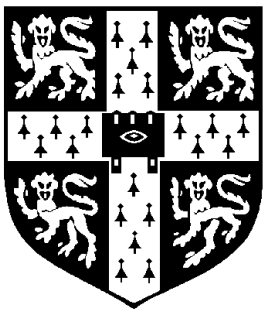
E. C. QUIGGIN MEMORIAL LECTURES 20

PIERRE-YVES LAMBERT

Manuscripts with Old Breton Glosses



DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE AND CELTIC

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Edmund Crosby Quiggin (1875-1920) was the first teacher of Celtic in the University of Cambridge, as well as being a Germanist. His extraordinarily comprehensive vision of Celtic studies offered an integrated approach to the subject: his combination of philological, literary, and historical approaches paralleled those which his older contemporary, H. M. Chadwick, had already demonstrated in his studies of Anglo-Saxon England and which the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic continues to seek to emulate. The Department has wished to commemorate Dr Quiggin's contribution by establishing in his name, and with the support of his family, an annual lecture and a series of pamphlets. The focus initially was on the sources for Mediaeval Gaelic History. Since 2006 the Quiggin Memorial Lecture is on any aspect of Celtic and/or Germanic textual culture taught in the Department.

The manuscripts with Old Breton glosses

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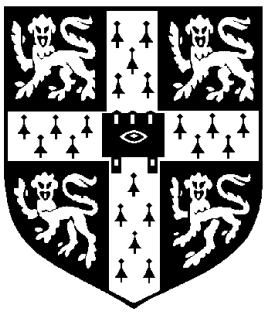

DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE AND CELTIC

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MANUSCRIPTS WITH OLD BRETON GLOSSES

> It is singular that the search for a few seemingly insignificant glosses should be the means of opening up questions which concern such a much wider field than the philologist cares to deal with.[1]

I am very glad to have been invited to give this lecture in memory of a great Celticist, E. C. Quiggin. I think it worth drawing your attention to a Celtic language, Old Breton, the discovery of which we owe to another Cambridge scholar, Henry Bradshaw. After surveying the chronicle of this discovery, we examine what is the definition of a Breton manuscript, or what are the Breton features of a manuscript, and then pass to the study of some groups of manuscripts, with the hypothesis that each different text might be a special case in relation to the work of glossing, the nature and significance of glosses, and the varying influence of Insular or Continental models. Or, in other words, we might ask ourselves the question whether the state of glossing observed by Bradshaw on the Canon Collections is parallelled in the manuscripts of other texts, such as Orosius, Vergilian commentaries, Priscian, Bede, etc.

Before going further, it is necessary to offer a rapid survey of the available bibliography. What we have at our disposal as reference books is very little. There is nothing comparable to Ker's remarkable *Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*[2], nor to the Corpus of Old Irish glosses edited by Stokes and Strachan[3], nor to the Index of Sources compiled by Kenney[4] for Hiberno-Latin and Irish religious texts. Instead of Ker's Catalogue, we have just a list of Breton manuscripts by Jean-Luc Deuffic;[5] instead of the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, we have a *Dictionnaire*

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[1] Henry Bradshaw, 'An account of investigations among early Welsh, Breton and Cornish manuscripts, 1872–1877', in *Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw, late University Librarian*, (Cambridge, 1889), p. 453–88, at 477.

[2] Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, (Oxford, 1957).

[3] Whitley Stokes, John Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3).

[4] James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I. *Ecclesiastical*, (New York, 1929).

[5] Jean-Luc Deuffic, 'La production manuscrite des scriptoria bretons (VIII^{e}–IX^{e} siècles)', in *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge, Actes du colloque du 15ème centenaire de l'Abbaye de Landévennec, 25-26-27 avril 1985* (Bannalec, 1986), pp. 289–321.

des Gloses en vieux-breton by Léon Fleuriot,[6] the conception of which was heavily influenced by the *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton* by Joseph Loth;[7] and with regard to the original Latin or vernacular texts from Brittany, we are reduced to a very short list in the *Bibliography of Celtic Sources 400–1200* by Lapidge and Sharpe, obviously incomplete.[8] We lack good philological studies about the texts and commentaries written by Breton scholars at the epoch of the glosses. High quality resources, however, have been provided for the study of Breton hagiography[9] and liturgy.[10] Outside these two subjects, the best we could quote are articles on particular colophons or scriptoria by Guillotel, Dumville, Lemoine, etc.[11]

As we shall see, 'Breton manuscripts' can be defined on various criteria. Some manuscripts may have a colophon, or scribal annotation, indicating the Breton name of a scribe, author, owner or patron (for example, abbot Haelhucar, head of a Breton scriptorium, ordering a copy to be made of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* by scribe Arbedoc: Paris, BnF Lat. 12021). For other manuscripts, a Breton provenance may be indicated by: the codicological history of ownership, the presence of Breton glosses, or other Breton features in the writing (e.g. abbreviations), the decoration (e.g. initials; or images of the evangelists), the musical notation or the nature of

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[6] Léon Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton* (Paris, 1964); a list of glossed manuscripts can be found on pp. 4–7. For an updated edition, see Léon Fleuriot and Claude Evans, *A dictionary of Old Breton / Dictionnaire du vieux breton, Historical and Comparative*, part II, *A supplement to the 'Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton'* (Toronto, 1985); note that Part I is just a reprint of the 1964 edition of the *Dictionnaire*.

[7] Joseph Loth, *Vocabulaire vieux-breton contenant toutes les gloses en vieux-breton gallois, cornique, armoricain, connues* […] Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Études, IV[e] section – Sciences historiques et philologiques, fasc. 57 (Paris, 1884); other works by Loth are essential for the study of Old Breton onomastics: see the indices in J. Loth, *Chrestomathie bretonne* (Paris, 1890), and id., 'Les noms des saints bretons', *Revue Celtique* 29 (1908), 222, 271; 30 (1909), 121, 283, 395.

[8] Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic Sources 400–1200* (Dublin, 1985).

[9] Joseph-Claude Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne du haut Moyen Âge, Répertoire raisonné*, Beihefte der Francia 69 (Ostfildern, 2009).

[10] Jean-Luc Deuffic, *Inventaire des livres liturgiques de Bretagne, […] antérieurs à 1790, manuscrits et imprimés*, (Saint-Denis, 2014) (CDROM).

[11] Hubert Guillotel, 'Recherches sur l'activité des scriptoria bretons au IX[e] siècle', *MSHAB* 62 (1985), 9–36. Louis Lemoine, 'Maniérisme et hispérisme en Bretagne. Notes sur quelques colophons (VIII[e]-X[e] siècles)', *Annales de Bretagne*, 102 (1995), 7–16. L. Lemoine, 'Autour du scriptorium de Landévennec', in *Corona monastica […] Mélanges offerts au Père Marc Simon*, ed. L. Lemoine, B. Merdrignac (Rennes, 2004), 155–164; David Dumville, 'Breton and English manuscripts of Amalarius' *Liber Officialis*', *Mélanges François Kerlouégan*, ed. D. Conso, F. Fick et B. Poulle, (Besançon, 1994), 205–14; David Dumville, 'Writers, scribes and readers in Brittany, A.D. 800–1100: the evidence of manuscripts', in *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, ed. H. Fulton (Dublin, 2005), 49–64.

contents. The definition of 'Breton features' in a Breton manuscript was the subject of a study by the late Louis Lemoine.[12] This will be our main concern today: what are the Breton features of a manuscript? My opinion is that Breton monastic culture relied mainly on Insular sources, and that Breton features are to some degree Insular features which have developed in their own way. The frequent association of Old Breton glosses with Welsh or even Irish ones might even require us to question the concept of a purely Breton culture.

The Discovery of Old Breton by Henry Bradshaw[13]

The existence of Old Breton glosses was ignored by Celtic scholars till the year 1875: particularly explicit is the following quote from Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica:*

> Aremoricae uetustae glossae uel relationes omnino desunt […] sed exstant chartularia monasteriorum magnam nominum propriorum praesertim uirorum copiam continentia in chartis datis inde a saeculo nono ex parte tantum typis impressa[14]

Actually, at the time when Zeuss wrote his Grammar, the great Breton cartularies (Landevennec, Redon, Quimperlé, Quimper…) were only available through the partial quotations made by Dom Hyacinthe Morice.[15] Zeuss knew about the Eutychius' glosses in the *Oxoniensis prior*, but he reproduced them amongst 'glossae Cambricae',[16] i. e. Old Welsh glosses, following a tradition going back to Edward Lhuyd himself. The Luxembourg *Glossae collectae*, recently discovered by a German scholar, were also

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[12] Louis Lemoine, 'Paléographie et philologie médiévale: existe-t-il des symptômes armoricains ?', in *À travers les îles celtiques – A-dreuz an inizi keltiek – Per insulas scoticas, Mélanges en mémoire de Gwénaël Le Duc*, ed. G. Buron, H. Le Bihan, B. Merdrignac, *Britannia Monastica* 12 (2008), 185–99.

[13] Cf. P.-Y. Lambert, 'La situation linguistique dans le haut moyen âge', *La Bretagne linguistique* (Brest, UBO, GRELB), 5 (1988–89), 139–51. The following account might need revisiting in the light of the unpublished correspondence of Bradshaw and Stokes; see Paul Russell 'Grilling in Calcutta: Whitley Stokes, Henry Bradshaw and Old Welsh in Cambridge', in *The Tripartite Life of Whitley Stokes (1830–1909)*, ed. E. L. Boyle and P. Russell (Dublin, 2011), 144–60.

[14] Iohann Kaspar Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica* (Leipzig, 1853), Praefatio, p. xxxvi (idem in the 1871 edition revised by H. Ebel): 'Ancient Breton glosses or texts are completely lacking […] but we have the monastic cartularies, filled with a quantity of personal names, mainly masculine, in local charters of the ninth century, and only edited in print in part'.

[15] Dom. Hyacinthe Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, 3 vol. (Paris, 1742–56).

[16] Johann Kaspar Zeuss, *Grammatica celtica*, pp. 1076–81; more exactly, they feature as the first item in the section 'Britonnica' of the Appendix; the word 'Cambricae' is found in the corresponding running headline, 'Appendix. Glossae Cambricae Oxonienses'.

considered as Old Welsh. It is important to note the fact that all linguists before 1875 were unanimous in analysing the *Oxoniensis prior* (the term Celticists use for Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F 4. 32) as a wholly Old Welsh manuscript. Whitley Stokes himself treated all the parts of this manuscript in 1861.[17]

Only a palaeographer could change this view on the Brittonic glosses. It was the work of Henry Bradshaw, Librarian of the University Library in Cambridge. He was the one who first observed, at the beginning of 1872, that the Eutychius glosses were written in a Continental script. He himself wrote the chronicle of his discovery, posthumously published in an Appendix to his *Collected Papers*.[18] As he was realizing that Eutychius was written in Caroline script, he noticed at the same time that some of the Eutychius glosses were closer to Breton or Cornish than to Welsh. This was in agreement with the palaeographical evidence. He was led to the conclusion that the quire with the Eutychius text, in the Oxford manuscript, was of Breton origin. Bradshaw then made the same observations on the Luxembourg fragment, at Easter 1875: the script was Continental, and the dialect was rather close to Breton; in truth, Bradshaw was referring mainly to one dialectal isogloss, the reflex of the adjectival suffix *-*āko*- with long -*ā*- normally becoming long open /ɔ:/ in Common Brittonic, and diphthongized into -/au/- in Old Welsh, whereas it never diphtongized in Breton but became a central vowel, /ø/ or /ö/, already in Old Breton. This dialectal feature was not completely understood at the time: the -*oc* ending of many Old Breton names could also be found in Welsh cartularies, with the variant -*uc* (now considered as an archaism). It seems that Bradshaw understood the Breton character of the -*oc* ending simply from the great number of its attestations in the Breton Cartularies. Later, he referred to other criteria for an Old Breton origin, such as the adjectival ending -*ol* (vs OW -*aul*), coming from Lat. -*ālis*, and the preposition *do* (instead of OW *di*).

Old Breton glosses were therefore first identified as such by a palaeographer. Later on, in his study of Continental manuscripts of the Irish Canon Collection, Bradshaw applied the same test with the same positive result: the Breton manuscripts were written in the Continental Caroline, and signed by scribes whose name had the -*oc* termination, for example, the Fécamp manuscript (Paris BnF Lat 3182), by *Maeloc*, and the huge compilation from Corbie (Paris BnF Lat. 12021) by *Arbedoc* (for his abbot

[17] Whitley Stokes, 'Cambrica', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1860–61), 204–49, 288.

[18] Henry Bradshaw, 'An account of investigations among early Welsh, Breton and Cornish manuscripts, 1872–1877', in *Collected Papers*, pp. 453–88; cf. also his letter to Herrmann Wasserschleben, published by Wasserschleben in his second edition of the Irish *Collectio Canonum* (Herrmann Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1885), pp. lxiii–lxxv).

Haelhucar). He was moreover able to identify *Iunobrus* (Orléans 221) and *Matguoret* (Oxford Hatton 42) as Breton names.

