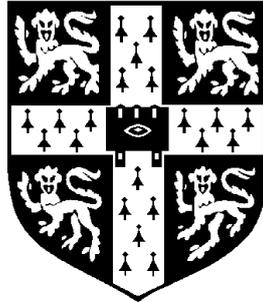


KATHLEEN HUGHES MEMORIAL LECTURES
ON MEDIAEVAL WELSH HISTORY

4

Education in Wales and Cornwall
in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries:
Understanding *De raris fabulis*

SCOTT GWARA



HUGHES HALL
AND
DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE, AND CELTIC
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Hughes Hall was founded in 1885 as the Cambridge Training College (CTC) for graduate women schoolteachers. It is therefore Cambridge's oldest Graduate College, consisting currently of around 50 Fellows and some 250 student members, now of both sexes, who study for doctoral or M.Phil. degrees or for the postgraduate diplomas and certificates offered by the University. We also have an increasing number of mature undergraduates in a variety of subjects. As a result, the academic community of Hughes Hall is now extremely diverse, including students of 45 nationalities and representing almost all the disciplines of the University. Enquiries about entry as a student are always welcome and should be addressed initially to the Admissions Tutor, Hughes Hall, Cambridge, CB1 2EW, U.K. (<http://www.hughes.cam.ac.uk/>).

An important step in this transformation came with the granting of Cambridge degrees to women in 1948: the CTC was then given the status of a 'Recognised Institution', the crucial first move towards integration with the University proper. The College took the name of CTC's charismatic first Principal, the celebrated women's educationalist Elizabeth Phillips Hughes. Apart from Miss Hughes's Welsh heritage, there is no known connexion between the College and the scholar now commemorated in this series of lectures.

Kathleen Winifred Hughes (1926-77) was the first and only Nora Chadwick Reader in Celtic Studies in the University of Cambridge. Previously (1958-76) she had held the Lectureship in the Early History and Culture of the British Isles which had been created for Nora Chadwick in 1950. She was a Fellow of Newnham College (and Director of Studies in both History and Anglo-Saxon), 1955-77. Her responsibilities in the Department of Anglo-Saxon & Kindred Studies, subsequently the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic, were in the fields of Irish, Scottish, and Welsh history of the early and central middle ages. Her achievements in respect of Gaelic history have been widely celebrated, notably in the memorial volume *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe*, published in 1982. The Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures both acknowledge her achievement in respect of Welsh history and seek to provide an annual forum for advancing the subject. Each year's lecture will be published as a pamphlet by the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic on behalf of Hughes Hall.

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PREFACE

The Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lecture in Mediaeval Welsh History was initiated as an annual event by Hughes Hall as the result of an anonymous benefaction in her memory and to mark the establishment of the Welsh Assembly. This benefaction came to the College as a result of an initiative taken by our Fellow, Dr Michael J. Franklin, Director of Studies in History and in Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic.

Each lecture will be published, both on the College's web-site (<http://www.hughes.cam.ac.uk/>) and as a printed pamphlet, to coincide with the following year's lecture. Hughes Hall is grateful to the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic for acting as hard-copy publisher.

In 2004, our Lecturer will be Dr Kenneth Dark of the University of Reading, whose subject is 'Archaeology and the Origins of Insular Monasticism'. As President, I am most grateful to our Hughes Memorial Lecture Advisory Committee – consisting of Dr Franklin, Professor Dumville, and Professor Patrick Sims-Williams (University of Wales, Aberystwyth) – for nominating distinguished scholars to be asked to be our Lecturers.

Hughes Hall hopes that this new academic initiative will make a significant scholarly contribution to the study of Welsh history and that the series will continue for many years. I am pleased to have been able to welcome it to the College's calendar.

Peter Richards
President
Hughes Hall

**EDUCATION IN WALES AND CORNWALL
IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES:
UNDERSTANDING *DE RARIS FABULIS***

For anyone studying the intellectual history of Ireland in the earlier Middle Ages ‘Kathleen Hughes’ is a name to conjure with. Some are familiar with Dr Hughes’s reputation through her first book, *The Church in Early Irish Society*, which emphasised themes of ‘diversity of both constitution and discipline’ and the deterioration of the Irish Church following the onset of the Viking-Age.¹ Even in 1966 her acknowledgments put her in context with the scholarly giants of the day. Daniel Binchy, Paul Grosjean, Kenneth Jackson, F. J. E. Raby, and Dorothy Whitelock enthusiastically promoted her erudition.² Most of us, however, know Dr Hughes’s later achievement, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources*, a veritable *summa*, published in 1972.³ Notable especially for its exacting treatment of Irish chronicling, this book especially made earlier mediaeval Ireland accessible for the first time. One admires above all the scope and organisation, the thoughtful scepticism, the rigour of the synthesis, the scrupulous regard for primary sources, and, as ever, the proficiency in Irish and Latin. For that book alone Dr Hughes explored, among other things, numismatics, genealogies, archaeology of the plough, ‘legal evidence for farming’, place-names, and the Tara brooch.⁴ Dr Hughes covered a large territory in more than one sense, for her reach extended also to Scotland and Wales.⁵ Throughout my preparation for this lecture, I have been guided by Dr Hughes’s focus on the broader Celtic world, by her intellectual zeal, by her regard for material culture, and by her dedication to Philology.

* * * * *

1 (London 1966), pp. x-xi.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. xi-xii.

3 (London 1972).

4 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

5 Some of her papers on these countries have been collected in *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources* (Woodbridge 1980).

When reflecting on education in Dark-Age Wales, one turns instantly – and appropriately – to King Alfred’s famous biographer Asser, to *Historia Brittonum*, and to well-known glossed books such as the ‘Cambridge Juvencus’ and ‘St Dunstan’s Classbook’.⁶ These sources offer significant scope for reconstructing Latin learning at various centres. When one thinks of education in Dark-Age Cornwall, however, the sources become negligible: scattershot-glosses in a few manuscripts, notably in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 572, and mostly in association with Old Welsh.⁷ Yet Cornwall may have contributed more meaningfully to at least one tradition of Insular Latin education. I shall argue that a popular method of teaching oral fluency in Latin probably originated in Cornwall whence it spread to Winchester and Canterbury. At Canterbury this method is associated exclusively with the bombastic pedagogue Ælfric Bata, the author of multiple dialogues explicitly meant to foster conversational skills in Latin.⁸ My subject is a short text published as *De raris fabulis*, ‘On uncommon tales’ or ‘On rare stories’.⁹ *De raris fabulis* is almost certainly mistitled, however. As H. H. E. Craster reasoned, an inscription near the end of the manuscript, which reads *Finit amen de aliquibus raris fabulis* should read *Finit amen. De aliquibus raris fabulis*; the last four words would then be a rubric

6 Asser’s *Life of King Alfred*, ed. William Henry Stevenson (Oxford 1904; rev. imp., 1959); *The Historia Brittonum: The ‘Vatican’ Recension*, ed. David N. Dumville (Cambridge 1985); *The Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript Glossed in Latin, Old Welsh and Old Irish: Text and Commentary*, ed. Helen McKee (Aberystwyth 2000). See also n. 27, below.

7 The other principal source is *Vocabularium Cornicum* (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, folios 7-10, written at Monmouth Priory at the very end of the twelfth century), a version of Ælfric’s ‘Glossary’. For editions see J. C. Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica* (2 vols, Leipzig 1853), II.1100-24, and (2nd edn, ed. H. Ebel, Berlin 1868-71), pp. 1065-81; *The Old Cornish Vocabulary*, ed. Eugene Van Tassel Graves (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York 1962). For discussion, see I. Williams, ‘Vocabularium Cornicum’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 11 (1941-4) 1-12.

8 On Ælfric Bata see *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, edd. & transl. Scott Gwara & D. W. Porter (Woodbridge 1997), pp. 1-15. The cognomen ‘Bata’ is as yet unexplained, although guesses as to its language and meaning have been published: see G. N. Garmonsway, ‘The development of the colloquy’, in *The Anglo-Saxons. Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. Peter Clemoes (London 1959), pp. 248-61, at p. 254, n. 2; D. W. Porter, ‘The hypocorism *Bata* – Old English or Latin?’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 96 (1995) 345-9.

9 For edition, see nn. 13-15, below.

introducing a truncated portion which follows the main series, in effect constituting ‘some *other* uncommon tales’.¹⁰

De raris fabulis (I continue to use the conventional title) consists of twenty-three Latin colloquies or conversations ostensibly between monks (including monastic officers) and oblates, the youths who had been pledged as future monks. The dialogues were used to teach spoken Latin to the boys in a monastic *schola*,¹¹ and their pedagogy is easy to intuit. Each dialogue supplies a situational prompt inviting a student to invent locutions based on a notional syllabus. In one case, for example, a brother intends to venture to a local vill (§4). He tells his boy, ‘Volo, ut exeas ad equos meos, et defer nobis duos equos, unum mihi et alterum tibi, ut equitamus in proximam uillam, in qua habetur celea’. The boy answers, ‘Ecce, eduxi equos sicut iusisti uel dixisti uel imperasti’. David Porter has adopted for this the term ‘Direct Method’ and shown that a menu of locutions can be disguised in one expression: ‘sicut iusisti ...

10 H. H. E. Craster, *apud* R. W. Hunt *et al.*, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (7 vols in 8, Oxford 1895-1953), II, pt 1, pp. 171-2; see also D. N. Dumville, ‘A *Thesaurus Palaeoanglicus*? The Celtic experience’, in *Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, ed. R. Derolez (Bruxelles 1992), pp. 59-76, at p. 66.

11 The text is modelled on a schoolbook nowadays called *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana*, known in England from the time of Archbishop Theodore (668–90) onwards; cf. A. C. Dionisotti, ‘From Ausonius’ schooldays? A schoolbook and its relatives’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 72 (1982) 83-125, at p. 91, and ‘From Stephanus to Du Cange: glossary stories’, *Revue d’histoire des textes* 14/15 (1984/5), 303-36; *Latin Colloquies from Pre-Conquest Britain*, ed. Scott Gwara (Toronto 1996), pp. 10-16; S. Gwara, ‘Ælfric Bata’s manuscripts’, *Revue d’histoire des textes* 27 (1997) 239-55, and ‘The *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana*, Latin oral fluency, and the social function of the Cambro-Latin dialogues called *De raris fabulis*’, in *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric. From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. Carol Dana Lanham (London 2002), pp. 109-38, at 110-21. The scholastic function (cf. Garmonsway, ‘The development’) seems to have been superseded when the manuscript was used as a phrasebook for pilgrims (Gwara, ‘The *Hermeneumata*’, pp. 122-3). The scribe(s) responsible for *De raris fabulis* knew little Latin, even setting aside the long lists of terms extracted from a glossary and forced ungrammatically into contexts. One or more redactors did not know the morphology of *clima*, ‘portion’; *poculum*, ‘drink’; *cupanus*, ‘cup’; *epulum*, ‘feast’; *ratus*, ‘affirmed’. Even the glossators struggled with some passages (as in §20): ‘Laua caput meum de sapuna, et relinque ... lixam ... quandiu fuero in ballenio ...’. Surely, the speaker is saying, ‘Wash my head with soap and leave the water for as long as I shall be in the bath ...’. *Relinque* has been emended from MS. *elique*, which means ‘purify’, as one Welsh reader also thought. He wrote *diglniuhit*, ‘purify’, above *elique*, translating ‘Wash my head with soap and purify the water while I am in the bath ...’. (One wonders how this might be accomplished!)

dixisti ... imperasti', 'just as you ordered ... said ... commanded'.¹² Hence, when practising Latin conversation, one may substitute words supplied in the text, or, if available, more abstruse terms from a glossary. Elsewhere in *De raris fabulis* a monk demands (§5), 'Sede in meum conclauium ... et custodi uestimenta mea et aurum et argentum et auricalcum et aes et tus et ferrum et stagnum et plumbum et totam peccuniam meam ...'. The syllabus is flexible but not infinitely so, even though the lists can be quite long. Presumably, the speaker is expected to improvise, 'custodi omne stagnum, custodi omne aurum, custodi omnia uestimenta' and so on. With the exception of a story about skirmishes between Britons and English and between Greeks and Romans (§22), the content is generally utilitarian. Most of the time the boys ask for advice on lessons, or for food and shelter. Sometimes they can be a little naughtier, asking for favours of another sort: 'Audi, uxor pulcherrima, ueni huc cito et osculare me, et pone manus tuas circa collum meum' (§11).

De raris fabulis has been edited three times, beginning with Whitley Stokes's version in 1862, following Johann Kaspar Zeuss's discovery of Brittonic glosses in the manuscript.¹³ W. H. Stevenson basically replicated Stokes's work in his posthumously published edition of 1929.¹⁴ With few changes, I edited the text again in 2002, for a volume on mediaeval grammar.¹⁵ I was less enthusiastic than Stevenson about emending what I considered to be recorded speech from the tenth century. Yet, at the very end of my labours, it occurred to me that I had misrepresented the text, something which I tried to put right in a very brief preface to the edition.¹⁶ Let me offer a quick palinode.

While *De raris fabulis* represents conversation, it should not be

12 D. W. Porter, 'The Latin syllabus in Anglo-Saxon monastic schools', *Neophilologus* 78 (1994) 463-82.

13 W. Stokes, 'Cambrica', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1860/1), 204-49, at pp. 238-49, perhaps following Th. Hersart de la Villemarqué, *Notices des principaux manuscrits des anciens bretons* (Paris 1856), pp. 16-19. For a transcription of the glosses, see Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, II.1091-6 (2nd edn, pp. 1060-3).

14 *Early Scholastic Colloquies*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford 1929), pp. 1-11.

15 Gwara, 'The *Hermeneumata*', pp. 125-35 (but without the interlinear glosses).

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 123-4.

presented like modern novelistic dialogue. Take the example which I provided above: ‘Volo, ut exeas ad equos meos, et defer nobis duos equos, unum mihi et alterum tibi, ut equitamus in proximam uillam, in qua habetur celea’ (§4). This sentence comprises many different potential phrases and clauses, some of which may be: ‘Volo ut exeas ad equos meos’...‘Volo ut equitamus in proximam uillam’... ‘Defer duos equos’...‘Defer nobis duos equos’...‘Defer unum mihi et alterum tibi’. One cannot simply look at word-substitution locally. In fact, I depicted the following message as a single sentence answering the question, ‘Vbi est abbas ...’ (§6): ‘Ad epulam perrexit siue ad conuiuium aut ad prandium uel ad cœnam, que preparata est ei in domo unius uiri de senioribus loci illius’. Such an arrangement forces us to translate, ‘he went to a feast, banquet, meal, or dinner which was prepared for him in the house of a man among the leaders of this place’. This makes sense in the light of Porter’s observation about the notional syllabus. But observe just how the components of this conversation have been concatenated in the relative clause: 1. *ei*, 2. *in domo*, 3. *unius uiri*, 4. *de senioribus*, 5. *loci illius*. Every additional unit here may be manipulated. Thus we can say, ‘which was prepared for him’ ... ‘prepared in a house’ ... ‘the house of a certain man’ ... ‘a certain man among our leaders’ ... ‘leaders of this precinct’. In fact, this syllabus could be even more flexible than hitherto realised and theoretically impossible to represent. I have charted at least eight ways of reformulating one sentence from the opening dialogue of *De raris fabulis*, ‘Est hic super pedaneum, qui est ad pædes meos uel iuxta te posui uel iuxta habetur’: 1. *Est hic*; 2. *Est super pedaneum*; 3. *Est ad pædes meos*; 4. *Iuxta te posui*; 5. *Iuxta habetur*; 6. *Est super pedaneum, qui iuxta te posui*; 7. *Est super pedaneum, qui iuxta habetur*; 8. *Est super pedaneum, qui est ad pædes meos*.¹⁷ How could one graphically depict all these possibilities?

One can perceive in this short exegesis how *De raris fabulis* functioned. What is not conspicuous is the text’s popularity, a fact imparted by its tenth-century incarnations. *De raris fabulis*, it turns out, has a close cousin in a work which W. H. Stevenson called ‘Colloquia e

17 *Ibid.*

libro *De raris fabulis retractata*’ or ‘Colloquies redacted from the book called *De raris fabulis*’. These *Colloquia retractata* (hereafter *Retractata*) in turn gave rise to the jocular colloquies of the Englishman Ælfric Bata. The latter was a student of Ælfric’s at Winchester in the late tenth century – the Ælfric celebrated as a vernacular homilist and as abbot of Eynsham.¹⁸ Ælfric Bata was a beloved scoundrel, and his colloquies are far more exuberant, irreverent, and linguistically idiosyncratic than any others known.¹⁹ In one case a boy agrees to sharpen a reed-pen in exchange for a knife. The other fellow isn’t sure: “but then when you’re drunk,” he says, “right away you’ll want to stab your benchmate with it!”²⁰ Elsewhere, when a truant oblate is given the lash, he declares, “I’m dying”. The master quips sarcastically, “you’re not dead yet!”²¹ Truly, Ælfric Bata’s colloquies are the apotheosis of a genre beginning with *De raris fabulis*. I pose the obvious question, then: could *De raris fabulis* have started this trend?

In 1983 Patrizia Lendinara made the case that Ælfric Bata based his *Colloquia* on *De raris fabulis*,²² a position which David Porter

18 The attribution is made on the basis of Ælfric Bata’s reference to Ælfric as *meus magister* in the preface to Ælfric’s ‘Colloquy’ from Oxford, St John’s College, MS. 154, folio 204r; cf. *Anglo-Saxon Conversations*, edd. & transl. Gwara & Porter, p. 2.

19 S. Gwara, ‘Second language acquisition and Anglo-Saxon bilingualism: negative transfer and avoidance in Ælfric Bata’s Latin *Colloquia*, ca. A.D. 1000’, *Viator* 29 (1998) 1-24. Ælfric Bata based his *Colloquia* on a text like the *Retractata* with excerpts from the following chapters of *Retractata* (in this order): §§1-2, 21, 20, 21, 20, 9-10, 12, 18-19, 9-11, 23, 17, 16. His §§3-8 and 13-15 have no material from the *Retractata* source, although they have discernible origins. Ælfric Bata compiled material for §§3, 6, and 14 from a copy of the *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana* quite similar to that in London, British Library, MS. Harley 5642 (cf. Gwara, ‘Ælfric Bata’s manuscripts’, pp. 247-55). Colloquy 28 is almost entirely derived from one passage of Isidore’s *Synonyma* (*ibid.*, pp. 240-7). Much of his colloquy 25 is cobbled together from the Book of Proverbs. Evidence of Ælfric Bata’s reputation comes from the hagiographer Osbern of Canterbury (*ob. ca* 1093); see below, n. 184, and cf. *Anglo-Saxon Conversations*, edd. & transl. Gwara & Porter, pp. 3, 208-9.

20 *Colloquia*, §14.71 (*Latin Colloquies*, ed. Gwara, p. 58): ‘Tunc, cum ebrius fueris, statim uis transfodere sessorem tuum, puto, cum illo’.

21 *Colloquia*, §28.53-4 (*Latin Colloquies*, ed. Gwara, p. 86): ‘Iam moriturus sum. / Non es mortuus adhuc, sed uiuis.’

