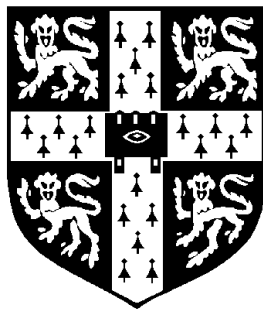


E. C. QUIGGIN MEMORIAL LECTURES 22

KEES DEKKER

**Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic in the Work
of Francis Junius**



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.

Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic in the Work of Francis Junius

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INTRODUCTION

Edmund Crosby Quiggin, in whose memory this annual lecture takes place, was ‘the first lecturer in the University of Cambridge to offer teaching in the Celtic languages’, a field of scholarship that he added to his responsibility for Old High German. As we can read in Michael Lapidge’s ‘Introduction’ to *H.M. Chadwick and the Study of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic in Cambridge*, this addition of a Celtic dimension was not self-evident in a scholarly programme that focused primarily on what were called ‘The Teutonic languages’, Old English, Old Norse, Gothic and Old High German, and after Quiggin’s untimely death in 1920, at the age of 44, the study of Celtic was, perhaps the most uncertain factor in the development of what later became the ‘Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic’. Reading Lapidge’s account, I was struck by the different attitudes of the various Chairs of Department, which ranged from active promotion of Celtic studies, to indifference, and, ultimately, to Dorothy Whitelock’s rather exclusionary view that ‘Celtic had nothing whatsoever to do with Anglo-Saxon’.¹ In the end, Quiggin’s pioneering work won the day, and Celtic has remained part of the profile of this department. Not being a Celticist myself, I am, therefore, all the more honoured and grateful to the Department and to the organisers for inviting me to give this lecture, in which I will take the issue of the interfaces between Old English, Old Norse, and Celtic back to the seventeenth century, to the work of the ‘Germanic’ philologist, Franciscus Junius (1591–1677). Specifically, I will address the questions of how Junius engaged with Celtic, which in his case meant Welsh; how Welsh became part of his study of Old English, Old Norse and other Germanic languages; how he conceptualised Welsh, and how Junius’s efforts reflect on our

¹ Michael Lapidge, ‘Introduction: The Study of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic in Cambridge, 1878–1999’, *H. M. Chadwick and the Study of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic in Cambridge*, Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies 69/70 (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 1–58. On Quiggin, see p. 17. The balance between languages appears from the Early Literature and History Tripos (pp. 15–16); for the prominence given to Celtic studies during the professorships of Hector Munro Chadwick, Bruce Dickins and Dorothy Whitelock, see pp. 23–27, especially fnn. 103–105. On Quiggin’s importance, see also J. M. de Navarro, ‘Hector Munro Chadwick 1870–1947’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 33 (1947), 307–30, repr. in *Interpreters of Medieval Britain*, ed. M. Lapidge (Oxford, 2002), 195–218; D. N. Dumville, ‘Edmund Crosby Quiggin (1875–1920)’, in John Carey, *The Irish National Origin-Legend: Synthetic Pseudohistory*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Medieval Gaelic History 1 (Cambridge, 1994), iii–xvi.

own work.

FRANCISCUS JUNIUS (1591–1677)

To most of us, Franciscus Junius is known for his study of the Old Germanic languages and, in particular, Old English. This image of Junius as ‘the founding father of Germanic philology’ is as true as it is biased. To understand this paradox, we need to take a brief look at his biography. Born in the Palatinate town of Heidelberg in 1591 as the son of the French Calvinist theologian and Hebrew scholar François du Jon and his third wife Johanna l’Hermite, Franciscus Junius became an orphan at the age of 11 when both his father and stepmother died of the plague in their newly found home town of Leiden in the Netherlands. He was raised by Gerardus Johannes Vossius, a leading classical philologist and historian who married Junius’s sister. At university, Junius read classical philology, philosophy, mathematics, oriental languages, biblical exegesis and theology, but after only a brief employment as a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church, Junius left for England in 1621 where he found a position as senior tutor in the household of Thomas Howard, the 21st Earl of Arundel, one of the greatest art collectors of his time.² At Arundel’s instigation, Junius embarked on the compilation of a catalogue of names and terms related to arts with extensive references to Classical literature.³ One could say that this *Catalogus architectorum ...* was his first glossary, a genre to which he returned frequently in his later career. The *Catalogus architectorum ...* also served as a stepping stone to Junius’s first published monograph: a study of classical art entitled *De pictura veterum*, which saw translations into Dutch and English within four years after its first publication in 1637, and which became bread and butter for any self-respecting painter or sculptor in the later

