine'. The intrusive-looking blessing would have enabled the charm to be used in Christian times.

The connection of *lyb* with magic becomes even clearer in the interrelated early Épinal[6] and Erfurt[7] glossaries, and in the derivative mid-tenth-century Cleopatra Glossary 1,[8] in all of which *lyb* glosses *obligamentum* (*oblicamentum*). The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (DMLBS), citing this gloss, defines *obligamentum* first as 'artefact bound to the body, charm, amulet', and secondarily as 'bond, commitment'. In the Corpus Glossary 2, the entries for *lyb* and the evidently synonymous *lyb(be)sn, lyfesn* and their lemmata read:

> *Obligamentum* lyb, lybsn[9]
> *Strenas* lybesne[10]

Lindsay (1921a: 123, O43) believed the source of the first to be a gloss to Orosius.[11] In Classical Latin, *strena* means 'sign, prognostic, omen' (Lewis and Short 1879), and in pre-Conquest British medieval Latin it means 'lucky token or gift' (DMLBS). There are other occurrences of the noun *lybesn, lyfesn* (in the plural, *lyfesna, -e*) glossing *filacteria*, in the Cleopatra glossaries 1 and 3.[12] In Classical Latin, a *phylacterium* is an 'amulet', and, in the form *fylacteria* (plural), it is used with this sense in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Bk 4, Chapter

[3] A later remedy in the same chapter of Bald's *Leechbook*, Bk I, on eyes (Cockayne 1864–6: II.34–7), and another as the sole item in a chapter on nasal discharge (Cockayne 1864–6: II.54–5) both make use of *oxna lyb*, literally (I suppose) 'oxen's medicine' as an ingredient in a salve. It is evidently the name of a plant, but since the identification of the plant is disputed, it seems best not to discuss it here.

[4] This is the manuscript reading (MS 7, fol. 182r), which Cockayne (1864–6: III.62) keeps. Grattan and Singer (1952: 184) emend to *lib beo*. Pettit (2001: I.106, line 881) reads *libbe* and postulates that this is a weak feminine form of the (usually neuter) simplex noun found everywhere else. However, the prefixed *unlybbe* (feminine, see below) is found. The choice of reading affects neither the sense of the passage nor the argument here. Note that the symbol similar to a number seven is the so-called 'Tironian *et*' which is often used in Old English to denote OE *and*.

[5] Also: Cockayne (1864–6: III.62–3); Grendon (1909: 170–1); Storms (1948: 150–5); Grattan and Singer (1952: 184–5).

[6] MS Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale 72, fols 94–107; Sweet (1885: 82, no. 711); Ker (1957: no. 114); Pheifer (1974: xxi–xxv; 38, no. 711); Gneuss (2001: no. 824, s.vii ex or vii/viii).

[7] MS 1; Sweet (1885: 82, no.711); Pheifer (1974: xxv–xxviii; 38, no. 711).

[8] MS 3; Wright (1884: I. column 459, no. 5): *Obligamentum* lyb, lyfesn. Also: Wright (1884: I. column 463, no. 19): *Obligamentum* lyb.

[9] MS 2; Wright (1884: I. column 35, no.10); Sweet (1885: 81, no. 1413); Hessels (1890: 84, O43).

[10] MS 2; Wright (1884: I. column 48, no. 35); Sweet (1885: 99, no. 1930); Hessels (1890: 111, S569); Lindsay (1921a: 168, ST569) (no source suggested).

[11] Orosius (1889: 121; 4.13.4): *obligamentum hoc magicum*, 'this magic [which was] *obligamentum*'. Irving Woodworth Raymond (Orosius 1936: 179) translates *obligamentum* as 'obligatory'; a more precise meaning in the context might be 'prophylactic'. For the Orosius glosses in Épinal-Erfurt see also Pheifer (1974: xlvi–xlviii), where it is claimed that they had been 'part of a running gloss on the text … probably [dated] before 700'. Unfortunately, there is no trace of *lyb, lyfesn* in the *Old English Orosius* (Bately 1980).

[12] MS 3; Wright (1884: I. column 405, no. 36): *Filacteria* lyfesna. Also: Wright (1884: I. column 482, no. 1):

27 (25); Bede 1969: 432),[13] rendered as *lyfesne* in the Alfredian translation thereof (Bede 1890–8: I,ii.362, line 16).[14] Also, in Cleopatra Glossary 3, is the form *lybsin*, for the lemma *lustramenta,* which appears to refer to ritual purifications.[15]

Therefore, it seems, *lyb* can mean anything from 'medicinal remedy' through 'charm remedy' to 'amulet' and even to 'ritual magic'. The use of *-lyb-*, either as a simplex or in a compound, appears to go out of use very early in the Middle English period, except in Scottish, where *lib* (also spelt *lib(b)(e), lebbe*) persisted into the seventeenth century, with the chief meaning 'a healing charm'. It is usually found in the plural and coupled with 'charms', for example, 'sorcerie, libbes and charmes', a citation dating to 1577 and recorded in the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST).

3. Compounds with *lyb-*

There are two abstract nouns formed with *lyb: lybcræft* and *lyblac* (also *lib(b)lac*, often in the plural as *-as*). *Lyblac* appears quite frequently, in laws,[16] in confessionals and penitentials,[17]

Filacteria lyfesna (Wülcker's note in Wright: 'Read phylacteria, Matth.XXIII, 5'). See Weber (1975: II.1561).

[13] See also Bede (1896: I.269; II.266).

[14] The same translation is found in the glosses to Bede's *History* in MS London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.ii; Ker (1957: no. 198e); Gneuss (2001: no. 377, interlinear glosses, s.x, southern England, probably Canterbury, St Augustine's?); Meritt (1945: 12, line 265): *fylacteria* lyfesne.

[15] MS 3; Wright (1884: I. column 501, no. 20): *Lustramenta* lybsin. The DMLBS cites Late Latin *lustramentum* 'a rinsing', and gives the primary medieval meaning as 'purification, cleansing', and the secondary as 'what is cleared away, filth, excrement, foul stench'.

[16] Liebermann (1903–16: I.152–4; III.103); Attenborough (1922: 130–1); Whitelock, Brett and Brooke (1981: 50): II Æthelstan 6: '& we said about witchcrafts & *lyblacs* & deadly deeds, if anyone were killed' (*ꝛ we cwædon be þam wiccecræftum ꝛ be liblacum ꝛ be morðdædum, gif mon þær acweald wære*). Liebermann (1903–16: I.184–6; III.126); Robertson (1925: 6–7); Whitelock, Brett and Brooke (1981: 63): I Eadmund 1.6: 'Those who forswear & work *lyblac*: be they ever thrown out from God's share' (*Ða ðe mansweriað ꝛ liblac wyrcað: beon hi a from ælcum Godes dæle aworpene*). For discussion of these laws, see Meaney (2006: 135–9). In them, *lyblac* appears to be equivalent to 'If anyone casts a magic spell over another man or gives him a herbal potion to drink so that he dies' (*Si quis alteri maleficiis fecerit aut herbas dederit bibere ut moriatur*) in the *Pactus legis Salicae* 19.1 (Eckhardt 1955–7: I.66–7).

[17] MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 320, fols 117 and 170; Ker (1957: no. 58); Gneuss (2001: no. 90, s.x (2) or x ex., Canterbury, St Augustine's, at fol. 170 (102), line 4), as in the DOE transcript, edited from the manuscript: '& guard yourself zealously against *lyblacs* & poisonings & fornication & deceitful speech' (*ꝛ beorh ðe georne wið lyblacas ꝛ attorcræftas ꝛ dyrnegeliru ꝛ twysprǽcnysse*). Essentially the same text, with minor differences of spelling (e.g. *liblacas*) is found in several manuscripts, for example: London, British Library, Cotton Galba A.xiv; Ker (1957, no. 157); Gneuss (2001: no. 333, s.xi (2/4), Winchester?); DOE transcript, edited from the manuscript. Another example: Spindler (1934: 171, line 19), edited from MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121; Ker (1957: no. 338); Gneuss (2001: no. 644, s.xi (3/4), Worcester). See also: Thorpe (1840: II.132); Raith (1933: XLII), mainly from MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190; Ker (1957: no. 45); Gneuss (2001: no. 59.5, s.xi (3/4), Exeter). These Penitential texts have been edited and published piecemeal, and it would be difficult to sort out the relationships between them without expending a great deal of time on what is not the primary point of the present investigation (discussion in Meaney 2006: 137–40, notes 50–63). See also: MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 482; Ker (1957: no. 343); Gneuss (2001: no. 656, s.xi med or xi (2), Worcester); Raith (1933: 8b, p. 6): 'These are the vanities of this world: first is pride ... & fornication & *lyblac* & avarice & rapine & sorcery & manslaughter & many other [things] like these' (*Þis synt þa idelnessa þissa worlda, ærost is ofermetta … ꝛ dyrne geligro ꝛ lyblac ꝛ gytsung ꝛ reaflac ꝛ scincræft ꝛ manslihtas ꝛ feala oðra þissa gelican*). Also, from the same manuscript: 'Formulas and Directions for the Use of Confessors', as in the DOE transcript, edited from the manuscript: '& eating too early & drunkenness & adultery & vain boasting & strife & stealing & lying & false oaths & *lyblac* & all these vices: forbid them' (*ꝛ ærætas ꝛ oferdruncolnys ꝛ unrihthæmed ꝛ idel gylp ꝛ unsibbe ꝛ stala ꝛ leasunga ꝛ mæne aðas ꝛ lybblac ꝛ ealle þas uncysta forbeod him*).

and in homilies,[18] mostly in variant lists of the evil deeds which compromise true Christianity. It is also found once each in a charm (with a prayer for protection against all kinds of evil)[19] and in the *Marvels of the East*, in a comment on some of the wonders.[20] *Lyblac* does not appear in the glosses, and is not defined anywhere, but its use in context implies the meaning 'magic' or perhaps better (since magic cannot be used in the plural) 'sorcery'. The clearest context is perhaps in the Old English version of the *Visio Pauli,* in a list of men's transgressions which harmed the earth:

> *þæt is unrihthæmed, and morðdæda and stala and mane aðas and lyblac and wiccacræftas and untidætas, and oferdruncennesse, and tielnyssa, and ealle ða yfel ðe mæn gedoð.*[21]
> Those are adultery and murders and robberies and false oaths and *lyblac* and deeds of witchcraft and eating at improper times, and excessive drunkenness and calumnies and all the evil which men do.

Here *lyblac* renders Latin *magia*; the next item in the list, *wiccacræftas*, translates Latin *maleficia*.

A weak noun, *lyblaca* or *lyblæcca*, is used for the practitioner of *lyblac* in a Vercelli homily:

> *Þaþe her bioð þa mæstan dryicgan 7 scinlacan 7 gealdorcræftigan 7 lyblacan: ne cumaþ þa næfre of þæra wyrma seaðe 7 of þæs dracan ceolan, þe is Satan nemned.*[22]
> Those who are the greatest wizards & magicians of illusion & charmers & *lyblacan* will never come out of the snake pit, [nor] from the throat of the dragon who is named Satan.

This weak noun also occurs in the Corpus 2 and Cleopatra 1 glossaries: '*Caragios* lyblaecan';[23] '[*Caragios*] lyblæcan' (Wright 1884: I.xi, column 363, no. 12; MS 3). The DMLBS gives *Caragius* (accusative plural *-ios*) the meaning 'magician, sorcerer'. It appears in a shortened form in the lemma *carios* in the Harley Glossary glossed *lybbestran*, which probably represents the accusative plural of *lybbestre*, 'sorceress'.[24]

The abstract noun *lybcræft* appears only four times in the extant Old English sources, once in the prose *Life of Andrew*, in the dative singular,[25] and three times, in the plural, in the *Life*

[18] These in general do not add anything new. See: Wulfstan (1883: 135, line 3, no. XXIX; 253, line 11, no. XLIX; 290, line 29, no. LVI); Förster (1932: 103, line 346, no. 4); Scragg (1992: 103, line 313; 198, line 51).

[19] 'For Unfruitful Land': Grendon (1909: 174, no. A13); Dobbie (1942: 118); Storms (1948: 176, no. 8): 'Grant them, eternal Lord … that their produce be protected against every one of all their enemies and that it be guarded against each of all harms of the *lyblacs* seen throughout the land' (*Geunne him ece drihten … þæt his yrþ si gefriþod wið ealra feonda gehwæne, and heo si geborgen wið ealra bealwa gehwylc, þara lyblaca geond land sawen*).

[20] Rypins (1924: 52, line 13); Ker (1957: no. 216); Gneuss (2001: no. 399, s.x/xi): 'Those are unusual/ inconceivable *lyblac*s' (*Þæt syndon ungefræglicu liblac* [neuter plural noun]). The marvels here were red hens, living near the Red Sea, which would burn up all the body of anyone who touched them.

[21] Healey (1978: 63, lines 10–15), edited from MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85–6 (5196–7): Ker (1957: no. 336, item 4, fols 3r–11v); Gneuss (2001: no. 642, s.xi med, SE England).

[22] Förster (1932: 77, lines 50–53, no. 4); Scragg (1992: 92, line 46). The reference to the dragon as Satan is taken from Revelation xii.9.

[23] MS 2; Hessels (1890: 29, no. C223); Lindsay (1921a: 34, CA.223). The suggested source is a pseudo-Augustinian sermon.

[24] MS 5; Oliphant (1966: 56, C414) wished to emend the lemma to *carisa* 'artful woman' and to explain *lybbestre* as 'woman who flatters, procuress'. I find this unconvincing. Schrabram (1968) has a list of faults in Oliphant's edition; all references in this paper have been checked against Schrabram's list and found to be correct. *Lybbestre* would appear to be equivalent to MHG *lüppærinne* 'sorceress' (Schade 1872–82: I.579).

[25] Bright (1971: 206, lines 6–9): 'And every foreign man who came into the city … they gave him poison to drink that was mixed with great *lybcræft*, and as soon as they drank the potion, swiftly their hearts were unhinged and their minds changed' (*And æghwylc man þe on þære ceastre com ælþeodisc … hie him sealdon attor drincan þæt mid myclen lybcræfte wæs geblanden; and mid þy þe hie þone drenc druncon, hraþe heora heorta wæs tolesed and heora mod onwended*).

of St Pantaleon,[26] the first of which makes the connection with sorcery very clear:

> *And þa mid þy þe se casere þis geseah þa … he cwæð to him, 'Hafast þu nu þurh þine lybcræftas gedon þæt ura tintregendra handa adeadadon?*[27]
>
> And when the emperor saw this, then … he said to him, 'Have you now brought it about through your *lybcræftas* [plural] that our torturing hands were deadened?'

Lybcræft then, would seem to mean 'skill in sorcery, magic arts'.

Another abstract noun, *unlibba*, uses the pejorative prefix *un-*. It appears to bear the meaning 'evil sorcery' in the *Benedictine Rule* (where it is associated with poison);[28] in a punning translation from Exodus (*Ne læt þu libban þa þe unlibban wyrcon*, 'Do not allow to live those who employ *unlibban*');[29] and in the list of 'deeds of the flesh' which Ælfric quotes in his homily 'On Auguries', from St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (v.19-20; Ælfric 1966: I.366, line 25). Here *unlybba* renders Latin *veneficia* (Weber 1975: II.1807), translated as 'witchcraft' in the King James version of the Bible, and is coupled with OE *hæðengild* 'idolatry'. Finally, *unlibba* is found in the *Confessional* (or *Scrift Boc*) in a revealing condemnation: *Gyf wif drycræft and galdorcræft and unlibban wyrce and swylce bega, fæste XII monað*, 'If a woman employs wizardry and magic charms and *unlibban* and thereby succeeds, she should fast for twelve months'.[30] Here *unlibba* has replaced *liblac*, which is more usual in this context.

More often, however, *unlybba* appears to mean simply 'poison', for example in the late *Handbook for the Use of a Confessor*: *Eal man sceal aspiwan sinna þurh gode lare mid andetnesse ealswa man unlibban deð ðurh godne drenc*, 'One shall altogether spew out sins by means of good teaching with confession, just as one does *unlibban* [accusative singular] by means of a good potion.'[31]

There is a great deal of evidence to show that Ælfric mostly used *unlybba* to mean 'poison'; a clear example is

> *Syððan se hæþengylda eac sealde þone attorbæran drenc þam apostole: and he … þane unlybban on godes naman halsode, and syððan mid gebyldum mode hine ealne gedranc.*[32]
>
> Afterwards the idolator also gave the poisonous potion to the apostle, and he … blessed the *unlybban* [accusative singular] in God's name, and afterwards, with an emboldened mind, drank it all.

Other examples of the use of *unlybba* are ambiguous in their meaning. For example, in the miscellaneous headings for Chapter 65 in the second book of Bald's *Leechbook*:

> *Læcedom gif hors sie ofscoten 7 wiþ utwærce 7 gif utgang forseten sie 7 wiþ lencten adle; eft, wiþ utwærce 7 wiþ unlybbum 7 wiþ þære geolwan adle 7 gif men sie færlice yfele 7 to*

[26] The references, in the form appearing in Healey and Venezky (1980), are: LS 30: 249, 290 and 292.

[27] Matthews (1965–6); minor corrections by Johannes Söderlind not consulted. There is a 'preliminary edition' by the late Phillip Pulsiano (2002: 61–103).

[28] Benedict (1964: 135, line 16): 'When their evil sins are not atoned by any man, then they altogether grow in evil, like the *unlibba* of poison in a man; the longer he hides the taking of the poison, so his illness is greater' (*Ðonne heora unðeawas fram nanum men gebette ne beoþ, eal hi weaxaþ on yfel, swa swa atres unlibba on men, swa he leng þæs attres þigene bedihlað, swa his untrumnes mare*).

[29] Exodus xxii.18, from MS London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B.iv; Ker (1957: no. 142); Crawford (1969: 268); Gneuss (2001: no. 315, s.xi (2/4), Canterbury, St Augustine's).

[30] Spindler (1934: 184, no. 19.e). See also (1934: 184, no. 19.f).

[31] Fowler (1965: 27, lines 325–7). See also (1965: 27–8, lines 330–2).

[32] Ælfric (1997: 214**,** line 224). In this passage *unlybba* translates *venen[us],* see Godden (2000: 36–7). See also the commentary in Godden (2000) on the other examples of Ælfric's usage listed here: Ælfric (1979: 94, line 73; 104, line 408; 290, line 88); Ælfric (1997: 214, line 221; 348, line 103; 350, line 154).

> *gehealdan lichoman hælo 7 wiþ gicþan 7 ælue 7 wiþ lond adle 7 gongelwæfran bite 7 wið utsihte 7 heafod sealfa* (Cockayne 1864–6: II.174–5; MS 4).
>
> Remedies if a horse be [elf]shot & for painful defaecation & if the evacuation be obstructed & for 'lent disease'; again, for painful defaecation & for *unlybbum* [dative plural), & for the yellow disease [jaundice?], & if a man is afflicted by sudden evils & to preserve the health of the body & for an itching rash & [against] an elf, & for 'land disease' & for the bite of a spider & for diarrhoea & head salves.

Here either or both meanings — 'evil sorcery' or 'poison' — would be appropriate. Indeed, the vocabulary of many of the afflictions in these headings is altogether difficult to interpret, and the remedies set out in the chapter itself are hardly more informative (Cockayne 1864-6: II.290-1; MS 4).

The agent noun *unlybwyrhta*, however, has a much clearer connection to sorcery, since it translates 'evil sorcerer, poisoner' in eleventh-century glossaries: '*maleficorum, uenenificorum* unlibwyrhta';[33] '*ueneficus* unlybwyrhta'.[34] It appears then that, to the minds of the early English glossators, evil sorcerers and poisoners were almost synonymous. In relevant passages from the homilies of Ælfric and his contemporaries, the connection with sorcery seems the stronger. For the sake of brevity, only the shortest of such passages, from an anonymous homily, is quoted in full here: *Antecrist hæfð mid him drymen and unlybwyrhtan and wigleras and þa ðe cunnan galder agalan*, 'AntiChrist has with him wizards and *unlybwyrhtan* and magicians and those who know how to chant charms'.[35]

It was, indeed, the relationship between *lybcorn* and the other compounds with *-lyb-* which first aroused my interest in this plant-name, but since the semantic range of *lyb* is so wide, it does not afford many pointers towards the identification of the seed (OE *corn*). A study of the plant-name *lybcorn* will now follow.

4. *Lybcorn*: citations

As can be seen from Appendix 1, there are thirty-seven extant occurrences of the word *lybcorn*, eighteen in medical remedies (Appendix 1A), and nineteen in glosses (Appendix 1B).[36] Appendix 1C indicates the probable related citations, eleven in all, and all glossary entries. Only eight of the glossary references are independent; therefore there are twenty-six independent references for *lybcorn* in total.

[33] Ker (1957: no. 8); Goossens (1974: 405, no. 3940); Gneuss (2001: no. 806, glosses s.xi.(1)). This entry is repeated exactly in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 146 (1747); Napier (1900: 107, no. 4054); Ker (1957: no. 320); Gneuss (2001: no. 613, most Old English glosses are s.xi med).

[34] 'Additional Glosses to the Glossary in Ælfric's Grammar' (DOE transcript), edited from MS London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A.x, fol. 101. MCOE reference: ÆGl 2.109. For the manuscript, see Ker (1957: no. 154A); Gneuss (2001: no. 331, s.xi (2) or xi (3/4)).

[35] Wulfstan (1883: 194, line 18, no. XLII). See also Wulfstan (1883: 298, line 19, no. LVII): *unlybwyrhtan* coming after *wyccan* and *wælcyrian*. Though these are not by Wulfstan, they may have been commissioned by him, or influenced by his use of language; see Wulfstan (1957: 42–3). Ælfric's lists of evil-doers containing *unlybwyrhta[n]*, both edited by Pope, are: Ælfric (1967–8: I.436, line 376): *wigleras*, *wiccan* and *unlybwyrhtan*; and Ælfric (1967–8: II.743, line 145).

[36] Throughout this paper, individual references may be identified by their catalogue numbers, for example, 1.A.10 or 1.B.9, or (for the plant-name *giþcorn*) 2.A.4, 2.B.6, and so on. See the appendices for details.

5. *Lybcorn*: etymology and lexical comparisons

As we have seen, the range of meanings demonstrated for *lyb* seems to involve medicine, sorcery and poison. Lindheim (1941: 40, note to no. 104) cites parallels in other Germanic languages: Old Saxon (OS) *lubbi* 'sap'; Old High German (OHG) *luppi* (or *lubbi*) 'strong juice of plants, poison, sorcery, *maleficium*'; Gothic *lubja-*, as first element of *lubja-leisei* 'sorcerers, those knowing drugs or poisons'; and Old Icelandic (OIce) *lyf* 'healing herb', especially with the notion of witchcraft or supernatural power. Old Icelandic *lyf* is sometimes associated with *lækning* 'the art of healing' and also with *galdr* 'charm'. Related verbs, with meanings varying from 'heal' to 'poison', are also found in the voluminous Old High German glosses, and, in Old Norse, there is *lyfja* 'to cure, especially by magic'. In Old High German, *lubbiwurz* glosses *aconitum* 'monk's-hood' (*Aconitum napellus* L.), a plant which is both extremely poisonous and a very useful drug (but unfortunately does not help in identifying *lybcorn*).[37]

There is also some interesting evidence in the *Leiden Leechbook*, a single manuscript bifolium which contains parts of a medical compilation of remedies (MS Leiden UB, Voss. Lat. F 96). The manuscript, variously dated to between the late eighth and the tenth century (Falileyev and Owen 2005: 4) includes Latin texts, and a multilingual text including words of Brittonic and Irish origin (2005: 1). In two of the neo-Brittonic remedies there are three names of herbs with *lub/lob* as the second elements: in Number 10 there are *tutlob* 'all-heal' and *ælilub* 'ointment plant', while in Number 12 are *tutlub* and *elilub* again, and *hoiarnlub* 'ironwort' (Falileyev and Owen 2005: 20). In these words, *lub* appears to mean 'herb' and corresponds to Old Irish *luib*, 'poison, magic' (2005: 50, 53–4, 59–60). It is interesting that, in these three names, *lub* is the second element, whereas OE *lyb* only appears as the first element in compound words.