22 P. Lendinara, ‘Il *Colloquio* di Ælfric e il *Colloquio* di Ælfric Bata’, in *Feor ond Neah. Scritti di Filologia Germanica in Memoria di Augusto Scaffidi Abbate*, edd. Patrizia Lendinara & L. Melazzo (Palermo 1983), pp. 173-249, at p. 186: ‘Uno stadio intermedio è rappresentato dal dialogo del ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 572 (2026) ff. 1-50 (KER n. 313) coi suoi accenni, da

challenged in 1997.²³ Porter adduced the verbal echoes of *Retractata* from Oxford, St John's College, MS. 154 in Ælfric Bata's *Colloquia*. His evidence was the appearance of words and phrases occurring in *Retractata* but not in *De raris fabulis*, such as the following.²⁴

De raris fabulis

... Habes latinam linguam?

Etiam uel utique. Non tam bene sapio, quia non multum legi, sed tamen fui inter scolasticos, et audiui lectores docentes predicantesque atque illam mirabiliter die et nocte meditantes atque dicentes et obsonium facientes. (§23)

Retractata

Habes tu, frater karissime, latinam linguam, aut scis tu loqui in latina lingua?

Vtique paulisper, et non tantum sapio quantum multum legi et didici, quia multa oblitus sum, sed tamen fui aliquando inter scolasticos, et audiui ibi lectores docentes et predicantes latinam linguam et doctrinam Christi atque illam mirabiliter die fere et nocte meditantes. (§27.1-7)

Ælfric Bata

Frater karissime, scis tu loqui in latina lingua?

Non utique nisi *paulisper* et perpauca uerba et non *tantum* sapio *quantum* legi *et didici*, quia multa oblitus sum propter ebitudinem ignorantie mee, sed tamen fui *aliquando* inter scolasticos, et audiui *ibi* lectores docentes, et *doctrinam* Dei mirabiliter et docte die *fere* et nocte in latina lingua meditantes puerosque instruentes. (§16.1-7)

parte degli interlocutori, a personaggi femminili, accuratamente espunti da Ælfric Bata nel suo quarto colloquio che non è altro che una rielaborazione di questo dialogo'.

23 D. W. Porter, 'Anglo-Saxon colloquies: Ælfric, Ælfric Bata and *De raris fabulis Retractata*', *Neophilologus* 81 (1997) 467-80.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 468. Italicised words in the excerpt from *Retractata* were derived from *De raris fabulis*, whereas the italicised passages labelled 'Ælfric Bata' are derivative of *Retractata*.

The argument was persuasive, yet even Porter noted two cases in which the structure or wording of the *Colloquia* was closer to that of *De raris fabulis*.²⁵

1. *De raris fabulis*: Quid uis, *carissime*, indica mihi. (§9)
Retractata: Quid uis, indica mihi. (§8.1)
Ælfric Bata: Quid uis, *domne*, indica mihi. (§20.2)

2. *De raris fabulis*: Acua mihi *nouaculam super cotem*. (§20)
Retractata: Acue *cultellum*, frater, cum cote tua. (§20.12)
Ælfric Bata: Accipe *nouaculam meam, et acue* illam cum tua cote. (§23.64)

A third and fourth extract are equally trivial and easily dismissed. In the third case, one might reasonably conjecture that *hodie* had been modified to *adhuc hodie*. In my fourth illustration, no *iuuenes* play in *Retractata* as they do in *De raris fabulis*. One might speculate that *iuuenes ludentes* in *De raris fabulis* gets interpreted as boys on horseback hunting a rabbit, but *iuuenes* could just as easily have been added.

3. *De raris fabulis*: ... quia non lauauit ... adhuc hodie. (§2)
Retractata: ... quia non lauit ... hodie. (§2.3-4)
Ælfric Bata: ... quia non lauimus nos adhuc hodie. (§2.4-5)

4. *De raris fabulis*: ... Aspicio homines ambulantes, equites equitantes, canes currentes atque latrantes,

25 *Ibid.*, p. 477, n. 6. Porter has remarked of the first: ‘This may be the result of free adaptation by both the author of *Retractata* and by Bata, or perhaps a vocative has been omitted here by the scribes of the Oxford manuscript’. (This first example may be fortuitous, since *Ælfric Bata*’s chapter is not derivative of this section of *Retractata*.) Of the second case Porter has suggested that ‘Bata independently supplied *novaculam* to fit the situational context of shaving and tonsuring’ (*ibid.*, p. 478, n. 6).

iuuenes ludentes. (§15)

Retractata: ... Aspicio homines ambulantes, equites et canes currentes, aues uolantes et homines equitantes. Cupio aliquid ludere ... (§14.5-7)

Ælfric Bata: ... aspexi ibi homines ambulantes ... portantes ... uidi in campo equitantes pueros, et in uenatione equitareꝝ iuuenes post unum leporem ... et currentes canes ... (§19.4-8)

Yet a fifth and final discrepancy cannot be as confidently accommodated by Porter's theory of indebtedness.

5. *De raris fabulis:* Ite ad flumen siue ad fontem uel ad puteum, et deportate ... (§2)

Retractata: Ite ad flumen siue ad fontem, et deportate... (§2.1-2)

Ælfric Bata: ... perge ad amnem siue ad fontem, et deporta nobis *ad puteum*... (§2.1-2)

The misplaced prepositional phrase *ad puteum* must reflect an intrusive gloss; otherwise we should be carrying water to the well. Now, at this point *De raris fabulis* reads ' ... ad flumen siue ad fontem / uel ad puteum' (the line breaks after *fontem*), and the phrase *uel ad puteum* appears in the main text-hand. However, because the manuscript was well worn, and because the exaggerated abbreviation for *uel* intrudes into the margin, a copyist probably misread the compendium as a crux. Such a crux could have been handled (and would typically have been handled) by transposing the signalled words in the line (*ad puteum* and *deportate*) or by placing *ad puteum* above the word *deportate*, as if it were a gloss. A subsequent editor or copyist would then mechanically have incorporated the gloss after *deportate*. Hence, the peculiar *deporta nobis ad puteum* may have arisen from scribal confusion. I make little of this accident, except to conclude that at least some evidence could suggest that Ælfric Bata borrowed from a colloquy-version antecedent to *Retractata*.

There is more, however. *De raris fabulis* ends with an additional or displaced paragraph following the rubric *Finit amen de aliquibus raris fabulis*. This extra material was incorporated into an earlier section of *Retractata* as §22. Reading *finit* and *amen* here, a redactor arguably understood that *Retractata* should end where it currently does, at §27. Putting the extra paragraph earlier, he revised his text to make an appropriate conclusion.

De raris fabulis: Amice, nunc illam tibi habunde ... effundam, quia sicut infans dedit suam linguam a matre, ita et ego dedici canonici sermonis historiam. (§23)

Retractata: Amice, nunc tibi habunde effundo, si mihi uacet. Satis est hoc locutum, et hic sermo sufficiat nobis. Amen. (§27.14-15)

This transformation seems significant because if Ælfric Bata worked from *Retractata* he ignored the redactor's emendation. The final displaced paragraph of *De raris fabulis*, which follows the rubric, states:

Audi, clarissime lector ... Veni, et ostende mihi meum accepturium ... quia ego non possum intelligere sine doctore, quia infirmus sum in lectione.

Adduc tuum librum, ut uideam quantam fuscationem ... habes in illo, et docebo te de omnibus gliphis ... ut plane ... (defective; §24).

The version in *Retractata* is complete but very different:

Audi, lector carissime. Ostende mihi hanc lectionem seu hoc testimonium, quia non possum intellegere sine doctore.

Deduc huc, ut uideam quantam obscuritatem habeat, et docebo te de omnibus anaglyphis obscuris, ut planiora et rectiora et manifestiora sint tibi. (§22.1-5)

Ælfric Bata's text obviously follows *Retractata* more closely:

Doctor bone, utinam uelles ostendere plane mihi uel aperte

manifestare lectionem hanc, seu hoc testimonium, siue istam mysticam scripturam, quia hanc sententiam non possum intelligere sine doctore. Valde difficilis est mihi ad intellegendum, et non habeo tam profundam doctrinam, ut animaduertere ualeam haec sacra mysteria.

Deduc huc, ut uideam quantam mysticam obscuritatem habeat sententia haec, et docebo te de omnibus his sacramentis, ut recte et manifeste ea sumere et intelligere ualeas et in memoria semper custodire. (§17.1-10)

Nevertheless, it is significant that Ælfric Bata's *Colloquia* conclude with this passage, the very last passage of *De raris fabulis* but the penultimate one of *Retractata*. In other words, Ælfric Bata was almost certainly following a text with passages ordered like those of *De raris fabulis* but revised along the lines of *Retractata*.²⁶ To solidify and enlarge this connexion between *De raris fabulis* and Ælfric Bata at Canterbury, and to introduce Cornwall and Wales to my discussion, I must now turn to the manuscript in which our text is found.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 572 (*S.C.* 2026), folios 1-50, known also to celticists as *Codex Oxoniensis Posterior*, preserves multiple texts in four independent manuscripts written in the first half or middle of the tenth century.²⁷ David Dumville has suggested a Cornish origin for all four manuscripts. Folio 1 (alone) contains a mass for St Germanus, almost certainly copied at St Germans, or Lanalet (Lannalet), its native appellation.²⁸ The second manuscript, folios 2-25,

26 On two occasions Ælfric Bata's dialogue 20, which derives from *Retractata* §4, mentions a key: 'custodi ... hospitii mei clauem ... clauem loculi mei' (*Latin Colloquies*, ed. Gwara, p. 62: §20.9-10). It seems possible that Ælfric Bata took this from the expression *Sede in meum conclauium* (*De raris fabulis*, §5).

27 David Dumville has described MS. Bodley 572, folios 1-50, as a 'tenth-century Brittonic miscellany', later declaring it 'problematic' for reasons discussed momentarily: *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950-1030* (Woodbridge 1993), pp. 97, n. 74, and 142, n. 8. *Codex Oxoniensis Prior* is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. F.4.32 (*S.C.* 2176) or 'Saint Dunstan's Classbook': *St Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury*, facs. ed. R. W. Hunt (Amsterdam 1961).

28 W. M. Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* (Oxford 1912), pp. 27-8, cited the explicit references to St Germanus and Lanalet in the fragmentary prayers of the mass, since published by H. Jenner, 'The Lannalet Mass of St. Germanus in Bodl. MS. 572', *Journal of the Royal Institution of*

an *expositio missae* beginning *Dominus uobiscum* and the Book of Tobit, are written in a ‘late Celtic minuscule’ and a ‘hybrid Insular-Caroline’;²⁹ this portion has three Old-Cornish (or, hypothetically, Old-Breton) glosses.³⁰ Dumville has suggested a Cornish origin of the scribe responsible for the third section, folios 26-40, containing an epistle of St Augustine and one of Caesarius of Arles.³¹ Both were written by a *notarius* ‘Bledian’, whose name means ‘Little Wolf’.³² *De raris fabulis* is the fourth, and its heritage is contested, being either Welsh or Cornish depending on one’s views of the glosses which it preserves. St Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury, is a later provenance for the manuscript, a view providentially upheld by the connexion with Ælfric

Cornwall 23 (1929-32) 477-92, with further commentary by C. A. R. Radford, ‘The Church of Saint Germans’, *ibid.*, new series, 7 (1973-7) 190-6, at pp. 190-1; cf. Lynette Olson, *Early Monasteries in Cornwall* (Woodbridge 1989), pp. 60-2, 65-6.

29 For the quotations and for remarks on the Exposition of the Mass, consult David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge 1992), p. 116, especially n. 148. Dumville has noted that *Dominus uobiscum* was only one of two *expositiones* known to have circulated in Insular circles (*ibid.*). Craster averred (*apud* Hunt *et al.*, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, pt 1, p. 174) that the portion now represented by this manuscript had been included in ‘no. 129 in the 15th cent. catalogue of St. Augustine’s, Canterbury ... with the press-mark d. l. G. 3’; cf. *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, ed. Montague Rhodes James (Cambridge 1903), p. 204 (no. 129). On the Tobit, consult Richard Marsden, ‘The survival of Ceolfrith’s Tobit in a tenth-century Insular manuscript’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series, 45 (1994), 1-23, and *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge 1995), pp. 179-81 and 232-5, especially p. 181 (connecting this text of Tobit with ‘Offa’s Bible’ and Worcester).

30 Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 116-17; but, as he noted, ‘it would be surprising to find Insular script used in a Breton context at this date’ (p. 117, n. 151). Cf. *Old-Breton Glosses*, ed. Whitley Stokes (Calcutta 1879), p. 21 (‘the Old Cornish ms. Bodl. 572’); Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*, pp. 26-32, at p. 28. The three glosses have been called Cornish (or lately Breton) on the evidence of Old English *wynn* representing <gu> in *dowomisuram(i)* (‘I shall measure’); cf. B. L. Olson & O. J. Padel, ‘A tenth-century list of Cornish parochial saints’, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 12 (1986) 33-71, at p. 39.

31 Augustinus, *Ad Probam*, in *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistulae*, ed. Alois Goldbacher, (5 vols, Wien 1885-1923), III.40-77 (no. CXXX); Caesarius, *De igne purgatorio*, in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones*, ed. Germain Morin (2nd edn, 2 vols, Turnhout 1953), II.723-9 (no. 189).

32 Dumville, *Liturgy*, p. 117. This Brittonic name itself is not discernibly Cornish, Welsh, or Breton. On other ‘Wolf’-names, cf. H. Jenner, ‘The manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels’, *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* 21 (1922-5) 235-60, at p. 260. Dumville has remarked that Bledian wrote ‘in Insular script very similar in type to that used in parts of fos 2-25’ (*Liturgy*, p. 117, n. 152).

Bata which I maintain herein.³³ Yet there is likewise a curious association to Winchester through a paschal table³⁴ and two cryptograms also found in London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, a Psalter from Winchester.³⁵ The cryptographic notation employed here – using dots to represent vowels – was used in probably epexegetical glosses to Ælfric Bata’s colloquies.³⁶ More generally, cryptograms were of interest to someone at one time in possession of *De raris fabulis*, to judge from the ‘þrídeilur fupark’ alphabet and as yet undeciphered runes which he has penned on folio 41r.³⁷

Before addressing the question of origins I must discuss the textual archaeology of *De raris fabulis* as deduced by Michael Lapidge in a paper entitled ‘Latin learning in Dark Age Wales’.³⁸ Lapidge has observed that interpolations in several parts of the text are ungrammatical, as if lifted from a glossary or otherwise ineptly

33 H. H. E. Craster, *apud* Hunt *et al.*, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, pt 1, p. 171: ‘Following the subscription come *a* (fol. 39^v) five 4-line rhymed antiphons in honour of st. Benedict ... st. Laurence, the Virgin, st. Augustine, and st. Mildred, written in various hands early in the 12th cent. at Canterbury’; *ibid.*, p. 173, ‘On fol. 49^v are entries in various hands, probably all made at Canterbury in the late 11th – early 12th cent.’; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford 1957), p. 377.

34 Cf. Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, *Introduction to the Study of Some of the Oldest Latin Musical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford (London 1913), pp. xxiv-xxviii and pl. XV; his attempts to date the movement of Bodley 572 to Winchester by *ca* 980/1 on the basis of a ‘stroke’ in the great paschal table are tempting (cf. Olson, *Early Monasteries*, p. 66, n. 65), but the faint mark referred to is very possibly accidental.

35 Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 301 (‘Written probably at Winchester’), 377. The cryptograms were printed by M. Förster, ‘Nochmals ae. *fregen* “Frage”’, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 135 [new series, 35] (1916) 399-401, at p. 400. The Psalter-glosses were published in *The Vitellius Psalter*, ed. James L. Rosier (Ithaca, NY 1962). On the manuscript additions see also R. Liuzza, ‘Anglo-Saxon prognostics in context: a survey and handlist of manuscripts’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001) 181-230, at p. 222; P. Pulsiano, ‘The prefatory material of London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii’, in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, edd. P. Pulsiano & E. Trehearne (Aldershot 1998), pp. 85-116.

36 In the so-called *Colloquia difficiliora*: cf. *Latin Colloquies*, ed. Gwara, pp. 20, 92-9, 118-24. For epexegetis, see Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (2 vols, Oxford 1983/93), II.

37 These runes have escaped serious scrutiny; cf. R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta. The English Tradition* (Brugge 1954), pp. 165-9.

38 M. Lapidge, ‘Latin learning in Dark Age Wales: some prolegomena’, in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies*, edd. D. Ellis Evans *et al.* (Oxford 1986), pp. 91-107.

incorporated from interlinear annotations. Indeed, *De raris fabulis* consists of many such lists, which usefully augment the dialogues with fresh vocabulary drawn from glossaries. Lapidge has designated ‘all the vernacular glosses and the ungrammatical words and phrases in Latin’ as ‘Layer I’.³⁹ He then defined what remains from this excision, his ‘Layer II’, as ‘a scholastic colloquy which was evidently intended for use in Britain’.⁴⁰ He went even further, noticing that from colloquy 15 onwards, conspicuous stage-directions occur, such as *ait ille* or ‘Et perrexerunt ad æclesiam Sancti Petri, et dixit princeps’ (§17). Removing these ‘rudimentary narrative sections’, one arrives at ‘Layer III’, which Lapidge has called ‘a brief, uncomplicated question-and-answer colloquy’.⁴¹ Yet ‘Layer III’ may be further subdivided along the fracture-line which Lapidge has ingeniously exposed. This stratum incorporates not one but two colloquy-compilations, both independently extended by entries taken from bilingual glossaries. My evidence for this early division comes first from the ‘stage-directions’ completely absent from dialogues 1-14, secondly from the appearance of a *Vetus Latina* biblical quotation in the second section,⁴² and thirdly from the distribution of glosses scattered throughout the text.

Some 190 Old English, Latin, and Brittonic glosses crowd sections of *De raris fabulis*, either embedded in the text or positioned

39 *Ibid.*, p. 94. This would affect the following passages (the numbers refer to the lineation in my previous edition, cited in n. 15): 43-46, 89-94, 102, 129, 115-16, 129, 133, 134, 137-8, 142-3, 149, 155, 174, 178, 182-6. The ‘ungrammatical’ parts are: 43-6 (foods), 91-4 (equine accoutrements), 115-16 (family-members), and some other instances: 98 ‘leuiticos ... clericos’, 133 ‘pulpam’, 141 ‘tapisetam’, 154 ‘paludes’, 174 ‘cantelam ... tedam’, 194 ‘principem ... domus’, 228 ‘imperitos leuiticos’, 244 ‘absidem ... arram’, 245 ‘magnas’, 246 ‘pugnas’, 256 ‘aliquem’, 266 ‘episcopum’, 289 ‘clarissime’.

40 *Ibid.*

41 *Ibid.*, p. 95. Lapidge has argued that *Retractata*, which he called a ‘cognate colloquy’ (*ibid.*) confirms his ‘Layer III’; I think rather that *Retractata* is a direct descendant of *De raris fabulis* with the stage-directions removed. The process which Lapidge observed is intermediate in the expression ‘Et episcopus dicit ad principem sacerdotum: (an) habes latinam linguam?’ (§23). The editor was either converting the narrative into speech or converting the speech into narrative (Gwara, ‘The *Hermeneumata*’, p. 124).

42 Quotations from *Vetus Latina* versions of the Bible are exclusively associated with Wales at this late date, and (as noted in *Early Scholastic Colloquies*, ed. Stevenson, p. 8, §22) *De raris fabulis* preserves one *Vetus Latina* reading (§20) among seven quotations: cf. Lapidge, ‘Latin learning’, p. 94.

interlineally. These may be classified as follows.

