

The Old Welsh glosses on Martianus Capella reconsidered
an edition, commentary and analysis

RMA Thesis

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Statement on plagiarism and fraud

I declare that I have not committed plagiarism or fraud in making this thesis.

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Introduction

When Henry Bradshaw decided to embark on ‘a deliberate raid upon the library of Archbishop Parker’, hoping to find some as-yet undiscovered scrap of ‘Old Celtic’ to present to Whitley Stokes upon his return from India, he made a rather surprising discovery. As he went through the manuscripts which had been noted to be of ‘great antiquity’, he came across what is now known as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, Manuscript 153 (CCCC MS 153), the ‘Corpus Martianus Capella.’¹ He immediately noticed that he had discovered something special, for in this manuscript were contained numerous, brief glosses in what was unmistakably Old Welsh.²

The Old Welsh glosses were edited by Stokes and have been the subject of some study for the past century and a half. Stokes’ edition reflects the standards of the times in which it was made. He generally does not translate the glosses, instead mentioning only the modern Welsh counterparts of the words found therein and their Celtic and, from time to time, Indo-European cognates. When he does provide a translation, it is always in Latin. Moreover, although he generally cites the main text context in which the gloss is found, he never translates it. Nor does he make note of the differences between the Latin text found in the manuscript and that of the edition he used. He is not always entirely consistent in his approach either, often choosing not to cite the context when the words of the Welsh gloss are identical to those of a previously discussed gloss. Although Stokes’ work has essentially rendered the glosses accessible for research, it seems due for an update.

Fortunately, Karianne Lemmen recently took it upon herself to make a new edition of some of the glosses, bringing them up to modern standards.³ She edited the glosses found in Book I of the main text, as well as a number of newly found, or otherwise controversial glosses. In her edition the Latin context in both the manuscript and the latest edition of the text is consistently given and translated. Often, she also adds a note on the broader context of the line in the text. Furthermore, in discussing the words that make up the glosses, she makes use of the studies that have been done since Stokes’ time.

This was a truly excellent start, but it did leave the majority of the glosses without a modern edition, stressing the need to complete that work. Moreover, questions remained as to the exact dating of the manuscript, its composition and its scribes. In light of this, the present thesis offers a full, modern edition of the glosses, the transcription of which has been checked by means of a microfilm of

¹ A brief note on Martianus Capella’s text seems in order. The text, more properly called *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, ‘on the marriage of Mercurius and Philologia’, is an elaborate, neo-platonic allegory of a divine wedding, intertwined with an encyclopedic treatment of the seven liberal arts. The arts figure as bridesmaids, offering their knowledge to glorify and entertain the wedding party. The text became highly popular in the early Middle Ages, both for its learned contents and its unfamiliar setting, which inspired a wealth of glosses. For further information on its contents, see Stahl 1977, vol. 1. For an elaborate discussion of its (earliest) Latin glosses, see Teeuwen 2011.

² Bradshaw 1889: 281; being a report of a lecture given in 1871.

³ Lemmen 2006.

the manuscript. Of course, the glosses on Book I are not treated as extensively as the glosses on the later books and I refer the reader to Lemmen's work for the details of their study.

The edition forms the core of the present thesis. Preceding it is a chapter on the origins and history of the manuscript. In this chapter, the positions taken by previous scholars on its composition, scribes, dating and localization are given and discussed. I then set out my own position on these matters as well as offering a first attempt at identifying the glossators' hands.

The glosses contain many opportunities for further study, not all of which have been undertaken in this work. However, it was felt that the making of an edition - involving, as it does, a detailed study of *all* the glosses - allowed especially well for the investigation of a number of specific features of the glossator's practice. These features are detailed and their choice is motivated in the preceding section, which is called 'aims'. The final, concluding chapter of the thesis specifically analyzes these features.

A set of indices has been appended to the thesis, hopefully allowing the reader to easily find his way through the edition.

Aims

The central aim of this thesis is to provide a modern edition of the Old Welsh glosses on Martianus Capella. It should treat the glosses in detail, especially those on Books II-IX, offering an interpretation to the Welsh that is grounded both on previous scholarly work on the glosses and supported by its manuscript context. It is therefore considered important to focus not only on the purely linguistic matter of the Old Welsh glosses, but to undertake a palaeographical study as well. As was mentioned in the introduction, the results of the latter may be found in chapter 1, which concerns the manuscript itself, whereas the edition constitutes the second chapter.

Beyond this, I aim to investigate a number of particularly striking features of the glosses. The first of these is the use of accents to mark the vernacular glosses so as to set them apart from the Latin. In itself, this is not a unique feature, as it is for example also found in the Juvencus glosses and is known from manuscripts containing Old Irish glosses. It is generally believed that the accents on Old Welsh glosses do not reflect any phonetic quality, such as vowel length. However, the accents have never been investigated in detail and I thought that there may be patterns to the practice.

The second feature concerns the highly unusual syntax of the vernacular glosses that contain both a noun and an adjective. With the exception of a very small group of adjectives and specific, predicative phrases, Welsh - be it Old, Middle or Modern - observes a very strict NOUN-ADJ word order. However, in all but one of these glosses, whenever an adjective qualifies a noun, ADJ-NOUN word order occurs and none of these adjectives belongs to that small group of adjectives that precede the noun in later Welsh. The matter is complicated further by the unexpected discovery that in all cases where the glossed Latin also consists of a noun modified by an adjective, the Latin observes the NOUN-ADJ word order expected for Welsh.

The third feature, or theme, is perhaps surprising in a thesis that deals with vernacular glosses as it concerns the glossator's competence in Latin. The question is posed as it is significant in deciding whether the use of Welsh reflects a lack of ability in Latin, or not. Its answer entails a comparison between the Welsh and the Latin glosses found in the manuscript, an analysis of the bilingual glosses and the Latin words found therein, and the degree to which the Welsh glosses demonstrate the glossator's comprehension of the Latin of the main text.

The fourth and final feature builds upon the preceding and considers the scholarly environment in which the Welsh glossator operated. The way in which Latin and Welsh interact in these glosses and his apparent use of Latin ligatures and abbreviated nouns to express Welsh words are briefly analysed and the question is raised whether these traits are reminiscent of Old Irish practice.

There are also matters which I have not pursued in any great detail, or with much consistency in this thesis, mainly for want of time and space and in favour of the aims stated above. These largely neglected matters include the detailed study of the phonetics and orthography of the glosses, as well as the etymologies of the words found therein.

Another matter which was only summarily treated was that of the exact function of the glosses. I have, in fact, devised basic categories and assigned each of the Welsh glosses to one, or two of these categories or subcategories in the edition, but I am well aware that this ‘functional analysis’ only covers the most basic of distinctions. The system is explained on page 25, as part of the editorial policy.

The same is true for the comparison with both the broader Latin gloss tradition on Martianus Capella’s text and the Latin glosses contained within the manuscript itself. Both form an important part of the setting in which the Welsh glossators operated, but, again, any consistent comparison was limited in scale and all broader investigation was limited to samples taken whilst pursuing other matters.

I would like to stress that I do not consider these neglected topics to be of any lesser value, but it would have been beyond the scope of a master’s thesis to investigate quite all of them.

Chapter 1: The manuscript

Previous scholarship

Ever since its discovery in 1870, the ‘Corpus Martianus Capella’ manuscript has sparked considerable debate. Not only on the matter of its glosses, but also on its origins and its makings. In this chapter, these latter questions concerning the manuscript and its various scribes will be considered. It will be seen that there is some disagreement about its date and the identification of its hands. However, much of this disagreement is only revealed when a careful comparison is made of the positions taken by the modern scholars, as they rarely stress any of their mutual differences.

At least some of the apparent disagreement seems to derive from later scholars giving an incomplete representation of an earlier work to which they claim to subscribe, e.g. referring to an earlier scholar’s statement that something *may* be the case, as being a matter of solid fact. Moreover, it may be noted that a few scholars have made claims without either offering much in the way of evidence, nor even mentioning their obvious disagreement with earlier findings. Given these inconsistencies, it seemed fitting to present and comment upon the entire tradition of modern scholarship that surrounds this manuscript, before taking a position of my own. I thought it best to adopt a chronological approach, as this allows one to chart the development of the tradition from its origins.

Upon first seeing the glosses, Bradshaw was strongly reminded of the glosses found in the Book of Cerne, which he then dated to the eighth century. He also considered the handwriting to be similar to that found in the Liber Commonei (part of St. Dunstan’s Classbook) and the glosses written by hand B of the Cambridge Juvencus, both of which he assigned to a particularly early date at the time.⁴ However, in time he came to the conclusion that the Book of Cerne was actually a ninth century text and that, therefore, the Martianus Capella glosses should also be dated to this, rather than to an earlier century. Nonetheless, he did maintain that all of the Martianus Capella glosses were essentially as early as any other known British material.⁵

In dating the text he eventually distinguished between two ‘handwritings’. To hand A he ascribed the entirety of the main ‘text and most of the glosses’. He considered this to be the original, ninth-century scribe of the manuscript. Hand B was responsible for but a few, later glosses, which he considered to be of a tenth-century date.⁶ It is, unfortunately, entirely unclear which glosses were included under either of the hands. Nor is it clear how this practiced palaeographer came to distinguish between but two hands in the manuscript, where all later studies have found there to be at least five or,

⁴ Bradshaw 1889: 453.

⁵ Bradshaw 1889: 454.

⁶ Bradshaw 1889: 484.

more probably, six or seven hands in the main text, let alone in the glosses. At any rate, it may be noted that Bradshaw clearly considered there to be more than one hand in the glosses.

The second scholar to work on the glosses was Stokes, who went through the manuscript with the aid of Bradshaw's transcription. He then published what remains the standard edition of the glosses, adding translations and comments to each of them, as well as noting their Latin context. He considered the manuscript to belong to the eighth century and stated that the Welsh glosses are 'all in a hand of the eighth century' as well.⁷ He is often cited as if he were an independent proponent of this early date, but it seems likely that he simply saw no reason to object to Bradshaw's initial dating of the text. He offers no argument on which to base his dating, presenting it as a matter of fact.⁸

Stokes was the first scholar to remark that the vernacular glosses are generally accentuated and compares this practice to that found in the Welsh glosses in the Cambridge Juvencus. He noted that the accents do not occur solely on vowels, as they sometimes appear over consonants as well. He stated, referring to Zeuss' grammar,⁹ that they do not signify the quantity of vowels, being used only to mark the words as belonging to the vernacular.¹⁰ Stokes seems to be the first to consider the Welsh glosses to be the work of but one hand, although it must be added that Bradshaw's initial views are simply unknown and that - as with the dating - Stokes' may therefore ultimately derive from Bradshaw's.

Next came Montague James, who wrote about the manuscript in his catalogue of the Cambridge University library.¹¹ He does not comment on the date but is the first to make a careful study of the hands of the main text. Oddly enough, very few later scholars seem to recognize his work, referring instead to Lindsay, who quoted and expanded upon his work.¹² He distinguished seven hands:

- Scribe 1: ff. 1-16rb middle, 29r-62v and 63v-67rb, 'fine, flat-topped hand.'
- Scribe 2: ff. 16rb end - 16v and 17v-18v, 'Hiberno-Saxon¹³, not flat-topped.'
- Scribe 3: ff. 17ra, 'another hand of the same school.'
- Scribe 4: ff. 17rb, 'a larger and very rough hand of the same type.'
- Scribe 5: ff. 19-28, 'good round hand, still not flat-topped.'
- Scribe 6: ff. 63r, 'not flat-topped; rather pointed.'
- Scribe 7: ff. 67v, 'another hand.'

⁷ Stokes 1873: 385.

⁸ Stokes 1873: 385.

⁹ Zeuss 1853: 165.

¹⁰ Stokes 1873: 385.

¹¹ James 1912: no. 153.

¹² Lindsay 1912: 19.

¹³ This being an earlier name for what is now known as an 'Insular' hand.

Furthermore, James was the first scholar to have recognized that the vellum of ff. 19-28 differs from that of the rest of the manuscript and is the first to note that fol. 69 starts a different text. Lastly, he noted that he deemed a connection of the book with St. Davids probable, on the grounds ‘that Bishop Davies was interested in the antiquities of his diocese and that he corresponded with Archbishop Parker about Manuscripts.’¹⁴ This is the only attempt ever made at locating the origin of the manuscript in terms that are any more specific than ‘Wales’. However, it is a most unlikely explanation, and demonstrably so, as we shall see on page 20, where I set out my own views on the localization of the manuscript.

Wallace Lindsay, as was mentioned, accepted James’ division of the hands. He himself contributed a detailed study of the abbreviations used in the Latin, this being part of his broad study of early Welsh script.¹⁵ On the basis of this study, he suggested that Bradshaw’s ‘A’ should be interpreted as being of the late ninth, or even the early tenth century, rather than the ninth century in general. He argued that the abbreviations of *usque* and *-ra* in particular fit a later date, as ‘earlier Irish (and presumably Welsh) scribes write *usque* in full and express ‘ra’ by two separate commas, not united into the *n*-form.’¹⁶ Although I would not lightly contest Lindsay’s expert opinion in palaeographical matters, given his extensive studies of the Insular script as found in early Irish and Welsh manuscripts, this does seem rather a weak argument. It depends entirely on the assumption that the development of Irish and Welsh writing practices in the shared, Insular script took exactly the same form at exactly the same time in this period. It would also seem to preclude the possibility of a Welsh, or more generally British origin for the development, which then spread to the Irish. This is an assumption which he admits to be little more than a presumption, which is hardly surprising given the want of firmly dated material at our disposal for making such claims. Lindsay may well have been right and his experience in working with the relevant manuscripts may have made his scholarly instincts particularly accurate. But surely this cannot be regarded as firm evidence for a late ninth, rather than say a mid-ninth century date? Such a difference in dating spans some fifty years at most and it is hardly a stretch to consider the possibility that our dating of the change in scribal practice might be off by such a space. Finally, Lindsay commented on the possibility of an English scribe appearing on the later section of fol. 67rb, due to its ‘Anglo-Saxon type’. He did not believe that this was the case, due to the appearance of this script in part of the Juvencus manuscript as well, and the use of an abbreviation considered to be Welsh, rather than English. He concluded that said scribes were therefore more likely to be either Welshmen, or inmates of a Welsh monastery.¹⁷

Ifor Williams was next to suggest a date for the glosses, mentioning them briefly in the lectures on early Welsh poetry he gave in Dublin. Discussing the Juvencus *englynion* he stated that

¹⁴ James 1912: no. 153.

¹⁵ Lindsay 1912: 19-22.

¹⁶ Lindsay 1912: 22.

¹⁷ Lindsay 1912: 22.

‘the orthography can be compared with that of Oxoniensis Prior, a manuscript written in 820... or with the Martianus Capella glosses, which may belong to the same, or even to an earlier period.’¹⁸ In making this statement, Williams clearly went against Lindsay’s proposed late ninth-century date. It is not necessarily in conflict with Bradshaw’s dating, although this does depend on the extent to which Williams was willing to extend this ‘earlier period.’ However, given that Williams did not publish a more detailed case for his remarkably early date of the glosses, it is difficult to estimate its value.

Kenneth Jackson reviewed the suggested dates.¹⁹ He was the first to argue against viewing the dating offered by Stokes as being anything but a reflection of Bradshaw’s initial views. It would seem that Jackson remained unconvinced by either Lindsay, or Williams and simply maintained Bradshaw’s position of a ninth century date, ‘without attempting to be more precise.’²⁰

Some ten years thereafter, Terrence Bishop made a very significant, independent study of the collation and the hands found in the main text of the manuscript.²¹ In particular, he made a thorough effort to distinguish original from added material and he was the first to systematically consider the way the manuscript may have developed over time. He essentially subscribed to Lindsay’s dating of the manuscript.²² He, like James, whose work he leaves entirely unmentioned, then divided the manuscript into two, distinct parts:

- part 1: ff. 1-67, the text of Martianus Capella.
- part 2: ff. 69-86, a two-part collection of glosses on Martianus Capella, written by one hand (‘holograph’) in a Square minuscule of the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century.²³

None of the Welsh glosses are contained in the second part and there is good reason to think that it was produced at an English, rather than a Welsh centre. It is therefore not considered at all by earlier scholars - barring James - and will not be considered in this thesis either.

Bishop, again like James, noted that the vellum of ff. 19-28 differs from that of the rest of the manuscript and also observed that its collation is markedly different:

¹⁸ Williams 1944: 30.

¹⁹ Jackson 1953: 53.

²⁰ Jackson 1953: 53.

²¹ Bishop 1967: 262-265.

²² Bishop 1967: 262.

²³ Bishop 1967: 267.

- I¹² (3 and 9 cancelled) - ff. 1-10.
- II¹⁰ (9, 10 cancelled) - ff. 11-18.
 - ff. 19-20 were artificially conjoined to ff. 12 and 11.
- III⁸ - ff. 21-28.
- IV¹⁰-VI¹⁰ - ff. 29-58.
- VII¹⁰ (10 cancelled) - ff. 59-68.

He also noted that the third quire follows the pattern of HFHF, rather than that of HFFH observed in the rest of part 1.²⁴ Bishop concluded that ff. 19-28 were a non-original, later addition to the manuscript. It would therefore appear that the original sections, if that is what they be, tended to be organized in quinions, with the exception of the first quire. However, I have often been told that it is common for the first quire of a manuscript to differ in this respect.

Bishop investigated the scribe of ff. 19-28 and found there to be numerous grounds (palaeographical, codicological and circumstantial) to consider it probable that it was an English scribe, possibly one located in mid-tenth century St. Augustine's in Canterbury.²⁵ His treatment of the other main text hands has since become the accepted standard in discussing this manuscript; it differs but little from that of James, but has the benefit of a more thorough description and, at times, dating²⁶:

- Scribe A: ff. 1-16rb32, medium-sized, broad, flat-topped Welsh minuscule.
- Scribe B: f. 16rb32-16vb38, pointed Insular minuscule of uncertain date.
- Scribe C: f. 17ra1-35, hybrid Insular-Caroline minuscule, using many Welsh and archaic Insular abbreviations, but of tenth century aspect.
- Scribe D: f. 17rb1-35, Insular minuscule, 'almost too ugly and anomalous to be dated, but with many archaic Insular ligatures.'
- Scribe B: ff. 17va-18vb.
- Scribe A: ff. 29ra-35ra38, writing medium-small. What follows is a short space of some 17 lines in which a *figura* appears, surrounded by writing of an Anglo-Caroline hand known from other corrections and additions in the original, Welsh part and dated to the tenth or eleventh century.
- Scribe A: ff. 35rb-62vb, writing medium-small.
- Scribe E: f. 63r, small, compressed Insular minuscule, 'apparently of s. IX²⁷.'
- Scribe A: ff. 63va-67rb7, writing medium-small.
- Scribe E: f. 67rb8-27.

²⁴ Bishop 1967: 266.

²⁵ Bishop 1967: 266-267.

²⁶ Bishop 1967: 263-264.

Bishop proposed that scribe E (a collation of James' scribes 6 and 7) 'was perhaps responsible for many of the earlier Latin glosses in the Welsh portion.'²⁷ He also mentioned another hand, writing an Insular minuscule ('apparently of s. X in.') who uses Welsh abbreviations.²⁸ This hand is found both *in rasura* and in what appear to have been small lacunae in the main text of part 1.²⁹ Bishop stated that there is nothing to suggest that the text of the original, Welsh part was copied from more than one exemplar.³⁰ This may be true, but it is an *argumentum ex silentio*.

A final, major contribution of Bishop is his case for considering the original text to have had a major lacuna in Book III of the text, consisting of all of quire II after f. 16rb32 and perhaps going all the way up to the beginning of quire IV of the manuscript and Book IV of the text (the beginnings of which coincide).³¹ He argued that the aspect of hands B, C and D is later than that of A and E, that the Latin glosses found in their folia are also of later aspect and 'written at least in part by the scribes of the text' and that the Welsh glosses are entirely lacking from their section. The vernacular glosses were written in the same compressed, pointed Insular minuscule as the early Latin glosses (which constitute the vast majority of Latin glosses) and the want of their presence on these folia 'at least consists with the view that these, with the leaves represented by the two succeeding cancels, were blank when he added his comments.'³² He noted in passing that the early Latin glosses were written by various hands, but appears to have been of the opinion that the vernacular glosses were written by a single scribe ('holograph').

Bishop thought it likely that it was the English scribe who excised the final two folia of the original second quire and that these were not blank. The argument is one of economy, as Bishop proposed that the English scribe would have simply used the folia for copying if they had been blank. Said scribe then proceeded to replace these folia with his own folia 19 and 20, before adding his quaternion. Bishop considered it probable that the quaternion did not replace an original quinion, but rather filled an original lacuna in the text.³³ He offers no arguments for his case. If the text indeed included a major gap when it reached the English scribe, it is understandable that he would have sought to add the missing part. But why would he have wasted parchment on replacing folia that did contain writing (presumably by hands B, C and D, whose work was tolerated in the preceding folia)? Is that any more logical, than presuming that he would have used the original pages, if had they been blank, in order to save precious parchment?

The next scholar to mention the manuscript, albeit very briefly, was David Dumville, who noted that Bishop's hand C, using a hybrid Insular-Caroline minuscule constitutes our only significant

²⁷ Bishop 1967: 264.

²⁸ Bishop 1967: 263.

²⁹ Bishop 1967: 263.

³⁰ Bishop 1967: 265.

³¹ Bishop 1967: 264.

³² Bishop 1967: 265.

³³ Bishop 1967: 273-274.

example of the use of the Caroline in the British Isles during the eighth and ninth centuries. That is to say, before the wholesale adoption of it in England and Cornwall during the mid-tenth century.³⁴ He further noted the lack of any attested work from Wales during the period 950-1085 and the scarcity of material from the first half of the ninth century. He went on to say that the attested works from the late eleventh century show ‘no radical divergence in orthography from pre-950 sources.’ This led him to conclude that Old Welsh, or Late Celtic Insular palaeographical features cannot in themselves be used to firmly date a text beyond the very broad period of the ninth to the eleventh century.³⁵ In a later work he expanded upon these Late Celtic features, although much of it remains based on Lindsay’s studies.³⁶ He mentioned that from about 850 AD Welsh and Irish script-developments largely went hand in hand, although significant differences were already in existence.³⁷ He retained his earlier position that the British material is very scarce, but mentioned that many of these manuscripts show evidence of Irish influence at the centres where they originated, which may well explain the spread of common developments.³⁸ In yet another article, Dumville mentioned that the presumably English scribe who is responsible for ff. 19-28 is definitely English and may well be dated to the 930s. He supports Bishop’s suggestion of a link with St. Augustine’s.³⁹

Mildred Budny included the manuscript in her catalogue of early manuscript art. She is particularly vague about her sources, never referring to specific scholars outside of her brief bibliography. She appears to have adopted Lindsay’s and Bishop’s dating, as well as Bishop’s division of the manuscript in two, distinct parts.⁴⁰ She takes on a very unusual position as to the scribes, refusing to acknowledge any difference between Bishop’s hands B, D and E. Additionally, she considers scribe C and the hand of the text accompanying the added diagrams on f.67v to be one and the same.⁴¹ She fails to mention that this goes against all other work in identifying the hands. Having taken a close look at the relevant folia of the manuscript, I cannot understand the reason for Budny’s simplification. The differences between hands B, D and E are striking. This apparent carelessness in dealing with the hands of the main text casts doubt on her statement (left unargued) that hand A was responsible for adding ‘some Welsh glosses.’⁴²

Budny made the intriguing suggestion that the manuscript may have been made in three distinct stages: original work (reflecting hand A, to whom Budny also appears to ascribe some of the glosses and artwork found in the Welsh portion), complementary additions (reflecting hands B, C, D and E) and completion and augmentation (reflecting the English hands of parts 1 and 2). She offers the

³⁴ Dumville 1977: 248.

³⁵ Dumville 1977: 248-251.

³⁶ Dumville 1999: 120-127.

³⁷ Dumville 1999: 126.

³⁸ Dumville 1999: 122-124.

³⁹ Dumville 1994: 139-140.

⁴⁰ Budny 1997: 109.

⁴¹ Budny 1997: 110.

⁴² Budny 1997: 111.

interesting thought that the non-original, latter two stages of augmentation and completion may have occurred at one and the same place, reflecting that centre's transition from an Insular to later English script.⁴³

Daniel Huws made a very brief mention of the *Corpus Martianus Capella* in his discussion of the Caroline minuscule, noting - as Dumville did - that this manuscript offers the only attested example of the use of the Caroline in pre-twelfth century Wales.⁴⁴ He further mentions that the Caroline replaced the Insular minuscule in Brittany during the mid-ninth century and - as was mentioned previously, again by Dumville - became dominant in England from the mid-tenth century.⁴⁵

The last two authors to contribute to the discussion were Karianne Lemmen and Sinéad O'Sullivan. Lemmen re-edited the Old Welsh glosses found in Book I of the text and checked the reading of the vernacular glosses throughout the manuscript. In doing so, she discovered a number of new glosses, which she commented upon, although not all of them are certain to be Welsh.⁴⁶ She also added a number of lists of the glosses, with references to the most recent edition of *Martianus Capella's* text, which greatly facilitate their study.⁴⁷ She essentially subscribed to Lindsay's and Bishop's dating of the manuscript⁴⁸ and the latter's distinction of its hands⁴⁹, although she opted to call his 'English scribe' hand F.⁵⁰ I am not sure if I support this move, as the presumably English additions were likely made at a very different stage of the manuscript's development and should perhaps be treated separately from the earlier material. She leaves the issue of whether there are multiple hands to be distinguished in the vernacular glosses open.⁵¹ She appears to be first to explicitly state that the accents found on many of the vernacular glosses - as mentioned by Stokes - do not in fact accompany all of them. She also stresses that 'almost all of the Old Welsh glosses are added to the parts written by scribe A' (there is one gloss found on the work by scribe E and one of the glosses discovered by Lemmen is on that of scribe B), but she readily admits that this is easily explained by the fact that scribe A wrote the vast majority of the text.⁵² She seems open to the idea of multiple exemplars being used by the glossators, stating that 'the fact that not all of [A's] work is glossed in OW as well as in Latin may be dependent on the exemplars that were used by the glossator(s), or it may exhibit the latter's personal interest in certain portions of the text and specifically his lack of interest in others.'⁵³

O'Sullivan's interest in the manuscript is unique in that she primarily investigated the Latin glosses contained therein, concluding that those found accompanying the Welsh part can demonstrably

⁴³ Budny 1997: 111.

⁴⁴ Huws 2000: 11.

⁴⁵ Huws 2000: 11.

⁴⁶ Lemmen 2006: 27-34.

⁴⁷ Lemmen 2006: 35-46.

⁴⁸ Lemmen 2006: 9.

⁴⁹ Lemmen 2006: 10.

⁵⁰ Lemmen 2006: 6, note 12.

⁵¹ Lemmen 2006: 6.

⁵² Lemmen 2006: 6.

⁵³ Lemmen 2006: 6.

be linked to the first of the three major Latin gloss traditions on the text.⁵⁴ This tradition is known as the Oldest Gloss Tradition (OGT). She further states that the vernacular and Latin glosses were added to the *Corpus Martianus Capella* as part of the ‘same scholarly exercise.’⁵⁵ She argues her case by mentioning that some of the glosses are bilingual and that Old Welsh and Latin words sometimes form a syntactic unit. Additionally, she notes that there are at least two gloss hands adding Latin glosses to the text of hand A and that one of these hands is strikingly similar, if not identical to the hand of one of the vernacular glosses.⁵⁶ On the manuscript’s origins, hands and provenance she is otherwise largely in agreement with Bishop, although she also subscribes to Budny’s claim that hand A copied some of the vernacular glosses.⁵⁷ Based on the Latin glosses, she makes a solid case for the localization of the (original, continental) exemplar from which the Latin glosses derive. Given that the only region for which there is evidence that the OGT was copied before the second half of the ninth century was the area between Fleury, Tours and Auxerre and given the assumption that the Welsh manuscript was written (and these glosses added to it) during the late ninth century, she considered it reasonable to assume that the (original) exemplar derived directly from this area.⁵⁸ However, this is of course not to say that it is theoretically impossible for there to have been an intermediate exemplar.

The scribes

Although there is a wealth of earlier studies on the subject of the *Corpus Martianus Capella*, it can be seen that most scholars subscribe to Lindsay’s and Bishop’s findings. It must also be said that the identification of the hands found in the glosses has only barely begun. Having commented on each of the previous studies, I shall now set out my own position. I shall first deal with the matter of the hands found in the first part of the manuscript⁵⁹ and then discuss the closely related matter of dating and provenance. I have appended an overview of my positions at the end of this chapter.

As regards the main text, I subscribe to Bishop’s division of the hands, which is to be preferred over that of James, Budny and Bradshaw. James’ was essentially correct, but slightly too complex as regards hand E, whilst Budny’s and Bradshaw’s lacked certain hands.

⁵⁴ O’Sullivan 2011: 42-46.

⁵⁵ O’Sullivan 2011: 41.

⁵⁶ O’Sullivan 2011: 41.

⁵⁷ O’Sullivan 2011: 41.

⁵⁸ O’Sullivan 2011: 45-46.

⁵⁹ Needless to say, I accept the division of the manuscript into two parts, part 1 containing the main text and its glosses and consisting of ff. 1-67, and part 2 being a set of commentaries on the text and consisting of ff. 69-86. As mentioned before, in passing, I shall not look into part 2.

- Scribe A: ff. 1-16rb32, 29ra-35ra38, 35rb-62vb and 63va-67rb7; Welsh Insular minuscule.
- Scribe B: ff. 16rb32-16vb38 and 17va-18vb; pointed Insular minuscule.
- Scribe C: f. 17ra1-35; hybrid Insular-Caroline minuscule.
- Scribe D: f. 17rb1-35; Insular minuscule.
- Scribe E: ff. 63r and 67rb8-27; compressed Insular minuscule.

I follow Bishop's suggestion, validated by Dumville, that the scribe of ff. 19-28 was English and considerably later than the other scribes. I therefore prefer not to include him amongst the main hands. It can be seen that scribe A was responsible for about 54 of the 57 folia that remain of the original, non-English portion of part 1. As Lemmen stated, it should indeed not come as much of a surprise that very nearly all the vernacular, Old Welsh glosses are to be found on his text. It could hardly have been otherwise.

There appear to be multiple hands in the glosses in both languages, as was noted by Bishop for the Latin glosses. Several stages of glossing may well be envisaged, given the variety of script found therein. Those glosses written in a compressed pointed Insular minuscule seem to be the earliest and constitute the vast majority of the glosses, both Latin and vernacular. I am sceptical of Budny's claim that scribe A has added a number of vernacular glosses. As she did not specify which glosses she supposed to have been written by A, it is difficult to check the veracity of her statement. However, the script of hand A differs considerably from that found in any of the (Welsh) glosses and it seems unlikely for him to have written them. The similarity of the script used for both the earlier Latin and the vernacular glosses, which at times appears to be quite identical - as was noted by O'Sullivan -, leads me to believe that the earlier Latin and the Welsh glosses were added at the same time and in at least some cases by the same scribes.

There are 149 potentially vernacular glosses, as listed in the appendices to Lemmen's work.⁶⁰ They are not entirely the work of a single glossator and I have undertaken a close study to identify the hands found in the vernacular glosses for this thesis. My practice throughout has been to compare the aspect of each gloss with a number of previous glosses, especially those that contained the same letters. The focus on previous rather than following glosses was due to the fact that as I worked through the manuscript, I had already tentatively assigned any previous glosses to specific glossators, which allowed me to compare the aspect of each new gloss to the traits I had established for their hands. If a palaeographical difference was detected in the writing of a specific letter, for example in the writing of <o>, I then compared it to more examples containing that letter. I paid especial attention to glosses in which the same letter appeared multiple times as these were useful to determine whether variant writings were being used by the same glossator. If I was still in doubt, I also compared the

⁶⁰ Lemmen 2006: 35-44.

gloss to later glosses containing the same letters, especially those that were found on the same folium. I then assigned all glosses that appear to have been written by the same hand to the same glossator.

I have called the glossators W1-6; the W being short for Welsh and the number indicating the order of appearance in the manuscript. Two of the glossators bear a striking resemblance to main text scribes. The same careful comparison of letters which was undertaken for identifying the glossators within the glosses was therefore extended to the main text. W1 appears to be scribe E. Both share the same, near-identical Insular minuscule, albeit that he writes in a larger hand in his contribution to the main text. Crucially, both W1 and E were in the habit of using two variants of raised, tall *s*'s alongside the common, insular minuscule <*s*> from time to time. W5 appears to be scribe B. W5 is the hand of the only gloss that is likely to be Welsh on B's part of the text and it is indistinguishable from B's hand.

- W1/E Small, Insular minuscule; sometimes employs a tall-*s*, which appears in two variants.
(Near-)Identical to the hand of one of the main Latin glossators.
(Near-)Identical to main text hand E.
- W2 Medium, Insular minuscule; somewhat sharper than W1.
Highly similar to W1.
- W3 Small, Insular minuscule, employing a long-tongued <*e*>; sharp aspect.
(Near-)Identical to the hand of one of the Latin glossators.
- W4 Small, Insular minuscule, using a relatively faint ink and employing very pronounced serifs.
Highly similar to W1.
- W5/B Small, pointed Insular minuscule.
(Near-)Identical to main text hand B.
- W6 Small, Insular (?) minuscule; it has a very unusual aspect.

As can be seen from the table below, most of the 149 glosses listed by Lemmen were the work of a single scribe (W1/E). Moreover, the gloss by W3 is likely to be Latin. The glosses by W4 and W6 are difficult to interpret in any language, although the former may, perhaps, be considered Irish. Detailed arguments on each of these glosses are found in the edition. This leaves W1/E, W2 and W5/B as the only scribes of Old Welsh glosses. Finally, it must be added that the script of W1/E and W2 is highly similar and that they write very similar glosses. An example of this is the gloss *is(s) cimadas* gl. par est found once in the script of W1 (in gloss 21) and once in that of W2 (in gloss 13). It may be that W1/E and W2 are, in fact, one and the same scribe, but there is a difference to their script, albeit slight, and it is actually especially pronounced in the *is(s) cimadas* glosses. As such, I have kept them separate. Of the other glossators, only W4 resembles another scribe - this is, again, the main

vernacular glossator, W1/E - closely enough to warrant thinking that they may be the same scribe. However, W4 used a different ink from that used by W1/E and - along with the lack of the introductory *.i.* abbreviation, which is otherwise nearly always present in W1/E's glosses, and slight palaeographical differences - it seemed best to keep them separate as well. Glossators W1/E and W3 also added Latin glosses, mainly on A's part of the main text. W5/B did so as well, but only on his own section of the main text. I have not come across any Latin glosses by W2, W4 and W6.

• W1/E	137 glosses	(133 certainly Welsh; 2 likely South-West-British; 1 likely Irish; 1 likely Latin)	[all other glosses]
• W2	5 glosses	(certainly Welsh)	[7, 13, 29, 37, 50]
• W3	1 gloss	(uncertain, unlikely to be Welsh)	[48]
• W4	3 glosses	(uncertain, possibly Irish)	[51, 55, 81]
• W5/B	1 gloss	(uncertain, likely Welsh)	[97]
• W6	1 gloss	(uncertain)	[98]

Both the Welsh and the Latin glosses, as well as the Latin main text, were accented by their scribes; the Latin glosses (apparently) to indicate vowel length, albeit not consistently, the Welsh glosses to indicate that they are not Latin. The practices of marking the Latin and the Welsh differ considerably, allowing for an easy, visual distinction between the Latin and the Welsh glosses. Scribes W4, W5/B and W6 never use accents. W3 does use accents, but - as he added no vernacular glosses - only over Latin glosses. W1/E and W2 use palaeographically highly similar accents. The accents used by W1/E on his Welsh glosses do not differ palaeographically from those used by him over his Latin glosses. Apart from the accents by W1/E and W2, it is generally possible to distinguish palaeographically between the accents used by different scribes, indicating that they were added by each individual scribe as they worked on their part of the main text, or the glosses.

Dating

As to the dating, a useful *terminus post quem* is provided by the OGT, which has recently been dated by Mariken Teeuwen. According to her, the oldest attested manuscript containing this Latin gloss tradition on Martianus Capella⁶¹ was written around the year 830 AD.⁶² It has been demonstrated that the glosses found in this manuscript were themselves a copy, and not original.⁶³ Therefore, the OGT

⁶¹ This is the manuscript known as Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Vossianus lat. F. 48. In the following, I refer to it as 'Vossianus', or the 'Vossianus manuscript'.

⁶² Teeuwen 2014: 14-18.

⁶³ Teeuwen 2014: 17-18.

must have arisen before c. 830 and it is thought likely to have done so in the later 820s.⁶⁴ It would be most unlikely that the Welsh, vernacular glosses reflect a tradition of scholarship on Martianus Capella that predated the rediscovery of the text following the Carolingian scholastic reforms. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the *Corpus Martianus Capella* cannot predate the 820s and it would require one to assume especially close ties between Wales and the Carolingian scholarly centres to assign it a date before the second half of the ninth century. This militates against the views of Williams, who dated it to the 820s or earlier.

As was mentioned in the preceding, Dumville stated that the English hand of ff. 19-28 is likely to be dated to the 930s. At the very least, it is unlikely to postdate the 950s, when the Anglo-Caroline superseded the Square minuscule in English writing of Latin. This provides a useful *terminus ante quem* as the manuscript must have arrived in England by then. Furthermore, Bishop and Budny proposed that the manuscript shows signs of protracted work. It seems to have been produced in stages. This might in itself hint at the possibility that a considerable amount of time - relative to a man's lifetime - passed between the first work on the manuscript and when it reached England. Another clue is provided by the fact that some of the non-English hands, such as hand C, are considered to belong to the early tenth, rather than the ninth century. If this dating is correct, it could indicate a significant gap between the initial stages of the work (which at the very least included hand A, which is consistently considered to belong to the ninth century) and the stage at which hands B, C and D got involved.

In order to tackle this more precisely, the matter of the major lacuna in the original text of Book III - first proposed by Bishop - must be considered. There are indeed strong hints that such a lacuna existed. Bishop judged the aspects of hands B, C and D to be later than that of A and E. Moreover, he believed that the character of the script of the - markedly few - glosses on the work of B, C and D differs greatly from that of the glosses on the parts by A and E. This is a good indication that the section copied by B, C and D was simply not present when the glossators of the work by A and E (of whom one, as we have seen, was scribe E himself) were active. A further clue is furnished by the fact that the start of Book IV coincides with the beginning of quire 4, where scribe A continues after the work of B, C, D and the English scribe. Moreover, scribe A wrote in a medium-large hand before the suspected gap, but continued in a noticeably smaller hand from the start of Book IV onwards. This implies that the lacuna was original to A's work, rather than having come about through damage between his time and the stage at which B, C and D were active.

We are then still faced with the question of how such a gap came to be. The most reasonable scenario seems one in which the exemplar used by scribe A suffered from a lacuna, or was otherwise defective at this point. Being confronted with this problem as he reached f.16rb32 of his copy, scribe A left the latter part of the second quire blank. He then reconsidered his approach, apparently deciding

⁶⁴ Teeuwen 2014: 18.

to change the size of his script, and continued his copy from the beginning of the next book of the text and on a fresh quire. At some point, a new exemplar was acquired, which included the missing portion of Book III, and scribes B, C and D set out to copy it into the manuscript, using the folia that were left blank by scribe A. It is difficult to surmise what happened afterwards. It seems possible that scribes B, C and D finished at f.18vb - where their section ends now - or when they ran out of blank folia at the end of the original second quire, leaving a significant lacuna in the text still. At any rate, it seems likely that some gap in the text remained when the manuscript reached the English scribe, who had both a suitable exemplar and ten fine sheets of parchment available to him. He then excised the last two folia of the second quire, artificially conjoined two new folia to said quire and added a new quaternion using the other eight folia, thus filling the gap.