The primary (literal) dictionary definitions of *corn* are '1. grain, cereal plants grown as crops; 2. seed, berry or fruit of a plant' (DOE, see also Bosworth 1972). As will become clear, the second meaning is relevant here. Since 'seed' is the most neutral and general term for a fruiting body, I have chosen to translate it thus throughout, without assumptions as to its form.

Etymologically speaking, therefore, *lybcorn* could mean 'medicinal or magic seed', with a clear indication from the usage that, if there was evil intent, it could be poisonous.

6. *Lybcorn*: consideration of the basic data

The collected references to *lybcorn* include no descriptors, that is, elements of description of the plant in the texts, other than that it has leaves (1.A.9 and 1.A.11). Other potentially valuable basic data normally presented in an ASPNS study are also lacking, for example collocations. As a result, this study has had to depend heavily on close analyses of the plant associations found with *lybcorn*, and the Latin terms which *lybcorn* translates, usually in glossaries.

7. Lybcorn *in medicinal recipes*

As already mentioned, the word *lybcorn* is found in two contexts only: glossaries and collections of medical remedies. The earliest extant occurrences of the word are in glossaries,

[37] Also consulted were: Steinmeyer and Sievers (1879–1922 at, for example, I.139, no. 39 and 235, no. 8); Cleasby

but the interpretation of the lemmata (headwords) poses such difficulties that it seems best to establish first how the seeds were used as ingredients in medicines and ointments, and with which herbs they were associated.

We are concerned with medical remedies in three texts:[38] the first being Bald's *Leechbook,* which is found in MS London, British Library, Royal 12.D.xvii (MS 4) of the mid-tenth century, copied almost certainly at Winchester, perhaps from an Alfredian original. It is the most scholarly and organised of the three texts. It is in two books, which appear to have had partly independent histories (Nokes 2004). The first book deals primarily with external ailments (working in general from the head downwards), and the second (which is more heavily dependent on late Classical works) with internal problems.

The second text is referred to as *Leechbook III* and it is found directly following Bald's *Leechbook* in MS 4, although it appears to have a different origin. It also appears to 'represent the oldest surviving strata of Anglo-Saxon medicine' (Cameron 1993: 35).

The third text is known as *Lacnunga* and it is found in MS London, British Library, Harley 585 (MS 7). It dates to about the year 1000 and somewhat later, and appears to be more of a commonplace book (in which ideas are jotted down when they occur or become available) rather than a standard recipe book (Cameron 1993: 46).

Most frequently (ten times altogether, and six times in Bald's *Leechbook* alone) *lybcorn* are listed in compound recipes for emetic potions, less often for purgatives, and occasionally in ointments for skin problems.[39] The mixtures were usually made in similar ways, by pounding or grinding the herbs and then steeping them in liquid, often ale, sometimes adding sweetening or other flavouring to potions, sometimes heating the mixtures, sometimes allowing them to stand overnight.[40] *Lybcorn* were sometimes named as the first ingredient, and sometimes added during the last of a series of operations. The plants associated with *lybcorn* are discussed here in Section 8 if they are found in more than one remedy, or in Section 9 if found in only one.

7.1 Emetic potions for 'devil-sickness'

The methods of preparation and problems of interpreting Old English plant-names are exemplified in two recipes using *lybcorn* for emetic potions, both of which are recommended as treatments for illness caused by the devil. One is from the first book of Bald's *Leechbook,* in the final section, where a number of miscellaneous remedies, lumped together somewhat haphazardly, appear to have been added to the original compilation (Nokes 2004: 66). Chapter 62 has to do with fevers (including malaria), and Chapter 64 with opposing a *leodrune*, probably 'sorceress'. The first remedy in Chapter 63 (1.A.2) begins, 'For a 'devil-sick' man' (*Wiþ feondseocum men*), and then identifies itself as an emetic (*spiwe drenc*). It is made from four plants, *eluhtre, bisceopwyrt, beolone* and *cropleac*, pounded together. Ale is then poured over them, and the mixture is left to stand overnight. Finally, fifty *lybcorn* and holy water are to be added. Nearly all the identifications proposed for the herbs in this recipe (lupin, marsh

and Vigfusson (1957: 400); Schade (1969: 579); Lehmann (1986: 237); and Starck and Wells (1990: 387). For aconite (monk's-hood), see Grieve (1976: 6–10).

38 The most recent overall discussion of these texts is by Cameron (1993: 30–1, 35–47).

39 See the 'Glossary of Medical Terms' for brief explanations. Regarding the plant-name, in a Modern English context, I use the form *lybcorn* throughout, as both singular and plural.

40 To judge from the chapters on 'Herbal Preparations' in Priest and Priest (1982: especially pp. 113–33), the same methods (no doubt much refined) are still employed today.

mallow, henbane and leek) appear to have been cultivated, or perhaps even imported (dried) items, rather than native species. The exception is marsh mallow (if that is how *bisceopwyrt* is to be interpreted). It is discussed below in Section 8.8, the others in Section 9**.**

Leechbook III has a recipe (1.A.12) for an emetic 'against the devil', presumably intended to ward off or cure 'devil-sickness'. Apart from *lybcorn*, it has entirely different ingredients (*secg* '?sedge', and *glædene* '?iris or squill') from those in 1.A.2.[41]

It is clear that there was a belief in Anglo-Saxon England that the devil could test mankind by afflicting it with illness. 'Devil-sickness' is defined in remedy 1.A.2 as 'when the devil sustains a man or controls him from within by means of illness' (*þonne deofol þone monnan fede oððe hine innan gewealde mid adle*). It can be roughly equated with the 'devil-possession' which turns up in hagiography and usually requires a miracle to cure it. It appears that dementia, homicidal schizophrenia, epilepsy and, possibly, convulsions could all be described as 'devil possession'. I have therefore defined 'devil-sickness' as an 'illness that turns the mind and affects the bodies of the sufferers, so that they lose control' (Meaney 1992: 17–18). Nigel Barley has set out the different ways in which the causes of disease could be envisaged, one of which is 'the invasion of the body by alien matter or force from without. Treatment then consists in removing it' (Barley 1972: 68). Perhaps 'devil-sickness' was envisaged as a kind of intrusive internal substance which could be expelled by a good emetic, reinforced by holy water representing the power of the Church**.**

7.2 Other emetic potions

In Chapter 52 of the second book of Bald's *Leechbook* there are altogether six recipes for emetic potions containing *lybcorn*, using very many similar ingredients. In the first remedy in the chapter (1.A.3), all the herbs associated with *lybcorn* are also found similarly associated elsewhere. They are: '6 seeds of aloe' (*VI alwan corn*); 'the lower part of autumn crocus' (*seo greate wyrt nioþowearde*); 'cucumber' (*hwerhwette*, emended from *hwerwe hatte*); 'a little pepper' (*hwon piperes*); and 'the lower part of elder bark' (*ellen rinde niþewearde*). (See Section 8 below).

The fifth recipe in this chapter is headed 'a weak potion' (*Wece drenc*), and seems to come to a conclusion; but then, without introduction, has another list of ingredients and instructions, beginning 'That is the lower part of *hofe*, scraped & pounded' (*Þæt is hofe niþeweard bescrepen ⁊ gecnuad*). I presume that this is a separate remedy (1.A.4), and that not only the introduction, for example, 'Again' (*Eft*), has fallen out, but also a synonym for *hofe*, as Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.85–6) supposes. This recipe is unusual in that all the ingredients with the exception of *lybcorn* are apparently native plants, though difficult to identify precisely: *hofe*, *gotwoþan* and *wenwyrt*. Moreover, the instructions on how to prepare them are more than usually detailed (see Sections 8 and 9 below).

The other recipes for emetics, including *lybcorn* in Chapter 52, do not pose any particular problems; some of them, however, include ingredients not encountered before. Catalogue number 1.A.5 uses, as well as the usual 'elder bark' (*ellenrinde*), 'houseleek' (*hamwyrt*) and 'fine flour of hazel or of alder' (*wah mela hæsles oþþe alres*). Catalogue number 1.A.6 adds mastic (*hwit cwudu*) to *lybcorn,* 'peppercorns' (*piporcorn*) and 'aloes' (*alwan*). Catalogue number 1.A.7 again uses aloes, but also 'alecost/costmary' (*cost*), along with a modest fifteen

[41] A purgative potion with sedge and iris but without *lybcorn* occurs in *Lacnunga*, Chapter 45: Cockayne (1864–6: III.20–1); Grattan and Singer (1952: no. XLV); Pettit (2001: I.26–7, no. XLV).

lybcorn. The final relevant emetic recipe in this chapter (1.A.8) requires only the frequently-used houseleek and elder bark, along with an unspecified number of *lybcorn*.

There are also two recipes for emetic potions in the medical 'commonplace book', the *Lacnunga*. Each has only one other herbal ingredient (both also found elsewhere in association with *lybcorn*): in 1.A.15 it is 'cucumber' (*hwerhwette*); and in 1.A.16, seventeen optional peppercorns.

Leechbook III has a recipe (1.A.10) for 'a vomiting, "outflowing" potion' (*spiwe drenc utyrnendne*), in other words, a potion which is purgative and/or diuretic as well as emetic.[42] Its language varies from that of those already discussed and it may therefore have had a different kind of origin. It also has one ingredient not encountered elsewhere: 'roots of mallow' (*hocces moran*), as well as parts of celandine (*celeþonian*), buttercup (*wenwyrt*), cucumber (*hwerhwette*), houseleek (*hamwyrt*) and forty *lybcorn*.

7.3 Purgative and diuretic preparations

The second most frequent use for *lybcorn* is indeed in purgatives/diuretics. There are no such recipes in the manuscript of Bald's *Leechbook* as it has come down to us, but there are a couple among the remedies which were copied by Nowell in the mid sixteenth century from MS British Library, Cotton Otho B.xi (MS 18). They almost certainly had been gathered (like most of the collection) for inclusion in Bald's *Leechbook,* and most probably formed two of the seventy-five remedies listed in the heading for Chapter 56 in Book II (see Footnote 42). The chapter itself is unfortunately missing (along with the rest of the gathering) from the manuscript (MS 4), but the two recipes must have had to do with intestinal troubles, here probably constipation (Meaney 1984: 246–50). The first (1.A.17), which requires an egg but no herbal ingredients other than *lybcorn* (and therefore need not delay us here), has been reconstructed from Nowell's text. The second (1.A.18), is more conventional in character, and has one ingredient not met before, *grundeswelgian* 'groundsel', as well as elder bark and thirty *lybcorn*.

There is also a recipe for a purgative (*swiðne drenc utyrnende*) in Chapter 41 of *Leechbook III* (1.A.9), part of an elaborate remedy (including a bath) for 'a man out of his wits' (*gewitseoc man*). Remarkably, it uses *lybcornes leaf* (implying that the whole plant was named from its seed), as well as the roots of other herbs already encountered: 'celandine roots' (*celeþonian moran*); '?iris roots' (*glædenan moran*); 'mallow roots' (*hocces moran*); and 'the bark of elder roots' (*ellenes wyrtruman rinde*). The first half of Chapter 41 consists of two remedies (one a potion, the other a salve, neither of which uses *lybcorn*) for 'the devil's trials' (*feondes costunga*), that is, tribulations to test faith (Meaney 1992: 17–18). Therefore, devil-possession may be envisaged both in this remedy (1.A.9) and in the following emetic in the manuscript

[42] The headings in Bald's *Leechbook* (Bk II, Chapter 56; Cockayne (1864–6: II.170)), do not seem to make a clear distinction between urinary and faecal discharge: 'Remedies if one has dysentry (?painful defaecation) & symptoms of diarrhoea, both in the upper part of the belly or the lower, & from where the illness comes, & how it shall be treated, & what one should eat [or drink] & again in case one passes blood alone & for great pain & distention of the intestines or if one has diarrhoea because of the weakness of the colon or if anyone suffers a bloody flux in the lower parts of his body or if anyone has blood in his urine or if it [the urine?] changes or if one has no evacuation &, again, a purging pottage. Seventy-five remedies' (*Læcedomas gif mon sie on utwærce 7 tacn be utsihte ge on þam uferran hrife ge on þam niþerran 7 hwanan sio adl cume 7 hu mon hie scyle lacnian 7 hwæt mon þicgean scyle 7 eft wiþ þon gif mon blode ane utyrne 7 wiþ miclum sare 7 ablaunesse þæs innoþes oþþe gif man for roppes untrumnesse utyrne oþþe gif hwa blodryne þrowige on þam niþerran dælum his lichoman oþþe gif hwam sie micge on blod gif hio gehwyrfþ oððe gif mon utgang næbbe 7 eft utyrnende briw fif 7 hund seofontig læcedomas*).

(1.A.10, discussed above), the last two in the chapter. In this, they may resemble the emetic from the first book of Bald's *Leechbook* (1.A.2: *Wiþ feondseocum men*), discussed in Section 7.1 above.

The only remedy in Chapter 42 of *Leechbook III* (1.A.11) also specifies the use of *lybcornes leaf*, and indeed is the only other remedy in the whole Old English corpus to do so. It begins: 'If a strong potion lodge within a man and will not come away' (*Gif swiðdrenc on man gesitte ⁊ he nelle ofgan*). Though not entirely clear, it seems to me most probable that what is described is persistent constipation which needs an even more drastic purgative than that already prescribed. Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.6), however, takes the potion to be an emetic. Its ingredients (apart from ale, butter, and salt) include the commonly associated 'lower part of celandine' (*niþewearde celeþonian*), and the text also suggests *arod*, perhaps 'arum', as an alternative to *lybcornes leaf* (see Section 9.17).

Other purgative potions using *lybcorn* are also found in the *Lacnunga*: catalogue number 1.A.13 associates eighty-five *lybcorn* and nine peppercorns with fifteen *sundcorn* and *wyrmelo*, the meanings of both being disputed. If the medicine is too weak, *merce* 'wild celery' should be boiled in water and given to drink; if it is too strong, *curmealle* (again, difficult to identify) should be used. Catalogue number 1.A.14 again includes four of the usual associates, and adds '?olive roots' (*heleleafes moran*).

7.4 An eye salve

Finally, the last remedy in Book I, Chapter 2 of Bald's *Leechbook* is to do with eyes, in which *lybcorn* is used as a salve for *þicce bræwas* (1.A.1).[43] In context, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the condition affected the eyesight, and I have therefore adapted Cockayne's translation 'thick eyelids' as 'swollen eyelids'. Not unexpectedly, it uses a different method of preparation and several herbs not so far encountered, as well as celandine and ?marsh mallow. The rest of the list runs: 'wood sorrel & fumitory & *springwyrt* & English roots & a little radish & ?crowfoot' (*geaces suran ⁊ attorlaþan ⁊ springwyrt ⁊ englisce moran ⁊ hwon rædices ⁊ hrefnes fot*).

8. Plants with multiple associations with *lybcorn*

There is a considerable consistency in these remedies using *lybcorn*, in that, with the exception of the eye-salve, the recipes are all designed to produce elimination. Moreover, *lybcorn* is usually associated with several other herbal ingredients, and it is therefore necessary here to attempt to identify these herbs and their qualities. This section concentrates on the herbal ingredients which are associated more than once with *lybcorn*, beginning with those occurring the most frequently.

Clearly, within the limits of a paper concerned with minutiae, it would be impossible to go into every suggested interpretation and every medicinal action and use of all the other

[43] Researchers at Wheaton College, Norton, Mass., USA, have recently attempted to test experimentally a salve for an eye stye from the same chapter of Bald's *Leechbook* (Cockayne 1864–6: II.34–5) which, though it uses different ingredients from 1.A.1, has certain elements in common with it. In particular, they tested the use of a copper-alloy pot in which the mixture has to stand for several nights. The researchers' conclusion was that the remedy for an eye stye would have been ineffective against microbial activity because of the method of preparation, and,

ingredients. However, the associated herbs vary from remedy to remedy, and it is difficult to summarize the evidence, which is therefore set out in some detail. There are many problems in interpreting the Old English plant-names in the medical texts, in spite of the efforts of Cockayne (1864–6) and Bierbaumer (1975–9), and (though in awe of their monumental achievements) I have not always agreed with them. I use Bierbaumer's identifications as a starting point, but critically, and refer to modern descriptions of the relevant medical qualities of these herbs. Variations in vocabulary (for example, 'the lower part of' as opposed to 'the roots of') may point to the use of different sources, but are not my concern here (see Nokes 2004: 55–61; 65–9). In particular, I have followed M. L. Cameron (see the bibliography to this paper) in assuming that the Anglo-Saxons who compiled and translated medical books were familiar with their *materia medica* and would have known of the virtues and the dangers of their herbal pharmacopoeia. In attempting to identify herbs, therefore, I have used not only the text and illustrations to the so-called 'Herbarium of Apuleius' but also modern herbals such as Grieve (1976). Nineteenth-century herbals, such as Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6), and Bentley and Trimen (1880) have proved most useful: they are still within the living medical tradition, and, moreover, are often accompanied by beautiful and accurate drawings and paintings with which the *Herbarium* illustrations can be compared.

8.1 *Ellen rinde*, elder (*Sambucus nigra* L.; Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.53)

Bald's *Leechbook* II (4 occurrences, plus 1 in Nowell's transcript: see Grant 1974); *Leechbook III* (1 occurrence); *Lacnunga* (1 occurrence), giving a total of seven associations with *lybcorn*:

> 1.A.3: *To spiw drence: ellen rinde niþewearde*, 'For an emetic potion: the lower part of elder bark'.
> 1.A.4: [an emetic]: *ellen wyrttruman rinde*, 'the bark of elder roots'.
> 1.A.5: *Spiwe drenc. genim ellenrinde niþewearde*, 'An emetic: take the lower part of elder bark'.
> 1.A.8: *Spiwe drenc hamwyrte III snæda ⁊ ellen rinde berende gelice micel*, 'An emetic: 3 pieces of houseleek & as much peeled elder bark'.
> 1.A.9: *Gif þu wilt lacnian gewitseocne man … wyrc him þonne swiðne drenc utyrnendum … nim … ellenes wyrttruman rinde*, 'If you wish to treat a mentally ill man … make for him next a strong purgative potion … take the bark of elder roots'.
> 1.A.14: *Oþer utyrnende drænc: genim … ellen rinde neoðewearde*, 'Another purgative drink: take … the lower part of elder bark'.
> 1.A.18: *Genim … ellenrinde berynde utan*, 'Take … the outside part of peeled elder bark'.

Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: II. no. LXXIX), wrote:

> The Arabians … of the present day … use the inner green bark as an aperient and deobstruent … [It] is still a popular remedy with the poor, in some parts of our own country. Its action, however, both as an emetic and cathartic, is occasionally so violent, that … death has been the result'. Stuart (1979: 259) writes: 'Diaphoretic; laxatic; anti-spasmodic; diuretic; emollient … Also of value with other remedies in constipation, haemorrhoids, rheumatism, bronchitis and cystitis.[44]

indeed, that most medicine would have been ineffective before the discovery of antibiotics (Brennessel, Drout and Gravel 2005).

[44] See also Bentley and Trimen (1880: II. no. 137); Fernie (1914: 152–9); Grigson (1955: 351–4); Grieve (1976: 265–76); Priest and Priest (1982: 86–7); Phillips and Foy (1990: 60–1); and Hatfield (1999: 76–7).

The elder is a tree with a dubious reputation. It is sometimes regarded as a cure-all, but also has a persistent connection with witches and the devil.[45]

8.2 *Celiþonige*, greater celandine (*Chelidonium majus* L.; Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.29; Pollington 2000: 108).

Bald's *Leechbook* I (1 occurrence); *Leechbook III* (3); *Lacnunga* (1), giving a total of five associations with *lybcorn*:

> 1.A.1: *Þam man þe habbað þicce bræwas genim … celeþonian*, 'For the man who has swollen eyelids … take celandine'.
> 1.A.9: *wyrc swiðne drenc utyrnendum … nim … celeþonian moran*, 'make a strong purgative potion … take … celandine roots'.
> 1.A.10: *Wyrc spiwe drenc utyrnendne nim … nioþowearde celeþonian*, 'To make a purgative emetic, take … the lower part of celandine'.
> 1.A.11: *Gif swið drenc on man gesitte … nim … niþewearde celeþonian*, 'If a strong potion lodges in a man … take … the lower part of celandine'.
> 1.A.14: *Oþer utyrnende drænc: genim … celþenian moran*, 'Another purgative potion: take … celandine roots'.

According to Phillips and Foy (1990: 99),

> It has a thick, fleshy tap-root that branches out in all directions … It was a popular drug plant of the Middle Ages, prescribed for plague, jaundice, blood disorders and blindness. However, Greater Celandine is poisonous and great care must be taken … The orange juice obtained from the leaves and stems … mixed with milk or water … is said to be an effective eye-lotion.[46]

Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 3), in their discussion of the root of *Coptis teeta,* 'a small herbaceous plant, indigenous to the Mishmi mountains, eastward of Assam' state that

[45] It is presumably because of this kind of reputation that, in his *Canons of Edgar*, Wulfstan prohibited ceremonies which took place at elders in midwinter (Wulfstan 1959: 184). For the earlier version, *siglum* D, edited from MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 201, pp. 97–101, see Ker (1957: no. 49B); and Gneuss (2001: no. 65.5, s.xi (1) or xi (med)). For both manuscripts, see Wulfstan (1972: 4–5). For the later version, *siglum* X, which has revisions by Wulfstan, and some later insertions, see Whitelock, Brett and Brooke (1981: 320), edited from MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (5232), fols 25v–31v, recorded in Ker (1957: no. 338 art. 5); and Gneuss (2001: no. 644, s.xi (2) and s.xi ex., Worcester). Pollington (2000: 116, 400–1) has an entry under dwarf elder which appears to consider this perennial to be the plant used in medicine, and points to an elaborate ritual (carefully Christianized) for gathering *elenan* (accusative) in *Leechbook III*, Chapter 62, which is a complex remedy for *ælfadl* 'elf-sickness'. (Hall (2007: 105) considers this sickness term to be non-specific). Since the plant is to be dug up and laid under the church altar, it may well be that a herb rather than a shrubby tree is intended, but its identity is by no means established. See also comments on the elder tree (Pollington 2000: 502).

[46] See also: Wren (1915: 62–3); Grieve (1976: 178–9); Priest and Priest (1982: 100–1); and Pettit (2001: I.68–9; II.165). Stuart (1979: 170–1) writes: 'Colagogue; narcotic; purgative; antibiotic. Principally used in inflammations of biliary duct and gall bladder'. Cameron (in D'Aronco and Cameron 1998: 62), referring to the *Herbarium* (no. LXXV: Cyleþenie, *celidonia*), comments that it 'deals mostly with the traditional use of celandine to treat eye ailments' and that, therefore, 'it is hard to see any relation between medieval and modern uses'. This, however, only applies to the *Herbarium* entry, as can be seen from the uses listed above from the other Old English medical texts. The illustration for celandine in MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.iii, fol. 42r, has three stems, trifoliate leaves and multiple sprays of flowers or seeds springing from the top of each stem. In MS Cassino, Abbazia di Montecassino, Casin. 97 (hereafter 'Montecassino 97'), this is much stylised, and the leaves merely have three points. In the *editio princeps*, it is so simplified as to be quite unrecognisable (see Hunger 1935: 68–71). Gunther (1925: no. XL, fol. 20r, notes on p. 107) comments that, in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 130, 'The plant represented is a Labiate, possibly *Stachys*'.

> under the name of *Mahmira* [it was] used in Sind for inflammation of the eyes, a circumstance which enabled Pereira [in the 4th edition: 1854–7: II, ii, 699] to identify it with a substance bearing a nearly similar designation [*Mamiras* (Greek Μαμιράς)], mentioned by the early writers on medicine, and previously regarded as the root of *Chelidonium majus* L.