We can follow the exact chronology of Bradshaw's researches. On November 20, 1871, he delivered a lecture about Old Welsh MSS. before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society and declared he had discovered a new one in the Parker collection (Cambridge): the Martianus Capella with Old Welsh glosses (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 153).[19] Bradshaw says that he then understood the shortcomings of previous editions of Old Welsh glosses, particularly that of Zeuss, in which some glosses were left aside, and others were displaced. Early in 1872, the Curators of the Bodleian, at the request of the Librarian Mr. Coxe, agreed to lend Bradshaw 'the priceless MS. in the Auctarium marked F. 4. 32, the *Codex Oxoniensis Prior* of Zeuss'; he then worked 'night after night at this MS. for some two months'. [20] He was able to distinguish four pieces, three of which are of British origin. The *Liber Commonei* and the Ovid were in a 'Hiberno-Saxon' writing. But he also commented:

> 'the Eutychius (*De conjugationibus verborum*), at the beginning of the volume, presents a totally different appearance. There is no trace of the Hiberno-Saxon character in the writing, which resembles the Caroline minuscule found in French MSS. of the ixth or ix–xth century. This of course struck me at once; and very soon, on working upon the glosses (which are in the same handwriting), I noticed that, in several cases, where Zeuss gives parallel forms as existing on one side in Welsh, and on the other in Cornish and Breton, the Eutychius, which was undoubtedly continental in style of writing, and the Luxemburg fragment, which I had never seen, but assumed to be so from its present home, agreed together in presenting the Cornish and Breton forms as against all the other known early MSS, which presented the Welsh forms. I drew the attention of my philological friends to this point; but as Zeuss had accepted them both as Welsh without hesitation, and as nothing of really Old Cornish or Old Breton was known to test by, judgment has hitherto been suspended and I remained content to work on, waiting for further light'.[21]

These philological friends are probably Whitley Stokes and John Rhys. A first result of this examination of the manuscripts was the publication of new glosses, or corrected readings by Stokes (see Plates 1 and 2 for examples).[22]

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[19] Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, chapter XV; for Bradshaw's contribution to Old Welsh studies, see also now Paul Russell 'Grilling in Calcutta'.
[20] Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, p. 455.
[21] Ibid., p. 457.
[22] Whitley Stokes, *Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius' Greek Etymology and on the Celtic Comparisons in Bopp's Comparative Grammar* (Calcutta, 1875): Appendix E,

During the summer of 1872, Rhys published a fresh edition of the Luxembourg 'glossae collectae'.[23] Rhys lent Bradshaw a lithograph facsimile of the manuscript;[24] and 'At Easter 1875, I took the opportunity of returning from the north of Italy by way of Luxemburg', where he discovered another leaf of the Luxemburg fragment as a fly-leaf at the other end of the same manuscript.[25] He borrowed the fragments and had them photographed: 'The new sheet confirmed what the one already known had led me to suspect. So far as the manuscript itself goes, it is an ignorant un-Celtic transcript of a mutilated or mis-bound original...'.[26]

> A fresh visit at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, on 3 March 1876 had the main object of studying the *Codex Oxoniensis posterior*, but I was just prepared to carry off my treasure from Oxford when Professor Stubbs brought me up a volume from the Hatton collection (MS. Hatton 42) which had belonged before the Reformation to Glastonbury Abbey, and which had only lately attracted his attention. It was a copy of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensium* […] and it was fated to lead me again into an entirely fresh field of investigation.[27]

Plate 1: Oxford, Bodleian Auctarium F.4.32 'St Dunstan's Book', fol. 7v, trutina[montol

'Additional Old-British Glosses', and Appendix F, 'Corrigenda to the Old-British Glosses published by Zeuss'.

[23] John Rhys, 'The Luxembourg folio', *Revue Celtique*, 1 (1871–72), 346–75.

[24] Published in the XIVth vol. of the *Mémoires* of the Historical Section of the Luxembourg Institute. 'Glossae collectae' is an expression which Bradshaw himself had found in the Martianus Capella manuscript: at the end of the text, 'Incipiunt glossae collectae' introduces a list of glosses which the scribe had found in another manuscript (Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, p. 462)

[25] Ibid., p. 467.

[26] Ibid., p. 468.

[27] Ibid., p. 471.

Plate 2: Oxford, Bodleian Auctarium F.4.32 ‘St Dunstan's Book’, fol. 8r, uuidus[dacrlon

Bradshaw was at once struck by the similarity of one hand (in corrections and additions) with one of the hands of the Juvencus – a clumsy one, Hand F of Juvencus:

> This led me at once to turn over the leaves on the chance of finding some glosses. The whole book is in continental handwriting, and almost immediately I came upon some thoroughly Breton names, Matguoret and Winniau (Uuinniauus), and half a dozen glosses, in what I felt sure must be Old Breton. Further on I found the scribe writing down some Hesperic words as a ‘*probatio pennae*’ in the margin.[28]

Back in Cambridge, Bradshaw checked the writing of F in the Juvencus manuscript and was convinced that the glosses by F were distinctly Cornish or Breton and not Welsh.

The next week, he noticed that the affected use of *scrutari* for *legere* in a scribal note by Bledian, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, 572 had a parallel in a scribal note in the Amalarius manuscript in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 192 (dated to 952), where the scribe says he is writing for the brethren of S. Winwaloe, clearly the monks of Landevennec.[29] He searched through the recent edition of the Irish Collection of Canons by Wasserschleben (1874), discovering the signification of the Winniau reference, and having noticed that there were two mss of this text in Paris, he visited there at Easter (1876):

> The Bibliothèque Nationale was closed, but through the kindness of M. Gaidoz I had the good fortune to meet M. d’Arbois de Jubainville, the prince of French Celtic scholars, who happened to be in Paris for a

[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid., p. 472.

> few days. With M. d'Arbois for my guide, M. Léopold Delisle opened to us the treasures of the Department of Manuscripts and most kindly allowed us to examine at our leisure, at his house, the two manuscripts which I was so eager to see.[30]

The first manuscript (Paris, BnF Lat. 12021) yielded 'about a dozen of what I have now no hesitation in calling Old Breton glosses'.[31] A search through the other one (Paris BnF Lat. 3182) 'yielded but three glosses, enough, however, to show that it too had come from Brittany'.[32]

On 24 April 1876, he was in Quimper, examining the Cartulary of Landevennec which contained the life of St. Winwaloë by Gurdisten; on 26 April, he was in Rennes, reading the Cartulary of Redon, in the palace of the Archbishop of Rennes. As soon as he returned to England, Bradshaw went to the British Library to examine the Ms Cotton E XIII:

> 'It presented the same X–XIth century handwriting which had become so familiar to my eyes of late'. ... 'a cursory examination brought to light eighteen or twenty Old-Breton glosses, one of which had pardonably been mistaken for Irish by Wasserschleben's correspondent.
>
> Now that I had found four MSS of this one work, all containing evidences of Breton origin, it was time to reconsider the whole question of the fons et origo of this collection of Canons. The Arbedoc and Haelhucar of the earlier of the Paris copies betray their Breton origin by their names ...
>
> Again, who was the 'Hucarus Levita ex ultimis Cornugalliae finibus', who made extracts from the Collectio Canonum, and its appended Excerpta ex libris Romanorum et Francorum: was he from the insular Cornwall, or from the district of Cornouailles in Brittany?'[33]

And, on a separate page, Bradshaw recounted his discovery of Old Breton glosses in another manuscript of the Collectio Canonum:

> Easter 1877. Finding that I had six free days before the beginning of the term, I could not resist the temptation to go over to France, taking a brief run down the Loire to Orléans, Blois, and Tours, and returning to Paris by Le Mans and Chartres I was anxious to take a sight, even for a few minutes, of the copies of the *Collectio Canonum* at Orleans and Chartres. I told my friend who was with me, Mr Reginald Haygate, that I expected, from the casual notice I had seen of their contents, that the Orleans copy would be in a handwriting something

[30] Ibid., p. 473.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., p. 476.

> like the Oxford MS. now in my rooms in Cambridge, and that it would probably contain a few Breton glosses.

This remark was then verified, 'to an extent I had not dared to expect':

> in three minutes my eyes were delighted with the sight of an absolutely perfect copy of the *Collectio Canonum*, the handwriting strongly resembling that of the other copies, followed by the usual *Excerpta ex libris Romanis et Francorum*, and the *Canones Adamnani*, with an unmistakeable Breton scribe's name (Junobrus) at the end, and literally scores of Breton glosses forcing themselves upon one's notice. I sat down and went straight through half the book in an hour or two, during which time I extracted over 170 glosses, many, even at first glance of very great interest, and even so far, exceeding in number those which were to be found in all the other Breton MSS I had found, all put together. I could not wait, but determined to borrow the book, or go back and work at it on the first possible opportunity.[34]

Stokes counted 322 glosses in his latest edition of these glosses.[35]

Thus, Bradshaw did not only identify Old Breton glosses and Breton manuscripts, but he also discovered new Old Breton glosses in several manuscripts of the *Collectio Canonum*, and ultimately one of them turned out to contain the greatest number of Old Breton glosses (known at this time). As we have seen, Bradshaw dates his first intuition about the Breton origin of the Eutychius quire at the beginning of 1872. But he admits it was difficult to convince his philological friends, anchored in the traditional belief that this was a Welsh manuscript. No doubt he was open to discussion, but the traditional view finally proved to be wrong.

One of the first echoes to Bradshaw's new ideas was published in Germany: Hermann Ebel, the collaborator of Zeuss, refers to the new theory in a supplement to *Grammatica Celtica*:

> neuerdings ist aber die ganze Frage in ein anderes Stadium gerückt; denn wie mir getheilt ist, erklärt Mr. Bradshaw aus paläographischen Gründen die Eutychiusglossen und die Luxemburger für *altbretonisch*, dagegen die Vocabula in pensum discipuli für *altcornisch*. Die ganze Erklärung dieser Glosen bedarf also einer gründlichen Revision ...[36]

In the same publication, Stokes published the first edition of his *Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius' Greek etymology*, a critical account about the Celtic comparisons provided to Curtius by Ernst Windisch. There he was still speaking of Old Welsh when quoting Eutychius' glosses (from the Zeuss edition): 'O.W. *etbinam* gl. lanio [p. 336], O.W. *doguo.misur[am]* gl.

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[34] Ibid., pp. 482–3.

[35] Whitley Stokes, 'The Breton Glosses at Orleans', *Transactions of the Philogical Society* (1885–7), 539–618.

[36] Hermann Ebel, 'Miscellanea', *Beiträge zur vergleichende Sprachforschung* 8 (1875), 371–5 (the manuscript of this article was dated November 26, 1874).

geo [p. 339], O.W. *didioulam* gl. micturio.,' [p. 341], etc.[37] But in the second edition, published in Calcutta in the next year, 1875, we find some interesting novelties:[38] Stokes added several appendices, three of them being due to the help of Henry Bradshaw:

Appendix E: Additional Old British glosses from the Oxoniensis Prior, [three of them from the text of Eutychius].

Appendix F: Corrections to the Old British glosses edited by Zeuss.

Appendix G: Glosses from the Parker MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge [where the language of the glosses is not mentioned].

What strikes the Celticist is that Stokes no longer uses the term 'Old Welsh', but 'Old British'. Yet, in the main text preceding the Appendices, we still have Eutychius glosses quoted as being Old Welsh, but this label is abandoned in the Appendices. It looks as if Stokes was now hesitating; the term 'Old British' is used, in some way, to escape from the choice between Old Welsh and Old Breton. Stokes has not yet decided to follow the conclusions of his friend, but he is somehow considering the possibility that Bradshaw might be right.

Stokes' attitude is in sharp contrast with that of Bradshaw who was helpful and obliging, to the extent that he was preparing for the coming of Whitley Stokes by searching for Celtic glosses before his arrival:

> When Mr Stokes came to Cambridge in January, 1872, he was well pleased to be able, with my transcript in his hand to spare him needless waste of time, to go through the MS. line by line with his own eyes; a search which enabled him to make more than one addition to the number of the glosses which I had already found in the MS.[39]

Stokes did not use the label 'Old Breton' before the publication of his *Old Breton Glosses* in 1879.[40] The new material published in that booklet had been entirely provided by his fellow paleographer Bradshaw: here were published the Breton glosses on four manuscripts of the *Collectio Canonum*, plus the Amalarius glosses in the Cambridge ms. and the Breton glosses from a Vergil manuscript in Berne (Berne, Burgerbibliothek nr 167). From then on, Stokes has no more difficulty to write about 'Old Breton' glosses, most of them being brought to him by Bradshaw himself.

France was the last country to accept the new label and the very existence of a dialect called 'Old Breton'. D'Arbois de Jubainville

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[37] Stokes, 'Some Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius' Greek etymology', *Beiträge zur vergleichende Sprachforschung* 8 (1875), pp. 336, 339, 341 respectively.

[38] Stokes, *Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius' Greek Etymology, and on the Celtic comparisons in Bopp's Comparative Grammar […],* (Calcutta, 1875).

[39] Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, p. 453; on Stokes' visit to Cambridge, cf. also Russell, 'Grilling in Calcutta', pp. 148–54.