27 Old English glosses (all interlinear)⁴³

43 Latin glosses in total⁴⁴

11 interlinear (2 scratched)

32 embedded in text⁴⁵

112 Brittonic glosses in total

72 interlinear⁴⁶

40 embedded in text⁴⁷

8 not counted⁴⁸

For the sake of convenience, let us say that all the Old-English scratched glosses belong to one stratum. All the embedded glosses, whether Latin

43 11, 12, 14, 18, 19c, 24, 26, 28, 34b, 35b, 43b, 47b, 47c, 48c, 49b, 50b, 53b, 54b, 56b, 57b, 78b, 81b, 90b, 95, 97-99. The sequence-numbers (used here and subsequently in text and footnotes) refer to my separate listing of all the glosses to *De raris fabulis*, forthcoming in *The Journal of Celtic Studies*. Many of these words are ‘merographs’ or abbreviated forms, on which consult *Aldhelmi Malmesbiriensis Prosa de uirginitate cum glosa latina atque anglosaxonica*, ed. Scott Gwara (2 vols, Turnhout 2001), I.111*. H. H. E. Craster identified my numbers 12 [PODI] *lo*, 16 [SECALIVM] *gili* and 18 [GALMVLA] ...*molc* as Brittonic: ‘The glosses of the Codex Oxoniensis Posterior’, *Revue celtique* 40 (1923) 135-6, at p. 136; see also W. M. Lindsay’s preface to *Early Scholastic Colloquies*, ed. Stevenson, p. ix; K. Jackson, ‘Brittonica’, *The Journal of Celtic Studies* 1 (1949/50) 69-79, at p. 72. But this is highly unlikely: all the scratched glosses should be considered Old English. The merograph *lo* certainly represents OE *loc*, ‘enclosure’, and *molc* is related to OE *molcen*, ‘curds’. Finally, I do not read Craster’s *gili*; the barely visible letters resemble Old English *gærs*, ‘grass’. All the dry-point glosses were reprinted in *Old English Glosses (A Collection)*, ed. Herbert Dean Meritt (New York 1945), pp. xvii, 57 (no. 65). For a new discussion and listing, unknown to me until my lecture was in proof, see A. Falileyev & P. Russell, ‘The dry-point glosses in *Oxoniensis Posterior*’, in *Yr Hen Iaith. Studies in Early Welsh*, ed. Paul Russell (Aberystwyth 2003), pp. 95-101.

44 3, 7, 9, 29, 43a, 77, 83, 101, 122; scratched – 1, 19b. I have corrected the lemma LVCANIA to LVCANI’C’A<M> (§6).

45 32, 106, 110-11, 112a-b, 127a, 127c, 130, 131a, 132-4, 138-42a, 118b, 144-6, 148-9, 151-5a, 156-8.

46 2, 4-6, 8, 10, 13, 16a, 17, 19a, 20-3, 25, 27, 30, 34a, 35a, 36-40a, 41, 42a, 44b, 45a, 46, 47a, 48b, 49a, 50a, 51-2, 53a, 54a, 55, 56a, 57a, 58-63, 64b, 65-70, 74, 76, 79-80, 81a, 82, 86-7, 90-4, 96, 103-4, 117, 131, 136.

47 33, 44a, 48a, 64a, 71, 75, 78a, 84-5, 88-9, 100, 102, 105, 107-9, 112c, 113-16, 118a, 119-21, 123-6, 127b, 128-9, 135, 137, 142b, 143, 147, 150, 155.

48 15, 16b, 31, 42b, 45b, 72-3, 92b.

or Brittonic, are in the main-text hand. Furthermore, with the exception of two words,⁴⁹ all the interlinear glosses were written by a single scribe, almost certainly the primary copyist.⁵⁰

Studied chiefly as remnants of Old Welsh or Old Cornish, the glosses have simply been called ‘Brittonic’ because as a group they have features of both dialects. Welsh, Cornish, and Breton (and particularly the last two) are so difficult to distinguish from one another in this period that ‘Brittonic’ has always seemed safe in respect of *De raris fabulis*. Yet it is not just the language of the glosses which gives trouble. Many have no incontrovertible meanings, and (*vice versa*) the lemmata are often useless in decoding them. We have to acknowledge, too, that the glossators themselves may not have known the Latin terms which they annotated. We find, for example, many of the same Brittonic terms appearing multiple times, a feature called ‘superordination’.⁵¹ Furthermore, many of the glosses translate their etymons.⁵² One commonly encounters glossing of this kind in Irish and English sources. As far as I am aware, such etymological glossing has never been interpreted as a learning strategy, but it is frequent among modern second-language learners.

Some mistakes are certain in the glosses to *De raris fabulis*. One example is the gloss *spatula*, ‘small blade’, to CONCLAVIVM, ‘room’ or ‘locker’ (§5), where the tool *spatula* might render *clauium* (of doubtful meaning: ?< *clauis/clauus*) but certainly not *conclauium*.⁵³ The

49 2 *peteu* and 13 *heuei*.

50 The sole discrepancy which I have observed is that a few glosses seem to have been copied as the text was produced; they are larger and neater, although they have the same script-conventions as the annotations added later.

51 *brachaut* (30 MVLSVM, 114 MELLIGRATVM), *fruin* (79 FRENVM, 80 PAGLVM), *fual* (88 FIBVLA, 96 COMPES), *guopell/guapeli* (90 SVDARIS, 92 VLTIA), *iot/iotum* (22 PVLTVM, 27 IVS), *strotur* (8 SELLA, 91 SAMBVCA).

52 For example, 2 PVTEVS] *peteu*, 55 CVLTER] *cultir*, 57 ARATRVM] *ara*, 63 STIMVLVS] *sumpl*, 68 GRATICVLA] *gratell*, 88 FIBVLA] *fual*, 89 CORRIGIVM] **corruui*, 93 ARMELLA] *armel*, 100 BENEFICIVM] **binfic*; 126 LIXA] **lissiu* (<*lixuuia*). Asterisks indicate glosses embedded in the text.

53 Cf. *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, edd. Otto Prinz et al. (München 1967–), II, cols 1189-90, s.v. *conclave*. *Domuncula*: *conclauium* is found in Bede’s *De orthographia: Grammatici Latini*, edd. Heinrich Keil et al. (8 vols, Leipzig 1857-78), VII.261-94, at p. 270.9. Likewise, we find *domuncula conclauium domus* in Virgilius Maro

gloss appears only above the element *clauium*, since the word is divided across two lines. The word COLOMATICVS, ‘vegetable’ (§6), seems to have been interpreted as *columnaticus*, ‘columnar’, glossed *barr*, ‘apex’. The list of metal tools is especially precarious. Latin SARTVM, which should mean ‘needle’ or ‘hoe’, is glossed *rascl*, ‘rasp’ (§8). One would not normally equate DOLABRA, ‘mattock’, with *gebel*, ‘tongs’ (§8). PIPINNIS (§8), which disguises *bipennis*, a double-edged tool, has been translated speculatively *dinaut*, ‘pipe’, as if it were related to Latin *pipa*.⁵⁴

The glossators tried to interpret other radicals in the same way: ROSARIVM, which looks like ‘rose-garden’, is helpfully glossed *louhi*, ‘rose’ (§8), even though it should be a tool. The gloss *orubimnit* to AVRICALCVM, ‘brass’ (§10), seems concocted from *or*, ‘gold’, plus *ubim*, ‘bronze’, plus *nit*, ‘circlet’.⁵⁵ This looks much like *didaul* for EXPERS (‘without [a share]’, §§20, 24), in which each Latin constituent has been rendered by a vernacular one. Such strategies of translating roots and parsing elements in vernacular translations were commonplace in Insular academic circles.⁵⁶ Let me add here that while most of the Brittonic glosses in *De raris fabulis* are either recorded elsewhere or have good dialectal parallels, quite a few are rare, and some unique.⁵⁷ These appear wholly in the first thirteen chapters.

Perhaps the rarity of these Brittonic terms can be explained by the rarity of the Latin ones. Added sections of text forming the long lists

Grammaticus’s *Epitomae*, V.13.8: *Virgilio Marone Grammatico, Epitomi ed Epistole*, edd. & transll. G. Polara & L. Caruso (Napoli 1979), p. 62.317.

54 J. Loth, *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton* (Paris 1884), p. 104, s.v. *dinaut*: ‘*pipinnis* n’a rien à faire ici avec *bipennis*’, Loth sided with Rhÿs, who ‘a montré ... que *pipinnis* est un dérivé du moyen latin *pipa* «conduit»’, referring to J. Rhÿs, ‘Die kymrischen Glossen zu Oxford’, *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung* 7 (1871-3) 228-39 and 466-7, at p. 466. In fact, *pipinnis* certainly stands for *bipennis*, which the scribe had been unable to construe.

55 Loth, *Vocabulaire*, p. 200, s.v. *orubimnit*; cf. Alexander Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh* (Tübingen 2000), p. 126, s.v.

56 Helmut Gneuss, *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen* (Berlin 1955).

57 10 *orubimnit*, 36 *ochcul*, 44a *onnpresen*, 48a *cloiumn* (or read *doiumn*, as Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, p. 49, s.v.; I. Williams, ‘Glosau Rhydychen’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 5 [1929-31] 1-8, at p. 7), 60 *ciluin* (Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, p. 28, s.v.), 76 *arstud*, 79 *bronnced*, 89 *corruui*, 94 *hloimol*.

which include metal tools must have been taken from glossaries. In such cases, readers were not casually making notes. We can infer this from Lapidge's observations that many words in the lists are contextually ungrammatical,⁵⁸ and this phenomenon is true for terms rendered by the identifiably Welsh⁵⁹ and identifiably Cornish⁶⁰ glosses.⁶¹ These hypothetical word-lists therefore probably had vernacular glosses.

One small objection demands consideration at this time: how can vernacular glosses in the main-text hand appear above lemmata, if, as I allege, lemma and gloss had been written in the margin? Obviously, the scribe planned to accommodate the glosses after he had incorporated the lemmata into the lists.⁶² The lemmata in this section were taken from a source from which the glosses were later copied; I suspect that this was done after §§1-13 were merged with §§15-23.⁶³

What glossaries were available in earlier mediaeval Cornwall and Wales? At least one source available to a copyist of *De raris fabulis* had Latin words found nowhere else in the lexicon, and these are not transcription-errors. One list of rare terms includes foods. Latin SECALIVM is formed from *secale*, 'rye' or 'spelt'. *Sicalia* glossed *ryge* ('rye') occurs in the Latin–Old English 'Corpus Glossary', ca 800.⁶⁴ In Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale, MS. 1828-1830 (185), folios 36-109

58 Marginal annotations with nominative lemmata have also been transposed into the dialogues: 143 PREPOSSITIS] *prepossitus .i. mair*; 153 LEVITICI] *leuiticus .i. clericus*; 155 EXPERTES] *expers .i. *didaul*.

59 The lists in the next two notes do not include neuter words found embedded in lists of nominatives, for example 89 GLOMERARIVM. Ungrammatical terms glossed by identifiably Welsh words include: 25 BABTVTA *recte* BABTVTAM, 115 TAPISETA *recte* TAPISETAM, 123 PALVS *recte* PALVDES.

60 Those glossed by identifiably Cornish words include: 23 LACTICVLA *recte* LATICULAM, 34a LIGNICISMVS *recte* LIGNICISMVM, 42 SCAPA *recte* SCAPAM, 103 AVVS *recte* AVVM, 105 MATERTERE MEAE *recte* MATERTERAS MEAS.

61 The term SAMBVCA (91) must have been taken from a source with a long gloss, since the scribe left considerable space for it in his copy.

62 Not including these ambiguously glossed lemmata: 16 COLOMATICVS *recte* COLOMATICVM, 17 CIPVS *recte* CIPVM, 19 LVCANICA *recte* LVCANICAM, 82 ANTELLA *recte* ANTELLAM, 91 SAMBVCA *recte* SAMBV CAM, 92 VLTIA *recte* VLTIAM, 93 ARMELLA *recte* ARMELLAM, 96 COMPES *recte* COMPEDEM.

63 The status of §14 is uncertain in respect of this division but (given the absence of stage-directions) might be included in the first group.

64 *The Corpus Glossary*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Cambridge 1921), p. 164 (S339).

(glossaries, many of obscure words), Latin *sicalia* is glossed by *lyge*, probably in error for *ryge*, ‘rye’.⁶⁵ While Loth suggested that COLOMATICVS had been misinterpreted as *columnaticus*, ‘columnar’, the Corpus Glossary and the Harley Glossary do translate *colomata* as *haetcolae* (Corpus C783)⁶⁶ and *hacole* (Harley C1569; see also C146, *calamuca: hacule*) respectively.⁶⁷ The Cleopatra Glossary clarifies: *colomate* is *hæðcole*, ‘heath-cabbage’.⁶⁸ The subsequent term CIPVS, ‘onion’ (< *caepa/caepe*),⁶⁹ is attested elsewhere in the Harley Glossary, where it is translated *croplec*, ‘garlic’ (C1059),⁷⁰ and in the Cleopatra Glossary, where it is rendered *cipeleac*, ‘leek’ (C736). *Galmula*, if it means ‘whey’, should be first-declension, but Blaise recorded *galmulum*, ‘laitage’, from an Irish source.⁷¹ The editors of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources* have provided one other attestation from a second Hiberno-Latin text.⁷² GALMVLVM is also attested in the Corpus Glossary where it means ‘curds’ (G21: *molegnstycci*).⁷³ SPVMATICVM is somewhat better known, too. While in *Hisperica*

65 *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, edd. Thomas Wright & R. P. Wülcker (2nd edn, 2 vols, London 1884), I, col. 301, line 2.

66 *The Corpus Glossary*, ed. Lindsay, p. 47.

67 *The Harley Latin–Old English Glossary edited from British Museum MS Harley 3376*, ed. Robert T. Oliphant (Den Haag 1966), pp. 96, 47.

68 William Garlington Stryker, ‘The Latin–Old English Glossary in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A.iii’ (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University 1951): C156. See also Harley C1581, *colomacus: genesta, hæþ*; Cleopatra C28 *calomacus: hæð*.

69 Loth suggested *cibus* as a possibility (*Vocabulaire*, p. 69, s.v. *cennin*). He thought further that the reader might have confused *cipus* for *cippus*, ‘post’, ‘pillar’, under the influence of *columnaticus*: ‘Zeuss rapelle le gallois: *barr: barr avel* «coup de vent». Peut-être le glossateur a-t-il vu dans *colomaticus* un rapport avec *columnaticus* (*colomaticus* et item *cippus*)’ (*ibid.*, p. 51, s.v. *barr*).

70 *The Harley Latin–Old English Glossary*, ed. Oliphant, p. 80.

71 Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du moyen-âge. Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Turnhout 1975), p. 411, s.v.; *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae partim hactenus ineditae*, ed. Charles Plummer (2 vols, Oxford 1910; rev. imp., 1968), I.262 (‘Vita Sancti Colmani abbatis de Land Elo’, §ix): ‘Tunc plebs illa magnam elymosinam de butyro et galmulo congregauit’. The word *galmilla* (from the Cleopatra Glossary, G48) is glossed *lim molegen* (‘gluten’, ‘curds’). For *calmilla* see John Joseph Quinn, ‘The Minor Latin–Old English Glossaries in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A III’ (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University 1956), p. 63.17, where it is rendered *lim*, ‘gluten’.

72 ‘Vita Sancti Ciarani episcopi de Saigir’: *Vitae*, ed. Plummer, I.217–33.

73 *The Corpus Glossary*, ed. Lindsay, p. 83.

famina it means ‘frothy’,⁷⁴ the Antwerp Glossary gives a recipe: ‘mete of meluwe and of bane gesoden’ (‘food boiled from meal and bone’).⁷⁵ Whether *spumaticum* means ‘whipped cream’ or ‘boiled meal’ will complicate the sense of the following term, FORDALIVM, which has two proposed etymologies. According to the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, *faratalis* means ‘herb’ or ‘vegetable’.⁷⁶ As far as I am aware, the spelling *fordalium* appears elsewhere only in the Harley and Cleopatra Glossaries, where it describes ‘boiled leaf-vegetables’.⁷⁷ Yet in Diefenbach’s supplement to Du Cange’s *Glossarium*, Joseph Loth found an alternative derivation, ‘de *fordae* «kalberkuh»’, or in other words ‘colostrum’.⁷⁸ The word LACTICVLA looks like it should be ‘little milk’ or ‘little liquid’,⁷⁹ along the lines of ‘small beer’. Latin BABTVTA looks like it should come from *battuta*, ‘beaten’ (< Latin *battuo*, i.e., *battuta*), hence ‘whipped cream’.⁸⁰

The next group of rare-glossary words in *De raris fabulis* comprises the list of metal tools which I noted above.⁸¹ The word LIGNISMVS is unattested, but it may be an error for the exceptionally rare *lignicismus*. According to Osbern of Gloucester, *Deriuationes* (ca 1150×1175), *lignicismus* is a tool for cutting wood.⁸² Latin CAPSVS is

74 *The Hisperica Famina: I, The A-text*, ed. & transl. Michael W. Herren (Toronto 1974), pp. 121 (discussion) and 231 (index: A17, 175, 397, 409, 490).

75 Antwerp 91.8. See Lowell Kindschi, ‘The Latin–Old English Glossaries in Plantin–Moretus MS. 32 and British Museum MS. Additional 33,246’ (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University 1955).

76 *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, edd. R. E. Latham *et al.* (London 1975–), I.905, s.v.

77 Harley F601 *gesoden wyrmete*; F643 *wyrta* (*The Harley Latin–Old English Glossary*, ed. Oliphant, pp. 193, 195). Cleopatra F392 *gesoden wyrmete*.

78 Loth, *Vocabulaire*, p. 172, s.v. *lefet*; Lorenz Diefenbach, *Glossarium Latino-Germanicum Mediae et Infimae Aetatis* (Frankfurt 1857), p. 242, s.v. *forda*. In fact, nearly all the lemmata from *De raris fabulis* are treated there.

79 Loth (*Vocabulaire*, p. 170, s.v. *laidver*) erroneously transcribed the lemma as *lacocula*, and his definition ‘petit-lait’ simply recognises the diminutive form of *lac*. *Lacticula* is much less likely to be a form of *lactuca*, ‘lettuce’, as the Old English gloss attests.

80 Cf. *batutas* [*pulpas*]: *þa gebeatenan* in Cleopatra 81.128. Loth (*Vocabulaire*, p. 118, s.v. *emmeni*) suggested that the lemma is *laptata* and translated ‘beurre’.