The confusion may have been caused by the fact that 'the rhizome of *Coptis* abounds' in a bright yellow colouring matter. It therefore seems possible that the celandine roots which turn up in so many medical recipes in association with *lybcorn* were, in early times, imported *Coptis* rhizomes. Pereira quoted an earlier account (by Wallich) which described *Coptis teeta* as 'in great estimation among [Mishmees, Lamas and Chinese], and in universal use as a powerful tonic and stomachic'.

Lesser celandine (*Ranunculus ficaria* L.; Grieve 1976: 179–82), also known as *pilewort*, is unrelated to *Chelidonium majus* and is dissimilar, except in the colour of the flowers. It is an old (and apparently effective) remedy for haemorrhoids.

8.3 *Hamwyrt*, houseleek (*Sempervivum tectorum* L.; Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.75)

Bald's *Leechbook* II (2 occurrences); *Leechbook III* (1); *Lacnunga* (1), giving a total of four associations with *lybcorn*:

> 1.A.5: *Spiwe drenc: genim … hamwyrte*, 'An emetic: take … houseleek'.
> 1.A.8: *Spiwe drenc: hamwyrte III snæda*, 'An emetic: 3 pieces of houseleek'.
> 1.A.10: *Wyrc spiwe drenc utyrnendne nim … hamwyrte moran medmicel*, 'To make a purgative emetic, take … medium-sized [or 'a moderate amount of'] roots of houseleek'.
> 1.A.14: *Oþer utyrnende drænc: genim medmicle moran glædenon … ⁊ swylc tu hamwyrte*, 'Another purgative: take medium roots of ?iris … & likewise two of houseleek'.

According to D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: 56), Cockayne, Bierbaumer and De Vriend agree that the *sinfulle* of *Herbarium*, Chapter CXXV) is also *Sempervivum tectorum*.[47] Grieve (1976: 422–3) writes that it is

> a native of the mountain ranges of Central and Southern Europe and of the Greek islands, but it was introduced into Great Britain many centuries ago and is now found abundantly … its large rosettes of fleshy leaves being a familiar sight on many an old cottage roof

and, of its medical properties: 'Refrigerant, astringent, diuretic … In large doses, Houseleek juice is emetic and purgative'. Charlemagne, in his list of herbs in the *Capitulare de villis* (Boretius and Krause 1883–97: I.90),[48] recommended that a gardener should have, over his house, *Jovis barba,* identified by Meyer (1854–7: III.405) as *Sempervivum tectorum*. Perhaps this was because it was thought to protect against lightning (Pollington 2000: 131, 133, 161–2).[49]

There is an apparent difficulty regarding the use of *hamwyrt* in the last of these recipes (1.A.14): houseleek roots are tiny, quite unlike iris rhizomes. (See also Section 8.7 below for a possible connection of ?iris and ?squill.)

[47] The illustration in MS 11 (fol. 55v) is mostly eaten away, and that in MS Montecassino 97, is strange and difficult to interpret (Hunger 1935: 112–13). However, those in the *editio princeps* (see Hunger 1935) and in MS 17 (Gunther 1925: fol. 8r; see also p. 102), and that printed by Howald and Sigerist (1927: 210, no. CXXIV) are reasonably accurate representations of houseleek.

[48] Harvey (1981: 28–32) discusses this list.

[49] See also Grigson (1955: 182–4) for superstitions connected with houseleek.

8.4 *Piper(corn)*, peppercorn (*Piper nigrum* L.; Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.113; Pollington 2000: 150)

Bald's *Leechbook* II (2 occurrences); *Lacnunga* (2), giving a total of four associations with *lybcorn*:

> 1.A.3: *To spiw drence … hwon piperes*, 'For an emetic … a little pepper'.
> 1.A.6: *Wyrc spiwdrenc. genim … piporcorn*, 'To make an emetic potion, take … peppercorns'.
> 1.A.13: *Wyrc utyrnendne drænc genim … neogon piporcorn*, 'To make a purgative potion, take nine peppercorns'.
> 1.A.16: *Wyrc oðerne of beore ⁊ of feowertig lybcorna; ado seofontene pipercorn gif ðu wille*, 'Make another [purgative] from beer & from forty *lybcorn*; add seventeen peppercorns if you wish'.

Bentley and Trimen (1880: IV. no. 245) write: 'The Black Pepper is a native of Southern India, especially the Malabar coast', but it was/is cultivated more widely. 'The black pepper of commerce is a small roundish fruit of about 1/3 of an inch in diameter … Black pepper is an aromatic carminative stimulant … It is likewise given in combination with aperients to facilitate their action and prevent griping'. Stuart (1979: 241) writes: 'Stimulates taste-buds and thus causes reflex stimulation of gastric secretions. Employed in atonic dyspepsia. Also stimulates mucous membranes and part of the nervous system'.[50] Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 576–82) give a brief outline of the importance of pepper from the fourth century BC onwards: 'it was for many ages the staple article of trade between Europe and India'. Ninth-century monks hoped to procure 120 pounds of it at Corbie (Riddle 1965: 194, referring to Guérard 1844: II.336).[51]

Cameron (1990: 8; 1992: 102–3) points out that pepper must have been common in England by the late seventh century, when Aldhelm wrote a riddle in Latin (no. XL) describing its use in cooking as a clue to its identity (Aldhelm 1985: 78; Stork 1990: Riddle 39). At his death, Bede had in his box 'some precious things: pepper, napkins and incense' which he distributed among the priests of his monastery at Jarrow (Cuthbert in Bede 1969: 584–5; Bede 1896: I.clxiii). There are more than thirty recipes using pepper in the first book of Bald's *Leechbook* alone. Æthelred's fourth law code, which sets out the tolls to be paid by merchants from the empire (*homines imperatoris*) overwintering at London in their ships, decrees that, among other things, ten pounds of pepper had to be paid at both Christmas and Easter.[52] This not only tells us that, even towards the end of the tenth century, pepper was familiar to the Anglo-Saxons, but it also shows one of the means by which they obtained it.

8.5 *Alwe*, aloe (*Aloe* genus; Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.3)

Bald's *Leechbook* II (3 occurrences), giving a total of three associations with *lybcorn*:

> 1.A.3: *To spiw drence, VI corn alwan*, 'For an emetic, 6 seeds of aloe'.
> 1.A.6: *Wyrc spiwdrenc. genim … alwan*, 'Make an emetic: take … aloes'.

[50] For more details, see also Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: III. no. CLXXIV), and Bentley and Trimen (1880: IV. no. 245). In Pereira (1874: 513–16), the dose of black pepper is from five to fifteen grains. Grieve (1976: 627–8) writes: '[It] is good for constipation … aids digestion'.

[51] A brief account of the importance of pepper to the early English is given by Hagen (1995: 182–3).

[52] IV Æthelred 2.10: *et dare toll' suum et in natali Domini … decem libras piperis … et totidem in pascha*. See Liebermann (1903–16: I.234–5; III.164); and Robertson (1925: 72–3; 324).

> 1.A.7: *Spiwe drenc wyrc of beore do cost to ⁊ alwan*, 'An emetic: make it from beer, add costmary & aloe'.

'Several species of *Aloe* furnish a bitter juice which when inspissated forms this drug. These plants are natives of arid, sunny places in Southern and Eastern Africa' (Flückiger and Hanbury 1879: 679). 'Aloes were known to the Greeks as a production of the island of Socotra,[53] were familiar to the Romans, and were recommended to Alfred by the Patriarch of Jerusalem[54] (1879: 680). Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 681) also comment: 'At this period … the drug was imported into Europe by way of the Red Sea and Alexandria'.[55] Cameron (1990: 9; 1993: 105) remarks:

> Of medicines from Arabia and Africa, aloes are mentioned in some dozen remedies and it is significant that almost all of these remedies can be traced to Latin sources. This means that aloes did not enter into the common repertory of drugs as did pepper. Aloes were a more or less Arab monopoly even in the Middle Ages … The name was never naturalized in Old English. The Arabic *alloeh* entered Greek as *aloē* (ἀλόη), to become Latin *aloe* and Old English *alwe*. It is a very old drug in European use and the English got it and its uses through the Greeks and the Romans.

Aloes are not mentioned in the *Herbarium,* however. Grieve (1976: 26–9) writes: 'The drug Aloes is one of the safest and best warm and stimulating purgatives'. The juice from the leaves is usually employed in medicine, but is rarely prescribed alone: aloes require the addition of carminatives to moderate the tendency to griping. Pereira (1874: 427–40, especially pp. 434–6) emphasises the slowness of the drug's effect (which might make it less useful in an emetic). The use of aloe *seeds* is not mentioned anywhere in these sources.

8.6 *Hwerhwette*, cucumber

Bald's *Leechbook* II (1 occurrence); *Leechbook III* (1); *Lacnunga* (1), giving a total of three associations with *lybcorn*:

> 1.A.3: *To spiw drence … hwerwehatte* [for *hwerhwette*], 'For an emetic … cucumber'.
> 1.A.10: *Wyrc spiwe drenc utyrnendne nim … hwerhwette niþewearde an lytel*, 'Make a purgative emetic: take … a little of the lower part of cucumber'.
> 1.A.15: *Wyrc spiw drænc wyl hwerhwettan in wætere, læt weallan la[nc]ge asih þonne healfne bollan gegnid hundeahtatig libcorna in þone drænc*, 'Make an emetic drink: boil cucumber in water; let it boil down for a long time; then strain off half a bowl(ful). Grind up eighty *libcorns* into the drink'.

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.90; II.71), and also Pollington (2000: 114), suggest that this plant is *Cucumis sativus* L. Grieve (1976: 239–41) states that this native of the East Indies was known to the Greeks and was common in England in the fourteenth century, though not cultivated until about 1573.[56] Its diuretic seeds can be made into an emetic with water, to purge tapeworms.

[53] As early as the fourth century BC, according to a legend about Alexander recounted by Idrisi, an Arab living in Sicily, who compiled a geographical work in 1153 (Idrisi 1836–40: I.47–8).

[54] Cockayne (1864–6: II.174–5): 'aloes for infirmities' (*alwan wiþ untrymnessum*), is mentioned in the heading, but is not in the part of the chapter still preserved in the manuscript; Cockayne (1864–6: II.288–91). See also Meaney (1978: 65–6; 69).

[55] For more detailed accounts of aloes, see Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: II. nos CIX, CX); Bentley and Trimen (1880: IV. nos. 282–4); and Stuart (1979: 149).

[56] *Cucumeres* appears in the list of 'herbs' recommended for the garden by Charlemagne (Boretius and Krause 1883–

Pettit (2001: I.238) suggests, as an alternative identification, the squirting or wild cucumber (*Ecballium elaterium* (L.) A. Rich.), called *Momordica elaterium* by Cockayne (1864–6: II.397).[57] Some details in *Herbarium*, Chapter CXV (*Hwerhwette; Cucumeris siluatica*) such as, for example, that it is dangerous to partake of the seeds when fasting, and the illustration in MS 11 (fol. 53v), suggest the wild cucumber.[58] Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 292–5) give a brief history of the plant. It is a hardy annual, originally from southern Europe, and was known to the Greeks. It was introduced into England by the mid sixteenth century. All parts of the plant are said to be purgative, including the roots, but 'the active properties reside chiefly … in the juice that surrounds the seeds'. The dried juice, according to Grieve (1976: 241) is 'a powerful hydragogue cathartic'. Phillips and Foy (1990: 171) write: 'In large doses it can cause nausea, vomiting, abortion … and even death'.[59]

8.7 *Glædene*, ?iris species, ?squill.

Leechbook III (2 occurrences); *Lacnunga* (1), giving a total of three associations with *lybcorn*:

> 1.A.9: *Wyrc him þonne swiðne drenc utyrnendum … nim … glædenan moran*, 'Make for him then a strong purgative … take … ?iris roots'.
> 1.A.12: *Eft spiwe drenc wið deofle, nim micle hand fulle secges ⁊ glædenan*, 'Again, an emetic against the devil, take a big handful of sedge & iris'.
> 1.A.14: *Genim medmicle moran glædenon fædme longe ⁊ swa greata swa ðin þuma*, 'Take medium-sized roots of iris, a cubit long & as thick as your thumb'.

Theophrastus gives a list of plants used for perfumes: 'The most excellent and most fragrant all come from Asia and sunny regions. From Europe itself comes none of them except the Iris' (Theophrastus 1916: II.249–51; 9.7.3). Theophrastus probably meant *Iris germanica* L. or *Iris florentina* L. but, for the compilers of the Old English medical texts, *glædene* may have meant yellow flag (*Iris pseudacorus* L.)[60] (Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.69; II.53). Yellow flag is a naturally wild plant in England. The 'rhizome was formerly much employed as a medicine, acting as a very powerful cathartic, but from its extremely acrid nature is now seldom used. An infusion of it has been found to be effective in checking diarrhoea … The acrid properties are entirely dissipated by drying' (Grieve 1976: 438). See also *Herbarium*, Chapter LXXX (*Glædene, Gladiolus*).[61]

97: I.90), and is equated with *Cucumis sativus* by Meyer (1854–7: III.401; 404).

[57] See also the DMLBS, under *elaterium*, *-is*, in which it is explained that the Classical Latin was derived from Greek *elatērion* (ἐλατήριον), confused with *lathyris* (λαθυρίς) (spurge), and the British Medieval Latin (BML) definition is given as 'wild cucumber (*Ecballium elaterium*) or spurge (*Euphorbia lathyris*)'. Mirfeld (1882: 18) has '*Elacterium* is the juice of wild cucumber, *Elacteris* is wild cucumber' (*Elacterium est succus cucumeris asinini, Elacteris est cucumer agrestis*). The compilation by Mirfeld dates to c.1393.

[58] See De Vriend (1984: 156–7, 314) and D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: 56). For other representations, see facsimiles in Gunther (1925: 120, no. CIIII, fol.52v; MS 17), and in Hunger (1935: 104–5; MS Montecassino 97, and the *editio princeps*). These can be compared to the figure in Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: I. no. 34), who discuss the plant's medicinal properties and uses in great detail. See also Pereira (1874: 791–5) and Howald and Sigerist (1927: 199, no. CXIV).

[59] See also Stuart (1979: 184): 'Once administered to patients suffering from dropsy as a purgative, especially those with kidney complaints'. The most notable feature of this plant is that when the seeds are ripe, they suddenly explode through the aperture where the peduncle (a minor stem which bears a single flower or fruit) separates from the stalk. Is it possible then, that the name *springwort* could have also been applied to squirting cucumber?

[60] Dioscorides, Bk I, Chapters 1–2, describe both *I. germanica* or *florentina* (*iris*) and *I. pseudacorus* (*akoron*): see Dioscorides (1934: 5–7).

[61] De Vriend (1984: 120–1, 306); Phillips and Foy (1990: 109). The same gloss is in MS 3, Cleopatra Glossary 1:

Pettit (2001: II.55) suggests (as an alternative to yellow flag) stinking iris (*Iris foetidissima* L.), which is also native to England and was also used to induce vomiting and diarrhoea. Gunther (1925: 102) identifies the flowers of the figure in MS 17 (for no. XIII, fol. 7v: *Herbe Exifion*, *Gladiolus*) as those of *Iris foetidissima*; it is glossed *Gladen*. Hunt (1989: 58; 285, under *Gladden*) states that, in Middle English, it was also known as *bulbus vomitorius*. Stuart (1979: 206–7) gives *Gladdon* as its modern common name, and states that 'when purging was a popular form of medicinal treatment Stinking Gladdon was commonly used'. Wren (1915: 117) adds that it was 'said to relieve cramps, convulsions and pains, stomachic and rheumatic' (see also Fernie 1914: 185; Phillips and Foy 1990: 109). These qualities would fit the ailments for which *Herbarium*, Chapter LXXX is prescribed: bladder pain and inability to urinate, pain in the spleen, and of the guts and the breasts. The stinking iris has an inconspicuous purple-grey flower but attractive red seeds in the ripe flower capsule; nevertheless, it seems possible that the name *glædene* (*gladiolus*) was used for both the native irises.

However, *glædene* was also applied to *Bulbiscittica* in *Herbarium* Chapter XLIII, identified by De Vriend (1984: 298) and Bierbaumer (1975–9: II.53; see also Pollington 2000: 124) as squill (*Urginea maritima* (L.) Baker, or *Urginea scilla* Steinh.), a native of Mediterranean shores. In a passage in Bald's *Leechbook* II, translated from the *Physica Plinii*, *glædene* renders *scille*.[62] This identification is reinforced in glosses, from the early Épinal,[63] Erfurt,[64] and Corpus 2 glossaries,[65] to Cleopatra Glossary 2 and the Brussels Glossary,[66] the Laud and Durham glossaries,[67] and also by the gloss at the head of folio 5v of MS 17, no. IX: *Herba scilla i. gladene*. Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 690–3) write: 'Squill is one of the most ancient of medicines'; known to the Greeks and the Romans. 'For medicinal use, squill is mostly imported ready dried', cut into thin slices. Pereira (1874: 440–2) writes: 'The principal uses of squill are those of an emetic, diuretic, and expectorant'.[68] Early illustrations show large drooping or wavy leaves springing directly from a bulb.[69] Squill has a very large bulb, quite different from the rhizomes of the irises, though they seem to have had similar physiological

'*Gladiolum* glædene' (Wright 1884: column 416, no. 7). It is also in MS 9, Antwerp Glossary: *'Gladiolum* glaedene' (MCOE reference: AntGl3 (Kindschi) 51); and in MS 14, Durham Glossary: *'Gladiolum* gladene' (Lindheim 1941: 14, note on p. 52). For comparable illustrations, see: Gunther (1925: no. xlv, fol. 22v, notes on p.108); Howald and Sigerist (1927: 142, no. LXXIX); Hunger (1935: 74–5, no. LXXVIIII); and D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: fol. 43v). All but Gunther have obvious (but not naturalistic) similarities, and some attempt to depict the flower. Gunther suggests that the MS 17 figure represents the plant in fruit.

62 'Bamberg' version, 83.42–3 (MCOE reference: Lch II (2) 41.2.1): 'A preparation of sqillitic acid for the spleen: 3 pounds of crushed squill rind' (*Confectio aciti squilliticis ad splenem: squille cortices comminute pondo III*). In Old English: 'Vinegar mixed with gladden, prepare it thus: put three pounds of small pieces of gladden rind…' (*Eced wiþ glædenan gemenged wyrc þus glædenan rinde lytelra gedo þreo pund*; Cockayne 1864–6: II.252–3). See Adams and Deegan (1992: 92–3).

63 '*scilla* gladinae'. For the manuscript, see Footnote 6 above. See also Pheifer (1974: 48, note on p. 122).

64 MS 1: *'scilla* gledinae'. Pheifer (1974: 48, note on p. 122).

65 MS 2: *'Scilla* glaedine' (Wright 1884: column 45, no. 34).

66 MS 3: *'Scilla* glædene' (Wright 1884: column 271, no. 23). This gloss is repeated in the Brussels Glossary (MS 8; Wright 1884: column 300, no. 20), and it is repeated again with both lemmata in Wright (1884: column 301, no. 15): '*Scilla et gladiola* glædene'. Note also: '*Lappatium* docce i. gledene i. *carix*' (MCOE reference: BrGl 1 (Wright-Wuelcker) 8.70).

67 MS 15: '*Bulbis scillica* i. gledene' (Stracke 1974: 27, 82; no. 230). Also, somewhat distorted, in MS 14: '*Bulbi scillici* gledere' (Lindheim 1941: 10, note on p. 35). MS 15: '*Scilla* i. gledene' (Stracke 1974: 59; no. 1292). Also in MS 14 (Lindheim 1941: 18, note on p. 70).

68 See also Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: III. no. CLIII); and Bentley and Trimen (1880: IV. no. 28).

69 See: Gunther (1925: no. ix, notes on p.101); Howald and Sigerist (1927: 90; no. XLII); Hunger (1935: 44–5, column 2 on each page); and D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: fol. 34v).

effects, squill being the more dangerous and still used as a constituent of rat poison. From the evidence of the glossaries, it appears that the Old English name *glædene* was used for squill long before it was used for an iris species. Since squill could probably only have been obtained in Anglo-Saxon England as a dried import,[70] the same name may have been later applied to the more easily obtained native irises as well.

8.8 *Bisceopwyrt*, bishopwort

Bald's *Leechbook* I (2 occurrences), giving two associations with *lybcorn*:

> 1.A.1: *Þam men þe habbað þicce bræwas genim … bisceopwyrt*, 'For a man who has swollen eyelids, take … ?marsh mallow.
> 1.A.2: *Wiþ feondseocum men … Spiwe drenc … bisceopwyrt*, 'For a devil-sick man … An emetic … ?marsh mallow.

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.18–20) suggests marsh mallow (*Althea officinalis* L.) because *bisceopwyrt* frequently glosses Latin *hibiscum.* Grieve (1976: 508) comments: 'The great demulcent and emollient properties of Marsh Mallow make it useful in inflammation and irritation of the alimentary canal, and of the urinary and respiratory organs'.[71]

Bierbaumer (1975–9: II.14) dismisses as an error the equation in the heading in MS 11 of the first chapter of the *Herbarium* of Apuleius: 'The name betony, that is bishopwort' (*NOMEN herbe betonica þæt is biscopwyrt*; De Vriend 1984: 1)[72] since some lists of ingredients contain both names. For example, in the *Lacnunga*, both *betonica* and *bisceopwyrt* are named in the recipes for three salves.[73] Grieve (1976: 97–9), however, points out that betony (*Stachys officinalis* (L.) Trevis.)[74] was held in high regard in antiquity and the Middle Ages, and regarded as having power against evil spirits. It was cultivated in physic gardens, and used as a tonic for dyspepsia, so it would have been an appropriate ingredient in these remedies. Pettit (2001: II.65, note to line 237), citing Hunt, states that, in Middle English, *bishopswort* 'denotes a number of different plants, including possibly marsh mallow … but especially betony'. It

[70] It was, however, among the herbs which Charlemagne wished to be cultivated in gardens on the imperial estates (Boretius and Krause 1883–97: I.90). Friar Henry Daniel, writing in England about 1385, knew that squill did not set seed: 'It multiplieth only … in root as doth Saffron' (Harvey 1981: 118–9, 159); therefore, it must have been introduced before the end of the fourteenth century.

[71] See also Wren (1915: 182–3); Grigson (1955: 100–2); Stuart (1979: 150); Priest and Priest (1982: 88–9); and Phillips and Foy (1990: 152–3). See the last paragraph of Section 7.2 above for the possibility that *hocc* indicates mallow in general.

[72] None of the other *Herbarium* manuscripts (MSS 7 and 12, and London, British Library, Harley 6258 B) has the list of headings, and *bisceopwyrt* does not appear in the text in any manuscript. See also *Herbarium*, Chapter XXXIX: *Merscmealuwe hibiscus* (De Vriend 1984: 86–7, 297). The DOE, defining *bisceopwyrt*, gives 'marsh-mallow' as the first meaning, and 'betony' as the second. Meanings 3 to 5 have the defining adjectives *brune*, *brade* and *suþerne*, and meanings 6 to 8 have other plant-name lemmata. The early illustrations represent betony leaves with some accuracy, except for the *editio princeps* which also, like MS 11, shows the stem dividing into multiple flowering spikes. This is true for some of the related labiates, but not for betony (see, for example, Fitter and Blamey 1974: 202–3). Betony is not included in the nineteenth-century books on medicinal plants. MS 17 (no. lxvii, fol. 34r), however, has only one spike, and is naturalistic enough that it may even have been recognisable in the field (Gunther 1925). See also Gunther's Plates 5 (opposite p. 104) and 6 (opposite p. 112) and comments on p. 113. For a recent brief discussion of bishopwort, see Pollington (2000: 101, 103).

[73] MS 7; Cockayne (1864–6: III.6–7; no. 4); Grattan and Singer (1952: 100–3; no. XV); Pettit (2001: I.10–11, lines 47, 50; no. XV). The second salve, also in MS 7: Cockayne (1864–6: III.20–1; no.23); Grattan and Singer (1952: 118–19; no. L); Pettit (2001: I.26–7, line 204; no. L). The third salve, also in MS 7: Cockayne (1864–6: III.22–3; no. 29); Grattan and Singer (1952: 122–3; no. LXIII); Pettit (2001: I.30–1, lines 236–7; no. LXIII).