We can thus conclude that part 1 of the manuscript was copied in three or four stages, the last of which probably commenced in the 930s or shortly thereafter and the first of which did not predate the 820s. During the first stage, scribe A copied his part of the main text. Simultaneously, or shortly thereafter during a tentative second stage, scribe W1/E and a number of other glossators added the vast majority of the glosses to the work of scribe A. The glosses on E's part of the main text are (very nearly) all in his own hand so it seems possible that he copied this part of the main text after the main work of glossing the text was done. During the next stage, scribes B, C and D used (some of) the folia of the second quire, which scribe A left blank, to fill up part of the lacuna left in Book III of the main text. None of the scribes active during the first stage(s) remained involved with the manuscript when B, C and D were working on it. During the last stage, the English scribe added his part of the main text and both he and some other English scribes added glosses and corrections throughout the text of part 1. As was mentioned, part 2 of the manuscript is not considered in this thesis, but it appears to have been added somewhat later still.⁶⁵

Localization

It is unfortunately impossible to decide where in Wales the first two or three stages of work might have taken place. James' suggestion that it might have been related to St. David's due to the interest of the bishop Davies in 'antiquities of his diocese' and the fact that bishop Davies communicated about manuscripts with the Archbishop Parker, in whose library the manuscript is now contained, is most unlikely. The English additions to the manuscript, which were added from the first half of the tenth century, oppose the idea that the manuscript was kept in Wales until it reached the Archbishop Parker. A more general suggestion by Thomas Charles-Edwards that the South English provenance of most of these early, Welsh manuscripts might be linked with the closer ties between South Wales and Southern

⁶⁵ Bishop 1967: 267.

England, as opposed to those between North Wales and Southern England,⁶⁶ might be valid. Still, a slight increase in the likelihood of a South Walian provenance can on its own hardly clinch the matter. Given this lack of certainty on its geographical origins, it is as yet equally impossible to decide whether the first two or three stages of work occurred in the same centre, or not. The sheer variety of script contained in the non-English portion of the manuscript might make one inclined to think that multiple centres were involved, but given the evidence from the Cambridge Juvencus and some of the other early Welsh documents, which show a similar diversity of script being used in single manuscripts, this is far from certain. It would rather seem that it was typical of these early Welsh centres that a broad variety of script was tolerated, perhaps reflecting the varied character of its monks and its visitors. When the possibility of a half-century (or more) of change in scribal practices is added, we are again faced with very little evidence indeed on which to base a localization. Nonetheless, a clue to the effect that the second (or third) stage was at least still conducted within Wales is provided by the palaeography, as Bishop notes that the work of scribes B, C and D and that of an unnamed scribe who sometimes appears to add corrections *in rasura* and fill in small lacunae throughout the original portion, does contain many Welsh, or Late Celtic abbreviations and ligatures.

There are two, text-internal hints at a localization and these are provided by the vernacular glosses 16), *it dagatte ail* and 59), in which the feminine form of the number two occurs as *diu*. The latter form, of which the history is poorly understood, is later attested only in Cornish and Breton, whereas the Middle Welsh form is *dwy* (OW ***dui*). Of the former, the first *-a-* of *dagatte* < **tu-gat-* can be explained as South-West-British on the basis of the development known from Bret. *lagad*, ‘eye’ < **Lu-kad-*, MW *llygad*. Had *dagatte* been Welsh, it should have reflected MW *dyad-*. Both glosses were written by scribe W1/E, whose vernacular glosses are otherwise Welsh. If they are indeed to be regarded as South-West-British forms, they are difficult to reconcile with his other glosses. It seems best to regard them as evidence of copying two South-West-British glosses from the exemplar into the manuscript, rather than to regard them as a very limited and inexplicably random South-West-British influence on the language of glossator W1/E. This would in turn mean that not all of the vernacular glosses are original to this manuscript and it might imply that the exemplar came to Wales through Brittany, or Cornwall. However, the forms cannot help us in deciding where in Wales this manuscript was made.

⁶⁶ Charles-Edwards 2013: 635-636.

Overview of positions taken

Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 153, 'The Corpus Martianus Capella':

- Part 1 ff. 1-67r Main text and glosses.
- Part 2 ff. 69-83 Set of commentaries on the text.

Scribes of part 1:

- Scribe A: ff. 1-16rb32, 29ra-35ra38, 35rb-62vb and 63va-67rb7; Welsh Insular minuscule.
- Scribe B: ff. 16rb32-16vb38 and 17va-18vb; pointed Insular minuscule.
- Scribe C: f. 17ra1-35; hybrid Insular-Caroline minuscule.
- Scribe D: f. 17rb1-35; Insular minuscule.
- 'The English Scribe': ff.19-28; Anglo-Caroline minuscule.
- Scribe E: ff. 63r and 67rb8-27; compressed Insular minuscule.

Potential vernacular glossators:

- W1/E Small, Insular minuscule; sometimes employs a tall-s, which appears in two variants.
(Near-)Identical to the hand of one of the main Latin glossators.
(Near-)Identical to main text hand E.
- W2 Medium, Insular minuscule; somewhat sharper than W1.
Highly similar to W1.
- W3 Small, Insular minuscule, employing a long-tongued <e>; sharp aspect.
(Near-)Identical to the hand of one of the Latin glossators.
- W4 Small, Insular minuscule, using a relatively faint ink and employing very pronounced serifs.
Highly similar to W1.
- W5/B Small, pointed Insular minuscule.
(Near-)Identical to main text hand B.
- W6 Small, Insular (?) minuscule; very unusual aspect.

Number and suspected language of glosses by the potential vernacular glossators:

- W1/E 137 glosses (133 certainly Welsh; 2 likely South- [all other glosses]
West-British; 1 likely Irish; 1 likely Latin)
- W2 5 glosses (certainly Welsh) [7, 13, 29, 37, 50]
- W3 1 gloss (uncertain, unlikely to be Welsh) [48]
- W4 3 glosses (uncertain, possibly Irish) [51, 55, 81]
- W5/B 1 gloss (uncertain, likely Welsh) [97]
- W6 1 gloss (uncertain) [98]

Stages of work on part 1 of the manuscript:

- Stage 1 Scribe A.
- Stage 2 Scribe W1/E, W3 and various other, early glossators.
- Stage 3 Scribes W5/B, C and D.
- Stage 4 'The English scribe' and various English glossators.

Dating:

- Stage 1 c. 830-900.
- Stage 2 c. 830-900, shortly after stage 1.
- Stage 3 c. 875-930, some time after stage 2.
- Stage 4 c. 930-950.

Localization:

- Stage 1 (South-)Wales.
- Stage 2 (South-)Wales.
- Stage 3 (South-)Wales.
- Stage 4 England, likely at St. Augustine's.

Chapter 2: The edition

Editorial policy

In the edition, the spacing of the manuscript was maintained, rather than adopting the modern idea of word boundaries. This was done because it was thought possible that the spacing of the manuscript, which sometimes breaks up words right in the middle, might have had an effect on the placement of the accents with which most of the vernacular glosses were marked. A good overview of the glosses divided up in a modern fashion can be found in the appendices to Lemmen's work.⁶⁷

I have made a careful study of the placement of the accents, with which most of the Welsh glosses are marked, and they are consistently transcribed in this edition. A small number of accents appear to have been written in between two signs, making it difficult to decide over which letter they were intended to appear. In the following, this is always noted in the palaeographical notes (pal. note). In the transcription these accents are given as a ´ in between the relevant signs.

As was mentioned in the introduction, the glosses on Book I of the text are not treated extensively, as they have recently been edited by Lemmen.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, each of them has been checked palaeographically by means of a microfilm. Their scribes have been identified and their accents have been transcribed. Furthermore, a brief translation of the Welsh is given, but any form of discussion is deliberately left out. If a reading, or translation is uncertain, (?) is added to notify the reader. Whenever the Welsh is known to be a Latin loanword, the Latin form is given. The glossed Latin is not translated, nor is the context given, or discussed. As with all other glosses, a functional classification is made and glosses on the same lemma in the Vossianus manuscript - if any such gloss exists - are given. An exception was made for those glosses for which I reckoned I had something to add, but otherwise, I defer to Lemmen.

For the glosses on Books II-IX the glossed Latin words are translated, the Latin context is given both as transcribed from the manuscript and as given in Willis' edition of the text and Stahl et al.'s translation of the text is provided. Whenever a Latin word is derived from the Greek, the Greek is given. The Welsh is discussed in detail, with full references to the relevant scholars whenever an interpretation was deemed to be at all controversial. The glosses on Books II-IX are otherwise treated as those in Book I.

⁶⁷ Lemmen 2006: 35-44.

⁶⁸ Lemmen 2006.

Finally, each gloss is assigned to one of three main functional categories and, if applicable, to the secondary category of ‘grammatical gloss’. This very broad and general analysis is intended only as a first attempt to categorize the glosses. As such, it does not go into any great detail, but does offer a basic sense of structure to the glosses. The categories are as follows:

- Direct translation
 - Grammatical gloss
- Expansion of the main text
 - Grammatical gloss
- Elucidation of the main text
 - Grammatical gloss
- Uncertain

A direct translation is one where the Welsh approximates the glossed Latin very closely. An expansion of the main text is a gloss which does not directly reflect the meaning of the glossed Latin, but offers an indirect, Welsh interpretation of the Latin. Both types of glosses sometimes reflect the case of the glossed Latin words by means of prepositions and particles. A gloss that elucidates the main text aims to clarify the contents of the Latin text, e.g. by offering a more familiar name for a lesser known one, by adding the name of the speaker to passages of direct speech, or by adding a copula to a Latin, non-copulaic predicative clause. The label uncertain is applied to glosses of which the meaning is too controversial to allow for a solid functional analysis.

- 1) fo.1rb21 **.i. órbárdául leteinepp** gl. epica (...) lyricaque pagina [§3]
 Scribe W1
 Pal. note No marks over *leteinepp*, likely for want of space.
or Preposition, ‘of, from, with, by’; MW *o*. Added to it is the contracted form of the definite article, MW *-r*.
bardaul Adjective, ‘bardic’; MoW *barddol*.
leteinepp Noun, sg., ‘page, surface’; MW *lledwyneb*.
 Function Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: ablative.
 Voss. (gloss on *epica*) *epus philosophus fuit ab illo dicti epici sectatores illius et est ablatiuus epica pagina*
 (gloss on *lyricaque*) *liciric poetae dicti “apo toi lirin” i. a uarietate carminum unde et lira a uarietate sonorum dicitur eo quod diversi soni sint in illa.*
- 2) fo.1rb35 **.i. ánúdíiuno** gl. suadae [§4]
 Scribe W1
 Pal. note No marks over <iuno>, a Latin name.
anu Noun, sg., ‘name’; MW *enw*.
di Preposition, *di* ‘to, for’; MW *y*.
 Function Elucidation of the main text.
 Voss. 1) *suadente*
 2) *suada dicitur iuno quia quicquid iouis suadet statim fit*
- 3) fo.1va37 **.i. címmáithuress** gl. collactea [§6]
 Scribe W1
 Pal. note No marks over second half, likely for want of space.
cimmaithuress Noun, sg., ‘foster-sister.’ It is a hapax.
 Function Direct translation.
 Voss. *simul nutrita ule ipso lacte alta id est inseparabili amicitia*
- 4) fo.2ra45 **.i. nóúirmiínngúedóu .i. cóillíou** gl. extorum [§9]
 Scribe W1

Pal. discussion Scholars disagree on the reading of the first gloss. Stokes read *munnguedou*,⁶⁹ Lewis revised this to *miinnguedou*,⁷⁰ Lambert *niinguedou*⁷¹ and Lemmen *miinguedou*.⁷² Lewis argued that it must read <ii>, rather than <u>, because no other *u* is written with unconnected shafts in these glosses. Lambert mistakenly states that Lewis proposed the reading *miinguedou*, leaving out one of the *n*'s. He argues that the reading is uncertain and offers this as grounds for his preferred reading of *niinguedou*, connecting it with Old Breton *nin*. Perhaps he did not himself check the manuscript. Lemmen stresses that the <m> 'seems very clear' and that the extra shaft must be accounted for. However, she herself either repeats or subscribes to Lambert's misreading of Lewis (*miinguedou* for Lewis' *miinnguedou*). The initial <m> is indeed very clear, but so is the geminate <nn>.

nou Genitive marker. It occurs frequently in these glosses and is also found in several glosses in other manuscripts, sometimes appearing not as *nou*, but as *nom* or *innom*. A good overview and discussion is presented by Lambert.⁷³ Its etymology is uncertain. It is identical in shape to *nou*, MW *neu*, 'or', and the affirmative particle *nou*, MW *neu*. In these glosses it always serves as a particle that marks that the vernacular glosses a Latin genitive.

ir Definite article, 'the'; MW *y(r)*.

miinnguedou Noun, pl., uncertain. It is a hapax.

coiliou Noun, pl., 'omens'; MW *coel*.

Function (first gloss) Uncertain. Grammatical gloss: genitive.
(second gloss) Expansion of the main text (?), or a gloss on *nou ir miinnguedou*.

Voss. Unglossed.

5) fo.2rb05 **.i. nóúírgóudónóu** gl. tinearum [§10]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss, a *signe de renvoi* (/•) links the gloss to the main text.

nou Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).

ir Definite article 'the', MW *y(r)*.

goudonou Noun, pl., 'moths' (?). It is a hapax.

Function Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: genitive.

Voss. Unglossed.

⁶⁹ Stokes 1873: 387.

⁷⁰ Lewis 1932: 110.

⁷¹ Lambert 1982: 22.

⁷² Lemmen 2006: 15.

⁷³ Lambert 1982: 20-29.

6) fo.2rb13 **.i. cóiliaucc** gl. augur [§10]
 Scribe W1
 Pal. note The lack of an accent on the second <i> cannot be for want of space.
coiliaucc Noun, sg., ‘augur, soothsayer’. It is a hapax.
 Function Direct translation.
 Voss. Unglossed.

7) fo.2rb17 **.i. léuesicc** gl. Carientem [§10]
 Scribe W2
leuesicc Adj., ‘full of lice’ (?). It is a hapax. Its meaning and etymology are disputed.
 Function Expansion of the main text.
 Voss. *putruscentem*

8) fo.3ra13 **.i. guár írdreb** gl. edito [§16]
 Scribe W1
guar Preposition, ‘over’; MW *ar*.
ir Definite article, ‘the’; MW *y(r)*.
dreb Noun, sg., ‘heap, pile, stack’ (?); MW *dref*. The gloss is disputed. Lemmen followed Stokes,⁷⁴ who considered it to be ‘town’, MW *tref*. If they are correct, the gloss reads ‘over the town’, which is an unusual gloss on an adjective meaning ‘high’ when the text concerns a journey through unpopulated areas.⁷⁵ Moreover, this would be the only gloss in which lenition is shown, as the *d-* of *dreb*, MW *tref* must then have been lenited as feminine words are wont to do after the definite article. It seems an unusual coincidence for an unexpected meaning to occur on a gloss in which lenition is unexpectedly expressed in writing. One might consider that *guar ir dreb* may have been an expression for ‘above’ in Old Welsh and, perhaps due its being an expression, particularly close to the spoken language.
 It could also mean that this interpretation is flawed. Loth was certain that *dreb* had nothing to do with MW *tref* precisely because one would not expect lenition in an Old Welsh gloss. He connected it with the rare Welsh word *dref*, ‘package’, and the verb *drefu*, ‘to stack, to pile’, and translated it as ‘heap, pile, stack’.⁷⁶ Falileyev is uncertain, but essentially subscribes to Loth.⁷⁷ Loth’s interpretation has the double advantage of not referring to a town where there is no mention of a town in the main text and of

⁷⁴ Stokes 1873: 388-389.

⁷⁵ Lemmen 2006: 16-17.

⁷⁶ Loth 1884: 113.

⁷⁷ Falileyev 2000: 50.

allowing the gloss to conform to the Old Welsh standard of not writing lenition. As such, his reading is adopted here, although the semantics remain unusual.

Function	Expansion of the main text.	
Voss.	<i>excelso</i>	
9) fo.3ra23	.i. ôguírdglás gl. salo	[§16]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	The first accent is hooked.	
<i>o</i>	Preposition, ‘of, from, with, by’; MW <i>o</i> .	
<i>guirdglas</i>	Adjective, ‘greenish-blue’; MW <i>gyrdlas</i> .	
Function	Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: ablative.	
Voss.	<i>salum liquor maris liquore</i>	
10) fo.3ra27	.i. díssúncgnétic gl. exanclata	[§17]
Scribe	W1	
<i>dissuncgnetic</i>	Adjective, ‘sucked out, drained’. It is a hapax.	
Function	Direct translation.	
Voss.	<i>fusa vel aurita</i>	
11) fo.3ra37	.i. nóuírgú írd glás gl. sali	[§17]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	The gap between <gu> and <ird> is caused by the descender of the main text <H> in the line above.	
<i>nou</i>	Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).	
<i>ir</i>	Definite article, ‘the’; MW <i>y(r)</i> .	
<i>guirdglas</i>	Adjective, ‘greenish-blue’; MW <i>gyrdlas</i> .	
Function	Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: genitive.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	
12) fo.4ra22	.i. írcárnótaúl brícér gl. vitta crinalis	[§29]
Scribe	W1	
<i>ir</i>	Definite article, ‘the’; MW <i>y(r)</i> .	
<i>carnotaul</i>	Adjective, ‘bun-shaped’. It is a hapax.	
<i>bricer</i>	Noun, sg., ‘hair of head, long hair’; MW <i>bryger, briger</i> . The Welsh uses ADJ-NOUN word order, whereas the Latin observes NOUN-ADJ word order (<i>vitta</i> ‘head-band’, <i>crinalis</i> ‘hairy’).	
Function	Expansion of the main text.	

Voss. (gloss on *crinalis capitalis*)

13) fo.4rb25 **.i. ísscímádás** gl. par est [§33]

Scribe W2

iss Verb, indic. pres. 3sg., ‘is’, MW *ys*.

cimadas Adjective, ‘fitting, suitable’; MW *kyfadas*.

Function Direct translation.

Voss. *dignum simile*

14) fo.4va16 **.i. írgúrhúnúid** .i. *mercurius* gl. celebrat [§36]

Scribe W1

Pal. note There is little space above the first <i>, relative to that which is available above the following <r>. There is very little space above the final <nuid> part of the gloss. The scribe of the Welsh gloss seems to be identical to that of the <.i. *mercurius*> gloss that follows it.

ir Definite article, ‘the’; MW *y(r)*.

gur Noun, sg., ‘man’; MW *gwr*.

hunnuid Demonstrative pronoun, ‘that’; MW *hwnnw*.

Function Elucidation of the main text.

Voss. *diuulgat*

15) fo.4a18 **.i. nóúirémíd** gl. aeris [§36]

Scribe W1

nou Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).

ir Definite article, ‘the’; MW *y(r)*.

emid Noun, sg., ‘bronze, brass, copper’; MW *euyd*.⁷⁸ The word also appears in gloss 125).

Function Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: genitive.

Voss. (gloss on *vultus aeris*) *formas aereas*

16) fo.4va30 **.i. ítdagattéáil** gl. conibere [§37]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The lack of an accent on the first two <a>’s is unlikely to be for want of space.

it Preverbal particle; MW *yd*.

dagatte Verb, indic. imperf. 3sg., ‘to let go’; MW *dyad-*, *diad-*. Schrijver suggests that this may actually be a South-West-British form. MW *dyad-*, *diad-* must derive from **tu-*

⁷⁸ Stokes 1873: 390 and 407, Loth 1884: 118 and Falileyev 2000: 53-54.

gat-, which regularly yields *dyad-*, but not OW *dagat-*. However, **tu-gat-* would have developed into *dagat-* in South-West-British, on the basis of the development **lukat-* > Bret. *lagad*, MW *llygad*, ‘eye’. Schrijver also informs me that this sound law (**u + velar + a > a + velar + a*) was based solely on *lagad*.⁷⁹ It would now seem that it is supported by two examples and that this gloss must be regarded as Old South-West-British, rather than Welsh.

<i>ail</i>	Noun, sg., ‘eyebrow’; MW <i>ael</i> .	
Function	Expansion of the main text.	
Voss.	<i>parum oculos claudere non patiatur quia sapientia amatores suos vigilantes reddit</i>	
17) fo.4va32	.i. nóúrhírcímédríd óu. gl. lucubrationum	[§37]
Scribe	W1	
<i>nou</i>	Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).	
<i>ir</i>	Definite article, ‘the’; MW <i>y(r)</i> .	
<i>hir</i>	Adjective, ‘long’; MW <i>hir</i> .	
<i>cimerdridou</i>	Noun, pl.; uncertain. It is a hapax. Loth took it together with <i>hir-</i> , translating it as ‘long, solitary work’. It could form a compound with that adjective, although it could equally well be an example of the ADJ-NOUN word order often found in these glosses. Loth’s tentative translation fits decently with the meaning of the Latin, ‘night-work, work by candle-light’ and the glosses in the Vossianus manuscript.	
Function	Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: genitive.	
Voss.	1) <i>inluminum vel vigiliarum</i> 2) <i>lucubratio proprie lux pallida dicitur per pallorem laborem per laborem aeternitas rationis</i>	
18) fo.4va38	.i. cr’unnólúnóu gl. orbiculata	[§37]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	The final <o> is smudged. The first accent is placed in between letters.	
<i>crunn</i>	Adjective, ‘round’; MW <i>crwn</i> .	
<i>olunou</i>	Noun, pl., ‘wheels’; MW <i>olwyn</i> . It is most likely an example of the ADJ-NOUN word order. If it were a compound, one would not expect <i>crunn</i> /krwn:/, but <i>*crinn</i> /krən:/, MW <i>cryn-</i> , which is the reflex of this adjective when it is the first element of a compound. The same is true for gloss 66) <i>crunn ui</i> . Then again, <u> could, perhaps, also be pronounced /ə/, as <i>dubeneticion</i> in gloss 108 must begin with /dəβ-/.	

⁷⁹ Schrijver, personal communication.

It seems unusual to compose a gloss with the meaning ‘round wheels’. Perhaps the glossator wished to stress the round aspect of wheels.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. *rotunda*

19) fo.4va43 **.i. méin** gl. gracilenta [§37]

Scribe W1

mein Adjective, ‘fine, slender’; MW *mein*.

Function Direct translation.

Voss. *macilenta*

20) fo.4va45 **.i. cím máetición** gl. *conquestos* [§37]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The gap between <cim> and <maeticion> was probably made to avoid obscuring the abbreviation mark over <q> in *conquestos*.

cimmaeticion Noun, pl., uncertain. It is a hapax.

Function Uncertain.

Voss. *querelantes scilicet audivimus*

21) fo.4vb09 **.i. présúir** gl. *adfixa* [§39]

Scribe W1

pressuir Adjective, ‘present, constant’; MW *preswyl*.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. *morosa*

22) fo.4vb32 **.i. íscímádás** gl. *Par est* [§39]

Scribe W1

is Verb, indic. pres. 3sg., ‘is’; MW *ys*. It is the only gloss in which this is written with a single *-s*. The gloss is otherwise identical to gloss 13), albeit by a different hand.

cimadas Adjective, ‘fitting, suitable’; MW *kyfadas*.

Function Direct translation.

Voss. *aequum est*

- 23) fo.5ra31 **.i. iectlim sis** gl. apollo [§42]
 Scribe W1
 Pal. note The accent is - exceptionally - written in the opposite direction. The lack of accents cannot be for want of space, as the accented vowel is the one above which there is the least amount of it, especially when writing in this, inverse direction.
iectlim Uncertain.
sis Uncertain.
 Function Uncertain.
 Voss. Unglossed.
- 24) fo.5va28 **.i. grephiou** gl. stilos [§65]
 Scribe W1
 Pal. note There is very little space for accents above this gloss, especially over its first half.
grephiou Noun, pl., ‘styles’; MW *graiffi*.
 Function Direct translation.
 Voss. Unglossed.
- 25) fo.5va50 **.i. lénn** gl. pallae [§66]
 Scribe W1
lenn Noun, sg., ‘mantle, curtain, veil’; MW *llen*. It also occurs in gloss 143).
 Function Direct translation.
 Voss. Unglossed.
- 26) fo.5vb19 **.i. glás** gl. yalina [§67]
 Scribe W1
glas Adjective, ‘blue, green’; MW *glas*.
 Function Direct translation.
 Voss. (glosses on *vestis eius yalina*) 1) *pura ut uitrum*
 2) *similiter pura sicut aetheris*
- 27) fo.5vb27 **.i. árchénátou** gl. calcei [§67]
 Scribe W1
archenatou Noun, pl., ‘shoes’; MW *archenat*.
 Function Direct translation.
 Voss. *i. terra*

28) fo.6ra27 **.i. gúird** gl. herbida [§71]

Scribe W1

guird Adjective, ‘green’; MW *gwyrd*.

Function Direct translation.

Voss. *erbosa*

29) fo.6va09 **.i. m´inn** gl. sertum [§79]

Scribe W2

Pal. note The accent is placed between two signs.

sertum Noun, acc. sg., ‘crown, circlet, wreath of flowers’. It is derived from the verb *sero*, ‘to stitch together, to braid’.

minn Noun, sg. ‘crown, circlet’. The word is only attested in these glosses. It was linked by Stokes to O.Ir. *mind*,⁸⁰ which was employed in the Würzburg glosses to gloss *diadema* and in the Milan glosses to gloss *insigne, insignia*. It was considered a probable u-stem by Thurneysen,⁸¹ but is listed as an o-stem in DIL. Its basic meaning is given to be ‘a distinguishing badge or emblem of honour or rank, especially one worn on the head’ and it is often translated as ‘crown’ or ‘diadem’.

Falileyev⁸² and Lemmen⁸³ interpret it as meaning ‘crown, wreath of flowers’. Both suggest that it could perhaps be a borrowing from the Irish. However, their suggested meanings appear to follow the general Latin interpretation rather than the Irish one.

Sertum usually means garland or other types of braided crowns made from plant material (generally flowers, but in loose compounds also things such as ears of corn, as in the case of *spicea sarta*).⁸⁴ The same is true of *stemma* (for which, see gloss 64).⁸⁵ However, both words, like the Irish, can also mean ‘crown’, or ‘circlet’. In this particular gloss, *sertum .i. minn* describes the crowns worn by Neptune and Pluto that were ‘suited to the kingdom that they governed.’ This favours the reading ‘crown, circlet’, over ‘wreath of flowers’. In gloss 37, *sertum .i. minn* describes the heavenly crown of Orion, made up of stars. It is only in gloss 52) that *sarta .i. minnou* is likely to mean ‘garland, wreath of flower’ as it is there associated with one of the Muses. In its final occurrence, in gloss 64), (*deorum*) *stemma .i. minnou* the Welsh refers to the crowns used to honour ancestral statues, which could be wreaths of flowers, or could

⁸⁰ Stokes 1873: 392.

⁸¹ Thurneysen 1946: 148.

⁸² Falileyev 2000: 113-’14.

⁸³ Lemmen 2006: 23.

⁸⁴ Pinkster 2009: 987 and Lewis and Short 1879: 1680.

⁸⁵ Pinkster 2009: 1021, Lewis and Short 1879: 1757 and Thiel and Den Boer 1961: 669.

simply refer to ‘a symbol of honour, worn on the head’. See the discussion on said gloss for a more detailed analysis of *stemma*.

Considering this, it seems likely that *minn* like Irish *mind* usually meant ‘crown’ or ‘cirlet’, and that ‘garland’ was extended from this as a secondary meaning. This would bring *minn* entirely in line with the Irish.

MS	incapite uterque dominandi sertum (.i. mínn) proregni conditione gestabat;
Willis	in capite uterque dominandi sertum pro regni condicione gestabat; ⁸⁶
Stahl	‘Each of them wore on his head a garland suited to the kingdom that he governed.’ ⁸⁷
context	Neptune and Pluto, brothers to Jupiter, enter the scene.
Voss.	Unglossed.
Function	Direct translation.

30) fo.6vb18 **.i. dámcírchíneát** gl. demorator [§87]

Scribe W1

damcirchineat Noun, sg., ‘one who makes things circle around’ or ‘one who circles around’. It is a hapax. *Demorator* is also a hapax, found only in Martianus’ text.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. 1) *Vulcanus dicitur quasi volitans candor eraclitus dixit quod ignis esset demorator id est stabilitor totius mundi quia omne quod iungitur et compaginatur ui ignis coniungitur ignea. Namque ui omnia ligantur*
2) *stabilitor*

31) fo.6vb28 **.i. nodís .i. cú tínnní óu.** gl. caput illis [§88]

Scribe W1

cutinnniou Noun, pl., ‘locks of hair’; MW *kudynn, kydyn*. The third *-n-* is unexpected, but clearly present.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. (gloss on *his comas puellariter caput illis virga comminuens*) *aliis ornamenta ioculariter leniter aliis quibusdam cum omni adversitate percutiens*

32) fo.6vb32 **.i. nodos .i. ínircútínníóú** gl. in condilos [§88]

Scribe W1

in Preposition, ‘in’; MW *yn*.

ir Definite article, ‘the’; MW *y(r)*.

⁸⁶ Willis 1983: 23.

⁸⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 28.

cutinniou Noun, pl., ‘locks of hair’; MW *kudynn, kydyn*. Lemmen comments that ‘apparently this is where the gloss needed to be placed. The mistake is just one of a number of scribal errors in this passage.’⁸⁸ I do not understand this comment.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. *in nodos*

33) fo.6vb36 **.i. írpuollóráur** gl. pugillarem paginam [§89]

Scribe W1

Pal. note There is very little space above <ou>.

ir Definite article, ‘the’; MW *y(r)*.

poulloraur Noun, pl., ‘writing tablets’; MW *peullawr*. It is attested but once in MW. It is a Latin loanword from *pugillares*, ‘writing tablets’. It is very rare for the Welsh not to agree in number with the Latin in these glosses. As such, Lemmen is uncertain as to its interpretation, Stokes considered *-aur* to be ‘merely [a] derivative’,⁸⁹ Loth subscribed to this notion,⁹⁰ and Falileyev lists it as a singular.⁹¹ However, as MW *peullawr* exists without a derivative, it seems unlikely that *-aur* in *poulloraur* is not the known plural ending *-aur*, < **āres*, MW *-awr*.⁹² The glossator’s ‘mistake’ in glossing a singular with a plural may have arisen due to his being reminded of the noun *pugillares*, ‘writing-tablets’ - which always occurs in the plural and whence *poulloraur* is derived - whilst glossing *pugillarem*, the accusative singular of the adjective *pugillaris*, ‘belonging to the fist or hand, fist-sized’.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. *quam parce scribebant quae inscripta erat manibus parcarum*

34) fo.7ra45 **.i. pánépp** gl. quis [§92]

Scribe W1

pa Interrogative pronoun, ‘which, what’; MW *pa*.

nepp Indefinite pronoun, ‘someone, anyone’; MW *neb*.

Function Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: interrogative pronoun.⁹³

Voss. Unglossed.

⁸⁸ Lemmen 2006: 25.

⁸⁹ Stokes 1873: 393.

⁹⁰ Loth 1884: 205.

⁹¹ Falileyev 2000: 133.

⁹² Morris-Jones 1931: 210.

⁹³ Lambert 1987: 292.

35) fo.7rb34	.i. trén níd gl. postridie	[§97]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	The gap between <tren> and <nid> is caused by the shaft of the <d> of <postridie>.	
<i>trennid</i>	Adverb, ‘the day after tomorrow’ (?); MW <i>trennyd</i> . It seems likely that the Welsh was intended as a direct translation of the Latin, but the Latin means ‘the day after’, whereas the (Middle) Welsh means ‘the day after tomorrow’.	
Function	Expansion of the main text.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	
36) fo.7rb35	.i. nóúódóú gl. inpalatia	[§97]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	The accent transcribed here as appearing over the final <o> actually appears above the main text <e> of <postridie> in the line above. The line is too small and faint to belong to that word. Moreover, it carefully avoids crossing into the Welsh gloss on <i>postridie, trennid</i> .	
<i>nouodou</i>	Noun, pl., ‘halls’; MW <i>neuad</i> . It is unusual for MW <i>-a-</i> to be written <i>-o-</i> in Old Welsh. It is very unusual for the Welsh not to agree with the Latin number. Perhaps, the glossator considered the plural ‘halls’ a fitting gloss on ‘(in the) palace’.	
Function	Expansion of the main text.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	

BOOK II: The Wedding - §98-220 by hand A (49 Welsh glosses)
 (1 South-West-British gloss)
 (4 uncertain glosses)

37) fo.7va05	.i. mínn gl. sertum	[§98]
Scribe	W2	
<u>sertum</u>	Noun, acc. sg., ‘crown, circlet, wreath of flowers’. Cf. gloss 29).	
<i>minn</i>	Noun, sg., ‘crown, circlet’. Cf. gloss 29).	
MS	<i>hoc quoque nysiacís (.i. aegiptiacís) quod sparsum floribus ardet multiplici (.i. .xii. stelís) ambitum redimitur lumine sertum (.i. mínn).</i>	
Willis	<i>hoc quoque Nysiacis quod sparsum floribus ardet multiplici ambitum redimitur lumine sertum.</i> ⁹⁴	
Stahl	‘and that glowing figure too who was arrayed with the flowers of the Nysaeian [Bacchus] was crowned with a circlet of varied light.’ ⁹⁵	
Context	The constellations enter the scene. The ‘glowing figure’ is Sirius and his crown the Corona Ariadnes.	
Voss.	<i>de corona Ariathnes dicit</i>	
Function	Direct translation.	
38) fo.7va50	.i. inírdólté gl. infanís	[§102]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	There is little difference in the amount of space available over the first and second <i>.	
<u>in</u>	Preposition, ‘in’; takes the ablative; <i>in</i> .	
<u>fanis</u>	Noun, abl. pl., ‘temple, holy place’; <i>fanum</i> .	
<i>in</i>	Preposition, ‘in’; MW <i>yn</i> .	
<i>ir</i>	Definite article, ‘the’; MW <i>y(r)</i> .	
<i>dolte</i>	Read: <i>idolte</i> . Noun, pl., ‘pagan temples’(?). A hapax in Welsh. It is considered by both Stokes ⁹⁶ , Falileyev ⁹⁷ , Fleuriot ⁹⁸ and the GPC to be a misspelling for <i>idolte</i> , a compound formed of <i>idol</i> < Lat. <i>idolum</i> ‘idol’ and <i>te</i> > MW <i>tei</i> ‘houses’ (the irregular pl. of <i>ty</i> ‘house’). The compound is compared to Old Breton <i>idolti</i> and Old Irish <i>idultaige</i> and <i>indidaltaigae</i> , the latter of which are found to gloss Lat. <i>fani</i> , all bearing the same meaning. According to Schrijver the Welsh plural derives from <i>*tege'sa</i> by	

⁹⁴ Willis 1983: 28.

⁹⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 34.

⁹⁶ Stokes 1873: 394.

⁹⁷ Falileyev 2000: 89.

⁹⁸ Fleuriot 1964: 217.

means of > *teye'(h)a > *teγīa > *teyi > *tēi > MW *tei*.⁹⁹ It is known that *γ was lost during the Old Welsh period. Jackson argues that the *γ between front vowels, as it must clearly have been in *teyi, had probably already developed to a palatal *γ' during the Late British period. He offers evidence that this sound was still a clear guttural up to at least c. 840 AD, but argues that it must have developed into a weak [j] during the ninth century, which was distinct from /j/ <i>. He notes that there are two examples in these very glosses that point to it having been lost at some stage during the later ninth century, these being gloss 46, *cueetic*, and gloss 104, *dilein*. A further clue is found in a gloss on Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, often considered to be either contemporary or slightly later than the Martianus Capella glosses.¹⁰⁰ The gloss is *arcibrenou* gl. *sepulti*, which is taken to be the plural of MW *argyfrein*, where *ren/rein* is taken to be modern *rhain*. If this is correct, Jackson posits, it shows not merely the loss of *γ, but also that of contraction to /ei/, written <e>.¹⁰¹ It would seem that [*i*]dolte should be added to these examples. Its spelling implies that it, like *arcibrenou*, had already advanced to the stage where a hypothetical *eī which developed into hiatus *ēi had turned into the monosyllabic diphthong ei, which could be written as either <ei> or <e> in Old Welsh. It seems unlikely that <e> could also represent hiatus /ēi/.

This would imply that the contraction, and therewith the falling together of *ēi and earlier *ei, had already occurred by the late ninth century. Assuming that Jackson's *terminus post quem* of the development (c. 840 AD) and my dating of the glosses by scribe W1/E (c. 830-900 AD) are correct, this leaves very little time for a hiatus form to have existed. One may well consider the possibility that *teyi turned directly into attested <te> /tei/, MW <tei> when *γ' was lost. However, Schrijver stresses the fact that his etymology allows for this intermediate, hiatus stage, whereas the older etymology¹⁰² did not. He considers this to be of some importance, as he offers Modern, dialectal evidence in favour of *tei* having once been disyllabic. In Gwynedd, compound *-dai* is generally accented, e.g. *beu-dái*. "This clearly presupposes trisyllabic **beu-dái*..."¹⁰³ It is an attractive argument, but it suffers from the fact that the single, ninth-century attestation left to us - which ought to have reflected this stage - implies that it was already monosyllabic. Schrijver was likely correct in his belief that forms like *beu-dái* must reflect a stage where *-dai*, 'houses', was disyllabic. However, this stage must precede that which is attested in these glosses. This would

⁹⁹ Schrijver 1995: 390-93.

¹⁰⁰ Jackson 1953: 53-54.

¹⁰¹ Jackson 1953: 453.

¹⁰² This being *tei* < *teγīa < *teyeha < *tegesa, rejected by Schrijver on multiple grounds (Schrijver 1995: 390-391).

¹⁰³ Schrijver 1995: 392.

mean that these MoW compounds are truly ancient, the accent having become fixed on later *-dai* when it was still **teyi*, or **teⁱi*. It also implies that the loss of **γ* between front vowels must postdate the shift of the accent to the penultimate syllable.

As to the interpretation of <dol> as *[i]dol*; given the suitability of its meaning, the existence of Breton and Irish counterparts (glossed on the same Latin lemma) and the lack of credible alternatives (*dol* ‘meadow’ or ‘snare, loop’ being unlikely candidates for a gloss on *fanis*), it seems credible that <dol> should indeed be interpreted as such. The mistake may either have arisen by the scribe accidentally having left out an *i* (his aim then having been *in ir idolte*, as assumed by previous scholars), or having misinterpreted the *i* of *idolte* as the *i* of the article *ir* (his aim then having been *in idolte*). The Latin evidence is essentially inconclusive. *In fanis omnibus* ‘in all temples’ might well imply the reading *in ir idolte* ‘in the temples’, but the gloss could also be just on *in fanis* ‘in temples’, which could equally well be glossed with *in idolte* ‘in temples’. A suggestion by Ebel, considered by Stokes¹⁰⁴, but left unmentioned by later scholars, of reading *iniradolte* ‘in the worshipping-houses’ would fit the semantics, but leaves us with the very same problem of having to add an unwritten letter to the word.