81 See above, p. 20.

82 Osberno, *Derivazioni*, edd. Paola Busdraghi *et al.* (2 vols, Spoleto 1996), I.393 (L291). Cf. R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-list from British and Irish Sources* (London

also vague. *Capsis/capsa/capsum* mean ‘chest’ or ‘casket’, *capsula* or *capsulum* ‘a small chest’, but *capsus* is ‘a cart’ in Isidore’s *Etymologiae*⁸³ and in a class-glossary from the Antwerp manuscript.⁸⁴ Both chest and cart are out of place in a list of tools, but the gloss *ochcul* suggests a cover for a knife, a scabbard of sorts.⁸⁵ This meaning of *capsus* is unattested. I owe to the editors of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* the suggestion that the tool PIPINNIS conceals *bipennis*, ‘a two-edged tool or weapon’, *twybile* in Ælfric’s ‘Grammar’, *stanæx* in his ‘Glossary’.⁸⁶ *Bipennis* is common enough and is found in the Harley and Antwerp Glossaries.⁸⁷ The very rare SCAPA has no parallel in any source, but the Cambridge manuscript of *Glossae nominum* reads: *strigula] scafa* (‘razor’).⁸⁸ I doubt, however, that *scapa* arose from misreading Old-English *scafa* (spelled *scapha*). It may be a back-formation of *scapula* ‘(tool shaped like a) shoulder-blade’, ‘hoe’, or of *scalpellum*, ‘scalpel’. BAXVS should also denote a tool: it is glossed *creman*, ‘sickle’, and translated ‘sickle’, in two Anglo-Saxon glossaries.⁸⁹ According to Loth, the word SETA may disguise *saeta*, ‘bristle’, or *seca* (some sort of knife < Latin *secare*, ‘to cut’), but the

1965; rev. imp., 1980), p. 277, s.v. *lignicismus*, ‘bill-hook’, but marked with an obelisk, meaning ‘a suspicion (sometimes amounting to certainty) that the form of a particular word is due to a misprint, a misreading, or a scribal error’ (*ibid.*, p. xix). But it is also in *The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws*, ed. Hywel David Emanuel (Cardiff 1967), pp. 112.37, 196.14, 320.18, 440.13. See also *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, edd. Georg Goetz *et al.* (7 vols, Leipzig 1888-1923), VI.645, s.v. *ligniscisinus*.

83 *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (2 vols, Oxford 1911), II, XX.xii.3: ‘Capsus carruca undique contecta, quasi capsas’.

84 Antwerp 133.1, ‘Capsus carruca undique contecta, quasi capsas’; 132.1, ‘Capsus: *betogan cræt*’.

85 Loth (*Vocabulaire*, p. 198) defined *ochcul* as ‘coffre de voiture, chariot couvert?’, but note that *och* means ‘glaive, pointe’. Perhaps *ochcul* = ‘scabbard’, ‘sheath’, ‘covering’. Cf. *The Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript glossed in Latin, Old Welsh and Old Irish: Text and Commentary*, ed. Helen McKee (Aberystwyth 2000), p. 538; P. Sims-Williams, ‘The emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton orthography, 600-800: the evidence of Archaic Old Welsh’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 38 (1991) 20-86, at p. 69.

86 *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, I, ed. Julius Zupitza (Berlin 1880), pp. 56.9, 318.17.

87 Harley B244, ‘Bipennis securis *twilæste æx* uel *twibile*’; Antwerp 133.9, ‘Bipennis: *twibille* uel *stanæx*’.

88 *Corpus*, edd. Goetz *et al.*, II.563-97, at p. 593.64. This word is neither *scapha*, ‘skiff’, nor *scapium*, ‘bowl’, ‘basin’, but a tool shaped like a shoulder-blade, *scapula*.

89 Harley B108, Cleopatra B146.

gloss *morthol* (< *martulus* [*martellus*]) means ‘hammer’.⁹⁰ I can find no other attestation. Loth only seems to stand on firmer ground with STIPA (< *stuppa*, ‘flax’, ‘tow’, ‘oakum’), meaning ‘plug’ or ‘bung’, although according to him the gloss should read *ebil* rather than *edil*.⁹¹ In all events, *stipa* should be a metal tool. Another mystery is GEPTIO, glossed *orat*.⁹² Unfortunately, *geptio* is nowhere attested. Neither is LAVETA, which is now missing its gloss as a result of trimming.

A third glossary-list supplies accoutrements for horses. PAGLVM (< Latin *repagulum*) disguises what occurs as *bagula*, ‘bridle’, in the Corpus (B4), Antwerp (‘*Bagula, bridel .i. frenum*’), and Harley Glossaries: *bagulum frenum* (B21).⁹³ Latin ANTELLA can be recognised as *antela*, Old-English *forðgyrd* (‘foregirdle’).⁹⁴ FEMORALE is attested as a plural, *femoralia*, meaning ‘breeches’, ‘drawers’.⁹⁵ The vague term BVLLO may come from the word for ‘birch’ and denote a rod. Du Cange recorded *bullum* as *baculum pastoris*; Papias defined *bulus* as *baculus mali pastoris*.⁹⁶ According to Loth, however, the gloss *bronnced* means ‘breast-cover’.⁹⁷ The word APPETITORIVM is unknown outside this text, but one possible

90 Loth, *Vocabulaire*, p. 189, s.v. *morthol*. Cf. Placidus, *Libri Glossarum*, in *Corpus*, edd. Goetz *et al.*, V.43-104, at p. 59.24: ‘*cribrum setacium* [MS. *setatium*] ad polline<m>’ (= ‘grain-sieve’).

91 Loth, *Vocabulaire*, p. 115; Zeuss proposed *eiddil* «tenuis», *eddwl* «bordure, frange» (*Grammatica Celtica*, II.1093-4 [2nd edn, p. 1062], notes on 42^b), but neither matches any known sense of *stipa*. The meaning is complicated by an alternative reading *etlol* proposed by Craster (‘The glosses’, p. 135; cf. Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, p. 56, s.v. *etlol*).

92 Craster read *orat* (‘The glosses’, p. 135); cf. Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, p. 36, s.v. *crat*, where we are told ‘see *orat*’, but the entry for *orat* has been omitted from p. 125.

93 *The Corpus Glossary*, ed. Lindsay, p. 23; Antwerp 66.15 (ed. Kindschi); *The Harley Latin–Old English Glossary*, ed. Oliphant, p. 23.

94 *antela*: *forðgyrd* (Antwerp 76.4); *Ælfrics Grammatik*, ed. Zupitza, I.317.15-16. See *Dictionary*, edd. Latham *et al.*, I.93, s.v. *antela*, for a proposed derivation from *antilena*: ‘breast girth or forepeak of saddle (saddle-bow)’.

95 Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-list*, p. 187, s.v. *fem-*; cf. *Ælfrics Grammatik*, ed. Zupitza, I.315.1, *femoralia*: *brec*; perhaps ‘riding breeches’, ‘chaps’. The Editors of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources* have likewise defined it as an article of clothing: ‘minimum clothing for male decency’.

96 Charles du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis* (new edn, by L. Favre, 10 vols, Niort 1884-7), I.778, s.v.

97 *Vocabulaire*, p. 60: ‘voile pour la poitrine’.

meaning is ‘bridle’ or something which curbs a horse’s passion. Loth translated its gloss *gurtharet* as ‘qui est sur le ventre’.⁹⁸ The phrase VENTRIS LORA, glossed *torcigel*, should mean ‘breast-cord’. LORA, which comes from III Kings 7:29, is attested in the Cleopatra Glossary meaning *rapas* (‘ropes’), in 1282 meaning ‘narrow strip’, and by *ca* 1500 ‘rein’.⁹⁹ The term SVDARIS must derive from an etymon of *sudor*, ‘sweat’. *Sudarium*, ‘handkerchief’, is widely attested. Du Cange defined *sudaria* as ‘stragulum, quo equus insternitur, ne ejus sudor equitem inficiat’, but *sudaria* is first-declension, according to the attestation.¹⁰⁰ Almost certainly, *sudaris* is a horse-blanket of some sort. Latham stated that SAMBVCA is a woman’s saddle or saddle-cloth, SAMBVLLA a ‘side-saddle’, but he also drew attention to *cambuca*, ‘crozier’ or ‘staff’.¹⁰¹ VLTIA in a list of terms for horse-accoutrements seems to be attested in the Antwerp Glossary by a hitherto unrecognised Brittonic word for ‘prod’: ‘ulcea: *garan*’.¹⁰² One recension of the ‘Abavus Glossary’ reads *bipinnis geminata ultio*,¹⁰³ where *ultio* must be a knife or scraper. Yet Loth translated the gloss *guopell* as ‘selle, couverture’.¹⁰⁴ The word ARMELLA, glossed by the loan *armell*, means ‘bracelet’ according to the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, but in this context it is likely to be a hobble.¹⁰⁵ Loth thought that the gloss *armell* means ‘armoire’.¹⁰⁶ The term

98 *Ibid.*, p. 149. The Editors of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources* have suggested ‘some item of horse’s tack or caparison, a “striver”’.

99 Cf. excerpts from *Liber glossarum* (*Corpus*, ed. Goetz, V.xx-xxvi and 161-255, at p. 219.5: *loramenta*] *plura lora*). See *Dictionary*, edd. Latham *et al.*, I.1644, and compare *lorale* (‘rein, bridle; bit, curb’) and *loramentum* (‘strap, thong, cord, rope’).

100 Du Cange, *Glossarium*, VII.646, s.v. (‘Vita S. Guillelmi Firmati’ by Stephanus of Rennes).

101 Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-list*, p. 418, s.vv.

102 Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 182 (159), folio 302 (290): *garan* glosses *runcina* (‘plane’), but, as Fleuriot observed, ‘Le sens normal de «runcina» est «rabet», mais il ne semble pas que ce soit les sens exacts ici: cf. «ferrum .. curuum» et le bret. *garan* «jable à faire des rainures, instrument à cauer boys»: Léon Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en Vieux Breton* (Paris 1964), p. 173 (cf. p. 6), s.v. The word is unrelated to Old-English *gare*; cf. A. E. H. Swaen, ‘Contributions to Anglo-Saxon lexicography’, *Neophilologus* 28 (1942/3) 42-9, at p. 46.

103 *Corpus*, edd. Goetz *et al.*, IV.589-99, at p. 592.48.

104 *Vocabulaire*, p. 144.

105 *Dictionary*, edd. Latham *et al.*, I.127, s.v. *armilla*.

106 *Vocabulaire*, p. 47, s.v.

GLOMERARIUM is unattested outside this text. Loth defined *hloimol* – its gloss – as ‘qui sert à réunir’, taking *glomerum* to mean ‘bâton pastoral’, ‘staff’.¹⁰⁷ Yet in the last quarter of the twelfth century Huguccio defined *glomerum* as *pallium pastorale*, and a *glomerium* attested in 1483 has been defined as ‘cloak’.¹⁰⁸

I have indulged in my benign logorrhoea, giving multiple interpretations of rare Latin words for a deliberate effect: many are so obscure that they are unattested elsewhere except infrequently in more or less contemporaneous Anglo-Saxon glossaries. Having exposed the obscurity of vocabulary in this ostensible teaching text, let us look more closely at the Brittonic glosses, for there seems to be a correlation between the concentration of indecipherable Latin nouns and identifiably Cornish words.

Everyone agrees that individual gloss-contributions in MS. Bodley 572 are either Cornish or Welsh, or, in Kenneth Jackson’s judgment, ‘the glosses are fundamentally Welsh, though they may seem to have a Cornish veneer in some cases’.¹⁰⁹ While Henry Bradshaw called the glosses Cornish,¹¹⁰ this middle position has been advocated by Loth, Lindsay, Jackson, Fleuriot, and Dumville.¹¹¹ The problem in separating

107 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

108 *Dictionary*, edd. Latham *et al.*, I.1083, *s.v.*

109 Jackson, *Language*, p. 56. In fact, Dumville first observed the linguistic distribution of glosses which I confirm here: ‘Embedded in the text are Old Welsh lexical glosses, occasionally displaying two levels of accretion. Some of these have been eased partially into Old Cornish guise. Then, interlineally, but still by the same scribe, are Latin and more Old Brittonic glosses, this time generally showing a heavier Cornish element’ (‘A *Thesaurus Palaeoanglicus?*’, p. 66).

110 Henry Bradshaw, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge 1889), pp. 451-88 (written in 1877): see pp. 470 (‘... *Codex Oxoniensis posterior* of Zeuss, which I had always believed to be rather Cornish than Welsh ... The fourth fasciculus ... must belong to the Cornish-Breton rather than to the Welsh family’), 472 (referring to ‘the four Cornish portions of MS. Bodl. 572’), 486 (‘Text [Latin] with Cornish glosses’). But compare Bradshaw’s earlier remarks, first published in 1871 (*ibid.*, p. 283): ‘(Bodl. 572) containing some Welsh glosses on a Latin text’.

111 Respectively, Loth, *Vocabulaire*; Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*; Jackson, ‘Brittonica’; Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*; Dumville, ‘A *Thesaurus Palaeoanglicus?*’. Jackson (*Language*, p. 55) charitably cited Joseph Loth’s article, ‘Les gloses de l’*Oxoniensis Posterior* sont-elles corniques?’, *Revue celtique* 14 (1893) 70, in which Loth proclaimed that they are not Cornish. Loth began this note by stating, ‘Il est de convention que les gloses de l’*Oxoniensis posterior* ... sont corniques et non galloises’. Ironically, Loth himself did more (in *Vocabulaire*) than anyone, including Henry Bradshaw, to uphold the Cornish element of glosses to *De raris fabulis*, a fact

Old Welsh from Old Cornish (and Old Breton) is that in this early period they were mutually intelligible Brittonic dialects but nowadays found in very few sources. Let me summarise the evidence pertaining to the glosses of *De raris fabulis* as I understand it. Relying on the work of Celtic philologists, I propose to winnow out what we know certainly to be Welsh from what has been called ‘Cornish’. The following cases are likely to be Old Welsh. Asterisks indicate glosses embedded in the text.

1. /au/ for /ā/ in final syllables or in monosyllables:¹¹² 30 *bracaut*/114 **brachaut*,¹¹³ 35 *laubael*,¹¹⁴ 37 *dinaut*,¹¹⁵ 116 **plumauc*,¹¹⁶ 131b/155b (*) *didaul*.¹¹⁷

2. /ō, ũ/ > /ĩ, e/ (vowel-affection): 2 *peteu* (addition),¹¹⁸ 44b *gilb* (= *gilbin*),¹¹⁹ 53a *creman*,¹²⁰ 64a **celleell*,¹²¹ 115/120 **cilcet*,¹²² 123 **lichou*,¹²³ 25 *emmeni*¹²⁴

3. vowel-reduction: 142 **hínhám*,¹²⁵ 41 *cemecid*,¹²⁶ 49a *ennian*,¹²⁷ 137 **hair*¹²⁸

which Jackson omitted to mention in this context.

112 Fleuriot suggested also 4 *guerclaud* (*Dictionnaire*, p. 21), but the manuscript reads *guertland*: cf. Loth, *Vocabulaire*, p. 136; W. Stokes, ‘The Old-Welsh glosses on Martianus Capella, with some notes on the Juvencus-glosses’, *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung* 7 (1871-3) 385-416, at p. 415; Rhÿs, ‘Die kymrischen Glossen zu Oxford’, p. 235.

113 §§6, 17. Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*, p. 22; Loth, *Vocabulaire*, p. 25.

114 §8.

115 §8. Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*, p. 22.

116 §18. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

117 §§20, 24. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

118 §2.

119 §8. Loth (*Vocabulaire*, p. 25) called these ‘gallois (ou cornique?)’.

120 §8

121 §8

122 §18

123 §20. Loth, ‘Les gloses’ (specifically ‘l’affaiblissement de *ō* en syllabe initiale devant spirante ou liquide plus consonne’); Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*, p. 20; Jackson, *Language*, p. 668. Loth (*Vocabulaire*, p. 25) first explained 123 *lichou* as vowel-affection.

124 §6. Jackson, ‘Brittonica’, p. 75.

125 §22.

126 §8.

127 §8.

128 §22.

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- ?4. *ei*-spelling of *a*-affection: 118 **gueli liein*¹²⁹
 5. /nt/ > /nh/ in medial position: 128 **cannuill*¹³⁰
 6. /st/ > /s/ or /ss/: 63 *sumpl* (< *stimulus*)¹³¹
 7. /lt/ > /ll/ internally: 64a **celleell*,¹³² 66 *guillihim*¹³³
 8. diphthong /ui/, spelt *ui* in Welsh (*oi* in Cornish and Breton):¹³⁴ 128 **cannuill*,¹³⁵ 71 **ocoluin*,¹³⁶ 79/80 *fruinn*¹³⁷

One other problem deserves mention. The term **corruui* (§13) is unprecedented. Jackson suggested that it was ‘a comparatively late loan from the lower level of [Vulgar-Latin] speakers ... or from Continental [Vulgar Latin], in which it was already fully **correja*, or better still the stage **correia* of the fifth to sixth century in Gaul’.¹³⁸ Lately, however, Peter Schrijver has proposed a highly plausible Old-Welsh etymology in answer to a hybrid form suggested by D. Ellis Evans.¹³⁹ On balance, **corruui* looks to be Welsh.

As far as can be determined, this is the entire linguistic evidence for Old Welsh. It is slender – a mere 26 words out of 112 – but in most respects decisive.

The evidence for Cornish is even slighter and marginally less firm. In the first instance, however, we do find an Anglo-Saxon spelling *laiðwer* (§6), with the Old English graphs ‘eth’ and ‘wynn’, associated in manuscripts with Cornwall and Brittany because of Anglo-Saxon

129 §18. I suggest only from context that this word is Welsh. The form *liein* is ambiguous: while *ie* is a Cornish spelling and *ei* Welsh, *-iei-* may represent a correction from either language.

130 §20. Loth, ‘Les gloses’; Jackson, ‘Brittonica’, p. 72.

131 §8. Loth, *Vocabulaire*, p. 20; Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*, p. 23.

132 §8.

133 §8. *Ibid.*, p. 22; Jackson, ‘Brittonica’, p. 72.

134 Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*, p. 19; Jackson, *Language*, p. 55, n. 1. In fact, this feature is the most doubtful indication of Old Welsh, since scribes were inherently likely to alternate the spellings *ui/oi*.

135 §20.

136 §8.

137 §13.

138 Jackson, *Language*, p. 450.

139 D. E. Evans, ‘OW. *corruui*, MW. *carrei*’, *Studia Celtica* 10/11 (1975/6) 74-7; Peter Schrijver, *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology* (Amsterdam 1995), pp. 313-16.

influence on their orthography. Secondly, Kenneth Jackson wrote substantively, if sceptically, about Cornish glosses in Bodley 572, claiming that ‘some’ glosses have orthographic ‘peculiarities’, as distinct from a handful of spellings attesting to Cornish phonological traits. The following evidence subsumes Jackson’s orthographic peculiarities.

1. svarabhakti vowels represented by *-e-* instead of *-i-*:¹⁴⁰ 42a *tarater*,¹⁴¹ 81a *cepister*,¹⁴² 87 *torcigel*.¹⁴³

2. *-lt-* > *-ll-* fails: 55 *cultir*,¹⁴⁴ 64b *cultel*.¹⁴⁵

3. *o* appears for *ā* in final syllables: 6 *edol*,¹⁴⁶ 94 *hloimol* (*hloimm* + a suffix deriving from *-/ālo/-*).¹⁴⁷

4. showing lenition in internal consonants, that is, influence of Anglo-Saxon orthography (the relevant consonant is emboldened here):¹⁴⁸ 23

140 Jackson thought the svarabhakti in Welsh and Cornish ‘about contemporary’ (*Language*, p. 338). While calling these two examples Old Welsh (*ibid.*, p. 337), Jackson observed that the vowel is almost always represented by *-e-* in Cornish, *-i-* in Welsh. Note 55 *cultir*, with svarabhakti in *-i-*.

141 §8.

142 §13.

143 §13.

144 §8.

145 §8. Cf. Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, p. 38, s.v.: ‘This could be a Latin word or a learned loan from Lat. *cultellus* ...’.

146 §3.