² The most detailed account of Junius’s early life is C. S. M. Rademaker, ‘Young Franciscus Junius: 1591–1622’, *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, ed. R. H. Bremmer (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1998), pp. 1–17. Rademaker’s biography relies in part on Junius’s correspondence, which has been edited by S. G. van Romburgh, ‘For my worthy freind Mr Franciscus Junius’: *An Edition of the Correspondence of Francis Junius F.F. (1591–1677)*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 121 (Leiden, 2004). An early biography was printed by Johannes Georgius Grevius, in his 1694 edition of Junius’s *De pictura veterum* (see fn. 4, below).

³ Franciscus Junius F.F., *Catalogus architectorum, mechanicorum, sed praecipue pictorum, statuorum, caelatorum, tornatorum, aliorumque artificum* (Rotterdam, 1694), reprinted with a translation titled *A Lexicon of Artists and Their Works* by K. Aldrich, P. Fehl and R. Fehl, *Franciscus Junius: The Literature of Classical Art. I. The Painting of the Ancients, II A Lexicon of Artists and Their Works*, 2 vols (Berkeley, 1991).

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴

Around 1645, when Junius turned part of his attention to the Germanic languages, he was well over fifty years old. That the inspiration for this change of intellectual direction may have been a rising interest in Dutch, appears from references to an etymological dictionary of Dutch, which has not survived.⁵ For the last 33 years of his life, right upto his death in 1677, Junius researched languages, living first in England, then in the Netherlands, and then back in England: first Oxford and then Windsor. Some languages, like Old English, he studied with the help of printed sources as well as medieval original manuscripts, many of which he transcribed meticulously, in an astounding minuscule hand. Other languages were mastered on the basis of printed sources only; his knowledge of Old Norse, for example, derived from the publications of the Danish physician and philologist Ole Worm (1588–1655) especially the *RUNER, seu Danica literatura antiquissima*, published in 1651 with a long glossary of Norse words.⁶ The

⁴ *De pictura veterum libri tres* (Amsterdam, 1637); *The Painting of the Ancients in Three Bookes, Declaring by Historicall Observations and Examples, The Beginning, Progresse and Consummation of That Most Noble Art. And How Those Ancient Artificers Attained to Their Still So Much Admired Excellencie* (London, 1638); *De schilder-konst der oude, begrepen in drie boecken* (Middelburg, 1641). On Junius's achievements in Art History, see T. Weststeijn, *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain: The Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius (1591-1677)* (Leiden, 2015).

⁵ The best overview of Junius's Germanic studies is still P. H. Breuker, 'On the Course of Francis Junius' Germanic Studies, with Special Reference to Frisian', *Aspects of Old Frisian Philology*, ed. R. H. Bremmer, G. van der Meer and O. Vries, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 31/32 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1990), pp. 42–68, repr. (1997) with additions, *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, ed. R. H. Bremmer, Amsterdam and Atlanta, pp. 129–57, who raised the suggestion of the lost etymological dictionary of Dutch on p. 142. This idea was developed further by S. G. van Romburgh, 'Why Francis Junius (1591-1677) Became an Anglo-Saxonist, or, the Study of Old English for the Elevation of Dutch', *Appropriating the Middle Ages: Scholarship, Politics*, ed. T. A. Shippey, M. Arnold and M. Fraud, *Studies in Medievalism* 11 (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 5–36.