MS	dehinc illud (.i. elim̄tum .i. H.) <i>quod</i> infanís (.i. inírdólté) omnibus soliditate cybica (.i. uiii .i. primus cybus) dominus (.i. iovis) adoratur;
Willis	dehinc illud quod in fanis omnibus soliditate cybica dominus adoratur. ¹⁰⁵
Stahl	‘Next came that number which is worshipped as Lord in all temples, for its cubic solidity.’ ¹⁰⁶
Context	The number is 800, which can be represented by the Greek letter ω. Philologia is considering the numbers associated with the letters of the name of her husband-to-be, Mercury, using his Egyptian name Thouth, as transcribed in Greek.
Function	Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: ablative.
Voss.	Unglossed.

39) fo.7vb07	.i. trúíírúnólfíon gl. <i>permonades</i> [§103]
Scribe	W1
<u>per</u>	Preposition ‘through, by (means of)’; takes the accusative; <i>per</i> .
<u>monades</u>	Noun, acc. pl., ‘units’; <i>monas</i> . Derived from the Greek μοναξ ‘unit’, in turn derived from μονος ‘alone’.
<i>trui</i>	Preposition, ‘through, by means of’; MW <i>trwy</i> .

¹⁰⁴ Stokes 1873: 394.

¹⁰⁵ Willis 1983: 29.

¹⁰⁶ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 35.

<i>ir</i>	Definite article, ‘the’; MW <i>y(r)</i> .
<i>unolion</i>	Noun (substantivized adjective), pl., ‘monads, units, ones’. ¹⁰⁷ It is the plural of the adjective <i>unawl</i> , MoW <i>unol</i> , ‘united’, which is itself derived from <i>un</i> ‘one’ by means of the derivative suffix <i>-awl/-ol</i> . The Modern Welsh for ‘monad’, <i>unoldeb</i> , is also derived from <i>unawl</i> , <i>unol</i> . The Middle and Modern Welsh meanings of both this gloss (OW ‘monads, units’ vs. MoW ‘united’) and the following one (OW ‘tens’ vs. MoW ‘decimals, tenth parts’) differ considerably from the Old Welsh interpretation. It seems at least possible that the glossator used the words simply as substantivized adjectives derived from the numbers ‘one’ and ‘ten’, without any hint of their modern, specialized meanings.
MS	quos (.i. <i>numeros</i>) <i>pernouenariam regulam minuensque permonades (.i. trúúrúnólión) decadibus (.i. órdéccólió n)</i> subrogatas (.i. sub****tas). <i>intertium (.i. intres) numerum perita (.i. philologia) restrinxit;</i>
Willis	quos per novenariam regulam minuens <contrahens>que per monades decadibus subrogatas in tertium numerum perita restrinxit. ¹⁰⁸
Stahl	‘Diminishing this figure by the rule of nine, by substituting units for the tens, she cleverly reduced it to the number three.’ ¹⁰⁹
Context	Philologia is applying maths to the numbers associated with Mercury’s name, in order to see whether he is a suitable match for her.
Function	Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: ablative.
Voss.	<i>.i. unum de decem ablatum</i>
40) fo.7vb08	.i. órdéccólió n gl. <i>decadibus</i> [§103]
Scribe	W1
Pal. note	The gap between <lio> and <n> is caused by the main text <g> from the line above.
<u>decadibus</u>	Noun, abl. pl., ‘set of ten’; <i>decas</i> . Derived from the greek δεκας, δεκαδ-, ‘set of ten’, which is in turn derived from δεκα ‘ten’.
<i>or</i>	Preposition, ‘of, from, with, by’, MW <i>o</i> . Added to it is the contracted form of the definite article, MW <i>-r</i> .
<i>deccolion</i>	Noun (substantivized adjective), pl., ‘tens, decimals, tenth parts’. ¹¹⁰ It is the plural of the adjective <i>deccol</i> , MoW <i>degol</i> , ‘decimal, tenth part’, which is itself derived from <i>dec</i> ‘ten’ by means of the derivative suffix <i>-awl/-ol</i> . In this case the best translation

¹⁰⁷ GPC and Falileyev 2000: 154.

¹⁰⁸ Willis 1983: 29.

¹⁰⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 35-36.

¹¹⁰ Falileyev 2000: 41 and GPC.

seems to be ‘tens’,¹¹¹ in line with the Latin and the interpretation of the previous Welsh gloss as ‘ones’.

MS	See previous gloss.
Willis	“.
Stahl	“.
Context	“.
Function	Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: ablative.
Voss.	Unglossed.

41) fo.8ra08 **.i. éllésheticion.** gl. mela .i. dulce [§107]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. A *signe de renvoi* (/•) is used to link it to the main text. Lack of space may explain the lack of an accent on the first <i>, but is less convincing for the other vowels, although space is indeed not plentiful.

mela Noun, acc. pl., ‘song’; *melos*. Derived from the Greek μέλος, ‘song’.

ellesheticion Verbal adjective, pl., ‘songs’(?). Stokes thought it likely for it to be connected to *eilw* ‘music’, *eilwy*, *eilydd*, ‘musician’ and *eilwys* ‘power of harmony’.¹¹² Loth subscribed to this view.¹¹³ Falileyev is uncertain.¹¹⁴ If it is correct, the first <e> must represent /ei/. Schrijver offers a different analysis, suggesting that it may derive from the verb **lleis-ha-* ‘to sing, voice’, with the e- perhaps coming from **exs-*.¹¹⁵ Both suggestions fit the Latin semantically. Schrijver’s suggestion would explain the use of geminate <ll>, which he believes to always represent a phonological geminate in these glosses.¹¹⁶

MS *igitur quaternarius numerus omnes simphonias suis partibus perfectus absoluit.. omniaque mela (.i. dulce) (.i. éllésheticion) armonicorum (.i. modulationum) distributione conquirit;*

Willis *igitur quaternarius numerus omnes symphonias suis partibus perfectus absoluit omniaque mela harmonicorum distributione conquirit.*¹¹⁷

Stahl ‘And so the number four, being perfect, contains all the concords within its parts, and by the distribution of harmonies it brings together the whole range of songs.’¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ Schrijver 1998-2000: 150.

¹¹² Stokes 1873: 394.

¹¹³ Loth 1884: 116.

¹¹⁴ Falileyev 2000: 53.

¹¹⁵ Schrijver 1998-2000: 151.

¹¹⁶ Schrijver 1998-2000: 154-155.

¹¹⁷ Willis 1983: 30.

¹¹⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 37.

Context Philologia is now comparing her own, feminine, numerical quality to the numbers associated with Mercury. In this particular paragraph she briefly investigates this numerical comparison by means of the study of musical harmony.

Function Uncertain.

Voss. 1) *dulcedines*, 2) *to melos ta mele haec mela*, 3) *omnem sonoritatem*.

42) fo.8rb01 **.i. cíphillíon** gl. *surculisque* [§110]

Scribe W1

surculisque Noun, abl. pl., ‘twig, branch, shoot’; *surculus*. The Latin conjunction *-que*, ‘and’, is suffixed to it.

ciphillion Noun, pl., ‘stocks, little trunks’. It is the plural of the diminutive *ciphill*, MW *cyfyll*, which is itself derived from MW *cyff*, ‘trunk (of tree), stem, stump, log’.

MS *sed aduersum illa quoddam abderitae (.i. nomen uiri) senis alimma (.i. ungentum) cui (.i. philologia .i. frigidam senectutem 7 unctionem) multa (.i. matīa) lapillís surculisque (.i. cíphillíon) permixtís herbarum etiam membrorumque concesserat (.i. miscuerat) (.i. dírgátíssé lóccláu) praeparauit;*

Willis *sed aduersum illa quoddam Abderitae senis alimma, cui multa lapillis surculisque permixtis herbarum etiam membrorumque connesserat, praeparauit.*¹¹⁹

Stahl ‘But against this she prepared a certain ointment of the old man of Abdera in which she put many herbs and green shoots mixed in.’¹²⁰

Context Philologia worries about the frailty of her mortal body, fearing that it be consumed by the celestial fires which she must pass to reach the heavens. Therefore, she contrives to prepare an ointment to protect herself from these flames.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. Unglossed.

43) fo.8rb02 **.i. dírgátíssé lóccláu** gl. *concesserat .i. miscuerat* [§110]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. A *signe de renvoi* (/•) is used to link it to the main text. The Latin gloss directly above <concesserat> was almost certainly written by a different hand than the marginal, Welsh gloss.

concesserat Verb, indic. pluperf. 3sg., ‘to leave, to permit’; *concedo*. However, according to Willis, this is a mistake for *connesserat*, ‘to gather’; *congero*.

¹¹⁹ Willis 1983: 31.

¹²⁰ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 8.

<u>miscuerat</u>	Verb, indic. pluperf. 3sg., ‘to mix, to blend’; <i>misceo</i> .
<i>dirgatisse</i>	Verb, indic. pluperf. 3sg., ‘to leave, to permit’. ¹²¹ The form reflects the elements <i>di-</i> , the affirmative/perfective particle <i>-r-</i> (MW <i>ry</i> and O.Ir. <i>ro</i>), <i>gadu</i> ‘to permit, to allow’ and the ending of the plusquamperfectum, third singular, <i>-isse</i> , MW <i>-assei</i> . It is very unusual for the particle <i>ri</i> , MW <i>ry</i> to appear in contracted form. In MW this is only common after a limited number of forms, i.e. <i>neu</i> , <i>ny</i> , <i>no</i> , <i>gwedy</i> , <i>py</i> and the particle <i>y</i> . ¹²² In OW it is generally uncontracted. There is, however, the gloss <i>di-r-limpr-osun-i</i> which is considered to be a indic. pluperf. 1sg., related to MoW <i>llimpro</i> , ‘to gulp, to swallow’, by Fleuriot ¹²³ and Lambert. ¹²⁴ The beginning in <i>di-r-</i> is interpreted to be the same as that found in <i>di-r-gat-isse</i> . It seems possible that the particle <i>ri</i> was contracted to <i>-r</i> after the preverb <i>di-</i> in Old Welsh. Stokes did not commit himself to a meaning for <i>dirgatisse</i> , but noted that Rhys suggested the form might be preserved in <i>ym-ddiried</i> , ‘to concede one’s self, to confide’. ¹²⁵ It is more likely that it reflects - as Falileyev and GPC state - MW <i>dyadu/dyadael</i> ‘to let go, pour, send, bleed, menstruate’. <i>Gadu</i> and <i>gadael</i> themselves mean ‘to leave (behind), let go’. It would therefore seem that the OW meaning reflects that of the MW simplex, rather than that of its direct MW counterpart.
<i>locclau</i>	Noun, pl., ‘places’ (?). Schrijver suggests reading <i>locelau</i> , ‘places’, pl. of MW <i>llogell</i> , ‘(small) place’. Stokes and Falileyev consider its meaning to be obscure. ¹²⁶ Schrijver’s suggestion would account for the phonetics of the form and makes for a semantic fit. However, it would imply a significant mistake on the part of the glossator, for the manuscript reading shows a clear <c>, which is very different from the <e> employed by this scribe. Furthermore, accents are placed over each and every vowel in this gloss and they are absent over the geminate <c>. If the scribe did not make a mistake both in writing the gloss and in accentuating it, and if therefore the reading <i>locclau</i> is correct, it would be a counterexample to Schrijver’s observation that ‘geminate occur beside non-geminates (1) postvocallically but not as the first member of consonant clusters...’ ¹²⁷ At any rate, the link between <i>locclau</i> and the meaning ‘places’ seems likely, given the existence of both <i>llogell</i> ‘(small) place’ and <i>llog</i> ‘place’ (the latter of which would, however, leave the second <i>l</i> entirely inexplicable). As such, Schrijver’s suggested reading offers an attractive solution to this gloss.

¹²¹ GPC, Falileyev 2000: 47 and Schrijver 1998-2000: 151.

¹²² Evans 1964: 166-168 and Morris-Jones 1931: 429.

¹²³ Fleuriot 1964: 144.

¹²⁴ Lambert 1986: 109.

¹²⁵ Stokes 1873: 395.

¹²⁶ Stokes 1873: 395, Falileyev 2000: 106.

¹²⁷ Schrijver 1998-2000: 152.

MS	See previous gloss.
Willis	“.
Stahl	“.
Context	“.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	Unglossed.

44) fo.8rb12 **.i. ímmíslíné** gl. allinebat .i. philologia [§110]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. A *signe de renvoi* (/•) is used to link it to the main text. The Latin gloss on *allinebat* is written in a (near) identical hand.

allinebat Verb, indic. imperf. 3sg., ‘to smear onto, to smudge’; *allino*.

immisline Verb, indic. imperf. 3sg., ‘to smear, to smudge’; MW *emlyn-*, *ymlyn-*. The verb begins with the reflexive prefix *imm-* and contains the 3sg. infix pronoun *-is-*. If this is the same as MW *-s*, it shows that its use was more widespread in OW than it was in later times, when it is used only after negative *ny*, *na*, the particles *neu*, *ry*, and the conjunctions *can*, *gwedy*, *kyt*, *o* and *pei*.¹²⁸ The infix pronoun likely refers to the ‘dewy fluid’. According to Stokes - and subscribed to by Loth -,¹²⁹ the radical form of the verb is also attested in the Juvencus glosses, *linisant* gl. lauare and can be connected with O.Ir. *dolin*, ‘to flow, to swarm’.¹³⁰ Falileyev instead connects it to O.Ir. *lenaid* ‘to cling to, to remain’ and states that *linisant* gl. lauare means ‘to infect, to defile’.¹³¹ This interpretation is based on that of Ifor Williams,¹³² who noted that in the given context the Jews were spitting on Christ’s face, rather than washing it. Both *linisant* and *immisline* should therefore be connected to O.Ir. *lenaid* and O.Bret. *linom*, ‘coating, stain’¹³³. A good overview of the argument is found in McKee’s edition of the Juvencus manuscript.¹³⁴ The argument is supported by *immisline*, as this proposal allows for a perfect semantic fit with the Latin *allino*, which also means both to ‘smear onto’ and ‘to smudge’ or ‘besmear’.

MS *denique reuibrato* (.i. rescuso) corpora (.i. solis) mensis (.i. lunae) apposití⁹. irrorati liquoris allinebat (.i. philologia) (**.i. ímmíslíné**) ungentum (.i. *);

Willis *denique revibratu corpori mensis appposito irrorati liquoris allinebat ungentum*.¹³⁵

¹²⁸ Evans 1964: 55-56 and Morris-Jones 1931: 277-278.

¹²⁹ Loth 1884: 175.

¹³⁰ Stokes 1873: 395.

¹³¹ Falileyev 2000: 104.

¹³² Williams 1932: 118.

¹³³ Fleuriot 1964: 243.

¹³⁴ McKee 2000: 525.

¹³⁵ Willis 1983: 32.

Stahl 'Then, in the reflection of the moon, she smeared the dewy fluid on her body.'¹³⁶
 Context Philologia has prepared her ointment and applies it to herself.
 Function Direct translation.
 Voss. *infundebat suo corpori*

45) fo.8rb16 **.i. cimmaithuress** gl. collactea [§111]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The <h> is written in a highly compressed form, evidently for want of space. The <e> is written in an unusually open fashion and blends into the following <s>. I do not think these differences point to a different hand, as it is otherwise identical to what is here called W1 and the 'open e', although rare, is not entirely unique in these glosses. There is very little space for accents up to the <u>, after which there is plenty of space.

collactea Noun, nom. sg., 'foster-sister'; *collactea*.

cimmaithuress Noun, sg., 'foster-sister'. Cf. gloss 3).

MS Sedcum talia uirgo componit. pedisequa *eius* periergia (.i. *nomen mulieris*) utrum matre (.i. *peronesis*) uirginis missa án sua ut pute *eius* collactea (**.i. cimmaithuress**) trepidatione sollicita. quid ageret conspicatur;

Willis sed cum talia virgo componit, pedisequa eius Periergia, utrum matre uirginis missa an sua (utpote eius collactea) trepidatione sollicita, quid ageret conspicatur.¹³⁷

Stahl 'While the maiden was arranging this, her attendant Periergia, whether sent by the maiden's mother or by her own concern (for she was her foster sister), perceived what she was doing.'¹³⁸

Context Philologia's attendant spies her applying the ointment to herself.

Function Direct translation.

Voss. *collactia proprie est cuius ancilla et domina uno lacte nutriuntur*

46) fo.8va20 **.i. ór cueetícc coís** gl. ex papyro textili [§115]

Scribe W1

Pal. note There is very little space for accents over the first <e>; there is no room for accents over the <u> and <o> at all. There is rather little space over the second <e>.

ex Preposition 'out (of)'; takes the ablative; *ex*.

papyro Noun, abl. sg., 'papyrus'; *papyrus*.

textili Adjective, abl. sg., 'woven, plaited'; *textilus*.

¹³⁶ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 38.

¹³⁷ Willis 1983: 32.

¹³⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 39.

<i>or</i>	Preposition, ‘of, from, with, by’; MW <i>o</i> . Added to it is the contracted form of the definite article, MW <i>-r</i> .	
<i>cueeticc</i>	Verbal adjective, sg., ‘woven, plaited’; MoW <i>gwe(u)edig</i> . It is derived by means of the adjectival suffix <i>-edig</i> from the verb <i>gweu</i> ‘to weave’. ¹³⁹ Stokes notes that the unexpected appearance of <cu-> for /gw/ is caused by the preceding <i>-r</i> , offering the examples <i>or kocled</i> , ‘from the North’ and <i>e keyr lleyaf</i> , ‘the least word’, ‘‘where the <i>r</i> has been dropt.’’ ¹⁴⁰ Jackson cites this as an early example of the loss of * γ between front vowels, cf. the discussion on gloss 38). ¹⁴¹ Schrijver gives its etymology as * <i>ueg-atiko-</i> , cf. O.Ir. <i>figid</i> ‘weaves, plaits’. ¹⁴² It retained its hiatus into modern times, being variously spelled <i>gweuedig</i> and <i>gweedig</i> according to the GPC. The Welsh employs an ADJ-NOUN word order, contrary to the Latin NOUN-ADJ order found in the main text.	
<i>cors</i>	Noun, coll., ‘reeds, canes’. The glossator has not used a singulative to match the Latin singular. It is another rare example of the Welsh not agreeing with the Latin number.	
MS	calceos (.i. ficones) <i>propterea</i> expapyro (.i. órcueeticc coárs) textili subligauit. né quid <i>eius</i> membra pullueret morticinum;	
Willis	calceos ex papyro textili subligavit, ne quid eius membra pollueret morticinum. ¹⁴³	
Stahl	‘Furthermore, she tied on her feet slippers of pleated papyrus so that no carrion should defile her feet.’ ¹⁴⁴	
Context	Philologia’s mother, Wisdom, dresses her daughter in apparel befitting a mortal about to set out to join a god in marriage.	
Function	Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: ablative.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	
47) fo.8va22	.i. tússléstr gl. <i>acerra</i>	[§115]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	The first three accents are placed increasingly high above the word, the final accent is placed rather lower.	
<u>acerra</u>	Noun, nom. sg., ‘incense box’; <i>acerra</i> .	
<i>tusslestr</i>	Noun, sg., ‘incense box’(?). It is a hapax. It is considered to be a compound of Lat. <i>t(h)ūs</i> ‘incense’ and <i>lestr</i> , MW <i>llester</i> , <i>llestyr</i> ‘vessel, container’. ¹⁴⁵ This would fit the	

¹³⁹ Falileyev 2000: 38.

¹⁴⁰ Stokes 1873: 395.

¹⁴¹ Jackson 1953: 445 and 453.

¹⁴² Schrijver 1995: 69.

¹⁴³ Willis 1983: 33.

¹⁴⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 40.

¹⁴⁵ Stokes 1873: 396 and Loth 1884: 226.

semantics perfectly. The same word appears in glosses 68) and 88), but the spelling differs between the glosses; 68), 78) and 88) being written with a single *-s-*. The accents differ across all three.

MS	acerra (.i. tússléstr) (.i. turibulum) autem multo aromate grauidata eademque (.i. acerra) candenti manús uirginis (.i. philologia) onerantur (.i. ámatre);
Willis	acerra autem multo aromate gravidata eademque candenti manus virginis onerantur. ¹⁴⁶
Stahl	‘The maiden’s hands were filled with an incense box, shining and heavy with spice.’ ¹⁴⁷
Context	Wisdom continues equipping her daughter for the journey and marriage.
Function	Direct translation.
Voss.	<i>de archa turaria</i>

48) fo.8vb28 **.i. me tonce** gl. poculum [§119]

Scribe W3

Pal. note The gap between *me* and *tonce* is probably caused by the intrusion of the *-m* abbreviation of main text <poculum>. The lack of accents is not for want of space. There is a dot over the *o*. The hand of the scribe seems akin to W1, but differs, particularly in the case of the *m*, *e* and *c*. Its aspect more closely resembles that of some of the Latin glosses in this part of the manuscript.

poculum Noun, sg., ‘cup, draught’; *poculum*.

me tonce Unknown. First discussed by Lemmen, she noted that it appears in a section of the manuscript that contains a great many glosses, both Latin and Welsh. The words have not yet been identified successfully as either Latin, Welsh or Greek. An analysis can be found in Lemmen’s work.¹⁴⁸

MS Semper complacitís (.i. consentientibus) amica (.i. philologia) musís. cui magnesia poculum (**.i. me tonce**) fluenta (.i. magnesia terra uicina thesaliae 7 fons ** lethisis poeticiau* tus celebrat). & fons gorgonei tulit caballi (.i. equi).

Willis semper complacitís amica Musis, cui Permesia poculum fluenta et fons Gorgonei tulit caballi¹⁴⁹

Stahl ‘Always a friend to the favoring [sic] Muses, for you Magnesian rivers and the fountain of the Gorgonian horse have poured your drink’¹⁵⁰

Context The muses sing a welcoming praise to Philologia, as she prepares to ascend to the heavens. The muse of heroic and epic poetry, Calliope, sings this verse.

Function Uncertain.

¹⁴⁶ Willis 1983: 33.

¹⁴⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 40.

¹⁴⁸ Lemmen 2006: 27.

¹⁴⁹ Willis 1983: 34.

¹⁵⁰ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 41.

Voss.	Unglossed.	
49) fo.8vb30	.i. corilís .i. cóll gl. coraulis	[§119]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	The preceding Latin gloss appears to have been written by a different but very similar hand.	
<u>coraulis</u>	Noun, abl. pl., ‘garlands, little crowns’; <i>corolla</i> , a diminutive derived from <i>corona</i> .	
<u>corilis</u>	Noun, abl. pl., ‘hazel’; <i>corylus</i> . From the Greek, κορυλος.	
<i>coll</i>	Noun, coll., ‘hazels’; MW <i>coll</i> . It glosses the Latin gloss <i>corilis</i> , rather than main text <i>coraulis</i> .	
MS	uertex aonidum (.i. montium) uirens (.i. tropice) coraulis (.i. corilís) (.i. cóll). cui frondet uiolas (.i. mellhionou) parante (.i. par*ara) cyrra.	
Willis	vertex Aonidum virens corollis cui fundit violas parante Cirra; ¹⁵¹	
Stahl	‘for you the Aonid peak, green with garlands, puts forth its leaves, while Cirra prepares violets;’ ¹⁵²	
Context	Calliope continues her praise of Philologia.	
Function	Direct translation.	
Voss.	1) <i>Coraula est cantor vel a coro vel ab allecore id est a laude chori dictus</i> 2) <i>de poetis</i>	

50) fo.8vb31	.i. mellhionou. gl. uiolas	[§119]
Scribe	W2	
Pal. note	The slightly bigger writing typical of W2 combines with the original lack of space between these lines, resulting in a want of space for accents.	
<u>uiolas</u>	Noun, acc. pl., ‘violets’.	
<i>mellhionou</i>	Noun, coll. pl., ‘clovers, trefoils’(?). Stokes considered this to be a compound of <i>mell</i> , MW <i>mel</i> ‘honey’ and <i>*hion</i> , which would then be ‘a sister-form of <i>fion</i> ’, ‘rose’. ¹⁵³ Falileyev subscribes to a connection with MW <i>meill(i)on</i> and MBret. <i>melchonenn</i> ‘clovers, trefoils’, ¹⁵⁴ which is supported by the GPC. According to the GPC, the word is also attested in a presumably Old Cornish gloss, <i>melhyonen</i> , gl. <i>vi[o]la</i> but no reference is given. The connection with later <i>meill(i)on</i> is likely correct, although it seems unusual to gloss ‘violets’ with ‘clovers’.	

¹⁵¹ Willis 1983: 34.

¹⁵² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 41.

¹⁵³ Stokes 1873: 396.

¹⁵⁴ Falileyev 2000: 112.

It is yet stranger for a collective to be itself inflected for the plural. Normally, only the singulative of a collective can be made into a plural, e.g. *calam-enn-ou*, ‘stalks’.¹⁵⁵

MS	See previous gloss.
Willis	“.
Stahl	“.
Context	“.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	Unglossed.

51) fo.9ra10 **lacladsi ar** gl. uirgo(?) [§121]

Scribe W4

Pal. note Marginal gloss. It lacks a *signe de renvoi*. The hand is very similar to W1, but appears to use a different kind of ink. Its serifs are very pronounced. It lacks the introductory <.i.> abbreviation. These three traits (faint ink, pronounced serifs, lack of <.i.>) appear to be typical of three glosses of uncertain interpretation: the present gloss 51), gloss 55) and gloss 81).

lacladsi ar Unknown. This gloss, and the similar gloss 55), *laclad dā*, were first mentioned by Stokes, who could not explain them,¹⁵⁶ and discussed by Lemmen. She noted that though the glosses remained inexplicable, they ‘both seem to occur around the Latin word *uirgo*, which may offer some indication as to their meaning. The maiden in question is Philologia, of course.’¹⁵⁷

Given this argument and that both glosses were written by the same scribe (W4), it seems reasonable to take them together. In both glosses, the second element (*ar* in the first, *dā* in the second) is written below the first part. In both cases, this was not forced by want of space and the scribe could have chosen to write a continuous *lacladsiar* and *lacladdā* had he wanted to.

Both glosses contain a stable element, *laclad*, the meaning of which is entirely unknown. The only link found in the Latin is, as Lemmen stated, the presence of *uirgo*, referring to Philologia, to whom a praise poem is being addressed - in direct speech - by one of the heavenly muses. This leaves the elements (-)*si*, *ar* and *dā*. It is unknown whether (-)*si* must be considered as a suffix of some sort, or an independent form, as adjacent words are written continuously more often than not in these glosses. If *-si* were a suffix, one is instantly reminded of the O.Ir. emphatic pronoun 3sg. f. which can appear after the personal pronoun, conjugated prepositions, nouns preceded

¹⁵⁵ Schrijver 2011: 43.

¹⁵⁶ Stokes 1873: 396-397.

¹⁵⁷ Lemmen 2006: 28.

by the possessive pronoun, verbs and predicates. *Dā* in turn reminds one of the abbreviation for *dano*, so common in Old Irish manuscripts. If *laclad* were to be a verb, its ‘endless’ ending would not look entirely out of place as a deuterotonic form, with a preverb *la-*. *Ar* could, at a stretch, be thought of as the defective verb for ‘to say’, which could fit the main text being in direct speech. The lack of verbs in Irish that use *la-* as a preverb and the fact that the only Irish verb that closely resembles *-clad-* is *claidid*, ‘to dig a ditch’ rather weaken this line of thought. A more fitting word, the noun *cloth*, ‘fame’, requires one to accept an unusual spelling of the vocalism and the quality of the *d/th*, but one could then consider it to have been preceded by the preposition *la*, ‘with, by’ and include the feminine singular possessive *a*, which causes no (written) mutation, in it. Then one could interpret the first gloss as containing the elements *la(-a) cloth-si* as ‘with/by her fame’, leaving the *ar* as being too uncertain to be translated at present. The second gloss would then be *la(-a) cloth dano* ‘with/by (her) fame, thus/therefore’. *La* takes the accusative and *cloth* is neuter according to DIL, so one would not expect to find a formally distinct case marker to appear. These lines, though adding little, would not be wholly unsuitable as a gloss on a maiden who is hailed by heavenly muses on her ascendancy to the heavens to marry one of the chief gods and become an immortal herself - in the Latin glossed by the second gloss she is called *Beata uirgo*, ‘Blessed maiden’.

The preceding is but an attempt to make some sense of the forms as they appear and I am by no means convinced that it is correct. I would certainly not take a leap of faith and pronounce the presence of Irish in these glosses upon such shaky grounds.

However, like Lemmen, I cannot otherwise explain these glosses by means of either Latin or Welsh. The only clue would be the mark on *dā* in the second gloss, which has - as is noted in the discussion of that gloss - every appearance of being an abbreviation mark, rather than an accent. This would make the gloss more likely to be Latin than Welsh, as abbreviation marks are otherwise absent from the vernacular glosses in this manuscript, but are in abundant use over their Latin counterparts.

MS	nunc tibi uirgo (.i. philologia) cano spes (.i. uocatiuus) atque assertio (.i. uocatiuus) nostri. tenore uersa (.i. placata) carminis.
Willis	(lacladsi ar) nunc tibi, uirgo, cano, spes atque assertio nostri, tenore uersa carminis. ¹⁵⁸
Stahl	‘now to you, maiden, our champion and our expositor, made immortal by the theme of your song, to you I sing.’ ¹⁵⁹
Context	The muse of tragic drama (and comedy), Melpomene, sings praise to Philologia.

¹⁵⁸ Willis 1983: 36.

¹⁵⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 42.

Function	Unknown.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	
52) fo.9ra14	.i. mínnóu gl. <i>serta</i>	[§121]
scribe	W1	
<u>serta</u>	Noun, acc. pl., ‘crown, circlet, wreath of flowers’. Cf. gloss 29). This is the only example in which the Latin may well reflect the specific meaning of ‘wreath of flowers’, it here being associated with one of the muses.	
<i>minnou</i>	Noun, pl., ‘crown, circlet’. Cf. gloss 29).	
MS	<i>nam thalamum redim*re iuuat tú (.i. ó philologia) sarta (.i. mínnóu) probato. tuís placere ritibus;</i>	
Willis	<i>nam thalamum redimire iuvat, tu sarta probato tuis placere ritibus</i> ¹⁶⁰	
Stahl	‘For I am happy to adorn your bridal chamber, and may my garlands be acceptable in your service.’ ¹⁶¹	
Context	The muse Melpomene continues her song.	
Function	Direct translation.	
Voss.	<i>id est coronam quae poetis debetur</i>	
53) fo.9ra44	.i. dittihún gl. <i>tibi soli</i>	[§123]
scribe	W1	
pal. note	There is little space for accents over the first two vowels, although this is more so for the first than the second vowel.	
<u>tibi</u>	Personal pronoun, dat. 2sg., ‘to you’; <i>tu</i> .	
<u>soli</u>	Adjective, dat. sg., ‘alone’; <i>solus</i> .	
<i>dittihun</i>	Pronominal compound, ‘to you alone’. Composed of the preposition <i>di</i> ‘to, for’, MW <i>y</i> and the suffixed personal pronoun <i>-tti</i> . This is in turn analysed by Stokes as consisting of the suffixed pronoun <i>-t</i> and <i>-ti</i> . ¹⁶² It is MW <i>ytt(i)</i> , <i>itt(i)</i> . ¹⁶³ Stokes considers the glossator to have regarded <i>hun</i> as a form related to <i>un</i> , ‘one’. According to him, the gloss directly reflects the Latin in meaning ‘to you alone’. Schrijver considers it to be composed of <i>dit</i> /ðid/ ‘to you’, <i>ti</i> /də/ ‘your’ and <i>hun</i> /hun/ ‘self’, meaning ‘to you yourself’ altogether. ¹⁶⁴ Their analyses differ, but Stokes’ translation is to be preferred	

¹⁶⁰ Willis 1983: 36.

¹⁶¹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 42.

¹⁶² Stokes 1873: 396.

¹⁶³ Evans 1964: 60.

¹⁶⁴ Schrijver 2011: 51.

over that of Schrijver, given the context and the fact that these compounds can be translated both as ‘-self’ and ‘- alone’.¹⁶⁵

MS *quod habent rationis operta (.i. secreta). canimus tibi cognita (.i. esse) soli (.i. **dittihún).***

Willis *quod habent rationis operta canimus tibi cognita soli.*¹⁶⁶

Stahl ‘we avow that secrets unknown to others are known to you alone.’¹⁶⁷

Context The muse of lyric and love poetry, Erato, sings her part.

Function Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: dative.

Voss. Unglossed.

54) fo.9rb07 **.i. árdomául** gl. *docilis, or agente Stoasi* (?) [§124]

scribe W1

pal. note Marginal gloss. A *signe de renvoi* (•~) is added to it, but fails to appear over the main text. The <|> is written in an unusual manner, its seriph being rather distinctive.

docilis Adjective, nom. sg., ‘ready to learn’; *docilis*.

agente Verb, pres. part., ‘to move, to do’. Lemmen is right to point out that Falileyev has mistakenly noted this word down as *argente*.¹⁶⁸

Stoasi Noun, nom. pl., ‘the Stoa/Stoics’. The passage is considered to be corrupt and one should read *Stoici*.¹⁶⁹

ardomaul Substantivized verbal form, ‘one who has been tamed, those who tame’. It is a hapax. The lack of a *signe de renvoi* over the main text makes it hard to decide on the intended place of this gloss. It was originally considered by Stokes to be a gloss on *docilis* ‘ready to learn’. He considered it to be a compound of *ar-*, ‘before, in front of’, and *domaul*, meaning ‘one who has been tamed’, which would be related to the root of OW *dometic*, MoW *dofedig* ‘tamed’.¹⁷⁰ Lewis rejected this interpretation. He thought it unlikely for the gloss to refer to *docilis*. He argued that the gloss was placed quite far from this word and that it was more likely to refer to *agentes Stoici* (sic), which stands in the line the gloss appears opposite to. He also considered it to mean ““(y rhai) sydd yn dofi’ yn hytrach nag ‘(un) wedi ei ddofi””,¹⁷¹ ““(those) who tame”, rather than ““(one) who has been tamed””. Lewis’ interpretation was accepted by Falileyev.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ Morris-Jones 1931: 306: ‘*fy hun* means both ‘myself’ and ‘alone’; thus *mi af yno fy hun* ‘I will go there myself’ or ‘I will go there alone’.

¹⁶⁶ Willis 1983: 37.

¹⁶⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 43.

¹⁶⁸ Lemmen 2006: 36 and Falileyev 2000: 11.

¹⁶⁹ Stokes 1873: 397, Willis 1983: 37.

¹⁷⁰ Stokes 1873: 397.

¹⁷¹ Lewis 1932: 111.

¹⁷² Falileyev 2000: 11.

It is difficult to decide the issue. Lewis' reading is that 'the Stoa' are glossed with 'those who tame'. This is possible, but by no means the inevitable conclusion. Stokes' reading of 'ready to learn' being glossed with 'one who has been tamed' seems equally possible. Lewis is right to point out that the gloss was entered at some distance from *docilis*, but given that it is a marginal gloss this is not decisive. The intended *signe de renvoi* is simply missing.

MS	<i>perdia pernóxque sacrís nanque onerata cartís (.i. librís).. quidquid agente stoasi praescia dant (.i. árdómául) futuris semper anhelís docilis fomitibus (.i. lucennís) tulisti (.i. intellexisti)..</i>
Willis	<i>perdia pernoxque sacris namque operata chartis quicquid †agentestocasi† praescia dant futuris semper anhelis docilis fomitibus tulisti.</i> ¹⁷³
Stahl	'Having toiled day and night on the sacred writings, and knowing the future and being ready to learn, you have understood what the Stoics offer in their sacrifices when the flame puffs from the kindling.' ¹⁷⁴
Context	Terpsichore, the muse of dance, sings her praise.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	<i>stoicis</i>

55) fo.9rb29	laclad dā gl. Beata (.i. eś) uirgo (.i. philologia)	[§126]
Scribe	W4	
Pal. note	The dash over the final <a> appears to be identical to that used as an abbreviation mark throughout the main text and the Latin glosses and should probably be regarded as such. However, it must be noted that this mark is also used - albeit rarely - as an accent in the main text. It lacks the introductory <i.> abbreviation.	
<u>Beata</u>	Adjective, voc. sg., 'blessed'; <i>beatus</i> .	
<u>uirgo</u>	Noun, voc. sg., 'maiden'; <i>virgo</i> .	
<i>laclad dā</i>	Unknown, see the discussion on <i>lacladsi ar</i> in gloss 51).	
MS	Beata (laclad dā) (.i. eś) uirgo (.i. philologia) tantís. quae siderum choreís. thalamum capis iugalem..	
Willis	<i>beata virgo, tantis quae siderum choreis thalamum capis iugalem</i> ¹⁷⁵	
Stahl	'O blessed maiden, who take up the marriage bond amid such a singing of the stars' ¹⁷⁶	
Context	Thalia, the muse of comedy, sings the last song of praise.	
Function	Uncertain.	

¹⁷³ Willis 1983: 37.

¹⁷⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 43.

¹⁷⁵ Willis 1983: 39.

¹⁷⁶ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 44.

Voss. *es*

56) fo.9va12 **.i. únfáut** gl. orbem [§126]

Scribe W1

orbem Noun, acc. sg., ‘orb, circle’; *orbis*.

untaut Noun, sg., ‘unity, oneness, singleness’, MW *undawt*. Regarded by Stokes as a loan from Latin *unitātem*, this position has been subscribed to by all later scholars.¹⁷⁷ Schrijver suggests to me that the glossator might have read *orbem* as *orbum*,¹⁷⁸ ‘parentless, orphaned, bereft’; *orbis*. The text and gloss would then read something akin to ‘bereft (of parents), i.e. singleness’, i.e. being on your own.

MS *cui uirus omne fanti orbem (.i. únfáut) facit gemellum.*

Willis *cui virus omne fanti orbem facit gemellum.*¹⁷⁹

Stahl ‘all venom makes a twin orb for him when he speaks’¹⁸⁰ (or, freely: ‘and when he speaks, all venom is dissolved’¹⁸¹)

Context Thalia praises Mercury.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. *quasi unus orbis est cum multi homines unanimiter contendunt sed veniente ratione dividitur dum pax sit*

57) fo.9va27 **.i. úncénétfición** gl. solicanae [§127]

Scribe W1

solicanae Adverb, ‘singing alone’. It is a hapax. It is derived from *solus* ‘alone’ and the verb *cano* ‘to sing’.

uncenetticion Verbal adjective, ‘singing alone’. It is a hapax. It has an active meaning. Falileyev appears uncertain of this interpretation,¹⁸² but it is supported by Stokes, Loth and Schrijver.¹⁸³ It is composed of *un-* ‘one, alone’, *-gen-* ‘to sing’, MW *canu*, the verbal adjective suffix *-edig-* and the plural marker *-ion*. It has every appearance of having been modelled directly on the Latin.

MS *Dum haec igitur musae nunc solicanae (.i. úncénétfición) nunc concinentes interserunt (.i. intercanunt) uicisimque mela (.i. modulationes) dulcia geminantur.*

¹⁷⁷ Stokes 1873: 397, Loth 1884: 228, Falileyev 2000: 154.

¹⁷⁸ Schrijver, personal communication.

¹⁷⁹ Willis 1983: 40.

¹⁸⁰ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 45.

¹⁸¹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 44-45.

¹⁸² Falileyev 2000: 154.

¹⁸³ Stokes 1873: 397, Loth 1884: 227 and Schrijver 1998-2000: 149.