[74] Also known as *Betonica officinalis* L., and *Stachys betonica* Benth.

is, therefore, difficult to be sure what *bisceopwyrt* meant to the compilers of the Leechbooks and the *Lacnunga*, but perhaps it is probable that it originally denoted marsh mallow rather than betony, and that, in most of the Old English remedies, it meant the former.[75] Since it is not possible to be sure what *bisceopwyrt* meant at the time Bald's *Leechbook* was compiled, it would probably be best to leave it out of account in drawing any conclusions from the associations with *lybcorn*.

8.9 *Seo greate wyrt*, autumn crocus or meadow saffron (*Colchicum autumnale* L.; Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.71; II.54–5)

Bald's *Leechbook* II (2 occurrences), giving a total of two associations with *lybcorn*:

> 1.A.3: *To spiw drence, þa greatan wyrt niþeweard*, 'For an emetic potion, the lower part of the big herb'.
> 1.A.4: [a weak emetic] *Wyrce swiðran gif he wille: adelfe þa greatan wyrt*, 'Let him make it stronger if he wishes: dig up the big herb'.

The identification is from *Herbarium*, Chapter XXII: *Greate wyrt*, *Hieribulbum* (De Vriend 1984: 68–71, 293). Relevant early illustrations all show a plant which could well be *Colchicum autumnale* in summer, with large leaves springing from a bulb, but no flowers.[76] Autumn crocus grows in meadows and pastures over the greater part of northern Africa, middle and southern Europe. It is a somewhat local plant in England (and was therefore probably introduced?). The parts of the *Colchicum* used medicinally are the corm, which can be used either fresh or dried (cut in thin slices), and the seeds. Their properties are similar, being antirheumatic, cathartic, and emetic. The reputation of *Colchicum* rests largely upon its value in acute gouty and rheumatic complaints, dropsy, and cutaneous maladies. Overdoses of the seeds can cause violent purging, and act as an irritant poison.[77]

8.10 *Wenwyrt*

Bald's *Leechbook* II (1 occurrence); *Leechbook III* (1), giving a total of two associations with *lybcorn*:

> 1.A.4: [an emetic] *wenwyrt sio weaxeþ on ealdum lande*, '*wenwyrt*, that which grows on old ground'.
> 1.A.10: [an emetic and a purgative/diuretic] *twa clufe þære clufehtan wenwyrte*, 'two cloves of the bulbous *wenwort*'.

The interpretation is difficult and authorities differ.[78] The bulbous buttercup (*Ranunculus bulbosus* L.) might seem to fit the description, but is not used in potions. Its juice raises blisters on the skin (Grigson 1955: 40; Grieve 1976: 149–50). The knotted figwort (*Scrophularia nodosa* L.), which has 'diuretic and anodyne properties' (Grieve 1976: 313–14), is described

[75] For betony, see also Fernie (1914: 47–50); Grigson (1955: 323–4); Priest and Priest (1982: 76–7); and Phillips and Foy (1990: 162). Howald and Sigerist (1927: 5; Tabula 1) give illustrations from several manuscripts.

[76] See Hunger (1935: 28–9, column 1 on both pages); and D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: fol. 29r, column 1). The description above summarizes the accounts by these authors: Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 699–703); Bentley and Trimen (1880: IV. no. 288); Wren (1915: 76–7); and Grieve (1976: 698–700). For more details, see Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: II. no. CI); Pereira (1874: 417–20); Fernie (1914: 444–6); Stuart (1979: 177–8); and Phillips and Foy (1990: 168).

[77] Dioscorides drew attention to its poisonous properties, in his Bk IV, Chapter 84 (Dioscorides 1934: 481–2).

[78] For a brief account of the possibilities, see Pollington (2000: 165).

as 'gently stimulating and relaxing alterative with lower abdominal and pelvic emphasis', and as a diuretic which could be combined 'with hepatics and stimulating diuretics' (Priest and Priest 1982: 74–5; see also Stuart 1979: 261–2). Another possibility is the lesser celandine or pilewort (*Ranunculus ficaria* L.), the fibres of whose roots swell into the form of tubers, which hang in a bunch, looking like figs. A decoction was used to cure piles 'for which it is almost a specific'.[79] This may be the plant called *chamedafne,* and, in English, *hrœfnes fot*, that is, 'raven's foot', in *Herbarium*, Chapter XXVIII.[80]

All these possibilities for identification are native plants; none are weeds growing only on broken ground, so that the requirement that the plant selected should have grown on 'old ground' does not help with identification.

9. Plants with single associations with *lybcorn*

The rest of the plant associations only occur once each. Their Old English names are listed alphabetically under the catalogue number, working first through Bald's *Leechbook,* Books I and II, then *Leechbook III* and, finally, the *Lacnunga,* so that the contexts in which the herbs are used may be clear.

9.1 *Attorlaþan*, Bald's *Leechbook* I (1.A.1)

Fumitory (*Fumaria officinalis* L.), according to Cameron (1992: 29–34). Grieve (1976: 330) quotes an old recipe: it is 'an excellent thing against sores, inflamed, running and watery Eyes'.[81]

9.2 *Englisce moran*, Bald's *Leechbook* I (1.A.1)

Literally 'English roots'. Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.105; III.174), followed by Pollington (2000: 108), suggests perhaps wild carrot (*Daucus carota* L.). Grieve (1976: 162) writes: 'Old writers tell us that a poultice made of the roots has been found to mitigate the pain of cancerous ulcers, and that the leaves, applied with honey, cleanse running sores and ulcers'.[82]

Alternatively, according to Bierbaumer, *englisce moran* could have been wild parsnip (*Pastinaca sativa* L.). Grieve (1976: 616) refers to John Wesley's *Primitive Physic*, in which he says: 'Wild parsnips both leaves and stalks, bruised, seem to have been a favorite application'.[83]

9.3 *Geaces suran*, Bald's *Leechbook* I (1.A.1)

Literally, this is 'cuckoo's sour'. Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.66), followed by Pollington (2000: 113–14), identifies this plant as 'wood sorrel' (*Oxalis acetosella* L.). Stephenson and Churchill

[79] Wren (1915: 216); Grieve (1976: 179–82). See also Fernie (1914: 82–3); Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.139–40); Stuart (1979: 250), and the discussion at Section 8.2 above.

[80] See De Vriend (1984: 294–5), but also the discussion in Bierbaumer (1975–9: II.66–8). For illustrations, see Gunther (1925: no. LXXXVIII; fol. 45r; notes on p. 117); Hunger (1935: 32–3, no. XXVII); D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: 50; fol. 30v: 'A ranunculus, but not ficaria').

[81] Stuart (1979: 193) claims that it was 'Formerly chiefly employed in the treatment of various skin complaints'. See also Phillips and Foy (1990: 121). For a summary of earlier interpretations, see Pollington (2000: 98–9).

[82] Bentley and Trimen (1880: II. no. 135): 'The root of the cultivated plant when boiled and beaten … is sometimes applied as a poultice to foetid ill-conditioned sores to correct the discharge; and to allay the pain of phagadenic and carcinomatous ulcers'. See also Fernie (1914: 79–81).

[83] For root vegetables in Anglo-Saxon times, see Banham (2003: 125). *Pastenacas* are found in the list of plants

(1834–6: I. no. 63) write: 'Very generally found throughout Europe … the leaves in a recent state … have been employed with advantage as an external application to scrofulous ulcers'. Grieve (1976: 751–2) writes:

> It has diuretic, antiscorbutic and refrigerant action, and a decoction … is given in high fever. The juice of the leaves … is good to heal wounds and staunch bleeding. Sponges and linen cloths saturated with the juice and applied, were held to be effective in the reduction of swellings and inflammation.

9.4 *Hrefnes fot*, Bald's *Leechbook* I (1.A.1)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.87) suggests a 'Crowfoot or buttercup, perhaps Upright Meadow Crowfoot (*Ranunculus acris* L.), while De Vriend (1984: 294–5) suggests *Ranunculus ficaria*. Grieve (1976: 235–6) writes: 'The juice of the leaves takes away warts, and bruised together with the roots will act as a caustic'.[84]

9.5 *Rædices* (*hwon*), Bald's *Leechbook* I (1.A.1)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.116) interprets this as 'a little Radish' (*Raphanus sativus* L.), but Grieve (1976: 667–8) cites no example of external medicinal use. However, see Fernie (1914: 420–1) who writes that the juice is used to treat corns and carbuncles (severe abscesses and boils). Stuart (1979: 250–1) states that radish has antibiotic qualities. See also Pollington (2000: 152).

9.6 *Springwyrt*, Bald's *Leechbook* I (1.A.1)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.129), followed by Pollington (2000: 158), identifies this as 'caper spurge' (*Euphorbia lathyris* L.), named *springwyrt* because the ripe seeds spring out of their capsules. Bierbaumer cites German *Springwurz*, but this name, however, was not specifically applied to caper spurge.[85] Grieve (1976: 765) writes of caper spurge that the seeds and root are purgative and emetic; and the leaves are vesicant, producing ulcers. They also describe other species of spurge which have been applied to the skin in herbal medicine, for example: '*E. helioscopia* juice is commonly applied to warts, and sometimes, though improperly, used to cure sore eyelids, causing in many instances intolerable pain and inflammation' (Grieve 1976: 765).

Pettit (2001: II.45, note to line 126), in a note to *Lacnunga*, Chapter 31 (a good bone-salve), points out that 'In M[iddle] E[nglish] springwort is sometimes equated with various species of mint [*Mentha* L.], especially those found in damp habitats'. Grieve (1976: 532–46; 624–6) lists very few external applications for mints, but see Fernie (1914: 312–3, 315).

It is remarkable that *springwyrt* appears to be a vital ingredient in some recipes for potions,

recommended by Charlemagne for gardens on the imperial estates (Boretius and Krause 1883–97: I.90).

[84] See the discussions in Sections 8.2 and 8.10 above; see also Pollington (2000: 152).

[85] The only German dictionary I have been able to discover which lists *Springwurz*, as used for plants with explosive seeds, is the *Brockhaus Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1983), which suggests that the term is applied to various plants. *Duden: das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache in zehn Bänden* (1999) has the following: *Springwurz, Springwurzel, Wurzel des Salomonsiegels, der Zauberkraft zugeschrieben wird*, '*Springwurz*, *Springwurzel*, root of Solomon's Seal, to which magic power is attributed'. However, OHG *Springwurz* glosses *laterida* (see, for example, Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879–1922: III.172, no. 47): '*Latarida uel Citocatia* .i. Springwrz'; and (in III.198, no. 54): 'sprincwurz'.

salves or poultices 'for a pustule or carbuncle' (*wiþ springe*; Cockayne 1864–6: II.80–1, no. xxxiii.1–2). Was it used in healing because of the magic of its name (which actually referred to seeds springing out of the capsule)? Or could it have received its name because it healed pustules?

It does not seem to me that the identity of OE *springwyrt* has been established.[86] The common identification of *lybcorn* with the seeds of *Euphorbia lathyris* will be discussed in Section 10 below.

9.7 *Beolone*, Bald's *Leechbook* I (1.A.2)

Henbane (*Hyoscyamus* species; Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.15–16; II.10–11, 58–9). De Vriend (1984: 48–51, 289) identifies this as *Hyoscyamus niger* L. Grieve (1976: 397–404) writes that it has been found wild throughout Britain 'having probably first escaped from the old herb gardens'. The seeds and leaves were used as narcotics, but are dangerously poisonous. 'Their effect was antispasmodic, hypnotic, mildly diuretic, and they were used to relieve the griping caused by drastic purgatives'. Cameron (in D'Aronco and Cameron 1998: 61–4) comments that *H. niger*'s analgesic and sedative properties could have given relief but not a cure for the various aches and pains specified in the *Herbarium,* except that it could not relieve lung disease. Wren (1915: 131) writes of this plant: 'Principally employed in irritable conditions and nervous affections'. Pollington (2000: 130) notes that a Viking woman buried at Fyrkat (Denmark) had hundreds of henbane seeds in a leather bag; they may have been intended as a flavouring for beer.[87]

Most of the relevant early illustrations are identifiably *Hyoscyamus niger*;[88] however, the illustration for *hennebelle* (also called *belone*) in Chapter V of the Old English *Herbarium* (MS 11)[89] was identified by Gunther (1925: 113) as '*Hyoscyamus reticulatus*, a Mediterranean species'. Voigts (1979: 266–8) pointed out that the text of Chapter V carefully distinguishes between two kinds of *belone* or *hennebelle*, and that it is the whiter of the two which was credited with medicinal powers. This distinction between the two kinds of henbane, 'black' and 'white', is already in the 'oldest extant Latin manuscript of the *Herbarium*'.[90] It is difficult

[86] Bierbaumer (1975–9: III.xvii, 215, 253) discusses the twelfth-century interlinear gloss to the copy of the Latin *Herbarium* in MS 13, *'sprincwert* id est wildewise', but without coming to any firm conclusion regarding *springwyrt*. See Gough (1974: 279–80; note 45), who comments: '*Sprincwert* must be for *springwyrt*, which is identified with the *wild caper* or *caper bush* (*euphorbia lathyris*).' In Old High German, *springwurz* glosses Latin *actureda* or *lactaridia* (see Graff 1834–46: I. column 1051, under *sprincuurc*). *Wildewise*, which is otherwise unrecorded in Old English, seems to be an Old English (?Middle English) gloss of the Old English form *sprincwert*. *Wise* is known as a noun meaning 'sprout' or 'stalk', and thus it would appear that the compound *wildewise* should mean 'wild stalk'. Could this possibly indicate the caper bush? Corrections by Bierbaumer (1977) do not affect Gough's reading here.

[87] See also Pereira (1874: 598–602); Bentley and Trimen (1880: III. no. 194); Grigson (1955: 291–2); Stuart (1979: 203–4) and Phillips and Foy (1990: 158).

[88] Compare, for example, Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: I. plate for Chapter IX) with facsimiles from the twelfth-century MS 17 from Bury St Edmunds in Gunther (1925: 113; plate 7; no. LXX); and from the *editio princeps*, printed in Rome in 1481, in Hunger (1935: 13). There is no corresponding illustration in MS Montecassino 97.

[89] MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.iii. There is a facsimile of this illustration in D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: fol. 23v). De Vriend (1984) based his edition of the Apuleius complex on this manuscript.

[90] MS Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Vossianus Latinus Q 9, of the sixth or seventh century. See De Vriend (1984: xlviii, 49): 'There is also another with a blackish colour, with squalid and poisonous leaves. Therefore, the whiter of these has these powers' (*Est et altera subnigro colore, sordidus et venenosis foliis. His ergo candidior has vires habet*).

to know, therefore, which species was intended in the references to *Hyoscyamus* from the late seventh century onwards.[91] Grieve (1976: 403–4) writes that in more modern times, the seeds of the white variety of henbane seem to have been preferred for internal use, the leaves of the black for external application. Chapter V recommends *belone* for both internal and external ailments. However, the properties of all the species of medicinal *Hyoscyamus* appear to have been similar, so that, for the medics and the patients alike, the exact variety may have been unimportant, and *Hyoscyamus niger* the most easily obtainable.

9.8 *Eluhtre*, Bald's *Leechbook* I (1.A.2)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.53), followed by Pollington (2000: 138), identifies this plant as 'lupin' (*Lupinus* species), and perhaps *Lupinus luteus* L. 'yellow lupin', since the Old English name appears to be from Latin *electrum* 'amber'.[92] Grieve (1976: 502–3) describes *L. luteus* as 'a native of Southern Europe and Western Asia', from which alkaloids could be derived. However, the species best known and most cultivated in early times was the white lupin (*Lupinus albus* L.), also a native of the eastern Mediterranean. Its seeds, when bruised, 'are said to be anthelmintic, diuretic and emmenagogue' (see Pliny the Elder 1942–83: VI.402–5; 22.74.154–7).

9.9 *Cropleac*, Bald's *Leechbook* I (1.A.2)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.40) identifies this as 'leek' (*Allium porrum* L.): probably the cultivated vegetable rather than the herb *garleac* 'garlic' (*Allium sativum* L.).[93]

9.10 *Gotwoþe*, Bald's *Leechbook* II (1.A.4)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.70–1) rejects Cockayne's suggestion of 'goutweed' (*Aegopodium podagraria* L.), but makes no alternative suggestion. Grieve (1976: 368–9) ascribes no

[91] See also Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 463–5): 'Hyoscyamus, under which name it is probable the nearly allied South European species *H. albus* L., was generally intended, was medicinal among the ancients, and particularly commended by Dioscorides' (Bk IV, Chapter 69). See also Dioscorides (1934: 464–5). Voigts (1979: 267–8) comments that 'after looking through scores of dried varieties of solanaceae one is struck by the verisimilitude of the illustration [in MS 11] to the Mediterranean and Turkish varieties of *Hyoscyamus*: *H. aureus* L., *H. pusillus* L., *H. reticulatus* L.' She says nothing about *H. albus*, and I have not found it possible to track down any illustration of it when dried. However, judging from the description by Oleg Polunin (1969: 370; Plate 117, no. 1177), it seems to resemble *H. aureus* in all but the paleness of its flowers, and might then be virtually indistinguishable from it when dried.

[92] *Herbarium*, Chapter CXII (De Vriend 1984: 154–7; D'Aronco and Cameron 1998: fol. 52v, Column 2). The leaves in the illustrations in the Old English *Herbarium* (MS 11), in MS Montecassino 97 (Hunger 1935: 102–3), and, indeed, in the idiosyncratic Bury St Edmunds MS (MS 17; see Gunther 1925: 120; no. CI), have nothing like the distinctive palmate leaves of lupins. Howald and Sigerist (1927) include black and white printed versions of manuscript illustrations, but it does not seem helpful to give detailed references to these very schematized figures. If one digit is subtracted from the chapter numbers in De Vriend (1984), they are easily found; for example, *Herba lupinum montanum* is CXI in Howald and Sigerist but CXII in De Vriend. Compare, for example, Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: I. plate for chapter IX) with facsimiles from the twelfth-century MS 17 from Bury St Edmunds in Gunther (1925, no. LXX, p. 113 and plate 7), and from the *editio princeps*, printed in Rome in 1481, in Hunger (1935: 103). See also comments by D'Aronco (2003: 137).

[93] In two remedies in the *Lacnunga*, both *cropleac* and *garleac* are named as ingredients: Cockayne (1864–6: III.20–1; no. 23); Grattan and Singer (1952: 118–19; nos. XLIX, L); and Pettit (2001: I.26–7, lines 201, 205; nos. XLIX, L). For the leek as '*the* Anglo-Saxon vegetable', see Pollington (2000: 136); Banham (2003: 125–6); and

purgative or emetic properties to goutweed, which is said to have been introduced into England and cultivated by monks as a herb of healing. It does not appear in any glosses, and, altogether, it seems best to leave *gotwoþe* out of account.

9.11 *Hofe*, Bald's *Leechbook* II (1.A.4)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.85–6; III.138) opts for 'ground ivy' (*Glechoma hederacea* L.), since most of the Middle and Modern English versions of *hofe* (for example, *hove*, *hayhove*, *alehoof*) refer to ground ivy.[94] Grieve (1976: 442–3) writes that the whole herb, gathered fresh in May, has diuretic, astringent, tonic and gently stimulant properties. Formerly, it was used to clarify beer.

In the Antwerp Glossary**,** however, *hofe* translates *uiola.*[95] Grieve (1976: 833–9) writes that both the dog violet (*Viola riviniana* Rchb.) and the sweet violet (*V. odorata* L.) are strongly emetic and purgative, particularly their rhizomes. Therefore, a species of violet may be intended here.

In the Laud Glossary, *houa* is equated both with *viola* and with *banewvrt* (Stracke 1974: 66, no. 1506; MS 15). In Middle English, *bonewort* was used for so many varied plants that the possibility of identification through these synonyms appears remote.[96] Since there is no certain identity for *hofe*, no conclusions can be drawn from its association with *lybcorn*.

9.12 *Alres* (*wah mela* 'fine flour'), Bald's *Leechbook* II (1.A.5)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.2–3) identifies this as alder (*Alnus glutinosa* (L.) Gaertn.). Grieve (1976: 17–18) describes alder as 'Tonic and astringent', as do Stuart (1979: 149) and Pollington (2000: 498–9). I am uncertain how a flour could have been made from alder, which does not have nuts, but it may have been made from bark, the source of flour for the famine food bark-bread.

9.13 *Hæsles* (*wah mela* 'fine flour'), Bald's *Leechbook* II (1.A.5)

This is 'fine flour of hazel' (*Coryllus avelana* L.).[97]

9.14 *Hwit cwudu*, Bald's *Leechbook* II (1.A.6)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.44–5) defines this as 'mastic', which is a white chewing stuff.[98] Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 161–5) give an outline history of mastic, which was known

Hall (2003: 103; Figure 13).

94 MED under *ale-hove*; *hei-hove* and *hove*.

95 MS 9; Wright (1884: I. column 134, no. 39); Förster (1917: 138, no. 227). Bierbaumer thinks this is an error, due to the similarity between the shapes of the leaves and the flowers in the two kinds of plants. Though ground ivy and, say, the common dog violet are alike in their straggling growth and the colour of their flowers, they are easily distinguished in the field.

96 See Cockayne (1864–6: II.371) under *banwyrt*; MED under *bonwort*: 'Any of a variety of medicinal herbs, such as the violet and esp[ecially] the daisy, used in healing broken bones and wounds'; and Hunt (1989: 272) under *bonewort*.

97 See the information in Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.78); and Pollington (2000: 503). There is nothing on this product in Grieve (1976).

98 The OED defines *mastic* as 'a gum or resin which exudes from the bark of *Pistacia lentiscus* [a Mediterranean shrub] and some other trees'.

from the fourth century BC as a product of the Mediterranean island of Scio. It was described by Dioscorides as a resin (Bk I, Chapters 89–90; Dioscorides 1934: 48–9). *Granomastice* was one of the items ninth-century monks of St-Germain-des-Prés hoped to buy at Corbie, if they had the money (Riddle 1965: 194; note 4 refers to Guérard 1844: II.336). Cameron (1990: 10; 1993: 105) remarks that mastic was quite frequently prescribed in Bald's *Leechbook* I, which 'may be presumed to show the usages most common to English medicine'. He attributes the popularity of mastic to the fact that, as it came from the Greek archipelago, it did not need to pass through Arab hands on its way to England. Since it was sufficiently common to have been given an English name, it must have been relatively inexpensive. Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: III. no. CXXX) describe the early nineteenth-century trade, and mastic's usages in medicine:

> [It] is brought to us in yellowish semi-transparent brittle grains or tears … It is almost tasteless; and when chewed it is soft and tough … It has long been introduced into medicine under the character of an astringent and diuretic in obstinate coughs, dysentery, fluor albus [leucorrhoea], gleets [discharges], haemoptysis, dyspeptic complaints, and internal ulcerations; but it probably possesses no powers of any kind but what may be ascribed to its moderately stimulant effect upon the organs of secretion.[99]

9.15 *Cost*, Bald's *Leechbook* II (1.A.7)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.38–9) defines *cost* as 'alecost, costmary' (*Tanacetum balsamita* L., also known as *Balsamita major* Desf.). However, Greppin (1999) has demonstrated that a plant name approximating *costus* was found in seven ancient languages and applied to three separate fragrant plants. Pollington (2000: 112) claims that the name 'was early transferred to this balsam-scented herb', that is, costmary. *Costum* (whatever it may have been) is in the list of 'herbs' recommended to gardeners on the imperial estates by Charlemagne (Boretius and Krause 1883–97: I.90), and was among those which ninth-century monks expected to buy in Corbie market (Riddle 1965: 194; note 4 refers to Guérard 1844: II.336). Phillips and Foy (1990: 146) write: 'an infusion was drunk to relieve upset stomachs, dysentry and ague. It was said to expel worms from children and be an excellent tonic.'