⁶ Ole Worm, *RUNER seu Danica literatura antiquissima vulgò Gothica dicta luci reddita ... cui accessit de prisca Danorum poesi dissertatio. Editio secunda auctior & locupletior* (Copenhagen, 1651); *idem*, ed. *Specimen lexici runici, obscuriorum quarundam vocum, quae in priscis occurrunt historiis & poetis Danicis enodationem exhibens collectum à Dn. Magno Olavio* (Copenhagen, 1650). Junius writes in 1649 to his nephew Isaac Vossius: 'I have here begun to compare the ancient Cimbric characters with the Anglo-Saxon ones', while complaining that he had not been able to find Ole Worm's *Runer*, a book which he must have acquired later, although his copy has not come down to us; see Van Romburgh, 'For my worthy freind', pp. 763 (letter 164), plus fn 9. Van Romburgh also points to the fact that in 1665 Junius writes in his Letter to the Reader of his *Glossarium Gothicum* (see fn. 9, below) that 'he had

legacy of Junius's language studies includes four printed books, three of which appeared during his life time. In 1655, Junius published his *Observationes in Willeramii*: a long etymological commentary on the Old High German paraphrase of the *Song of Songs* written by the Benedictine abbot Williram of Ebersberg in the middle of the eleventh century.⁷ Also in 1655 he published an edition of the Old English poems *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan*.⁸ Edited straight from the manuscript, this was the first dedicated edition of Old English poetry and a landmark publication of Old English studies. Ten years later his *magnum opus* appeared: the edition of the West Saxon Gospels, in collaboration with the theologian and polymath Thomas Marshall (1621–1685), side by side with the Gospels in Gothic edited for the first time from the sixth-century manuscript known as the *Codex argenteus*. As a sequel Junius added his etymological glossary on words from the Gothic text titled *Glossarium Gothicum*.⁹ Although Junius had more publication plans, his death in 1677 put a spanner in the wheel, and numerous unpublished volumes of work found their way into the Bodleian Library where they are now still known as the Junius manuscripts.¹⁰ Many of those manuscripts were

never seen any other antiquities of the Cimbrians except the ones that Ole Worm published', and that 'as far as other northern dialects are concerned, very few of their monuments and often inferior ones have come into my hands'.

⁷ Franciscus Junius, *Observationes in Willeramii abbatis Francicam paraphrasin Cantici Cantorum* (Amsterdam, 1655), repr. with an introduction by N. Voorwinden, *Early Studies in Germanic Philology* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1992).

⁸ Francis Junius, *Caedmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica Genesis ac praecipuarum sacrae paginae historiarum abhinc annos M. LXX. Anglo-Saxonice conscripta, & nunc primùm edita* (Amsterdam, 1655), repr. with an introduction by P. J. Lucas, *Early Studies in Germanic Philology* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 2000).

⁹ Francis Junius and Thomas Marshall, *Quatuor D.N. Jesu Christi euangeliorum versiones perantiquæ duæ, Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica: Quarum illam ex celeberrimo Codice Argenteo nunc primùm depromsit Franciscus Junius F.F. Hanc autem ex codicibus MSS. collatis emendatiùs recudi curavit Thomas Mareschallus, Anglus: cujus etiam observationes in utramque versionem subnectuntur. Accessit & glossarium Gothicum: cui præmittitur Alphabetum Gothicum, Runicum, &c.* (Dordrecht, 1665).

¹⁰ The Junius manuscripts in the Bodleian Library include 61 glossaries varying from single leaves to massive two-volumes, such as MSS Junius 2 and 3, traditionally known as Junius's Old English dictionary, and MSS Junius, 4 and 5, the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*. Among his many transcripts and collations of primary texts, the most astounding is Junius 55, the New Testament in Gothic copied after careful editing from the *Codex Argenteus*. Further transcripts include parts from the Old Saxon *Heliand*, as well as Old High German and Old Frisian law texts, but Old English texts feature most prominently. There are 75 transcripts of Old English texts which derive from 30 different Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Junius, moreover, made

mined by later scholars for inspiration and publications, including MSS Junius 4 and 5, which were published with additions by the English philologist Edward Lye (1694–1767) as the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* in 1743.¹¹ So famous were Junius's *apographa*, the transcripts of primary texts in his own hand, that both George Hickes and Humphrey Wanley included them in the earliest printed catalogues of medieval manuscripts containing Old English.¹² Christopher Rawlinson preferred Junius's transcripts to the original manuscript for his 1698 edition of the Old English Boethius and made Junius's image iconic of Old English by using Anthony van Dyke's magnificent portrait of Junius as his frontispiece, with underneath it the immortalising lines by Junius's friend, the Dutch lawyer and classicist Jan van Vliet: 'This is the noble countenance of Junius, who restored the old languages to the fatherland and splendour to the languages. However, the hand, though noble in art, has not been able to depict the divine talents of this serene soul'.¹³