147 §13. The manumissions in ‘The Bodmin Gospels’ have *-o-* universally. Jackson found *hloimol* unconvincing, since no etymology of the word is known (*Language*, p. 479), but Fleuriot accepted it as a symptom of lenis /l/ (*Dictionnaire*, p. 22). For Jackson the difficulty lay not with *-ol* but with *hl-* as a Cornish symptom. Cf. Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (2 vols, Göttingen 1908-13), I.13 (§13): ‘Ein stimmloses *l* war wenigstens im Neucornischen nicht vorhanden’. Yet this spelling is suggestive. *Edol* is problematic: Loth suggested *ebol* for this word (*Vocabulaire*, p. 25). On the basis of these two words, Loth (*ibid.*) proposed Devon as a place of origin: ‘Il n’est donc pas prouvé, de ce chef, que l’Oxoniensis prior sont cornique: il semble que ce manuscrit ait été écrit par un Breton d’une zone intermédiaire entre le pays de Galles et la Cornouailles, peut-être de Devon’; the context suggests that Loth meant ‘Oxoniensis posterior’, a slip correctable from his remarks in ‘Les gloses’.

148 Although most references to this orthography describe it as showing lenition, such spellings are most accurately considered the degeneration of the old Brittonic spelling system under English influence; cf. Olson & Padel, ‘A tenth-century list’, pp. 38-9: ‘... Old Welsh, Old Cornish, and Old Breton ... shared a common orthographic system. The distinctive feature of this system was that it failed to show the pan-Brittonic lenition which had occurred during the fifth century, and whereby intervocalic /p, t, k/ had become voiced (giving the sounds /b, d, g/) and

laiðwer,¹⁴⁹ 102 **casgoord*,¹⁵⁰ 117 *gubennid*,¹⁵¹ 103 *hendat*,¹⁵² 105
**modreped*.¹⁵³

5. Initial *u* is everywhere *guo* or *gu* except in 34 *uiddimm*,¹⁵⁴ the only one of three words showing this which is not borrowed from Latin and therefore not subject to change by analogy.¹⁵⁵ By this argument, the eccentric *uiddimm* is Cornish.¹⁵⁶

6. The spelling of the diphthong *oi* in Old Cornish (represented by *ui* in Old Welsh): 48a **cloiumn*,¹⁵⁷ 82 *postoloin*.¹⁵⁸

By my count these amount to fifteen words in total, out of 112.

Some 71 words therefore show no diagnostic features which mark them out as Cornish or Welsh: they could be either.

Having investigated the Brittonic glosses in some detail, we may consider where and when they were accreted, the Welsh glosses first. It

intervocalic /b, d, g/ had become spirant sounds ... Cornwall came under foreign influence more thoroughly, and at an earlier date, than did Wales or Brittany. As a result hardly any Old Cornish written purely in the distinctive orthography survives, most Old Cornish showing English influence in its spellings’.

149 §6.

150 §16.

151 §18.

152 §16.

153 §16.

154 §8.

155 By analysis of words in the Cartulary of Redon, Joseph Loth showed that *u-* and *uu-* rarely occurred, in fact only once or twice after 878: *Chrestomathie bretonne (Armoricaïn, Gallois, Cornique)*, I, ed. Joseph Loth (Paris 1890), pp. 102-81. Admittedly, the situation with the glosses differs, but even Jackson conceded Loth’s original conclusion: ‘The full *gw-* may have been reached at varying rates in the three dialects; in Welsh it was evidently so by the later eighth century, in Breton by the ninth, in Cornish by the tenth’ (Jackson, *Language*, p. 390); Loth, *Vocabulaire*, p. 15, ‘En cornique, *v* n’est pas complètement transformé à la fin du x^e ou au commencement du xi^e siècle’. Loth concluded (*ibid.*, p. 21): ‘*L’Oxoniensis posterior* présentant un cas de *uu* initial, et quatre [*sic*] cas d’affaiblissement des ténues, et étant probablement cornique, comme nous allons le montrer, nous pouvons, sans trop de hardiesse, le supposer de la fin du x^e siècle’. Earlier Loth had said of Welsh (*ibid.*, p. 13), ‘En gallois, le *v* paraît être resté *uu* jusque vers la fin du viii^e siècle, si nous en jugeons par l’exemple de Bède cité plus haut ... Au ix^e siècle, il est certainement de bonne heure, et sans doute dès les début, devenu *guo*, *gu*.’

156 Some other words have been called Old Cornish, probably for reasons of context alone: 20 *iot*, 23 *iotum*, 99 **iotum*, 17 *cennin* (Jackson, ‘Brittonica’, p. 76), 59 *iou* (*ibid.*, pp. 75-6).

157 §8.

158 §13.

cannot be coincidental that the identifiably Old-Welsh contributions in this text, even those which Fleuriot thought to be doubtful, occur substantially in glosses embedded in the text. The exceptions amount to six out of 72 interlinear Brittonic glosses, six out of twenty-six words known to be Welsh.¹⁵⁹ One might conclude from this distribution of the evidence that *De raris fabulis* had been written and glossed in Wales, perhaps over many generations prior to the integration of the glosses into a single stratum of the text. Yet two observations must be made here. First, sixteen of the Welsh glosses embedded in the text are found in the second half of *De raris fabulis*, from §15 onwards. In fact, 59 of the 72 embedded glosses (82%) occur in §§15 and following. One finds fully three quarters of the identifiably Welsh words in these dialogues. Secondly, the terms glossed by identifiably Welsh words are themselves for the most part widely attested Latin words.¹⁶⁰

In contrast to the Welsh glosses, the identifiably Cornish glosses come from the interlinear stratum. Momentarily setting aside the four orthographical variants showing lenition, we find only the eccentric 89 **corruui* integrated into the text. In contrast to the words glossed in Welsh, nearly all of the interlinear Cornish glosses render Latin lemmata of exceeding rarity.¹⁶¹ These rare words, I must point out, are found solely in the first thirteen colloquies.

Two explanations of the linguistic profile of *De raris fabulis* have been proposed: Joseph Loth suggested that the text had been glossed in

159 The six exceptions, which appear in the interlinear glosses, are: 30 *bracaut*, 35 *laubael*, 37 *dinaut*, 44b *gilb*, 63 *sumpl*, 66 *guillihim*. 2 *peteu* is in a later hand.

160 30 MVLSVM, 37 PIPINNIS, 63 STIMVLVS, 64 ARTAVVM, 66 FORCEPS, 71 COS, 114 MELLIGRATVM, 115 TAPISETA, 116 PVLVINARE, 118 CVBILE, 120 STRATORIVM, 123 PALVS, 128 LICHINVM, 129 FORNILIVM, 131 EXPERS, 155 EXPERTES. The sole exception to this is 129 FORNILIVM. Loth defined the curious FORNILIVM as ‘brindilles’, meaning ‘twigs’ or ‘sprigs’, with which one starts a bakehouse-fire (*Vocabulaire*, p. 190, s.v. *munutolau*). He arrived at this meaning from Du Cange: ‘[fornilia] dicitur de minoribus lignis et vepretis siccatis calefaciendo furno’ (*Glossarium*, III.569-70, s.v. *fornilia*). *Fornilia* is, however, first-declension here. Other related terms are *furnillum/fornillum*, a room where a *furnus* is located.

161 6 CROVITORIO, 23 LACTICVLA, 34 LIGNICISMVS, 42 SCAPA, 53 BAXVS, 87 VENTRIS LORA, 94 GLOMERARIVM. The exceptions are 20 PVLTVM, 23 IVS.

an area proximate (*limitrophe*) to Wales and Cornwall,¹⁶² whereas Kenneth Jackson suggested ‘a Cornishman in Wales or a Welshman in Cornwall’.¹⁶³ To treat the glosses as monolithic and casual yields positions like these, but let me propose another approach. Imagine two separate colloquy-collections, A and B. ‘Collection A’ corresponds to §§1-13, ‘collection B’ to §§15-23. Each portion was augmented with lists of terms arranged by class – foods, tools, accoutrements, family-relationships, and social ranks – placed in the margins. Such augmentation is by no means exceptional: Ælfric Bata borrowed material from *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana*, Isidore’s *Synonyma*, and the Book of Proverbs to enhance his own *Colloquia*.¹⁶⁴ In ‘collection B’ these marginal glosses were of intermediate difficulty and had Old-Welsh translations. By contrast, lists from ‘collection A’ were drawn from a Latin-Cornish class-glossary which included many anomalous words.

Now imagine that each colloquy-collection had a separate existence in its own sphere until a time when a single compiler joined both to make up a text antecedent to that which we now call *De raris fabulis*. Let me propose that this compiler was consistent in his method of copying: he transcribed all the glosses from both collections and placed them in the body of *De raris fabulis*. At this point, ‘collection B’ had many glosses, whereas ‘collection A’ had relatively few. Indeed, this latter portion did not yet have the lists of Cornish glosses. It is impossible to know where this compiler originally combined the two colloquy-collections: Wales and Cornwall are both possible. Theoretically, however, the originary *De raris fabulis* may have travelled to, or been conjoined in, Cornwall, reasons for which derive

162 Loth, ‘Les gloses’: ‘Ces gloses ne proviennent probablement pas du pays de Galles actuel, mais d’un territoire limitrophe, rattaché linguistiquement à la principauté, comme le territoire du Gloucestershire ou du Somersetshire’.

163 Jackson, *Language*, p. 56. Jackson objected to Loth’s position because there simply were no such contiguous dialectal zones. W. M. Lindsay suggested that *De raris fabulis* came from Wales on the basis of ‘Welsh’ glosses (*Early Welsh Script*, pp. 26-32, at 28-9). Yet Lindsay hedged: ‘still it is incredible that a Cornish scribe would leave Welsh glosses in their unfamiliar form, without making the few changes necessary to make them familiar to his readers’ (p. 28).

164 Gwara, ‘Ælfric Bata’s manuscripts’, p. 240; *Latin Colloquies*, ed. Gwara, pp. 74-9 and 125-8.

from three embedded glosses.

In the portion of *De raris fabulis* corresponding to ‘collection A’ eleven glosses are embedded in the text.¹⁶⁵ Three points are noteworthy here. First, none of these glosses occurs in an ungrammatical context, in a way which would suggest a glossary as the source. Apparently, at this stage of compilation, only ‘collection B’ had been augmented from glossaries. Secondly, at least three of these words are very obscure (*foratorium*, *femorale*, *bullo*), and *bullo*, in fact, is not known to occur anywhere else. Thirdly, of these eleven embedded glosses, *celleell* is identifiably Old Welsh (and *ocoluin* and *corruui* are plausibly so), whereas *cultel* (and possibly *cloiumn*) are Old Cornish. Interestingly, *celleell* and *cultel* both gloss ARTAVVM, and both derive from Latin *cultellum*, suggesting that a Cornish reader was annotating the Old-Welsh glosses in this part of *De raris fabulis*. This represents the only gloss with two embedded Brittonic terms. What seems feasible from this evidence is that ‘collection A’ also had Welsh glosses, which were copied out intratextually. ‘Collection B’ does not have any incontrovertible embedded Old-Cornish glosses, but it does betray (in §16) two terms disclosing lenition in their orthography, a feature commonly associated with Cornish: *casgoord* and *modreped*.¹⁶⁶ If Cornish, these belong with *cultel* as the earliest Cornish stratum of annotations in the conjoined dialogues.

Ultimately, two positions are admissible on the basis of the distribution of Old Welsh in *De raris fabulis*: ‘collection A’ was glossed by a Welshman (or Welshmen) different from the individual(s) who glossed ‘collection B’; or else both collections fell into the hands of the same Welsh scholars who glossed ‘collection B’. Whatever the circumstances, Old-Cornish *cultel* (and possibly *casgoord* and *modreped*) point to a Cornishman, and one may therefore cautiously think that *De raris fabulis* had migrated to Cornwall where *cultel* and

165 27 SECVRIS] **bahell*; 44 FORATORIUM] **.i. onnpresen, gilb*; 42 METALLVM] **uel cloiumn, mas*; 64 ARTAVVM] **cultel *.i. celleell*; 71 COS] **ocoluin*; 72 GILVVM] **melin*; 78 FEMORALE] **partuncul*; 79 BVLLO] **bronnced*; 82 FIBVLA] **fual, facto*; 89 CORRIGIVM] **corruui*.

166 109 **iotum* also belongs to this stratum as a possible Cornish word; see n. 156, above.

other Old-Cornish words were added. (The alternative is to envisage a Cornishman resident in Wales, who would have copied and transported *De raris fabulis* to Cornwall.)

I recapitulate: we have arrived at a stage of transmission where ‘collection A’ had been joined to ‘collection B’ to form *De raris fabulis*. I have reasoned that all the glosses then attached to the two collections were, when copied, embedded in the text at this stage of copying. The next stage of transmission necessarily involved the accretion of the interlinear annotations. As I have mentioned, the identifiably Old-Welsh glosses occur mostly as embedded glosses in the second half of the text, in §§15 and following.¹⁶⁷ The portion of *De raris fabulis* derived from ‘collection B’ has no embedded glosses which are identifiably Cornish. (Recall that at least fourteen of these interventions are recognisably Welsh.) Furthermore, §§15-23 of *De raris fabulis* have only six interlinear glosses in total, two of which are Latin: the four vernacular glosses are *hendat* (§16), *henmam* (§16), *gubennid* (§18), *mair* (§20). None of these Brittonic words is identifiably Welsh or Cornish, with the possible exception of *gubennid*, which shows lenition in its orthography and therefore ‘looks’ Cornish. Plainly, after the two hypothetical colloquy-collections had been merged to form *De raris fabulis*, the composite text was glossed by a Welshman or Welshmen – but almost certainly not the same writer responsible for the embedded glosses. In two cases the embedded glosses show aspiration absent in the same words of the interlinear glosses.¹⁶⁸

While a Welshman or Welshmen annotated *De raris fabulis*, distinctively Cornish words were also added from a glossary at this stage, possibly by more than one individual. These words are reflected in the Old-Cornish interlinear glosses to rare Latin terms, most of which are contextually ungrammatical. Given that some lemmata glossed by

167 The exceptions in §§1-13 include the embedded glosses 64 **celleell*, 71 **ocoluin*, and 89 **corruui*, and the interlinear glosses 2 *peteu*, 30 *bracaut*, 35 *laubael*, 37 *dinaut*, 44b *gilb*, 63 *sumpl*, 66 *guillihim*. In fact, this section also has (in §8) two out of the three instances in which two Brittonic glosses were attached to a lemma, one gloss embedded and one interlinear: 44 FORATORIVM] (a) *.i. *onnpresen*, (b) *gilb*; 48 METALLVM] (a) **uel cloiumn*, (b) *mas*.

168 27 **bahell* vs 35 *laubael*; 114 **brachaut* vs 25 *bracaut*.

Welsh terms in this section are also obscure (*foratorium*, *femorale*, *bullo*), we might conjecture that more than one person plundered a source of rare words for terms in §§1-13.

But this source was not a list of just any obscure words. Many of them are attested only in Celtic Latin sources or in works by authors living in western environs. *Galmulum* occurs in two Irish saints' Lives, *lignicismus* in the *Panormia* of Osbern of Gloucester, *spumaticum* in *Hisperica famina*, and *crofitorium* in the Middle-Breton *Catholicon armoricum*. I propose that these words and others in the stratum to which they belong are not merely 'hard words' but that they explicitly document a Celtic latinity.¹⁶⁹ Much points to the west as the area of circulation for words and sources of *De raris fabulis*. In fact, Diogenes the Cynic's apocryphal retort to Alexander the Great, "Don't stand between me and the sunshine", is recorded in *De raris fabulis*, in a source whose closest parallel exists in Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* from 1327.¹⁷⁰ Ranulph lived at St Werburgh's Abbey, Chester.

Finding a national Latin like the one partially recorded in *De raris fabulis* always engenders scepticism. Indeed, it can be objected that *De raris fabulis* shares many rare words with one or more of three Anglo-Saxon glossaries: Antwerp, Cleopatra, and Harley. This relationship can be depicted graphically.

<i>De raris fabulis</i>	<i>Antwerp</i>	<i>Cleopatra</i>	<i>Harley</i>
baxus		baxus	baxus
bipinnis	bipennis		bipinnis
cipus		cipus	cipus

169 It occurs to me that these words may be more localised, since they have the hallmarks of coinages. A substantial minority terminates in *-ium*: 9 CONCLAVIVM; 14 SECALIVM; 21 FORDALIVM; 39 FOSARIVM; 44 FORATORIVM; 52 ROSARIVM; 86 APPETITORIVM; 94 GLOMERARIVM (cf. 129 FORNILIVM, 156 ACCEPTVRIVM, not to mention the more common 89 CORRIGIVM, 95 CAVTERIVM, 98 GALLINIVM, 99 CONTICINIVM, 100 BENEFICIVM, 120 STRATORIVM).

170 S. Gwara, 'Diogenes the Cynic in the scholastic dialogues called *De raris fabulis*', *ANQ* 17, no. 1 (2004) 3-6.

colomaticus		colomata	colomata
crofitorium			crouitorium ¹⁷¹
fordalium		fordalium	fordalium (<i>bis</i>)
lora		lora	
paglum	bagula		bagulum
spumaticum	spumaticum		

One may see immediately that the Cleopatra and Harley Glossaries share words not found in Antwerp; in my view, these almost certainly derive from a Celtic Latin glossary of rare words which underlies these entries and others. (*Lora* in Cleopatra may be fortuitously recorded from a Bible-batch.) The large proportion of rare words shared by the Harley Glossary and *De raris fabulis* is meaningfully highlighted by other circumstances of transmission. Michael Herren has shown that up to forty entries in the Harley Glossary come from Hiberno-Latin sources, including the A-text of *Hisperica Famina*, the *Lorica* of Laidcenn, the poem known as *Rubisca*, and *Adelphus Adelpha Meter*.¹⁷² The Harley Glossary has lately been traced to Worcester,¹⁷³ confirming Ker's suspicion of a 'western' origin based on Middle-English glosses and the Brittonic gloss *guohioc* (C1847).¹⁷⁴ In fact, Otto Schlutter noticed two more Brittonic words in the Harley Glossary (*glasin* [B28], *mældropa* [F456]) as well as two others possibly recorded in the Cleopatra Glossary (*ol*, *billere*).¹⁷⁵ Jackson insisted that *guohioc* is not Welsh and suggested that it was Cornish on the basis of the Old-English context.¹⁷⁶ The other words are ambiguous both in orthography and in language. Other correspondences may be cited among the commoner words,

171 C2128. This word occurs independently of a glossary-list.

172 'Hiberno-Latin sources of Harley 3376, a Latin–Old English glossary', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. Michael Korhammer *et al.* (Cambridge 1992), pp. 371-9.

173 Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 55 and n. 242, and *Liturgy*, p. 136 and n. 301.

174 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 313.

175 Cleopatra 345.180 (MS. *sol*) and 40.19, respectively. O. B. Schlutter, 'Anglo-Saxonica', *Anglia* 33 [N.F., 21] (1910) 137-42.

176 Jackson, *Language*, p. 67; cf. Dumville, 'A *Thesaurus Palaeoanglicus?*', p. 67, n. 31.

notably *ascia*, *fosarium* (= *fossorium*), *foratorium*. One may speculatively suggest, then, that the Harley Glossary preserves terms from an identifiably Celtic Latin strain partially recorded in a Latin-Cornish glossary consulted by at least one reader of *De raris fabulis*.