[40] Whitley Stokes, *Old Breton Glosses* (Calcutta, 1879) (fifty copies privately printed);. reprinted in *Revue celtique* IV, 1880, p. 324–348.

announced the news about Bradshaw's discoveries in a 'chronique',[41] where he gives an analysis of *KSB* VIII, 3. Lieferung, and refers to the 'Miscellanea', (section 'Zur Grammatica Celtica') of H. Ebel (p. 307):

> Il termine par un supplément à ces corrections [on *Grammatica Celtica*]. Dans ce supplément, nous remarquons la mention des gloses bretonnes nouvelles trouvées par M. Bradshaw, bibliothécaire de Cambridge, dans l'Eutychius et l'Ovide d'Oxford, qui ont déjà fourni des gloses publiées dans la *Gr. C.*[2], p. 1052–1054 et 1054–1059. Enfin Ebel annonce que, suivant le même M. Bradshaw, dont nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de signaler la capacité comme paléographe, les gloses de l'Eutychius d'Oxford et celles de Luxembourg, rééditées et si bien commentées par M. Rhys, dans la *Revue celtique*, t. I, p. 348, appartiennent au breton de France et non au dialecte gallois. Ainsi on trouve dans l'Eutychius la plus ancienne forme du breton *prederia* 'avoir souci', en breton moyen *prederaff*: cette forme ancienne est *preteram* (perpendo). Je dois ajouter ici que M. Bradshaw, encouragé par l'adhésion d'Ebel, a, depuis, sous nos yeux, découvert dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris des gloses bretonnes inédites dont les savants du continent ne soupçonnaient pas l'existence. H. d'A. de J.

His pupil Joseph Loth, however, was not convinced. When he refered to the Old Breton glosses at Orléans of Stokes (1880) he used the ambiguous 'Gloses bretonnes', imitating Stokes himself.[42] Later he chose to call his dictionary of Old British glosses *Vocabulaire vieux-breton*, with a subtitle, *contenant toutes les gloses en vieux-breton gallois, armoricain, cornique* (1884).[43] In other words, *vieux-breton* for him meant High Middle Age Brittonic, or Old British. This was an attempt to revive Bretonism in Breton studies: Loth had already been exploiting the ambiguity of the adjective 'Breton' in the title of his thesis, *L'émigration bretonne en Armorique*. Of course, 'Breton' has always been used by historians of Antiquity as the equivalent of *Britannus*, refering to the inhabitants of Britain, exactly as 'Bretagne' can be used to translate the *Britannia* of Caesar's Commentaries. However, in my view the title *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton* was an unfortunate

[41] *Revue Celtique*, 3 (1876),130.

[42] J. Loth, 'Les gloses bretonnes d'Orléans', *Revue Celtique* 4 (1881–3), 104–115 (dated 'Août 1881'). In the text, *vieux-breton* is used both for these glosses, and for the Old British Latin inscriptions published by Emil Hübner.

[43] Similarly, Loth's *Chrestomathie bretonne (armoricain, gallois, cornique). Première partie, breton armoricain* (Paris, 1890), was intended to cover all Brittonic languages, as indicated by the subtitle.

choice; it was misleading and could have stifled an honest scientific concept still in its infancy.[44]

This peculiar use of the adjective 'vieux-breton' by Loth in 1884 might explain, in part, the critical reception of the book by Stokes. But Stokes' main concern was Loth's misinterpretations of the Orleans glosses.[45] Stokes was very critical too about the edition by Loth of Old Irish glosses from BnF Lat 11411, a fragment of *Hisperica Famina*.[46] By defining the Breton manuscripts through the occurrence of Old Breton glosses, Bradshaw was led to admit finally that the same manuscripts had essentially Insular contents under a continental cloth. This was also true for the Hisperic texts. The possible connection of some Hisperic words with Old Irish, and above all the widely spread fashion of Hisperic language among Hiberno-Latin writers would indicate Ireland as the home of the first Hisperic writers.

We should ask ourselves what were the criteria to define a Breton manuscript, according to Bradshaw. We have seen that Bradshaw was ready to consider as Breton any manuscript with Breton glosses. He himself had reached this definition with the help of a palaeographical analysis: Brittonic glosses in a Continental script could be interpreted as being of Continental origin, that is, of coming from Brittany; but the final and decisive criterion was a linguistic one: the Breton origin was proved by the occurrence of Old Breton glosses, the dialect of which was recognizable by particular features, such as the non-diphtongisation of /ɔ:/. In the absence of Breton glosses, the probability of a Breton origin could be deduced from a Breton name of scribe (or owner) in colophons, or from an indication of provenance. In addition, as noted above, the content of a manuscript (the calendar of saints, the lives of saints, localised charters) or its medieval localisation could also indicate a Breton origin.[47]

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[44] Stokes had first used the adjective Old Breton five years before, in 1879, and it is worth pointing out that in linguistic studies 'Breton' can only refer to the language of Brittany.

[45] Stokes incidently spoke about *Vocabulaire vieux-breton* in the opening paragraphs of his third edition of Orleans glosses, 'The Breton Glosses at Orleans', *TPhS* (1885–7), 539–618, at p. 539. His reproaches are: 'mix(ing) up with Old-Welsh and Old-Cornish glosses and with pseudo-Breton words like … *latic* (the beginning of the Latin *laticlauiam chlamidem*)'; 'a commentary which is largely annexed from mine; which contains some remarks both new and true, but which, from misplaced confidence in O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, and other causes, is often exceedingly erroneous'.

[46] Cf. his appreciation of Loth's edition: 'A lamentable attempt to edit and explain these glosses will be found in the *Revue Celtique* V, 467–469', in Whitley Stokes, 'Notes of a philological tour, I. France', *The Academy*, 30 (1886) 209; cf. also the report on Stokes' lecture (with the same title) before the Philological Society, *ibid*. p. 384, col. 2: '[He] found that Loth had not only failed to decipher eleven of these glosses, but published the following misreadings […]'.

[47] See above, p. 2.

Later on, in 1912 Wallace M. Lindsay brought to scholarly attention the use of Insular abbreviations in the older Breton manuscripts.[48] In this important study, he chose to examine the abbreviations of only nine manuscripts, characterized as Breton by their glosses. He divided them into three groups, (in chronological order), the first one with Insular script, the second with Continental script of the ninth and tenth centuries, and the later manuscripts (eleventh century). Put into simpler terms, where Bradshaw had a negative definition of Breton palaeography ('non-Insular script'), Lindsay introduced a positive one, the varying presence of Insular abbreviations, a feature tempered by date, and perhaps proportionate to the remoteness of an Insular model.

This is the first attempt at a palaeographical definition of a Breton manuscript. It is obvious that the use of Insular abbreviations decreases in the later manuscripts, but the tiny number of witnesses summoned by Lindsay for each period does not allow general rules to be drawn about a single Breton habit, even within a given period. The reader gets the impression that the use of Insular abbreviations is varying without limits, as if Breton scriptoria had no particular rule, but allowed each system to be used side by side, in varying degrees, each scribe being left free to keep the Insular abbreviations of his exemplar or to replace them with their Continental counterparts. Anyway, the threefold division established by Lindsay among Breton manuscripts was followed by Fleuriot when he drew up his own list of manuscripts with Breton glosses in a tentatively chronological order.[49] Fleuriot discovered many manuscripts with Old Breton glosses, but he did not study their palaeographic features (apart from some remarks about Angers 477 in his Dictionary); this was a field he preferred to leave to palaeographers,

> Il y a certainement d'autres mss. d'origine bretonne dispersés un peu partout. Seul un paléographe pourrait reprendre et compléter le travail de Lindsay, excellent, mais vieux de cinquante ans […]. Ce paléographe pourrait aussi faire œuvre utile pour l'histoire de l'Armorique ancienne en classant ces mss., et en identifiant les scriptoria des différentes abbayes.[50]

This appeal was heard by colleagues and pupils – particularly Louis Lemoine, who devoted a thesis and several articles to the analysis of manuscripts with Old Breton glosses, (their abbreviation-symbols, and

[48] Wallace M. Lindsay, 'Breton Scriptoria: Their Latin Abbreviation-symbols', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 29 (1912), 264–72. This study was conceived as a complement to his *Old Welsh Script* (Oxford, 1912). He analysed nine Breton manuscripts, plus two others in his commentary (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F 4. 32 and Leiden, Voss. Lat. F 96 A).

[49] Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 4–7.

[50] Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*, p. 8.

syntactic marks) but also by Guillotel and Dumville, concerning the Breton scriptoria.[51]

With regard to the existence of active Breton scriptoria, we should recognize that very little is known about them. Some scriptoria have been supposed just on the basis of information found in a colophon. Guillotel supposed the existence of a scriptorium at Saint-Méen-de-Gael for the Evangéliaire of Tongres [Tongeren, Basilica], signed by Gleuhitr, under abbot Loeis Guoret and given to St Pern's church, in the bishopric of Saint-Malo, and another one at Saint-Jacut, for the ms. of Canons written by Arbedoc and Haelhocar or Heclocar (Paris BnF Lat. 12021).[52] He suggested we could connect some Gospel books with Landevennec scriptorium: this scriptorium was practicing the Caroline script used in Gaul during the second half of the nonth century but with the frequent occurrence of semi-uncial *g*, typical of Insular scripts. These Gospel books are: the Gospel book from Troyes (Troyes, Médiathèque, ms. 970), where the colophon says 'Mathew and his wife Digrenet gave these four books of the Gospels of God to the Church of Rospez for the salvation of their souls' (f. 71); the Gospel-book of New York, Public Library, MA 115, called the 'Harkness Gospels', which was written in caroline by a scribe who had first been taught to Insular writing (Rand); but the text had been corrected by an Insular hand; decoration seems inspired by Irish models, but has parallels in the Gellone sacramentary (Paris BnF Lat 12048). The Gospel text itself is mixed, with Celtic elements, and others parallel to the revised text of Alcuin (end of the eighth century) Guillotel suggested a Tours exemplar.[53]

David Dumville also reflected on the Breton scriptoria within a more precise chronology. However, his dating of the manuscripts of the first period, to the end of the eighth century, is rather late:

> The early medieval Breton manuscript tradition begins with the Gospels of Saint-Gatien (Paris BnF n.a.l. 1587) and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M.p.th.f.67 at the end of the eighth century. The script, decoration and particularly the abbreviation-system of the earliest Breton manuscripts, show that the scribal tradition in Celtic Brittany was itself Celtic, or, more particularly

[51] Louis Lemoine, 'Recherches sur l'enseignement et la culture dans la Bretagne du haut Moyen Âge', thèse de doctorat préparée sous la direction de Monsieur L. Fleuriot, Université de Rennes, 2 vol., 508 p., VII pl. (Rennes, 1985); cf. also id., 'Symptômes insulaires dans un manuscrit breton de l'Ars de Verbo d'Eutychès', *Études celtiques* 26 (1989), 144–57; id., 'Signes de construction syntaxique dans des manuscrits bretons du haut Moyen Âge', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 52 (1994), 77–108.

[52] Hubert Guillotel, 'Recherches sur l'activité des scriptoria bretons au IX^{e} siècle', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* 62 (1985), 9–36.

[53] These Gospel books, however, never exhibit any marginal or interlineary gloss, and they consequently fall outside the present study.

> Brittonic. Specific links with Welsh scribal practice demonstrate this: rather than testimonies to Welsh influence in Brittany, these links are an indication of a shared inheritance going back to sub-Roman Britain, to the fifth and sixth centuries; they are, then, but an aspect of the generally Brittonic nature – attested by language and social structure – of early Breton culture
>
> However, we possess no manuscripts surviving from pre-Carolingian Brittany; and from the period *ca* 775 × *ca* 850 (to give it the broadest limits) only a few direct witnesses testify to what Breton Insular script looked like. That script-system was abandoned seemingly, very rapidly, in the middle two quarters of the ninth century, in favour of a regional variety of Caroline minuscule. Although Breton Caroline bore some marks, particularly in its abbreviation-system, of the older Insular scriptorial habits, these forms were being increasingly abandoned by the earlier tenth century...[54]

In a footnote, Dumville refers to Orleans 221 as another possible witness of the early period (end of the eighth century and beginning of the ninth century);[55] he might also have referred to the uncial manuscript Orléans 302 (Sedulius' poem).

I would here add a personal remark. If the oldest Breton manuscripts have a totally Insular script, then there is no palaeographical feature by which we can decide their Breton origin. Only the history of the manuscript or the presence of glosses or annotations could prove they belong to Brittany. One is reminded of the recent dispute concerning the Leiden fragment, called by its first editor, Stokes, 'a Celtic Leechbook', and considered as Old Breton by Fleuriot, but ascribed to Old Cornish by Owen and Falileyev (see Plate 3 overleaf (p. 16)).[56] In such a case, it seems linguistics and dialectology should be given the last word.

Turning to the following periods, the mixture of Continental and Insular features is still not completely decisive for an attribution to Brittany, because Brittany is not the only option. A provenance from a Continental Irish centre might also be supposed. We encounter a similar hesitation with some manuscripts coming from Fleury, Auxerre and Laon.

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[54] David Dumville, 'The English element in tenth-century Breton book-production', in *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages,* Aldershot 1993, chap. XIV.

[55] Dumville, *ibid.* p. 1, n. 4. Concerning the fragment Leiden University Library Voss. Lat. F 96A, cf. Dumville, 'Writers, scribes and readers in Brittany'.

[56] Whitley Stokes, 'A Celtic Leechbook', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie,* 1, 1896, p. 17–25. Morfydd E. Owen and A. Falileyev, *The Leiden Leechbook: a study of the earliest Neo-Brittonic medical compilation*, with two appendices by Helen McKee, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. Sonderheft, 122 (Innsbruck, 2005).