Willis	Dum haec igitur Musae nunc solicanae, nunc concinentes interserunt vicissimque mela dulcia geminantur ¹⁸⁴
Stahl	‘While the Muses thus wove their web of song, now singly, now in unison, and in turn repeated their sweet melodies’ ¹⁸⁵
Context	The scene shifts as the matrons of Virtue enter the maiden’s quarters.
Function	Direct translation.
Voss.	<i>singillatim canentes</i>

58) fo.9vb31 **.i. nóúir fionou** gl. rosarumque [§132]

Scribe W1

Pal. note There is very little space for accents after <nou>. The <o> of *fionou* was added superscript and dots were added underneath it and to the right of it.

rosarumque Noun, gen.pl., ‘roses’; *rosa*. The Latin conjunction *-que*, ‘and’, is suffixed to it.

nou Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).

ir Definite article, ‘the’; MW *y(r)*. This seems to be an unwarranted addition, considering the Latin.

fionou Noun, pl., ‘roses, purple foxgloves’; MW *ffion*, ‘rose, purple foxglove’, O.Ir. *sion*.

MS *praeterea tres puellae uultu decoreque parili ac uenustate luculentae sertís religatae inuicem manús rosarumque (.i. nóúir fionou) speculís redimitae aduirginem (.i. adphilologia) conuenere;*

Willis *praeterea tres puellae vultu decoreque parili ac venustate luculentae [sertis] religatae invicem manus rosarumque sertulis redimitae ad virginem conuenere.*¹⁸⁶

Stahl ‘Besides, three splendid girls of equal beauty in face and bearing, clasping each other’s hands and wearing garlands of roses, approached the maiden.’¹⁸⁷

Context The Graces enter to bless Philologia in her quarters.

Function Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: genitive.

Voss. Unglossed.

59) fo.9vb37 **.i. imberbis nuditas .i. íthrírdúuáil** gl. glabella medietas [§132]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. A *signe de renvoi* links the preceding, marginal Latin gloss to the main text. The Latin gloss was written by a different scribe.

glabella Adjective, nom. sg., ‘smooth, shaven’; *glabella*.

¹⁸⁴ Willis 1983: 40.

¹⁸⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 45.

¹⁸⁶ Willis 1983: 41.

¹⁸⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 46.

<u>medietas</u>	Noun, nom. sg., ‘middle’; <i>medietas</i> .
<u>imberbis</u>	Adjective, nom. sg., ‘beardless’; <i>imberbis</i> .
<u>nuditas</u>	Noun, nom. sg., ‘nakedness, nudity’; <i>nuditas</i> .
<i>ithr</i>	Preposition, ‘between’, MW <i>ythr</i> .
<i>ir</i>	Definite article ‘the’, MW <i>y(r)</i> .
<i>diu</i>	Numeral, f., ‘two’. Together with <i>ail</i> it forms a dual. It is a remarkable form, as was first noted by Stokes. ¹⁸⁸ Schrijver notes that it ‘agrees with MB <i>diu</i> and MCo. <i>dyw</i> , <i>dew</i> , but not with MW <i>dwy</i> .’ He proceeds to argue that ‘ <i>iu</i> and <i>ui</i> look very similar on the manuscript page, so that the possibility of a writing error cannot be excluded.’ ¹⁸⁹ Schrijver thus questions the validity of the form. However, this seems highly unlikely. As was already argued by Lewis concerning the gloss <i>miinnguedou</i> (gloss 4), the shape of <i>u</i> differs considerably from that of <i>i</i> in this manuscript. ¹⁹⁰ It is emphatically not a matter of mixing up minims, which would indeed render the sequences <i>iu</i> and <i>ui</i> very similar to one another in later manuscripts employing the Gothic script. The sequence <iu> is very clear and quite distinct from <i>ui</i> . Moreover, the accent that appears over the <i>i</i> , in keeping with the general tendency to mark vowels in vernacular glosses, implies a consciousness on the part of the glossator that he wrote <i>iu</i> , rather than <i>ui</i> . The theoretical possibility of a writing error can of course never be excluded, but there is no reason to think it particularly likely in this case. See the pal. note on gloss 72) for further evidence in favour of the reading <i>diu</i> . The form of the numeral two, fem. thus seems to have been <i>diu</i> . This, like <i>dagatte</i> in gloss 16), seems to be an Old-South-West-British, rather than an Old Welsh gloss.
<i>ail</i>	Noun, dual., ‘eyebrows’; MW <i>ael</i> .
MS	quarum una deosculata (*) philologiae frontem illíc ubi pubem ciliorum discriminat glabella (i. imberbis nuditas .i. íthrírdúáil) medietas..
Willis	quarum una deosculata Philologiae frontem illic, ubi pubem ciliorum discriminat glabella medietas ¹⁹¹
Stahl	‘One of them kissed Philology on the forehead on the smooth skin between the eyebrows’ ¹⁹²
Context	The Graces greet Philology.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	1) <i>inberbis nuditas</i> 2) <i>glabella est inberbis nuditas inter duos oculos in fronte</i>

¹⁸⁸ Stokes 1873: 398.

¹⁸⁹ Schrijver 2011: 46.

¹⁹⁰ Lewis 1932: 110.

¹⁹¹ Willis 1983: 41.

¹⁹² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 46.

60) fo.9vb46 **.i. immotihíou** or **immottióu** gl. gesticulationes [§132]

Scribe W1

Pal. note There is very little space for accents over this gloss. The reading is disputed, it is discussed below in the discussion of the word.

gesticulationes Noun, acc. pl., ‘expressive movement’; *gesticulatio*.

immotihiou Verbal noun, pl., ‘movements, agitations’ (?). The reading *immotihiou* was or *immottimou* proposed by Stokes¹⁹³, but rejected by Lewis, who read *immottimou*.¹⁹⁴ According to Stokes, it is to be linked to the gloss *immotetin* gl. *iactata* in Juvenecus¹⁹⁵ and MoW *ymmodi* ‘to move’. Lewis linked it to the same MoW word, identifying the form as the OW counterpart of MoW *ymodifau*. Falileyev, Schrijver and the GPC adopted Lewis’ reading.¹⁹⁶ Lemmen left it undecided.¹⁹⁷ The <m> /*ṽ*/ seems easier to explain than <hi>, but the reading is uncertain. Lewis argues that what Stokes considered to be the bar of a *h* is, in fact, a dot. What would be an <i> according to Stokes is connected to the preceding bar, which allows one to read an <m> for it, if Lewis’ dot is, indeed, a dot. However, the <i> of *-tti-*, which directly precedes the disputed part, is connected to the <t> in a similar fashion, so this does not clinch the matter. The ‘bar’ of ‘*h*’ is indeed somewhat rounded and dot-like, but as this is seen in other examples of *h* (e.g. that of gloss 53)) this does not clinch the matter either. The presence of an accent over Stokes’ <i> or the latter part of Lewis’ <m> is inconclusive; accents are more frequently found over vowels and the combination <íou> is found elsewhere, in gloss 4), but accents over *m* are not particularly rare. Moreover, as was noted, there is little space for accents over the gloss and this sometimes leads to unusual marking practices, with accents being placed wherever there is a relative abundance of space - this would apply to this gloss.

The palaeography cannot as yet decide the issue and I have opted to leave the reading undecided. If it be a dot, it is *immottimou*, if it is not a dot, *immotihiou*. The meaning is undisputed.

MS *mussís ammixtae etiam gesticulationes (.i. immotti**ou)* (.i. motus odorum) consonas atque hímeineia (.i. nuptiales laude*) dedre tripudia;

Willis *Musis admixtae etiam gesticulationes consonas atque hymeneia dedere tripudia*.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ Stokes 1873: 398.

¹⁹⁴ Lewis 1932: 112.

¹⁹⁵ Itself interpreted as *immotetic* ‘tossed about’ by McKee, McKee 2000: 509-’10.

¹⁹⁶ Falileyev 2000: 91 and Schrijver 1998-2000: 149.

¹⁹⁷ Lemmen 2006: 36.

¹⁹⁸ Willis 1983: 41.

Stahl ‘they mingled with the Muses and broke into the rhythmic movements and steps of the wedding dance.’¹⁹⁹

Context The Graces have blessed Philologia and join the Muses in a ritual dance.

Function Direct translation.

Voss. *motus corporis id est thiasos*

61) fo.10ra03 (**.i. noir**)clé (**teir**)óu gl. *crotularumque* [§133]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. It is largely invisible on the microfilm due to the tightness of the binding. It is probably linked to the main text by means of a *signe de renvoi* (•~), which is found over the main text. There are at least three more accents found over <noir> and possibly one or two over <teir>, but it is impossible to determine their exact location. The introductory <.i.> abbreviation is supposed.

crotularumque Read: *crotalorumque*. Noun, gen. pl., ‘cymbal, castanet, rattle’; *crotalum*. The Latin conjunction *-que*, ‘and’, is suffixed to it.

nou Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).

ir Definite article ‘the’, MW *y(r)*.

cleteirou Noun, pl., ‘cymbals, castanets, rattles’(?). It is a hapax. Stokes suggested considering it to be onomatopoeic, comparing it to Du. *klateren*, Eng. *clatter*, etc.²⁰⁰ Loth proposed regarding it as a loan with metathesis of Latin *crotalum*.²⁰¹ Lambert considered this to be possible and noted that *cledr* ‘stave, rod’ might have triggered the metathesis.²⁰² Falileyev is undecided on the issue.²⁰³ Schrijver suggests that Latin *crotalia*, ‘a rattling ear-pendant’, would yield OW /*kredeil*/, which - with metathesis - would be *cleteir*-.²⁰⁴ The latter interpretation seems best.

MS sed ecce magno timpani crepitu *crotularumque* (**.i. noir**)clé (**teir**)óu tinnitu. uniuersa disultant (.i. sonant)

Willis sed ecce magno tympani crepitu *crotalorumque* tinnitu uniuersa disultant²⁰⁵

Stahl ‘Then they all danced together, with a great booming of tambours and ringing of cymbals’²⁰⁶

Context The ritual dance has begun.

Function Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: genitive.

¹⁹⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 46.

²⁰⁰ Stokes 1873: 399.

²⁰¹ Loth 1884: 74.

²⁰² Lambert 1982: 22.

²⁰³ Falileyev 2000: 32.

²⁰⁴ Schrijver, personal communication.

²⁰⁵ Willis 1983: 41.

²⁰⁶ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 46.

Voss. *species cithare*

62) fo.10ra06 **(.i. or)córnánt óu** gl. bombis [§133]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. It is largely invisible on the microfilm due to the tightness of the binding. It is probably linked to the main text by means of a *signe de renvoi* (/•), which is found over the main text. There may well be an accent over <or>. The introductory <.i.> abbreviation is supposed.

bombis Noun, abl. pl, ‘booming sound, buzzing’; *bombus*.

or Preposition ‘of, from, with, by’, MW *o*. Added to it is the contracted form of the definite article, MW *-r*.

comtantou Noun, pl., ‘buzzing sounds’(?). It is a hapax. Stokes argued that it must be a compound of the prefix *com-* and *tantou*,²⁰⁷ the latter of which is also found in glosses 147) and 148) *tantou* gl. *fides*, ‘strings’, and is the plural of MW *tant*, ‘string’. Stokes found it hard to see how this could mean *bombis*. It is harder still as the main text refers to *bombis tympani*, ‘the booming sounds of tambours’, which do not buzz. It seems likely that the glossator did not know exactly what kind of an instrument *tympani* refers to.

MS eousque ut mussarum cantus aliquanto bombís ((.i. or)córnánt óu) tympani obtusior redderetur..

Willis eo usque ut Musarum cantus aliquanto bombis tympani obtusior redderetur²⁰⁸

Stahl ‘so much that the sound of the Muses was to some extent drowned by the booming sound of the tambours.’²⁰⁹

Context The ritual dance continues.

Function Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: ablative.

Voss. Unglossed.

63) fo.10ra37 **.i. dáttótí mb** gl. gestione [§135]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The gap between <ti> and <mb> occurs due to the descender of the main text <p> in the line above.

gestione Read: *egestione*. Noun, abl. sg., ‘removal’; *egestio*.

dattotimb Verbal noun, ‘loosening, emptying (by vomiting)’ (?). Its meaning is disputed. Stokes proposed reading it as *dat-*, MoW *dattod* ‘to loosen’ and *timb*, MoW *twm* ‘a bend, a

²⁰⁷ Stokes 1873: 399.

²⁰⁸ Willis 1983: 41.

²⁰⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 46.

turn’, together meaning ‘a loosening turn’.²¹⁰ Loth suggested that *dat-* is *do-at* in combination with *dot*, MoW *dodi* ‘place’ and *timb* ‘spasm’, MoW *tymmig*, together meaning ‘démangeaison ou spasme pour rejeter’.²¹¹ Falileyev is undecided.²¹²

Schrijver offers a different interpretation of *-timb* and proposes the whole to mean ‘emptying out by vomiting’. The gloss would then be either /dató:di(f)/, composed of *dad-* ‘re-’, *dodi*, reflecting MW *dadodi* ‘to loosen, untie’ (Stokes’ *dattod*), or /dadó:di(f)/, composed of *dad-* and *odi* ‘to throw’, which would yield MW *dadodi* ‘to throw back, regurgitate’ if it were attested.²¹³

Schrijver’s interpretation is the most efficient, but the meaning of the gloss must perhaps be sought closer to the attested MW *dadodi*, ‘to loosen’, which is not altogether too far removed from *egestione* ‘removal’ (which does not of itself necessarily involve vomiting) .

MS	<i>ní haec</i> inquit (.i. atanasia) quibus plenum pectus geris c̄coactissima (.i. uiolen tissima) gestione (.i. dáttóti mb) uomueris forasque diffuderis immortalitatis sedem nullatenus obtinebis (.i. ó philologia);
Willis	‘ni haec’, inquit, ‘quibus plenum pectus geris, coactissima egestione vomueris forasque diffuderis, immortalitatis sedem nullatenus obtinebis.’ ²¹⁴
Stahl	“‘Unless you retch violently and void this matter which is choking your breast, you will never attain the throne of immortality at all.’” ²¹⁵
Context	The divine Immortality commands Philologia to spew out all the learned works of the world with which she was previously associated.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	<i>proiectione</i>

64) fo.10rb15	.i. míníou gl. (deorum) stemmata	[§137]
Scribe	W1	
<u>deorum</u>	Noun, gen. pl., ‘god’; <i>deus</i> .	
<u>stemmata</u>	Noun, acc. pl., ‘garland or crown (used to honour statues of ancestors), genealogy’; <i>stemma</i> . It is a loanword from Greek <i>στεμμα</i> , ‘woolen headband worn by priests’, later ‘wreath (of flowers) used in rituals’.	

²¹⁰ Stokes 1873: 399.

²¹¹ Loth 1884: 96.

²¹² Falileyev 2000: 41.

²¹³ Schrijver 1998-2000: 149.

²¹⁴ Willis 1983: 42.

²¹⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 47.

<i>minnou</i>	Noun, pl., ‘crowns, circlets’. See the discussion on gloss 29). Stokes associated the gloss with <i>deorum stemmata</i> , ²¹⁶ but it is perhaps better to dissociate it entirely from <i>deorum</i> . Interestingly, the gloss is not concerned with the intended main text meaning of ‘genealogies (of the gods)’, which is reflected by the Latin gloss <i>.i. progeniem</i> . The Welsh rather reflects the original meaning of <i>stemma</i> as a ‘garland/crown’ used to honour statues of ancestors. It fits equally well with either the meaning ‘crown’ or - like Irish <i>mind</i> - ‘a distinguishing badge or emblem of honour or rank, especially one worn on the head’, or with ‘wreath of flowers’.
MS	<i>eademque saxa stelas (.i. illuminationes) appellans. deorum stemmata (.i. ṁinńóu) (.i. progeniem) praecepit continere;</i>
Willis	<i>eademque saxa stelas appellans deorum stemmata praecipit continere.</i> ²¹⁷
Stahl	‘and she called these stones <i>stelae</i> and ordained that they should contain the genealogies of the gods.’ ²¹⁸
Context	Immortality reacts to what must presumably be hieroglyphic texts pouring forth from Philologia.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	<i>stemma series cognationis deorum vel filum longum quo cingebant sacerdotes caput. Unde flamines quasi filamines dicti sunt</i>

65) fo.10rb41 **.i. cústnúdieticc** gl. confecta [§139]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The <s> is a tall-s, otherwise, the script differs in no way from that otherwise ascribed to W1. The tall-s, in two variants, is found in vernacular glosses from time to time from this point on. Moreover, both variants are found in the main text contribution of Scribe E, whose hand is otherwise also (near-)identical to that of W1, albeit that he writes larger in the main text than he does in the glosses.

The lack of an accent on the <e> cannot be for want of space.

Pal. discussion Lewis disputes Stokes’ reading <custnudieticc>, instead suggesting <custnud eticc>.²¹⁹ Schrijver subscribes to Lewis’ reading.²²⁰ Lemmen and Falileyev appear to be undecided.²²¹ It is indeed true that the <i> read by Stokes is connected to the first <f> of the main text word above, *diffudit*. Lewis prefers to see Stokes’ <i> as part of said <f>. However, this would imply that the first <f> differs in shape from the second <f>.

²¹⁶ Stokes 1873: 399.

²¹⁷ Willis 1983: 42.

²¹⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 47.

²¹⁹ Lewis 1932: 112.

²²⁰ Schrijver 1998-2000: 149.

²²¹ Lemmen 2006: 37 and Falileyev 2000: 38.

which is written beside it, but ends in a broad stripe and considerably higher up. Moreover, it would imply that it differs from all other main text <f>'s found in the surrounding lines, which all agree orthographically with the second <f> of *diffudit*. This renders Lewis' reading problematic and gives credence to Stokes' transcription, which is adopted here.

<u>confecta</u>	Verb, past participle, 'to tire, wear out, accomplish'; <i>conficio</i> .
<i>custnuditicc</i>	Verbal adjective, sg., uncertain meaning. Stokes considered the word to be a compound of <i>cust</i> , MoW <i>cwst</i> 'toil' and <i>nuditicc</i> , the participle of <i>nudi</i> , MoW <i>nodi</i> 'to mark'. Stokes noted that Rhys conjectured 'with much probability, that we should read <i>custnuditicc</i> and equate the modern <i>cystuddiedig</i> '. ²²² This latter word now means 'sorrowful, painful, broken'. It isn't any less fitting, semantically speaking, than Stokes' 'toil-marked'. However, <i>a priori</i> it seems unlikely for Rhys to be correct, as the glossator has otherwise never doubled vowels, except in the poorly understood gloss 4), .i. nóirmínnúedóu . Loth supports Rhys, offering 'accablé' as a free and 'abattu par le chagrin' as a literal translation. ²²³ Perhaps his conjecture that the hypothetical <i>-uu-</i> stands for <i>-guo-</i> is correct, which could explain the awkward doubling, but for now it seems best to adopt Falileyev's position: 'the gloss remains obscure.' ²²⁴
MS	Postquam igitur illam bibliothecalem copiam nixa (.i. enixa) eimitatús (.i. labores) uirgo (.i. philologia) diffudit. exhaustu (.i. uomitu) pallore confecta (.i. cústnúdíetíc) atanasiae opem, quae tanti laboris conscia fuerat postulauit;
Willis	postquam igitur illam bibliothecalem copiam nixa imitus virgo diffudit, exhausto pallore confecta Athanasiae opem, quae tanti laboris conscia fuerat, postulavit. ²²⁵
Stahl	'After the maiden had with travail brought forth from deep inside herself all that store of literary reproduction, worn out and pale with exhaustion, she asked help from Immortality, who had witnessed such a great effort.' ²²⁶
Context	Philologia is tired from having rid herself of the literary works of man and begs new strength for her journey to the heavens.
Function	Uncertain.
Voss.	<i>atríta</i>

²²² Stokes 1873: 399.

²²³ Loth 1884: 92.

²²⁴ Falileyev 2000: 38.

²²⁵ Willis 1983: 43.

²²⁶ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 48.

66) fo.10va08	.i. nóuícrúnúí gl. oui	[§140]
Scribe	W1	
<u>oui</u>	Noun, gen. sg., ‘egg’; <i>ovum</i> .	
<i>nou</i>	Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).	
<i>ir</i>	Definite article, ‘the’; MW <i>y(r)</i> . Again, we must note the unwarranted use of the definitive article in a grammatical gloss.	
<i>crunn</i>	Adjective, ‘round’; MW <i>crwn</i> .	
<i>ui</i>	Noun, sg., ‘egg’; MW <i>wy</i> . It is probably an example of the ADJ-NOUN word order. If it were a compound, one would expect the preceding adjective to be <i>**crinn-</i> , MW <i>crynn-</i> . See the discussion on gloss 18) for an analysis of this form.	
MS	uerum ipsa species oui (.i. nóuícrúnúí) interioris	
Willis	verum ipsa species ovi interioris ²²⁷	
Stahl	‘It had the appearance of an egg inside’ ²²⁸	
Context	Philologia is offered a special drink to renew her strength. It is contained in ‘a smooth, living sphere’, but the inside has the appearance of an egg, for it ‘seemed transparent with void and a white humor, and then something more solid at the center [sic].’ ²²⁹	
Function	Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: genitive reproduced.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	

67) fo.10va34	.i. íssí gl. mortalis	[§141]
Scribe	W1	
<u>mortalis</u>	Adjective, nom. sg, ‘mortal’; <i>mortalis</i> .	
<i>iss</i>	Verb, indic. pres. 3sg., ‘is’; MW <i>ys</i> .	
<i>i</i>	Pers. pron., 3sg. f.; MW <i>hi</i> . Stokes noted that this is an unusual, short form of the pronoun. He considered the gloss to mean ‘ <i>est ea, scil. virgo</i> ’, ²³⁰ that is to say, it refers to Philologia. This is entirely correct.	
	It does leave one to wonder what the purpose of the gloss could have been. It could be thought to be the vernacular counterpart to the countless <i>.i. philologia</i> glosses in Latin, which aid the reader, telling him who is being referred to in the text. However, this seems a much less effective way of doing it than simply adding a gloss of the name of the person being referred to; especially since in this particular passage both Immortality and Philologia are women and a feminine pronoun is thus unable to distinguish between the two of them.	

²²⁷ Willis 1983: 43.

²²⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 48.

²²⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 48.

²³⁰ Stokes 1873: 400.

A clue is offered by gloss 69), .i. *iss mi* ‘it is I’, which is of a very similar structure and again refers to Philologia. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that they serve a similar purpose, but it seems yet more ineffective to think that ‘it is I’ would be meant to provide clarity to the reader by explaining to whom the text refers. A case could be made for it, arguing that since Philologia is the speaker adding a gloss referring to the first person might serve as a reference to her, but it seems unlikely. There is another, crucial similarity between the glosses. The Latin adjectives over which they appear both function as predicates in clauses where the copula has been left out. The vernacular glosses could then very well be grammatical expansions, adding the copula to clarify the structure of the sentence. This explanation has the added benefit of fitting well with the switch between third person *i* and first person *mi* between the two glosses, as they should then be seen as being integrated into the sentences they gloss.

MS	<i>praecipiens omnia quae adhuc mortalis (.i. íssí) adversum vim superam inpraesidium coaptare^{at} expelleret (.i. *).</i>
Willis	<i>praecipiens omnia, quae adhuc mortalis adversum vim superam in praesidium coaptarat, expelleret²³¹</i>
Stahl	‘she ordered her to rid herself of all that she had put on her body as a mortal to protect herself against the power of heaven’ ²³²
Context	Philologia has drunk the drink of immortality and is yet preparing herself for her ascendancy.
Function	Elucidation of the main text. Grammatical gloss: copula.
Voss.	Unglossed.

68) fo.10va43 **.i. túsléstr** gl. *acerraque* [§142]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The final accent is placed between letters. The second <s> is a tall-s.

acerraque Noun, nom. sg., ‘incense box’; *acerra*. The Latin conjunction *-que*, ‘and’, is suffixed to it.

tuslestr Noun, sg., ‘incense box’(?). See the discussion on gloss 47).

MS *Tunc philologia ex aromate praeparato acerraque (.i. frōn esis) (.i. túsléstr) propria. atanasiae (.i. dā) (.i. deae) primitus supplicavit (.i. immalavit)..*

Willis *tunc Philologia ex aromate praeparato acerraque propria Athanasiae primitus supplicavit²³³*

²³¹ Willis 1983: 43.

²³² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 48.

²³³ Willis 1983: 44.

Stahl ‘Then Philology first of all made an offering to Immortality with a preparation of spice and with her own box of incense’²³⁴

Context Philologia has become immortal and, leaving behind all her earthly possessions, makes offerings and sacrifices.

Function Direct translation.

Voss. Unglossed.

69) fo.11ra18 **.i. íssmí** gl. *intemerata* [§149]

Scribe W1

Pal. note In this gloss and in gloss 71), which is written directly below it, the ink is faded, altering the aspect of the script. As such, it seems rather more pointed than one might expect from W1, but it is probably his work.

intemerata Adjective, nom. sg., ‘clean, unsoiled’; *intemerata*.

iss Verb, indic. pres. 3sg., ‘is’; MW *ys*.

mi Pers. pron., 1 sg.; MW *mi*. For its use, see the discussion on gloss 67).

MS *nam fluuoniam februalemque (uocare) ac februarum mihi poscere non necesse est cum nihil contagionis corporeae sexu intemerata (.i. íssmí) pertulerim (.i. hepp philologia)*

Willis *(nam Fluvoniam Februalemque ac Februarum mihi poscere non necesse est, cum nihil contagionis corporeae sexu intemerata pertulerim)*²³⁵

Stahl ‘-for it is not necessary for me to invoke the names Fluvonia, Februalis, and Februa, since I am a virgin and have suffered no physical pollution;’²³⁶

Context Philologia arrives at the heavenly citadel and is greeted by Juno, Concord, Faith and Modesty. Philologia speaks to Juno.

Function Elucidation of the main text. Grammatical gloss: copula.

Voss. *inviolata*

70) fo.11ra19 **.i. hepp philologia** gl. *pertulerim* [§149]

Scribe W1

Pal. note There appear to be no accents over this gloss, likely for want of space. However, it must be noted that there is a dot next to the <o> of the main text word directly above the <e> of *hepp*. It is shaped much like the beginning of an accent mark, perhaps hinting that one was written through the Latin. I deem it to be too uncertain to transcribe it.

pertulerim Verb, subj. perf. 1sg., ‘to tolerate, suffer, bear’; *perfero*.

²³⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 49.

²³⁵ Willis 1983: 45.

²³⁶ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 50.

hepp Defective verb, ‘says/said’; MW *heb*. The stop is almost consistently written with a geminate in these glosses (the exception being gloss 136)), implying that the vowel is short. However, it is uncertain whether this was indeed the case as it is unknown whether it was stressed (i.e. with a long vowel) , or - like in MoW - unstressed (i.e. with a short vowel). If it were long, it would provides a rare counterexample to Schrijver’s analysis, as was noted by him.²³⁷

philologia Proper name, nom. sg. Its reading is disputed by Lemmen, who transcribes it as *philologiae*.²³⁸ It is an understandable reading, but Stokes is correct. What may seem to be an *-e* is, in fact, an *e*-caudata, descending from *corporeae* in the line above and coming into contact with the *-a* of *philologia*.

MS See previous gloss.

Willis “.

Stahl “.

Context “.

Function Elucidation of the main text.

Voss. *agnouerim*

71) fo.11ra19 **.i. énúéíndí iunoni** gl. iter ducam et domi ducam [§149]

Scribe W1

Pal. note See pal. note on gloss 69).

iterducam Proper name, acc. sg., ‘returner’; *Iterduca*. Lemmen offered the reading <*interducam*>,²³⁹ but Stokes’ reading is correct.

et Conjunction, ‘and’; *et*.

domiducam Proper name, acc. sg., ‘home-bringer’; *Domiduca*.

enuein Noun, pl., ‘names’; MW *enweu* (sg. OW *anu*, MW *enw*).

di Preposition *di*, ‘to, for’; MW *y*.

iunoni Proper name, dat. sg.; *Iuno*. The name is inflected, which is not always the case in these ‘bilingual’ glosses. Often, the Latin name is added in its ‘neutral’, nominative form, e.g. glosses 2) *anu di iuno* and the identical 72) *anu di iuno*. The use of the dative after *di* fits with the use of this preposition in ‘grammatical’, vernacular glosses on Latin datives. This practice is also found e.g. in glosses 76), *enuein di sibellae int* and 77) *nomen di sibellae*.

MS iter ducam et domi (**.i. énúéíndí iunoni**) ducam unxiam cinctiam mortales puellae debent innuptias conuocare

²³⁷ Schrijver 1998-2000: 150.

²³⁸ Lemmen 2006: 37.

²³⁹ Lemmen 2006: 37.

Willis	Iterducam et Domiducam, Vnxiam, Cinctiam mortales puellae debent in nuptias convocare ²⁴⁰
Stahl	‘mortal brides ought to summon you to their marriages as Iterduca and Domiduca, as Unxio or Cinctia’ ²⁴¹
Context	Philologia continues speaking to Juno, many names of whom are mentioned in this passage.
Function	Elucidation of the main text.
Voss.	<i>Iterduca, quae per iter ducit; Domiduca, quae per domum; Unxia, quae ungit sponsas; Cintia, quae cingulum castitatis soluit</i>

72) fo.11ra30	.i. ánú diiuno gl. populonam (.i. <i>proprium</i>)	[§149]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	The scribe has accidentally connected the <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> of <i>di iuno</i> together, leading one to read <w>. However, no <w> is otherwise found in this manuscript, so it is not transcribed as such. Nonetheless, the reading is certain and one cannot read <diuino>, as the <i>u</i> always ends in a pointed descender, which extends below the rest of the letter. And this is what one finds here as well. The fact that <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> can even be distinguished without much doubt in a sequence where they are connected due to a scribal error constitutes further proof in favour of the reading <i>diu</i> and against the possibility of reading <i>dui</i> in gloss 59).	

The lack of an accents over <di> is unlikely to be for want of space, although it is less plentiful than over *anu*.

<u>populonam</u>	Read: <i>Poplonam</i> . Proper name, acc. sg.; <i>Poplona</i> .
<u>proprium</u>	Adjective, nom. sg., ‘proper’. It is short for <i>nomen proprium</i> , ‘proper name’. ²⁴²
<i>anu</i>	Noun, sg., ‘name’; MW <i>enw</i> .
<i>di</i>	Preposition <i>di</i> , ‘to, for’; MW <i>y</i> .
<u>iuno</u>	Proper name, nom. sg.; <i>Iuno</i> . It is uninflected.
MS	populonam (.i. <i>proprium</i>) (.i. ánú diiuno) plebes cyritim (.i. regalīm .i. armatoř) debent memorare bellantes.
Willis	Poplonam plebes, Curitim debent memorare bellantes ²⁴³
Stahl	‘the common people ought to call you Poplona, and in their battles ought to call upon Curitis’ ²⁴⁴
Context	More names of Juno are recited by Philologia.

²⁴⁰ Willis 1983: 45.

²⁴¹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 50.

²⁴² Stokes 1873: 400.

²⁴³ Willis 1983: 45.

²⁴⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 51.

Function Elucidation of the main text.
Voss. Unglossed.

73) fo.11ra33 **.i. mí philologia** gl. uoco [§149]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The aspect of the <phil-> abbreviation in this and the following vernacular gloss is identical to that of the hand of various <phil-> abbreviations found without vernacular additions both on this folium and throughout the original portion of the manuscript.

uoco Verb, indic. pres. 1sg., ‘to say’; *voco*.

mi Pers. pron., 1 sg.; MW *mi*. The gloss seems similar in function to those of the *.i. hepp philologia* type. The use of a pronoun rather than *hepp* may be inspired by the use of a pronoun in the main text, which emphasizes the fact that it is Philologia - having offered a long list of names and the circumstances under which it would be proper for people to invoke Juno by those names - now calls upon the goddess by means of *Hera* (MS *aerea*). The Welsh may be intended to convey this emphasis, which would mean that the gloss is ‘stressed’ relative to the variant with *hepp*.

philologia Proper name, nom. sg.; *Philologia*.

MS *híc ego té aeream (.i. fingit nouum nomen) potius abaeris regno nuncipatum uoco (.i. mí philologia)..*

Willis *hic ego te Heram potius ab aeris regno nuncupatam voco*²⁴⁵

Stahl ‘now I call upon you as Hera, named from your kingdom of the air’²⁴⁶

Context Philologia settles on a fitting name for her to use in addressing Juno.

Function Elucidation of the main text.

Voss. Unglossed.

74) fo.11ra46 **.i. hepp philologia** gl. intellexeram conspicari [§149]

Scribe W1

Pal. note There is little space for accents over this gloss.

intellexeram Verb, pluperf. 1sg., ‘to understand, to be aware of’; *intellego*.

conspicari Verb, infinitive, ‘to observe, to see’; *conspico*.

hepp Defective verb, ‘says/said’; MW *heb*.

philologia Proper name, nom. sg.; *Philologia*.

MS *At iam fas puto quicquid πεπιδυδαιμωμιας lectitans intellexeram (.i. hepp philologia) conspicari;*

²⁴⁵ Willis 1983: 45.

²⁴⁶ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 51.

Willis	at iam fas puto quicquid <i>περι ευδαιμονιας</i> lectitans intellexeram conspicari. ²⁴⁷
Stahl	‘I think it is now legitimate to see whatever I had understood from my reading <i>Peri eudaimonias</i> [about blessedness].’ ²⁴⁸
Context	Philologia asks Juno to explain to her the nature of those who inhabit the heavens.
Function	Elucidation of the main text.
Voss.	(on conspicari) <i>videre</i>

75) fo.11rb34 **.i. ísseḿíaḿú** gl. genius [§152]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The first <s> is a tall-s. There is little space for accents over this word. The accent on the *n* seems to have extended over the *a*, which could be its intended location, but if there is a trace of a hairline over the *a*, it is too faint to transcribe and what remains of the accent is located entirely over the *n*.
Interestingly, the word *singulís* in the main text line above, is not written by hand A, but - using a tall-s for the first s- of the word - has every appearance of having been written by W1/E.

genius Noun, nom. sg., ‘Genius, guardian spirit (of person, people, or place)’; *genius*.

iss Verb, indic. pres. 3sg., ‘is’; MW *ys*.

em Anaphoric pronoun, 3sg. m.; MW *ef*.²⁴⁹

i Possessive pronoun, 3sg. m.; MW *y*.

anu Noun, sg., ‘name’; MW *enw*. The entire gloss reads ‘that is his name’.

MS *specialis singulís mortalibus genius (.i. ísseḿíaḿú) admouetur; quem (.i. genium) etiam praestitem (.i. principem) quod praesit generandiís omnibus uocauerunt (.i. periti);*

Willis *specialis singulis mortalibus Genius admouetur, quem etiam praestitem, quod praesit gerundis omnibus, vocauerunt;*²⁵⁰

Stahl ‘a particular Genius to each individual, whom they have called the Supervisor because he is to supervise all that is to be done;’²⁵¹

Context Juno describes the *genii* as she tells Philologia about the nature of those who inhabit the various layers of the heavens.

Function Elucidation of the main text.

Voss. 1) *deus loqui proprius*

²⁴⁷ Willis 1983: 45.

²⁴⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 51.

²⁴⁹ Stokes 1873: 400, Loth 1884: 117 and Schrijver 2011: 69.

²⁵⁰ Willis 1983: 46.

²⁵¹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 52.

2) *Genium pagani dicunt nomen dei quod vim habeat gignendi omnium rerum. Nam genius proprie dicitur deus loci.*

76) fo.11vb15 **.i. énúeín dí sibel lae ínt .i. hínn** gl. *uel erytria quaeque cumea est uel phrigia* [§159]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The accent over *hinn* was added over the first letter over which there was space for it. The separation of the vernacular gloss into two parts, both of which are introduced by the <.i.> abbreviation was not recognized by either Stokes,²⁵² or Lemmen,²⁵³ but is clearly shown in the manuscript.

uel Conjunction, ‘or’; *vel*.

erytria Proper name, nom. sg.; *Erythraea*.

quaeque Relative pronoun, nom. sg.; *quis*. The Latin conjunction *-que*, ‘and, also’, is suffixed to it.

cumea Proper name, nom. sg.; *Cumaea*.

est Verb, indic. pres. 3sg., ‘to be’; *sum*.

uel Conjunction, ‘or’; *vel*.

phrigia Proper name, nom. sg.; *Phrygia*.

enuein Noun, pl., ‘names’; MW *enweu* (sg. OW *anu*, MW *enw*).

di Preposition *di*, ‘to, for’; MW *y*.

sibellae Noun, dat. sg., ‘sibyl, diviner’; *Sibylla*. Along with gloss 71) and 77), this is another example of a ‘bilingual’ gloss in which the Latin is inflected. See gloss 71) for the construction.

int Verb, indic. pres. 3pl., ‘to be’; MW *ynt*.

hinn Demonstrative pron. pl., MW *hynn*. Given by Stokes²⁵⁴ and Loth²⁵⁵ as a plural, it is listed as a singular by Falileyev.²⁵⁶ Schrijver, in his discussion of the demonstrative pronoun, lists the form as being unattested for Old Welsh.²⁵⁷ Nonetheless, it must certainly be plural.

MS *sibilla* (.i. *dea*) *uel erytria* (**.i. énúeín dí sibel lae ínt .i. hínn**) (.i. *plā eurutrae*) *quaeque cumea* (.i. *ácuinís*) *est uel phrigia*..

Willis *Sibylla vel Erythraea quaeque Cymaea est vel Phrygia*²⁵⁸

Stahl ‘or the Erythraean sibyl who is also the Cumaean sibyl, or the Phrygian.’²⁵⁹

²⁵² Stokes 1873: 400-’01.

²⁵³ Lemmen 2006: 37.

²⁵⁴ Stokes 1873: 401.

²⁵⁵ Loth 1884: 155.

²⁵⁶ Falileyev 2000: 85.

²⁵⁷ Schrijver 2011: 53.

²⁵⁸ Willis 1983: 47.

²⁵⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 53.

Context	Juno speaks to Philologia about the sibyls.
Function	Elucidation of the main text.
Voss.	1) (on <i>sibylla</i>) <i>sios bilin quasi dei mens</i> 2) (on <i>erythrea</i>) <i>heritrea vel ab herita matre vel ab heritra insula</i> 3) (on <i>cymea</i>) <i>a cumis civitate</i> 4) (on <i>frigia</i>) <i>Troiana</i>

77) fo.11vb19 **nomen dí si bellae** gl. theropylam [§159]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The introductory <i.> abbreviation is missing, which is most unusual for W1. The first *s* of the Latin glosses *.i. sibella-* found a number of times on glosses on the main text around this gloss, is generally a tall-*s*. The hand is (near-)identical to that of W1, as is that of most of the many Latin glosses in the surrounding lines. In some cases, the introductory <i.> abbreviation is missing in these Latin glosses as well.

theropylam Proper name, acc. sg.; *Herophila*.

nomen Noun, nom. sg., ‘name’; *nomen*.

di Preposition *di*, ‘to, for’; MW *y*. The gloss was discovered by Lemmen.²⁶⁰ As was noted by her, the same construction is found in glosses 129) and 131).

sibellae Noun, dat. sg., ‘sibyl, diviner’. See gloss 71) for the construction.

MS *quas non decem (.i. sibellas) ut asserunt sed duas (.i. sibellas) fuisse non (.i. iuno dicith adphilologiae) nescis id est theropylam (nomen dí si bellae) (.i. unum nomen) troianam mamensi (.i. nomen uiri) filiam (.i. sibellam)..*

Willis *quas non decem, ut asserunt, sed duas fuisse non nescis, id est Herophilam Troianam Mermessi filiam*²⁶¹

Stahl ‘You know that there were not ten of these sibyls, as they say, but two - namely Herophila, a Trojan, daughter of Marmensus’²⁶²

Context Juno continues discussing the sibyls.

Function Elucidation of the main text.

Voss. *nomen proprium*

²⁶⁰ Lemmen 2006: 28-29.

²⁶¹ Willis 1983: 47.

²⁶² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 53.