The Antwerp Glossary may be related in the same way, not only in its Latin words affiliated with those in *De raris fabulis* but also in the Brittonic *garan*. What is more, the Antwerp Glossary is indisputably tied to the homilist Ælfric, since the manuscript preserves the source of his famous Old-English grammar in *Excerptiones de Prisciano*.¹⁷⁷ The Antwerp manuscript likewise contains Ælfric Bata's revision of his teacher Ælfric's 'Colloquy'.¹⁷⁸ We know, too, that MS. Bodley 572 contains, among its additions, a cryptographic system connecting it with Winchester and possibly also with Ælfric Bata himself. We know that Ælfric Bata had access to a version of *De raris fabulis* very closely resembling *Retractata*. True, Ælfric was schooled at Winchester in the classroom of the legendary Bishop Æthelwold (*ob.* 984), a disciple of St Dunstan's (*ob.* 988) at Glastonbury in the 940s or early 950s. But we need not look to Glastonbury for Celtic influence at Winchester.¹⁷⁹ Another schoolmaster resided at Winchester, too, a Welshman named Iorwerth.

Ioruert (Iorwerth) is mentioned in two dialogue-poems called *Altercatio magistri et discipuli* and *Responsio discipuli*, both attributed either to Lantfred of Fleury (later a monk of Winchester) or to Wulfstan

177 Vivien Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (Harlow 1997), pp. 200-23; *Excerptiones de Prisciano. The Source for Ælfric's Latin-Old English Grammar*, ed. David W. Porter (Cambridge 2002).

178 D. W. Porter, 'Ælfric's *Colloquy* and Ælfric Bata', *Neophilologus* 80 (1996) 639-60. In fact, the versions of Ælfric's 'Colloquy' found in the manuscript at Antwerp and in Oxford, St John's College, MS. 154 are manifestly variants, probably written by Ælfric Bata. For Ælfric's work, see *Ælfric's Colloquy*, ed. G. N. Garmonsway (2nd edn, London 1947). For discussion of its pristine form, see J. Zupitza, 'Die ursprüngliche Gestalt von Älfrics Colloquium', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Litteratur* 31 [N.F., 19] (1887) 32-45.

179 The possibility exists, however, for just this kind of influence: cf. O. J. Padel, 'Glastonbury's Cornish connections', in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey. Essays in Honour of the Ninetieth Birthday of C. A. Raleigh Radford*, edd. Lesley Abrams & J. P. Carley (Woodbridge 1991), pp. 245-56.

of Winchester.¹⁸⁰ The dialogue-form provides pure hilarity and is mockingly offensive: ‘the cunning and unsavoury rascal bears a resemblance to such a monstrosity, the monster, the foolish slanderer, the crazy buffoon if not foul bag of bones, the sot ...’.¹⁸¹ The student comes out on top, but the boastful Iorwerth has some abstruse knowledge to impart as well. For me the interest lies not merely in Iorwerth’s performance but also in the debate-form, similar to that of the verbal duel in *Hisperica famina* and *Colloquium hispericum*.¹⁸² Could this Iorwerth have taught Ælfric, and did the curriculum at Winchester include such verbal sparring? None of the rare words in *De raris fabulis* appears in either poem. But when one looks for a route by which a scholastic colloquy resembling either *De raris fabulis* or *Retractata* could have spawned a tradition at Canterbury, a link extending from Iorwerth to Ælfric and thence to Ælfric Bata appears compelling.

Even more enticing would be to connect Ælfric Bata or his school with the so-called *Vocabularium cornicum*, a glossary based on Ælfric’s but with Cornish replacing the Old-English translations of Latin terms. With an admixture of Cornish, Welsh, and Anglo-Norman, the text betrays a complicated history. Whether or not one agrees with Robin Flower that the manuscript had been copied at Brecon Priory (Wales),¹⁸³ the remarkable fact remains that peculiarly strong ties exist between *De raris fabulis*, Cornwall, Ælfric of Eynsham, and Ælfric Bata. Ælfric Bata seems to have lived on into the eleventh century (as late as 1020), if we may trust the witness of Osbern’s *Liber miraculorum S. Dunstani*.¹⁸⁴

180 M. Lapidge, ‘Three Latin poems from Æthelwold’s school at Winchester’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972) 85-137 at pp. 105-6; cf. D. Howlett, *Cambro-Latin Compositions: Their Competence and Craftsmanship* (Dublin 1998), p. 100.

181 Lapidge, ‘Three Latin poems’, p. 111; see also S. Gwara, ‘An onomastic pun in a tenth-century Anglo-Latin poem’, *Medium Aevum* 63 (1994) 99-101.

182 *The Hisperica Famina: I*, ed. & transl. Herren; on *Colloquium hispericum*, cf. M. Winterbottom, ‘On the *Hisperica famina*’, *Celtica* 8 (1967) 127-39, and for the text see *Latin Colloquies*, ed. Gwara, pp. 8-10, 100-10.

183 *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. & transl. A. W. Wade-Evans (Cardiff 1944), pp. viii-xi; cf. Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 53-66, for support of the attribution to Monmouth Priory advanced by S. M. Harris, ‘The kalendar of the *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*’, *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 3 (1953) 3-53.

184 §§9-10: *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs (London 1874), pp. 135-6. For revision of the *floruit* once assigned to Ælfric Bata, see D. N.

De raris fabulis does show us a transparent migration west to east in the methods of Latin instruction at the most celebrated Anglo-Saxon centres of learning. The dialogues reveal as well that the oblates had to know even obscure Latin words which circulated in glossaries; one of these seems to have been available somewhere in Cornwall. Above all, the glossing has been deemed inscrutable, but perhaps a roadmap of its broadest contours – not unlike the one proposed in this lecture – can be deduced from its chaotic strata of glosses.¹⁸⁵

Dumville, ‘Beowulf come lately. Some notes on the palaeography of the Nowell Codex’, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 225 (1988) 49-63, at p. 60 and n. 58.

185 I have had the generous help of many colleagues in writing this lecture, above all that of Dr Oliver Padel at the University of Cambridge. To Dr Padel I owe a much refined sense of Old Cornish, Old Welsh, and the mongrel compilation of glosses in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 572. Professor David Dumville, University of Cambridge, was both a discriminating reader and – to my advantage – an heroic editor. At a late stage in the editing, Dr Rosalind Love and Dr Paul Russell kindly read a galley-proof and gave me the benefit of their learning. Others have given advice on points of Latin and Brittonic: Dr David Porter, Southern University (Baton Rouge, Louisiana), Dr Philip Rusche, University of Nevada (Las Vegas), and Dr Dorothy Disterheft, University of South Carolina. Professor R. I. Page shared his learning on the runic cryptograms, and Candice Hendrix aided me in translating the equestrian terminology. Dr Anthony Harvey (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), editor of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources*, provided me with a pre-publication copy of entries for Latin headwords from *De raris fabulis*. Dr Martin Kauffmann at the Bodleian Library freely shared his time and expertise. Finally, my cordial thanks are owed to Hughes Hall, Cambridge, its president, Professor Peter Richards, and my host, Dr Michael Franklin, for the invitation to give the Hughes Memorial Lecture and for their warm hospitality.

THE TEXT

The following text depends on a new collation of the unique manuscript. An ultraviolet photograph of folio 41v has been used.

In editing, I have used the following usual conventions:

- < > indicate editorial conjectural emendation of the manuscript-text;
- [] indicate editorial supply of physical loss;
- () indicate editorial deletion of manuscript-text.

Punctuation and capitalisation are editorial. I have, however, retained the acute accents used in the manuscript. The embedded glosses have been typographically emboldened. The interlinear glosses have been reported in the apparatus.

I have divided the text into twenty-four numbered chapters, most of which are colloquies. A translation has been supplied to assist the reader.

ON UNCOMMON TALES**1**

Rise, friend, from your bed. If you're going to get up today, now's the time for you to do it.

I shall certainly get up. Give me my clothes and then I'll get up.

Show me where your clothes are.

They're here on the footlocker which is at my feet or I put them next to you or they are nearby. Give me my shift so that I may wrap it around me. Give me my shoes, so that they may be sheathed about my feet. Give me my staff, by which I may be upheld on my journey, so that it may be in my hand.

2

Listen, boys or students! Go to the river, spring, or well and bring back clear water so that I may wash my hands, eyes, and my whole face with it, because I have not yet washed a single one of my limbs today.

3

Listen, boy! Go and diligently guard my or your horses in the field, meadow, or paddock, lest thieves come and rustle or steal them deliberately.

DE RARIS FABVLIS

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 572, folios 41v-47r

1

<41v> Surge, amice, de tuo lectulo. *Tempus est tibi*, si hodie surgis.

Surgam etiam. Da mihi meum uestimentum et postea surgam.

Ostende mihi, ubi est uestimentum tuum.

Est <hic>¹ *super pedaneum*, qu<i>² est ad pædes meos *uel iuxta té posui uel iuxta habetur*. *Dá mihi meum c`o`lobeum*, ut induam circa mé. *Dá mihi ficones meos*, ut sint in *ambulatione* circa pedes meos. *Dá mihi baculum meum*, quo *sustenda<m>*³ in itinere, ut fiat in manu mea.

§1

1 *autem* MS.

2 *quod* MS.

3 *sustendar* MS., attended by a scratched gloss *-tor* (i.e., read *sustentor*) in Insular script.

2

Audite, pueri *uel* scolastici. Ite ad flumen siue ad fontem *uel* ad puteum,¹ et deportate² *aquam* limpidam, ut ea lau<e>*m*³ manus meas et oculos meos et ⁴*totam faciem meam*,⁴ *quia non lauau* unum membrum de membris méis (*hoc*) adhuc hodie.

§2

1 glossed *.i. peteu*

2 glossed *uel aferu[?g]e* MS.

3 *lauam* MS.

4...4 glossed *ham hol enep*

3

Audi, puer. Vade et custodi equos meos *uel* tuos *uel* in campo *uel* in prato¹ *uel* in crouitorio,² né fures uenient³ et deripiant eos et eos diligenter.

§3

1 glossed *.i. guertland*

2 glossed *.i. edol*

3 glossed *fore* (?)

Where is the shepherd of the sheep? Let him go out and guard his sheep! Likewise let the swineherd do so for his pigs, lest wolves come and snatch them. Where is the herdsman who watches my herds? Let him beware, lest strangers come and slaughter them.

4

Listen, boy!

What do you want, my lord?

I want you to go out to my horses and bring back two horses for us, one for me and the other for you, so that we can ride to the next village, in which there's beer.

Look, I brought back the horses just as you ordered, said, or commanded.

That's good. 'Bind their jaws with bridles', and put bits in their mouths, and cover them with two saddles. (*Sella* pertains to a man, *sambulla*, however, to a woman.)

5

Listen, son! Sit in my cell until 'we return in peace', God willing, and guard my clothes, gold, silver, brass, bronze, incense, iron, tin, lead, and all my money, and especially the school and its chests of books, until I come home again from my errand.

I shall do so, my lord, just as you ordered me, and I shall diligently keep watch with all my heart until you come back again.

Vbi est pastor ouium? Exeat et custodiat oues. Similiter et subulcus faci<a>t suibus suis, ne lupi uen<i>erint et diripient eos. Vbi est pastor, qui⁴ custodit pecCora mea? Caueat, né extranei uen<i>erint et iugulauerint.

4 quod, altered to *qui*

4

Audi, puer!

Quid uís, domine mí?

Volo, ut (ut) ex eas ad `e' quos meos, et defer nobís duos equos, unum *mihi* et alterum *tibi*, ut equitamus in *proximam uillam*, in *qua* habetur celea.¹

Ecce, eduxi equos *sicut* iusisti *uel* dixisti *uel* imperasti.

Bonum est. 'Constringe <42r> maxillas eorum frenis',² et pone saliuaria in ore eorum, et sterne eos duabus sellis. Sella³ <uiro>,⁴ sambulla autem mulieri, pertinet.

§4

1 glossed .i. *ceruisa*

2 Cf. Psalm 31:9, 'et freno maxillas eorum constringe'.

3 *se[*]lla* MS.; glossed .i. *strudugar*

4 W. H. Stevenson's conjectural supply

5

Audi, fili(i). Sede in meum conclauium,¹ 'donec reuertamur in pace',² si Deus uoluerit, et custodi uestimenta mea et aurum et argentum et auricalcum³ et aes <et> tus et ferrum et stagnum⁴ et plumbum et totam peccuniam meam, et precipue scolam et bibliothicas librorum, usque dum perueniam iterum de mea ne<ce>ssitate.

Faciam, domine mí, *sicut* precipisti *mihi*, et custodiam diligenter secundum potestatem meam usque⁵ dum reuerteris iterum.

§5

1 glossed .i. *spatula*

2 Cf. I Maccabees 5:54, 'donec reuerterentur in pace'.

3 glossed *orubimnit*

4 + scratched gloss *tin*

5 corrected in MS. from *ut tue*

6

Where is the abbot of this monastery or the prior of this place?

He went to a feast, banquet, meal, or dinner which was prepared for him in the house of a man among the leaders of this place.

How many were there who went with him?

Easy. The whole community of this monastery, senior monks and priests and presbyters and the small boys with all its dependants, except cook or a baker with a porter, and except the shepherds who watch the flocks of sheep, goats, swine, horses, and all the other herds.

Be joyful now in our arrival. Prepare food for us to eat, and put it on the table and set [it] before us, and fill the tables with all kinds of dishes, so that they may be groaning before us.

What are the edibles which you desire? Tell me only the names of those which are most pleasing.

Easy. Give us wheat-bread, barley-bread, darnel-bread, rye-bread, spelt-bread, millet-bread, butter, lard, or fat, and milk, cabbage, and – again – leek, curds, sausage, black pudding, boiled greens, gruel, thin milk, cheese, whipped cream, colostrum, broth. Listen, butler! Give us a drink of beer, wine, ale, mead, honey-water, or honey-spirits.

6

Vbi est abbas huius podi¹ uel princeps huius loci?

Ad epulam perrexit siue ad conuiuium aut ad prandium uel ad cænam, que preparat[a] est ei in domo unius uiri de senioribus loci illius.

Quot sunt, qui perrexerunt cum eo?

Non difficile.² Tota familia monasterii illius, seniores et sacerdotes et prespiteri et minimi pueri com omnibus subiectis, excepto uno coco uel pistore cum portatorio, et exceptis pastoribus, qui custodiunt greges ouium, capra(ra)rum, suium equorumque et omnium armentorum.

Lætificate nunc in aduentu nostro. Preparete nobis cibum ad manducandum, et ponite super mensam, ³e`t` date³ ante nos, et implete mensas de omnibus dapibus, ut sint plenę ante nós.

Quæ sunt cibaria, que cubis? Díc tantum nomina, que tibi sunt placida.

Non difficile. Date nobis panem triticum et ordinatum, loleum, secalium,⁴ sp<el>ticum,⁵ millicum,⁶ butirum, lardum uel larda<m> atque lác et colomaticu<m>⁷ et iterum cipu<m>,⁸ galmula<m>,⁹ lucani<c>a<m>,¹⁰ spumaticum,¹¹ fordalium,¹² pultum,¹³ lacticula<m>,¹⁴ caseum,¹⁵ babtuta<m>,¹⁶ colestrum,¹⁷ ius.¹⁸ Audi, pincerna. Da¹⁹ nobis potum de celea,²⁰ uinum, sic`c`era, medu<m>,²¹ mulsum²² uel melligratum.²³

§6

- 1 + scratched gloss *lo*
- 2 glossed *heuei*
- 3...3 corrected in MS. from *etate*
- 4 + scratched gloss *gili*
- 5 *spleticum* MS.
- 6 attended by an illegible scratched gloss
- 7 *colomaticus* MS.; glossed *.i. barr*; attended also by an illegible scratched gloss
- 8 *cipus* MS.; glossed *.i. cennin*
- 9 according to Craster, this word is attended by a partially legible scratched gloss ...*molc*
- 10 glossed *se`l`sic*; attended also by two scratched glosses, (1) *uel c*, (2) *wæne*
- 11 glossed *.i. bloteit*
- 12 glossed *.i. lefet*
- 13 glossed *iot*
- 14 glossed *laiðwer*
- 15 + scratched gloss *ces*
- 16 glossed *.i. emmeni*
- 17 attended by a partially legible scratched gloss *.g..*
- 18 glossed *.i. iotum*
- 19 + scratched gloss *gif us*
- 20 glossed *.i. ceruisa*
- 21 *medus* MS.
- 22 glossed *.i. bracaüt*
- 23 attended by an illegible scratched gloss

7

Listen, abbot, bishop, or doctor of the church!

I hear you. What do you want today? What is your errand? For what reason have you come here?

This is my errand: I want to read a book with you.

What book do you want to read?

I want to read a canonical book, gospel-book, or grammar-book (a ‘Donatus’).

Friend, you will have that with me, and I shall teach you to the best of my abilities, and we shall leave nothing doubtful or obscure in it.

What you say is good, should you fulfil it, because what you can do suffices for me. But I ask one thing from you on account of your kindness, that you not confuse me with obscure passages and in doubtful, difficult words, because I know the power, strength, and sagacity of your intellect in reading, because my stupidity does not permit it, because I am ignorant and a child in the law of Latin.

Dear boy, I shall do so. I shall say nothing to you but what you have learned and understood.

I thank you, dear teacher, because you treat me with kindness and love. May God reward you here and in the future. And I shall be a faithful and humble son with all my heart, God willing. My father, how is this passage arranged, and what is its meaning?

Bring it here to me so that I may show you thoroughly, because nothing obscure will remain in the book, God willing, if it should come before my face, because the face of a wise man reveals the unknown and obscure.

7

A<u>di, princeps <42v> uel episcopo uel doctor æclesiæ.

Audio te. Quid tu uis hodie? Quæ est tua ne`c`esitas?¹ Pro qua causa huc uenisti?

Hæc est necessitas mea: cupio librum legere tecum.

Quem librum² uis legere?

Volo legere canonicum librum uel eua<n>gelium uel librum gramaticum id est donaticum.

Amice, habebis illum mecum, et docebo tibi secundum meam potestatem, et nihil dubium uel obscurum in illo relinquamus.

Bonum est quod tú dicis, sí impleueris, quia sufficit mihi quod potes. Sed unam rem quero á te et propter clementiam tuam, né mé oprimes in ob<s>c`u`ris locís uel in dubiís difficillimís uerbis, quia scio potentiam tuam et fortitudinem et sagacitatem intellectus tui in lectione, quia non sustinet inbicillitas mea, qu`i`a³ rudis sum et infantulus adhuc in lege latinitatis.

<Care puer, faciam ita. Non dico ad te aliquid,>⁴ nisi quod dediceris et intelle<x>eris.⁵

Gratulor tibi, carissim<e>⁶ lector, quia⁷ cum benignitate et caritate salutas mé. Retribuet tibi Deus hic et in futuro. Et ego fidus discipulus et humilis filius ero secundum potestatem meam, sí Deus uoluerit. Pater mí, quomodo disponitur hóc testimonium, et quis est sensus eius?

Deduc mihi huc, ut ostendam tibi diligenter, quia nil obscurum erit in illo libro, Deo adiuuante, sí ante faciem meam peruenerit, quia facies sapientis manifestat ignota uel obscura.

§7

1 *nesesitas* MS., corrected by underpointing the first *s* and interlining *c*

2 Insular **r** has resulted from correction of an original **u**.

3 **i** supplied below the line

4 supplied from *Colloquia retracta* (*Latin Colloquies*, ed. Gwara, p. 31, §7, line 18)

5 *intellegeris* MS.

6 *carissimi* MS.