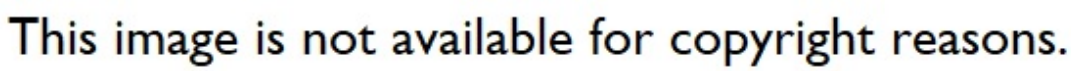

Plate 3: Leiden, Cod. Vossianus Lat. 96 A, fol. 2r, inc.

Luckily the fate of Fleury manuscripts has been much studied and we are almost reaching certainty in most cases.[57] Nevertheless, a Fleury manuscript, such as Berne Burgerbibliothek 207 (Sergius' Commentary on the grammar of Donatus), quoted by Bischoff as an example of 'die Bildung hybrider keltisch festländischer Schriften aus Fleury', still hesitates between, 'a Breton substratum' (Bischoff[58]) or 'a Continental Irish [origin]' (Lowe[59]). Mostert tends to hesitate between Brittany and Auxerre for two other Berne manuscripts with a Breton connection.[60]

We should note that Loth, Lindsay, and Fleuriot were following the example of Henry Bradshaw in considering Breton glosses as the surest criterion for a Breton origin. This, however, remains in doubt, as Deuffic has shown in his list of Breton Manuscripts:

> L'origine de certains manuscrits reste discutable: mss à gloses en vieux-breton, mss avec addition neumatique bretonne, mss possédés par des Bretons. Ces critères ne sont pas toujours significatifs pour être assurément en présence d'un manuscrit copié par un scribe breton. Origine et provenance paraissent à cet égard souvent bien distinctes.[61]

For example, some Breton glosses on Orosius have been transferred into very late manuscripts of this author, which have otherwise no Breton connection at all. We cannot even call them 'fossil glosses', as Bradshaw suggested for older glosses which the scribes kept on copying just because

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[57] H. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury, a provisional list of manuscripts* (Hilversum, 1989).
[58] Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, 4 vol. (Wiesbaden, 1998-2017), I, 116, n° 551a; cf. 'die hybride, irisch beeinflusste Schrift des Bernensis 207'; cf. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* (Stuttgart, 1966-7), vol. 3, p.16.
[59] Lowe, CLA (*Codices Latini Antiquiores*) VII, 1956; cf. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*, BF 110.
[60] H. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*, BF 93 (Berne Burgerbibliothek 167) 'Brittany or Auxerre'; BF 100 (Berne Burgerbibliothek 179) 'Brittany or Auxerre'.
[61] Deuffic, 'La production manuscrite', p. 321.

they found them in their exemplar. These are stray glosses, disconnected from their original main text; we could compare them to gold nuggets found in a river far from their original location, except that our disconnected glosses have hardly any value, there being almost nothing to which they would confer Bretonicity. The same could be said about Brittonic glosses found in various glossaries, the Leiden Vossianus Lat. 24 (containing also Old High German and Anglo-Saxon glosses) or the London, British Library, Harley 3376 (with Anglo-Saxon and Old Cornish glosses). Both examples are huge collections of Latin glosses, the vernacular being restricted to a very small proportion.

Much has been written about the dispersion of Breton manuscripts throughout Europe, Continental and even Insular. This dispersion occurred when Breton monks fled before the repeated attacks of Vikings during the tenth century. The Landevennec monks were forced to go into exile by the destruction of their monastery in 913. They fled first to Château-du-Loir, and finally settled with their relics, their precious vessels, and their manuscripts in Montreuil-sur-Mer. They had come here with the intention of crossing the Channel, but Earl Helgaud retained them by giving them the estate of Cavron. Later, a charter registering a donation by Henry I to Saint-Guénole de Montreuil (1042) attests that Guénolé's relics had been brought there by the fleeing monks. The duke of Brittany, Alain Barbetorte, sought a refuge at the court of king Aethelstan, in the first half of the tenth century (915–936). We may suppose that the Landevennec clerics were taking the same direction when they reached Montreuil. Mabbon, abbot and bishop of Saint-Pol de Léon, brought Saint Pol's relics to Fleury, together with a manuscript of his Life by Gwrmonoc (now Orléans 261). This could explain the link of Fleury with Brittany, and the presence in this abbey of older Breton manuscripts such as the canonical collection in Orléans 221.

The Viking raids caused a disruption in the manuscript production of Breton scriptoria. It probably came to an end after the thriving reign of Alan the Great (888–907). One of the first manuscripts attesting a resumption of this production is the Amalarius of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 192, dated 952. As David Dumville has remarked, its long colophon on fol. 97v is composed of two parts, the first part has an elaborate dating formula comparable to the datations found in contemporaneous charters of Landevennec cartulary.[62] There, a deacon called Amadeus, having adopted

[62] D. Dumville, 'The English element in tenth century Breton book production', in *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993), essay XIV. For a photograph, see Léon Fleuriot, 'Nouvelles gloses vieilles-bretonnes à Amalarius', *Études celtiques* 11 (1967) 415–64 et 470–4, at p. 471; and for a transcription, see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1909–12), at I.465; also D. Dumville, 'Breton and Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', p. 206.

the monastic life, is said to have ordered this copy for the use of the community. In the second part of the colophon, written by a different hand, a threat is pronounced against thieves, the manuscript being presented as the property of 'fratres Sancti Guingualoei', no doubt the monks of Landevennec abbey.

David Dumville remarked that two manuscripts of the same version of Amalarius are of Anglo-Saxon origin and go back to the reign of Aethelstan (924–939). We know that Aethelstan offered a refuge to the Breton royal family and helped them to reëstablish their power in Brittany. It is highly probable that the Cambridge manuscript was copied on an English model, by Breton scribes educated in England at the beginning of the Xth c. It is still unknown how this Landevennec manuscript went to England. What is sure is that it shows many Insular features (preparation of the pergament, lineation etc.). The program of restoration of Landevennec abbey included somehow the bringing back of Amalarius' text which was considered as a complete handbook on liturgy. To quote Dumville, 'we see here an aspect of English influence after the return of Breton exiles from England at the end of the 930s.'[63]

THE INSULAR CONNECTION

The second part of this study argues that most of the Breton manuscripts with Old Breton glosses have an Irish (or Insular) connection, confirmed by the presence of (fossilized) Irish (or Welsh) glosses, a theme I already developed in 1992 at a colloquium in Rennes upon cultural links between Ireland and Brittany.[64] The Insular connection is particularly obvious when the main text is of Insular provenance, as in the next example.

1. The *Collectio Canonum*

Bradshaw did not restrict his work to the search for glosses in order to ascertain the geographical origin of certain manuscripts. He was deeply conscious of the implications of all these new informations for the history and transmission of the main texts. If we put aside the Oxford Eutychius and the Cambridge Amalarius, what he had found in the Breton manuscripts

[63] Dumville, 'The English element', 11. He also believes that Bretons had been 'responsible for the introduction of the work of Amalarius into the English Church as part of the movement of Breton intellectual goods to England in the late ninth and early tenth century'. At that period, for example, Breton Gospel books were exported to England.

[64] Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Relations culturelles entre Irlandais et Bretons dans le haut Moyen Âge: le témoignage des gloses', in *Irlande et Bretagne, Vingt siècles d'histoire, Actes du colloque de Rennes (29–31 mars 1993)*, ed. Catherine Laurent, Helen Davis (Rennes, 1994), pp. 363–74. According to David Dumville, however, the role of Brittany has been overestimated in the transmission of Insular texts, 'Ireland, Brittany and England: transmission and use of *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*', in ibid., pp. 85–95 (especially p. 88).

were Canonical and Hisperic texts. What he has to say about them is particularly interesting. Though he was aware of many references to insular sources in the *Collectio Canonum*, his first idea about this *Collectio* was that it had been compiled in Brittany. In his view, this would have explained the adjective 'hibernensis' in the references to 'Synodus Hibernensis'.[65] When he gained access to the famous Arbedoc manuscript, and to the colophon attributing the *Collectio* to Cú Chuimne and Ruiben of Daiminis and Iae, he accepted this authorship, but his opinion was that it could have been revised in Brittany:

> the work originated, probably in Ireland, at the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century... forming a digest of decisions of councils and citations of Holy Scripture and fathers of the Church which had by that time become far too voluminous to be consulted without grave difficulty'
>
> It passed at once into Brittany with settlers there; Brittany was its adopted home; the second and somewhat enlarged recension of it was also produced in Brittany; and it is almost exclusively from Brittany that it spread to the neighbouring districts, and thence elsewhere, in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries, only reaching the Anglo-Saxon Church quite late in this period.[66]

In the quotation of 'Romani', as opposed to 'Hibernenses, Synodus Romana', Bradshaw saw traces of a resistance to Romanization: 'a desire on the part of its Irish compiler to preserve for posterity the decision of their national synods...'.[67]

He contrasted seven 'foreign manuscripts – those which contain no evidence, either from the character of their writing or from their containing vernacular glosses or other entries, that they were transcribed in a country where any Irish or British dialect was spoken' and seven of native origin: two containing 'remarkable traces of freshly transcribed Irish, though not themselves written by Irish scribes, while they exhibit no traces whatever of Breton ownership or writing', the other five bearing evident marks of having been transcribed in Brittany while the Irish words preserved in them are found in what may be called a fossil state, that is, embedded in a Latin text copied by a scribe wholly ignorant of their meaning.'[68]

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[65] Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, p. 476; cf. p. 471, 'It was a copy of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensium*, so mis-called from the fact that a number of Irish canons are cited in the collection'. The fact that the editor, Wasserschleben, erroneously analysed British glosses as Irish (ibid., p. 473) did not help him to correct his views.

[66] Henry Bradshaw, *The Early Collection of Canons known as the Hibernensis* (Cambridge, 1893), p. 7.

[67] Bradshaw, *Early Collection*, 13.

[68] Ibid., 20.

As an example, he took the Cambrai manuscript with a Old Irish passage (Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale n° 679 (formerly 619)). After showing that the Irish sermon could not have been copied by someone reading Irish, Bradshaw remarked that the word *Emmanuel*, written in the margin of this manuscript, also occured in the margin of two other manuscripts of Breton origin. This, according to him, is 'a possible indication that all three manuscripts were copied from a prototype existing in Brittany, which was itself written at a time when a greater number of Irish Students were to be found in the monasteries of St Gildas at Rhuys and of Winwaloe at Landevennech, than was likely to be the case in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.'[69]

Bradshaw, then, regarded Brittany as the country through which the *Collectio Canonum* had reached the Continent; for him Brittany was the necessary link between Ireland and Francia or Belgium. This was later elaborated on a European dimension by Paul Fournier.[70] Nowadays, the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* is almost exclusively known through Continental manuscripts, among which one must recognize the predominance of Breton manuscripts: five, among a dozen of manuscripts. It is in one of these Breton manuscripts of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, BnF Lat. 12021 (from Corbie) that we find the precious colophon with the names of the two compilers, Cú Chuimne and Ruben (see Plate 4 below). The sources they used are now well known, particularly their Irish sources, among which we find *Canones Adamnani*, the penitential of Winniau, the synods of Patrick. The latest author quoted here is Pope Gregory. It has been dated 'before 647', the obit of Cú Chuimne.

Obviously, the presence of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* in Brittany reveals the heavy influence of Irish christianity on the pre-Carolingian Breton church. We cannot be sure that this canonical regulation

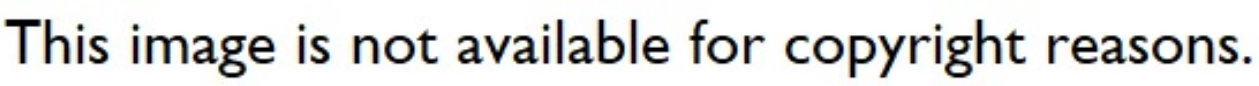

Plate 4 : BN Lat. 12021 (Canons, prov. St. Pierre de Corbie, then Saint-Germain), fol.138v, 'huc usque Ruben et Cucuimin Iae et du(m)rinis

[69] Bradshaw, *The Early Collection*, 24.
[70] Paul Fournier, 'De l'influence de la collection canonique irlandaise', *Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger*, 23 (1899), 27–78.

was the only one in use in ecclesiastical courts of justice, but they would surely have been preferred to the legislation used in lay courts, where cruel ordeals and capital punishments were current.

Particularly remarkable in the *Collectio Canonum* is the tendency to leave the door open to different treatments, and sometimes to opposite solutions: we may consider last book, titled *De contrariis causis* where theft could be *leuiter* 'lightly' corrected, or *grauiter* 'heavily' punished. As noted by Charles-Edwards[71], two different verbs are then used: *de furto leuiter sanando uel grauiter puniendo*. This possibly depended on the behaviour of the accused; my own interpretation is that *sanando* here does not exactly mean 'heal, clean', but it may rather be a calque on Old Irish *íccaid*, meaning both 'to heal' and 'to pay'. *De furto sanando* probably refers to a voluntary proposal from the thief to repay, to restitute or reimburse what he has taken away, whereas *de furto puniendo* refers to the behaviour of the authorities, constables, wardens and judges in charge of the punishment of theft.

Collectio Canonum Hibernensis is certainly the work of the two Irishmen cited in the colophon. We should however add that in the Breton manuscripts, this text is accompanied by other ones which may have a more direct relation with Brittany. I am not speaking of the *Canones Adamnani*, a short list of prescriptions concerning the eating of animals, but of the following titles:

(a) an abridgment of the first five books of the Bible, *Liber ex lege Moysi*;[72]

(b) a penitential attributed to Winniau;

(c) *Excerpta legum Francorum et Romanorum*, also called *Canones Wallici*.