9.16 *Hocces moran*, *Leechbook III* (1.A.10)

This phrase means 'the roots of mallow', and Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.85) suggests common mallow (*Malva sylvestris* L.).[100] Stuart (1979: 218) writes that its dried flowers and leaves and, occasionally, roots, were used medicinally, and were 'demulcent, anti-inflammatory; laxative; slightly astringent … Large doses are gently purgative'. *Hocc*, however, may have been a general term for a mallow, including both common and marsh mallow, as it seems to have been in Middle English.[101]

[99] See also Pereira (1874: 880–1); Bentley and Trimen (1880: I. no. 68); Riddle (1965: 187–8); and Grieve (1976: 522). It is advertised nowadays, following research findings at Nottingham University, as a stomach ulcer and digestive support.

[100] Grieve (1976: 508–9) writes that 'the roots are not considered of much value', but Grigson (1955: 99–100) declares 'Like the Marsh Mallow and the Tree Mallow, the Common Mallow is soft and full of mucilage'. The identity of *hoc* is also briefly discussed by Pollington (2000: 131).

[101] See Hunt under *Malva* and *Malva agrestis* (1989: 168); and under *Hock*, *Hocks*, and *Small-* (1989: 289). For discussion of the relative virtues of the two mallows, see Fernie (1914: 298–301). See also Section 8.8 above on *bisceopwyrt* '?marsh mallow'. Cameron (in D'Aronco and Cameron 1998: 62) restricts his identification of *hoc* to

9.17 *Arod*, *Leechbook III* (1.A.11)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.6) identifies this as 'Arum' (*Arum maculatum* L.). Grieve (1976: 236–9) describes it as the sole species of the Arum family native to Britain, and adds:

> The Arum had formerly a great reputation as a drug, in common with all other plants containing acrid or poisonous principles … The dried root was recommended as a diuretic and stimulant … The juice of the fresh tuber is purgative, but too violently so to be safely administered.

Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: I no. XXII) tell horrific stories of the effects of eating the fresh plant, but claim that the dried root loses any medicinal virtues along with the acrid principle. They conclude: 'The difficulty of administering the Arum in a uniform manner prevents it from being often used'.[102]

Pollington (2000: 97–8) writes that 'the leaf of *libcorn* or *arod*' (*lybbcornes leaf oþþe arod*), would 'make more sense if the *arod* is an alternative part of the libcorn plant'. However, the word only appears in one other remedy, from the *Lacnunga,*[103] and identification is equally unsure there. It is probably best left out of account as an association with *lybcorn*.

9.18 *Secg*, *Leechbook III* (1.A.12)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.123–4) suggests a *Carex* (sedge) species, but Grieve (1976: 731) states that none of the sixty-nine British species of *Carex* has medicinal uses. Concerning sweet sedge (*Acorus calamus* L.), she writes, copying earlier writers, that it 'was formerly much esteemed as an aromatic and mild tonic … it also acts as a carminative … and is used to increase the appetite and benefit digestion' (Grieve 1976: 728). Its rhizomes were imported from the East long before it became cultivated (and naturalized). In the Old English *Herbarium*, Chapter VII, it is given the name *beowyrt* (literally 'bee herb').[104]

In both the mid-ninth century Omont Fragment (lines 26–33) and in Bald's *Leechbook* I, Chapter XXIII, the lower part of sedge (*neoðowardne seecg; nioþoweardne secg*) is found in a remedy for a paralysed body (Meaney 1984: 244; Pollington 2000: 75–6, 156).

9.19 *Curmealle*, *Lacnunga* (1.A.13)

The *Herbarium* offers two species of *curmealle*, the 'greater' and the 'lesser', and several synonyms: Chapter XXXV equates *centauria maior* with *curmelle seo mare* or *eorðgealla*;

Malva species. *Hoc leaf* renders *malua erratica* in *Herbarium* Chapter XLI and De Vriend (1984: 298) identifies this as *Malva sylvestris*. MS 11 (D'Aronco and Cameron 1998: fol. 34r, column 2) and MS Montecassino 97, no. xxxviiii (along with the 1481 edition, for which see Hunger 1935: 42–3) all illustrate a plant with five rounded but pointed leaves directly springing from the root, and a longer flower stalk with three terminals. It does not appear to me to resemble a mallow.

[102] See also Fernie (1914: 34–6).

[103] MS 7; Cockayne (1864–6: III.2–3, no. 2); Grattan and Singer (1952: 98–9, VII); and Pettit (2001: I.6–7, line 17; VII).

[104] D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: 49, note 40) comment: 'The illustration [from MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.iii, fol. 24v, column.1] shows the rhizome of the plant, the only part known in central Europe before 1574'. Compare this illustration with that drawn from a fresh plant with its rhizome (for example, no. 279 in Bentley and Trimen 1880: no. IV), who comment: 'It is also a useful adjunct to tonic or purgative medicines', and also with that, recognisably similar, in the *editio princeps* (Hunger 1935: 15, column 2). See also Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 676–8); Fernie (1914: 185–6); and Stuart (1979: 143). The Greeks called specialist medicinal drug suppliers, who wrote about their work, *rhizotomoi* (ῥιζοτόμοι), 'root-cutters' (see Riddle 1985: 5).

and Chapter XXXVI equates *centauria minor* with *curmelle seo læssæ* or *feferfuge* (De Vriend: 1984: 80–82). The possibilities for confusion in the identification of *curme(a)lle* are considerable. Pettit (2001: I.222), following Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.41–2; II.29–30) suggests a species of *Centaurea* L. 'knapweed', or *Blackstonia perfoliata* (L.) Hudson 'yellow-wort'; or *Centaurium erythraea* Rafn. 'common centaury'. However, common centaury and yellow-wort belong to the Gentianaceae and have small pink or yellow flowers with five to eight petals, whereas knapweed and its close relative, the cornflower, belong to the Compositae and have large bright blue flowers (Fitter and Blamey 1974: 180–1; 248–9). Even if we suppose the greater *curmelle* to be a *Centaurea,* and the lesser a *Centaurium* (Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.42 suggests *C. umbellatum* Gilib.), it is hard to see any connection between them, apart from the similarity of their modern scientific names.

According to Grieve (1976: 223–4), the flowers of the native cornflower (*Centaurea cyanus* L.) are 'used in modern herbal medicine and are considered to have tonic, stimulant and emmenagogue properties'. Some species of knapweed, including greater knapweed (*Centaurea scabiosa* L.)*,* whose root and seeds are used, are 'diuretic, diaphoretic and tonic' (Grieve 1976: 456–7).

Common centaury (*Centaurium erythraea* Rafn. or *Erythraea centaurium* auct.) is a central European native; the dried flowering plant, according to Stuart (1979: 169) is 'aromatic; bitter; stomachic. Stimulates appetite … of benefit in weak digestion. Widely used as a tonic'. Any of these might therefore have been appropriate in the context of this remedy, and so it is impossible to choose between them.[105] I have been unable to track down any medicinal properties for yellow-wort.

9.20 *Merce*, *Lacnunga* (1.A.13)

Merce is usually identified as 'wild celery' (*Apium graveolens* L.) (Bierbaumer 1975–9: II.83; Pollington 2000: 166). Grieve (1976: 182) writes: 'Carminative, stimulant, diuretic, tonic, nervine, useful in hysteria, promoting restfulness and sleep'. *Herbarium*, Chapter CXX is about *Merce, Apium* which is recommended only as a poultice (with bread) for sore eyes (De Vriend 1984: 160–1).[106] Wild celery is not included in the nineteenth-century herbals I have consulted.

9.21 *Sundcorn*, *Lacnunga* (1.A.13)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: II.112–13; III.222–3), followed by Pollington (2000: 155), identifies *sundcorn* as the seeds of meadow saxifrage (*Saxifraga granulata* L.), and cites the plant's reputation as a 'stonebreaker'. Pettit (2001: II.53, note to line 180) writes: 'Elsewhere in OE medical texts *sundcorn* denotes the plant *Saxifraga granulata* itself, not specifically its seed'. He is presumably referring principally to the *Herbarium*, Chapter XCIX, entitled *Sundcorn, Saxifragia*: 'This plant which is called saxifrage and by another name *sundcorn* (*Đeos wyrt ðe man saxifragam ⁊ oþrum naman sundcorn nemneð*). De Vriend (1984: 144–5; 311) comments: 'The illustrations in our texts are clearly of [meadow saxifrage] *Saxifraga*

[105] Pollington (2000: 108–9 (under *Centaury*), 116 (under *Earthgall*), and 118 (under *Felter*)) appears to agree that it is almost impossible to be sure of the identification.

[106] Illustrations, in MS 11 (a facsimile is published in D'Aronco and Cameron 1998: fol. 54v), in the MS Montecassino 97, and in the *editio princeps* (facsimiles are published in Hunger 1935: 108–9), would be of little use as field guides.

granulata'. That in MS 11 (fol. 49v) evidently makes an attempt to depict the (underground) roots, which have a number of disc-like objects dispersed about them.[107] The distinguishing feature of meadow saxifrage is the bulbils (small bulbs at the leaf-bases), and, presumably, the discs represent them. Could they be the cause of the species designation *granulata* 'with little grains/pellets', and for the name *sundcorn* for the plant itself? They are not, after all, seeds. In glosses, the lemmata for *sun(d)corn* are (with only two exceptions in eight occurrences, but sometimes distorted), *saxifraga*.[108] Neither the nineteenth-century herbals I have consulted nor Grieve (1976) ascribe any medicinal properties to any part of meadow saxifrage, including its seeds.

However, the identification is confused by the fact that the two exceptional lemmata for *sundcorn* are distortions of *lithospermum. Lithospermum officinale* L. is the modern scientific name for common gromwell, which is unrelated to, and does not resemble, a saxifrage. Gromwell does not appear to be credited by modern herbalists with any medicinal properties, but the fact that it is designated *officinale* must indicate that it was formerly included in the pharmacopoeia. In MS 11, Chapter CLXXX of the *Herbarium* begins: 'This plant which is called *litospermon*, and, by another name, *sund'corn'* (*Ðeos wyrt ðe man litospermon, ⁊ oðrum naman sund'corn' nemneð*). The *sund* appears squashed in, and *corn* has been written between the lines in a different hand.[109] None of the other manuscripts has this gloss.[110] However, the *Herbarium* translator him- or herself is not above giving the same English name to more than one plant.[111] The illustration for Chapter CLXXX in MS 11 could well be a genuine attempt to depict common gromwell, which indeed has remarkable seeds.[112] The *Herbarium* translation of Chapter CLXXX reads:

> *Ðeos wyrt … on ðære hehnysse … hafað stanas hwite ⁊ sinewealte swylce meregrotu on pysna micelnysse, ⁊ ða beoð on stanas heardnysse ⁊ eac swylce hy togædere geclifigen, ⁊ hy beoð innan hole ⁊ ðonne þæt sæd þæron innan.*[113]
> This herb … at the top … has white & round stones like pearls, of the size of peas, & these are of the hardness of stones, & also they adhere together, & they are hollow within

[107] The related images in the MS Montecassino 97 (no. xcviii) and in the *editio princeps* (see Hunger 1935: 92–3) are so schematic as to be unidentifiable. See the discussions in Blunt and Raphael (1979: 32–3) and in Blunt and Stearn (1994: 37–8, 56, 280; Figures 9, 13, 54). The illustration (no. lxii, fol. 31v), with the later glosses, *'Saxifrage i.* sundcorn', in MS 17 is unrelated, and Gunther (1925: 112, see also p. 99) comments: 'A very crude figure of a Saxifrage (if it be one)'. However, it could be taken as an attempt to depict common gromwell (*Lithospermum officinale* L.), with white flowers and lanceolate (spearhead-shaped) leaves and straight branching stems. Gunther also notes that the 1528 printed version of the Apuleius adds the following to the virtues of the plant: 'full of stones, a quick-acting amulet' (*calculosis amuletum praesentaneum*) — more probably referring to the stony seeds of the gromwell than any part of a saxifrage. Confusion between the two plants (see the discussion below in this section) may therefore have been rife and long-lasting.

[108] See entries under *sun(d)corn* in Bierbaumer (1975–9: II.112–13; III.222–3), and in the MCOE. For examples, see the Laud Glossary (MS 15; Stracke 1974: 59, no. 1301): *'Saxifraga .i.* suncorn', but also no. 897: *'Litosperimon .i.* suncorn', and the Brussels Glossary (MS 8; Meritt 1945: 58, no. 67.2): *'Lituspermon i.* sundcorn *.i. saxifraga*'.

[109] For the facsimile, see D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: fol. 73). Cockayne (1864–6: I, after p. cv, in 'Additions and Corrections') emended *sundcorn* to *sunnancorn*, 'that is, Milium Solis'. See also De Vriend (1984: 327).

[110] MS B (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76) leaves a space after *oðrum naman*; MS H (British Library, Harley 585) omits *oðrum naman* and, therefore, the possibility of an alternative identification; and MS O (British Library, Harley 6258 B) omits this plant altogether. See De Vriend (1984: 226–7, 327).

[111] See Chapters XLIII (*bulbiscillittica)* and LXXX (*gladiolum),* both designated *glædene*. See Section 8.7 above.

[112] Cockayne (1864–6: I.314–5, note a, to Chapter CLXXX: *Litospermon*), identifies the figure as *L. officinale*, for which see D'Aronco and Cameron (1998). It shows a plant with a single erect stem and lanceolate leaves, with flowers in the angles. However, it lacks the branching of the common gromwell.

[113] This translates the Latin: *et in earum cacuminibus lapillos candore et rotunditate margaritarum, magnitudine ciceris, duritia vere lapidea, ipsi … adhaerant, cavernulas habent et intus semen*. See De Vriend (1984: 226–7).

& then the seed is there inside.

This description would seem to justify the Greek name *lithospermon* (λιθόσπερμον) 'stone seed'.

As with Chapter XCIX, *Saxifragia*, there is only one remedy allotted in the *Herbarium* to Chapter CLXXX, *Litospermon*, and the two recipes are virtually identical. Just as the saxifrage plant was strong enough to break rocks, and the gromwell produced its own hard white stones, both were prescribed, drunk in wine, to disperse bladder stones. The remedy using the stony seeds of *lithospermum* is found in Dioscorides (Bk III, Chapter 158).[114] It was copied by Pliny, who declared (almost ecstatically) that there was no other plant, the medicinal property of which could be recognised with greater confidence, and he gave it the names 'Juppiter's' or 'Hercules' corn' (Pliny the Elder 1942–83: VII.448–51; 27.74.98–9). It would not be surprising then, in view of the similarity of the two remedies, if *sundcorn*, the appropriate name of *lithospermum,* were also sometimes used for saxifrage.

The *Herbarium* gives the provenance of common gromwell as Italy and Crete; a modern field-guide gives its distribution as 'Almost throughout Europe, woodland margins, scrub and hedges on lime' (Press, Tebbs and Turland 1993: 206–7). Is it possible that this plant too, owes its presence in Britain to early cultivation in herb gardens? If so, its name might have been transferred from the foreign gromwell to the native saxifrage which was credited with similar properties. The first element of *sundcorn* is something of a mystery in itself; it could be related to the adjective *gesund* 'sound, healthy', or to the neuter noun *sund*, which means 'swimming' in prose, but 'sea, ocean' in poetry. Perhaps it is to be explained by the comparison of the gromwell seed to a pearl (OE *meregrot*).[115]

9.22 *Wyrmelo*, *Lacnunga* (1.A.13)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: II.136) identifies this as 'wild marjoram' (*Origanum vulgare* L.). Grieve (1976: 520–1) writes: 'Marjoram has a very ancient medical reputation … [It] yields … a volatile oil [whose] properties are stimulant, carminative, diaphoretic and mildly tonic.[116] The *Herbarium*, Chapter CXXIV (*Organe*, *Origanum*) advises only that one should eat it for a cough, but its properties resemble those of other labiates used in conjunction with *lybcorn*.[117]

Pettit (2001: II.54, note to line 180) argues, in detail, that *wyrmelo* is for 'worm-meal', that is, 'powdered worms or other creeping, crawling creatures'. Pollington (2000: 139, 168) is undecided.

9.23 *Heleleafes moran*, *Lacnunga* (1.A.14)

This phrase may indicate 'roots of ?olive' (*Olea europaea* L.). (For *eleleaf*, see Bierbaumer 1975–9: II.37; Pollington 2000: 128). However, the inclusion of *moran* 'roots' may be a

[114] Dioscorides (1934: 384). The figure, from a Byzantine manuscript of AD 512 is, however, a spurge (identified by Gunther as *Lathyrus Aphaca*).

[115] See Bierbaumer (1975–9: III.222–3). One remedy in *Leechbook III* (MCOE reference: Lch II (3) 20.1.1), using *sundcorn* but not *lybcorn*, appears to be adapted from the *Herbarium* (either Chapter XCIX or CLXXX), adding parsley, and boiling in ale instead of wine; and another (MCOE reference: Lch (3) 56.1.1) appears to employ *sundcornes leaf* as an ingredient in a remedy for indigestion.

[116] See also Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: III. no. CXXXI); and Stuart (1979: 231).

[117] The illustrations for *Or(i)gane(-um)* in MS 11, MS Montecassino 97, and in the *editio princeps* (see Hunger 1935:

repetition error from another entry, as neither Grieve (1976: 598–9) nor Stuart (1979: 229–30), nor even Pereira (1874: 660–5), has anything to say about the roots of the olive tree, but all describe the leaves and bark as astringent and antiseptic. According to Bentley and Trimen (1880: III), followed by Grieve (1976: 599): 'A decoction [of olive leaves] … has been used in the Levant in obstinate fevers. Both leaves and bark have valuable febrifugal qualities'. In the *Lacnunga*, it is an ingredient in a purgative.

9.24 *Grundeswelgian*, ?Bald's *Leechbook* II (1.A.18)

Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.71–2) defines this as 'common groundsel (*Senecio vulgaris* L.)'. This identification is found in the *Herbarium*, Chapter LXXVII: *Grundeswylige*, *Senecio.*[118] Grieve (1976: 377–9) writes:

> Diaphoretic, antiscorbutic, purgative, diuretic, anthelmintic … A weak infusion of the plant is now sometimes given as a simple and easy purgative, and a strong infusion as an emetic: it causes no irritation or pain, removes bilious trouble and is a great cooler.[119]

10. *Lybcorn*: consideration of the plant associations

The identity of many of the plants named alongside the *lybcorn* in the Old English remedies is, therefore, reasonably certain, if all the evidence is put together. If there is some continuity in the naming, and if they have an appropriate effect for inclusion in the Old English remedies, I am disposed to accept the proffered identifications, in spite of the somewhat circular chain of reasoning.

There remains considerable doubt about the identification of several of the Old English names. If two different plant names are used within one recipe (as happens with *betonice* and *bisceopwyrt*) it must surely indicate that (to the compiler and/or scribe) these denoted two different ingredients, usually two different plants. Even this assumption has its difficulties. For example, it has been suggested, concerning two of the ingredients of 1.A.1 (see Section 9.6 above) that *springwyrt* is the caper spurge plant (*Euphorbia lathyris*) and, as we shall see, that *lybcorn* is the *seed* of the caper spurge. Though this may be possible, is it probable? Almost certainly not, yet if the same names occur in different recipes, which may have come from different sources, they could well denote different plants. We must take into account too, that vernacular names may shift from one locality to another, and from one period to another (see Biggam's introduction to this volume, Section 1), and even from one remedy to another, if they are taken from different sources. Moreover, early medieval botanists are unlikely to have been so precise in their distinction of species as the scientific classifiers of the twentieth or twenty-first centuries. To trace these semantic shifts is unfortunately outside the scope of this enquiry, unless they bear directly on its main topic. It may be, too, that sometimes the answers to the questions of identity are not important to this investigation, if the herbal ingredients in any remedy are sufficiently alike in their properties for them to be confused.

112–13; and D'Aronco and Cameron 1998: fol. 55v), though of no use as field guides, could represent genuine attempts to depict *Origanum vulgare.*

[118] De Vriend (1984: 116–19); and D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: fol. 42v), unfortunately eaten away by a destructive pigment. For comparative illustrations, see Hunger (1935: 70–1) for the MS Montecassino 97, no. lxxvi, and the *editio princeps*; and Gunther (1925: 108; fol. 20v, no. xlii).

[119] See also Fernie (1914: 229–30); and Stuart (1979: 262–3). For a discussion of the Old English plant-name, see Pollington (2000: 126).

It seems that the herbs might have had three different origins: they could have been native wild flowers; they could have been plants native to more southerly regions, deliberately cultivated in English gardens (probably mostly monastic); or they could have been imported as dried specimens from places further afield, even from as far away as India. Belonging to the first category (excluding most of those whose identity is problematic) are, for example, mallow, groundsel, arum, wood sorrel, fumitory, wild celery, 'English roots', possibly *seo clufehte wenwyrt* (whatever they may have been; see Section 8.10), elder and celandine. Except for the last two, these are usually found only once each in association with *lybcorn*. None except mallow is included in the Old English *Herbarium.*

With reference to the non-native plants which could have been cultivated, in Charlemagne's *Capitulare de villis* (Boretius and Krause 1883–97: I.90) is a statement recommending the growing of certain herbs in gardens on the imperial estates. Several of these are found in the recipes which concern us in this paper. Most we could well imagine to have been garden plants in Anglo-Saxon England too, but originally brought northwards from more Mediterranean climes:

> *Volumus, quod in horto omnes herbas habeant, id est … costum … cucumeres … squillam, gladiolum … git*[120] *… malvas … pastenacas … radices … coriandrum … lacteridas … Et ille hortulanus habeat super domum suam Jovis barbam* (Meyer 1854–7: III.401–10; Boretius and Krause 1883–97: I.90).
> We wish, that all should have these herbs in a garden: costmary … cucumbers … squill, iris … fennel flower … mallows … parsnips … radishes … coriander … spurges … And that the gardener should have houseleek over his house.

Also among the garden herbs would have been leek and meadow saffron.

Those herbs and herbal products which must have been imported, if the English were to have them at all, are sedge, aloes, mastic and pepper. The last three of these turn up frequently in a 'typical antidotary of 9th century Europe', from a St Gall manuscript (Riddle 1965: 186–7). Moreover, Voigts has pointed out that the illustration to *beolone* or *hennebelle* in MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.iii is most probably of a dried Mediterranean species (Voigts 1979: 266–8). If a plant is found in the *Herbarium*, it can usually be assumed that it belonged to a Mediterranean flora, since the Latin corpus was established long before an Old English version was thought of. Whether the remedies using Mediterranean plants also had a Mediterranean Latin origin is doubtful because of lack of evidence. So far, I have been unable to find any Latin source for any of the recipes with *lybcorn*; however, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that more specialised research by someone with better knowledge of the early medieval medical corpus may turn something up.

In some instances it seems that a foreign import may have been in process of being displaced by, or was confused with, a local product. For example, the Old English plant-name *glædene* is, in the *Herbarium,* applied to two very different plants: in Chapter XLIII it is squill, and in Chapter LXXX, an iris. It might seem that the name should have belonged first to the iris, since it seems to be related to the Latin name *gladiolus* which refers to the sword-like shape of the iris leaves (from Latin *gladius* 'sword'), yet the earlier glossaries show that *glædene* meant squill before it meant iris. Iris rhizomes have very similar physiological effects to those of the large bulb of squill (imported in dried flakes), and that may be how the confusion first arose. The rhizome of an eastern plant, *Coptis teeta* Wall., used for eye complaints, was believed to be the root of greater celandine, probably because both plants had

[120] See a discussion of *git/giþ* in Section 18 below.

a bright yellowish juice. This may have contributed to the reasoning which caused celandine juice also to be used in eye salves. Plant names, particularly those in the vernacular, and even when they are derived from Latin, are shown to have variant meanings — the story of the names *bisceopwyrt* and *banwyrt*, which were used for many and varied plants, shows that conclusively. Even those in medieval Latin and Greek are not easily equated with modern post-Linnean scientific nomenclature.