collations in Abraham Wheelock's edition of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (1643) and reprint of William Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (MS Junius 10), William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (1659) (MS Junius 7) and John Spelman's *Psalterium Davidis* (1640) (MS Junius 33). On the Junius manuscripts, see N. Denholm-Young, 'MSS Junius (Nos. 5113–5232)', *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, ed. F. Madan, H. H. E. Craster and N. Denholm-Young, 8 vols, (Oxford, 1895–1953), reprinted (Munich, 1980), II, pp. 962–991. Important additions to the *Summary Catalogue* were made by E. G. Stanley, 'The Sources of Junius's Learning as Revealed in the Junius Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library', *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, ed. R. H. Bremmer Jr. (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1998), pp. 59–76.

¹¹ Francis Junius, *Etymologicum Anglicanum. ex autographo descripsit et accessionibus permultis auctum edidit Edwardus Lye ... præmittuntur vita auctoris et grammatica Anglo-Saxonica*, ed. Edward Lye (Oxford, 1743), reprinted (Los Angeles, 1970). It is difficult to date the etymologies for the *Glossarium Gothicum* and the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*. Many inserted 'post-its' in MSS Junius 4 and 5 indicate that Junius kept on adding material to the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* until late in life. The manuscript of the *Glossarium Gothicum* no longer exists, but since Junius frequently recycled and reformatted material, the contents may date from any time between 1654, when he could first set eyes on the manuscript of the Gothic Gospels, and 1665.

¹² George Hickes, *Institutiones grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae et Moeso-Gothicae* (Oxford, 1689), reprinted (Menston, 1971), pp. 139–148, 177–179; Humphrey Wanley, *Librorum vett. septentrionalium, qui in Angliæ bibliothecis extant ... Catalogus* (Oxford, 1705, reprinted (Hildesheim and New York, 1970), pp. 76–103.

¹³ Richard Rawlinson, *An. Manl. Sever. Boethii Consolationis philosophicæ libri V. Anglo-Saxonice redditi ab Alfredo Inclyto Anglo-Saxonum Rege* (Oxford, 1698). See G. Tashjian, 'The Rawlinson Family and Its Language Scholars', *Richard Rawlinson: A Tercentenary Memorial*, ed. G. Tashjian, D. R. Tashjian and B. J. Enright (Kalamazoo, 1990), pp. 193–199;

WELSH

However appropriate their praise of Junius and however great his importance for the proliferation of Old English texts, this image of Junius deflects the attention from the unexpected richness of his work and from his seventeenth-century motivations, methods and ideas. A case in point is his attention to Welsh. Until now Junius's study of Welsh has been commented on only by Rolf Bremmer in his ground-breaking volume of studies on Junius, and by Sophie van Romburgh in her equally important edition of Junius's correspondence.¹⁴ And yet it is so obvious, as we can see from his very first etymology in his *Observationes in Willeramii*. Although Junius's etymologies do not meet the standards of modern linguistic science, they are our best inroads into his method of thinking about words and languages in terms of what he perceived to be a significant interaction between form and meaning. We will look at these etymologies, therefore, to examine the questions he asked and the answers he suggested.¹⁵ The first word he illustrates is Old High German *cusse*, 'to kiss', of which he lists four citations, and then concludes that this word must derive from Greek κύω and κύσαι, the aorist of κυνέω, 'to kiss'. He then continues:

Meanwhile Dutch *Kussen* and English *kiss* are most clearly to be traced back to this origin. With the Cambro-Britons *cusanu* is 'to kiss', which John Davies derives from a Hebrew origin; see his *Dictionarium Britannico-Latinum*. I, however, am of the opinion

Kees Dekker, *The Origins of Old Germanic Studies in the Low Countries*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 92 (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 1999), pp. 103–104.