78) fo.12ra48	.i. túsléstr gl. (de)accerra	[§168]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	It would have been impossible, for want of space, to place the first accent further to the right and directly above the <u>.	
<u>de</u>	Preposition, ‘from’; takes the ablative; <i>de</i> .	
<u>accerra</u>	Noun, abl. sg., ‘incense box’; <i>acerra</i> .	
<i>tuslestr</i>	Noun, sg., ‘incense box’(?). See the discussion on gloss 47).	
MS	demumque deaccerra (.i. túsléstr) (.i. <i>filologia</i> p̄ illi incensum) uirginis. partem sumit (.i. iuno);	
Willis	demumque de acerra virginis partem sumit. ²⁶³	
Stahl	‘and at last she took a portion from the maiden’s box of incense.’ ²⁶⁴	
Context	Juno has finishes her conversation with Philologia and invites her to enter the heavens as a goddess.	
Function	Direct translation.	
Voss.	<i>incenso</i> (on: <i>deacra</i> leg. <i>de acerra</i>)	
79) fo.12rb46	.i. nátóid gu´océlésé tícc gl. nulla (...) inuidia titillata	[§172]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	Marginal gloss. It is linked to the main text (titillata) by means of a <i>signe de renvoi</i> (•-). The fourth accent is placed in between letters. uncertain: <i>gu´o-</i>	
<u>nulla</u>	Adjective, abl. sg., ‘no’; <i>nullus</i> .	
<u>inuidia</u>	Noun, abl. sg., ‘jealousy’; <i>invidia</i> .	
<u>titillata</u>	Verbal adjective (substantivized), nom. sg., ‘tickling’. It is derived from <i>titillo</i> , ‘to tickle’.	
<i>nat</i>	Negation; MW <i>nat</i> . The form is that found in relative clauses when the following word begins with a vowel.	
<i>oid</i>	Verb, indic. imperf. 3sg., ‘to be’; MW <i>oed</i> .	
<i>guocelaseticc</i>	Verbal adjective, ‘tickled’. It is a hapax. It is considered to be derived from what in MoW are <i>goglais</i> ‘tickle’ and <i>gogleisio</i> , ‘to tickle’. ²⁶⁵ The gloss is to be read, ‘quod non esset titillata’, ²⁶⁶ ‘that she were not tickled’, ²⁶⁷ which is in line with the MW use of rel. <i>nat</i> . ²⁶⁸	

²⁶³ Willis 1983: 49.

²⁶⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 55.

²⁶⁵ Stokes 1873: 401, Loth 1884: 142 and Falileyev 2000: 71.

²⁶⁶ Stokes 1873: 401.

²⁶⁷ Schrijver 2011: 76.

²⁶⁸ Evans 1964: 61.

MS	<i>quod femina (.i. facundia) quam etrusci dicebant ipsa deo nuptam fuisse cyllenio. nulla prorsus inuidia titillata (.i. nátóid gu’océlésé tícc) uirginem (.i. philologia) complexa constrinxerat;</i>
Willis	quod femina, quam Etrusci dicebant ipsi denuptam fuisse Cyllenio, nulla prorsus inuidia titillata virginem complexa constrinxerat. ²⁶⁹
Stahl	‘that a woman who (the Etruscans claimed) had been married to the Cyllenian, clasped and embraced the maiden with no trace of jealousy.’ ²⁷⁰
Context	Philologia is travelling across the heavens and encounters a divine woman, whom the Etruscans - apparently - claimed to have once been married to Mercury, with whom Philologia is to be married.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	<i>tacta</i>

80) fo.12va26 **.i. iúrgchéll** gl. caprea [§176]

Scribe	W1
<u>caprea</u>	Noun, nom. sg., ‘roe-deer’; <i>caprea</i> .
<i>iurgchell</i>	Noun, sg., ‘(young) female roe-deer’, MW <i>yerchel/iyrchell</i> . It is derived from <i>iurch</i> , MW <i>iwrch</i> by means of the diminutive suffix <i>-ell</i> . According to Stokes the translation ought to be ‘a young roe’, ²⁷¹ but Falileyev and the GPC prefer to interpret it as ‘a female roe-deer’. ²⁷² As the diminutive <i>-ell</i> always yields feminine nouns, e.g. <i>angell</i> , <i>astell</i> , <i>crimell</i> , <i>ffynhonnell</i> , and <i>caprea</i> equally refers to a female animal, <i>iurgchell</i> must also refer to a (young) doe.
MS	subdextra (.i. pinacis) textudo (.i. indūmto) minitansque (.i. illa uirga) nepa (.i. scorpion) álaeua caprea (.i. iúrgchéll);
Willis	sub dextra testudo minitansque nepa, a laeva caprea. ²⁷³
Stahl	‘under the ibis’ right foot was a tortoise and a threatening scorpion, and on its left a goat.’
Context	Themis, guardian of Mercury’s home, approaches Philologia, carrying a tablet on which an elaborate scene involving an ibis is engraved.
Function	Translation into Old Welsh.
Voss.	Unglossed.

²⁶⁹ Willis 1983: 50.

²⁷⁰ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 56.

²⁷¹ Stokes 1873: 401.

²⁷² Falileyev 2000: 98-99.

²⁷³ Willis 1983: 50.

Scribe W4

Pal. note The <l> has a distinctive seriph, which is similar to that found in gloss 54, which also happens to be marginal. However, it is also similar to the <l> of gloss 55 and its general aspect is more like that of W4 than W1. It lacks the introductory <.i.> abbreviation, which supports this assumption. It is written in between columns a and b and lacks a *signe de renvoi*. Glosses 51) and 55), by the same hand, also lacks a *signe de renvoi*. Palaeographical grounds do not allow one to assign this gloss to any part of the main text. No accents.

lais Uncertain. The gloss was first discovered by Lewis, who associated it with *totaque ueneratione supplicans* in the column to the right and thought it to be MW *llaes*, ‘loose’.²⁷⁴ It was discussed at some length by Lemmen, who argued convincingly that no link with *llaes* could be found in the column on the left.²⁷⁵ She considered Lewis’ supposition that ‘there is something ‘loose’ about the way Philology is praying.’ possible, but preferred an alternative solution: ‘when connected to *quo*, however, *lais* could refer to the pouring out and spreading out of celestial light that is being released into the world.’²⁷⁶ In the Voss. manuscript *quo* is glossed with *sole*. *Totaque ueneratione supplicans* is glossed *supplicans immolans*, which also appears in this manuscript (see the transcription below). Neither gloss helps explain *lais*. Both solutions are possible, though the latter is perhaps the more likely. It is difficult to imagine an adjective meaning ‘loose’ describing devout prayer. That one might describe the light of the sun as it pours forth from some celestial source as being ‘loose’ is reasonable. However, it seems odd for it be associated with *quo*, which but refers to the sunlight, rather than with any of the words in the preceding main text lines, which actually describe the light. It would have been a simple matter for the glossator to have placed *lais* higher up if he intended it to gloss any of those words. Given that the gloss was written by W4, who was responsible for two other inexplicable glosses (glosses 51) and 55)), for which an attempt was made to explain them by means of the Irish language, it seems worthwhile to make the same attempt for *lais*. If it were Irish, one is reminded of the conjugated preposition *la*, 3sg. masculine or neuter, ‘with/by him/it’. It makes little sense for this to be placed in between two columns. Even an association with the *ibis* (in that the name of the month was ‘with it’) seems most improbable, as *ibis* is a feminine word, although a

²⁷⁴ Lewis 1932: 112.

²⁷⁵ Lemmen 2006: 29.

²⁷⁶ Lemmen 2006: 30.

medieval glossator need not have known that. Either Welsh solution seems preferable to the Irish one.

left:

MS	ipsa uero ibis (.i. <i>nomen auis</i>) <i>praenotatum gerit nomen mensis cuiusdam memphēitici</i> ;
Willis	ipsa vero ibis praenotatum gerit nomen mensis cuiusdam Memphitici. ²⁷⁷
Stahl	‘The ibis wore on its front the name of a Memphitic month.’ ²⁷⁸
Context	The tablet is further described.

right:

MS	quo uiso philologia consurgens totaque ueneratione plicans (sup***licans immulans) ac paululum conibens oculis. deum (.i. <i>appolinem</i>) talibus (.i. <i>ūbis</i>) <i>deprecatur</i> ;
Willis	quo viso Philologia consurgens totaque ueneratione supplicans ac paululum conivens oculis deum talibus <i>deprecatur</i> : ²⁷⁹
Stahl	‘When she saw this, Philology rose and fervently and devoutly, her eyes half-closed, prayed to the god in these words:’ ²⁸⁰
Context	Philologia travels near to the sun, which is described as a ship. The <i>quo</i> refers to the fountain of light that emanates from it and which is described in the preceding lines.
Function	Uncertain.
Voss.	See the discussion on <i>lais</i> .

82) fo.12va41 **.i. ménntául** gl. *blancae* [§180]

Scribe W1

blancae Read: *bilance*. Adjective, abl. sg., ‘having two scales’. It is a hapax. Stokes read *bilancae*,²⁸¹ but Lemmen is correct in reading *blancae*.²⁸²

menntaul Noun, sg., ‘balance, scales’; MW *mantawl*, OBret. *montol*. Taking it together with the next gloss, it is strikingly odd that the Welsh noun glosses a Latin adjective, whereas the Welsh adjective glosses a Latin noun. Nonetheless, the reading is certain as the glosses both begin with the introductory *.i.* and are on different lines. In the manuscript *blan-caelibra* is written continuously, but this does not seem significant. Neither does it seem warranted to believe that the glossator intended to write *.i. menntaul cithremmet* as a single gloss, but ran out of space on the first line, for he could have simply written the entire gloss in the margin to the left of *libra*.

²⁷⁷ Willis 1983: 50-51.

²⁷⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 57.

²⁷⁹ Willis 1983: 51.

²⁸⁰ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 58.

²⁸¹ Stokes 1873: 401.

²⁸² Lemmen 2006: 37.

MS	<i>quae</i> (.i. ****) <i>quidem</i> né innurús officio <i>sine</i> blancae (.i. ménútaul) libra (.i. cíthrémmét) apparere dignata <i>est</i> ;
Willis	<i>quae</i> quidem ne in nurus officio sine bilance libra apparere dignata est. ²⁸³
Stahl	‘she did not think it right to appear without her pair of scales even in honor [sic] of her daughter-in-law.’ ²⁸⁴
Context	Maia, Mercury’s mother, approaches Philologia.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	<i>adulationis mensura</i>

83) fo.12va42 **.i. cíthrémmét** gl. libra [§180]

Scribe	W1
<u>libra</u>	Noun, abl. sg., ‘scales’; <i>libra</i> .
<i>cithremmet</i>	Adjective, ‘even, exact’; MW <i>cythrymhet</i> .
MS	See previous gloss.
Willis	“.
Stahl	“.
Context	“.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	Unglossed.

84) fo.12vb11 **.i. póppútu** gl. ambifarium [§181]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	Marginal gloss, written beside the glossed Latin word. There is plenty of space for accents over this gloss. It is noteworthy that accents appear on all consonants and on none of the vowels.
<u>ambifarium</u>	Adjective, acc. sg., ‘two-sided, ambiguous’; <i>ambifarius</i> .
<i>popptu</i>	Noun, ‘every side’; MW <i>pobtu</i> , or MW <i>pob</i> ‘each’ and <i>tu</i> ‘side’. Falileyev raises the question of whether it is a compound, or whether <i>popp</i> and <i>tu</i> are to be read as separate words. ²⁸⁵ Stokes ²⁸⁶ and the GPC treat it as a compound, whereas Loth did not include it as a separate item. ²⁸⁷ The fact that it is written continuously in the manuscript cannot clinch the matter as there are numerous examples of separate words

²⁸³ Willis 1983: 51.

²⁸⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 57.

²⁸⁵ Falileyev 2000: 132.

²⁸⁶ Stokes 1873: 401.

²⁸⁷ Loth 1884: 205 and 1884: 226.

being written as one, and single words being written apart. As the compound exists in MW, it seems impossible to decide the issue.

MS	<i>hoc in ea perhibetur intuita quod admodum pulchra; tamen an (.i. aduenit) thias (.i. dea auxiliatrix) draconibus circumflexa.. crebroque capillitio uulsa (.i. soluta) ambifarium (.i. infernorum superiorumque hoftarius com̄) (.i. þoppþtu) q̄ ni tal (.i. patent c̄ illa anth**) secum congressa (.i. confligens) (.i. philologia). mitificat (.i. philo)</i>
Willis	hoc in ea perhibetur intuita, quod admodum pulchra, tamen antias draconibus circumflexa crebroque capillitio vulsa, ambifariumque †nital secum congressa mitificat. ²⁸⁸
Stahl	‘she is said to have perceived in Venus that, fair though she was, she had her forelocks curled about with snakes and her thick hair flowing loosely; but she was mild on meeting her.’ ²⁸⁹
Context	Philologia ascends to Venus.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	<i>quia binis partibus fauet et superis et sedat inferis</i>

85) fo.13ra31 **.i. sích** gl. arentis [§192]

Scribe	W1
<u>arentis</u>	Adjective, gen. sg., ‘dry, parched’; <i>arens</i> .
<i>sich</i>	Adjective, ‘dry’; MW <i>sych</i> .
MS	attis (.i. atticus) pulcher item curui <i>et</i> puer almus aratri. hammon (.i. iouis) <i>et</i> arentis (.i. sích) lib ^{ies} (.i. affrica) ac biblius (.i. aegipti*s) adon.
Willis	Attis pulcher item, curvi et puer almus aratri, Hammon et arentis Libyes ac Byblius Adon. ²⁹⁰
Stahl	‘you are fair Attis, and the bountiful youth with the curved plough, and Hammon from parched Libya, and Phoenician Adonis.’ ²⁹¹
Context	Philologia praises the Sun in a fervent prayer.
Function	Direct translation.
Voss.	Unglossed.

²⁸⁸ Willis 1983: 51.

²⁸⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 57. Stahl reports the passage to be ‘extremely corrupt, and this translation is a paraphrase of what it seems to mean’.

²⁹⁰ Willis 1983: 53.

²⁹¹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 59.

86) fo.13ra44	.i. hépp philologia gl. noscere	[§193]
Scribe	W1	
<u>noscere</u>	Verb, infinitive, ‘to become aware of, learn, recognize’; <i>nosco</i> .	
<i>hepp</i>	Defective verb, ‘says/said’; MW <i>heb</i> .	
<u>philologia</u>	Proper name, nom. sg.; <i>Philologia</i> .	
MS	da pater aetherios mentis conscendere coetús. astrigerumque sacro subnomine (.i. tuo) noscere (.i. hépp philologia) caelum;	
Willis	da, pater, aetherios superum conscendere coetus astrigerumque sacro sub nomine noscere caelum. ²⁹²	
Stahl	‘Father of Mind, allow us to rise to the heavenly assemblies and come to know the starry sky in the power of your sacred name.’ ²⁹³	
Context	Philologia finishes her prayer.	
Function	Elucidation of the main text.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	
87) fo.13rb17	.i. íssguír gl. uerum	[§196]
Scribe	W1	
<u>uerum</u>	Adverb, ‘truly’.	
<i>iss</i>	Verb, indic. pres. 3sg., ‘is’; MW <i>ys</i> .	
<i>guir</i>	Adjective, ‘true’. The Welsh construction is similar to that found in glosses 67) and 69), where the vernacular copula is added to a Latin predicative phrase that lacks a copula. In this gloss, the focus seems to be lexical. The Welsh explains that <i>uerum</i> here means ‘truly’ and does not serve as a conjunction, ‘but’.	
MS	uerum (.i. íssguír) ibi (.i. esse) sidus iouis.. nam ipse (.i. iouis) totius mundi mebra conlustrans. addeorum dicebatur imperium etsenatum caelitem commeasse;	
Willis	verum ibi sidus Iovis, nam ipse totius mundi membra collustrans ad deorum dicebatur imperium et senatum caelitem commeasse. ²⁹⁴	
Stahl	‘That was truly Jove’s planet; he himself was said to have gone to the celestial senate and the rule of the gods, lighting up all the quarters of the universe.’ ²⁹⁵	
Context	Philologia arrives at Jupiter, which was regarded as a pleasant and hospitable planet.	
Function	Elucidation of the main text.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	

²⁹² Willis 1983: 53.

²⁹³ Stahl1977, vol. 2: 59.

²⁹⁴ Willis 1983: 54.

²⁹⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 60.

88) fo.14ra41	.i. túsléstr gl. acerram	[§215]
Scribe	W1	
<u>acerram</u>	Noun, acc. sg., ‘incense box’; <i>acerra</i> .	
<i>tuslestr</i>	Noun, nom. sg., ‘incense box’ (?). See the discussion on gloss 47).	
MS	qua ingrediente (.i. <i>philologia</i>) ac uestae (.i. deae) deorum nutrici eidemque (.i. uestae) pedisequae (.i. comiti) acerram (.i. túsléstr) illam olocem (.i. fláirmáúr) aromatis refundente.	
Willis	qua ingrediente ac Vestae deum nutrici eidemque pedisequae acerram illam olacem aromatis refundente ²⁹⁶	
Stahl	‘As she entered and poured out that scented box of perfume upon Vesta, the nurse of the gods, and on Vesta’s servant’ ²⁹⁷	
Context	Philologia enters the assembly of the gods for to be married.	
Function	Direct translation.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	
89) fo.14ra41	.i. fláirmáúr gl. olocem	[§215]
Scribe	W1	
<u>olocem</u>	Adjective, acc. sg., ‘scented, smelling’; <i>olax</i> .	
<i>flairmaur</i>	Adjective, ‘greatly/strongly smelling’. It is a hapax. It was interpreted as such by Stokes and Loth. ²⁹⁸ They considered it to be a compound of the noun <i>flair</i> , MW <i>ffleir</i> , ‘smell, stink’ and <i>maur</i> , MW <i>mawr</i> , ‘big, great’. This is the most likely interpretation as it fits with the glossed Latin being an adjective. An alternative would be that it is not a compound, but a noun followed by an adjective, ‘great smell’. If that were the case, it would be one of the rare examples in these glosses of the noun-adjective word order that is common in MW. However, it seems more likely for a Latin adjective to be glossed by a Welsh adjective, than for it to be glossed by a Welsh noun modified by an adjective. Falileyev does not comment on the matter. ²⁹⁹	
MS	See previous gloss.	
Willis	“.	
Stahl	“.	
Context	“.	
Function	Expansion of the main text.	
Voss.	<i>olentem</i>	

²⁹⁶ Willis 1983: 57.

²⁹⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 63.

²⁹⁸ Stokes 1873: 402 and Loth 1884: 126.

²⁹⁹ Falileyev 2000: 58 and 110.

90) fo.14rb33	.i. pá tú pí n n á c c gl. <i>quocumque</i>	[§219]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	The final accent is written in between two letters.	
<u>quocumque</u>	Adverb, ‘in all directions, to wherever’.	
<i>patupinnacc</i>	Adverb, ‘whatever part’. It is a compound of relative <i>pa</i> , ‘which, what’, the noun <i>tu</i> , ‘side’ and <i>pinnacc</i> , ‘(who/what-)soever’, MW <i>bennac</i> , <i>bynnac</i> . ³⁰⁰	
MS	adhuc iugata (.i. continua) compa ^{ra} ret pagina. quocumque (.i. pá tú pí n n á c c) (.i. per longuata) ducta largiorem (.i. mágnum) circulum..	
Willis	adhuc iugata compararet pagina quocumque ducta largiorem circulum. ³⁰¹	
Stahl	‘page after page would make my story longer to cover every aspect.’ ³⁰²	
Context	Martianus Capella is speaking directly to the reader, announcing the end of the story of the marriage and with it the end of Book II, promising to focus solely on the Liberal Arts, rather than on the divine wedding, in the following. He shall break his promise forthwith.	
Function	Direct translation.	
Voss.	<i>i. in quacumque partem prolongata</i>	

³⁰⁰ Stokes 1873: 402, Loth 1884: 201-’02, Falileyev 2000: 126-’27 and 131 and 152, Schrijver 1998-2000: 149.

³⁰¹ Willis 1983: 57.

³⁰² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 63.

BOOK III: Grammar	-	§221-241 by hand A	(6 Welsh glosses)
	-	§241-250 by hand B	(1 Welsh? gloss)
	-	§250-256 by hand C	
	-	§256-261 by hand D	
	-	§261-274 by hand B	
	-	§275-326 by the English scribe	

91) fo.14va32 **.i. heppmarciane** gl. uicit [§222]

Scribe W1

Pal. note There is space for accents over this gloss.

uicit Verb, indic. perf. 3sg., ‘to beat, to get the better of’; *vinco*.

hepp Defective verb, ‘says/said’; MW *heb*.

marciane Proper name, voc. sg., ‘Martianus’. This is the only one of three *hepp marcia(ne)* glosses in which the name is written in its entirety, the other two (glosses 117) and 119)) abbreviating the name to *marciā*. Therefore, this is the only of the three for which we are certain of the case ending.

The name is written in a non-classical way, <c> before a front vowel having become identical in pronunciation to <ti>. Remarkably, the name is written in what has every appearance of being the classical vocative case, which ended in *-e*. It goes without saying that this case was never intended to mark the subject of a verb. And yet, that is exactly what it does in this gloss.

It is the more remarkable, for the glossator otherwise demonstrates a good command of the classical case system. In his vernacular glosses, he often preposes Welsh prepositions and the less well-understood *nou* specifically to reflect Latin cases found in the main text and he sometimes, though not always, uses the dative case for Latin names after the Welsh preposition *di* in his bilingual glosses. The first demonstrates his comprehension of the Latin case system, the latter his active command of at least part - and more likely most, or indeed all - of it. Moreover, his very ability to read a text as notorious for the difficulty of its Latin as Martianus Capella’s implies a solid understanding of classical Latin grammar.

It is therefore surprising to see him use the vocative in this manner. One might think it a mistake, but such judgements must not be rendered lightly. It is important to consider that Schrijver, in discussing the usage of the nominative case ending for the genitive and vice versa in the Early Christian, Latin inscriptions of Britain (c. 500-1200 AD), predicts a scenario whereby the vocative merged into the nominative during the general collapse of the case system and the loss of most phonemic

distinctions in the final syllables of late spoken British Latin.³⁰³ Emphasis must be placed on *merged*, as it allows for the survival of the vocative case endings in a new, more general function. This can easily be envisaged for personal names, as the form of address, the vocative, must have been frequently used in spoken Latin. It is therefore reasonable to assume the possibility that the vocative case ending of personal names might well have replaced the original nominative ending as the new nominative, or general, case marker in late spoken British Latin. This scenario is supported by some of the inscriptions.³⁰⁴

Moreover, it would offer an explanation to this *hepp marciane* gloss. If the vocative, especially that of personal names, were retained as a new nominative, or general case marker, in British Latin, it would not be unexpected to find *marciane* being used for classical *Martianus*. However, if it is true, this does have important implications. For British Latin is not Medieval Latin as spoken by the Welsh, it is rather the early Romance language that developed out of the classical Latin spoken by the Romano-British; a British counterpart to French, which developed out of the Latin spoken by the Gallo-Romans. And this language has been considered to have died out at least by the early ninth century and possibly a long time before.³⁰⁵ The proponents of an early death of British Latin and its complete, traceless replacement by Vulgar, learned Latin from the continent in ecclesiastical contexts argue that the confusion of the case system in the inscriptions is evidence of the mistakes made by non-native speakers who have an incomplete grasp of the language. They might wish to argue the same for a gloss such as this one. However, as was demonstrated, it is unlikely for this glossator to have an incomplete understanding of the classical case system.

Schrijver believes that the inscriptions are best explained as evidence of a living, rather than a dead language.³⁰⁶ I would say that the same reasoning applies to this gloss. Rather than having made a learner's mistake, the use of the vocative for the nominative appears to be a valuable trace of the glossator's spoken Latin. This may seem an extravagant claim to base on a single gloss, but it is worth noting that amidst a wealth of Latin glosses that were simply copied from continental exemplars, these bilingual glosses must have been added in Wales and thus reflect the glossator's own Latin. Therefore, I am inclined to take it seriously. And as such it seems to me that at

³⁰³ Schrijver 2014: 34-48.

³⁰⁴ Schrijver 2014: 34-48.

³⁰⁵ Jackson 1953: 120-121: 'Latin became the language of the church alone, and even there it ceased to be a truly living language, and declined into a dead tongue taught and practised in monastic schools. We may assume this from the fact that at least as far back as the beginning of the ninth century, the monkish scribes or owners of Latin manuscripts felt it necessary to gloss many words, often quite simple ones, in their native Welsh.' See also Charles-Edwards 2013: 114-115, who proposes an even earlier extinction of British Latin.

³⁰⁶ Schrijver 2014: 34-48.

least one feature of Late British Latin survived into the Latin of a bilingual, Welsh glossator of the second half of the ninth century.

It is difficult to envisage how this could be the case if British Latin had perished some century or more before the time of this glossator. One would then have to embrace a scenario whereby the British Latin Romance ‘dialect’ left traces such as these in the non-native, learned Latin of the Britons long after the disappearance of the last native speakers of British Latin. Given that dying languages are generally viewed as having a low prestige by the communities in which they are spoken, it seems unlikely that features of this dying language would have been adopted by the speakers of Welsh as they learned to speak ecclesiastical Latin. If the proposed interpretation of this gloss is correct, it seems far more likely that native speakers of British Latin were still actively involved in the Latin speaking community of late, ninth-century Wales.

MS	his mé camena uicit (.i. heppmarciane)..
Willis	his me Camena uicit. ³⁰⁷
Stahl	‘With these words the Muse got the better of me:’ ³⁰⁸
Context	The Muse convinces Martianus to allow the allegory to continue whilst treating the Liberal Arts.
Function	Elucidation of the main text.
Voss.	Unglossed, but on the line below it: <i>VERBA MARTIANI</i>

92) fo.14vb04 .i. cás(ul) h´e´t(icc) gl. penulata [§223]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss, written beside the glossed Latin word. The gloss is largely unreadable on the microfilm, due to the tightness of the binding. There may well be more accents over the unread parts. The last two accents which are transcribed above are difficult to assign to a particular letter for the same reason.

penulata Noun, abl. sg., ‘orator’s or teacher’s cloak,³⁰⁹ travelling cloak’; *paenula*.

casulhetticc Verbal adjective, ‘cloaked, wearing a chasuble’. It is a hapax. As it contains the verbal, derivative suffix *-h(a)-* it must be derived from an unattested verb derived from *casul*, ‘chasuble, cloak’, from the Latin *casula*.³¹⁰ Falileyev and the GPC interpret it as meaning ‘wearing a chasuble’, staying close to the Latin and the main Middle and

³⁰⁷ Willis 1983: 59.

³⁰⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 64.

³⁰⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 65.

³¹⁰ Stokes 1873: 402.

Modern Welsh meaning of the word *casul*.³¹¹ Stokes, Loth and Schrijver prefer to read it as simply meaning ‘cloaked’.³¹²

MS	<i>tamen s̄ritu romuleo propter latiare (.i. italiċ) numenet ollium (.i. latinum **put) caput propterque martiam gentem uenerisque propaginem senatum (.i. sicut romani penulis ita ġa pallis utebantur) deum ingressa est penulata (.i. cás(ul) h̄’e’t(icc));</i>
Willis	tamen ritu Romuleo propter Latiare numen et Oli caput propterque Martiam gentem Vernerisque propaginem senatum deum ingressa est paenulata. ³¹³
Stahl	‘but because of the Latin gods and the Capitol and the race of Mars and the descendants of Venus, according to the custom of Romulus she entered the senate of the gods dressed in a Roman cloak.’ ³¹⁴
Context	Grammar takes the stage.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	<i>penula species est vestimenti. que utebantur nobilissimi romanorum. pallium vero nobilissimi grecorum unius speciei sunt penula quae et lacerna dicitur et pallium. sed non unius qualitatis.</i>

93) fo.14vb06 **.i. lócell uel fó(nn)** gl. ferculum [§223]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The second half of the final word of the gloss can’t be read due to the tightness of the binding.

Unlike the following gloss (*.i. cors uel pennas*), this gloss was listed as consisting of two separate glosses by Lemmen.³¹⁵ However, there is no palaeographical difference between the use of *uel* in this gloss as opposed to its use in gloss 94). As such, *.i. locell uel fonn* gl. ferculum has been considered a single gloss in this edition, as was also done by Falileyev.³¹⁶

ferculum Noun, acc. sg., ‘box, litter, tray’; *ferculum*.

locell Noun, sg., ‘box, litter’; MW *llogell*. It is a loanword from Latin *locellus*. Loth considered the word to be somewhat obscure and gave the meaning under the entry *fonn* rather than under *locell*,³¹⁷ but this seems to have been due to the uncertainty of *fonn* rather than that of *locell*, which is a fine gloss on *ferculum*.

³¹¹ Falileyev 2000: 23.

³¹² Stokes 1873: 402, Loth 1884: 65-66, Schrijver 1998-2000: 149.

³¹³ Willis 1983: 60.

³¹⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 65.

³¹⁵ Lemmen 2006: 37-38.

³¹⁶ Falileyev 2000: 106.

³¹⁷ Loth 1884: 127 and 177.

<u>uel</u>	Conjunction, ‘or’. A tyronian note is used to express this word and it may equally well have been meant to express the Welsh conjunction <i>nou</i> , MW <i>neu</i> , ‘or’.
<i>fonn</i>	Uncertain, sg. (?). Stokes considered it to be the singular of <i>finn</i> , ‘sticks, rods’, MW <i>fynn</i> , sg. <i>fonn</i> , attested in gloss 99). ³¹⁸ Loth and Falileyev both argue against this interpretation as it seems semantically unlikely. ³¹⁹ However, this need not necessarily be the case. <i>Ferculum</i> , according to Lewis and Short, means ‘that on which any thing is carried <i>or borne</i> ’ and this is defined as being ‘a frame, a barrow, litter, bier <i>for carrying the spoils, the images of the gods, etc. in public processions</i> ’. ³²⁰ <i>Fonn</i> , ‘stick, rod’, might then reflect the image of a frame, litter or bier, which was the main meaning of <i>ferculum</i> , although, admittedly, a plural would have been preferred. One could perhaps argue that the singular reflects the glossed Latin noun, rather than the semantics. <i>Locell</i> , ‘box’, would then reflect the specific meaning of the Latin in the main text.
MS	gestabat * <i>haec</i> (.i. <i>grammatica</i>) teres quoddam ex compactis (.i. <i>coniunctis</i>) adnexionibus (.i. <i>ligaturis</i>) (.i. <i>lócéll uel fó(nn)</i>)
Willis	gestabat haec autem teres quoddam ex compactis annexionibus <i>ferculum</i> , ³²¹
Stahl	‘She carried in her hands a polished box, a fine piece of cabinetmaking,’ ³²²
Context	Grammar carries a box of attributes.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	<i>mensa. enchiridion i. manuale i. capsam {sic}</i>

94) fo.14vb17 **.i. córs uel pennas** gl. *percannulas* [§224]

Scribe W1

(per)cannulas Noun, acc. pl., ‘reed’; *cannula*. Preposed is the preposition *per*, ‘through’; it takes the accusative.

cors Noun, coll., ‘reeds, canes’; MW *cors*.

uel Conjunction, ‘or’. A tyronian note is used to express this word and it may equally well have been meant to express the Welsh conjunction *nou*, MW *neu*, ‘or’.

pennas Noun, acc. pl., ‘pen’; *penna*.

MS *dehincque* (.i. *) *nigello quodam puluere qui ex fauilla confectus uel sepia* (.i. *cortice*)
putaretur illato percannulas (**.i. córs uel pennas**) *eadem* (.i. *uitia*) *resanari*;

³¹⁸ Stokes 1873: 403.

³¹⁹ Loth 1884: 127 and Falileyev 2000: 58.

³²⁰ Lewis and Short 1879: 735.

³²¹ Willis 1983: 60.

³²² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 65.

Willis	dehinque nigello quodam pulvere, qui ex favilla confectus vel sepia putaretur, illato per cannulas eadem resanari. ³²³
Stahl	‘then they could be restored to health with a certain black powder carried through reeds, a powder which was thought to be made of ash or the ink of cuttlefish.’ ³²⁴
Context	Grammar opens her box.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	(gloss on <i>illato per cannulas</i>) <i>insufflato</i>

95) fo.14vb33 **.i. pípennú** gl. *arterias* [§225]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	There is relatively little space over the <e>, when compared to that available over the other vowels.
<u>arterias</u>	Noun, acc. pl., ‘windpipe, artery’; <i>arteria</i> . It is a Greek loanword from <i>αρτηρια</i> , ‘windpipe’.
<i>pipennou</i>	Noun, pl., ‘vessels, ducts’, MW <i>piben</i> .
MS	<i>arterias (.i. pípennú) etiam pectusque cuiusdam medicaminis adhibitione purgabat</i>
Willis	<i>arterias etiam pectusque cuiusdam medicaminis adhibitione purgabat</i> ³²⁵
Stahl	‘She also cleaned the windpipes and the lungs by the application of a medicine’ ³²⁶
Context	Grammar continues taking out the contents of her box.
Function	Translation into Old Welsh.
Voss.	(gloss on <i>arterias etiam</i>) <i>occipat a pectore usque ad guttur</i>

96) fo.15va09 **.i. íssímí** gl. *litteratura ipsa (quae)* [§231]

Scribe	W1
<u>ipsa</u>	Reflexive pronoun, nom. sg. f., ‘self’.
<u>quae</u>	Relative pronoun, nom. sg., ‘who’. The gloss extends over this word and Lemmen considered it to be part of what was glossed. ³²⁷ Stokes and Loth do not include it. ³²⁸
<i>iss</i>	Verb, indic. pres. 3sg., ‘is’; MW <i>ys</i> .
<i>i</i>	Pers. pron., 3sg. f.; MW <i>hi</i> .
<i>mi</i>	Pers. pron., 1sg.; MW <i>mi</i> . The entire gloss reads ‘I am she’, written in the typically Welsh fashion in which the predicate precedes the subject.

³²³ Willis 1983: 60.

³²⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 65.

³²⁵ Willis 1983: 60.

³²⁶ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 66.

³²⁷ Lemmen 2006: 38.

³²⁸ Stokes 1873: 403 and Loth 1884: 158.

One is strongly reminded of glosses 67) and 69), where the Welsh gloss added the copula to a Latin predicative phrase without a copula. There also appears a Latin gloss, *sum*, which serves the same purpose.

MS	partes autem meae sunt quattuor litterae litteratura litteratus litterate; litterate sunt quas doceo.. litteratura (.i. sum) ipsa (.i. i. íssími) quae doceo.. litteratus quem docuero - litterate quod perite tractauerit quem informo;.
Willis	Partes autem meae sunt quattuor: litterae, litteratura, litteratus, litterate. litterae sunt, quas doceo; litteratura ipsa, quae doceo; litteratus, quem docuero, litterate, quod perite tractaverit quem informo. ³²⁹
Stahl	‘I have four parts: letters, literature, the man of letters, and literary style. Letters are what I teach, literature is I who teach, the man of letters is the person whom I have taught, and literary style is the skill of a person whom I form.’ ³³⁰
Context	Grammar defines herself.
Function	Elucidation of the main text. Grammatical gloss: copula.
Voss.	Unglossed.

97) fo.16va27 **i. bescc** gl. femur feminis [§244]

Scribe W5/B

Pal. note This gloss appears to have been written by main text hand B, the scribe of the folium. It is rare for glosses on his part of the text to be introduced by the *id est* abbreviation. When it does appear, it generally takes the form transcribed above <i.>, rather than the more usual <.i.>. The want of glosses - if it be a vernacular gloss - could be explained as being for want of space.

femur Noun, nom. sg., ‘thigh’; *femur*.

feminis Noun, gen. sg., ‘thigh’. As Lemmen noted, this is the archaic genitive of *femur*, which would later be replaced by *femoris*.³³¹ It is identical in form to *feminis*, the gen. sg. and abl. pl. of *femina*.

bescc Noun (substantivized adjective), ‘thigh, thick part of the leg’ (?). It was discovered by Lemmen, who argued that its *-cc* ending was a clear indication of it not being Latin and who discussed it at length.³³² It is not marked by accents, but accents are equally lacking over the Latin in the writings of B, so this is unlikely to be of consequence to the proper identification of this gloss.

³²⁹ Willis 1983: 62.

³³⁰ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 68.

³³¹ Lemmen 2006: 30.

³³² Lemmen 2006: 30.

Schrijver informs me that he was told by native speakers of Welsh that the Modern (and Middle) Welsh word *breisc*, *braisg*, ‘thick’, is often used to describe the ‘thick part of the leg’, i.e. the ‘thigh’.³³³ Obviously, *besc* lacks the *-r-* of *breisc*, *braisg*. However, the glossed main text concerns itself with the conversion and disappearance of the letter *-r* in Latin words. It seems at least possible that this inspired the glossator to leave out the *-r-* in the Welsh when he added a lexical gloss on the word. The spelling of *-e-* for *-ei-* is common in these glosses. It is a credible match for an otherwise obscure gloss.

MS	<i>conuertitur</i> in .l. et n. et s. vt niger nigellus femur feminis (i. besc) gero gesi;
Willis	<i>convertitur</i> in <i>l</i> et <i>n</i> et <i>s</i> , ut <i>niger nigellus</i> , <i>femur feminis</i> , <i>gero gessi</i> . ³³⁴
Stahl	‘It is converted into <i>l</i> and <i>n</i> and <i>s</i> , as <i>niger</i> into <i>nigellus</i> , <i>femur</i> into <i>feminis</i> , <i>gero</i> into <i>gessi</i> .’ ³³⁵
Context	Grammar discusses examples where consonants may ‘be lost’. In this case, the <i>-r</i> of <i>femur</i> is ‘lost’ when it is in the genitive case and the ending changes to <i>-nis</i> .
Function	Expansion of the main text (?).
Voss.	Unglossed.

³³³ Schrijver, personal communication.

³³⁴ Willis 1983: 66.

³³⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 72.

98) fo.29vb37 **b^u/a^ge^r/n^e** gl. *quid facere*

[§340]

Scribe W6

Pal. note Described by Lemmen as being ‘unusually carelessly written’,³³⁷ its aspect is very different from that of any of the previous hands. It lacks both accents and the introductory *id est* abbreviation. The lack of accents could be for want of space. It was written by a different glossator than is found in all other (vernacular) glosses. The *r* or *n* is written without a long descender and Lemmen’s reasoning that it ‘seems more like an *-n-*’ is sound.³³⁸ The first vowel resembles a *u*, but given that the gloss was written by an unknown hand it could also be an open-*a*.

Glosses are rare on this folium, but Lemmen’s statement that ‘it is the only gloss in the entire second column’³³⁹ is invalidated by the appearance of a second gloss, *secunda*, a few lines below it. This latter, Latin gloss is written by a different hand, which closely resembles and is perhaps identical to that of W1, employs a tall-s and lacks the introductory *id est* introduction.

quid Interrogative pron., acc. sg. n., ‘what?’; *quis*.

facere Verb, infin., ‘to do’; *facio*.

b^u/a^ge^r/n^e Uncertain. It was also discovered by Lemmen, who considered the possibility that *-ere* might reflect a Latin infinitive.³⁴⁰ It lacks a Latin, or Welsh interpretation. Given the exceptional difficulty of its identification, one might consider the exceptional possibility of a Welsh stem being concluded with the aforementioned Latin verbal ending *-ere*. However, even if this reading of *-ere* for what seems more akin to *-ene* is correct, there appear to be no fitting Welsh stems that approach the desired semantics.