The last of these Fleuriot considered as an ancient piece of legislation relating to the coexistence of Franks and Romanized Britons in Brittany.[73]

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[71] T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Construction of the Hibernensis', *Peritia* 12 (1998), 209–37.

[72] For a new edition, see now Sven Meeder, 'The *Liber ex lege Moysi*: notes and text', *The Journal of medieval Latin*, 19 (2009), 173–218; however, he reuses Stokes's edition of the glosses.

[73] Léon Fleuriot, 'Un fragment en latin de très anciennes lois bretonnes armoricaines du VI^{e} s.', *Études celtiques* 13 (1972), 194–212; id., 'Un fragment en latin de très anciennes lois bretonnes armoricaines du VI^{e} s.' *Annales de Bretagne* 78, (1971), 601–60; Ludwig Bieler, 'Towards an interpretation of the so-called *Canones Wallici*', *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*, ed. J. A. Watt, J. B. Morrall, and F. X Martin (Dublin, 1961), pp. 387–39; cf. also Morfydd E. Owen, 'The *Excerpta de libris Romanorum et Francorum* and Hywel Dda', in *Tair Colofn Cyfraith: The Three Columns of Law in*

The dating of this text is still the object of debate, but I will not insist on the subject, except to mention that the dating has been corrected by David Dumville to the seventh century.[74]

With regard to the glosses themselves, it is satisfying to find several glosses common to two manuscripts of the Canon collection. Some of them refer to extracts from the Pentateuch, gathered under the title *Liber ex lege Moysi*. The parallel glosses are as follows:

Glosses common to Orléans 221 and another witness:
canora[**bann**, Orléans 221 n° 87[75] (Wasserschleben ix.2) = London BL Cotton Otho E.XIII
andronas[**dadlou**, Orléans 221 n° 90 (Wasserschleben x.b) = Oxford Hatton 42, Cotton Otho E.XIII
nepta[**nith**, Orléans 221, n° 94 (Wasserschleben x.q) = Cotton Otho E.XIII
acitamenta[**clou**, Orléans 221, n° 210 (Wasserschleben xvii.11) = Oxford Hatton 42
defer[**guotric**, Orléans 221 n° 242 (Wasserschleben xlii.4) = Cotton Otho E.XIII
probrum[**prome[tic]**, Orléans 221, unedited, (Wasserschleben xxi.12) = **guohethe**, BnF 3182

Glosses common to two of the other manuscripts:
bobello[**buuorth** London, Cotton Otho E. XIII, 113b (Wasserschleben liii.5) = **buorth**, BnF 3182

A manuscript with Old Breton and Old Irish glosses, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 279 ('Parker MS'):[76]
OIr. glosses, ***bolcha*** gl. papulas, ***trusci*** gl. scabiem, ***reet*** = recht gl. inpitiginem (sur Lev 20.27, in the *Liber ex lege Moysi*)
Brittonic glosses: ***anre*** gl. colirio; ***in dibbrit*** gl. in negotio
a ms with Old Breton and Anglo-saxon glosses: Oxford, Hatton 42.

The Orléans manuscript (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 221) (see Plate 5 opposite) however stands out by the number of glosses (322), the archaism of language and spelling (traces of the Anglo-Saxon letter *thorn*: n°

Medieval Wales, ed. T. M. Charles-Edwards and Paul Russell, The Welsh Legal History Society 5 (Bangor, 2007), pp. 171–95

[74] David N. Dumville, 'On the dating of the Early Breton Lawcodes', *Études celtiques*, 21 (1984), 207–21.

[75] The numbers refer to Stokes' edition, mentioned above n. 45.

[76] Cf. Helen Smith, 'Ireland, Tours and Brittany, the case of Cambridge Corpus Christi College, MS 279', in *Irlande et Bretagne*, ed. Laurent and Davies, pp. 109–23.

315 ***arlup*** gl. pedicam = W. *arludd*; cf. n° 124 ***arlu[*** gl. proibuit), and also by the fact

Plate 5: Orléans 221 (193), p. 212 bottom, colophon with the name Iunobrus: 'Iunobrus scripsit hec sancta sinoda dicite animam eius in requiem erit ac habitar(it) in hepo (?) sine fine'

that many glosses were left abridged.[77] The number of glosses would indicate that the manuscript was the personal property of a school-master; this was probably the case at least for the exemplar, but the copy itself, with its abridged glosses, had certainly been written by someone less interested in Breton commentaries. The manuscript, usually dated to the beginning of the ninth century, may have been copied in the abbey of Fleury from an exemplar brought by some monastic refugees coming from Brittany. For Lindsay, Mostert and others, this manuscript is evidence of Insular script surviving after the introduction of Caroline minuscule.[78] In addition Breton musical notation is found on p. 212.

2. *Hisperica Famina*

With regard to the *Hisperica Famina,* I will not try to solve the question whether it is an Irish or a Breton invention, and it might be safe to adopt provisionally a position similar to what we said about the *Collectio* Canonum: texts may have been composed in Ireland, but many manuscripts are Continental and particularly Breton. John Carey has conveniently treated

[77] The omission of *-th-* in *guparol* (read *guparthol*), gl. theorica, Orléans n° 209, is an indication that the model had probably a thorn in there; other examples of the same word have *-t-* instead of *-th-*, in two derivatives, *gupartolaid* gl. priuilegia n° 149, *imguparton[t]* gl. se abdicant n° 256, or have been reduced of the last syllable, *gupar*[gl. remotis n° 208, *gupar*[gl. theoricam n° 240. Another example of a faulty *-p-* transcribing a thorn has been found by Loth, *Vocabulaire vieux breton*, in a Luxembourg gloss, *gurpait* gl. fusam, but this is rejected by Rhys and Fleuriot.

[78] Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, n. 3727 'zum grössten Teil von Iunobrus geschrieben; flache eckige insulare Minuskel, unterbrochen von karolingischen Händen. An den Rändern von 83 ff. von ungeschulter insularker Hand Zusätze'; Mostert, *Library of Fleury*, BF 697.

the question of the aim and purpose of these elaborate and sophisticated compositions.[79] Everyone nowadays agrees they consist of scholastic exercises on predetermined themes or *topoi*, the language being deliberately chosen in very scholarly registers, such as rare, technical terms, Greek and Hebrew loanwords, metaphorical and otherwise poetic terminology. This exercise becomes a display of extreme pedantism, with an alignment of obscure or affected lexems, each of them difficult to understand without an explanatory gloss. The hisperic language is intimately linked with the use of glosses. For example, in the alphabetical poem, preserved in Saint Omer 666, every word automatically receives a gloss, a fact very well known in the Irish medieval literature, when the poem is written in *Bérla na filed* (the obscure language of the poets), or when the poem has a didactic purpose and delivers in poetic form a list of themes (e.g. the *Coeca Céist* poem[80]).

It is particularly interesting to note that we have at least two examples of Breton *glossae collectae* with lemmata in Hisperic language: the Luxembourg fragment, and the Paris BnF 11011, both coming from Echternach, and probably from the same manuscript collection. John Carey has offered an interesting suggestion about these collected glosses: could it be that Hisperica Famina were composed exactly as the Anglo-Saxon riddles? The list of collected glosses (including both Latin and Breton explanations) might have been part of the game, the contenders being given both a theme to develop and a list of vocabulary to display in their composition. Anyway, as already said, glosses are intimately linked with the hisperic compositions, and were both the source of their vocabulary and the key for their understanding.

What strikes me in the Luxembourg glosses is their grammatical precision and regularity; for example, all the Latin perfects are glossed with a preterite preceded by the perfective particle *ro*, e.g. (Luxembourg 89, l. 11, ***ro credihat***, gl. uigricatus (est), l. 16, ***ro ricsenti*** gl. sulcauissent (cf. **rec** gl. sulco), l. 18, ***ro gulipias*** gl. oliuauit, l. 19, ***ro luncas*** gl. guturicauit. Now this is an archaism among Old Breton glosses;[81] but it is very common in Old Irish glosses, particularly Milan and Saint-Gall. Should we take this to be the proof that these Old Breton glosses were translated from Old Irish ? I would prefer to consider them as belonging to the first stages of the scholastic

[79] John Carey, 'The Obscurantists and the Sea-Monster: Reflections on the Hisperica Famina', *Peritia*, 17–18 (2003–4), 40–60.

[80] Cf. Hildegard L. C. Tristram, ed., *Sex aetates mundi: die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren. Untersuchungen und Texte*, Anglistische Forschungen 165, (Heidelberg, 1985) 285–93.

[81] There are only a few glosses using the preterite with *ro* outside Luxembourg: *rotemdirot* gl. conatus sum, Prisc., Paris BnF Lat 10290, *rogotetic* gl. creditam, Orléans 302, and *re-bid* repeatedly in Angers 477. Cf. Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Les gloses grammaticales brittoniques', *Études celtiques* 24 (1987), 285–308, at pp. 293–294.

education, when grammar is still an important subject. Another mark of this grammatical regularity is the constant use of the preposition *a* to render a Latin ablative, but this feature is common to all corpora of Old Breton glosses.

These collected glosses and the St Omer poem glossed in Old Breton are not the only witnesses for the knowledge of Hisperic Latin amongst Breton scholars. Their compositions are prone to use the same style, particularly their signatures or colophons. Louis Lemoine has studied many words of Hisperic origin used in the Breton colophons:[82] c*haraxare* 'to write,' ultimately of Greek origin, *scrutari* 'to read', properly 'to examine' (a word chosen for its expressivity), *Erus poli* 'The Lord of the World', a combination of a Latin archaism and a Greek metaphor.

Excursus on the long colophon of BnF Lat 12021

It has been shown by Lemoine that the long colophon of BnF Lat 12021 (Saint-Pierre-de Corbie), was probably the result of the accumulation of several colophons related to the different parts of the manuscript[83]. This is probably correct: it is in fact a medley of scribal annotations, together with *sententiae* or proverbs, added to the marginal annotations or final colophons, presented as short prayers for the scribe; the only name which seems to be kept by the compiler, was probably his own name, Arbedoc, and the name of his abbot Haelhucar.

But I think we can possibly add a third name, which has remained undetected because it was translated into Latin:

> Obsecro itaque uos omnes qui in hunc senatum praedicare siue decreuere seu interpretare uel discernere dilectaueritis scripture me pro Arbedoc herum poli rogare non distolatis ut mihi humumculo in uita in morte et post mortem misertum (read *hoc senatu*, *scriptore*, *mei homunculi*, *misertus*) fore dignetur
>
> I beseech all of you who will enjoy to preach in this convent, or, to decide, or to interpret, and to analyse, that you may not postpone to pray the Lord of the world for me, the scribe Arbedoc, that he deign to have mercy on me, little man, during my life, at the moment of my death and after my death.

[82] Louis Lemoine, '*Scrutari* 'lire' et *pingere* 'écrire'. Note sur le colophon du Vatican Regina 296', *Études celtiques* 25 (1988), 233–6; id., 'Maniérisme et hispérisme en Bretagne'; id., 'Note sur les *Hisperica Famina* et la Bretagne', *Britannia Monastica* 13.4 (2010), 215–24.

[83] Louis Lemoine, 'Contribution à la reconstitution des scriptoria bretons du haut Moyen Âge', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 59 (2001), 261–68.

The term *homunculus* 'little man' reminds us the Old Irish name Adamnán, a diminutive of Adam, 'man' in Hebrew. This is exactly the way Adamnán is glossed in Cormac's Glossary. Adamnan, abbot of Iona, was considered as the compiler of the *Canones Adamnani*, which form part of BnF 12021, and so the name was known to Arbedoc. He may even have known the meaning of Adamnán; perhaps he had the same kind of 'monastic name' or nickname within the monastery.

3. *Orosius*

For the text of Orosius, *Historiae aduersus paganos*, Fleuriot knew of five manuscripts with Breton glosses, three in the Vatican Library (Reginensis 296, 691, 1974), one in Venice (Marcianus Zanetti 349), and one in Berne (Berne, Burgerbibliothek 160). I have been able to add three other manuscripts, two in Paris (BnF lat. 4877 and 17543) and one in Leiden (Voss. Lat F.13[84]). What is remarkable is not the Irish influence, but rather the link with Britain. To begin with, all the Breton manuscripts have the title *De Ormesta Mundi*, with a word *Ormesta*, probably of Brittonic origin, cognate with Middle Welsh *arymes*, *armes* 'prophecy'. As testified by the *Vita Pauli* written by Gurmonoc, this word was already used to translate *excidium*, in the title of Gildas' work 'De excidio Britanniae'. It is clear that Gildas's work was not really a historic text, but rather a sermon, threatening the contemporary Welsh leaders with the possible disasters to come, on the basis of Biblical precedents. *Ormesta* then can be understood as both a prophecy and the announcement of a threat. The use of *Ormesta* in the Breton manuscripts of Orosius is clearly connected with ancient British Latin literature.