7 The Insular abbreviation used here for *quia* has been altered in the MS. to that for *quam*.

8

Here begins a list of boons [which one might ask for]: hatchet (*bahell*), wood-cutter, scabbard, blade (that is, an axe), shovel, hoe/needle, stone-cutter or zax, spade (that is *onnpresen*), spike (that is, a claw or nail), mattock, tool (or *cloiumn*), anvil, hammer, cutter, rose, sickle, tool, plough-blade, coulter, plough, ploughshare, rake, yoke, plough-beam, bung, spit, goad, tablet (that is *cellell*), razor,

8

De beneficiis incipit: securis *bahell*, lign<ic>ismus¹, secularia,² capsus,³ pipinnis⁴ *id est* ascia,⁵ fosarium,⁶ sartum,⁷ lapidaria⁸ scapa⁹ uel rostrum,¹⁰ foratorium¹¹ *id est onnpresen*, unglum¹² *id est* rostrum¹³ uel clauum, dolabra,¹⁴ metallum¹⁵ uel *cloiumn*, incudo,¹⁶ malleus,¹⁷ seta,¹⁸ rosarium,¹⁹ baxus,²⁰ fer`r`um, uoscera,²¹ cultrum,²² uomer,²³ aratrum,²⁴ raster,²⁵ iugum,²⁶ buris,²⁷ stipa,²⁸ <ui>r<ia>e,²⁹ stimulus,³⁰ art<a>uum³¹ *id est cellell*,³² nouacula,³³ forceps³⁴

§8

- 1 glossed *.i. uiidimm*; attended also by a scratched gloss, *bil*
- 2 glossed *.i. laubael*; attended also by a scratched gloss *eg*
- 3 glossed *.i. ochcul*
- 4 glossed *dinaut*
- 5 glossed *.i. nedim*
- 6 glossed *.i. cep*
- 7 glossed *.i. rascl*; attended also by a scratched gloss *næ*
- 8 glossed *.i. cemecid*
- 9 glossed *.i. tarater*; attended also by an illegible scratched gloss
- 10 glossed *.i. foratorium*; attended also by a scratched gloss *tung <???*
- 11 glossed *.i. gilb*
- 12 glossed *.i. rump*; attended also by an illegible scratched gloss
- 13 glossed *.i. epill*
- 14 glossed *.i. gebel*; attended also by two partially legible scratched glosses, (1) *pe...* and (2) *te...t (?)*
- 15 glossed *.i. mas*; attended also by a scratched gloss *wec (wecg, Craster)*
- 16 glossed *.i. ennian*; attended also by a scratched gloss *hiwan*
- 17 glossed *.i. ord*; attended also by a scratched gloss *bytel*
- 18 glossed *.i. morthol*
- 19 glossed *.i. louhi*
- 20 glossed *.i. creman*; attended also by a scratched gloss *sic*
- 21 glossed *.i. serr*; attended also by a scratched gloss *ar*
- 22 glossed uel *cultir*
- 23 glossed *suh* (or *sub?*); attended also by a scratched gloss *scær*
- 24 glossed *.i. ara*; attended also by a scratched gloss *sul*
- 25 glossed *.i. ocet*
- 26 glossed *.i. iou*
- 27 glossed *.i. ciluin*
- 28 glossed *.i. edil*
- 29 *iure* MS.; glossed *gerthi*
- 30 glossed *.i. sumpl*
- 31 glossed *.i. cultel*
- 32 glossed *culter*
- 33 glossed *.i. elinn*
- 34 glossed *.i. guillihim*

tong (that is a grater), grater, frying-pan, needle, boot, whetstone (that is *ocoluin*), comb, spur, basin, handle and handle (that is *iehnlinn*), awl.

9

Listen, brother, come here.
Show me what you want, dearest.
I want to greet you!

10

Listen, abbot, give me a drink of the water which is in your hand. Listen, baker or cook. Give me food from your kitchen. Listen, dearest brother, come here next to me and sit in peace.

11

Listen, most beautiful wife, come here quickly and kiss me and put your hands around my neck. O cherished girl, give me a kiss. O little girl, wash my clothes today. Wash my head and face and my beard.

id est geptio,³⁵ graticula,³⁶ sartago,³⁷ acus,³⁸ <43r> calligaris,³⁹ *cos id est ocoluin*, pecten, calcar, laueta,⁴⁰ uisa et ansa⁴¹ <id est> *iehnlinn*, cuspis.⁴²

35 glossed .i. *orat*

36 glossed .i. *gratell*

37 glossed .i. *lann*

38 glossed .i. *notuid*

39 remains of a letter above the second *a*

40 remains of a letter above *-a*

41 attended by a partially illegible scratched gloss, ...*g*

42 glossed .i. *arstud*

9

A`u`di, *frater*; ueni húc.

Quid uís, carissime, indica mihi.

Ego uolo té salutare!

10

Audi, princeps, da mihi potum de liquore, *qui* in manu tua est. Audi, pistor *uel* cocus. Dá *mihi* cibum ¹ex colina tua.¹ Audi, *frater* carissime; ueni iuxta me, et sede in pace.

§10

1...1 glossed *uel ex cella tua*

11

Audi, uxor pulcherrima, ueni huc cito et osculare mé, et pone manus¹ tua<s> circa collum meum. Ó puella optima, dá *mihi* osculum. Ó iuuenula, laua uestimenta mea hodie. Laua caput meum et faciem simul cum barba.

§11

1 -s altered, perhaps from *-m*

12

O brother, come with me on my errand.

I shall not go, brother, because it isn't easy for me since another chore engages me. Listen, friend, don't stand between me and the light.

13

Where is the caretaker of the horses?

Behold, here I am.

Go to the horses and bring my horse, my bay (that is, *melin*), and put a halter on his head, and likewise a saddle on his back and a bridle, collar, martingale, basket, rein (*partuncul*), rod (that is, *bronnced*), buckle, breast-collar, cushion, bit (that is, *fual*), rein (that is, *corruui*), blanket, saddle (which is for a woman), and crop, hobble, prod, cautery-iron, fetter made from iron.

12

Ó frater, ueni mecum ad meam ne(s)cessitatem.

Non ibo, frater, quia non facile est mihi, quia aliud opus ocupauit mé.

Audi, amice, noli stare inter mé et lucem.

13

Vbi est custos equorum?

Ecce, híc ego sum.

Vade ad equos, et defer equum meum, meum gil(i)uum¹ id est *melin*, et pone frenum² super caput eius et sellam similiter super dorsum eius et paglum,³ camum,⁴ antella<m>,⁵ corbum,⁶ femorale id est *partuncul*, bull<am>⁷ id est *bronnced*, appetitorium,⁸ uentris lora<m>,⁹ puluilu<m>,¹⁰ fibula<m> id est *fual*,¹¹ corigium id est *corruui*, sudar,¹² sambuca<m>¹³ et ultia<m>,¹⁴ que pertinet mulieri, armella<m>,¹⁵ glomerarium,¹⁶ cauterium,¹⁷ compe<dem>¹⁸ de ferro¹⁹ fact<a>m.²⁰

§13

- 1 + scratched gloss *b*
- 2 glossed .i. *fruinn*
- 3 glossed .i. *fruinn* (sic!)
- 4 glossed .i. *cepister*; attended also by a scratched gloss *hl*
- 5 glossed .i. *postoloin*
- 6 glossed .i. *corbum* (sic!)
- 7 *bullo* MS.
- 8 glossed .i. *gurtharet*
- 9...9 glossed .i. *torcigel*
- 10 *puluilus* MS.
- 11 glossed *facto*
- 12 *sudaris* MS.; glossed .i. *guapeli*; attended also by a scratched gloss *gr*
- 13 glossed .i. *stotur gurehic*. Between *sambuca* and *et ultia* is a point, followed by blank space of some 15 mm.
- 14 glossed *guopell*; attended also by an illegible scratched gloss
- 15 glossed .i. *armel*
- 16 glossed .i. *hloimol* (-l- altered from ?-c-)
- 17 + scratched gloss *gi`r`d*
- 18 *compes* MS.; glossed .i. *fual*
- 19 + scratched gloss *scele*
- 20 *factum* MS.

14

Listen, priest or presbyter, ring the bell because the hour 'of midnight' is here, or dawn or cockcrow or dusk or matins or prime or terce or midday or nones or twilight or vespers. Let us go to the church, because it behoves us deacons and clergy to pray to God there always and to beseech him.

15

O brother!

What do you want? What do you seek? What are you looking for? What do you desire? What do you hope for? What do you wish? What do you think?

He says: I want to tell you my need. I seek to receive a boon (that is, *benefic*) from you. I see men strolling, horses galloping, dogs running and barking, boys playing. And now I want to accept a drink from you because I am hurrying to reach the next town. I expect to do good all the days of my life and always to pray to God during the day and at the appropriate hours.

16

O illustrious abbot, hear us!

I shall hear. Tell me what you need.

Our or my need is great, because I am a pilgrim in this district, nation, region, or island.

14

A<u>di, sacerdos *uel* prespiter. Tinge cimbalum, quia hora ‘medium noctis’ adest *uel* gall<ic>inium¹ *uel* gallicantum <uel>² cont<ic>inium³ *uel* mat<u>t<i>na⁴ *uel* prima hora *uel* tertia *uel* meridies *uel* nona *uel* crepusculum *uel* uesperum. Eamus ad ecletiam, quia oportet nós leuitic<os>⁵ *uel* cleric<os>⁶ orare in ea Deum semper et deprecare.

§14

- 1 + scratched gloss *ge*
- 2 *reliqua* MS.
- 3 + scratched gloss *eg*
- 4 *matituna* MS.
- 5 *leuitici* MS.
- 6 *clerici* MS.

15

O frater!

Quid uís? Quicquid¹ queris? Quid aspicias? Quid cupis? Quid optas?
Qui `d' <s>peras?² <43v> Quid cogitas?

Ait ille: Volo necessitate[m] loqui ad té. Quero beneficium *id est binfic* accipere a té. Aspicio homines ambulantes, equites e(t)quitantes, canes currentes atque latrantes, iuuenes ludentes. Et pocula(s)³ nunc cupio accipere a te, quia propero ire in aliam uillam. Cogito bonum facere omnibus diebus uitæ m<e>æ et Deum orare semper diebus ac rati(bu)s horis.⁴

§15

- 1 altered from (?)*quid quid* in MS.
- 2 *properas* MS.
- 3 glossed *poculum pro po*
- 4 After the concluding punctuation-triangle, the remainder of 43v7 (some 23 mm) is blank.

16

O clarissime princeps, audi nós.

Audiam. Dicite quid uobis necesse est.

Magna est nesesitas nostra *uel* mea, quia perigrinus sum in <i>sta prouincia *uel* `in' ista patria *uel* in <i>sta regione *uel* in ista insola.

The abbot says: Where were you before?

Beforehand I was – or I had been nourished or raised – in Ireland or Britain or Francia, and I abandoned, deserted, or forsook my whole livelihood and my family and dependants (that is, *casgoord*) and all that I owned, father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, my brothers, sisters and my wife and my daughter and my sons, and my maternal aunts (that is, *modreped*) and all my friends and my or our whole people, and now I am left a wretch in this land or territory.

17

Listen now, bishops! Make us a gift for the sake of your souls. Give us food, drink, clothing, and shoes. And afterwards show us the direct way which leads us to another city or town or to the holy church of St Peter. After you show us the way, however, return in peace to your home.

And I beg you, dearest brothers, because I ask only a single thing from you, if you should come safe to the church of St Peter (that is, to Rome), that you chant a prayer in memory of me, and I shall likewise chant for you.

And they came to the church of St Peter and the abbot said: Lord priest, open the church for me because I wish to pray there.

And the priest says: Come, and I shall open the church for you, because it's easy to open it over the hatchway (that is, *dor*), since it isn't bolted (that is, *delehid*).

And the abbot says to the priest: Let's make a trade, you and I, for food and drink.

Ait princeps: Vbi fuisti ante?

Fui ante (ea) in Ibernia uel in Britannia uel in Francia nutritus uel fatus fui, et reliqui uel deserui uel dimisi totam substantiam meam et familiam meam et satellites meos *id est casgoord*, et omne quod habui, et patrem et matrem et auu<m>¹ et habita<m>² et fratres me<os>³ et sorores et uxor mea<m> et filia<m> mea<m> et fili<os>⁴ me<os>⁵ et materter<as>⁶ mæ<as> *id est modreped* et t'otos amicos meos et omne genus meum uel nostrum, et miser factus in ista patria uel regione.

§16

- 1 auus MS.; glossed .i. hendat
- 2 -m possibly erased (space of some 6 mm. after *habita*); glossed .i. henmam
- 3 mei MS.
- 4 filii MS.
- 5 mei MS.
- 6 matertere MS.

17

Audite nunc, pontifices. Facite nobis elimosinam pro anima uestra. Date nobis cibum, potum et uestimentum et calciamentum. Et postea <o>stendite¹ nobis uiam rectam, que nos ducit ad aliam ciuitatem uel aliam uillam aut ad sanctam æclesiam Sancti Petri. Tú autem, postquam ostenderitis nobis uiam, reuerte in pace ad tuam domum.

Et obsecro uos, fratres carissim<os>², quia unam rem peto uobis, sí perrexeritis sani ad podum Sancti Petri *id est* ad Romam, ut decantatis uestram orationem in meam commemorationem, et ego similiter canam.

Et perrexerunt <44r> ad æclesiam Sancti Petri, et dixit princeps: Domne prespiter, aperi æclesiam ante m`æ', quia uolo orare illuc.

Et ait prespiter: Veni, et ego (et ego) aperiam tibi æclesiam, quia facile est illam aperire – quia non est sera *id est delehid* super ualuam *id est dor*.

Et ait princeps prespitero: Faciamus commercium, (et)³ ego et <t>u, de cibo et de potu.

§17

- 1 estendite MS.
- 2 carissimi MS.
- 3 et subpuncted and superpuncted in MS. for deletion

What do you want from me?

Please (that is, 'if you will') give me food, bread, meat, and broth (that is, *iotum*), and I shall give you bullion (that is, silver), gold, brass, and everything which will be necessary.

And the priest says: May God reward you, that pleases me. And for this I shall give you drinks (that is, cups, wine, *guin*), ale (that is, *med*), honey-spirits (*brachaut*), butter, and milk.

And he says to the priest: Give me a blessing!

May the Lord our Father, who blessed all, bless you too.

18

O boy, make up my bed in the dormitory and put a blanket (that is, *cilcet*), pillow (that is, *plumauc*), bolster, bedroll (that is, *gueli liein*, blanket, or *lenn*), rug (that is, *tiís*), or covering (that is, *cilcet*) on it. Shake, fluff, or plump the straw. Help make up my or our bed carefully, so that I may sleep in it tonight, or on whatever night in fact, should God wish and permit me. Men, be quiet now, sleep and rest, because it's time to sleep, and don't wake or rouse us from sleep.

19

And the priest says: Where is the abbot?

And the baker (that is, *coc*) says: He went to his bed, and he is sleeping now at this time. Wait in the meantime until he will have woken up or [himself] roused from sleep.

Quid uis a mé?

Da mihi cibum, panem et pulpa<m> et ius *id est* **iotum**, sís *id est* sí uís, et ego dabo tibi soltum *id est* argentum et aurum et aes et omnia que tibi neccessaria erint.

Et ait presbiter: Deus `tibi' reddet, et hóc mihi placet. Et ego dabo tibi propter hoc pocula *id est* potu(u)s, *id est* uinum, *id est* **guin**, sicera *id est* **med**, melligratum **brachaut** et oleum et lác.

Et ait prespitero: Dá mihi benedictionem!

Benedicat tibi Deus Pater, qui benedixit omnia.

18

Ó puer, construe lectum meum in dormitatorio, et pone super illum tapiseta<m> *id est* **cilcet**, puluinare *id est* **plumauc**, ceruical,¹ cubile *id est* **gueli liein** *id est* saga *id est* **lenn**, staptum *id est* **tiís**, stratorium *id est* **cilcet**. Concute fenum uel ecute uel quasa. Adiuua lectum meum uel nostrum diligenter, ut in eo dormiam in hac nocte, etiam quacunque² nocte, sí Deus uoluerit et sí conseserit mihi. Ó uiri, silete et dormite omnes, et requiescite, quia tempus adest³ dormiendi,⁴ et nolite excitare nós uel euigilare de somno.

§18

1 glossed .i. *gubennid*

2 *quaqunque* MS., with *c* above the second *q*

3 *ad.est* MS.

4 *dormiendi* MS., with Insular or majuscule **r**, altered from *donmiendi*

19

Et ait prespiter: Vbi est abbas?

Et díc<it> pistor(i) *id est* **coc**: In suo lectulo perrexit et nunc dormit in tali hora. Expectate interim usque excitauerit uel euigilauerit de somno.

Listen, boy. Rise and make or prepare us a bath or wash, and take an axe so that you may cut or chop wood with it. Light a fire or blaze for us, and build it quickly, because I am tired or exhausted from the labor of my journey or walk, from the very long and filthy route – swamps (that is, *lichou*) and excrement (that is, *halou*) abound on it –, the most irritating and the direst route, but for one thing: whoever comes to the house of St Peter and lives well ‘will not die forever’.

What does it mean for someone to live well?

That is, ‘to pray without ceasing’, and not in loquacity, and to give alms. And let each person who undertakes this journey understand that it does not profit him much to go there and to live badly yet again, but he is like that man in the gospel, ‘as a dog returning to its own vomit’.

Come, lord, to your bath or washing, which has been prepared for you.

But he says: Indeed I shall go or certainly I shall go.

Come, friend, and shave or scrape my face with a razor or knife, and tonsure my head with scissors because the hair, locks, or curls on my head are long.

I am going or I shall go, lord.

Sharpen my razor on the whetstone, because it’s not sharp.

O boy, girl, maiden, or woman, come here. Wash my head with soap, and leave (that is, *hác diglniuhit*) the water (that is, *lissiu*) for when I shall be in the bath, and afterwards give us fire and a brand or punk (a ‘brand’ is a *scirenn* or punk) so that we can get warm. And meanwhile light a lamp (that is *cannuill*), candle, torch, or wick so that the house or room may be bright, until the fire mounts or burns. Give warm, clear water for our feet lest we sleep with unwashed feet. Make a fire from a firestone or from a flint, and let all go out to carry back wood. Put a faggot (that is, *munutolau*) on the flame or on the fire, and at least let them gather grain from neighbouring places.

20

Audi, puer. Surge, et fac nobis et accinge (*id est*) ballenum *uel* lauacrum et accipe securim, ut ligna¹ secab(il)is *uel* abscidas de illa. Accende nobis ignem <uel> focum, et construe uelociter, quia fesus *uel* fatigatus sum de labore itineris <44v> *uel* ambulationis, de itinere longissimo et inmundissimo – et palu<de>s *id est* *l(a)ichou*² et stercora *id est* *halou* in eo habunda<n>t – et molestissimum et pæssimum iter, nisi propter unam rem: ³Quicumque perrexit³ ad domum Sancti Petri et bene uiuat ‘non morietur in æternum’.⁴

Quid est illi bene uiuere?

Id est ‘orare <sine> int(er)missione’⁵ et non in multiloquio et elemosinam dare. Et sciat unusquisque, qui pergit ad istam uiam, quia non ualde prodest ei illic ire et iterum male⁶ uiuere, sed similis est in euangelio, ‘quasi canis reuertens ad uomitum suum’.⁷

Veni, domine, ad ballneum *uel* lauacrum, quod tibi preparatum est.

At ille ait: Ibo et(er)iam, *uel* utique eam.

Veni, amice, et tonde *uel* rade faciem meam de rasurio *uel* de nouacula, et caput meum tonde de forfice, quia proluxi sunt cappilli capitis mei, filamina *uel* crines mei.