MS *quae ergo rebus uerba sua sint. quae aliena. et quot modis aliena sint; quid sint .x. cathogoriae. quid sit substantia. quid qualitas. quid quantitas. quid relatiuum. quid loci. quid temporis. quid situs. quid habitus. quid facere (b^u/a^ge^r/n^e). quid pati. quae sibi opposita. et quot modis sibi opponuntur; haec in prima nostri parte censentur;*

Willis *quae ergo rebus uerba sua sint, quae aliena et quot modis aliena sint, quid sit substantia, quid qualitas, quid quantitas, quid relatiuum, quid loci, quid temporis, quid*

³³⁶ It allows room for the *figura* that is typically found around this point in manuscripts of the text to be added.

³³⁷ Lemmen 2006: 31.

³³⁸ Lemmen 2006: 31.

³³⁹ Lemmen 2006: 31.

³⁴⁰ Lemmen 2006: 31.

situs, quid habitus, quid facere, quid pati, quae sibi opposita et quot modis sibi opponantur, haec in prima nostri parte cesentur³⁴¹

Stahl ‘The first part of my discipline considers the proper sense of words, the transferred senses of words, and the number of ways the sense can be transferred; it considers also substance, quality, quantity, relation, place, time, attitude, state, activity, passivity, opposition and how many modes of opposition there are.’³⁴²

Context Dialectic describes the proper divisions of her art.

Function Uncertain.

Voss. Unglossed.

³⁴¹ Willis 1983: 111.

³⁴² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 111.

99) fo.38ra25	.i. fínn gl. pil a	[§441]
Scribe	W1	
<u>pila</u>	Noun, acc. pl., ‘pilum, throwing spear’.	
<i>fínn</i>	Noun, pl., ‘sticks, rods’; MW <i>fynn</i> , sg. <i>fonn</i> . If Stokes is correct, it is the plural of the form found in the singular in gloss 93). ³⁴³	
MS	incausís mihi elatius (.i. <i>serbius</i>) anhelantiam (.i. lasitudinem) mentatas (.i. falsas) hastas crebro <i>et</i> pil a (.i. fínn) plurimum ualentia ministrarit;	
Willis	in causis mihi elatius anhelanti amentatas hastas crebro et pila plurimum valentia ministrarit. ³⁴⁴	
Stahl	‘would have often furnished me with sturdy javelins and far-ranging spears in the more exalted parts of my lawsuits.’ ³⁴⁵	
Context	Rhetorica is beginning her exposition of the parts of a speech.	
Function	Expansion of the main text.	
Voss.	{h}asta romana	

100) fo.38va46	.i. scríbénn gl. scriptura	[§449]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	There is very little space for placing an accent over the <i>.	
<u>scriptura</u>	Noun, nom. sg., ‘writing, text’; <i>scriptura</i> .	
<i>scribenn</i>	Noun, sg., ‘writ, writing, text’; MW (<i>y</i>) <i>sgrifen</i> . It also occurs in gloss 102). It likely has the specific meaning of ‘writ’, ‘legal document’ in both glosses.	
MS	<i>cum</i> lex ulla <i>uel</i> scriptura (.i. scríbénn) <i>incausa</i> tractatur	
Willis	<i>cum</i> lex ulla <i>vel</i> scriptura <i>in causa</i> tractatur ³⁴⁶	
Stahl	‘when some law or writing is cited in a case’ ³⁴⁷	
Context	Rhetorica discusses the way one ought to word an accusation in court.	
Function	Direct translation.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	

³⁴³ Stokes 1873: 403.

³⁴⁴ Willis 1983: 152.

³⁴⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 161.

³⁴⁶ Willis 1983: 156.

³⁴⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 166.

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	Marginal gloss. It is linked to the main text by means of a <i>signe de renvoi</i> (•~).
<u>in</u>	Preposition, ‘in, into’, it takes either the ablative, or the accusative; <i>in</i> .
<u>uenando</u>	Gerundium, abl. sg., ‘(the) hunt’; <i>venor</i> .
<i>in</i>	Verbal particle, introduces the periphrastic construction, MW <i>yn</i> . Stokes and Falileyev ³⁴⁸ consider it to be the preposition <i>in</i> , MW <i>yn</i> that is also found in glosses 32) and 38). Stokes in particular considers it to be a reflection in the vernacular of the Latin ablative, introduced by Latin <i>in</i> . It seems better to see interpret it as the verbal particle that forms the periphrastic construction commonly found in MW, although there is no way to be certain.
<i>helcha</i>	Verbal noun, ‘to hunt’, MW <i>hel(y)a</i> . Jackson considered this to be an example of the development of *-lg- into MW -(y)- by means of a series of intermediate stages. ³⁴⁹ He further proposes that its devoicing from -g- to -ch- in this gloss is caused by the -ha suffix. Another gloss, cited by Jackson and found on Ovid., <i>helgha ti</i> gl. venare, with the same suffix would - according to him - show an example in which this devoicing had not occurred. ³⁵⁰ It seems equally possible that this is an example of divergent orthography for what at this stage was already an historic rather than a phonemically accurate spelling.
MS	<i>cum</i> quidam inuenando (.i. ínhélchá) iaculum intorsit (.i. *s) inbeluam <i>et</i> hominem delitescentem retibus interemit;
Willis	ut qui[dam] in venando iaculum intorsit in beluam et hominem delitescentem retibus interemit ³⁵¹
Stahl	““A man hunting throws his javelin at a beast and kills a man hiding under the hunting nets.”” ³⁵²
Context	Rhetorica discusses various aspects of pleading a case.
Function	Direct translation.
Voss.	Unglossed.

³⁴⁸ Stokes 1873: 403 and Falileyev 2000: 91-92.

³⁴⁹ Jackson 1953: 466-469.

³⁵⁰ Jackson 1953: 467.

³⁵¹ Willis 1983: 159.

³⁵² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 170.

102) fo.39va15 **.i. scríbénn** gl. scriptura [§462]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	Unlike in gloss 100), the placement of the accent over the <i>r</i> rather than over the <i>i</i> does not seem to be for want of space.
<u>scriptura</u>	Noun, nom. sg., ‘writing, text’; <i>scriptura</i> .
<i>scribenn</i>	Noun, sg., ‘writing, text’, MW (<i>y</i>) <i>sgrifen</i> . It also occurs in gloss 100).
MS	sí adprobationes scriptura (.i. scríbénn)
Willis	si ad probationes scriptura profertur. ³⁵³
Stahl	‘if a document is brought as proof’ ³⁵⁴
Context	Various ways to argue a case involving legal judgements on documents are discussed.
Function	Direct translation.
Voss.	Unglossed.

103) fo.39va54 **.i. gébín** gl. culleo [§465]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	Marginal gloss. Linked to the main text by means of a <i>signe de renvoi</i> (•~).
<u>culleo</u>	Noun, abl. sg., ‘leather sack’; <i>culleus</i> . It is a loanword from Greek κολεος, ‘sheath’.
<i>gebin</i>	Noun, sg., ‘chain, shackle, fetter’(?), MW <i>gefyn</i> . Stokes considered it to be ‘a mistake of the glossographer’ as its meaning cannot be ‘a leathern [sic] sack’. ³⁵⁵ Loth briefly mentions the same issue. ³⁵⁶ Falileyev does not discuss the discrepancy. ³⁵⁷ It is an ill-fitting gloss. It may well be that the glossator did not understand the practice of execution by means of sewing up in a sack, as it is not explained in the text.
MS	ásimili ita ut <i>quia</i> patris interfector culleo (.i. gébín) insuitur. <i>haec</i> poena manere debeat matricidam;.
Willis	a simula ita ut, quia partris interfector culleo insuitur, haec poena manere debeat matricidam. ³⁵⁸
Stahl	‘From similarity: for instance, since the penalty for parricide is to be sewn up in a sack, then this ought to be the penalty for matricide.’ ³⁵⁹
Context	The discussion on legal judgements drawn from documents continues.
Function	Expansion of the main text.

³⁵³ Willis 1983: 161.

³⁵⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 172.

³⁵⁵ Stokes 1873: 404.

³⁵⁶ Loth 1884: 129.

³⁵⁷ Falileyev 2000: 60.

³⁵⁸ Willis 1983: 162.

³⁵⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 173.

Voss. *culleum sacculum taurinum in quo rei cum serpente et simia pulloque iure in mare proiciebantur*

104) fo.40rb15 **.i. dīléin** gl. (sub)aboli tione [§470]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. Linked to the main text by means of a *signe de renvoi* (•~). The accent over the <e> is very faint, but I think it better to transcribe than to leave it out.

(sub) Preposition, ‘under’; it takes the ablative, or the accusative.

abolitione Noun, abl. sg., ‘abolition, ceasing’; *abolitio*.

dilein Verbal noun, ‘to abolish, destroy, delete, erase’.

MS *tirannus qui subaboli tione (.i. dīléin) tirannidem possuerat. for titer fecit;*

Willis ‘tyrannus, qui sub abolitione tyrannidem posuerat, fortiter fecit.’³⁶⁰

Stahl ‘A tyrant who had moved to abolish his tyranny has performed valiantly’³⁶¹

Context Sample cases are discussed by Rhetorica.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. (gloss on *sub alitione*) *sub quadam oblivione vel simulatione*

105) fo.40rb56 **.i. doctrin** gl. astructio [§473]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The aspect of this gloss strikes me as being slightly different from what I have termed W1, but the ink is particularly faded in this part of the folium and this most likely accounts for the perceptual difference. The lack of accents is unlikely to be entirely for want of space.

astructio Noun, nom. sg., ‘an accumulation of proof, a putting together, composition’; *a(d)structio*.

doctrin Noun, sg., ‘instruction, teaching’. It is a hapax. It is considered by Stokes and Loth to be a Latin loanword from *doctrina*.³⁶² Falileyev is doubtful. He cites MW *doeth* ‘wise’ < Lat. *doctus*, implying that one might expect *doctrin* to be rather closer to *doeth* if it were Welsh. He concludes that ‘this could be Latin.’³⁶³ If it were Latin, however, one would have expected an abbreviation mark to appear over it to account for the absence of the inflectional ending. As unaccented Welsh glosses - although they are rare - do occur, it is more likely to be Welsh.

³⁶⁰ Willis 1983: 165.

³⁶¹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 177.

³⁶² Stokes 1873: 404 and Loth 1884: 108.

³⁶³ Falileyev 2000: 49.

MS	<i>quamuis diluendis quaestionibus obiciendisque criminibus. non dissimilis operetur astructio (.i. doctrin);</i>
Willis	<i>quamvis diluendis quaestionibus obiciendisque criminibus non dissimilis operetur astructio.</i> ³⁶⁴
Stahl	‘although by resolving questions and putting forward accusations the argumentative section of a speech works in much the same way.’ ³⁶⁵
Context	Rhetorica begins discussing the nature of arguments.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	Unglossed.

106) fo.41ra32 **.i. fónná úl dí frít** gl. *fustuarium* [§488]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss, written beside the glossed main text word. It is split over three lines and the glossator has taken care to accentuate each part of it.

Stokes briefly mentioned the possibility that the gloss might be intended to appear over *quid*, as while ‘the gloss is written against *-tuarium*’ a *signe de renvoi* (•~) appears over *quid*.³⁶⁶ However, in the other margin of the column, to the right, the gloss *.i. menuerunt* appears, over which the very same *signe de renvoi* is written. The latter is the gloss that is linked to *quid*. The Welsh gloss is certain to be on *fustuarium*.

fustuarium Noun, acc. sg., ‘a cudgeling to death’; *fustuarium*.

fonnaul Adjective, ‘pertaining to a stick or spear’. It is a hapax.³⁶⁷ It is derived by means of the adjectival suffix *-aul*, MW *-awl/-ol*, from *fonn*, ‘stick’, which also appears as such in gloss 93) and in its plural form *finn* in gloss 99).³⁶⁸

difrit Noun, sg., ‘a beating’. It is a hapax. Stokes considered it, on the suggestion of Rhys, to be connected to MoW *dedfryd*, ‘a sentence, verdict’.³⁶⁹ Loth gives it the meaning of ‘series’ or ‘beating (by means of a cudgel)’, comparing *di* to Irish *do* and *frit* to Irish *sreth*, ‘act of strewing/spreading out, series’.³⁷⁰ Falileyev analyses it as a compound formed of the prefix *di-* and the stem found in verbs such as MoW *ffrydiaf*, ‘to shake, brandish, wave’, *cyffrydiaf*, ‘to brandish, shake, stir’ and *deffrydiaf*, ‘to disturb, trouble, disquiet’.³⁷¹ It seems unlikely for the *-d-* of Stokes’ *dedfryd* to have been lost in *difrit* and Loth’s and Falileyev’s suggestions are preferable.

³⁶⁴ Willis 1983: 166.

³⁶⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 178.

³⁶⁶ Stokes 1873: 404.

³⁶⁷ Falileyev 2000: 58.

³⁶⁸ Stokes 1873: 404 and Loth 1884: 127.

³⁶⁹ Stokes 1873: 404.

³⁷⁰ Loth 1884: 101-102.

³⁷¹ Falileyev 2000: 45.

The adjective precedes the noun, evidently independent from the glossed Latin, which consists of the single noun *fustuarium*.

The gloss is similar to that found in the Vossianus manuscript, *fustibus cedi*, in which the element referring to the ‘cudgels’ also precedes the element that reflects the ‘beating’. It seems at least possible that this Latin gloss may have inspired the Welsh.

MS	cicero (.i. <i>dicit</i>).. sí ille consul fustuarium (.i. fónná úl dí frit) meruerit. legiones <i>quid</i> (.i. <i>menuerunt</i>) <i>quae</i> consulem reliquerunt;
Willis	Cicero: ‘si ille consul, fustuarium meruerunt legiones [quid] quae consulem reliquerunt.’ ³⁷²
Stahl	‘Cicero: ‘If as a consul he deserved the death penalty for desertion, what did the legions deserve which deserted him as consul?’ ³⁷³
Context	The ‘argument by contraries’ ³⁷⁴ is explained by Rhetorica.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	<i>fustibus cedi</i> (<i>fustis</i> and <i>caedo</i> , ‘to beat/kill with cudgels’)

107) fo.41va17 .i. **bíbid** gl. rei [§502]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. It is linked to the main text by means of a *signe de renvoi* (•~). The gloss is extremely faded and this is especially true for the first accent.

rei Noun, gen. sg., ‘case, thing’; *res*.

bibid Noun or adjective, ‘guilty, culpable’. It is a hapax in Welsh, but it has cognates in MBret *beuez* and O.Ir. *bibdu*, ‘one who is guilty, a criminal’.³⁷⁵ Stokes argues that the glossator has mistaken ‘*rei* the gen. sg. of *res* for *rei* the gen. sg. of *reus*’.³⁷⁶ *Reus* can be used as a substantive, meaning ‘the accused party’, or as an adjective, meaning ‘accused, guilty’.

Falileyev regards *bibid* as an adjective,³⁷⁷ but it could equally well have been used as a substantive.

Stokes may well be correct in regarding this as a mistaken reading by the glossator.

The main text proceeds to discuss examples of one’s regard for the various parties involved in a case swaying the audience, including regard for the accused party. It never mentions even a single example of ‘regard for a matter/thing’. In theory, however, one can also envisage the glossator consciously deciding to gloss the

³⁷² Willis 1983: 169.

³⁷³ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 182.

³⁷⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 182.

³⁷⁵ Stokes 1873: 404 and Falileyev 15; for the Irish see further Loth 1884: 53.

³⁷⁶ Stokes 1873: 404.

³⁷⁷ Falileyev 2000: 15.

meaning of the formally identical gen. of *reus* rather than that of the correct *res* in order to point out this formal similarity.

MS	Conciliantur igitur animi tum personae tum rei (.i. bíbíd) dignitate;
Willis	conciliantur igitur animi tum personae, tum rei dignitate ³⁷⁸
Stahl	‘They are conciliated by regard for either a person or a matter’ ³⁷⁹
Context	Rhetorica discusses various ways to influence one’s audience.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	(uncertain association) <i>Populo Romano</i> The main text mentions the Roman people a number of times in the proceeding.

108) fo.42ra32 **.i. ór dúbenetición ábálbróú ánnóu** gl. gurgulionibus exsectís [§509]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	The lack of accents over the second part of the second word cannot certainly be explained as being for want of space, although it is scarce.
<u>gurgulionibus</u>	Noun, abl. pl., ‘throat, wind-pipe’; <i>gurgulio</i> .
<u>exsectis</u>	Past participle, abl. pl., ‘cut out, cut open’; <i>exseco</i> .
<i>or</i>	Preposition ‘of, from, with, by’, MW <i>o</i> . Added to it is the contracted form of the definite article, MW <i>-r</i> .
<i>dubeneticion</i>	Verbal adjective, pl., ‘cut away’. It is a hapax. Stokes connected the root <i>ben-</i> to O.Ir. <i>benaid</i> , ‘to beat, to cut’. ³⁸⁰ Loth subscribed to this. ³⁸¹ Falileyev added that it is a cognate form of Welsh <i>difyn</i> , ‘fragment, piece’, and <i>dyfin-</i> , ‘to cut to pieces’. ³⁸² This is another example of the ADJ-NOUN word order, where Latin shows NOUN-ADJ word order.
<i>abalbrouannou</i>	Noun, pl., ‘Adam’s apples’. It is a hapax. It is a compound consisting of <i>abal</i> , MW <i>afal</i> , ‘apple’ and <i>brouannou</i> , the pl. of MW <i>br(e)uant</i> , ‘neck, throat’. ³⁸³
MS	cicero... ait gurgulionibus (.i. ór dúbenetición ábálbróú ánnóu) exsectís reliquerunt (i. homines)
Willis	Cicero... ait ‘gurgulionibus exsectis reliquerunt’ ³⁸⁴
Stahl	‘Cicero... says: ‘They left them with their gullets slit,’ ³⁸⁵
Context	Rhetorica discusses when it is proper to use either vulgar, or archaic words.
Function	Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: ablative.

³⁷⁸ Willis 1983: 172.

³⁷⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 185.

³⁸⁰ Stokes 1873: 404.

³⁸¹ Loth 1884: 114.

³⁸² Falileyev 2000: 51.

³⁸³ Stokes 1873: 404-405, Loth 1884: 29, Falileyev 2000: 2.

³⁸⁴ Willis 1983: 176.

³⁸⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 189.

Voss. (on *gurgulionibus*) *GURGULIONIBUS*
(on *exsectis*) *superbis relictis*

109) fo.42rb13 **.i. carrecc** gl. *carubdim* [§512]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The lack of accents is unlikely to be for want of space.

Pal. discussion Stokes' reading <carrecc> is correct and is to be preferred over Lemmen's reading <carrec>.

carubdim Noun, acc. sg., 'Charybdis, a female sea monster, a dangerous whirlpool between Italy and Sicily, opposite Scylla'; *Charybdis*. From the Greek *χαρυβδης*, 'whirlpool'.

carrecc Noun, sg., 'stone'; MW *carrec*. Its plural is found in gloss 132). The gloss demonstrates that the glossator was able to identify Charybdis with the cliffs with which she was associated in classical times. This association is, for example, demonstrated in Homeros' *Odyssey*, which contains the best-known, extensive passage on Scylla and Charybdis,³⁸⁶ and where both monsters are linked with the rocks underneath which they were said to live. Both are introduced by Circe by speaking of their dwelling places³⁸⁷ and the rocks, or cliffs are often mentioned in the proceeding.³⁸⁸ It would be unlikely for the glossator to have glossed *carubdim* with the fitting gloss 'stone' by chance, if he had been unfamiliar with this association.

MS nec longe petita debent esse translata. ut si dicas ~~labo~~^{luxu}riosam *carubdim* (**.i. carrecc**);

Willis nec longe petita debent esse translata, ut si dicas *luxuriosum* 'Charybdim'.³⁸⁹

Stahl 'Nor should the words be transferred from very distant areas, as if one were to say: 'exuberant Charybdis' (*luxuriosam Charybdim*).'³⁹⁰

Context Rhetorica discusses stretching the meaning of words, or using them in new contexts, such as saying that 'war suddenly flared up' (*bellum subito exarsit*), rather than that it 'came into existence' (*exstitit*).³⁹¹

³⁸⁶ Harvey 1937: 387.

³⁸⁷ Perseus Digital Library Project, *Odyssey*, Book XII, 73-75: οἱ δὲ δύο σκόπελοι ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸν εὐρὸν ἰκάνει ὄξειν κορυφῆν, νεφέλη δὲ μιν ἀμφιβέβηκε κυανέη: 'Now on the other path are two cliffs, one of which reaches with its sharp peak to the broad heaven, and a dark cloud surrounds it.' and Perseus Digital Library Project, *Odyssey*, Book XII, 101-104: τὸν δ' ἕτερον σκόπελον χαμαλώτερον ὄψει, Ὀδυσσεῦ. πλησίον ἀλλήλων: καὶ κεν διοϊστεύσειας. τῷ δ' ἐν ἐρινεὸς ἔστι μέγας, φύλλοισι τεθηλώς: τῷ δ' ὑπὸ δια Χάρυβδις ἀναρροιβδεῖ μέλαν ὕδωρ. 'But the other cliff, thou wilt note, Odysseus, is lower—they are close to each other; thou couldst even shoot an arrow across—and on it is a great fig tree with rich foliage, but beneath this divine Charybdis sucks down the black water.'

³⁸⁸ e.g. Perseus Digital Library Project, *Odyssey*, Book XII, 260-261: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πέτρας φύγομεν δεινὴν τε Χάρυβδιν Σκύλλην τ', 'Now when we had escaped the rocks, and dread Charybdis and Scylla.'

³⁸⁹ Willis 1983: 177.

³⁹⁰ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 190.

³⁹¹ Willis 1983: 177 and Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 190.

Function Expansion of the main text.
Voss. (gloss on *luxoriosam caribdim*) *longe est haec translatio vagabundam*

110) fo.42va29 **.i. máíl** gl. mutilum [§517]

Scribe W1

mutilum Adjective, acc. sg., ‘shortened, mutilated’; *mutilus*.

mail Adjective, sg., ‘bald, bare, defective’; OIr *máel*, MW *moel*. It was first identified as such by Stokes.³⁹² Loth noted that it is not to be confused with MW *mael*, ‘prince, lord’ and *mael*, ‘generous’.³⁹³ Falileyev made note of the unexpected spelling of *ai* for *oe*.³⁹⁴ Jackson commented briefly on this, stating that ‘*mail* must be either an error for *moil* or an Irish gloss.’³⁹⁵

The identification with MW *moel* and O.Ir. *máel*, ‘a cropped head; short-haired, bald’, is semantically sound. The reading of the <a> is certain. As such - as Jackson said - it must either be a scribal error, or Irish.

MS *et inuerrinís plenum uersum una quidem sillaba mutilum (.i. motatum) (.i. máíl) fuderit*

Willis *et in Verrinis plenum versum una quidem syllaba mutilum fuderit*³⁹⁶

Stahl ‘and in the *Verrines* he has uttered a line of verse complete except for one syllable’³⁹⁷

Context Rhetorica discusses the use of long and short syllables in speeches.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. Unglossed.

111) fo.43rb45 **.i. pá péd pín nác** gl. quoduis [§528]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. A *signe de renvoi* (•~) links it to the main text. The first accent may well have been displaced by the *signe de renvoi*, which appears directly over the first <a>.

quoduis Indefinite pronoun, ‘who/what-soever’; *quodvis*.

pa Interrogative and relative pronoun, ‘which, what’; MW *pa*.³⁹⁸

ped Noun, sg., ‘thing’; MW *peth*.³⁹⁹

³⁹² Stokes 1873: 405.

³⁹³ Loth 1884: 179-180.

³⁹⁴ Falileyev 2000: 108.

³⁹⁵ Jackson 329, note 1.

³⁹⁶ Willis 1983: 179.

³⁹⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 193.

³⁹⁸ Stokes 1873: 405, Loth 1884: 201 and Falileyev 2000: 126-127.

³⁹⁹ Stokes 1873: 405, Loth 1884: 201 and Falileyev 2000: 128.

<i>pinnac</i>	Indefinite pronoun, ‘(who/what-)soever’; MW <i>bennac, bynnac</i> . ⁴⁰⁰ Loth and Stokes treat <i>papedpinnac</i> as a compound, Falileyev splits it up.
MS	quanquam caseam dicamus orationem cum singula uerba quoduís (.i. pá péd pín nác) significantia proferuntur
Willis	quamquam caesam dicamus orationem, cum singula verba quodvis significantia proferuntur ⁴⁰¹
Stahl	‘However, we call speech ‘cut up’ when it includes single words complete in meaning’ ⁴⁰²
Context	Rhetorica discusses figures of speech.
Function	Direct translation.
Voss.	Unglossed.

112) fo.43va17 **.i. aliquidhácén** gl. habebas [§531]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	Both accents cross into the main text word in the line above. This renders the first accent somewhat questionable, but I think it is there.
<u>habebas</u>	Verb, indic. imperf. 2 sg., ‘to have’; <i>habeo</i> .
<u>aliquid</u>	Indefinite pronoun, ‘something’; <i>aliquid</i> .
<i>hacén</i>	Conjunction, ‘however, but, nevertheless’; MW <i>hagen</i> . ⁴⁰³
MS	domus tibi deerat.. at habebas (.i. aliquidhácén).. pecunia superabat.. at egebas;.
Willis	‘domus tibi deerat? at habebas. pecunia superabat? at egebas’ ⁴⁰⁴
Stahl	‘‘You owned no home, but you had one; there was money, but you were in want’’ ⁴⁰⁵
Context	Rhetorica continues discussing figures of speech, here treating the antithesis.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	(gloss on <i>deerat. at habebat</i>) <i>contraria sunt sensu</i>

113) fo.43vb49 **.i. írhínn íssídille** gl. (anton) ille *and* ille [§537]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	Marginal gloss. It is linked to the main text by means of a <i>signe de renvoi</i> (•~). Stokes thought it to be a gloss on <i>anton</i> , ⁴⁰⁶ but Lewis pointed out that the <i>signe de renvoi</i>

⁴⁰⁰ Stokes 1873: 405, Loth 1884: 201 and Falileyev 2000: 131.

⁴⁰¹ Willis 1983: 185.

⁴⁰² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 198.

⁴⁰³ Stokes 1873: 405, Loth 1884: 150 and Falileyev 2000: 79.

⁴⁰⁴ Willis 1983: 186.

⁴⁰⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 199-200.

⁴⁰⁶ Stokes 1873: 405.

appears over main text *ille*.⁴⁰⁷ In fact, the same *signe de renvoi* appears twice over the main text, both times over *ille* (see the transcription below). Although the gloss is written opposite the line in which *anton ille* appears, it seems to gloss both Latin words.

<anton> appears to have been added in rasura by an unknown hand.

<u>anton</u>	Proper name, nom. sg.; <i>Antonius</i> (?).
<u>ille</u>	Demonstrative pronoun, nom. sg., ‘that’; <i>ille</i> .
and	
<u>ille</u>	Demonstrative pronoun, nom. sg., ‘that’; <i>ille</i> .
<i>ir</i>	Definite article ‘the’, MW <i>y(r)</i> .
<i>hinn</i>	Demonstrative pronoun, sg. neuter, ‘this’; MW <i>hynn</i> . ⁴⁰⁸ The combination <i>ir hinn</i> , MW <i>yr hynn</i> , is often used to introduce relative clauses in MW. ⁴⁰⁹
<i>issid</i>	Verb, indic. pres. 3 sg. rel., ‘which is’; MW <i>yssyd</i> . ⁴¹⁰ A comparable construction is found in the Juvencus glosses, <i>ir hinn issid Críst</i> gl. <i>Christus [quem]</i> . ⁴¹¹
<u>ille</u>	Demonstrative pronoun, nom. sg., ‘that’; <i>ille</i> . The bilingual gloss reads ‘(he) who is that (one)’, or ‘(he) who that (one) is’ and appears to clarify the Latin construction ‘name + ille’ being discussed in the main text.
MS	pleonasmos <i>est</i> plus necessarium <i>cum</i> uerba <i>quaedam</i> <i>dicimus non</i> enuntiatae rei necessaria <i>sed</i> magnitudinis <i>cumulatae</i> ut <i>sí</i> dicas <i>anton ille</i> (.i. írhínn íssídille) <i>cum</i> sufficerit <i>nomen</i> dixisse. <i>adamplitudinem</i> <i>adicimus ille</i> (.i. írhínn íssídille).
Willis	<i>πλεονασμός</i> <i>est</i> plus necessario, <i>cum</i> uerba <i>quaedam</i> <i>adicimus non</i> enuntiandae rei necessaria, <i>sed</i> magnitudini <i>cumulandae</i> , ut <i>si</i> dicas ‘Cato ille’; <i>cum</i> suffecerit <i>nomen</i> dixisse, <i>ad amplitudinem</i> <i>adicimus</i> ‘ille’. ⁴¹²
Stahl	‘Pleonasm (<i>pleonasmos</i>) is saying more than is necessary, when we add words which are not necessary to explain the subject but are to heighten its importance; for example, ‘That man Cato,’ when it would be enough to have said the name, but we add ‘that man’ to emphasize it.’ ⁴¹³
Context	Rhetorica continues discussing figures of speech.
Function	Elucidation of the main text. Grammatical gloss.
Voss.	Unglossed.

⁴⁰⁷ Lewis 1932: 112.

⁴⁰⁸ Evans 1964: 83, Falileyev 2000: 85 and Schrijver 2011: 53.

⁴⁰⁹ Evans 1964: 68-69.

⁴¹⁰ Evans 1964: 63 and Schrijver 2011: 69.

⁴¹¹ McKee 2000: 507

⁴¹² Willis 1983: 189.

⁴¹³ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 203.

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	Marginal gloss. It is linked to the main text by means of a <i>signe de renvoi</i> (•~).
<u>flammeo</u>	Noun, abl. sg., ‘saffron bridal veil’; <i>flammeum</i> .
<u>loco</u>	Noun, abl. sg., ‘place, topic’; <i>locus</i> . ⁴¹⁴
<i>o</i>	Preposition ‘of, from, with, by’, MW <i>o</i> . Unlike most of the grammatical glosses, the definitive article is not found attached here.
<i>guard</i>	Noun, sg, ‘cover(ing)’; MW <i>gwarth</i> , ‘shame’(?). Stokes explains the word by means of the Juvenius glosses, where it is found in the gloss <i>cubantem: iuuenem .i. eiecentem gúárd</i> , ‘lying: the young man, that is, throwing [off] a blanket/covering.’ ⁴¹⁵ Stokes and McKee both link the word to Middle and Modern Welsh <i>gwarth</i> , ‘shame, disgrace, reproach’. Stokes argues that the <i>-d</i> can easily be read as later <i>-th</i> , given the example of <i>luird</i> in gloss 130) for MW <i>luirth</i> . ⁴¹⁶ McKee proposes that the meaning of modern <i>gwarth</i> may have ‘evolved as ‘a covering to avoid shame’’. ⁴¹⁷ Loth and Falileyev separate the two instances of <i>guard</i> and remain uncertain as to their interpretation. ⁴¹⁸ It does seem difficult to link OW <i>guard</i> with MW <i>gwarth</i> , as ‘cover(ing)’ and ‘shame’ are some ways apart semantically, but there is no reason to keep the two instances of OW <i>guard</i> separate. For both of them, the interpretation of <i>guard</i> as ‘cover(ing)’ works. McKee’s proposed semantic shift is interesting in that it fits with a ‘bridal veil’, which could - perhaps - be regarded as ‘a covering to avoid shame’.
MS	is (.i. *rdo) <i>vero inlocís illustribus meditandus est in quibus species rerum sententiarumque imagines collocandae sunt. ueluti nuptiarum uelatam flammeo (.i. ógú árd) (.i. loco) nubentem</i>
Willis	is vero in locis illustribus meditandus est, in quibus species rerum sententiarumque imagines collocandae sunt, ueluti nuptiarum uelatam flammeo nubentem ⁴¹⁹
Stahl	‘This order must be exercised on distinct topics, to which should be attributed material forms and representations of ideas; for example, you might remember a wedding by the bride veiled in saffron’ ⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁴ See the note on Stahl’s translation of the cited passage.

⁴¹⁵ Stokes 1873: 406 and McKee 2000: 496.

⁴¹⁶ Stokes 1873: 406. It is validated by Schrijver 1995: 146. For other examples of the spelling *-d* for MW *-th*, see Schrijver 2011: 37.

⁴¹⁷ McKee 2000: 496.

⁴¹⁸ Loth 1884: 133 and Falileyev 2000: 64.

⁴¹⁹ Willis 1983: 189-190.

⁴²⁰ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 203. Stahl notes that his translation differs greatly from that of Frances Yates: “These [precepts] are to be pondered upon in well-lighted places in which the images of things are to be placed”. Stahl states that it revolves around the interpretation of *locus*, being either literal, ‘a place’, or a rhetorical term, ‘a topic’.

Context Rhetorica discusses mnemonics and offers an example.
 Function Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: ablative.
 Voss. (gloss on *velatam flammeo nubentem*) *proprium i. proprium viro*

115) fo.44vb01 **.i. nóúní** gl. *nostrum* [§553]⁴²¹

Scribe W1

nostrum Personal pronoun, 1pl. gen. (genitivus partitivus), ‘of us’; *nos*.

nou Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).

ni Personal pronoun, 1pl.; MW *ni*. The glossator may have interpreted Latin *nostrum* as consisting of the personal pronoun, *nos*, and a genitive case ending, *-trum*. This would explain why he opted for such a highly artificial vernacular gloss which also consists of a genitive marker, *nou*, and the personal pronoun, *ni*. In this it is consistent with the way Latin genitive nouns are glossed in these Old Welsh glosses. It would have been more natural for the glossator to have employed a possessive pronoun.

MS *communis ut erigitur nostrum (.i. nóúní) caedem admiserit (.i. sí) (.i. quis) quaeritur;*

Willis *communis, ‘uter igitur nostrum caedem admiserit quaeritur’.*⁴²²

Stahl ‘in common, for instance ‘The question is, Which of us has committed murder?’⁴²³

Context Rhetorica discusses the *propositio*, ‘the statement of the case’.

Function Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: genitive reproduced.

Voss. Unglossed.

116) fo.45ra44 **(.i.) írcát (te)írául (re)tt’e tícc (st)ró (t)úr** gl. *sella curulis* [§559]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. It lacks a *signe de renvoi*. This is inferred by the lack of such a sign over the main text, as the tightness of the binding renders the gloss largely unreadable on the microfilm. There may well be more accents found over the unread part. The fifth accent is placed in between two letters.

sella Noun, nom. sg., ‘seat, chair’; *sella*.

curulis Adjective, nom. sg., ‘pertaining to a wagon’, but together with *sella*: ‘high magistrate’s seat’. It is derived from *currus*, ‘wagon’, which is itself derived from *curro*, ‘to run’.

ir Definite article, ‘the’; MW *y(r)*.

⁴²¹ Lemmen lists it as being on paragraph 554, Lemmen 2006: 38.

⁴²² Willis 1983: 194.

⁴²³ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 208.

<i>catteiraul</i>	Adjective, ‘pertaining to a chair, chair-like’. ⁴²⁴ It is either hapax, which was reinvented in Early Modern Welsh as <i>cadeiriol</i> , ‘cathedral’, ⁴²⁵ or it is directly related to MoW <i>cadeiriol</i> . It is an adjective and is either a loanword from Latin <i>cathedralis</i> , ‘episcopal’, ⁴²⁶ or derived by means of <i>-aul</i> , MW <i>-awl/-ol</i> from Latin <i>cathedra</i> , ‘chair, bishop’s chair’. ⁴²⁷
<i>retteticc</i>	Verbal adjective, ‘running’. ⁴²⁸ It is a hapax. ⁴²⁹ It is derived from the verb that is now <i>rhedaf</i> , ‘to run’. It is an etymological gloss on <i>curulis</i> .
<i>strotur</i>	Noun, sg., ‘saddle’; MW (y) <i>strodur</i> . It is a loanword from Latin <i>stratura</i> , ⁴³⁰ ‘a paving, pavement’, which developed the meaning ‘saddle’ in the post-classical period. The gloss reads ‘the chair-like, running saddle’ and offers an etymological interpretation of the Latin as ‘the running seat’. Again, as in gloss 46), the Welsh employs an ADJ-NOUN word order in spite of the Latin NOUN-ADJ order found in the main text.
MS	ἀconiunctís <i>est</i> ἀπο τοῦ ποσειος .καί. συμετοῦ <i>ut est fasces et toga sella curulis ((.i.) írcát (te)írául (re)tt’e tícc (st)ró (t)úr)</i> . magistratum ornamenta sunt;.
Willis	a coniunctis, id est ἀπο τῶν προσοντων και συνθετων, <i>ut fasces et toga</i> ⁴³¹ , sella curulis magistratum ornamenta sunt. ⁴³²
Stahl	‘From conjunct matters; that is, from forms and covenants (<i>apo typoseos kai syntheton</i>) - as the rods and chair of office are the insignia of magistrates.’ ⁴³³
Context	Rhetorica is discussing various types of arguments used as evidence.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	Unglossed.

⁴²⁴ Falileyev 2000: 23

⁴²⁵ Schrijver, unpublished handout: ‘*rhededig* hapax; *cadeiriol* too, but reinvented in the 16th c. for ‘cathedral’ (calque)’

⁴²⁶ Stokes 1873: 406, Falileyev 2000: 23 and GPC.

⁴²⁷ Stokes 1873: 406, Loth 1884: 66 and 2000: Falileyev 23.

⁴²⁸ Stokes 1873: 406, Loth 1884: 209 and Schrijver 1998-2000: 149.

⁴²⁹ Falileyev 2000: 137.

⁴³⁰ Stokes 1873: 406, Loth 1884: 217 and Falileyev 2000: 143.

⁴³¹ Oddly enough, this word is left out in Stahl’s translation. It may be that Willis’ edition, which is later than Stahl’s translation, differed from Stahl’s source on this point.

⁴³² Willis 1983: 197.

⁴³³ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 211.

117) fo.45vb18 **.i. hépp marciane** gl. *non aduerto* [§575]

Scribe W1

non Negation, ‘not’; *non*.aduerto Verb, indic. pres. 1sg., ‘to turn towards, to notice, to observe’; *adverto*.hepp Defective verb, ‘says/said’; MW *heb*.marciane Proper name with abbreviated ending, the case is uncertain, possibly voc. sg.; *Martianus*. The Latin glossators of this text mainly abbreviate names without indicating the intended inflectional ending when the abbreviated name is supposed to be in the same case as the last fully written form of the name in the glosses.MS *sed quae istae sint quidvé gestitent gerendorum* (i. *quae gerenda essent*). *inconsciis non (.i. hépp marciane) aduerto*;Willis *sed quae istae sint quidve gestitent, gerendorum inconsciis non aduerto.*⁴³⁴Stahl ‘But who those ladies are, and what they are bearing, I do not perceive, unacquainted as I am with what is going to transpire.’⁴³⁵

Context Martianus addresses Pallas before Geometria enters the scene.

Function Elucidation of the main text.

Voss. *non intelligo*118) fo.45vb23 **.i. nóu lín** gl. *lini* [§576]

Scribe W1

lini Noun, gen. sg., ‘flax, linen, thread, candle-wick’; *linum*.nou Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).lin Noun, sg., ‘flax, linen, candle-wick’; MW *llin*. Stokes, Loth and the GPC thought the gloss to be a direct translation of the Latin into Old Welsh.⁴³⁶ Lambert thought it likely that the glossator regarded *lini* as a proper name, from Lat. *Linus*,⁴³⁷ and Falileyev subscribed to this.⁴³⁸I do not understand why Lambert thought it likely that the Welsh regards the Latin as being a proper name, rather than a noun. The text does not refer to *Linus*, but to a

⁴³⁴ Willis 1983: 202.⁴³⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 216.⁴³⁶ Stokes 1873: 406 and Loth 1884: 175.⁴³⁷ Lambert 1982: 21-22.⁴³⁸ Falileyev 2000: 103.