¹⁴ R. H. Bremmer, 'Retrieving Junius's Correspondence', *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, ed. R. H. Bremmer (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1998), pp. 199–235, at 213–214, identified Junius's achievements in the field of Celtic studies as 'overlooked, so far', and points out that Junius's name does not occur in Marc Schneiders and Kees Veelenturf, *Celtic Studies in the Netherlands: A Bibliography* (Dublin, 1992); Van Romburgh, *For my worthy freind*, pp. 967–968, fn. 96.

¹⁵ Dekker, *Origins*, pp. 270–281. Structurally, Junius's etymologies work as a kind of thesaurus in database form, in which meaning was the guiding principle. The form in such a database contains a number of words plus their meanings from different languages, sometimes illustrated by text fragments, and complemented by commentary and citations from texts which were thought to be relevant. The selection of words for these etymologies depended on visual comparison, which can be a very weak link without a proper knowledge of regular sound changes. It is important to stress, here, that Junius was aware of the existence of sound changes, but was equally conscious of the fact that it was not yet known how sounds had developed.

that the Old Britons derived their *cusanu* from Greek, as more things appear everywhere in this entire old language which clearly exhibit a Greek origin. I will broadly show this elsewhere if Almighty God gives me the powers and life.¹⁶

Although his selection of Modern English *kiss*, instead of Old English *cyssan*, as a starting point suggests that this etymology is from the early part of his career (in his later work he usually worked from older forms), his use of Welsh is not a beginner's folly, nor is it a one-off; instead, similar etymologies including Welsh occur all over his other works. This sustained use of Welsh raises questions: why did Junius include Welsh in books and glossaries aimed explicitly at the Germanic languages; what were his sources and how did he come by them?

Whereas we know surprisingly little about the beginning of Junius's Old English studies, his inspiration to study Welsh is documented. In the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, he mentions that Sir John Nicholas Vaughan of Trawscoed (1603–1674), 'a man with a singular love for the Welsh people and language', had successfully persuaded him to study the ancient documents of Welsh and add that language to his study of the Germanic languages.¹⁷ Unfortunately, Junius does not say when. This John Nicholas Vaughan, a Welsh judge working in London, is somewhat of a mystery character in Junius's scholarly network. Like Junius, Vaughan moved in antiquarian circles:¹⁸ for example, he was one of the four executors of the

¹⁶ Junius, *Observationes*, p. 4: 'Belgarum interim **kussen** & Anglorum *kisse* ad hanc originem planissimè sunt referenda. Cambro-Britannis *cusanu* est *osculari*, *suaviari*: quod tamen ab Hebraicâ origine deducit Johannes Davies: quem vide in Dictionario Britannico-Latino. Ego sanè priscos quoque Britannos hoc suum *cusanu* à Græcis desumpsisse puto, cùm plurima passim in totâ hac antiquissimâ linguâ occurrant quæ manifestè Græcam produnt originem: quod alibi (Deo opt max. vitam & vires largiente) fusè ostendam'.

¹⁷ Junius, *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, s.v. *wicket*, as first observed by Van Romburgh, 'For my worthy freind', p. 968, who translates the passage as follows: 'At this place I could not, and really should not omit from the reader's curiosity what was taught to me on the origin of this word by the most kind gentleman John Nicholas Vaughan, Welshman, Judge, who, out of a singular love for the Welsh people and language has not ceased to encourage me, when I was examining the antiquities of the Northern languages, to a consideration of his ancestral language, and to admonish and urge and ask of me with many words also to examine the most excellent documents of the very ancient language by rather deep investigation. He accordingly easily drew me over to his opinion, and has followed my humble efforts with such ready attention as long as he lived, that because of this promotor I to some extent reached what I had begun to wish at his instigation'.