These Breton manuscripts have several glosses with an interest in British matters; noteworthy is their tendency to give a gloss on some British place-names or river names:[85]

Tamensem[***Tamois***, Vat. Reg. Lat. 296

Trinouantum[.i. ciuitas quae Britannice dicitur ***Torntrient***, Vat. Reg. Lat. 296, et Paris BnF Lat. 4877.

oppidum Cassibellaunum[, .i. genitiuus, nunc Saxonice dicitur ***buric***, ubi principis habitatio erat; Burgundionum a Burgos .i. ***burgolion***, burgum enim in lingua eorum et Saxonum uocatur ***burg***...(Vat. Reg. Lat. 296, Berne 160 and misplaced in BnF Lat 4877)

[84] Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Gloses en vieux-breton, 1-5' (1. Gloses du Ms. Leyde, Vossianus Lat. F.13), *Études celtiques* 26 (1989), 81–93 (at pp. 81–3).

[85] Cf. Pierre-Yves Lambert, Gloses à Orose, résultats d'enquête', *Études celtiques* 25 (1988), 213–20.

Eburacum oppidum[.i. quod ***Cair Ebrauc*** uocatur (Paris BnF Lat. 4877)

Similarly, *triquadrum*, at the beginning of the Geography, is very frequently glossed (***triolinoc***: Vat. Reg. Lat. 296, Venise Marc. 349; ***tricorihoc***: Berne 160, Paris BnF lat. 17543; cf. ***tricœnioc*** gl. trigona, Leyde Voss. Lat F.13. The Irish element is not completely absent; Vat. Reg. Lat 296 has a gloss ***sainis*** on contionem: this is probably the Old Irish word *sanas*, 'secret information'. More importantly, we know about *glossae collectae* from Orosius, in which there are a few Irish names of Irish places. They are preserved in Vatican, Reg. Lat. 1650. According to Olivier Szerwiniack, their editor, these glosses refer to a sort of Dindshenchas related to the Irish legends of the Invasions, the *Lebor Gabála*.[86]

Anyway, these glosses mainly come from a British source, and exhibit some knowledge not only of the Welsh equivalents for some geographical names, but also of their Anglo-Saxon equivalents. From this point of view, we should recall the suggestion of Janet Bately, the editor of the Old English Orosius: this translation traditionally attributed to King Alfred has certainly been made with the help of one of the Welsh scholars whom Alfred called to his court, probably Asser, who wrote his biography.[87] According to Bately, the misspelling of Latin names would point to a dictation by a native Welsh speaker.[88] Asser would have become acquainted with Orosius during his training in Wales.[89]

Remarkable is a gloss common to Vatican Regin. Lat. 296 and Paris BnF Lat 4877 which reads as follow: oppidum Cassibelaunum[, (Zangemeister VI.9.9).i. nunc Saxonice dicitur *buric*, ubi pane principis habitacio erat (Vat. Reg. 296, 73b2, BnF Lat 4877, 65va). This *pane principis* is obviously a calque on OE *hlāfweard*.

4. *The glosses on Vergil*

In the case of the glosses on Vergil, the connection with Ireland may seem rather loose at first sight: the Irish commentary, called the Philargyrian

[86] Olivier Szerwiniack, 'Un commentaire hiberno-latin des deux premiers livres d'Orose, *Histoires contre les Païens'*, *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 51 (1993), 5–137; 65 (2007), 165–207; id., 'D'Orose au *Lebor Gabála Érenn:* les gloses du manuscrit Reg. Lat. 1650', *Études celtiques*, 31 (1995), 205–17.

[87] Janet Bately (ed.), *The Old English Orosius*, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 6 (Oxford, 1980).

[88] Bately, *The Old English Orosius*, p. cx.

[89] For arguments against this position, and the observation that any attribution to Asser is sheer guesswork, see Paul Russell, 'Revisiting the "Welsh Dictator" of the Old English Orosius', *Quaestio Insularis* 12 (2011), 31–62; cf, also a reply from Bately, 'The Spelling of the Proper Names in the *OE Orosius*: The Case for Dictation by a Welshman Revisited, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 116 (2017), 45–81.

commentary, quotes very often an antique scholar (Philargyrius), whose commentary was later superseded by that of Donatus. But this Philargyrian commentary is preserved only on the Continent, in three manuscripts written in a continental Caroline. The Irish origin is betrayed by the presence of several Old Irish glosses. Each one of the three manuscripts preserves two versions of the commentary, both in the form of *glossae collectae*.[90]

On the other hand, the Old Breton glosses in Berne 167, are apparently distributed both as interlinear glosses, directly on the text of Virgil and as additional glosses in a special column containing only the *glossae collectae*. Louis Holtz has shown that this page-setting, with two columns (one for the text, one for the scholia), should be seen as a reduction of a three columns setting (one for the text, two for the scholia), observed in other Berne mss of Vergil.[91] Consequently, the Old Breton glosses scattered directly in the text column may have been put there because of lack of space in the column for scholia. They might have been intended, from the start, as an enrichment of the scholia.

The scholia from Berne 167 have been used by Hermann Hagen to produce his 'Scholia Bernensia', where one can find many elements taken from the Philargyrian compilation, mixed with loans from Servius or Servius auctus.[92] Berne 167 (*s.* ix^2) comes from Fleury, and ultimately (possibly) from Auxerre, and could have been compiled with the help of Hiberno-Latin manuscripts. The linguistically Irish element is very limited; what we find is rather parallelisms between glosses in Old Breton (Berne 167) and the glosses in Old Irish (the Philargyrian compilation).[93] We also have the proof that the Old Irish words, in the Philargyrian compilation, have been copied with a sort of Bretonisation, – although their manuscripts, till now, have not been recognised as Breton.

5. *Priscian's Grammar*

The Breton manuscript of Priscian's grammar, BnF Lat. 10290, has no certain provenance; it might originate from Echternach. It contains the *recensio scotica* of the *Institutiones Grammaticae*, all other witnesses being

[90] For more on this, see Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Les gloses celtiques aux commentaires de Virgile', *Études celtiques*, 23 (1986), 81–128.

[91] Louis Holtz, 'Les manuscrits latins à gloses et à commentaires de l'Antiquité à l'époque carolingienne', in *Il Libro e il testo, Atti del convegno internazionale, Urbino, 20-23 settembre 1982*, ed. C. Questa, R. Raffaelli (Urbino, 1984), 161–7 (at pp. 163–4); id., 'Les manuscrits carolingiens de Virgile (X^e et XI^e siècles)', in *La Fortuna di Virgilio, Atti del Convegno internazionale (Napoli 24–26 ottobre 1983)*, (Napoli, 1986), 127–49.

[92] H. Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia ad Vergilii Bucolica et Georgic*a, (Leipzig, 1867; repr. Hildesheim 1967); cf. the Philargyrian commentary in vol. 3 of G. Thilo and H. Hagen, eds, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii Maurus Honoratus Servius*, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1881–1902).

[93] Lambert, 'Relations culturelles entre Irlandais et Bretons', p. 101.

characteristically Irish, or Continental Irish. Together with the transmission of the Insular or more precisely Irish version of Priscian, some sixty Old Irish glosses were also transmitted and almost three hundred Old Breton glosses (exact number: 287) were added, some of them extending to the size of a sentence.

The fate of the Old Irish glosses in Paris BnF 10290 was thoroughly examined by their first editor, Edouard Bachellery:[94] these glosses were copied only in the first 45 folios of the manuscript, and copied at the same time as the main text, by the same scribe (A). On some occasions he has understood the Old Irish word, and in that case he tries to adapt it to Old Breton phonetics. Almost all the Old Irish glosses have a parallel in the Irish manuscripts of Priscian (most frequently, in the Saint-Gall manuscript), and Old Breton glosses may also have a parallel in the Irish witnesses. Different cases can be distinguished:

(a) the glosses are copied with minor errors, omission of an apex, or reduplication of a consonant:

f. 35a ***cenmar*** gl. Capito [Sg. 52a3 *cennmar*], f. 32b ***odbran*** gl. talus [Sg. 48a5 *odbrann*].

Frequently an *-h-* is omitted in the signs for the voiceless spirants, particularly *-ch-*, *-th-*

f. 15b, ***moet*** gl. puls, = ***moeth***,

-ch- is misspelt as *-oh-* once:

f. 33 b, ***clesmanaohan = clesmanachan***, gl. parasitaster (Bachellery: clesmana..han, Fleuriot: clesmanecohan or clesmanctohan) (Plate 6 overleaf (p. 30))

More important deformations may occur:

escalchaill gl. aesculetum, [Sg. 53a7] becomes f. 35b ***oscaill***, (Plate 7 overleaf (p. 30))

glainnine gl. mala [Sg. 45b18] gives f. 12a ***glainninet***, gl. maxilla

do psilen [Sg. 17b6] is replaced by f. 14a ***do epsilien***.

Some Old Irish glosses are misplaced, probably because their meaning was unknown by the scribe.

(b) Old Irish glosses are abridged: generally, only the first two syllables have been kept.

f. 36a, monimen[***dain***, = OIr ***daingniugud*** (on the reading, munimen)

[94] Edouard Bachellery, 'Les gloses irlandaises du manuscrit Paris Latin 10290', *Etudes celtiques* 11 (1964–65), 100–30. Note also a few additional Old Irish glosses in Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Les gloses du manuscrit [Paris] BN Lat. 10290', *Études celtiques*, 19 (1982), 173–213 (at pp. 177–8). (Note on p. 177: *nith auis* and *nita* 29a18 (Fleuriot *Dictionnaire* 270a) both probably come from OIr *nímtha* = *ní imtha* 'is not similar').

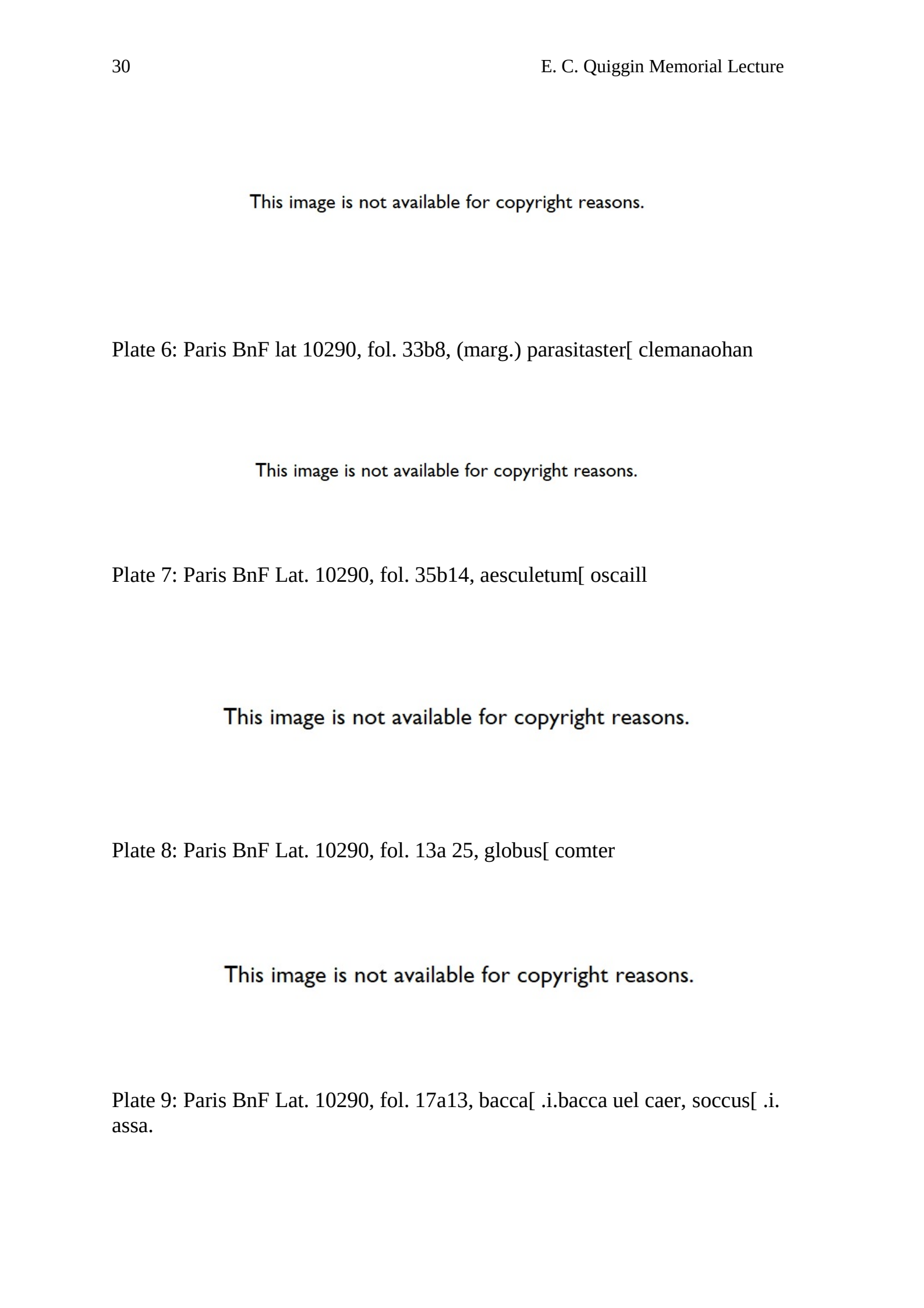

Plate 6: Paris BnF lat 10290, fol. 33b8, (marg.) parasitaster[clemanaohan

Plate 7: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 35b14, aesculetum[oscaill

Plate 8: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 13a 25, globus[comter

Plate 9: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 17a13, bacca[.i.bacca uel caer, soccus[.i. assa.

f. 13a, globus[***comter***, = OIr ***comterchomraic*** cf. *comterchomrac* Sg. 16b3 (Plate 8)
f. 17a, sit[***indix-***, = OIr ***indixnigedar***, cf. Sg. 22b3, a suppletive of the verb 'to be'
Sometimes the scribe kept only the first words of a sentence:
f. 12a, ***uel imbat***: Sg. 15a2, *uel imbat da ss*
The scribe seemingly writes only the first letters, because he hesitates to transmit a foreign gloss, which he finds hard to understand.