‘(flax/linen) candle-wick’, which is a fitting word to gloss with *lin*, MW *llin*, of the same meaning. As such, the old interpretation is adopted here.

MS	ní fallor inquit; felix (.i. marciane) ⁴³⁹ meus plurimum adfatimque oliui quantumque palestras perluere (.i. ungere) uel sponsi ipsius posset şuperfluo (.i. sine ullo fructu) perdidisti (.i. inlaborando). dispendiaque lini (.i. nóu lín) perflagrata cassum (.i. frustra) deuorante mulcibeŕo (.i. ignef [sic]) qui (.i. felix) tot gymnasiõrum ac tantõrum herõum matrem philosophiam non agnoscis saltim
Willis	‘ni fallor’, inquit, ‘Felix meus, plurimum affatimque oliui, quantumque palaestras perluere vel sponsi ipsius posset, superfluo perdidisti, dispendiaque lini perflagrata cassum devorante Mulcibero, qui tot gymnasiõrum ac tantõrum herõum matrem Philosophiam non agnoscis saltem;’ ⁴⁴⁰
Stahl	‘remarked: ‘Unless I am mistaken, my Felix, you have needlessly used up more than enough oil to anoint whole palaestras, or at least the school of the groom himself; and Mulcifer [Vulcan] has burned up your allotment of wick - to no avail, since you do not recognize Philosophy, mother of so many scholars and men so illustrious.’ ⁴⁴¹
Context	Satura (‘Satire’) comments critically on Martianus’ (i.e. Felix) choice of topics in the preceding.
Function	Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: genitive reproduced.
Voss.	Unglossed.

119) fo.46ra05 **.i. hépp marciane** gl. prospicio quandam feminam luculentam [§580]

Scribe	W1
<u>prospicio</u>	Verb, indic. pres. 1sg., ‘to see from afar’; <i>prospicio</i> .
<u>quandam</u>	Adverb, ‘at a certain time’; <i>quondam</i> .
<u>feminam</u>	Noun, acc. sg., ‘woman’; <i>femina</i> .
<u>luculentam</u>	Adjective, acc. sg., ‘bright, imposing, important, distinguished’; <i>luculentus</i> .
<i>hepp</i>	Defective verb, ‘says/said’; MW <i>heb</i> .
<u>marciane</u>	Proper name with abbreviated ending, case is uncertain, possibly voc. sg.; <i>Martianus</i> . See gloss 117). This gloss, 119), may have been inspired by the gloss attested in the Vossianus manuscript.

MS *et cum* (.i. *cum dictis illius pemiae* [sic]) dicto prospicio (**.i. hépp marciane**) quandam feminam luculentam

Willis *et cum dicto prospicio quandam feminam luculentam*⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹ Note the use of the vocative without a vocative particle <ó> in this gloss.

⁴⁴⁰ Willis 1983: 203.

⁴⁴¹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 126.

⁴⁴² Willis 1983: 204.

Stahl	‘Immediately there came into view a distinguished-looking lady’ ⁴⁴³
Context	Geometria enters the scene.
Function	Elucidation of the main text.
Voss.	(gloss on <i>et cum dicto</i>) <i>uox martiani</i>

120) fo.46ra16 **.i. nóu írau rleoú** gl. *gnomōnum stilis* [§581]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	The gap between <au> and <rleou> is caused by the <i>-m</i> abbreviation mark that appears over the glossed word below. The scarcity of accents cannot be for want of space.
<u>gnomōnum</u>	Noun, gen. pl., ‘gnomon/pin of a sundial’; <i>gnomon</i> .
<u>stilis</u>	Noun, abl. pl., ‘writing pen, stick’; <i>stilus</i> .
<i>nou</i>	Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).
<i>ir</i>	Definite article, ‘the’; MW <i>y(r)</i> .
<i>aurleou</i>	Noun, pl., ‘watches’. It is a hapax. Stokes and, initially, Loth considered it to be a compound of <i>aur</i> ‘hour’ and <i>le</i> , MW <i>lle</i> ‘place’. ⁴⁴⁴ Loth later proposed, and Lambert did the same, that it could also be a borrowing from Lat. <i>horologium</i> , ‘clock’. ⁴⁴⁵ Fleuriot, discussing the Breton cognates <i>orleg</i> and <i>orlegh</i> , considered these to be composed of (<i>h</i>) <i>or</i> ‘hour’ and <i>leg</i> ‘place’, ⁴⁴⁶ thus favouring Stokes’ interpretation of the Welsh. Like Falileyev, ⁴⁴⁷ I am undecided on the issue.
MS	<i>denique etiam inuſsum germanae ipsius (.i. geometriae) astronomiae crebrius (.i. copiosus) commodatum (.i. peplum); reliqua (.i. pepli) uero (.i. pans) uersisillitum (.i. *** ***) (.i. formatorum) diuersitatibus numerorum gnomōnum (.i. nóu írau rleoú) stilis (.i. punctís) (.i. **** ***** ***** ***** * ** ***** ***) interstitiorum (.i. punctionum ingnomine) ponderum mensurarumque formís diuersitate colorum. uariegata reni’debat;</i>
Willis	<i>denique etiam in usum germanae ipsius Astronomiae crebrius commodatum, reliqua vero versis illitum diuersitatibus numerorum, gnomonum stilis, interstitiorum, ponderum mensurarumque formis diuersitate colorum variegata renidebat.</i> ⁴⁴⁸
Stahl	‘it was marked with many figures - to serve the purposes of her sister Astronomy as well - numbers of various kinds, gnomons of sundials, figures and designs showing intervals, weights, and measures, depicted in many colors.’ ⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴³ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 218.

⁴⁴⁴ Stokes 1873: 406 and Loth 1884: 50.

⁴⁴⁵ Loth 1911: 305.

⁴⁴⁶ Fleuriot 1964: 278.

⁴⁴⁷ Falileyev 2000: 13.

⁴⁴⁸ Willis 1983: 204.

⁴⁴⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 218.

Context Geometrica enters wearing a *peplos*, ‘a divine robe of state’, which is here described.
Function Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: genitive.
Voss. *uasa stilus horoscopi*

121) fo.46rb04 **.i. inchoamūs** gl. ab ipsis (...) cunabulis [§586]

Scribe Unknown Latin glossator.

Pal. note The gloss is difficult to read.

Pal. discussion It was first noted by Lemmen, who read <inchouimis> and considered the possibility of it being a vernacular gloss on the argument that <ch> is more regularly found in Welsh than in Latin. In the end, she proposed to read it as a rendering of Latin *inchoauimus*, ‘we begin’, to accompany *ab ipsis cunabulis*, ‘from the very beginning’.⁴⁵⁰ This seems likely and the manuscript reading offered here (<inchoamūs>) supports this solution. As the gloss is therefore certain to be Latin, it is not considered further in this edition.

122) fo.46rb33 **.i. ád íis** gl. iubetur [§589]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The accent over the *a* is extremely vague and might be a smudge. The accent over *i* has every appearance of being an accent - as it often found over the *-is* ending of the dat. and abl. pl. - and not an abbreviation mark (see discussion of iis below).

iubetur Verb, indic. pres. pass. 3sg., ‘to order’; *iubeo*.

ad Read: *ab*. Preposition, ‘by’; takes the ablative; *ab*.

Alternatively, this could be the Latin preposition *ad*, ‘to’, which takes the accusative. If the accent over it is real (see pal. note), Lemmen proposes that it could also be the Welsh preposition *ad*, MW *at*, ‘to’.⁴⁵¹ This preposition has a complex history, as the MW form is believed to be derived from the conjugated form *ad-do*.⁴⁵²

The occurrence of an accent over it is problematic. If it is Latin, this ought to indicate a long vowel, but neither *ad*, nor *ab* have a long vowel (although *ā*, the form of *ab* in front of words beginning in a consonant does). This could be regarded as a vernacular accent. I cannot resolve this issue.

iis Read: *eis*. Personal pronoun, abl. 3pl.; *is*.

Lemmen, who was first to discuss this gloss, considered various possibilities to read it. She noted that - in the Latin of this manuscript - classical *ei* is often written *ii*, but that

⁴⁵⁰ Lemmen 2006: 31-32.

⁴⁵¹ Lemmen 2006: 33.

⁴⁵² Morris-Jones 1931: 400.

one would expect acc. *eos* rather than dat./abl. *eis* after the Latin preposition *ad*. She also noted that *iis* cannot be explained by means of Welsh. Finally, she raised the possibility that *ad* could be a misspelling for *ab* and that *iis* might be an abbreviation without an abbreviation mark for *initiis*, the result reading ‘from the beginnings’.⁴⁵³ And yet, there is an attractive alternative. If we interpret *ad iis* as *ab eis*, it would work both grammatically and semantically. In general in Latin, the preposition *ab* is known to be used with passives to denote the agent of the verb. The gloss would then read ‘she was ordered, i.e. by them [the gods]’.

The other options seem less likely. If the gloss is to be read *ad iis*, it means ‘to them’, which would be better placed over *aperire*, ‘to reveal’. It also suffers from being grammatically incorrect, as Lemmen noted. One might say that *ad* is not Latin but Welsh, and that a dative pronoun might work equally well as an accusative after a vernacular preposition, but this leaves the semantic issue of glossing ‘she was ordered’ with ‘to them’ when ‘they’ are those who give the order. If it were *ab initiis*, one would expect it to show an abbreviation mark, rather than an accent. It seems unlikely for it to have been left out. Moreover, the more common expression is *ab initio*, rather than its plural counterpart.

The gloss is almost certainly Latin. It was discussed at length only because it was not immediately apparent that it was Latin.

MS	<i>hoc igitur geometria (promere) primum iubetur (.i. ád iís) ac demum caetera adastruendae praecepta artis aperire;</i>
Willis	<i>hoc igitur Geometria primum iubetur ac demum cetera astruendae praecepte artis aperire</i> ⁴⁵⁴
Stahl	‘Geometry therefore was bidden to expound this first, and then to reveal the other precepts of her discipline.’ ⁴⁵⁵
Context	The gods, being not from the earth, order Geometria to tell them about the places of the earth before discussing the art of geometry itself.
Function	Elucidation of the main text (?).
Voss.	Unglossed.

123) fo.46rb36 **.i. múíss** gl. *disci* [§590]

Scribe W1

disci Noun, gen. sg., ‘disc, dish, plate’; *discus*. It is a loanword from Greek *δισκος*, ‘disc’. The meanings ‘dish’ and ‘plate’ are postclassical.

⁴⁵³ Lemmen 2006: 32-33.

⁴⁵⁴ Willis 1983: 206.

⁴⁵⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 220.

<i>muiss</i>	Noun, sg., ‘dish, hamper, basket’; MW <i>mwys</i> . It is a Latin loanword, from <i>mensa</i> . ⁴⁵⁶
MS	formam totius terrae non (.i. dico) planam (.i. terram) ut aestimant positioni (.i. formae) qui eam disci (.i. múíss) diffuſsioris assimilant.
Willis	‘Formam totius terrae non planam, ut aestimant, positioni qui eam disci diffusioris assimilant’ ⁴⁵⁷
Stahl	‘‘The shape of the earth is not flat, as some suppose who imagine it to be like an expanded disc’’ ⁴⁵⁸
Context	Geometria describes the Earth, opening with a discussion of its spherical nature.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	Unglossed.

124) fo.46va40 **.i. áúrcí merdríc hétíción** gl. orospica [§595]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. It is linked to the main text by means of a *signe de renvoi* (•~). The lack of accents over the <e>’s is likely for want of space.

orospica Read *horispica*. A very rare word in Latin, it appears to be closely related to *horispex/horuspex/horispicus*, a late word meaning *ille qui inspicit horas*, ‘one (a diviner) who watches the hours’, which was composed of *hora*, ‘hour’ and *specio*, ‘to watch’. One cannot help thinking that the latter was modelled on classical *haruspex*, ‘seer’.

aurcimer-dricheticion Uncertain. It is a hapax.⁴⁵⁹ Stokes considered it to be a compound of *aur*, MW *awr*, ‘hour’, *cimer*, MW *cymer*, ‘opposite situation’ and *dricheticion*, the past participle passive of *drichu*, MW *drychu*, ‘to make apparent’. He compared the construction to MoW *cyfar-chwyl*, ‘survey’.⁴⁶⁰ Loth explains it as *aur-com+air-dricheticion*, comparing the latter to O.Ir. *airdirc*, ‘well-known, manifest, renowned’. He translates *aurcimerdircheticion* as ‘qui a trait à un horoscope’, ‘which has the quality/characteristic of a horoscope’.⁴⁶¹ Schrijver suggests reading *aur-cime<r>drich*, MW *awr* and MoW *cyfedrych*, ‘gaze’.⁴⁶² The latter would make for an exact calque on the Latin, which makes for an attractive solution, but does lack the *-r-*. I am undecided on the issue.

⁴⁵⁶ Stokes 1873: 406-407, Loth 1884: 189 and Falileyev 2000: 116.

⁴⁵⁷ Willis 1983: 207.

⁴⁵⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 220.

⁴⁵⁹ Falileyev 2000: 13.

⁴⁶⁰ Stokes 1873: 407.

⁴⁶¹ Loth 1884: 50.

⁴⁶² Schrijver, personal communication.

MS	denique ipsa uaſsa quae orospica (.i. áúrcí merdríc hétícíón) uel orologia memorantur
Willis	denique ipsa vasa, quae horispica vel horologia memorantur ⁴⁶³
Stahl	‘Finally, hemispherical bowls which are called <i>horologia</i> , or sundials ⁴⁶⁴
Context	A final argument is given in favour of the spherical nature of the Earth.
Function	Translation into Old Welsh.
Voss.	<i>horoscopa grece horispica latine horarum speculatiua</i>

125) fo.46vb03 **.i. óémíd** gl. exaere [§597]

Scribe	W1
<u>ex</u>	Preposition, ‘of, from’; takes the ablative; <i>e(x)</i> .
<u>aere</u>	Noun, abl. sg., ‘bronze, copper’; <i>aes</i> .
<i>o</i>	Preposition ‘of, from, with, by’; MW <i>o</i> .
<i>emid</i>	Noun, sg., ‘bronze, brass, copper’; MW <i>euyd</i> . ⁴⁶⁵ The word also appears in gloss 15).
MS	quippe scaphia dicuntur rotunda exaere (.i. óémíd)uasa
Willis	quippe scaphia dicuntur rotunda ex aere vasa ⁴⁶⁶
Stahl	‘There are bronze hemispherical bowls called scaphia ⁴⁶⁷
Context	Eratosthenes’ calculations of the size of the earth are explained (obscurely and, according to Stahl, ⁴⁶⁸ incorrectly) by Geometria.
Function	Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: ablative reproduced.
Voss.	Unglossed.

126) fo.47rb16 **.i. hépp geom etria** gl. ego ipsa peragraui [§609]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	The gap between <geom> and <etria> is caused by the <i>-us</i> abbreviation in the main text above.
<u>ego</u>	Personal pronoun, nom. 1sg.; <i>ego</i> .
<u>ipsa</u>	Reflexive pronoun, nom. sg. f., ‘self’; <i>ipse</i> .
<u>peragraui</u>	Verb, indic. perf. 1sg., ‘to travel through, to cross’; <i>peragro</i> .
<i>hepp</i>	Defective verb, ‘says/said’; MW <i>heb</i> .
<u>geometria</u>	Proper name, nom. sg.; <i>Geometria</i> .

⁴⁶³ Willis 1983: 208.

⁴⁶⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 223.

⁴⁶⁵ Stokes 1873: 390 and 407, Loth 1884: 118 and Falileyev 2000: 53-54.

⁴⁶⁶ Willis 1983: 209.

⁴⁶⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 223.

⁴⁶⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 223-224.

MS	quarum regionum habitus prodidit doctissimus phithagoras; <i>sed</i> ego ipsa (.i. hépp geom etria) peragraui nequa mihi ignota uideretur portio <i>super</i> esse telluris.
Willis	quarum regionum habitus prodidit doctissimus Pytheas, <i>sed</i> <et> ego ipsa peragravi, nequa mihi ignota videretur portio <i>superesse</i> telluris. ⁴⁶⁹
Stahl	‘That most learned man Pytheas has disclosed what conditions are like in those regions; but I myself have traversed them: there is no portion of the earth’s surface that is not known to me.’ ⁴⁷⁰
Context	Geometria is still discussing various features of the Earth.
Function	Elucidation of the main text. ⁴⁷¹
Voss.	Unglossed.

127) fo.48ra53 .i. **termín** gl. ora [§633]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	The gloss is difficult to read on the microfilm due to the tightness of the binding, but the reading seems to be identical to that of the same word in gloss 128).
<u>ora</u>	Noun, nom. sg., ‘coast, region, boundary, edge’; <i>ora</i> .
<i>termin</i>	Noun, sg., ‘boundary’; MW <i>terfyn</i> . ⁴⁷² It is a loanword from Latin <i>terminus</i> , ‘boundary, border’. It is the only vernacular gloss in which an abbreviation is used. The following gloss, gloss 128), is identical. In the Vossianus manuscript <i>ora</i> is glossed <i>finis</i> and <i>terminus</i> ; the latter may well have inspired the Welsh glosses. As to the semantics of this gloss, 127), Geometria is discussing the regions of the world and the coast can be considered as one of the boundaries of a region.
MS	Nam span;a omnis citerior ápyreneo incastulonis (.i. <i>nomen oppidi</i>) finem perséscentas septem milia. longitudinem protrachit; cuius ora (.i. termín) paulo amplior aestimatur;.
Willis	nam Hispania omnis citerior a Pyrenaeo in Castulonis finem per sescenta milia longitudinem protrahit, cuius ora paulo amplior aestimatur; ⁴⁷³
Stahl	‘for all of Hispania Citerior [Hither Spain] from the Pyrenees to the confines of Castulo stretches six hundred and seven miles in length; and the figure is a little more along the coast.’ ⁴⁷⁴
Context	Geometria discusses the various regions of the Roman world.

⁴⁶⁹ Willis 1983: 213.

⁴⁷⁰ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 227.

⁴⁷¹ Fittingly, Stahl followed the same impulse as the Welsh glossator, adding a note ‘The handmaiden Geometry is still speaking’ at this very point; Stahl 227.

⁴⁷² Stokes 1873: 407, Loth 1884: 220 and Falileyev 2000: 146.

⁴⁷³ Willis 1983: 220.

⁴⁷⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 234.

Function Expansion of the main text.
Voss. *i. finis*

128) fo.48rb09 **.i. termín** gl. ora [§635]

Scribe W1

ora Noun, nom. sg., ‘coast, region, boundary, edge’; *ora*.

termin Noun, sg., ‘boundary’; MW *terfyn*.⁴⁷⁵ See previous gloss. The Latin gloss in the Vossianus manuscript forms an exact counterpart to this vernacular gloss. As to the semantics of this gloss, 128), *ora* here refers to the end of a river, at the coast and again it is reasonable to regard this as a kind of ‘boundary’.

MS *cuius ora (.i. termín) diuersis nominibus appellata (est);*

Willis *cuius ora diversis nominibus appellata*⁴⁷⁶

Stahl ‘Its mouths have different names’⁴⁷⁷

Context Geometria is speaking of the Rhone River.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. *terminus*

129) fo.49va35 **.i. nomen dí cretae** gl. macaronesos [§659]

Scribe W1

Note Lemmen’s list gives this gloss as being on fo.49ra35, but Stokes is correct and it is on the verso side of this folium.

macaronesos Noun (geographical name), nom. sg.; *Macaronesos*. It is a Greek name, a compound of *μακαρ*, ‘blessed’ and *νησος*, ‘island’.

nomen Noun, nom. sg., ‘name’; *nomen*.

di Preposition *di*, ‘to, for’; MW *y*. See glosses 77) and 131) for glosses of a very similar type.

cretae Noun (geographical name), dat. sg.; *Creta*. Apparently, the glossator felt the use of the dative was warranted by the Welsh preposition *di*. This is confirmed by the use of the dative in gloss 131), *nomen di tauro caucassus*.

MS *deinde propter caeli temperiem macaronesos (.i. nomen dí cretae) est appellata;*

Willis *deinde propter caeli temperiem Macaronesos est appellata*.⁴⁷⁸

Stahl ‘then it was called Isle of the Blessed because of its bland climate.’⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁵ Stokes 1873: 407 and Falileyev 2000: 146.

⁴⁷⁶ Willis 1983: 220.

⁴⁷⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 234.

⁴⁷⁸ Willis 1983: 232.

⁴⁷⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 246.

Context Geometria describes the Greek islands.
Function Elucidation of the main text.
Voss. Unglossed.

130) fo.50ra10 **.i. Íuírd** gl. (esperidum) orti .i. *sunt* [§667]

Scribe W1

esperidum Read *hesperidum*. Noun, gen. pl., ‘the Hesperides’; *Hesperides*.

orti Read *horti*. Noun, nom. pl., ‘(vegetable/fruit) garden’; *hortus*.

sunt Verb, indic. pres. 3pl., ‘to be’; *sum*.

luird Noun, pl., ‘vegetable garden’; MW *lluarth*, pl. *lluyrth*.⁴⁸⁰ The MW *-th* is spelled <d> in this word, as in gloss 114) *o guard*, where *guard* is MW *guarth*. See gloss 114) for a discussion of the spelling *-d* for MW *-th*.

MS *inconfinio est lissos colonia inqua regia (.i. nomen mulieris) ante^m lúe tamen quae hercule celebratur (.i. uenisse).. et esperidum orti (.i. Íuírd) (.i. sunt)..*

Willis *in confinio est Lissos colonia, in qua regia Antaei luctamenque cum Hercule celebratur, et Hesperidum orti.*⁴⁸¹

Stahl ‘In this region is the colony of Lissos. This is the site of the palace of Antaeus and of his famous wrestling match with Hercules; here are located the Gardens of the Hesperides.’⁴⁸²

Context Geometria discusses Africa and Libia.

Function Direct translation.

Voss. (gloss on *esperidum*; the word *orti* is missing in this manuscript) *orti montis*

131) fo.50vb01 **.i. nomen dítauro caucasso** gl. caucassus [§683]

Scribe W1

caucassus Read *Caucasus*. Noun (geographical name), nom. sg.; *Caucasus*.

nomen Noun, nom. sg., ‘name’; *nomen*.

di Preposition *di*, ‘to, for’; MW *y*. See glosses 77) and 129) for glosses of a very similar type.

tauro Noun (geographical name), dat. sg; *Taurus*. See gloss 129) for a discussion on the case.

caucasso Adjective (geographical name), dat. sg.; *Caucasus*. The gloss reads: ‘i.e. a name for the Caucasian Taurus [mountain range].’

⁴⁸⁰ Stokes 1873: 407, Loth 1884: 178, Falileyev 2000: 107-108, Schrijver 1995: 146 and Schrijver 2011: 36.

⁴⁸¹ Willis 1983: 236.

⁴⁸² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 249.

MS	Nam <i>intercaetera</i> nomina idem (.i. mons taurus) nipates <i>est. caucassus</i> (.i. nomen dítauro caucassus) <i>et sarpedon</i> ;
Willis	nam inter cetera nomina idem Niphates est, Caucasus et Sarpedon ⁴⁸³
Stahl	‘for, among other names, it is called the Niphates, the Caucasus, or the Sarpedon ⁴⁸⁴
Context	The Taurus mountain range (now called the Toros mountain range) and its various names are discussed by Geometria. It was seen to begin in the region of Pamphylia (central southern Asia-Minor, between Lycia and Cilicia) and was thought to extend much further than at present.
Function	Elucidation of the main text.
Voss.	(gloss on <i>nifates - caucassus</i> is written <i>cui casus</i> in this manuscript) <i>s. taurus</i>

132) fo.51ra03 **.i. nóu ircer ricc** gl. *cautium* [§691]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	Marginal gloss. It is linked to the main text by means of a <i>signe de renvoi</i> (•~). The lack of accents over <ircer> is unlikely to be for want of space. The lack of accents over <ricc> could very well be for want of space.
<u>cautium</u>	Noun, gen. pl., ‘cliff, rock’; <i>cautes</i> .
<i>nou</i>	Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).
<i>ir</i>	Definite article ‘the’; MW <i>y(r)</i> . This is one of a number of examples of the definite article occurring in a grammatical gloss where the Latin does not imply its presence.
<i>cerricc</i>	Noun, pl., ‘stones’; MW <i>carreg</i> , pl. <i>cerrig</i> . ⁴⁸⁵ Its singular is found in gloss 109).
MS	<i>sed caucassus portas habet quas caspias dicunt cautium</i> (.i. nóu ircer ricc) <i>praecisiones etiam ferreís trabibus obseratas adexternorum transitum cohibendum quamúis uerno</i> (.i. tempore) <i>etiam serpentibus obcludantur</i> ;
Willis	<i>sed Caucasus portas habet, quas Caspias dicunt, cautium praecisiones etiam ferreis trabibus obseratas ad externorum transitum cohibendum, quamvis verno etiam serpentibus occludantur.</i> ⁴⁸⁶
Stahl	‘The Caucasus has gates, which are called the Caspian Gates - abrupt cliffs further barred by iron beams to prevent outside peoples from passing through; in addition, the passage is blocked in the springtime by serpents.’ ⁴⁸⁷
Context	Geometria now speaks of Assyria.
Function	Expansion of the main text. Grammatical gloss: genitive reproduced.

⁴⁸³ Willis 1983: 242.

⁴⁸⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 255.

⁴⁸⁵ Stokes 1873: 407, Loth 1884: 70-71 and Falileyev 2000: 27.

⁴⁸⁶ Willis 1983: 245.

⁴⁸⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 258.

Voss. Unglossed.

133) fo.51ra24 **.i. hán** gl. *aliumque* [§692]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. It is linked to the main text by means of a *signe de renvoi* (•~).

aliumque Adjective, acc. sg., ‘other’; *alius*. The Latin conjunction *-que*, ‘and’, is suffixed to it.

han Adjective (or a noun, see discussion below), sg., ‘other, different’; MW *han*, MoW *hân*, ‘separation, (one) that is separated’.⁴⁸⁸ It is considered by Loth, the GPC and Falileyev to be the sole example of the word being used as an adjective in Welsh and it is compared to its Irish cognate, *sain*, ‘different’.⁴⁸⁹ Stokes considered its modern counterpart to mean ‘separated’ and noted no difference between the OW and the MoW use of the word.⁴⁹⁰

It seems possible to interpret *han* as a noun if one considers that the main text can be read as both ‘and he pointed out that it was different’ and ‘and he pointed out that it was a different one’. The latter reads *alium* as a substantivized adjective and could therefore be glossed with a Welsh noun meaning ‘one that is separated’.

MS *illam terrarum partem laxates fluuius secatur qui tanais putabatur.. quem demodamas dux transcendit.. aliumque (.i. hán) esse perdocuit.. et ultra didimeo apollini aras extruxit;.*

Willis *illam terrarum partem Laxates fluvius secatur, qui Tanais putabatur, quem Demodamas dux transcendit aliumque esse perdocuit et ultra Didymaeo Apollini aras extruxit.*⁴⁹¹

Stahl ‘The Laxates [Iaxartes, Syr Darya] River cuts through that part of the world, a river which formerly was presumed to be the Tanais [Don]. But the general Demodamas crossed the river and pointed out that the two were not the same; and beyond he set up an altar to Didymaeon Apollo.’⁴⁹²

Context Geometria speaks of Bactria.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. Unglossed.

⁴⁸⁸ GPC, *hân*¹.

⁴⁸⁹ Loth 1884: 151 and Falileyev 2000: 81.

⁴⁹⁰ Stokes 1873: 407.

⁴⁹¹ Willis 1983: 245.

⁴⁹² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 258.

134) fo.51ra60	.i. ómorduit gl. femine	[§695]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	There is little space for accents over this gloss, but this did not prevent the accent over the first <o>.	
<u>femine</u>	Noun, abl. sg., ‘thigh’; <i>femur</i> . The same word - there in the nominative and genitive - is found glossed with the obscure word <i>besc̄c</i> by scribe B, see gloss 97).	
<i>o</i>	Preposition ‘of, from, with, by’; MW <i>o</i> .	
<i>morduit</i>	Noun, sg., ‘thigh’; MW <i>mordwyt</i> . ⁴⁹³	
MS	ineo tractu etiam (.i. dñt) niŕsam urbem esse libero patri sacratam.. montemque merum (.i. sacratum) ioui; unde fabula est eum iouis femine (.i. ómorduit) procreatum;.	
Willis	in eo tractu etiam Nysam urbem esse Libero patri sacram montemque Merum Iovi, unde fabula est eum Iovis femine procreatum. ⁴⁹⁴	
Stahl	‘In this region is also found the city of Nysa, sacred to Dionysus, and Mount Merus, sacred to Jupiter; whence the story originated that Dionysus sprang from the thigh of Jupiter.’	
Context	Geometria discusses India. As to the story, <i>μηρος</i> is Greek for ‘thigh’.	
Function	Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: genitive.	
Voss.	Unglossed.	

135) fo.51rb39	.i. mórmeluet gl. testudinum	[§698]
Scribe	W1	
Pal. note	There might be an accent over the <ue>, as the hook of the main text <e> in the line above is extended. However, I deem it too uncertain to transcribe it. The lack of accents over the first <e> cannot be explained as being for want of space, the probable lack of accents over <ue> could be explained as such.	
<u>testudinum</u>	Noun, gen. pl., ‘turtle’; <i>testudo</i> .	
<i>mormeluet</i>	Noun, coll., ‘turtles, sea snails, tortoises’; MoW <i>morfalwod</i> . ⁴⁹⁵	
MS	piscationibus delectantur; praesertimque testudinum (.i. mórmeluet).. quarum superficie domos familiarum capaces operiunt;.	
Willis	piscationibus delectantur praesertimque testudinum, quarum superficie domos familiarum capaces operiunt. ⁴⁹⁶	

⁴⁹³ Stokes 1873: 408, Loth 1884: 188 and Falileyev 2000: 115.

⁴⁹⁴ Willis 1983: 246.

⁴⁹⁵ Stokes 1873: 408, Loth 1884: 189 and Falileyev 2000: 115.

⁴⁹⁶ Willis 1983: 247-248.

Stahl	‘They delight in fishing, especially for turtles, whose shells they use to cover their large houses.’ ⁴⁹⁷
Context	Ceylon is being discussed.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	Unglossed.

136) fo.51va32 **.i. sum hep geometria** gl. *percursus* [§703]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	The lack of an accent over <hep> could be for want of space.
<u>percursus</u>	Past participle of <i>percurro</i> , ‘to traverse’; <i>percursus</i> .
<u>sum</u>	Verb, indic. pres. 1sg, ‘to be’; <i>sum</i> . I do not understand the appearance of <i>sum</i> , ‘I am’, in this gloss. It could be that the glossator intended it to read <i>percursus sum, hep geometria</i> , turning <i>percursus</i> , ‘traversed’, from a past participle into the indic. perf. pass. 1sg <i>percursus sum</i> ‘I have been traversed.’ If so, it would be an error on the glossator’s part.
<i>hep</i>	Defective verb, ‘says/said’; MW <i>heb</i> . It is the only instance where the -p is not a geminate.
<u>geometria</u>	Proper name, nom. sg.; <i>Geometria</i> .
MS	<i>Percursus (.i. sum hep geometria) breuiter terrarum sitús.. licet ignobilia quaeque prae^{ter}uolans immorari non potui.</i>
Willis	<i>Percursus breuiter terrarum situs, licet ignobilia quaeque praetervolans immorari non potui.</i> ⁴⁹⁸
Stahl	‘In my brief survey of the regions of the world, I could not tarry, and I skipped over those areas that are insignificant;’ ⁴⁹⁹
Context	Geometria is about to finish her exposition of the regions of the world.
Function	Elucidation of the main text (?).
Voss.	Unglossed.

137) fo.51va46 **.i. mí mihún** gl. *ipsa* [§703]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	The lack of an accent over <mi> cannot be for want of space.
<u>ipsa</u>	Reflexive pronoun, nom. sg. f., ‘self’; <i>ipse</i> .
<i>mi</i>	Personal pronoun, 1sg.; MW <i>mi</i> .

⁴⁹⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 261.

⁴⁹⁸ Willis 1983: 249.

⁴⁹⁹ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 262-263.

<i>mi</i>	Possessive pronoun, 1sg.; MW <i>fy</i> .
<i>hun</i>	Reflexive marker, ‘self’; MW <i>hun</i> . The element <i>hun</i> also occurs in gloss 53), <i>dittihun</i> . The gloss reads ‘I myself’. ⁵⁰⁰ The construction is common in MW. ⁵⁰¹
MS	<i>exposita est terra quam ipsa (.i. mí mihún) peragraui aequorumque (.i. nóulíróu) mensura..</i>
Willis	<i>Exposita est terrae, quam ipsa peragravi, aequorumque mensura,</i> ⁵⁰²
Stahl	‘I have set forth the dimensions of the lands and the seas which I have traversed.’ ⁵⁰³
Context	Geometria finishes her exposition of the regions of the world.
Function	Direct translation.
Voss.	Unglossed.

138) fo.51va46 **.i. nóulíróu** gl. *aequorumque* [§703]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	There is no space for an accent over the <i>.</i>
<u><i>aequorumque</i></u>	Noun, gen. pl., ‘sea, waves, (smooth) surface’; <i>aequor</i> . The Latin conjunction <i>-que</i> , ‘and’, is suffixed to it.
<i>nou</i>	Genitive marker, see the discussion on gloss 4).
<i>lirou</i>	Noun, pl., ‘seas, oceans’; MW <i>llyr</i> . ⁵⁰⁴
MS	See previous gloss.
Willis	“.
Stahl	“.
Context	“.
Function	Direct translation. Grammatical gloss: genitive.
Voss.	<i>equalium</i>

⁵⁰⁰ Stokes 1873: 408, Loth 1884: 185 and 158, Falileyev 2000: 112-113 and 88, and Schrijver 2011: 51.

⁵⁰¹ Evans 89-90.

⁵⁰² Willis 1983: 250.

⁵⁰³ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 263.

⁵⁰⁴ Stokes 1873: 408, Loth 1884: 175 and Falileyev 2000: 104.

BOOK VII: Arithmetic - §725-802 by hand A

BOOK VIII: Astronomy - §803-887 by hand A (2 Welsh glosses)

139) fo.57va60 **.i. rún t'niáu** gl. *sterope* [§804]

Scribe W1

sterope Read *strepore*. Noun (?), abl. sg. (?), 'noise'. It is a rare form, related to the verb *strepo*, 'to make noise'.

runtniau Read *runcniau*. Noun, pl., 'snorts, snores'; uncertain. Stokes, Loth and Falileyev consider it to be a mistake for ***runcniau*, which reflects the plural of MW *rhwngc*.⁵⁰⁵ It is a Latin loanword, from *rhoncus*. The second *-n-* is unexpected and renders this interpretation problematic. Schrijver suggests a possible link to the verb *rhugn-*, *rhygn-*,⁵⁰⁶ 'to make a grating or grinding sound'. This seems plausible, but lacks the first *-n-*. I remain undecided.

If my interpretation of the Latin is correct, a singular is glossed by a plural. If this is the case, it seems likely that the glossator thought the *-e* of <*sterope*> to be the nom. pl. f. case ending of *a*-stems.

MS quo *sterope* (**.i. rún t'niáu**) *et rapido* 'li *sonitús raucitate concussi. eodem* (.i. ubi) *sé quam plures conuertere diui;*

Willis quo *strepore et rapiduli sonitus raucitate concussi eodem se quamplures convertere diui*⁵⁰⁷

Stahl 'Several of the gods, shaken by this frightening and raucous sound, turned round'⁵⁰⁸

Context After *Arithmetica* finished her talk, an awed silence descends over the assembly. *Silenus*, however, described as an attendant of *Bacchus* and being drunk, falls asleep and his snoring startles the gods.

Function Expansion of the main text.

Voss. (gloss on *quo strepore et rapiduli sonitus raucitate concussi*) *s. sonitu una dearum s. concussa est pro asperitate. stupidi moti*

⁵⁰⁵ Stokes 1873: 408, Loth 1884: 213 and Falileyev 2000: 140.

⁵⁰⁶ Schrijver, personal communication.

⁵⁰⁷ Willis 1983: 303.

⁵⁰⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 314.

Scribe	W1
<u>ex</u>	Preposition, ‘of, from’; takes the ablative; <i>e(x)</i> .
<u>cratere</u>	Noun, abl. sg., ‘crater, vat’; <i>crater</i> . It is a loanword from Greek <i>κρατηρ</i> .
<i>talciipp</i>	Noun, sg. ‘wine vessel, vat, cup, bowl’; MW pl. <i>talkibed</i> . ⁵⁰⁹ Stokes and Loth interpret it as being cognate to Irish <i>tulchube</i> , ‘crater, vessel’. ⁵¹⁰
MS	<i>nam et aquam quae excratere (.i. tálcípp) aquarii fluit. melius partem signi credimus..</i>
Willis	<i>nam et Aquam, quae ex cratere Aquarii fluit, melius partem signi credimus</i> ⁵¹¹
Stahl	‘We consider Aqua, which flows from the cup of Aquarius, as more appropriately a part of that sign’ ⁵¹²
Context	Various stars and star signs are discussed by <i>Astronomia</i> .
Function	Direct translation.
Voss.	Unglossed.

⁵⁰⁹ Falileyev 2000: 145 and Schrijver 1998-2000: 150.

⁵¹⁰ Stokes 1873: 108 and Loth 1884: 219.

⁵¹¹ Willis 1983: 316.

⁵¹² Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 326.

BOOK IX: Harmony	-	§888-911 by hand A	(five Welsh glosses)
		§911-922 by hand E	(one Welsh gloss)
		§922-997 by hand A	(three Welsh glosses)
		§997-1000 by hand E	

141) fo.61vb08 .i. **gúogáltóu** gl. *fulcrís* (*or redimicula*) [§888]

Scribe W1

Pal. note Marginal gloss. It is linked to the main text by means of a *signe de renvoi* (•~).

fulcris Noun, abl. pl., ‘bed, couch, the post or foot of a bed or couch’; *fulcrum*.

redimicula Noun, acc. pl., ‘band, necklace, frontlet’; *redimiculum*.

guogaltou Noun, pl., lit. ‘under-hair-things’. It is a hapax. Stokes considered it to be obscure. *Guo-* is MW *go-*, ‘under’. He interpreted *-galt-* as the rare MoW word *gallt*, ‘energy, power’.⁵¹³ Loth and Falileyev did not know how to interpret it.⁵¹⁴ *-ou* must be the plural ending, reflecting the Latin plural.

Schrijver proposed that it did not gloss *fulcris*, but glossed the following word *redimicula*, which he translates very specifically as ‘a band attached to the back of a head-dress and falling down the shoulders on either side’. He interprets *guogaltou* as a compound of *guo-* and ***gualt*, MW *gwallt*, ‘hair’, with loss of lenited *-g-* and probable loss of intervocalic /w/ after a rounded vowel. He noted that the compound could not be attested in later Welsh, as OW *guogalt* would have become identical to MW *gwallt*, ‘hair’, itself.⁵¹⁵

Schrijver’s interpretation is highly convincing and has been adopted here, but it must be noted that it is hard to see how *guogaltou* could have been intended to gloss *redimicula* rather than *fulcris* without declaring it a scribal error. *Guogaltou* is a marginal gloss and was linked to the main text by means of a *signe de renvoi*, which appears over the very first letter of *fulcris*, well away from *redimicula*. If the gloss does gloss *fulcris*, it may be an admittedly obscure interpretation of its meaning ‘the post or foot of a bed’ as ‘the high end of a bed’ (cf. Dutch *hoofdeinde*, ‘head-end’), which is under the head and as such ‘under the hair’ when one lies down on one. The fit with *redimicula* is not perfect either, as it means ‘bands, garlands’ in general in the text, describing what must presumably be ribbon-like decorations on a ‘marriage couch’, rather than the very specific translation adopted by Schrijver. The glossator could of course have been aware of that specific meaning of *redimiculum* and chosen

⁵¹³ Stokes 1873: 409.