¹⁸ J. Gwynn Williams, 'Vaughan, Sir John (1603–1674). *Oxford Dictionary of National*

constitutional historian and polymath John Selden (1584–1654), a good friend of Junius's.¹⁹ Vaughan was also an acquaintance of the antiquarian and member of parliament, Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–1650), who had described Vaughan as a man who knew the 'the ancient true Celtique or British tongue', by which D'Ewes meant the North Welsh dialect.²⁰ In 1648 and 1649 Junius spent extended periods with D'Ewes transcribing the latter's Old English manuscripts to collect information for the etymological dictionary of Dutch which he (Junius) was preparing.²¹ It is highly likely that this same etymological dictionary of Dutch was also the reason why either Vaughan or D'Ewes supplied Junius with the *Antiquæ linguæ Britannicæ, nunc vulgò dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ, ab aliis Wallicæ, et linguæ Latinæ dictionarium duplex* (henceforth *Dictionarium duplex*):²² a Welsh-Latin and Latin-Welsh dictionary published in 1632 by the antiquarian and language scholar John Davies of Mallwyd. D'Ewes had corresponded with Davies in the early 1640s, and confessed to integrating into the Old English dictionary that he (D'Ewes) was preparing much of what Davies had to say in the preface to his *Dictionarium duplex*.²³ This correspondence suggests that D'Ewes possessed a copy.²⁴

The author of the *Dictionarium duplex*, John Davies of Malwydd, has been described as 'the greatest scholar of the late Renaissance period in Wales'.²⁵ An expert in Latin, Greek

Biography (Oxford, 2006). <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28134>>

¹⁹ J. Gwynn Williams, 'Sir John Vaughan of Trawscoed, 1603–1674. *The National Library of Wales Journal* 8 (1953–54), pp. 33–48 (I), pp. 121–146 (II), pp. 225–243 (III), at pp. 39–40.

²⁰ Gwynn Williams, 'Sir John Vaughan', pp. 239–240.

²¹ Breuker, 'Junius's Germanic Studies', pp. 139, 143–144; B. J. Timmer, 'Junius's Stay in Friesland, *Neophilologus* 41 (1957), pp. 41–44; M. S. Hetherington, *The Beginnings of Old English Lexicography*, private publication (Spicewood, 1980), pp. 107–109, 226.

²² John Davies, *Antiquæ linguæ Britannicæ, nunc vulgò dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ, ab aliis Wallicæ, et linguæ Latinæ dictionarium duplex. Prius Britannico-Latinum, plurimis venerandæ antiquitatis Britannicæ monumentis respersum, posterius Latino-Britannicum. Accesserunt adagia Britannica, & plura & emendatiora quàm antehàc edita* (London, 1632).

²³ G. Hartwell-Jones, 'The Correspondence of Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd with Sir Simonds D'Ewes', *Y Cymmrodor* 17 (1903), pp. 164–185, at pp. 166, 176.

²⁴ Andrew G. Watson, *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (London, 1966), p. 94, 217, lists Davies's Welsh grammar (A13) and the Welsh proverbs (A955c), but not the *Dictionarium duplex*. Most of D'Ewes's printed books are now irretrievable because they were incorporated in the Harley library and dispersed when the Harley library was sold in 1743–45; *idem*, pp. 62–63.

²⁵ Ceri Davies, 'Introduction: John Davies and Renaissance Humanism', *Dr John Davies of Mallwyd: Welsh Renaissance Scholar*, ed. Cerie Davis (Cardiff, 2004), pp. 1–16, at p. 2. See also Ceri Davies, 'Two Welsh Renaissance Latinists: Sir John Prise of Brecon and Dr John

and Hebrew, and well versed in humanist scholarship, Davies was rector of Malwydd in North East Wales for most of his life, and totally committed to the study of Welsh which he pursued with a religious zeal. In 1621, Davies published a grammar of Welsh and in 1632 the *Dictionarium duplex*, followed by a collection of Welsh proverbs. For Junius, Davies's *Dictionarium Duplex* must have provided much food for thought. In the long introduction Davies argued that the Welsh language originated at the time of the confusion of languages at the Tower of Babel or shortly afterwards, and he studded his dictionary with etymologies that had to support the notion that Welsh was closely related to Hebrew.²⁶ It must have been interesting for Junius to see the extent to which Davies relied on the Hebrew studies of his father, the renowned theologian and hebraist Franciscus Junius the Elder,²⁷ in his endeavours to postulate a close connection between Hebrew and Welsh. Junius's copy of Davies's *Dictionarium Duplex* was discovered by Rolf Bremmer in the University Library at Leiden as one of the books which the Leiden library bought from Isaac Vossius, Junius's nephew and heir, in 1690.²⁸ [fig. 1] Like many other printed books that Junius owned, his copy of the *Dictionarium duplex* contains annotations in his hand. At first sight one sees only a few Greek words. A closer look at the pages, however, reveals that Junius marked many of Davies's lemmata in the Welsh-Latin part of the dictionary with inconspicuous dots; for example, I counted 62 for the letter A and 79 for the letter B.²⁹ [fig. 2]