11. *Lybcorn*: quantities used in medicinal remedies

Although there is obviously some doubt about some of the identifications proposed, the evidence discussed above (of the herbs used alongside *lybcorn* in recipes for emetics, purgatives and a salve for a swelling) cumulatively indicates that the properties of medicinal plants were, in effect, as well known to the compilers of the Anglo-Saxon medical works as to Grieve in 1931 (the first edition). Or, if not to the compilers, they must have been known to those who composed or translated the texts which the compilers gathered and put in order. It is, therefore, a fair assumption that the Anglo-Saxon physicians were using *lybcorn* appropriately, too.

However, there is one particular difficulty in the way of this assumption, and that is the quantities of *lybcorn* specified. A few of the recipes are unspecific about quantities of all ingredients, for example: from Bald's *Leechbook* I, the salve for swollen eyelids (1.A.1); from Book II, the emetic (1.A.6); and, from *Leechbook III*, the purgatives (1.A.9 and 1.A.11) with *lybcornes leaf*. Sometimes the number of *lybcorn* only are specified, and the quantity of the rest of the ingredients left vague; for example: in the emetics from Bald's *Leechbook* I (1.A.2) there are fifty *lybcorn*; from Book II (1.A.5) there are a hundred *lybcorn*; 1.A.7 has fifteen *lybcorn*;[121] 1.A.18 has thirty-six *lybcorn*; and, from the *Lacnunga*, 1.A.15 has eighty *lybcorn*.

Sometimes the quantity of at least some of the other herbs is specified; for example, in the emetics: in Bald's *Leechbook* II, 1.A.3 has six aloe seeds, and thirty *lybcorn*, while 1.A.8 has three pieces of houseleek, an equal amount of peeled elder bark, and twenty-five *lybcorn*; *Lacnunga*, 1.A.14 has medium-sized iris roots a cubit long and as broad as your thumb, likewise two of houseleek (other ingredients unspecified), and forty *lybcorn*. The same is true in the purgative emetics: in *Leechbook III*, 1.A.10 has forty *lybcorn* well husked (and the lower part of celandine and mallow roots, quantities unspecified), two cloves of the bulbous *wenwyrt*, a little of the lower part of cucumber, and a moderate amount of houseleek roots. As for the purgatives: in *Leechbook III*, 1.A.12 involves a big handful of sedge and iris, and twenty *lybcorn*; in the *Lacnunga*, 1.A.13 has eighty-five *lybcorn*, nine peppercorns, and fifteen *sundcorn*; also in the *Lacnunga*, 1.A.16 has forty *lybcorn* and seventeen optional peppercorns. In another recipe, in MS 18, 1.A.17 combines thirty *lybcorn* with parts of an egg, a good deal of white salt, and fine meal, for intestinal problems. Finally, in 1.A.4, fifty *lybcorn* are to be added to a complex 'weak drink' (presumably an emetic) to strengthen it. The inconsistencies are noticeable: there is no one medical text which is better or worse than the others at specifying quantities of ingredients.

What is remarkable in these recipes are the large numbers of *lybcorn* involved. Where there are specifications for other herbs, the quantities are usually small, for example, the

[121] This was probably intended for Bald's *Leechbook* II, Chapter 56, but is now only extant in MS 18. See Meaney (1984: 246, 248).

seventeen optional peppercorns, the three pieces of houseleek, the big handfuls of sedge and iris, and the six aloe seeds. But the *lybcorn* numbers vary from fifteeen to one hundred, the average being about forty-five. The numbers used in the purgatives appear to be somewhat fewer than those in the emetics, which need to be stronger in their effect, and faster working. The large numbers specified might lead us to suppose, first, that the *lybcorn* were readily available, and second, that they were relatively gentle in their action. Moreover, they do not appear to have been necessary ingredients of the emetics and purgatives: the other herbs named would surely have been effective enough by themselves, to judge from the modern herbals quoted. It is worth remembering, indeed, that not all ingredients of emetic or purgative potions need in themselves to have been nauseous or cathartic; some might be included in order to make the potion more palatable or digestible, or to moderate side-effects.

It is also notable that *lybcorn* is among a very select group of herbal ingredients which is not called by the name of the plant itself, but by its seed — others are *pipercorn*, *sundcorn* and *gyþcorn*. The first two of these have been discussed above (in Sections 8.4 and 9.21 respectively), and *gyþcorn* will be discussed in Sections 13 to 17. Peppercorns were the most popular of the imported ingredients, brought via a difficult overland route, and yet had no very definite medical value, as Pliny bemoaned (Pliny the Elder 1942–83: IV.20–23; 12.14.29). For pepper, at least, the seeds may be specified because that is all the writers knew of the plant. Could it be that the same applied to *lybcorn*? Could this seed, too, have been imported from afar, without the rest of the plant?[122]

12. *Lybcorn* in glossary translations

As already mentioned, *lybcorn* (with variant forms: *lib(b)corn*, *lypbcorn*), literally 'medicinal or magic seed' is found in the manuscripts (listed in Appendix 3) of many Anglo-Saxon glossaries. Though lost from the Épinal Glossary, it is found with the same (sometimes distorted) lemma *cartamo* in the ninth-century (c. 820) Erfurt Glossary (MS 1); twice in the slightly later (825-50) Corpus Glossary 2 (MS 2); once each in the Cleopatra glossaries 1 and 2 in a tenth-century manuscript (MS 3); in the tenth- to eleventh-century Otho Glossary (MS 6); in the early twelfth-century Durham Glossary (MS 14); in the twelfth-century Laud Glossary (MS 15); and in the twelfth- to thirteenth-century Bodley glosses (MS 16).

12.1 The early lemma *cartamo* with *lybcorn*

The lemma *cartamo* is glossed by *lybcorn* already in manuscripts which are among the very earliest (apart from charters) to have survived from the Anglo-Saxon period, and the persistence of the combination of lemma and Old English gloss shows the stability of the glossary tradition well past the Norman Conquest. Lindsay suggested that this gloss (*cartamo*) was part of a batch of the Hermeneuta type, taken from Graeco-Latin schoolbooks going back to about AD 200.[123] The earliest Anglo-Saxon glossaries may derive from documents brought to England by Theodore and Hadrian, who began the history of scholarship in England at their

[122] There is, nevertheless, a problem in the two remedies from *Leechbook III* (MS 4; 1.A.9 and 1.A.11) which specify the use of *lybcornes leaf*.

[123] Lindsay (1921b: 7–8). See also Lübke (1890) which discusses the relationships between glosses; and Pheifer (1974: xliv). Lindsay thought these glossaries might have come to England via Ireland, but recent research by Lapidge and others has associated them firmly with Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury (see note 125 below). The surviving copies of the Hermeneuta are edited in Goetz (1888-1923: III).

school in Canterbury. A version of the Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana glossary appears to have been available there.[124] The botanical glosses were not present in the Leiden Glossary, and therefore appear to have been added to the original core, but before about 700 AD when the Épinal manuscript was written. The glosses in this tradition run thus:

1.B.1 (MS 1)	*cartamo*	lypbcorn
1.B.2 (MS 2)	*Cartamo*	lybcorn
1.B.3 (MS 2)	*Chartamo*	lybcorn
1.B.4 (MS 3)	*Cartomo*	lybcorn
1.B.6 (MS 3)	*Cartamo*	lybcorn
1.B.8 (MS 6)	*cartamus*	lybcorn
1.B.14 (MS 14)	*Chartamo*	lybbcorn
1.B.17 (MS 15)	*Cartamo*[125]	lybcorn
1.B.18 (MS 16)	*cirtamo*	libcorn

Unfortunately, the *lybcorn* lemma is not easy to identify. André (1956: 74) cites a Medico-botanica Hermeneuta glossary, referring *cartamo* to *cartamis*.[126] Other scholars, for example, Wülcker[127] and Lindheim[128] (without referring to the Hermeneuta entry) had earlier identified *cartamo* with safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius* L.), and Bierbaumer[129] and the DMLBS (under *cartamus*) are more or less in agreement. Safflower is not found in the nineteenth-century herbals I have consulted, but Grieve (1976: 698) writes: 'The Safflower plant … is extensively cultivated in … Asia, also in Egypt and Southern Europe; but its native country is unknown'. Its flowers are 'laxative and diaphoretic. In domestic practice these flowers are used in children's and infants' complaints — measles, fevers and eruptive skin complaints'. There is, however, one major problem in equating *lybcorn* with safflower: its *seeds* are not specified in medicinal remedies.

One tempting possibility is that safflower was confused with the unrelated meadow saffron or autumn crocus (*Colchicum autumnale* L.) The flowers of both are used in the same way (particularly in dyeing) and safflower was sometimes known as 'Fake-' or 'Bastard Saffron'. Meadow saffron seeds were used medicinally (as was its corm), and were 'anti-rheumatic,

[124] Dionisotti (1982: 140). See also Lapidge (1986: 55; listed as Chapter xlvii of the Leiden Glossary); Pheifer (1987); Bischoff and Lapidge (1994: 175); and Lapidge (1996: 154–5).

[125] The MCOE has this as *lybceorn*. However, the manuscript reading (fol. 68r) is clearly *lybcorn*, as in Stracke (1974: 29, no. 276) and Bierbaumer (1975–9: III.165).

[126] The ninth-century Codex Cassinensis 69 (Goetz 1888–1923: III.537, no. 70): *cartamis id est agrione*, 'carthamis, that is, the wild one', but he also has (III.537, no. 54): *cardamomu. id est nasturtio*.

[127] Wright (1884: I. column 201) and note 4 by Wülcker (commenting on the Harley Glossary's *Catarticum potus*): 'lybcorn means: wild saffron, *carthamus*'.

[128] Lindheim (1941: 46), commenting on MCOE reference DurGl 141, states 'By *chartamo* it appears that either safflower … or saffron is meant (*Mit* chartamo *scheint der 'Safflor'* (Carthamus tinctorius L) *oder 'Safran' gemeint zu sein*). He refers to Fischer-Benzon (1894: 84), but this publication is not available to me, so will in future be ignored.

[129] Bierbaumer (1975–9: III.165): 'The lemmata CARTAMO, CARTAMUS, CARTOMO are hardly likely to be identical with Greek κάρδαμον 'nasturtium', but with CARTAMUS … safflower. The glossing cannot have anything to do with a purging effect of the plant … but can simply be affected by confusion with CATHARTICUS' (*Die Lemmata CARTAMO, CARTAMUS, CARTOMO sind wohl kaum mit gr. κάρδαμον 'nasturtium'… identisch, sondern mit CARTAMUS, Carthamus tinctorius L., Saflor* [Marzell 1943–79: I.855; Bierbaumer's note 3: cf. A. zu Dur 141]. *Die Glossierung muß nichts mit einer purgierenden Wirkung der Pflanze (*cf. [Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.99]*) zu tun haben, sondern kann einfach auf Verwechslung mit CATHARTICUS o.ä. beruhen*). In the *Sinonoma Bartholomei* (Mirfeld 1882: 13, 26) are the glosses: Cartamum, *i.semen croci ortensis*, '*Cartamum*, that is, the seed of the garden *crocus*'; and Kartamus *est semen croci orientalis*, '*Kartamus* is the seed of the eastern *crocus*'.

cathartic and emetic' (Grieve 1976: 700). However, as already discussed (in Section 8.9), meadow saffron was known in Old English as *seo greate wyrt* 'the big herb' and is twice found in the same recipes in Bald's *Leechbook* II (Chapter 52) as *lybcorn*.[130]

Pheifer (1974: 78, note 279) also cites a Hermeneuta gloss, but refers *cartamo* to Goetz (1888–1923: III.581, number 34), from the second glossary in the Vatican Codex Queen Christina 1260, of the tenth century: '*cardamomus* or *cardamus*, that is *nasturcius* or garden *crissonus*' (*cardamomus uel cardamus id est nasturcius siue crissonus (h)ortensis*). Pheifer added: '*cartamo* = Gr. κάρδαμον 'nasturtium', the seed of which, Gr. καρδάμωμον, was used as a cathartic (OE *lybcorn*)'. In this comment, he seems to have been influenced by an entry in the first glossary in the same manuscript: '*cardamomum* the seed of *nasturcius*' (*cardamomum semen nasturcii*; Goetz 1888–1923: III.556, number 60).[131] This was all very confusing to nineteenth-century scholars. Sweet (1885: 49, 52) adds *cardamum* in brackets to his comments on *lypbcorn* in the Erfurt Glossary (no. 279; 1.B.1), and on both its occurrences in Corpus Glossary 2 (nos 435 and 460; 1.B.2 and 1.B.3). Lindsay (1921a: 35, footnote) declared that *cartamo* is 'Hardly for Cardamum "nasturtium" '.

However, in the Greek *Herbal* of Dioscorides (which may have been a source for the early botanical glosses, see Rusche 2003: 188–9; Hall's first article in this volume: Section 3) is an entry in Book II, under 'Sharp Herbs', headed 'Kardamon'. In John Goodyer's English of 1655 it begins:

> Cresses (Somme call it Cynocardamon, somme Iberis, others Cardamina or Cardamantica … the Latins Nasturtium) … The seed of any sort of it is warming, sharpe, bad for the stomach, troubling the belly, & expelling wormes, lessening the spleen … it is like of nature to mustard seed, & rocket seed (Dioscorides 1934: 194).

Gunther (in Dioscorides 1934) suggested that this is *Lepidium sativum* 'Garden Cress' (*Nasturcium ortolanum* in later English sources) whose seed, when boiled in water, drives out the poison from a bite or staunches the bloody flux (Henslow 1899: 19, 41, 82–3, 115–16, 227). According to Culpeper, the seed was 'little inferior to mustard seed' (Culpeper 1826: 39). There is here, then, a clear reference to the medicinal use of a seed with a name which could be related to *cartamo*, and which has a drastic effect on the stomach. It might, then, be our *lybcorn*.

There is, however, a possible alternative. André (1956: 71–2) claimed that there had inevitably been confusion between *cardamum* (cress) and *cardamomum* once cardamom seeds were no longer imported from the East.[132] Is it possible, then, that *lybcorn* were cardamom

[130] 1.A.3 and 1.A.4, see Bentley and Trimen (1880: IV. no. 288); also Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: II. no. CI). According to Grieve (1976: 698–700), large doses of meadow saffron seeds 'cause violent purging … and [act] as an irritant poison'.

[131] Again in the same MS, Vatican, Queen Christina 1260 (that is, the Codex Vaticanus Reginae Christinae 1260), in the third glossary, there is (Goetz 1888–1923: III.588, no. 18): *cardamomus .i. nasturcium*; and in Codex Vaticanus 4417 (s. x/xi), there is (Goetz 1888–1923: III.620, no. 40) a mangled copy of the gloss on p. 556, note 60: *cardamomum id est semen mastrucii* (*cardamomum*, that is the seed of '*mastrucius*'). The garden nasturtium does not appear to be in question here, though its seeds 'serve as a substitute for capers in pickles' (Grieve 1976: 845). *Nasturtium officinale* W. T. Aiton, is watercress, which is useful as an antiscorbutic, but whose seeds do not appear to have been used medicinally.

[132] André (1956: 71–2), under *cardamomum*: 'borrowed from the Greek *kardamōmon*, constructed through haplology [the omission of one sound or syllable which should be repeated] of *kardamon* … + *amōmon*' (*empr. au gr. καρδάμωμον, composé avec haplologie de κάρδαμον (v.* cardamum) + *ἀμωμον*; see Dioscorides, Bk I, Chapter 6). André has (here translated from the French): 1. Cardamom, the fruit of *Elettaria cardamomum* (L.) Maton [with references]. 2. In glosses, it is equivalent to *nasturtium* or *nasturtii semen* ['nasturtium seed',

seeds? Any attempt to identify *lybcorn* with cardamom has its own peculiar difficulty, in that no-one is quite sure what the cardamom of Classical times was. Theophrastus includes *kardamōmon* (κάρδάμωμον) in his list of aromatic plants (Theophrastus 1916–26: II.248–9; 9.7.3). Dioscorides begins his account of it in Book I ('Aromatics'), Chapter 5, in Goodyer's translation: 'The best Cardamomum is that which is brought out of Comagene, & Armenia, & Bosphorus; it grows too in India, & Arabia'. Drunk with water, it was good for sciatica, 'paralysis' and ruptures, and, in other concoctions, for many other medical purposes, mostly eliminative. However, in Chapter 14, Dioscorides describes another aromatic called *Amomon,* a 'little shrub', the best examples of which were brought out of Armenia. It appears to have been used much as cardamom was (Dioscorides 1934: 8–9).

Pliny has added a great deal to Dioscorides' account of *amomum* and *cardamomum*, and has perhaps become confused (Pliny the Elder 1942–83: IV.34–7; 12.28–9.48–50). His description of 'the clustered *amomum*' (*amomi uva*) appears to be concerned with its leaves and roots rather than its seeds, though these may have formed part of the 'cluster like a bunch of grapes' which was stuck together with gum. It cost sixty denarii a pound. *Cardamomum*, however, had an oblong seed (*semine oblongo*), but the best sort cost only three denarii a pound. For Pliny, cardamom was used in aromatic oils rather than in medicine (1942–83: IV.102–3; 13.2.8 and IV.308–9; 15.7.30). Discussion of Pliny's account has been going on now for at least the last two hundred years. William Vincent (1807: II.698–9) expends two pages on discussing whether Amomum and Cardamomum were the same, the latter having 'the addition of kar [*car-*] from its resembling an heart, which it does'.[133] Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 644, 646, 648) give the best brief history of cardamoms which I have yet found:

> Cardamoms … may have been used in India from a remote period. It is not unlikely that in common with ginger and pepper they reached Europe in classical times, although it is not possible from the descriptions that have come down to determine exactly what was the Καρδάμομον of Theophrastus and Dioscorides or the Ἄμωμον of the last-named writer. The *Amomum, Amomis* and *Cardamomum* of Pliny are also doubtful, the description he gives of the last being unintelligible as applied to anything now known by that name. In the list of Indian spices liable to duty at Alexandria, *circa* AD 176–180 … *Amomum* as well as *Cardamomum* is mentioned. St Jerome names *Amomum* together with musk, as perfumes in use among the voluptuous ecclesiastics of the 4th century. Cardamoms are named by Edrisi as a production of Ceylon, and also as an article of trade from China to Aden;[134] and in the same century they are mentioned together with cinnamon and cloves as an import in Palestine by way of Acre …
>
> The fruit of the Malabar cardamom as found in commerce is an ovoid or oblong, three-sided, three-valved capsule, containing numerous seeds arranged in three cells … each of which encloses 5 to 7 dark brown, aromatic seeds, arranged in two rows …

Goetz 1888–1923: III.556, no. 60; MS Vatican, Queen Christina 1260: *cardamomum semen nasturcii*]; through confusion with the synonym *cardamum*, inevitable when cardamom no longer arrived from the East. Compare Old Italian *cardamomo* 'garden cress' (French: *cresson Alénois*). There may be an example of this confusion in the Laud Glossary, no. 390: *Cardamomum .i. nasturcium*; and no. 866: *Kardamum .i. cicer erraticum uel nasturcium* (*Cicer arietinum* L. is the chick pea — here perhaps a red herring).

[133] Bentley and Trimen (1880: IV. no. 267, footnote) remark, cagily, '*Cardamomum,* καρδάμωμον, the name of some Indian spice in classical times'. In a fourteenth-century manuscript, edited by Hunt (1986–7: IV, no. 267), a glossator is even more noncommittal: 'Cardomomum is the fruit — or rather the seed — of a tree' (*Cardamomum: fructus est arboris vel pocius semen*).

[134] Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 644, note 3; bibliographical note to Edrisi (or Idrisi), p. 756), citing Jaubert (Idrisi 1836–40: I.73 and 51). Flückiger and Hanbury comment 'It is questionable whether *Elettaria* is intended at p.

> The fruits of several other plants of the order *Zingiberaceæ* have at various times been employed in pharmacy under the common name of *Cardamom* [from different parts of the Indian subcontinent, south-east Asia and east Africa].

Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: II. no. CVI) described the 'Lesser or Malabar Cardamomum', giving it the scientific name *Alpinia vel Matonia Cardamomum*, and having

> great pleasure in presenting to the public a correct representation of the plant which yields Cardamom seeds … A native of the mountainous parts of Malabar … The capsule is 3-celled, with three coriaceous [like leather] valves; when fresh it is fleshy, smooth, elliptic-oblong, or somewhat ovate, but becoming bluntly triangular, coriaceous and pale brown when dried. The seeds are numerous, roundish, somewhat angular, rough, each enveloped in a fine membranous evanescent tunic.

However, they go on to state that 'What the cardamom of the ancients was, it is now scarcely possible to determine', and mention, somewhat cryptically, 'the erroneous description and discordant references on the subject of cardamom in the works of Linneus; the latter illustrious author having confounded the Javanese cardamom, Amomum *compactum* of Solander, with that of Malabar'. If even Linnaeus could get it wrong, there is little hope that any of the rest of us can sort it out.

The name *cardamom* is now usually applied to *Elettaria cardamom*, which may be the same as Stephenson and Churchill's Malabar cardamom.[135] Even if it is doubtful that Pliny's cardamom was identical with the modern cardamom, Grieve's description, which is indebted to Bentley and Trimen**,** may give some idea of the general character of this spice, which seems to belong to the ginger family (Zingiberaceæ):

> The fruits are from 2/5 to 4/5 of an inch long, ovoid or oblong, bluntly triangular in section … They are three-celled, and contain in each cell two rows of small seeds … These should be kept in their pericarps and only separated when required for use … The seeds have a powerful aromatic odour, and an agreeable, pungent, aromatic taste, but the pericarps are odourless and tasteless … The Cardamom is a native of Southern India, and grows abundantly in forests 2,500 to 5,000 feet above sea level … The methods of cultivating and preparing vary in different districts … One hundred parts of the fruit yield on an average 74 parts of seeds and 26 of pericarp … [The use of the seeds] was known to the ancients. [They] contain volatile oil, fixed oil, salt of potassium, a colouring principle, starch, nitrogenous mucilage, ligneous fibre, an acrid resin, and ash.
>
> *Medicinal Action and Uses.* Carminative, stimulant, aromatic, but rarely used alone; chiefly used as an adjuvant or corrective. The seeds are helpful in indigestion and flatulence … they are said to be good for colic and disorders of the head.[136]

Stephenson and Churchill state more precisely:

> Cardamom seeds have been long employed in medicine as a valuable cordial, carminative, and stomachic. They afford a grateful warm aromatic, less heating and stimulant than many of the other species, and are, perhaps, on this account better adapted for general use. They enter into several of the officinal preparations and are frequently combined with bitters in dyspeptic cases, or with purgatives, to obviate flatulence and griping.

Pereira (1874: 456–8) wrote:

51'. For Idrisi, see above, note 53.

[135] Though their illustration of 1835 does not agree in all details with Bentley and Trimen (1880: IV. no. 267).

[136] Grieve (1976: 159–60) also wrote 'Round or Siam Cardamums are probably those referred to by Dioscorides, and called *Amomi uva* by Pliny [see above]. They are the fruits of *A. cardamomum* and *A. globosum*, growing in Java, Siam and China etc., and are nearly the size of a cherry'.

> The effects of cardamoms are … devoid of all acridity … Cardamoms are employed partly on account of their flavour, and partly for their cordial and stimulant properties. They are rarely administered alone, but generally either as adjuvants or correctives of other medicines, especially of stimulants, tonics, and purgatives.

The *New Encyclopædia Britannica* (*Micropaedia* II. under *Cardamom*) adds the details that each capsule contains '15 to 20 … hard angular seeds'. The first-century Roman encyclopaedist Celsus includes cardamom in a frequently repeated list of imported diuretics, some others of which were still known to the Anglo-Saxons and later medieval people, such as iris, saffron and costmary (Celsus 1960–61: 316–7; 3.21.7).

It is difficult, however, to know what happened to the cardamom trade after the Roman period. Hodgett (1972: 46–7) summarizes the evidence for long-distance trade in general:

> Trade over the years from the beginning of the fourth century to the end of the ninth fluctuated. In the Mediterranean basin it declined in the fourth and early fifth centuries, revived in the sixth and early seventh, was reduced again at the end of the seventh and in the early eighth centuries and probably continued at a low level throughout the ninth century … Any idea of a more severe trade depression in Carolingian than in Merovingian times is not now accepted. But that overall trade exchanges between western Europe and eastern Europe and places further east declined over the whole period is undoubtedly a fact.