⁵¹⁴ Loth 1884: 142 and Falileyev 2000: 71.

⁵¹⁵ Schrijver 1998-2000: 157.

to interpret that with *guogaltou*, but given the aforementioned palaeographical difficulties, it is not an optimal match. I therefore prefer to consider it a gloss on *fulcris*.

MS	ipsa etiam fulcris () redimā ⁱ cula (.i. ridimicula) nectere sueta. flora (.i. deana) (.i. florida) dcens trina anxia cum carite (.i. dea) (.i. caritate) est..
Willis	ipsa etiam fulcris redimicula nectere sueta, Flora decens trina anxia cum Charite est. ⁵¹⁶
Stahl	‘Comely Flora, whose wont it is to deck the marriage couch with garlands, sits anxiously with the Graces three.’ ⁵¹⁷
Context	Venus grumbles about the learned proceedings that distract the assembly from the more joyous aspects of the wedding and asks that if there must be learned discourse, it should include song.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	<i>toris</i>

142) fo.62ra29 **scámell** gl. *trapius*, corrected: *trapos* [§894]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	It lacks the introductory <i.> abbreviation, which might have been obscured by the <os> correction, the aspect of which is late. The (incorrect) <i>i</i> of <i>-ius</i> is written under the <i>-us</i> abbreviation. There is no space for an accent over the <e>.
<u>trapius</u>	Read <i>tripus</i> . Noun, nom. sg., ‘tripod, a three-footed seat’; <i>tripus</i> . It is loanword from Greek <i>τριποῦς</i> .
<i>scamell</i>	Noun, sg., ‘bench’; MW <i>ysgafell</i> . It is a Latin loanword, first believed to have been from <i>scabellum</i> , ‘low stool, bench’. It is noteworthy that we find <i>scamell</i> /skañeɫ/, rather than the expected * <i>scabell</i> /skaveɫ/. Stokes briefly mentioned that lenited <m> and are both pronounced /v/, ⁵¹⁸ but although this is true for Middle Welsh, this is not believed to have been the case for the Old Welsh of the ninth century. ⁵¹⁹ Loth attempted to solve this issue by allowing for interference from a form <i>scamn-</i> , ⁵²⁰ from <i>scamnum</i> . Falileyev resolved the issue by pointing out that there is also <i>scamellum</i> , the diminutive of <i>scamnum</i> . ⁵²¹ <i>Scamell</i> must therefore derive from, or have been influenced by, <i>scamnum</i> or <i>scamellum</i> .

⁵¹⁶ Willis 1983: 337.

⁵¹⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 345.

⁵¹⁸ Stokes 1873: 409.

⁵¹⁹ Jackson 1953: 493. He notes that although /ṽ/ was denasalized after *au* - ‘probably in the eight century’ - and before *r* and *fr* - ‘by the ninth century’ - it was otherwise retained and thus distinct from /v/.

⁵²⁰ Loth 213-214.

⁵²¹ Falileyev 2000: 141.

MS	oenistice (.i. dea) <i>tertia est perquam tripius</i> ⁵²² (scáínell) illa uenturi denuntia atque omnis emiñ ^c uit (.i. percellit) <i>nostra cortina</i> (.i. léínn);
Willis	Oeonistice tertia est, per quam tripus illa venturi denuntia atque omnis emiñuit nostra cortina. ⁵²²
Stahl	‘The third maiden will be Oeonistice, through whom the tripod declares those future events and every oracular cauldron has given clear responses.’ ⁵²³
Context	The maidens brought to the wedding by Philologia’s mother, Phronesis, are discussed. Oeonistice means ‘having to do with omens from birds’. ⁵²⁴
Function	Translation into Old Welsh.
Voss.	<i>s. apollinis</i>

143) fo.62ra30 **.i. léínn** gl. cortina [§894]

Scribe	W1
<u>cortina</u>	Noun, nom. sg., ‘cauldron, cauldron-shaped tripod of Apollo (on which Pythia sat)’; <i>cortina</i> .
<i>lenn</i>	Noun, sg., ‘mantle, curtain, veil’; MW <i>llen</i> . ⁵²⁵ It also occurs in gloss 25). There, as in the Juvenius manuscript, it glosses a form of <i>palla</i> , ‘mantle’. It also occurs once in the glosses on Ovidius, where it glosses <i>saga</i> , which - given the semantics of <i>palla</i> - is likely to be a form of <i>sagum</i> , ‘woolen mantle’. <i>Cortina</i> here means ‘cauldron’, but in Vulgar Latin acquired a secondary meaning, ‘curtain’. It must be this second meaning that is glossed by the Welsh.
MS	See previous gloss.
Willis	“.
Stahl	“.
Context	“.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	(gloss on <i>nostra cortina</i>) <i>quasi cortina. que vera et occulta tenuit. vel a corio pitonis</i>

144) fo.62va11 **.i. réíð** gl. spicum [§903]

Scribe	W1
<u>spicum</u>	Noun, acc. sg., ‘point, spike, ear (of grain)’; neutr. of <i>spica</i> . It is also known as the <i>caelibaris hasta</i> .

⁵²² Willis 1983: 340.

⁵²³ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 347.

⁵²⁴ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 347.

⁵²⁵ Stokes 1873: 392 and 409, Loth 1884: 173 and Falileyev 2000: 102.

<i>reid</i>	Noun, sg., ‘spear, lance’; MW pl. <i>rheidiau/reidyau</i> (the sg. is not attested for MW), MoW <i>rhaidd</i> .
MS	c rinale spicum (.i. réid) phratris deprome cupido libens capillum soluere..
Willis	crinale spicum pharetris deprome, Cupido, libens capillum solvere.
Stahl	‘You, Cupid, eager to let down the maiden’s hair, draw forth the bridal spear from your quiver.’ ⁵²⁶
Context	Hymenaeus sings the wedding song.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	(gloss on <i>crinale spicum</i>) <i>muliebre instrumentum ad ordinandos capillos</i>

145) fo.62va47 .i. **fistlgá bláú** gl. fistula bilatrix [§906]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	Marginal gloss. It is linked to the main text by means of a <i>signe de renvoi</i> (•~).
<u>fistula</u>	Noun, nom. sg., ‘(reed) pipe’; <i>fistula</i> .
<u>bilatrix</u>	According to Willis and Stokes, citing an earlier edition of the text, we should read <i>sibilatrix</i> . Adj, nom. sg. ‘hissing, whistling’; <i>sibilatrix</i> . The manuscript reads <i>bilatrix</i> , which Stokes, followed by Loth, ⁵²⁷ thought the glossator must have interpreted as ‘equivalent to <i>furcata</i> ’, ‘forked’. ⁵²⁸ The gloss in the Vossianus manuscript supports this idea.
<i>fistl</i>	Noun, sg., ‘(reed) pipe’. It is a hapax. It is borrowed from Latin <i>fistula</i> , but is not otherwise attested. Modern Welsh <i>ffistwla</i> is a borrowing from English, according to the GPC. ⁵²⁹
<i>gablaw</i>	Adjective, sg., ‘split, cleft, forked’; MW <i>gaflaw</i> . Loth considered it to be a plural noun. ⁵³⁰ Falileyev supports Stokes’ position ⁵³¹ that it is a singular adjective derived by means of <i>-au</i> from * <i>gabl</i> , which Falileyev compares to OBret. <i>gabl</i> , ‘branch, branching’, ⁵³² and O.Ir. <i>gabul</i> , ‘fork, a forked branch’. ⁵³³ As the glossed Latin consists of a noun and an adjective, it seems likely that the Welsh also consists of a noun and an adjective, rather than of two nouns. This is the only Welsh gloss in which the word order is what one would expect on the basis of Middle Welsh, NOUN-ADJ. As in the other cases, the Latin of the main text displays NOUN-ADJ word order.

⁵²⁶ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 350.

⁵²⁷ Loth 1884: 128.

⁵²⁸ Stokes 1873: 409.

⁵²⁹ Falileyev 2000: 58.

⁵³⁰ Loth 1884: 128.

⁵³¹ Stokes 1873: 409.

⁵³² Fleuriot 1964: 173.

⁵³³ Falileyev 2000: 59.

MS	<i>uerum per medium quidam agrestos canorique semidei quorum hircipedem pandura siluanum harundinis énodís fistula bilatris^x (.i. fístlgá bláú) rurestris faunum tibia decuerunt;</i>
Willis	verum per medium quidam agrestes canorique semidei, quorum hircipedem pandura, Silvanum harundinis enodis fistulas sibilatrix, rurestris Faunum tibia decuerunt. ⁵³⁴
Stahl	‘In the middle were some rustic and tuneful demigods, playing on appropriate instruments, the Goat-Footed one [Pan] on a pandura, Silvanus on a reed pipe smoothed of knots, and Faunus on a rustic flute.’ ⁵³⁵
Context	A throng of gods, demi-gods, heroes and philosophers has assembled and enters the hall, chanting and playing music.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	(gloss on <i>fistula sibilatrix</i>) <i>vel bilatrix i. bis latrans stridula. declinatur hic et haec bilatrix et hoc bilatre.</i>

146) fo.63ra31 **i. húí** gl. *quae*

[§913]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	The introductory <i>id est</i> abbreviation lacks its usual, first dot, but the aspect is entirely as expected for hand W1. The first dot is otherwise always present on this folium, as elsewhere in the writing of W1 and where it should have appeared in this gloss, there is a very faint, dot-like impression. The hand is very similar and likely identical to the writing of main text hand E, see further the discussion at the start of chapter 2.
<u>quae</u>	Rel. pron., nom. pl. f., ‘who’; <i>qui</i> .
<i>hui</i>	Pers. pron., 2pl.; MW <i>chwi</i> . ⁵³⁶
MS	<i>iam uos uerenda quaeso caeli germina.. quae (.i. húí) multiforme scit ciere (.i. uocare) barbiton..</i>
Willis	<i>Iam vos verende quaeso caeli germina, quae multiforme scit ciere barbiton</i> ⁵³⁷
Stahl	‘I pray you, venerable offspring of the heavens, who know how to play upon the barbiton [cithara] of many sounds’ ⁵³⁸
Context	Harmonia sings a hymn to various gods and groups of divinities.
Function	Expansion of the main text.
Voss.	(gloss on <i>Quae multiformae</i>) <i>germina</i>

⁵³⁴ Willis 1983: 345.

⁵³⁵ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 351.

⁵³⁶ Stokes 1873: 409, Loth 1884: 157, Falileyev 2000: 87-88 and Schrijver 48-49.

⁵³⁷ Willis 1983: 349.

⁵³⁸ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 354.

147) fo.63va18 .i. **τάυτόύ** gl. fides

[§924]

Scribe	W1
Pal. note	The <a> is rather different from W1's usual style. It might be a different hand. However, given that the following, vernacular gloss in the second column is identical and shows the expected <a>, I prefer to ascribe both to W1.
<u>fides</u>	Noun, nom. pl. (or sing.), 'strings, stringed instrument'; <i>fides</i> .
<i>tantou</i>	Noun, pl., 'chords, strings'; MW <i>tant</i> . ⁵³⁹ The following gloss is identical. The word <i>tantou</i> also occurs in gloss 62), there being part of a compound <i>comtantou</i> gl. bombis.
MS	Nam fides (.i. τάυτόύ) apud delphos perdeliacam (.i. appollinarem) citharam demonstraui.
Willis	nam fides apud Delphos per Deliacam citharam demonstravi;
Stahl	'For I demonstrated the use of stringed instruments at Delphi, through the Delian's cithara' ⁵⁴⁰
Context	Harmonia has begun her discourse on Harmony.
Function	Direct translation.
Voss.	<i>cordas</i>

148) fo.63vb15 .i. **τάυτόύ** gl. fides

[§927]

Scribe	W1
<u>fides</u>	Noun, nom. pl. (or sing.), 'strings, stringed instrument'; <i>fides</i> .
<i>tantou</i>	Noun, pl., 'chords, strings'; MW <i>tant</i> . ⁵⁴¹ See previous gloss.
MS	fides (.i. τάυτόύ) delphinís amicitiam hominum persuad ^s erunt;.
Willis	fides delphinis amicitiam hominum persuaserunt. ⁵⁴²
Stahl	'and stringed instruments have won dolphins over to the friendship of man.' ⁵⁴³
Context	Various examples of animals being influenced by music are discussed.
Function	Direct translation.
Voss.	Unglossed.

⁵³⁹ Stokes 1873: 410, Loth 1884: 219 and Falileyev 2000: 145.

⁵⁴⁰ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 357.

⁵⁴¹ Stokes 1873: 410, Loth 1884: 219 and Falileyev 2000: 145.

⁵⁴² Willis 1983: 356.

⁵⁴³ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 359.

149) fo.66vb37 **.i. dítŕa** gl. detrahere

[§988]

Scribe W1

Pal. note The gloss was first discovered by Lemmen⁵⁴⁴. The presence of so many accents over it render its identification as Welsh certain, as this has no parallel in the Latin.

detrahere Verb, infinitive, ‘to detract’; *detraho*.

ditra Uncertain. It is a hapax. Lemmen offered two suggestions. The first is to read it as a loanword from Latin *detrahere* itself, with *di-* being ‘the OW equivalent of Latin *de* and *-tra* reflecting *-trahere*. The second option is to connect *-tra* with *treio*, ‘to ebb, fall, drain’, the compound then meaning ‘to ebb away’.⁵⁴⁵ The first seems the more likely, semantically.

MS *sed iambus dictus est ab eo quo iambisin graeci detrahere (.i. dítŕa) dixerunt;*

Willis *sed iambis dictus ab eo quo ιαμβιζειν Graeci detrahere dixerunt*⁵⁴⁶

Stahl ‘the iamb gets its name from the Greek verb *iambizein*, which means ‘to detract.’⁵⁴⁷

Context The measures distinguished in music are treated by Harmonia.

Function Direct translation (?), or expansion of the main text.

Voss. Unglossed.

⁵⁴⁴ Lemmen 2006: 33-34.

⁵⁴⁵ Lemmen 2006: 33-34.

⁵⁴⁶ Willis 1983: 381.

⁵⁴⁷ Stahl 1977, vol. 2: 379.

Chapter 3: Analysis and conclusion

These analyses focus on the glosses that were written by glossator W1/E. He wrote 136 of the 142 glosses which I consider to be in the vernacular and is therefore the only vernacular glossator for whom we have a decent amount of material. Of the other Welsh glossators, W2's practice appears to be identical to that of W1/E as both the matter of their glosses and their use of accents are the same (as was argued in chapter 1, pages 17-18). They have therefore been taken together for the purpose of these analyses. W5/B's work is limited to a single gloss. Glossators W3, W4 and W6 did not add any glosses that are likely to be in the vernacular.

The vernacular accents

It has already been mentioned in chapter 1 that the accents which mark the vast majority of the Old Welsh glosses in this manuscript are believed not to reflect any phonetic quality of the letters they mark. This is correct. I have transcribed and studied the accents, but although it is possible to discern patterns, or tendencies in the practice of accentuating the glosses, there seem to be counterexamples to any phonetic 'rule' one might try to impose on it. In theory, this means that anything goes. I have given the basic distribution of the accents in the tables below. There were eight accents for which I could not decide over which letter they were intended to appear and which I have transcribed in between the letters over which they appear in the edition. They were not included in these tables.

vowels and consonants

Accented vowels	341	c. 85%
Accented consonants	61	c. 15%
Total	402	=100%

As can be seen from the table, the accents are mainly found over vowels. Still, accents marking consonants can hardly be considered rare as there are 61 of them, making up about 15% of the total. For some of those, e.g. gloss 33), *.i. írþoullóráur*, it may be argued that the accent over the *p* was intended for the *o* of the diphthong *ou* that follows it, but was placed over the nearest consonant as there was no space for it over the vowel. However, this cannot be the case for at least half of the accented consonants and we must therefore conclude that, although the glossator preferred to mark vowels, both vowels and consonants could be marked by accents, and this without any apparent restrictions.

vowels in detail

á	56	c. 16,5%
é	51	c. 15%
í	120	c. 35%
ó	61	c. 18%
ú	53	c. 15,5%
Total	341	=100%

The distribution of the accents over the vowels is remarkably even, with all vowels but *i* carrying between between 15 and 18 percent of the accents found over vowels. The relatively large amount of accents over *i* corresponds to the fact that that particular vowel occurs about twice as often as any other vowel in these glosses. The lack of any clear link between the accents and the phonetics is further demonstrated by examples such as glosses 147), *tántóú*, and 148), *tántóu*, and glosses 68), *túsléstr*, 78), *úsléstr*, and 88) *túsléstr*, where the same words occur, but are marked differently.

Another example of the ambiguity of the glossator's practice is found in the way diphthongs are marked. The distribution is given in the tables below.

u-diphthongs

óu	oú	óú	áu	aú	áu
25	6	5	9	1	4

i-diphthongs

ái	aí	ái	áe	aé	áé	éi	eí	éí
3	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	2
úi	uí	úi	ói	oí	ói			
4	2	4	2	0	1			

It must be noted that the lack of any examples of <éi> may well be caused by the fact that /ei/ is more often spelled <e> in these glosses. It is quite clear from these tables that, again, anything is possible. Still, in most cases, especially where there is a relatively large amount of examples, there is a tendency to mark the first vowel that makes up the diphthong. Of the alternatives, marking both vowels is generally preferred over marking only the second vowel.

Although the glossator appears to have been careless in his placement of the accents, he is very consistent in his use of them. Out of 142 vernacular glosses, all but ten are marked by accents. Furthermore, out of those ten that were left unaccented, it is possible to argue that in seven cases, there

simply was no space available to add any accents to the gloss. This means that only three out of the 142 vernacular glosses were left unaccented where space allowed for accents to be added. At this point, it may also be noted that the glosses which appear to be South-West-British (glosses 16), *ít dagattéáil* and 59) *íthrírdúáil*) and the gloss that appears to be Irish (gloss 110) *máíl*) are accented in the same way as the other, Old Welsh, glosses are. As such, they are not palaeographically distinct from the other non-Latin glosses.

In conclusion, it would seem that the glossator used the accents solely to distinguish the glosses from their Latin counterparts and that he was therefore not particularly concerned about where exactly he placed the accents. He was, however, certainly aware that one might use accents to mark vowel length, as this is the practice found in both the Latin of the main text and the Latin glosses in this manuscript and he used it himself in some of his own Latin glosses, e.g. fo.10ra28 *ó philologia gl. tibi*, where *ó* is the Latin vocative particle /*ō*/. Moreover, glossator W1/E is otherwise known, as was demonstrated by Schrijver,⁵⁴⁸ for his use of an otherwise unattested practice of writing geminates to mark preceding short vowels in Welsh. This practice was, according to Schrijver, inspired by Latin. As phonetically meaningless accents are also found in the Juvenius glosses, the practice of marking vernacular glosses by means of accents, rather than having been inspired by accents marking vowel length, seems to be the Welsh counterpart to the somewhat inconsistently applied Old Irish practice of marking Irish glosses to distinguish them from Latin glosses. The Irish did this by means of dots, or accents that were very consciously placed over consonants to avoid any possible confusion with *fada*'s marking vowel length.⁵⁴⁹ The far less restricted practice of glossator W1/E, given his special interest in marking vowel length orthographically, strongly suggests that he was not aware of *any* orthographical practice whereby accents could be used to mark Welsh vowel length.

Deviant syntax

As was mentioned in my 'aims' and in the discussion on various glosses in the edition, all but one (or possibly two) of the Welsh glosses show a highly unusual syntax whenever an adjective qualifies a noun. I shall now provide a list of the examples:

- 12) fo.4ra22 **ir carnotaul bricer** gl. vitta crinalis
- 17) fo.4va32 **nou ir hir cimerdridou.** gl. lucubrationum
- 18) fo.4va38 **crunnolunou** gl. orbiculata
- 46) fo.8va20 **or cueeticc cors** gl. ex papyro textili
- 66) fo.10va08 **nou ir crunnui** gl. oui

⁵⁴⁸ Schrijver 1998-2000: 147-156.

⁵⁴⁹ The latter practice is for example used by the Prima Manus of the Würzburg glosses, Ó Néil 2002: 231 and Blasse 2015: 25.

- 106) fo.41ra32 **fonnaul difrit** gl. fustuarium
 108) fo.42ra32 **or dubenetición abalbrouannou** gl. gurgulionibus exsectís
 116) fo.45ra44 **ir catteiraul retteticc strotur** gl. sella curulis

The only certain counterexample, observing the expected word order, is:

- 145) fo.62va47 **fistl gablau** gl. fistula bilatrix

Another counterexample may exist:

- 89) fo.14ra41 **flairmaur** gl. olocem

But this is more likely to be a compound, as Latin *olocem* is an adjective and it is therefore likely that it is glossed by a Welsh adjective. The compound *flairmaur* would be an adjective, whereas *flair maur* would be a noun, modified by an adjective.

In Welsh, from Old to Modern, adjectives are otherwise known to follow the nouns they qualify. The only real exception to this strict rule is formed by a small group of adjectives, e.g. *hen* and *prif*, which instead precede the noun, forming a loose compound.⁵⁵⁰ Similarly in compounds in general, the adjective can precede the noun with which it forms a compound.⁵⁵¹ A final exception may be found in predicative phrases, in which the item that bears the ‘new information’ comes first, e.g. MoW *ys gwyrdd ef*, ‘he is green, lit. ‘is green he’.

Examining the examples from the glosses, none of the preceding adjectives belong to that small group of adjectives that generally precede their nouns. Nor is it likely that all of the examples are (loose) compounds. Arguably *hircimerdridou*, ‘long-...’ (the second element is poorly understood), *crunnolunou*, ‘round-wheels’, and *crunnui* ‘round-egg’ could be compounds. One would, however, then expect *crunn*, MW *crwnn* /krøn:/ to become ***crinn-*, MW *crynn-* /krøn:/, which is its reflex in compounds. Then again, the *u* could easily be analogically restored from the free-standing adjective. Moreover, the example of gloss 108), *dubeneticion*, with <dub> for /dəβ/ shows that <u> could be used to spell /ə/ in these glosses.

The other examples would make for even less likely compounds. Taking gloss 12) as a compound would yield the word *carnotaulbricer*, meaning ‘bun-shaped-head-of-hair’. Gloss 46) *cueeticccors*, ‘woven-reeds’. Gloss 106) *fonnauldifrit*, ‘pertaining-to-a-stick-beating’. Gloss 108) *dubeneticionabalbrouannou*, ‘cut-away-Adam’s-apples’. And gloss 116) would make for a fanciful triple compound, *catteiraulretteticcstrotur*, ‘chairy-running-saddle’, or a compound modified by an

⁵⁵⁰ Lemmen 2006: 12 and Morris-Jones 1931: 261-263.

⁵⁵¹ Lemmen 2006: 11 and Morris-Jones 1931: 260-263.

adjective, *catteiraul retteticstrotur*, ‘chairy running-saddle’. None of them consist of the kind of common adjectives, such as ‘long’, or ‘big’, that are often found in compounds. Instead, the adjectives are highly specific and the would-be compounds obscure. This is not to say that it is impossible to regard them as compounds, as a creative glossator might accept such an artificial form, but it is less likely. Moreover, except for *fonnaul difrit*,⁵⁵² they are all glosses on a Latin noun and adjective, making it probable that the Welsh gloss consists of a noun and an adjective as well. In each of these cases the Latin shows NOUN-ADJ word order, where the Welsh has ADJ-NOUN word order.

The final, tentative solution of explaining these glosses as predicative phrases in which the copula has been left out, is also unlikely. Such phrases never start with a preposition, as the predicate always immediately follows the copula and would therefore stand at the very beginning of a sentence in which the copula was left out. In these glosses, there are multiple examples of other words preceding the predicate, e.g. glosses 46) *or cueeticc cors* and 108) *or dubeneticion abalbrouannou*, in which the preposition *o* precedes it.

I cannot explain the remarkable word order of these glosses, but it is striking that the glossator’s Old Welsh word order directly opposed the NOUN-ADJ word order of the Latin in four of the five glosses in which a Latin noun and adjective are glossed by a Welsh noun and adjective. I therefore deem it unlikely that the glossator’s practice was based on any Latin predilection towards ADJ-NOUN word order.

Competence in Latin

In order to consider why the glossator added Welsh glosses to a Latin manuscript that was otherwise glossed in Latin, it is important to consider his competence in Latin, so as to exclude - if possible - the possibility that he used Welsh because his Latin was not up to the task.

Our first consideration should be that Martianus Capella’s Latin is notoriously hard and that it requires considerable skill for the reader to properly understand his text. The glossator was able to copy part of the main text, add Latin glosses to it and add 136 vernacular glosses. The Latin main text was certainly copied from an exemplar and the same was probably true for the Latin and South-West-British glosses, but the Welsh glosses may well have been his own creation.⁵⁵³ The question then turns to whether these vernacular glosses demonstrate an understanding of the text. I believe they do. The Welsh glosses offer direct translations, expand upon the meaning of the main text and even elucidate the (grammatical) structure and contents of the Latin text, and they generally do so in a sensible way.

⁵⁵² Which, interestingly, was consciously written as two separate word by the scribe, without this being triggered by the available space, or lack thereof.

⁵⁵³ If they should someday prove not to have been original to the manuscript, the argument itself stands, as the glosses must at some point have been created by some Welsh scribe. The argument would simply move up a step.

Indeed, the matter of the Welsh glosses is very similar to that of the Latin glosses found in the manuscript. The Latin glosses often offer synonyms of words in the main text. The Welsh glosses that offer a direct translation of the Latin offer something similar. If the reader is fluent in both languages, a translation that stays close to the original language is in a sense comparable to a synonym in the original language. My assumption that Welsh users of this manuscript would have been fluent readers of Latin rises from the simple fact that these vernacular glosses would not have allowed a novice speaker of Latin to understand the text. The glosses are far too few and far too scattered to allow for such a thing.

The Latin glosses also expand upon the main text, much like the Welsh glosses do, providing the reader with secondary meanings of words, or additional information. Finally, the Latin glosses also elucidate the main text by means of adding copula's where they are lacking in the main text, adding names over obscure references and clarifying passages of direct speech. Again, to a reader fluent in both languages, the Welsh glosses would have been very similar to their Latin counterparts. The only trait of the vernacular glosses that appears to have no Latin counterpart is the practice of using prepositions and the particle *nou* to reflect Latin cases in the Welsh. These vernacular grammatical case-glosses do, however, constitute an example of the glossator's ability to comprehend and, indeed, to in a sense reproduce the Latin case system in his glosses.

Another witness to the glossator's ability to use Latin comes in the form of the bilingual glosses, in which both Latin and Welsh are used. An example of his active command of the Latin case system is found in gloss 71) *enuein di iunoni*, where the Latin name, Iuno, is inflected for the dative. This demonstrates both that he knew how to inflect Latin nouns in writing and that he was aware that the dative is used to mark the indirect object, making it a fitting case to use after Welsh *di*, 'for'. That he did not always switch entirely to Latin is demonstrated by the similar glosses 2) and 72), *anu di iuno*, where the same Latin name is not inflected, as in Welsh, which lacks a case system. Intriguingly, the glossator must have considered Latin names to be Latin, even when he does not inflect them, as he never marks these names by accents. In fact, he seems to have been highly conscious of his use of two distinct languages in these glosses, as he takes care to mark the Welsh found within them by means of accents, even when it consists of only a single preposition, as in gloss 129) *nomen dí cretae*. Should these bilingual glosses be the result of code switching, this orthographic evidence of his consciousness of having switched languages may well indicate that he added the accents after he had finished writing all the words of the gloss, rather than whilst he wrote the accented word itself.

The bilingual glosses contain another intriguing clue to the nature of the glossator's Latin in the form of gloss 91), *hepp marciane*. This gloss was discussed very extensively in the edition and I will not repeat the argument here, but its use of the vocative case to mark the subject of a verb seems to imply that the glossator's Latin was influenced by the Romance language that developed out of British-Latin.

All in all, it is only proper to conclude that the glossator was a capable speaker and writer of Latin. He was conscious of his use of two, distinct languages, but although he marked the Welsh quite consistently, he used both languages to add the same kind of glosses to the text. Rather than being a sign of his lack of competence in Latin, I would say that it implies that he switched freely between the two languages and was capable of discussing a complex Latin text in both. Moreover, it implies that this bilingual approach was accepted in his scholarly environment.

Insular traits

Some of the features mentioned in the preceding sections are reminiscent of the practices of Old Irish scribes, but are not (well-)known from later Welsh. The way accents are used to visually distinguish between vernacular and Latin glosses has already been compared to Old Irish practices in the preceding.

Another feature of great interest is found in the bilingual glosses, where there is reason to believe that a Latin ligature and a Latin abbreviation are used to express Welsh words. Such originally Latin ligatures and abbreviations are used very frequently to express the vernacular in Old and Middle Irish manuscripts, where the scribes have clearly fully incorporated them into their system of writing Irish. It is very common in Irish manuscripts for ligatures such as <ǃ>, which originally meant *vel*, ‘or’, to express Old Irish *nó*, ‘or’. By extension, these ligatures were even incorporated into Irish words, e.g. the ligature for *quia*, ‘because’, came to be used to express Irish *ar*, ‘because’, and the ligature was then used to express the sound *-ar-* word-internally as well. Latin abbreviations, such as superscript ^a for *-ra*, and a simple ⁻ to indicate more generally that a word was abbreviated in an unspecified manner, were also eagerly adopted by Irish scribes to write Irish.

In this respect, the Irish scribes differed greatly from their Welsh counterparts. Abbreviations are very rare in Welsh texts and glosses, and ligatures are rarer still. This is why it is remarkable to find that a Latin ligature and a Latin abbreviation were, perhaps, used to express Welsh in these Old Welsh glosses. The Latin ligature *vel* and the Latin abbreviation *nō*, usually for *nomen*, may have been used to write Old Welsh *nou*, MW *neu*, ‘or’ and Old Welsh *anu*, MW *enw*, ‘name’, respectively. The case for *vel* is made by gloss 93), *locell uel fonn*. It is unlikely that the glossator switched languages in between two Welsh nouns to use a Latin conjunction. It seems far more credible that he simply used the *vel*-ligature to write what he would have read as Welsh *nou*. The case for reading *nō* as *anu* is made by glosses 77), 129) and 131), *nō di sibellae*, *nō di cretae* and *nō di tauro caucasso*. They are essentially identical to for example the *anu di iuno* glosses (e.g. glosses 2) and 72)), but are written with <nō> rather than <anu>. It seems unlikely for the glossator to have switched languages in between a Latin noun and a Latin proper name to use a Welsh preposition. It seems far more likely that he began in Welsh, with what he must have read as *anu di* and switched to the Latin after the preposition, when he encountered the understandable trigger of Latin names. That he did switch to

Latin after *di* is confirmed by the use of the dative case for the Latin names. This is unlike the *anu di iuno* glosses, where Iuno is left in the nominative, but comparable to gloss 71), *enuein di iunoni*.

Another feature may be found in the attempts to closely approximate the Latin in the vernacular, demonstrated first of all in the glosses that reflect grammatical cases in the Latin, which is also unusual for later Welsh scholars, although it has parallels in other, early Welsh manuscripts.⁵⁵⁴ It has no direct counterpart in the Irish material, as Irish had a functional case system, but it is remarkable nonetheless. A second matter which should be mentioned is that the Old Welsh glosses on Martianus Capella include a great number of *hapax legomena*. I have consistently marked these as such in the edition. Their great number may well indicate that many of them were specifically created to approximate and perhaps even to emulate the Latin of the main text in the Welsh glosses. An example of this is gloss 30) *damcirchineat*, ‘one who circles around’, which glosses *demorator*, ‘delayer’, which is itself a hapax in Latin. This tendency to devise new words when confronted with an unusual Latin term reminds one of the Hispanic tradition of Irish Latin. I have not focused on this aspect for my thesis, but it seems a promising avenue for future research and it may prove that the early Welsh scholarly environment was very similar to its early Irish counterpart.

Final thoughts

Having studied these glosses in their entirety, I would say that the glossator who added them was a capable scholar. He had a good command of Latin and was able to switch freely between Latin and Welsh whilst working on a difficult text. He was aware of the fact that he was using two different languages, but used them in a similar way, essentially placing them on an equal footing for the purpose of glossing a Latin text. In this, he reminds me a lot of the early Irish scholars, some of whom he himself may well have met as they travelled through Wales. And yet, our glossator was clearly Welsh and has provided us with a set of fine, Old Welsh glosses.

Evidently, we modern scholars were never his intended audience. His aim - unfortunately for him, hindered by the removal of the manuscript to England, which, fortunately for us, allowed it to survive to the present - must have been to help both himself and his fellow speakers of Old Welsh in their studies of this text. As such, it constitutes an example of the kind of work that would have been produced and in all likelihood appreciated by the early Welsh scholarly community. And it may well be that these Welsh monks of the ninth century were not so very different from their Irish brothers after all.

⁵⁵⁴ As was mentioned before, Lambert 1987 offers a good overview of the practice.

Index of Welsh

This index consists of an alphabetical list of all vernacular words in the glosses, the Latin word(s) they gloss and the glosses in which they appear. If the word occurs in glosses composed of multiple words, dots (...) are added to alert the reader to this fact. If such a multiple-word vernacular gloss glosses multiple Latin words, the Latin words which are not directly reflected by the listed vernacular word are put between brackets.

word:	gloss on:	found in gloss(es):
<i>abalrouannou...</i>	gurgulionibus (exsectis)	108
<i>...ail</i>	coniuere, glabella medietas	16, 59
<i>(...)anu(...)</i>	(part of ‘.i. name for X’-constructions)	2, 72, 75
<i>ar</i>	uirgo (?)	51
<i>archenatou</i>	calcei	27
<i>ardomaul</i>	agente Stoasi (?)	54
<i>aucimerdricheticion</i>	orospica	124
<i>...aurleou</i>	gnomonum stilis	120
<i>...bardaul...</i>	epica lyricaque (pagina)	1
<i>besc</i>	femur feminis	97
<i>bibid</i>	rei	107
<i>...bricer</i>	uitta crinalis	12
<i>...carnotaul...</i>	uitta crinalis	12
<i>carrecc</i>	carubdim	109
<i>...catteiraul...</i>	sella (curulis)	116
<i>casulheticc</i>	penulata	92
<i>...cerricc</i>	cautium	132
<i>cimadas</i>	par (est)	13, 22
<i>...cimerdridou</i>	lucubrationum	17
<i>cimmaeticion</i>	conquestos	20
<i>cimmaithuress</i>	collactea	3, 45
<i>ciphillion</i>	surculisque	42
<i>cithremmet</i>	libra	83
<i>cleteirou</i>	crotularumque	61
<i>coiliaucc</i>	augur	6
<i>coiliou</i>	extorum	4
<i>coll</i>	coraulis .i. corilis	49
<i>comtantou</i>	bombis	62

<i>(...)cors(...)</i>	(ex) papyro (textili), (per) cannulas	46, 94
<i>(...)crunn...</i>	orbiculata, oui	18, 66
<i>...cueeticc...</i>	(ex papyro) textili	46
<i>custnudieticc</i>	confecta	65
<i>...cutinniou</i>	condilos	32
<i>cutinnniou</i>	caput illis	31
<i>dā</i>	beata uirgo	55
<i>...dagatte...</i>	coniuere	16
<i>damcirchineat</i>	demorator	30
<i>dattotimb</i>	gestione	63
<i>...deccolion</i>	decadibus	40
<i>...di...</i>	(prep., part of ‘.i. name for X’-constructions)	2, 71, 72, 76, 77, 129, 131
<i>...difrit</i>	fustuarium	106
<i>dilein</i>	(sub) abolitione	104
<i>dirgatisse...</i>	concesserat	43
<i>dissuncgnetic</i>	exanclata	10
<i>ditra</i>	detrahere	149
<i>dittihun</i>	tibi soli	53
<i>...diu...</i>	glabella medietas	59
<i>doctrin</i>	astructio	105
<i>...dolte</i>	(in) fanis	38
<i>...dreb</i>	edito	8
<i>...dubeneticion...</i>	(gurgulionibus) exsectis	108
<i>...emid</i>	aeris, ex aere	15, 125
<i>ellesheticion</i>	mela	41
<i>...em...</i>	genius	75
<i>enuein...</i>	(part of ‘.i. name for X’-constructions)	71, 76
<i>finn</i>	pila	99
<i>...fionou</i>	rosarumque	58
<i>...fonn</i>	ferculum	93
<i>fistl...</i>	fistula (bilatrix)	145
<i>flairmaur</i>	olocem	89
<i>fonnaul...</i>	fustuarium	106
<i>...gablau</i>	(fistula) bilatrix	145
<i>gebin</i>	culleo	103
<i>glas</i>	yalina	26

<i>...goudonou</i>	tinearum	5
<i>grephiou</i>	stilos	24
<i>guar...</i>	edito	8
<i>...guard</i>	flammeo	114
<i>...guir</i>	uerum	87
<i>guird</i>	herbida	28
<i>...guirdglas</i>	sali	9, 11
<i>guogaltou</i>	fulcris	141
<i>...guoceleseticc</i>	nulla inuidia titillata	79
<i>...gur...</i>	celebrat	14
<i>...hacen</i>	habebas	112
<i>han</i>	aliumque	133
<i>...helcha</i>	(in) uenando	101
<i>(...)hep(p)...</i>	(on main text direct speech)	70, 74, 86, 91, 117, 119, 126, 136
<i>...hir...</i>	lucubrationum	17
<i>(...)hinn(...)</i>	(anton) ille, uel erytria quaeque cumea est uel phrigia	76, 113
<i>hui</i>	quae	146
<i>...hun</i>	ipsa	137
<i>...hunnuid</i>	celebrat	14
<i>...i... (poss. pron.)</i>	genius	75
<i>...i... (pers. pron.)</i>	mortalis, litteratura ipsa	76, 96
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<i>iectlim...</i>	apollo	23
<i>immisline</i>	allinebat	44
<i>immotti^{hi}/mou</i>	gesticulationes	60
<i>in...</i>	condilos, in (fanis), in (uenando)	32, 38, 101
<i>...int</i>	uel erytria quaeque cumea est uel phrigia	76
<i>(...)ir...</i>	(def. art.)	4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 32, 33, 38, 39, 58, 59, 61, 66, 113, 116, 120, 132
<i>is(s)...</i>	(par) est, mortalis, intemerata, genius, uerum, litteratura ipsa	13, 22, 67, 69, 75, 87, 96
<i>...issid...</i>	(anton) ille	113
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<i>...morduit</i>	femine	134
<i>mormeluet</i>	testudinum	135
<i>muiss</i>	disci	123
<i>nat...</i>	nulla inuidia titillata	79
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<i>nouodou</i>	(in) palatia	36
<i>o...</i>	(on main text ablatives)	9, 114, 125, 134
<i>...oid...</i>	nulla inuidia titillata	79
<i>...olunou</i>	orbiculata	18
<i>or...</i>	(on main text ablatives)	1, 40, 46, 62, 108
<i>pa...</i>	quis	34
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<i>patupinnacc</i>	quocumque	90

<i>pipennou</i>	arterias	95
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<i>tus(s)lestr</i>	acerra, acerraque, acerram	47, 68, 78, 88
<i>...ui</i>	oui	66
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