Eo *uel* ibo, domine.

Acu<e>⁸ mihi nouaculam super cotem, quia non est acuta.

Ó iuuenis *uel* iu`u` encula *uel* puella *uel* mulier, ueni cito. Laua caput meum de sapuna, et <r>eli<n>que *id est* *hác diglniuhit* lixam *id est* *lissiu*, quandiu fuero in ballen(i)o, et postea date nobis ignem et stellam *uel* plectrum stella `id est` *scirenn* *uel* plectrum, ut calefaciamus. Et interim incendite lichinum ⁹i<d est> *cannuill*⁹ *uel* cantela<m> *uel* teda<m> *uel* paperium, ut sit lucida ignem ponant forniliu(m) *id est* *munutolau*, et <granum>¹⁰ saltem de uicinis locis domus *uel* edis, donec ignis consurget *uel* arserit. Date aquam calidam limpida(m) pedibus nostris, né illotis pe(de)dibus dormiamus. Ignem ex ignifero lapide *uel* ex silice <facite>, et exeant alii, ut deportent ligna. Super foco *uel* super

§20

- 1 *utigna* altered to *utligna* MS.
- 2 -a- subpuncted for deletion in the MS.
- 3...3 *quia cumqueperrexit* MS.
- 4 Gospel of St John 11:26
- 5 Cf. I Thessalonians 5:17, ‘sine intermissione orate’
- 6 altered from *mare* or *mate* MS.
- 7 Cf. II Peter 2:22, ‘canis reuersus ad suum uomitem’
- 8 *acua* MS.
- 9...9 *lichinum. icannuill* MS.
- 10 *griremium* MS.

Let them light a lamp so that the shadows may be driven off and the whole house be filled with light. Now it's time for eating. Rise, server, and divide the food.

And the server says: I shall certainly divide it, God willing, so that none of you will be lacking (that is, without a share), but each one will have his serving or share (that is, a portion).

Let the server rise and serve us drinks (a drink, that is, a cup or mug).

I shall do so, God willing.

And the bishop says: My brothers, now we are full (that is, with food and drink), and now let us give thanks for our food.

And they began to give thanks to God.

And the priest says: Lord, order the blessing.

And the bishop says: Jesus Christ, our Omnipotent Lord, 'who blessed us in all spiritual benediction in the heavens', may he himself bless you. May God bless this community, and the abbot of this house, who fed us kindly with such an abundance of foods: may his 'days be prolonged' in prosperity. May he feel no loss of life. May he find all good fortune.

And they all say: Amen.

Blessed be the server who diligently helped us because he was pleasant (that is, *guilat*), gentle, and meek. May God reward him here and in the future.

And all say: Amen.

And the abbot says to his overseer: 'collect the fragments so that nothing is lost' through carelessness. You should keep all the vessels which were assigned to you by the servers. Let the youths rise, spread the beds, soften the bedding, and let rough blankets or bedrolls be placed on the pallets. For it's now time to sleep.

col<45r>ligent. Lampadam accendant, ut fugantur tenebre et ut tota domus repleatur lumine. Nunc reficiendi tempus adest.¹¹ Surge, diuisor, et diuide escas id est cibum uel uictum.

Et ait diuisor: Et diuidam et(er)iam, sí Deus uoluerit, neque ullus eis erit expers¹² id est sine parte, sed habebit unusquisque suam predam uel climam id est partem.

Surgat pincerna, et pocula nobís ministrat poculum, id est potum uel cupanum.

Faciam, sí Deus uoluerit.

Et dicit episcopus: Fratres mei, nunc saturati id est de cibo et de potu, et nunc gratulamur propter nostrum cibum.

Et inceperunt gratias agere Deo.

Et ait prespiter: Domine, iube benedicere.

Et ait episcopus: Omnipotens Dominus noster Iesus Christus, ‘qui benedixit nos in omni benedic`t`ione¹³ spiritali in caelestibus’,¹⁴ ipse benedicat tibi. Benedicat Deus hanc familiam et pri<n>c<ipem>¹⁵ istius domu<s>,¹⁶ qui nos tanta aescarum habundantia clementer pauit, ‘prolong<entur>¹⁷ dies’¹⁸ eius in prosperis.¹⁹ Vitae nullum dampnum sent(ent)iat; prospera omnia reperiat.

Et hí omnes dic<u>nt.²⁰ Amen.

Benedictus sit minister, qui diligent<e>r²¹ ministravit nobis, quia hilaris id est *guilat* et mittis et lenis fuit. Reddet illi Deus híc et in futuro.

Et dicunt omnes: Amen.

Et dicit princeps ad suum prepositum:²² ‘Colligite fracmenta, ne qui<d> pereat’²³ per incuriam. Omnia uassa seruare²⁴ debetis, que²⁴ a ministrís adsignata uobis sunt. Surgant iuuenes, sternant lectula, mollificant stramina sagaque uilosa uel `dor`mi`ta`toria superponant lectulis. Nunc enim tempus adest²⁵ dormiendi.

11 *ad.est* MS.

12 glossed *.i. didaul*

13 `x` above *c*, MS.

14 Ephesians 1:3

15 *priceps* MS.

16 *domui* MS.

17 Stevenson; *prolongatus* MS.

18 Cf. Deuteronomy 6:2, ‘prolongentur dies tui’.

19 *p-* altered from (?)*s-*, MS.

20 *dicant* MS.

21 *diligentur* MS.

22 glossed *.i. mair*

23 Stevenson; *nequitiam* MS. Cf. Gospel of St John 6:12, ‘colligite quae superauerunt fragmenta ne pereant’.

24...24 *debetisque* MS.

25 *ad.est* MS.

21

Rise, wake up, and pray to the Lord God of Heaven, because he is the Lord our God. Rise, friends, and stir from your accustomed sleep. Put on your belts, and let us proceed on our route at dawn, for the path is long, and the day is short. Let one of you ask by which path we may proceed.

And someone says: I am knowledgable. Come after me because I know a shortcut. It's not necessary to ask anyone. This is your path. Nevertheless, ask if you will find a shorter or more direct route.

O brother, if you are knowledgable, show us the route by which we may set out.

The knowledgable fellow says: In what region do you wish to go?

We want to go to the palace of the king or to the city or to the monastery of St Martin or where it leads to Rome.

And the knowledgable fellow says: Go on this side and turn down the right path or the left. It does not deceive you, but it will lead you directly to the city in peace.

Have you heard if there are felons or thieves on our route, by which we will go?

And the knowledgable fellow said: There aren't.

And they arrived at the monastery in peace.

22

And the abbot of this monastery says: Friend, your arrival is welcome.

Peace be with you, friend, and may it be for you likewise – or may you live likewise.

At what time did you come to this district, nation, people, or region? What stories have you heard which we don't know, or what calamities do you know which are told by witnesses in a report?

21

Surgite, <45v> uigilate, et orate *Dominum Deum* cæli, quia ipse est *Dominus Deus noster*. Surgite, amici, et *expergescemini* de somno solito. Vos *succingite* cingula, et a mane *exeamus uiam*. Via enim *prolixa* et *dies est breuis*. Interrogat aliquis *uestrum*, *per quam uiam ingrediamur*.

Et *dicit* aliquis: Ego sum *peritus*. Venite *post mé*, quia ego scio *uiam* in *compendio*. *Non est nécesse*,¹ ut aliquis *interrogetur*. Hæc est *uia uestra*; *tamen* *interrogate*, sí *compendio*<*sio*>*rem atque rectiorem* *inuenietis uiam*.

Ó *frater*, sí *peritus és*, *ostende nobis uiam*, *per quam pergere debemus*.

Et *dicit peritus*: *In quanam parte uultis ire?*

Volumus ad *regis palatium uel ad ciuitatem uel ad podum* *Beati Martini uel qua ducit Romam*.

Et ait *peritus*: *Ite per hanc partem*, et *declinate ad dexteram uiam uel ad sinistram*. *Non fallit uos*, sed *ducet uos usque ad ciuitatem in pace*.

Numquid *audistis*, sí *sunt malificatores s<iue>*² *latrones in nostra uia*, *per quam ibimus?*

Et ille *peritus dixit*: *Non sunt*.

Et *perrexerunt ad podum in pace*.

§21

1 *néc esse* MS.

2 Stevenson; *sum* MS. This scribal error resulted from misunderstanding of an Insular abbreviation.

22

Et *dicit princeps* *istius podi*: *Amice*, *bonus tuus aduentus est*.

Pax tibi, *amice*, et *tibi simili* <*modo*> *fiat uel uiuas*.

Quo tempore *peruenisti ad istam prouinciam uel patriam uel ad istam genelo`g`iam uel ad istam regionem?* Quas *fabulas a`u`distis*, *qu<as>*¹ *nos ignoremus uel quedam aduersa nostis*, *quæ ab auditoribus relatu nuntiantur?*

§22

1 *que* MS., followed by a space of some 5 mm.

And he said: we know that there will be no malice, nor does any affect us. We heard no tales today. But nevertheless, so that you will not have said that we are ignorant clerics, we did hear some men telling us truthfully that there had been a great war between the king of the Britons and the king of the English, and God gave victory to the Britons because they are humble as well as poor, and they trusted in God and confessed and received the body of Christ before they entered the skirmish or conflict; the English, however, are proud and, because of their pride, God humbled them. Because God does as it was said, ‘God opposes the proud but he gives mercy or victory to the humble’, a great combat (that is, *hair*) was ventured, and many of the English were struck down but few of the Britons; nevertheless, their king escaped and his general with him and his officer (that is, a leader of ten men) and his tribune (that is, the chief of two towns) and duke (that is, someone who rules over twelve cities) and the lord who sits on a chair next to the king (that is, *hínhám*) – and whenever there are many, they are named ‘lords’ – and none of his family, dependants, or commanders otherwise escaped (commander, that is, *mair*). Woe to them that they had ever been raised (that is, nourished), since they fell on account of pride, and in the conflict (that is, in the war) all perished and ‘they will not be able to possess the kingdom of God’. And the Britons escaped in peace and took a captive, hostage, pledge, or prisoner with them. And again we heard that great sieges, skirmishes, conflicts, fights, or wars are arising these days between Romans and Greeks, and that there were many engagements between them, in which many men have been killed, but God gave victory to the Romans. And, what is worse, we heard that women were throttled and children slain and likewise clerics (that is, clergymen) are killed as if laymen or martyrs, and no rank is defended, even if someone had been a bishop! ‘There is none who will not have seen death.’ May God have pity on them. Amen.

Et ille dixit: Nullum malum fore nouimus, nec contingit nobis. Null<a>s² fabulas audiuimus hodie. Sed tamen, ut non di(e)xeris³ nós esse imperit<os>⁴ leuitic<os>⁵, audi<46r>uimus aliquos uiros enuntiantes no<n>bis ueraciter factum fuisse inter regem Britonum et regem Saxonum bellum ingens, et dedit Deus uictoriam Britonibus, ideo quia humiles sunt necnon et pauperes, et in Deo confiderunt et confessi sunt, et corpus Christi acceperunt antequam metridaticum uel duell<i>um inierunt. Saxones autem superbi sunt et propter superbiam eorum humiliavit eos Deus, quia fæcit Deus, ut dictum est ‘Deus superbis resi`s’tit, humilibus autem dat gratiam’⁶ uel uictoriam, cladis – id est *hair* – magna facta est, et de Saxonibus percusi sunt multi, de Britonibus autem rari, tamen euassit réx et cum illo decanus – id est princeps .x. uirorum – et tribunus – id est princeps duarum uillarum – et commes – id est qui dominatur super unam ciuitatem – et dúx – id est qui dominatur super .xii. ciuitates – et patricius qui sedit iuxta regem in sede – id est *hínhám* –, et quando fiunt multi patrici nominantur, et nullus aliter euassit de sua familia nec de suis satilitibus neque de suis prepossit<i>s⁷ – prepossitus id est *mair*. Ve illis, quia fo(r)ti fuerunt – id est nutriti –, quia per superbiam ceciderunt et in duellio – id est in bello – omnes perierunt, et ‘regnum Dei posside<r>e⁸ non ualebunt’.⁹ Et Britones euassærun in pace, et dedus uel absid¹⁰ uel arra<m> uel pignus illiscum deduxerunt. Et iterum audiuimus uastationes magna<s> et metridatica uel duellia uel pugna<s> uel bella consurgere in istis diebus inter Romanos et Grecos et multas cong(ra)regationes(que¹¹ unius) inter eos fieri, in quibus plurimi uiri interfecti esse narrantur, sed dedit Deus uictoriam Romanis. Et, quod deterius est, audiuimus mulieres iugalari et infantes necari, similique modo leuiti<ci> id est clerici sicut laici uel martyri interimuntur, et gradus nullus defendit<ur>, etiamsi episcop<us>¹² fuisset. ‘Non est qui non uiderit mortem’.¹³ Deus mi<46v>seretur illis, amen.

2 nullus MS.

3 diexeris MS., with first -e- subpuncted and superpuncted for deletion.

4 imperiti MS.

5 leuitici MS.

6 I Peter 5:5

7 prepossitus MS.

8 Stokes; posside ite MS.

9 Cf. I Corinthians 15:50, ‘regnum Dei possidere non possunt’.

10 absidis MS.

11 congraregationesque MS.

12 episcopi MS.

13 Cf. Psalm 88:49, ‘quis est uir qui uiuat et non uident mortem’.

23

And the bishop says to him: how was this year's crop (*fruidlonaid*) for you in your districts?

We thank God that in this year great abundance was given to us (that is, fruit, wine, milk, butter, and honey abundantly). These things were likewise granted to all men. We do not know, nor have we heard, that anyone among the nobles of our province has died lately, but all are healthy.

And the bishop says to the leader of the priests: do you know Latin?

Indeed or certainly. I do not know it so well because I have not read much, but nevertheless I was among students and I heard lectors teaching and preaching, and both contemplating and speaking Latin wondrously day and night, and performing mass. Hence, from them, although I am poor in wit, I discern some – a few words – by deliberate thought, but I cannot convey even these grammatically. I am ignorant of the rules of grammar, nor do I know the examples of the poets.

And the cleric said to the bishop: teacher, greetings (that is, *ánbúic guell*). Observe that canonical speech obeys neither the rules of the grammarians nor the examples of the poets.

Friend, now I shall pour out Latin abundantly (that is, profusely) for you, because – just as an infant learned its speech from its mother – so I learned the discourse of canonical speech.

HERE IT ENDS, AMEN; CONCERNING SOME OTHER UNCOMMON
TALES.

23

Et dicit episcopus ad illum:¹ Quomodo fertilitas² – *<id est> fruidlonaid* – istius anni habetur uobiscum in uestris³ prouinciis?

Gratulamur Deo, in isto anno data est nobis fertilitas magna *id est* frumentum et uinum et lác et oleum et mel habundanter. Concessa sunt uniuersis hominibus simili modo. Sí de uiris insignibus prouincię nostrę nuper aliquem⁴ mortuum nescimus⁵ nec audiuimus, sed sani sunt omnes.

Et episcopus dicit ad principem sacerdotum: (an) Habes latinam linguam?

Etiam uel utique. Non tam bene sapio, quia non multum legi, sed tamen fui inter scolasticos, et audiui lectores docentes(que)⁶ predicantesque atque illam mirabiliter die et nocte meditantes atque dicentes et obsonium facientes. Vnde et ego ex illis aliquid, qua`n`quam sum paruus ingenio, *<longa>*⁷ tamen meditatione pauca fona – *id est* uoces uel uerba – recognosco, sed etiam hæc regulariter respondere non possum. Ignoro enim regulas gramaticorum nec *<scio>* exempla poetarum.

Et dixit ille clericus ad episcopum: Magister, aue – *id est ánbúic guell* – et animaduerte, quod canonicus sermo regulis gramaticorum non seruit neque exemplis poetarum.

Amice, nunc illam tibi habunde – *id est* habundanter – effundam, quia sicut infans dedit suam linguam a matre, ita `et` ego dedici canonici *<sermonis>* historiam.

FINIT, AMEN; DE ALIQVIBVS RARIS FABVL`I`S

§23

- 1 After the punctuation-triangle, the rest of the line (46v1) – some 35-40 mm – is blank.
- 2 *fertilitis* MS.
- 3 *u-* altered from *si-*, MS.
- 4 *aliquis* MS.
- 5 *non scimus* MS.
- 6 *docentes que* MS. (the abbreviation for *quae*, not *-que*, used)
- 7 Stevenson; *lingua* MS.

It's now time for us to go from this place, in which we were, and to visit the local dwellings in which we take up – or will ask for – food and clothing. Let us go, friend, and visit the local abodes so that in them we may demand a meal, lodging, or room. Beg food for us. Press the owners attentively, boys, whether you found food for us.

But they said: indeed or certainly we found some.

And the priest says: may the community to which we have come prosper because it gave us sufficiently and warmly and abundantly all good things (that is, food) and all our requests. May the deacons (that is, clergy; a deacon is a clergyman) of this foundation, monastery, or place prosper. May the priests prosper. As they will say to us vehemently, be servants and subjects and come quickly to your work, and do that (that is, it) determinedly and carefully.

And one of the servants, captives, or crew says to his fellow servants: help me, fellow servant, with my work.

And they say: do it alone, because you will receive the reward for your labour and we shall be without one ('without', that is, *didaul*).

Listen, illustrious lector (says one of the students). Come and show me my assignment (that is, my reading), because I cannot understand it without a teacher, because I am weak in my reading.

Bring over your book, so that I might see how much confusion (that is, obscurity) you have in it, and I shall teach you about all the vocables (that is, obscure words), so that you may readily ...

24

Tempus est nobis ire de hoc loco, in quo fuimus, et uicina habitacula uisitare, in quibus uictum et uestimentum assumimus uel postula**imus**.¹ Eamus, amice, et uicina loca uisitemus, ut in ipsis epulm² et sedem³ uel mantionem queramus. Petite nobis escas; curios<e>⁴ possessores pulsate, ó pueri, utrum inuenistis nobis uictum.

At hi aierunt: Inuenimus etiam uel utique.

At ille prespiter ait: Bene (habene) habeat hæc familia, ad qu<a>m⁵ exiulistis, quia satis et benigne habundeque tribuit <47r> nobis omnia bona, id est uictum et omnia beneficia. Bene habeant leuitici – id est clerici, leuiticus id est clericus – istius podi uel monasterii uel loci. Bene habeant prespiteri. Vt nobis ualde dicent, serui subiecti estote, et ite propere ad opus uestrum, et facite illud – id est eum – assidue uel seduliter.

Et dicit unus de seruís uel captiuis ad conseruos suos: Adiuuate mé, conserui mei, de meo opere.

Et hí dicunt: Tú solus fac, quia mercedem accipies pro tuo labore, et nós expertes erimus – expers id est *didaul*.

Audi, clarissim<e>⁶ lector, dicit unus ex discipulís. Veni, et ostende mihi meum accepturium, id est meam lectionem, quia ego non possum intelligere sine doctore, quia infirmus sum in lectione.

Ad<d>uc⁷ tuum librum, ut uideam quantam fuscationem – id est obscuritatem – habes in illo, et docebo té de omnibus gliphis – id est obscuris –, ut pla<ne>⁸

§24

- 1 *postulauimus* MS.
- 2 *epulonem* MS.
- 3 *-d-* altered from (?)*-q-* MS.
- 4 *curiosa* MS.
- 5 *quem* MS.
- 6 *clarissimus* MS.
- 7 *adhuc* MS.
- 8 Text breaks off at line-end (47r15) in mid-word.

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