(c) a Breton equivalent is given after the Old Irish word, or before it:
OIr. + OBr, soccus[.i. ***assa***. ***emscit*** (f. 17a, cf. Sg. 22b9, *assa*) (Plate 9)
suber[***nom*** uel ***lomcoll*** (f. 42b; cf. Sg. 64a10, *snob*)
OBr + OIr, bacca[.i. ***bacat*** uel ***caer***, (f. 17a, cf. Sg. 22b7, *cáer*) (Plate 9)
osculum[***apom*** uel ***poc*** (f. 31a, cf. Sg. 46a2, *ginán* uel *bóc*)
Glabrio[.i. ***moit*** uel ***nephulach***, ***anoit*** (f. 15b) – if *anoit* is the parallel of W *anoed*, it could have been inspired by the negative compound OIr *nephulach* 'without beard'.

(d) the most interesting category: the Old Irish word is 'corrected' into an Old Breton one. With slight modifications, the scribe succeeds in transforming the foreign word into somewhat more familiar. This Bretonisation is a means of 'recycling' Irish glosses:
aeneus[***humide*** (Sg. 15b2) becomes f. 12b ***humid***, by analogy with OW OBr *omid / emid* 'bronze' (Plate 10 overleaf (p. 32))
forensis[***dáldde*** (Sg. 57a13) becomes f. 38a ***dadalti***, by recycling the adjectival suffix into a composition element (Plate 11 overleaf (p. 32))
gallinacius[***cercde*** (Sg. 58b2) becomes f. 39a ***cerced***, later ***cherched***, a word close to OBr. *corcid*, mod. *kerc'heiz* 'heron' (Plate 12 overleaf (p. 32))
coirt (later corrected to ***cuirt***, Sg. 57a6) is 'Bretonised' into f. 38a ***coirth***
arx[***dún*** (Sg. 60b21), becomes f. 40a **din** by suppressing one of the two minims
grecda becomes either ***groecde*** (with the Brittonic diphtongation, cf. W. *groeg*) or ***grec*** (by abridgement): compare ***gerind grecdae*** Sg. 27b18 and ***gerent.grec*** f. 19b, ***grecda*** Sg. 19b3 and ***is groecde*** f. 15a.

(e) The Old Irish word is replaced by an Old Breton calque: a parallel compound or derivative
osculum[***ginán*** (Sg. 46a2), becomes OBr ***genouan*** (f. 31a) (Plate 13 overleaf (p. 32))
(and in the same gloss, OIr ***póc*** is preceded by its Old Breton translation ***apom***, ut sup.)
Strabo[***cammderc*** (Sg. 63a4), becomes OBr ***cammdirh (***f. 41a) (Plate 14 overleaf (p. 32))

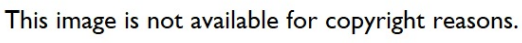

Plate 10: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 12b15, aeneus[humid

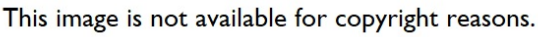

Plate 11: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 38a27, (fo)rensis[dadalti

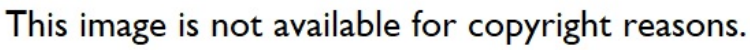

Plate 12: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 39a1, gallinacius[cherched

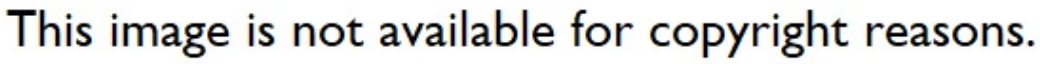

Plate 13: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 31a2, osculum[genouan, uel apom uel poc

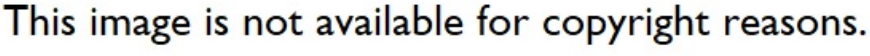

Plate 14: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 41b34 strabo[cammdirh

OIr ***imfognam*** = OBr ***imguognim***, 'construction'
OIr ***tarmforcenn*** = OBr ***tramguar(phe)nn*** 'ending'

There were also exactly identical formations; cf. surdaster[*bodaran*, leena [*ban-leu*, serra[*serr*, urceus[*chilornn*, quamuis[*adass:* these glosses could be read as Old Irish and as Old Breton as well; Fleuriot was right to include them in his *Dictionnaire*, but he omitted sometimes to mention the parallel Irish gloss, which had been most probably the model of the Old Breton one.[95]

In his study of the Old Irish glosses, Bachellery expressed two caveats: 'every edition of Celtic glosses on Priscian should be preceded by a critical examination of the Latin text, in such form as it was circulating in Celtic monasteries, with its variants and blunders';[96] and secondly, 'the Brittonic glosses should be studied by systematically comparing them with the Irish and Latin glosses of the Irish manuscripts', because many dubious glosses, hard to explain as Old Breton, might receive an explanation as mangled Old Irish glosses ('gloses irlandaises estropiées'), mangled by the Breton scribes, and otherwise unknown in the other Priscian manuscripts.[97] This was written in 1964 at a time when linguistic studies on Old Irish glosses were still kept apart from the philological work of Latinists, a remarkable exception being the Dutch scholar Maartje Draak.[98] Bachellery completely understood the need for what we now call the contextualisation of vernacular glosses. Since then, many works by Anders Ahlqvist,[99] Paul

[95] Cf. Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*…, s. v. *bodaran, chilornn*, etc. See also E. Bachellery, Review of Fleuriot *Dictionnaire*… et *Grammaire du Vieux-breton*, *Études celtiques* 11 (1964–65), 191–9 (p. 193–194 *uinan*, pp. 194–5 *ban-leu*, *gerent grec*, *glainninet*).

[96] Bachellery, 'Les gloses irlandaises ', p. 108: 'Il résulte de cette première ébauche d'examen comparatif du ms de Paris et du Priscien de Saint Gall que, pour bien faire, toute édition de gloses celtiques à Priscien devrait être précédée d'un examen critique du texte latin tel qu'il circulait dans les écoles monastiques celtiques, avec ses variantes et ses erreurs. Et que, de plus, les gloses brittoniques doivent être étudiées en leur comparant constamment les gloses latines et irlandaises des mss glosés en Irlande'.

[97] Ibid., '… Une foule d'autres gloses douteuses, bien difficiles à expliquer comme mots vieux-bretons, pourraient peut-être s'expliquer, comme le suggère d'ailleurs M. Fleuriot, par des gloses irlandaises estropiées par les copistes bretons, et dont la forme correcte ne nous est conservée par aucun ms. connu de Priscien.'

[98] Maartje Draak, 'The higher teaching of Latin grammar in Ireland during the ninth century', *Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks, 30.4 (1967), 109–44.

[99] Anders Ahlqvist, 'Notes on the Greek materials in the St. Gall Priscian (Codex 904)', in M. Herren, ed., *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, King's College London Medieval Studies 2 (London, 1988), 195–214 (and plates 17–22).

Russell,[100] Rijcklof Hofman[101], Franck Cinato[102] and Pádraic Moran[103] have facilitate the comparison between the different corpuses of glosses on the *Recensio Scotica* of Priscian. Louis Lemoine[104] working on the Breton witness reached the same results as Maartje Draak.

With regard to the Old Breton glosses on Priscian, we have to deal with a mixture of Welsh and Breton features. The Old Welsh features are seemingly restricted to the vocalism *-au-* in the two adjectival endings *-auc* and *-aul*, and in other words (*liausauc*, *altaur* …) and to the vocalic reduction in the prep. *da* (> *di*) and in the first syllable of polysyllabic words, *cimachabail*, *cimperet*, *penn gurth cimarch*, *rincir*, *cibrmo*, *briceriauc*. According to Fleuriot, 'les gloses irlandaises, incompréhensibles pour le scribe, sont laissées en général telles quelles, mais il est visible qu'il a bretonnisé la plupart des gloses galloises qu'il comprenait'.[105] Both statements are questionable. We have already seen how much Old Irish glosses have been altered in the Paris BnF Lat. 10290. The closeness of Old Welsh and Old Breton, on the contrary, had rendered it unnecessary to engage in a thorough normalisation. The supposed Bretonisation of the Welsh glosses is rather limited, the editor can only quote *lios*, instead of *liaus*, or *foionouc* instead of *fionauc* ('glose galloise mal recopiée'). *Gilbin* 'beak' could be Old Breton as well as Old Welsh. The Old Welsh element, then, in Paris BnF Lat. 10290 is dubious: one could simply suppose that the scribe has been educated in Wales so that he automatically writes the adjectival endings *-ol* and *-oc* with *-au-* instead of *-o-*, and notes the reduction vowel in the first syllable with an *-i-* instead of *-e-*. This was also the case in some pretonic elements, as the copula (*is* / *es*), the article, the predicative/adverbial particle. It seems, however, more probable that more

[100] Paul Russell and Pádraic Moran, *Early Irish glossaries Database*, (Cambridge, ASNC, 2006, 2nd ed. 2009).

[101] Rijcklof Hofman, 'The linguistic preoccupations of the glossators of the St Gall Priscian', *Historiographia Linguistica*, 20 (1993), 111–26; id., 'The Irish tradition of Priscian', in *Manuscripts and Tradition of Grammatical Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance, Proceedings of a Conference held at Erice, 16-23 October 1997*, ed. M. De Nonno et al. (Cassino, 2000), vol. 1, 257-287; id., *The Sankt Gall Priscian Commentary*. Part 1, 2 vol., Studien und Texte zur Keltologie 1 (Münster, 1996).

[102] Franck Cinato, *Priscien glosé, L'*Ars grammatica *de Priscien vue à travers les gloses carolingiennes*, Studia Artistarum 41 (Turnhout, 2015); id., 'Les gloses à Priscien dans les manuscrits *scottice scripti* et leurs relations avec le *Liber glossarum'*, *Britannia Monastica*, 19 (2017), 83–115.

[103] Pádraic Moran, digital edition of the St. Gall glosses (at http://www.stgallpriscian.ie).

[104] Louis Lemoine, 'Les méthodes d'enseignement dans la Bretagne du haut Moyen Âge d'après les manuscrits bretons: l'exemple du Paris B.N. Lat. 10290', *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge, Actes du colloque du 15e centenaire de l'abbaye de Landévennec, 25-27 avril 1985* (Landévennec, 1986), 45–63.

[105] Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*, p. 31,

than one glossator have been at work, some with a Welsh background and some others with a Breton education.

6. *The Bede manuscript, Angers 477*

Lastly, a manuscript with the work of an Anglo-Saxon writer. We should not think that Breton monasteries had changed the schedule of their reference books under certain circumstances such as the new links between Brittany and the Anglo Saxon monarchy in the tenth century, or the links between some abbeys such as Ramsey and Fleury, or the cultural policy of King Alfred. Actually, the reading of Bede is just another effect of the cultural influence of the insular Celts on Brittany. In close connection with the Easter question, Irish scholars had developed a large amount of computistical writings. But after this question was settled in favor of the new Roman reckoning (particularly at the Synod of Whitby, 667), this Irish literature became out of date, and the writings of Bede took their place in the monastic schools of Celtic countries as well as in the Anglo-Saxon ones. In studying Bede, the Breton monks are once again imitating their Irish and Welsh masters. We know that Wales was the last to abandon the Irish reckoning of Easter; it might be the reason why Breton manuscripts are the last witness for the Irish pre-Whitby computistical science. It is a matter of surprise that Immo Warntjes and Jacopo Bisagni are now rediscovering these Irish computistical treatises in Breton manuscripts such as Paris BnF n.a.l. 1616 (formerly the beginning of the Fleury ms., Orléans 18), Angers 476, Laon 422, Vatican Reg. Lat 123 or BnF Lat. 6400B.[106]

Even in this manuscript of Bede (the exemplar of which could be dated to 897), we find later marginal additions testifying to a kind of survival of the older Irish treatises, such as *De ratione computandi* or the Munich Computus.[107] These older Irish tracts are quoted in the margins of the Bede manuscript: the scholars at work in the commentary are at the same time recognizing Bede as their first authority on computistics, and trying to retain the older Irish commentaries concerning some particular calculations. Their understanding of the older Irish tracts is not always without error: I recently found that OIr. *sam-*, abridged from *sam-chasc* 'Summer Easter', had been

[106] For BnF Lat. 6400 B, a text of *Computus Hibernicus Parisinus*, see Immo Warntjes, 'An Irish Eclipse prediction of AD 754: The earliest in the Latin West', *Peritia* 24–25, (2013–14), 108–15; Jacopo Bisagni, 'A new citation from a work of Columbanus in BnF lat. 6400B', *Peritia* 24-,25, (2013–14), 116–22. Jacopo Bisagni, 'The newly discovered Irish and Breton *computistica* in Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. Lat. 123', *Peritia* 28 (2017), 13–34.