It seems quite possible that, whereas the popularity of pepper continued to make it profitable to transport across vast distances, cardamom may have dropped out of the market during one of the depressions, and perhaps been replaced with a slightly different substance when trade revived.

I submit, therefore, that *lybcorn* in the early glossaries (and in the glosses copied from them), and in most of the Old English medical remedies where their use is specified, very probably meant cardamom seeds (probably species of either *Cardamomum* or *Amomum* but not capable of being identified more precisely) imported like peppercorns from the east, and used not to make the emetics and purgatives stronger, but to help in their digestion and to improve their flavour. From some of the details in the recipes, we may deduce that the seeds were imported whole in their pericarps, and husked when needed, in order to preserve their aroma. The large quantities specified, which seemed to us so dangerous, are understandable if each pericarp held fifteen to twenty seeds. Yet if *lybcorn* originally meant 'cardamom seed', the glossaries seem to show that, by the tenth century, this was forgotten, and the glossators may have assumed that, since *lybcorn* were almost exclusively found in recipes for emetics or purgatives, they must themselves have had such properties.

12.2 The later lemmata with *lybcorn*

Already in the tenth-century Cleopatra Glossary 1, *lybcorn* is teamed with a new lemma:

1.B.5 (MS 3)	*Lattyride*	lybcorn

The Harley Glossary (MS 5) of about AD 1000, and the early eleventh-century Brussels Glossary (MS 8) never equate *lybcorn* with *cartamo* and therefore have not been mentioned before. Harley has another new lemma; while Brussels repeats both this and Cleopatra's gloss, and adds yet one more:

1.B.7 (MS 5)	*Catarticum potus*	lybcorn
1.B.9 (MS 8)	*catharticum*	libbcorn
1.B.10 (MS 8)	*lattyride*	libcorn
1.B.11 (MS 8)	*Tytymalosca*	libcorn

The twelfth-century Durham Glossary includes all the earlier pairings (including *cartamo* in 1.B.14, as already discussed), and adds other complicating factors:

1.B.12 (MS 14)	*Catharticum*	lybbcorn
1.B.13 (MS 14)	*citocatia*	libbcorn
1.B.15 (MS 14)	*lactirias uel lactirida*	gythcorn[137] *uel* libcorn
1.B.16 (MS 14)	*Titumalosca calatides, id est lacteridas*	libcorn

These lemmata are by no means as easy to identify as we would like, and the published comments are exceedingly complicated and confusing. It is necessary to summarize and simplify to some degree. To begin with the simplest and most general lemma, *catharticum* poses no problems in translation: 'a cathartic, a purgative'.[138] It is possible that this arose because of confusion of *catharticum* with *cartamo*, as Wülcker implied in his note to the Brussels gloss: 'Read *carthamus*'. *Citocatia* may also have had a general meaning. It is not firmly identified, but there is a reference in Isidore's *Etymologies:* 'called *citocatia* because it purges the stomach quickly' (*Citocatia vocata quod ventrem cito depurgat*; Isidore of Seville 1911: II. (no pagination); 17.9.65). Perhaps, like *catharticum,* it could be used for any purgative herb.[139]

The *lattyride* of the Brussels Glossary (1.B.10) is presumably for the accusative case of the Greek *lathyris*, and the reference appears to be to a plant with a lactic (milky) juice.[140] The connection with milkiness is maintained in the Durham Glossary (1.B.15–16) in *lactirias* and the related forms, which appear to be versions of the Latin equivalent to *lathyris*, somewhat influenced by Latin *lac* 'milk'.[141] Moreover, the *calatides* of 1.B.16 is usually taken to be a distortion of *galactites* 'milky'.[142] As for *tyty-/tytumalosca*, Lindheim (1941: 18, 73, no. 325) takes it to be a distortion of *tithymallus*, and there can be no doubt that he is right. He cites as a parallel the heading of *Herbarium* Chapter CX: '*Herba tytymallus calatites*, þæt ys lacterida', 'The herb *tytymallus calatites*, that is *lacterida*' (De Vriend 1984: 19).[143]

[137] I leave for discussion in Section 13 the equation of *lybcorn* with *gythcorn*. Note that 1.B.15 is the same as 2.B.4.

[138] Lindheim (1941: 40, note to no. 104) takes this gloss to refer to *Euphorbia lathyris* L. The DMLBS defines *catharticus* simply as 'cathartic, purgative'.

[139] André (1956), under *citocacia*, suggests various purgative plants. It is sometimes surmised that *citocatia* is a mistake for *colocasia* (see Cockayne 1864–6: III.301, note κολοκάσια). Lindheim (1941: 43, note to MCOE reference DurGl 122) does not agree, but refers to Cockayne (1864–6: II.397) where he suggests that *lybcorn* was used for a purgative such as *Cucumis colocinthis* L. (colocynth, bitter cucumber) or *Euphorbia lathyris* L. (caper spurge). Therefore, he seems to have taken *citocatia* as a distortion of Greek κολόκυνθα 'gourd, cucumber'. See also the DMLBS, under *citocatia*.

[140] André (1956: 181, translated from French), under *lathyris*: transliteration of Greek λαθυρίς (Dioscorides, Bk 4, Chapter 166). 1. Spurge (French *épurge*) (*Euphorbia lathyris* L.) (Pliny the Elder 1942–83: VII.446–7; 27.71.95). 2. A name given by analogy to another purgative plant (Goetz 1888–1923: III.540, no. 34): *latridos* (gen), *id est cucumeris amari*, 'that is, of the bitter cucumber'. See also the DMLBS, under *lathyris*.

[141] André (1956, translated from the French), under *lacterida*, 'a latinised form created from the accusative case of Greek λαθυρίς with the popular influence of *lac*'. *Lacteridas* appears in the list of plants which Charlemagne wished to be grown in gardens on the imperial estates; see Boretius and Krause (1883–97: I.90), unfortunately without any kind of identification.

[142] André (1956: 145): under *galatita*, he cites the Hermeneumata Glossary (Goetz 1888–1923: III.577, no. 41; MS Vatican, Queen Christina 1260, s.x): *titimalos .i. galatita*; under *galatiti(s)*, f. (Goetz 1888–1923: III.564, no. 54; same manuscript): *galatiti i. titimalus*; also Greek γαλακτίς (*galaktis*) 'Euphorbia'.

[143] This is confirmed by the label to the illustration on fol. 52r of the MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.iii, which reads *lacterida titimallos calatites*, and the beginning of Chapter CX (De Vriend 1984: 152–3): 'This herb which is called *titymallos calatites* & by another name *lacterida*' (*Đeos wyrt þe man titymallos calatites ⁊ oþrum naman lacteridan nemneþ*).

D'Aronco (1995) has studied the effect of the *Herbarium* translation on the Anglo-Saxon glossaries.[144] Whereas in the three oldest glossaries (Épinal, Erfurt and Corpus) there were between thirty-one and thirty-six plant-names taken from pseudo-Apuleius and pseudo-Dioscorides, there were sixty to seventy in the mid tenth-century Cleopatra and Antwerp glossaries, eighty-four in the early eleventh-century Brussels manuscript glossaries, and about 120 in the twelfth-century Durham and Laud glossaries. D'Aronco argues that these last three glossaries 'depend to a very great degree on the translation of the Herbal', and concurs with Cockayne (1864–6: I.lxxxvii) that 'where they agree with it, [they] are not to be accounted as independent confirmations'. The forms in the related glosses 1.B.11 (Brussels, MS 8) and 1.B.16 (Durham, MS 14) appear to be distorted borrowings from Chapter CX of the *Herbarium*, though the *Herbarium* makes no mention of *lybcorn*. Likewise, 1.B.15 (Durham) appears to be indebted to the *Herbarium*, Chapter CXIII, discussed below.

Most editors of the Old English *Herbarium* text have taken as their basis the illustrated MS 11. However, the earliest extant manuscript of the complex is MS 7 (probably dating from about the year AD 1000) which itself was copied from 'an exemplar in which the leaves were disordered at two points' (D'Aronco). Scholars, including De Vriend (1984: xlii–xliii), believed that the translation found in these manuscripts[145] could have been made as early as the eighth century. However, D'Aronco has argued convincingly that the careful compilers of Bald's *Leechbook*, working no later than the mid tenth century, would have used the *Herbarium* translation if it had been available to them. Instead, wherever they reproduce the substance of a chapter of the *Herbarium*, it is always in an entirely different translation (compare, for example, remedies 2.A.5 and 2.A.11). However, the compiler of the *Lacnunga* (which is only found on folios 130–93 in MS 7, following the *Herbarium* translation on folios 1–129) borrows from it directly.

Scholars have usually assumed that the milky plant (*lacterida)* of the glossaries and the *Herbarium* was *Euphorbia lathyris*, the caper spurge (see Bierbaumer 1975–9: II.74; III.154), and have looked to the illustrations in MS 11 for confirmation. The one for the *Herbarium*, Chapter CX, is in the direct tradition.[146] It could be distantly related to the representation labelled 'titimallos' in the seventh-century Codex Neapolitanus (Pavord 2005: plate 23), and bears a clear relationship to that in the ninth- or tenth-century Montecassino Latin manuscript,[147] and that in the 1481 *editio princeps* of the *Herbarium Pseudo-Apuleius*.[148] To our eyes, the flowering heads might resemble those of an umbellifer rather than a spurge.[149] The opposed leaves in all illustrations are tiny, and unlike those of *Euphorbia lathyris*.[150]

[144] Professor D'Aronco was kind enough to give me an English translation of her important paper, the English title of which is 'The Old English Herbal: a proposed dating for the translation', from which I quote below. See also D'Aronco (2003: 145–6).

[145] Also in MS 12 (Hatton 76) and (alphabetized) in MS London, British Library, Harley 6258 B (probably of the later twelfth century). See De Vriend (1984: xi–xli).

[146] There is a facsimile in D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: folios 52r and 53r).

[147] MS Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, V.97, no. CVIIII.

[148] Both are reproduced in facsimile in Hunger (1935: 102–3).

[149] In the early twelfth-century MS 17, *Herbarium*, no. XCIX, fol. 50v (facsimile in Gunther 1925), the plant is perhaps even more stylised, but the flower heads are less even and umbellifer-like. Gunther (1925: 119) remarks that the illustration looks 'fairly like a Spurge. It shows a plant with opposite leaves, possibly *E. Helioscopia*'. Its English gloss is *Pintelvurt*.

[150] Lindheim (1941: 18, 73, note 325) however, identified *tithymallus* as *Euphorbia myrsinites* L. (myrtle spurge, creeping spurge), whose medicinal qualities I have been unable to discover.

As already indicated, another plant in the Old English *Herbarium* relevant to this enquiry is in Chapter CXIII. The illustrations for *Herbarium* Chapter CXIII (*Lactyrida*) vary from one manuscript to another rather more than those for Chapter CX (*Titymallos*), but MS 11, the Montecassino manuscript (number CXII) and the *editio princeps* illustration (Hunger 1935: 104–5) all have a straight stem with large, opposed, lanceolate leaves, with two symmetrically curved branches and the stem forming a trident at the top, with smaller opposed leaves. The large bottom leaves do bear some similarity to those of caper spurge, but the rest is unlike it. The labels against the illustration in the Vitellius C.iii manuscript (MS 11) read 'Gyðcorn [*giðcorn*] lactirida', the form of the name in the text and in the heading is *giðcorn*.[151] De Vriend (1984: 314) suggests that this is spurge laurel (*Daphne laureola* L.), but Lindheim (1941: 18, 73), distinguishing between *tithymallus* and *lactirida*, identified the latter as *Euphorbia lathyris* 'caper spurge'.[152] It appears then, that the Brussels glosses (MS 8), 1.B.10 and 1.B.11, and the Durham glosses (MS 14), 1.B.15 and 1.B.16, were influenced by the *Herbarium*, Chapters CX and CXIII rather than *vice versa*. This conclusion concords not only with the fact that the earliest manuscript of the *Herbarium* translation (MS 7) antedates those of the two glossaries, but also with the fact that the Durham Glossary alone has the equation *lactirida* = *gythcorn* = *lybcorn* (which will be discussed later).

The illustration in the manuscript from Bury St Edmunds (MS 17; Gunther 1925: fol. 52r, no. CII) retains the straight stem, but the leaves sprouting from it are much longer and thinner than those in the other sources and, instead of the two symmetrical, inwardly curved branches at the top, there are four drooping stems, all of which, along with the apex of the main stem, are tipped with almost diamond-shaped objects — leaves? Flowers? Seeds? Gunther (1925: 120) remarks tersely 'Figure hopeless'. The big surprise comes, however, in the English labels. One, 'lebcor' (?for *lebcorn*), is hardly visible in the facsimile; the other 'lebecorn', is clear enough. Instead of MS 11's *giðcorn*, therefore, we have the old-fashioned *lybcorn* in a Middle English guise. Gunther (1925: xv) remarks that the Bury monks must have made use of their herbal, because 'most of the plants therein described have had English plant-names added in handwritings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries'; he does not commit himself to a dating of the glosses on folio 52r. Did the later medieval scribe copy these from another *Herbarium* manuscript? None of the four still extant has this gloss, in any form. Did he know of a glossary equation of *lybcorn* or *giðcorn*, and replace the one with the other, updating its form? Or had the plant-name *lybcorn* somehow survived in the local dialect so late in the Middle Ages?

It is not surprising, then, as a result of these varied lemmata, that *lybcorn* has most frequently been identified with caper spurge (*Euphorbia lathyris*) (Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.99; II.78; III.165). Grieve (1976: 765) has, under 'Spurges':

> CAPER SPURGE, *E[uphorbia] lathyris*: Has a milky juice of an acrid nature. Its seeds yield an abundance of fine clear oil called oil of Euphorbia … it is … a very violent poison,

[151] There are facsimiles in D'Aronco and Cameron (1998: fols. 16r and 53r).

[152] Lindheim (1941: 18, no. 325, note 325; 73, no. 325): '*Titumalosca* belongs to tithymallus. The Brussels gloss offers a parallel, likewise the Herbarium CX: *herba titymallas calatites þæt ys lacterida*. Probably, however, one has to reckon with two different plants. Greek τιθύμαλλος καρυίτης is the 'nutforming wolf's milk' (Euphorbia Myrsinites L.) while *lacterida* is probably to be equated with … 'broad-leaved wolf's milk' (Euphorbia lathyris L.)' (Titumalosca *stellt sich zu* tithymallus … *Eine Parallele bietet die Brüsseler Gl. … sowie Herb[arium] CX … Wahrscheinlich hat man aber mit zwei verschiedenen Pflanzen zu rechnen. Gr. τιθύμαλλος καρυίτης ist die 'nussförmige Wolfsmilch' (Euphorbia Myrsinites L), während* lacterida *wohl mit gr. λαθυρίς, 'breitblättrige Wolfsmilch' (Euphorbia lathyris L) zusammenzubringen ist*).

> producing violent purgation … In doses of 5 drops it is said to be less acrid and irritating than croton oil; it must be recently extracted. The seeds to the number of twelve or fifteen are used by the country people in France as a purgative. The … leaves are vesicant and are used by beggars to produce ulcers by which to excite pity; the juice is depilatory; the seeds contain æsculetin in the free state.

The medicinal power of such seeds was certainly known to the Anglo-Saxons from an early period: some were found in a 'workbox' in a disturbed late seventh-century grave (presumably of a woman) at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber.[153] According to Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: III. no. CXLII), oil from the seeds acts as a very mild purgative, producing neither vomiting, cholic nor tenesmus. The adult dose is from four to eight drops.

Yet it is clear, from what Grieve writes, that if seeds of caper spurge had been used in the medical recipes cited in the numbers stated, then death must very often have resulted. Since the remedies themselves are witness that the properties and 'Medicinal Action' of the herbs specified were well known, I can only conclude that the remedies with the larger numbers of *lybcorn* were concocted, compiled or simply translated into Old English at a time when *lybcorn* did not mean anything so deadly as caper spurge. Cardamom seeds would fill the bill admirably. Soon after the compilation of the Leechbooks, the original use of the term *lybcorn* may have been forgotten, perhaps because the seeds (whether cardamom or not) had ceased to be imported from the East for some while. Since the *lybcorn* were always used in emetics and purgatives, however, it came to be believed that they themselves had purgative qualities. At the beginning of this essay, evidence was presented to show that the meaning of the word *lyb* itself varied between 'medical remedy' and 'magic charm'. As time went on, and magic gained a worse and worse reputation, perhaps a *lybcorn* came to be something of bad repute, and the word could be used for the poisonous seeds of caper spurge, the common garden weed, instead of the tasty and easily digested imported cardamoms.

13. The relationship between *lybcorn* and *giþcorn*

Finally, there is the problem of the equation of *lybcorn* with *giþcorn* in 1.B.14 from the Durham Glossary (MS 14), reinforced by the equation of both with *lactirida* (see Section 12.2 above). Unfortunately, the identity of *giþcorn* is as much of a mystery as *lybcorn* is, and to discuss it in as much detail would mean that this paper would be twice as long. I am therefore concentrating on merely establishing whether there are significant differences in *usage* between the two. I have catalogued all the occurrences of *giþcorn* in Appendix 2.

14. *Giþcorn* citations

As can be seen from Appendix 2, there are twenty-two extant ocurrences of *giþcorn*, fourteen in medical texts (A) and seven in glossaries (B). Appendix 2C shows the related citations (all from texts of the *Herbarium* in the complete translation); this leaves sixteen independent occurrences of *giþcorn*.

[153] Grave II (Drinkall and Foreman 1998: 95). See also Meaney (1981: 62–4, 184).

15. *Giþcorn* in the Old English *Herbarium*

To prove or disprove the identity of *lybcorn* and *giþcorn*, it is necessary to look, even if only briefly, at the ways in which *giþcorn* is used in other medical remedies, for *lybcorn* and *giþcorn* never appear together. Indeed, there are only six remedies altogether in Old English which use *giþcorn*. I will begin discussion of *giþcorn* with the already-cited relevant entries in the so-called *Herbarium of Apuleius.* As we have seen, Chapter CXIII, headed *Herba lactyrida, þæt is giþcorn* (Numbers 2.A.6–14 from MSS 7, 11 and 12) has only one prescription, which is a translation from Latin.[154] It is a remedy 'against hardness of the intestine', and, as is very common for *Herbarium* remedies, the plant (in this case, only its seed) is used as a simple (by itself); certainly a seed with purgative properties is indicated. *Lybcorn*, however, was most commonly prescribed in compound medicines.

Herbarium Chapter CX is also of interest here. Though it is not associated with the name *giþcorn*, it is also called *lacterida,* and its heading *Herba tytymallus calatites, þæt ys lacterida* (De Vriend 1984: 19, 152–5) may have provided the lemmata for the Durham gloss 1.B.16, *libcorn* (as discussed in Section 12.2 above). It has three remedies: a potion for 'pain of the intestines' (*innoða sare*), and two salves, one for warts, and one for skin disease. None of these uses the seed: the first two specify the juice of the plant, the last the sprouts. A spurge might well have been effective in these contexts, but dangerously so. None of the remedies specifying the inclusion of *lybcorn* bears any substantial resemblance to the three in the *Herbarium*, Chapter CX. The only other herbal ingredient included in any of them is in the salve for warts: juice of *clufþung*.[155]

16. *Giþcorn* in the Leechbooks

The substance of *Herbarium*, Chapter CXIII (2.A.11) is also found in *Leechbook III* (MS 4; 2.A.5), though in a different (simplified and almost certainly earlier) translation from the Latin. The *Leechbook III* translator, however, has made an elementary mistake: he has rendered Latin *aqua calida* as 'cold water', when it should be 'warm'. As mentioned in Section 12.2, D'Aronco (1995) has shown that other fragments of the earlier translation (or translations) of the *Herbarium* are found elsewhere in the *Leechbooks*.

Giþcorn is only found elsewhere in *Leechbook III* as one of the forty-three herbs used to make a salve (2.A.4) 'For a bite' (*Wiþ bite*) which Cockayne (1864–6: II.312–13) translates as 'cancer', but which, it seems to me, in context could also mean 'sting'. This complicated salve could well have been made in quantity to counteract frequently occurring irritations due to insect bites or nettle stings. Only a few of the other herbal ingredients in this remedy were used in the remedies employing *lybcorn*, even if they were for external application. They are listed under their Old English names in Appendix 2, but since their individual effect would have been minimal, I am not discussing or identifying them further.

[154] Compare MS Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, V.97, of the ninth or tenth century (see De Vriend 1984: 157): '*Herba laterida* 1. For hardness of the stomach. The seed of the *laterida*, which is a grain; give this same grain, cleansed, to be drunk in warm water. It will soon stimulate evacuation' (*Herba laterida* 1. *Ad duritiam ventris. Herbae latyridae semen quod est granum, dabis ipsum granum purgatum potui in aqua calida, mox alveum excitat*).

[155] Which translates the Latin *botrachi herbae suco*. Bierbaumer (1975–9: II.24) identifies *clufþung* as *Ranunculus sceleratus* L., the celery-leaved buttercup. Buttercup juice is notorious for inflaming and blistering the skin (see Grieve 1976: 149), and presumably would have combined with acrid spurge juice to burn away the warts.

Giþcorn is not found in the *Lacnunga*: there is only one occurrence in the first book of Bald's *Leechbook* (2.A.1; MS 4), in a recipe 'For worms' (*Wiþ wyrmum*). If intestinal worms are meant, this was presumably a kind of purgative. Five herbs, including *giþcorn*, are to be boiled in wine; they are *eoforþrote*, *merce*, *betonice* and *nefte*, none of which are associated with *lybcorn* under these names. They have tentatively been identified, respectively, as carline thistle,[156] (wild) celery,[157] betony,[158] and catmint.[159]

From Chapter 59 of Book II of Bald's *Leechbook*, which is only preserved in the later MS 10, there is a remedy (2.A.2) for the 'half-dead' illness, which may mean paralysis following a stroke. 'As many *giþcorn* as medics know should go in a herbal potion, and suitable herbs' should be used to make a purgative or diuretic, to be administered after bloodletting. The instructions for *lybcorn* are often very precise; these could hardly be vaguer.

Finally, there is a recipe in the same book (2.A.3; MS 4) for a potion 'If there be constipation' (*Gif utgang forseten sie*). Its ingredients are 'a good handful of *giþcorn* leaves, the lower part of the rough *wegbræde* (plantain),[160] & the Dock that floats'.[161] As with *lybcorn* and perhaps also with *sundcorn*, the name for the seed seems to have been used for the whole plant.

As can be seen, therefore, there are considerable differences in detail between the ways in which *lybcorn* and *giþcorn* appear in the Old English medical texts. *Lybcorn* are far more frequent, appearing in about twenty remedies, in all the *Leechbooks* and the *Lacnunga*, but not in the *Herbarium*. *Giþcorn* only appear five times, also in all the *Leechbooks*, in the *Herbarium*, but not in the *Lacnunga*. *Lybcorn* are sometimes specified to be used in very large numbers, whereas numbers of *giþcorn* are never specified — the only reference to quantity being either to hand the decision to the medic, or to use a 'good handful' of leaves. *Lybcorn* are specified to be used most often in emetics, less often in purgatives, and once in a salve; *giþcorn* appear to be mostly used in purgatives, but also once in a salve. The herbs associated with the *lybcorn* and *giþcorn* tend to be different; whereas those used with *lybcorn* usually have strongly emetic or purgative qualities, those with *giþcorn* are less specialized.

17. *Giþcorn* in the glossaries

One difference between the *lybcorn* and the *giþcorn* glosses is immediately apparent: *giþcorn* does not appear in any glossary manuscript earlier than the early eleventh-century Antwerp

[156] *Eoforþrote*. Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.54–5): 'carline thistle' (*Carlina vulgaris* L.); Grieve (1976: 800–801: 'In large doses [it] is purgative'. See also Fernie (1914: 511), and Stuart (1979: 167).