Davies of Mallwyd', *Britannia Latina: Latin in the Culture of Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Charles S. F. Burnett and Nicholas Mann, Warburg Institute Colloquia, 8 (London, 2005), pp. 129–144. On the *Dictionarium duplex*, see Caryl Davies, 'The *Dictionarium Duplex* (1632)', *Dr John Davies of Mallwyd: Welsh Renaissance Scholar*, ed. Ceri Davies (Cardiff, 2004), pp. 147–170.

²⁶ Caryl Davies, 'The *Dictionarium duplex*', p. 158, explains that Davies's view of languages was pyramidal, with Hebrew occupying the top position as the original languages. For the position of Welsh, Davies found inspiration in Joseph Justus Scaliger's theory of language *matrices*, with ancient British classified among the minor *matrices* in Europe. Davies's ideas should be seen in the context of efforts made by other Welsh scholars to elevate the status of their language by connecting it with Greek, Latin and Hebrew (p. 148).

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Leiden, University Library, 365 A 7; see Bremmer, 'Retrieving Junius's Correspondence', p. 233, who lists 26 books from Vossius's Library with Junius's annotations.

²⁹ The pattern is fairly consistent throughout the alphabet, which implies that Junius completed his search of the Welsh–Latin section of the book. There are other annotations in Junius's hand: some Greek words and several references to Samuel Bochart, *Geographia Sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan* (Caen, 1646), a Protestant interpretation of Genesis 10 which includes a chapter on

With few exceptions, these marked entries return in Junius’s hand-written glossary of Welsh vocabulary, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 115b, fols. 64–89.³⁰ Its 48 pages are filled with Welsh lemmata, spaced out to allow for additional insertions, comments, and etymologies – a characteristic of Junius’s etymological glossaries.[fig. 3] Many Welsh lemmata are followed immediately by Dutch words (e.g. on fol. 64v: ‘**afal**, v. *appel, Malum, pomum.*; **agoriad**, v. *sleutel, Clavis.*; **allawr, allor**, v. *autaer, Altare.*’, which suggests that these entries were collected at an early time in Junius’s language studies, to contribute to his etymological dictionary of Dutch. In a similar fashion, Modern English words were frequently added to the Welsh lemmata, with the aim of using these combinations in the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* (e.g. on fol. 67r: **basged, basgawd**. v. *basket, Sporta, cophinus, corbis*; **bawddyn**, *Homo sordidus, vilis. in bawd, Leno.*; **berth**, v. *bright, Splendidus, fulgens.*; **bicre**, *Conflictus, pugna. v. bicker, confligere.*; **bongler**, v. *bongler, Imperitus, artifex.*).³¹ Combinations of Welsh, Old English and Old Norse also appear, as in the entry for *aeth* ‘went’, on fol. 64v, which Junius combines in his characteristic way with *oð*, the past tense of Old Norse *vaða* ‘to wade’, and with *eode*, the past tense of Old English *gan* [fig. 4]. The entry illustrates how he is feeling his way into Germanic philology, mistranslating a line from the *Krákumal*,³² and sourcing Old English words from the New Testament, one of the first Old English texts he studied.³³ Old

‘Phoenician’ words which had survived in Welsh. See Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2007), p. 312.

³⁰ This glossary is part of a collection of once detached glossaries that now make up MS Junius 115b. I am exceptionally grateful to Jenyth Evans from Oxford, for photographing the entire glossary for me during the 2020 pandemic, and for her valuable scholarly observations on this glossary.

³¹ All the underlined words (for *bongler*, see *bungler*) occur as lemmata in the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, with references to Davies’s *Dictionarium duplex* in the interpretamenta. Similar entries occur throughout the Welsh glossary in MS Junius 115b.