[107] Daibhí Ó Cróinín and Maura Walsh, eds, *De ratione computandi* and Cummian's Letter *De Controversia Paschali*, together with a related Irish computistical tract, *De ratione computandi* (Toronto, 1988); Immo Warntjes, ed., *The Munich Computus text and translation* (Stuttgart, 2010).

misunderstood as *samuin* 'All Hallows' and translated with Brittonic *Kal(ann) guiam* 'Winter Calends'.[108]

This manuscript comes from Saint Aubin, Angers. According to Fleuriot, it belonged previously to the abbey of Landevennec. As I have shown, the margin of f. 47v has a cryptogram expressing a prayer by the scribe (Plate 15).[109] This type of cryptogram is based on a double trigger, Latin letters are replaced by numbers, and these numbers are written in the Greek alphabet; this is well known through the Bamberg cryptogram, ascribed to an Irish man, Dubthach, working at the court of a Welsh king, Mermin.[110] Another example is the Cemeilliauc colophon of the Juvencus manuscript. We might suppose that the commentary on Bede text is born in the same context: a reunion of Irish and Welsh scholars working on computistics. Anglo-Saxon scribes are also involved if we take into account a marginal gloss with Anglo-Saxon words and letters edited by Gwenael Le Duc.[111]

I found only two glosses with a sure Old Irish form:
blandus[***blangas***, a blunder for the Irish compound *bán-glas* (Plate 16)
uapores aquarum[***uschuidou***, probably the adjective formed on OIr *uisce*: *uiscide* (Plate 17)
But many Old Breton glosses are parallel to the Old Irish glosses found in the Bede manuscript in Vienna and Karlsruhe.[112] An Irish background is therefore probable, although the presence of the Irish language is confined to what we may call 'fossil glosses', exactly as in BnF Lat. 10290.

The thorny problem about this corpus of glosses – the most important in Old Breton documents, with around 450 glosses – is that it is rather difficult to distinguish between Old Breton and Old Welsh glosses. They are copied by two main scribes, the second one (B) using an insular script and practising by preference a language coloured with Old Welsh features; note,

[108] Pierre-Yves Lambert, Jacopo Bisagni, 'Notes sur quelques mots vieux-bretons du MS Angers 477, fº 36 r', *Études celtiques*, 44 (2018), 155–62.
[109] Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Les commentaires celtiques à Bède le Vénérable', (annexe: 'Le Cryptogramme du manuscrit Angers 477'), first part, *Études celtiques*, 20, 1 (1983), p. 119–143, 2 pl. (annexe: p. 140–141, and photograph p. 143); second part, *Études celtiques*, 21 (1984), p. 185–206.
[110] On the Bamberg cryptogram, and the Juvencus ms. in Cambridge (University Library, F.iv.42), cf. Kenney, *The Sources*, pp. 556, 672, Wh. Stokes, 'On a mediaeval cryptogram' *Academy* 42 (1892), 71–2; 'The cryptogram in the Cambridge Juvencus', *Academy* 42 (1892), p. 215.
[111] Gwenaël Le Duc, 'Une glose en anglo-saxon glosée en brittonique', *Études celtiques* 16, 1979, p. 261–262.
[112] Pierre-Yves Lambert 'Les commentaires celtiques à Bède …' first part, p.120–129.

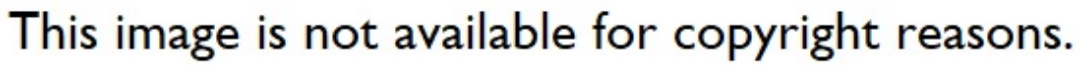

Plate 15: Angers 477 (461), fol. 47v, marg. sup., cryptogram

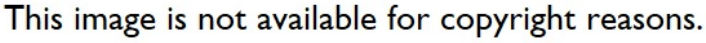

Plate 16: Angers 477 (461), fol. 12b31, blandus[banglas

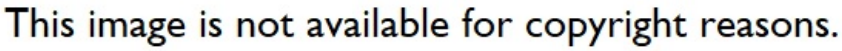

Plate 17: Angers 477 (461), fol. 15b30, uapores aquarum [uschuidou

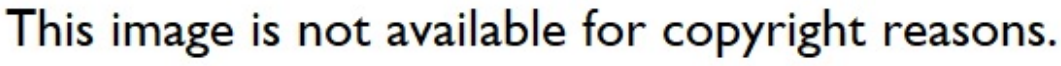

Plate 18 : Angers 477 (461), fol. 29v, On the legitimate fasts (haec sunt ieiunia legitima ...)

for example, a sample of his writing (Plate 18, preceding page (p. 37)) on f. 37v, about 'legitimate fasts'.[113] The transformations we have seen worked upon Irish words which have been bretonized in Priscian glosses are applied there to Old Welsh glosses. Scribe A is prone to transform Old Welsh words into Old Breton ones. Fleuriot gives several examples of this tendency to bretonize W words:[114] it explains variant spellings, particularly for diphtongs and triphtongs, *guiam* / *guoiam* 'winter', or for the notation of an internal *i*-infection: OW *guecrisiou* / *guoecrisiou* / OBr *guocrisiou* 'belts, zones'. Both words occur in the same gloss:

Angers 477, f. 13a, (scribe B) ***o guoecrisiou guoiamont*** gl. a polis squalent, 'they hibernate from the parallels on'[115]

Scribe B used both OBr *eith* and OW *uith* 'eight', etc. His writing betrays an insular training, but his own language was probably Breton: he wrote *guoecrisiou* instead of the OW *guecrisiou* of his exemplar, because he himself pronounced it without i-infection (*guocrisiou*). *Guoiam* is the exact Old Breton form we expect, the Old Welsh form would be *guaiam.*

It is practically impossible to divide the corpus between Old Welsh and Old Breton. Fleuriot himself showed some hesitation, but he rightly included all of them in his Dictionary, signalling the forms with Welsh features with the letters *f. v. g.* 'forme vieille-galloise'. In his 1985 *Supplement*, he prefered to use the label 'OBr2' (Old Breton 2).[116] The choice of a label is not very important by itself, but the label was more conspicuous on account of the lexicon format. This would have seemed much less important in an edition of the Corpus type, presenting the glosses together with the main text they explain in the natural order, the order in which they occur in the manuscript. This is what I plan to make in the coming years.[117] It is high time we accept this document as a witness of the collaboration of Breton and Welsh scholars, of their mutual understanding and of their common interest in a great Anglo-Saxon scholar.

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[113] One may notice a Celticism, *aurum coctum* being the translation of W. *eur coeth* (OW *our coith*) 'refined gold'.

[114] L. Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*, introduction, p. 29–31.

[115] Cf. Lambert 'Les commentaires celtiques à Bède' (Part 1), pp. 129–130.

[116] Léon Fleuriot, Claude Evans, *A dictionary of Old Breton / Dictionnaire du vieux breton, Historical and Comparative*, part II, *A supplement to the 'Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton'* (Toronto, 1985); note that Part I is just a reprint of the 1964 edition of the *Dictionnaire*.

[117] This, and hopefully, a reverse index Latin-Brittonic of all the lexical equivalences provided between Brittonic and Latin words in the glosses, cf. P.-Y. Lambert, 'L'étude des gloses: méthodes et instruments' (appendix: 'Le projet d'un index inverse des gloses latin-irlandais'), *Britannia Monastica*, 19 (2017) 45–81, at pp. 70–81.

A CONCLUSION ABOUT GLOSS-HUNTING

There are probably some other corpora of glosses waiting to be discovered. The nature of the contents and date were two criteria for Léon Fleuriot in his search for new manuscripts with Breton glosses. I remember him saying that he preferred to consult Carolingian manuscripts (IX–Xth c.) containing these Late Latin authors who were studied in the monasteries, that is, the grammarians Donatus, Eutychius, Priscian, the late scholia to Vergil, Orosius, the Christian poets Juvencus, Sedulius, the *Etymologies* of Isidore, extracts from Alcuin, a commentary on Donatus by Smaragdus, and, among religious texts, the Irish Collection of Canons attributed to Cú Chuimne and Ruben, the liturgical instructions by Amalarius of Metz, various instruments relating to the Biblical texts: Eucherius's notes, biblical glosses, Homilies on the Gospel (the *Catechesis Celtica*), and various computistical texts, frequently mixed with other didactic texts; the scientific texts of Bede; finally, Hisperic texts, and some erratic glosses in Latin glossaries. Personally I would agree with Fleuriot, just to add a small limitation: Carolingian manuscripts containing those authors who were read in the British Isles. Brittany had obviously been under the cultural (and religious) influence of Ireland and Wales, and later also of the Anglo-Saxon world.

New research is beign carried out by Jacopo Bisagni and Immo Warntjes on two domains hitherto neglected: computistical pre-Bedan texts and exegetical texts. I find it comforting to see their efforts rewarded with significant discoveries[118] – sometimes by examining manuscripts already spotted out by their predecessors !

APPENDIX

A supplement to the list of manuscript with Old Breton glosses in Fleuriot's *Dictionnaire*:

Fleuriot referred to thirty-six such mss. in his list (*Dictionnaire*, pp. 5–7). He added a thirty seventh one (wrongly reckoned as 'trente-sixième' in his note p. 7) in appendix II of the same book:

(37) Paris BnF lat. 4839, IXth–Xth c., Priscian, *Periegesis*. 6 glosses (Fleuriot, Dictionnaire, Appendix II).

(38) Paris, BnF n.a.l. 1983, end of IXth c., Amalarius, *Liber officialis*. 29 glosses (Fleuriot, *Études celtiques*, 11 (1966–7), 415–64).

(39–42) Membra disiecta of a manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologies*. This manuscript contained, in addition to item 17 of Fleuriot's List (= Gotha, Herzogliche Bibliothek, Mbr. I. 147):

[118] Cf. Jacopo Bisagni, 'Les gloses inédites en vieux-breton et vieil-anglais dans Orléans 182', *Etudes celtiques* 44 (2018), 133–50.

(39) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. G.28, 3 glosses
(40) Herdringen (Westphalien), Archiv der Grafen von Fürstenberg, 2 glosses
(41) Paderborn, Bibl. der Erzbischöflichen Philos.-Theolog. Akademie, 3 glosses
(42) Weimar, Staatsarchiv, Hardenberg-Sammlung 12a and 14a, 5 glosses.

In editing these glosses communicated to him by Bernhard Bischoff (*Études Celtiques* 16 (1979), 197 f.), Fleuriot mentions a sixth fragment, Hannover, Kestner Museum 3958 Ms. Culemann, Katalog I, n° 45 (366). But this last fragment bears no gloss.
(43) London, British Library, 5 E.xiii: various apocryphal texts. 3 glosses, (quoted in the *Supplement to the Old Breton Dictionary*, Toronto, 1985).
(44) London, British Library, Harleian 3941, Isidor, Etymologies. 30 glosses, edition: Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Gloses celtiques à Isidore de Séville', in *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica, Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Anreiter, E. Jerem (Budapest, 1999), pp. 187–200.
(45), Cambridge, University Library, ms. Gg. 5.35, one gloss on the Hisperic poem 'Rubisca'; cf. Michael Herren, *The Hisperica Famina II, Related Poems* (Toronto, 1987), pp. 20–21 and 160; *Études celtiques* 26 (1989), 88.
(46) Paris, BnF lat. 4877, Orosius, 4 glosses. Cf. P.-Y. Lambert, *Études celtiques* 25 (1988) 213–20.
(47) Paris, BnF lat. 17453, Orosius, one gloss. Cf. P.-Y. Lambert, *Études celtiques* 25 (1988) 213–20.
(48) Leyde, Voss. Lat. F.13, Orosius, 2 glosses. Cf. P.-Y. Lambert, *Études celtiques* 26 (1989) 81–3.
(49) Vatican, BAV Lat. 3363, Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, one Brittonic gloss – possibly Old-Breton or Old Cornish, edited by Patrick Sims-Williams, 'A new Brittonic gloss on Boethius: *ud rocashaa*s', *CMCS* 50, Winter 2005, p. 77-86.
[Too late to be included are the glosses by Guillaume Le Breton, chaplain of Philippe Auguste, on his 'Chronics of the reign of Philip', edited by Fleuriot and published by Gwenaël Le Duc, in *Bretagne et Pays celtiques, Langues, Histoire, Civilisation, Mélanges offerts à la mémoire de Léon Fleuriot*, Gw. Le Menn, J.-Y. Le Moing edd., (Saint-Brieuc 1992), 315-324].

Between the 10 manuscripts quoted by Loth, *Vocabulaire*, and the 37 quoted in Fleuriot's *Dictionnaire*, some have been edited by Stokes, Thurneysen, Lindsay or Ifor Williams. But Fleuriot alone is responsible for the first edition of the following mss:
Angers 476, Angers 477, Paris BnF Lat. 4839, Paris BnF Lat. 6400B, Paris BnF Lat. 10289, Paris BnF Lat. 10290, Paris BnF n. a. l. 1616, Orléans 168, Orléans 182, Berne 160 (to which one should add items 38–42 above, edited after the publication of the *Dictionnaire*). This impressive list of fifteen

manuscripts includes the ones richest in glosses (Angers 477, Paris BnF Lat. 10290). Fleuriot brought to light around one thousand new Old Breton glosses, more than a half of the total amount (which we may estimate around 1750 items); moreover, many of these new glosses reached the length of a sentence (particularly in Angers 477).

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