[157] *Merce*. Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.104; II.83; III.170): 'celery' (*Apium graveolens* L.); Grieve (1976: 182): 'Carminative, stimulant, diuretic, tonic'. See also Stuart (1979: 154).

[158] *Betonice*, 'betony'. See the discussion under 'Bisceopwyrt' at Section 8.8 above.

[159] *Nefte*. Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.109): 'catmint' (*Nepeta cataria* L.). It is in the list of 'herbs' recommended by Charlemagne (see Boretius and Krause 1883–97: I.90); Meyer (1854–7: III.401, 406). See also Wren (1915: 61); Grieve (1976: 173–5): 'Carminative, tonic, diaphoretic, refrigerant … specially antispasmodic, and mildly stimulating'. See also Bentley and Trimen (1880: III. no. 209); Stuart (1979: 228); and Priest and Priest (1982: 86–7).

[160] *Þa ruwan wegbrædan nioþowearde*; Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.139): *ruh* 'rough, hairy', therefore 'the lower part of Hoary Plantain' (*Plantago media* L.) Grieve (1976: 640–3) writes that the medicinal virtues of the plantains were highly esteemed, especially for bowel complaints.

[161] *Doccan, þa þe swimman wille*, literally 'the dock which floats', which Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.47) argues must be the water lily, probably the European yellow pond-lily (*Nuphar advena* (Aiton) W. T. Aiton), sometimes called *Spatterdock* or *Flatterdock*. Grieve (1976: 484) writes that it may be substituted for the white pond-lily, whose root is said to be astringent, demulcent and anodyne. It also seems possible that this could be one of the water docks, either the red dock (*Rumex aquaticus* L.), see Wren 1915: 295: 'Alterative, deobstruent, detergent'; Grieve 1976:

Glossary (MS 9). The other three manuscripts in which it occurs — Ashmole (MS 13), Durham (MS 14) and Laud (MS 15) — are from the twelfth century:

2.B.1 (MS 9)	*Herba munda*	giþcorn
2.B.2 (MS 9)	*Citicotia*	giþcorn
2.B.3 (MS 13)	*lacteridis*	giðcorn
2.B.4 (MS 14)	*Lactirias uel lactirida*	gythcorn *uel* libcorn
2.B.5 (MS 14)	*Magdalis*	gythcorn
2.B.6 (MS 15)	*citicotia .i. lacter. uel*	gutcorn.
2.B.7 (MS 15)	*Laterida .i.*	geþcorn

Only two of the lemmata listed have not been found glossed by *lybcorn*. The first, *herba munda* is not firmly identified; Förster (1917: 134, no. 213, note 2) suggests that *munda* is for *mundatoria,* 'cleansing, ?purging'. The second lemma is *magdalis*, which Bierbaumer (1975–9: III.112–13), referring to André (1956), argues to be a corruption of *amygdaloides*, a synonym of *titimallus*, a kind of spurge. The DMLBS (under *magdalis*) suggests wood spurge (*Euphorbia amygdaloides* L.), and Grieve (1976: 765–6) writes that the bark of its roots has a reputation as a febrifuge, and that its milky juice may remove warts but may hurt the surrounding skin.[162]

Again unlike *lybcorn*, whose last appearance is in the early twelfth-century Durham Glossary (except for a gloss written into a Bury St Edmunds manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 130), *giþcorn* continues to appear well into the Middle English period, though sometimes quite distorted, and often being reduced to the first element. Occurring in MS British Library, Harley 978, folio 24, apparently written in the mid thirteenth century, is *Spurgia i. spurge i. guweorn* (for *guþcorn*?).[163] In Hunt's invaluable lists of medieval English plant names from about 1280 until the later fifteenth century, *gitthorn, guth[c]orn* glosses *lacterides,*[164] and *git[h]* renders *cockle* (*cokel, kokkele* and other spellings).

18. *Giþrife* and *git*

In modern terms, the cereal crop weed corncockle is *Agrostemma githago* L., and scholars have usually equated this with the Old English plant name *giþrife* (with variants ranging to *gyðhrofan*), but dissociated it from *giþcorn* (Bierbaumer 1975–9: I.69, 73; II.52–3; III.112–13). *Giþrife* is a very common ingredient of medical remedies; it appears in twenty-two from the first book of Bald's *Leechbook*, three from the second book, six from *Leechbook III*, and five from the *Lacnunga*. The symptoms they were designed to alleviate vary from lung disease to heart ache, leg ache, sour milk, headache, wounds (both as a potion and as a salve), madness, diarrhoea, throat swelling, breast pain, inability to pass water, swellings, fever, jaundice, continual thirst, the devil's trials, 'devil sickness' and pox. Perhaps the most frequent use was as an ingredient in a wound salve (DOE under *giþrife*). The pattern of usage is therefore very different from that of *lybcorn*, which was virtually restricted to emetics and

259–60), or the great water dock (*Rumex Hydrolapathum* Huds.; see Stephenson and Churchill 1834–6: III. no. CXXXIII*)*. The docks, however, do not, literally, float. Their roots are astringent and were used as a stomach tonic.

[162] See also Howald and Sigerist (1927: 192, line 16 and notes, no. CIX): *Herba Titimallus.*

[163] Wright (1884: I.xiv, column 557, no. 7). See also Förster (1917: 134–5, note 2).

[164] Hunt (1989: 127, 153); also Hunt (1986–7: 111, no. 104): *Gith: agrimulatum, nigella idem, g. neel, a. cokel*; (1986–7: 122, no. 5): *Agrimilatum: .i. melanchium .i. gith*. The manuscript was copied in the early fourteenth century. See also Harvey (1981: 166).

purgatives. I conclude that *giþrife* has no connection with *lybcorn*, and can henceforth be ignored.

Git is mentioned by Pliny, who remarks that 'it is poisonous if taken in too large doses, a fact more remarkable because the seed actually makes a most pleasant seasoning for loaves of bread'. Its medical uses were many and varied (Pliny the Elder 1942–83: VI.106–7; 20.71.182–4). It is also found in the list of 'herbs' recommended by Charlemagne (see Boretius and Krause 1883–97: I.90), and is identified by Meyer (1854–7: III.401, 405) with *Nigella sativa* L., a native of south Asia, variously called 'black seed', 'fennel flower' or 'Roman coriander' in English. Meyer rejects *Agrostemma githago* 'corn cockle', on the grounds that it is 'scarcely cultivated' (*schwerlich cultivirt*). André (1956: 149), citing mostly Classical sources, also equates *git* with *Nigella sativa*. According to Grieve (1976: 297–8) its aromatic seeds were used as a condiment and 'as a corrigent or adjuvant of purgative and tonic medicines'. It is tempting to postulate that when cardamom seeds (?*lybcorn*) became impossible to obtain, they might have been replaced by Roman coriander seeds (?*giþcorn*), but our lack of knowledge concerning these aspects of the spice trade in early medieval times does not allow us to draw any firm conclusions.

19. Other possible substitutes for *lybcorn*

Other seeds may have been used as substitutes for cardamoms; for example, those of coriander (*Coriandrum sativum* L.):

> a native of Italy and the East … The seeds when fresh have … a disagreeable odour, but by drying they become grateful; to the taste, they are moderately warm and pungent, and have a pleasant aromatic odour … The fruit is globular, obscurely striated, and divisible into two hemisperical mericarps … The seeds are … carminative and stomachic, and hence are frequently added to infusions of senna, and to other cathartics; to cover the unpleasant taste, and to obviate the irritating effects they are apt to produce on the stomach and the bowels.[165]

It was among the herbs whose culture Charlemagne enjoined in 812 (see Boretius and Krause 1883–97: I.90; and Section 10 above). It is Chapter CIV in the *Herbarium*, where the seeds are credited with magic power to speed up childbirth.[166]

Likewise, the seeds of fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare* Mill.) might also have served the same function. Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 308–10) relate that its aromatic fruits were used by the Romans, and that Charlemagne 'enjoined its cultivation on the imperial farms' (see Boretius and Krause 1883–97: I.90). It is Chapter CXXVI in the *Herbarium*, and the illustration on folio 55v in the British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.iii manuscript suggests an umbellifer. The two remedies for which it is suggested are for a cough, and for bladder pain; neither uses the seed. Fennel is now a well-known garden herb, but grows wild in most parts of Europe and is especially common in the Mediterranean region. When Bentley and Trimen (1880: II. no. 123) were writing, several varieties of fennel seeds were:

> known in commerce … Wild Fennel fruits are short, dark coloured … and have a less agreeable flavour and colour than those of sweet fennel [a variety of *Foeniculum*

[165] Stephenson and Churchill 1834–6: II. no. 94. See also Pereira (1874: 762–3); and Bentley and Trimen (1880: II. no. 133). Flückiger and Hanbury (1879: 329–31) relate that the ripe fruits were used as a spice by the Jews and the Romans, and in medicine, from a very early period.

[166] De Vriend (1984: 150–1, 312); the illustration on fol. 51r is unfortunately almost eaten away by a destructive

> *vulgare*]; they are not official … Fennel fruits … are aromatic, stimulant, and carminative, resembling in these particulars the fruits of anise, caraway and dill.[167]

20. General conclusion

As we have seen, the meaning of *lybcorn* seems to have changed over time, to judge from the lemmata associated with it in the glossaries. It seems that, because of its use as an adjuvant in prescriptions for emetics and purgatives, when it became unavailable it was believed to have been itself an emetic or purgative. Perhaps *giþcorn* first denoted a substitute for *lybcorn* — Roman coriander or umbellifer seeds for cardamom seeds. Whether this was so or not (and it seems almost impossible to establish this with confidence), it seems certain that in the late Anglo-Saxon period both the words *lybcorn* and *giþcorn* came to be used for seeds with a purgative effect, and in the mind of one twelfth-century glossator were regarded as synonymous. In particular, both names appear to have been used for the seeds of caper spurge (*Euphorbia lathyris*).[168] However, one can only hope that no medic was rash enough to include a hundred or even forty caper spurge seeds in his potions — if he had, his patients would not have survived.

pigment.

[167] See also Pereira (1874: 759–60).

[168] Stracke (1974: 83, note to entry 276) quotes Cockayne (1864–6: II.397) as identifying *lybcorn* as 'a grain of purgative effect, especially the seeds of various euforbias, probably also the seeds of some of the gourds, as momordica elaterium, cucumis colocynthis'. Cockayne (1864–6: II.388), Bierbaumer (1975–9: I.69; II.52; III.112–3) and De Vriend (1984: 314) suggest for *Herbarium*, Chapter CXIII, headed *Gyðcorn lactirida*, a Daphne, perhaps spurge laurel (*Daphne laureola* L.) De Vriend comments (1984: 313, note to no. CX): 'Cf. this chapter with CXIII. Both deal with plants that secrete a milky juice; there is no agreement as to which plant is described here and which in CXIII'. However, it appears from the descriptions of the Daphnes that it was their bark which was used in medicine, not their seeds, which are poisonous: see Stephenson and Churchill (1834–6: II. no. LXV); Pereira (1874: 565–8); and Bentley and Trimen (1880: III. nos. 225–7).

Appendix 1: *Lybcorn* catalogue

Citations are of two kinds: from medicinal recipes (A), and from glosses (B). Each category is listed separately, chronologically according to the date of the manuscript in which it occurs. Manuscripts, numbered chronologically, are listed with detailed references, in Appendix 3.

MS	*CNo.*	*Source*	*Short Title & Reference*	*Spelling*
4	1.A.1	Bald: Leechbook I	Lch II (1) 2.23.9	*lybcorn*
4	1.A.2	Bald: Leechbook I	Lch II (1) 63.1.1	*lybcorna*
4	1.A.3	Bald: Leechbook II	Lch II (2) 52.1.1	*lybcorna*
4	1.A.4	Bald: Leechbook II	Lch II (2) 52.1.18	*lybcorna*
4	1.A.5	Bald: Leechbook II	Lch II (2) 52.1.22	*lybcorna*
4	1.A.6	Bald: Leechbook II	Lch II (2) 52.1.27	*lybcorn*
4	1.A.7	Bald: Leechbook II	Lch II (2) 52.2.1	*lybcorna*
4	1.A.8	Bald: Leechbook II	Lch II (2) 52.3.1	*lybcorna*
4	1.A.9	Leechbook III	Lch II (3) 41.1.16	*lybcornes leaf*
4	1.A.10	Leechbook III	Lch II (3) 41.1.19	*lybcorna*
4	1.A.11	Leechbook III	Lch II (3) 42.1.1	*lybcornes leaf*
4	1.A.12	Leechbook III	Lch II (3) 67.1.3	*lybcorna*
7	1.A.13	Lacnunga	Med 3 (Grattan-Singer) 42.1	*lybcorna*
7	1.A.14	Lacnunga	Med 3 (Grattan-Singer) 44.1	*lybcorna*
7	1.A.15	Lacnunga	Med 3 (Grattan-Singer) 46.1	*lybcorna*
7	1.A.16	Lacnunga	Med 3 (Grattan-Singer) 47.1	*lybcorna*
18	1.A.17	?Bald: Leechbook II	Med 2 (Torkar) 4.1	*lybcorna*
18	1.A.18	?Bald: Leechbook II	Med 2 (Torkar) 6.1	*lybcorna*

Appendix 1A: citations from medicinal recipes

MS	*CNo.*	*Source*	*Short Title & Reference*	*Spelling*
1	1.B.1	Glossary: Erfurt	ErfGl 1 (Pheifer) 279	*lypbcorn*
2	1.B.2	Glossary: Corpus 2	CorpGl 2 (Hessels) 3.265	*lybcorn*
2	1.B.3	Glossary: Corpus 2	CorpGl 2 (Hessels) 3.371	*lybcorn*
3	1.B.4	Glossary: Cleopatra 1	ClGl 1 (Stryker) 887	*lybcorn*
3	1.B.5	Glossary: Cleopatra 1	ClGl 1 (Stryker) 3829	*lybcorn*
3	1.B.6	Glossary: Cleopatra 2	ClGl 2 (Quinn) 467	*lybcorn*
5	1.B.7	Glossary: Harley	HlGl (Oliphant) 1128	*lybcorn*
6	1.B.8	Glossary: Otho	(Junius transcript, p. 210)	*lybcorn*
8	1.B.9	Glossary: Brussels 1	BrGl 1 (Wright-Wülcker) 8.24	*libbcorn*
8	1.B.10	Glossary: Brussels 1	BrGl 1 (Wright-Wülcker) 8.89	*libcorn*
8	1.B.11	Glossary: Brussels 1	BrGl 1 (Wright-Wülcker) 8.154	*libcorn*
14	1.B.12	Glossary: Durham	DurGl (Lindheim) 104	*lybbcorn*
14	1.B.13	Glossary: Durham	DurGl (Lindheim) 122	*libbcorn*
14	1.B.14	Glossary: Durham	DurGl (Lindheim) 141	*lybbcorn*
14	1.B.15	Glossary: Durham	DurGl (Lindheim) 210	*libcorn*
14	1.B.16	Glossary: Durham	DurGl (Lindheim) 325	*libcorn*
15	1.B.17	Glossary: Laud	CollGl 26 (Stracke) 59	*lybcorn*
16	1.B.18	Glossary: Bodley 730	CollGl 25 209	*libcorn*
17	1.B.19	Glosses: Bodley 130	(Bodley 130, fol. 50v)	*lebcor, lebecorn*

Appendix 1B: citations from glosses

CNo.	*Related*	*Context*
B.1	B.2–8, 14, 17–18	Glossary entries, all reading *cartamo lybcorn*, with orthographical variations.
B.9	B.12	Glossary entries, both reading *Catharticum lybcorn*, with orthographical variation.

Appendix 1C: related citations

Appendix 2: *Giþcorn* catalogue

See the explanatory note at the beginning of Appendix 1, which also applies here.

MS	*CNo.*	*Source*	*Short Title & Reference*	*Spelling*
4	2.A.1	Bald: Leechbook I	Lch II (1) 48.2.7	*giþcorn*
4	2.A.2	Bald: Leechbook II	Lch II (Fragment) 3.2	*giðcorna*
4	2.A.3	Bald: Leechbook II	Lch II (2) 65.1.3	*giðcornes leafa*
4	2.A.4	Leechbook III	Lch II (3) 8.1	*giþcorn*
4	2.A.5	Leechbook III	Lch II (3) 70.3.1	*giþcorn*
4	2.A.6	Herbarium	Lch I (HerbHead) 113.0	*giþcorn*
4	2.A.7	Herbarium	Lch I (Herb) 113.0 (label)	*giðcorn*
4	2.A.8	Herbarium	Lch I (Herb) 113.0 (text)	*giðcorn*
4	2.A.9	Herbarium	Lch I (HerbHead) 113.0	*giþcorn*
4	2.A.10	Herbarium	Lch I (Herb) 113.0 (label)	*gyðcorn*
4	2.A.11	Herbarium	Lch I (Herb) 113.1.1	*giþcorn*
4	2.A.12	Herbarium	Lch I (HerbHead) 113.0	*giþcorn*
7	2.A.13	Herbarium	Lch I (Herb) 113.0 (label)	*guþcorn*
7	2.A.14	Herbarium	Lch I (Herb) 113.0 (text)	*giðcorn*

Appendix 2A: citations from medicinal recipes

MS	*CNo.*	*Source*	*Short Title & Reference*	*Spelling*
1	2.B.1	Glossary: Antwerp	AntGl 3 (Kindschi) 62	*giþcorn*
2	2.B.2	Glossary: Antwerp	AntGl 4 (Kindschi) 20	*giþcorn*
2	2.B.3	Herbarium (G)	OccGl 36 (Gough) 57	*giðcorn*
3	2.B.4	Glossary: Durham	DurGl (Lindheim) 210	*gythcorn*
3	2.B.5	Glossary: Durham	DurGl (Lindheim) 231	*gythcorn*
3	2.B.6	Glossary: Laud	CollGl 26 (Stracke) 366	*gutcorn*
5	2.B.7	Glossary: Laud	CollGl 26 (Stracke) 165	*geþcorn*

Appendix 2B: citations from glosses

CNo.	*Related*	*Context*
A.9	A.10–14	All refer to the plant of Herbarium, Chapter CXIII in the same or related manuscripts.
A.5	A.11	These are versions of the same remedy in Herbarium, Chapter CXIII, but in different translations from the Latin.

Appendix 2C: related citations

Appendix 3: Manuscripts containing *lybcorn* or *giþcorn*

MS 1:
Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Amplonianus F.42 (Erfurt, Stadtbücherei, Amplonianus F.42). Ker (1957), Appendix no. 10, s.ix (1): 'Glossary identical with Épinal, and supplies parts of C and all of D and E now missing from Épinal'. Bischoff et al. (1988: 19), c.820 AD.

MS 2:
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144, folios 4–64v. Ker (1957), no. 36, s. viii/ix: 'The glossary may be regarded as a fuller version of those in the Épinal and Erfurt MSS, making greater use of glossary material and rearranging the material into an AB order'. Bischoff et al. (1988: 24–5), 2/4 ix. Gneuss (2001), no. 45, s.ix (1): probably originated in south-west England; its provenance after 1100 was Canterbury, St Augustine's.

MS 3:
London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A iii, folios 5–75. Ker (1957), no. 143, s.x med. Gneuss (2001), no. 319, s.x (2/4) or x med, originated in St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.

MS 4:
London, British Library, Royal 12.D.xvii. Ker (1957), no. 264. Gneuss (2001), no. 479, s.x med, originated in Winchester?

MS 5:
London, British Library, Harley 3376, + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Misc. a. 3, folio 49, + Lawrence, University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Pryce P2A. Ker (1957), no. 240, s.x/xi. Gneuss (2001), no. 436, s.x/xi, originated in western England (at Worcester?); its provenance after 1100 was probably Worcester.

MS 6:
London, British Library, Cotton Otho E.i. Ker (1957), no. 184, s.x/xi: probably a copy of the Cleopatra Glossary 1, see Meritt (1961: 446), quoted in Bierbaumer (1975–9: III.xlvii–xlviii, note 33). The Otho manuscript now consists only of fragments left from the fire of 1731. It was copied by Junius into MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 77, but the copy is said to be incomplete and untrustworthy.

MS 7:
London British Library, Harley 585. Ker (1957), no. 231, folios 130–93; folios 130–179/10), s. x/xi. Folios from 179/11–193 are later, being xi (1). De Vriend (1984: xxiii–xxviii, MS H). Gneuss (2001), no. 421, s.x/xi and s.xi (1).

MS 8:
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1828–30 (185). Ker (1957, no. 9), s.xi in. Gneuss (2001), no. 807, s.xi.in: its provenance in s.xi/xii was the Abbey of Anvin, near Douai. Emendations by Logeman (1890) do not affect any of the quoted items.

MS 9:
Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, 47 (Salle, iii.68), + London, British Library, Add. 32246. Ker (1957), no. 2, s.xi in, xi (1). Gneuss (2001), no. 775: the glossaries are s.xi in.

MS 10:
London, British Library, Harley 55, folios 1–4. Ker (1957), no. 225, s.xi (1). Gneuss (2001), no. 412, s.xi (1): probably originated in York or Worcester? Its provenance after 1100 was Worcester. Apparently a copy of part or all of Bald's *Leechbook* II, chapter lix (now missing from MS 4).

MS 11:
London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.iii, folios 11–85. Ker (1957), no. 219, s.xi (1). De Vriend (1984: xi–xx, MS V). Gneuss (2001), no. 402, s.xi (1) or xi med., it originated in Christ Church monastery (?), Canterbury.

MS 12:
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76 (4125), folios 68–130a. Ker (1957), no. 328, s xi med. De Vriend (1984: xx–xxiii, MS B). Gneuss (2001), no. 633, s.xi med., it originated in Worcester? Its provenance after 1100 was Worcester.

MS 13:
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1431. Ker (1957), no. 289, s.xii. Gneuss (2001), no. 527, s.xi med., it originated in St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Gough (1974: 273–4): 'This manuscript contains a number of glosses of the names of herbs and the diseases for which they are remedies added between the lines and in the margins of a copy of the herbal of Apuleius that once belonged to St Augustine's, Canterbury. From what Dodwell [1954: 26 and 122] has to say about the illumination it seems clear that we may assign the origin of the MS. to St Augustine's. He also dates the manuscript earlier than Ker, between 1070 and 1100'.

MS 14:
Durham Cathedral, Hunter 100. Ker (1957), no. 110, s.xii in: For the history of the manuscript, 'which was no doubt written at Durham shortly after 1100', Ker refers to Mynors (1939: 49–50, no. 57), which states: 'Ff. 82–84v have a glossary of plant-names in Latin and Anglo-Saxon … printed inaccurately in O. Cockayne's *Leechdoms* etc… [1864–6] iii, p.299'. The glossary is dated in this work to probably between 1100 and 1128.

MS 15:
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 567, folios 68–73. Ker (1957), no. 345, s.xii: 'Most of [the glosses] containing an OE interpretation occur also in the shorter glossary in Durham, Hunter 100 [MS 14]'. See also Stracke (1974).

MS 16:
Oxford Bodleian Library, Bodley 730, folios 144–6. Ker (1957), no. 317, s.xii/xiii: glosses closely related to those in MCOE reference ClGl 2, edited by Quinn (1956). Ker writes: 'The orthography of the English glosses is throughout extremely confused'.

MS 17:
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 130. Gunther (1925), s.xii: glosses added later.

MS 18:
London, British Library, Cotton Otho B.xi. Ker (1957), no. 180, s.xi (1), + London, British Library, Add. 43703 (Nowell's transcription of Otho B.xi). Gneuss (2001), no. 357, s.xi (1); all extant parts of the manuscript originated in Winchester; its provenance after 1100 was Southwick Priory, Hampshire. Nowell's transcript dates to the sixteenth century (see Grant 1974: 112, 117 and note 4), and the Otho manuscript was nearly totally destroyed in the 1731 fire. The two remedies found in it were probably incorporated into Chapter lvi of the second book of Bald's *Leechbook*.

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