³² Junius’s citation from *Krákumal*, known as the ‘*Epicedium Regneri Lodbrog*’, was copied presumably from Worm, *Danica literatura*, pp. 182–207, who translates ‘*od rafn i valblode*’ [sic] (p. 184) as ‘*Vadavit corvus in sanguine cæsorum*’ (the raven waded in the blood of the slain). Junius misinterprets the form ‘*od*’, given by Worm as the past tense of Old Norse *vaða* ‘to wade’, as etymologically related to *eode*, the past tense of Old English *gan* ‘to go’, and erroneously changes *vadavit* to *ivit* in his translation.

³³ See K. Dekker, “‘That Most Elaborate One of Francis Junius’: An Investigation of Francis Junius’s Manuscript Old English Dictionary”, *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. T. Graham (Kalamazoo, 2000), pp. 301–43, at pp. 317, 319; ‘Reading the Anglo-Saxon Gospels in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *Anglo-Saxon Books and Their Readers: Papers in Celebration of Helmut Gneuss’s*

Norse is still referred to as *Gothica* (not to be confused with the East Germanic language of that name), a term found in many early publications on the antiquity of the Scandinavians, who cultivated the idea that they descended from the ancient Goths.³⁴ Old English returns several times in the Welsh glossary, for example when Junius compares the meaning of Welsh *caer*, ‘fortress, town with Old English *ceaster* (68v); Welsh *insel*, ‘seal’, with Old English *inseglían*, ‘to place a seal upon’ (80v), Welsh *nifyl* and *niwl*, ‘mist, fog, cloud’, with Old English *nywylnyss* ‘a deep place’ (where there is, no doubt, mist) (83v), Welsh *nam*, ‘except’ with Old English *nemne* ‘except’ (83v). Old Norse, always in runes, can be found in the comparison of Welsh *aradr* ‘plough’, with Norse *arður* (*recte arðr*, ‘small plough’) (65r), and of Welsh *modur*, ‘king, ruler’, with Norse *madr* ‘man’ (82v). Most of the entries, though, focus on Welsh alone, and are the direct sources of all the Welsh that we find in Junius’s more elaborate etymologies.

It is important to realise that Junius’s etymologies are very different from modern scholarship, and if we wish to observe how and why Junius integrated Welsh in his studies of Germanic languages, these etymologies should not be assessed against the standards of modern scholarship, but as achievements in their own right and, most importantly, in their own time. Much important work on Junius’s etymologies has recently been done by Sophie van Romburgh, who explains Junius’s etymological discourse as a combination of philological and artistic considerations, and, in Junius’s case, often the report of a search, rather than the presentation of definitive results.³⁵ Van Romburgh illustrates how Junius, a humanist at heart, was in search of *antiquitas* in this history of words: etymology meant the true sense of a word,³⁶ which Junius was hoping to arrive at through what she terms ‘the liveliness of erudition, not in

Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, ed. Thomas N. Hall and Donald Scragg (Kalamazoo, 2008), pp. 68–93.

³⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 98 is Junius’s copy of Bonaventura Vulcanius, *De literis & lingua Getarum sive Gothorum. Item de notis Lombardicis quibus accesserunt specimina variarum linguarum, quarum indicem pagina quæ præfationem sequitur ostendit*, (Leiden, 1597), in which runes are described as *litera Gothica* on pp. 43–47.

³⁵ S. G. van Romburgh, ‘How to Make the Past Age Present: Some of Ole Worm’s and Francis Junius’ Humanist Efforts’, *Mittelalterphilologien heute: Eine Standortbestimmung. Band 1: Die germanischen Philologien*, ed. A. Molinari and M. Dallapiazza (Würzburg, 2016), pp. 157–172; *eadem*, “‘Hyperboreo sono’”: An Exploration of Erudition in Early Modern Germanic Philology’, *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 3 (2018), pp. 274–313.

³⁶ Van Romburgh, ‘How to make the Past Age Present’, pp. 166–167. The idea of ‘true sense’ should not be seen in the light of etymological fallacy, but rather as a search for ancient knowledge which could explain the relations between languages and meanings.

a scholarship of facts, but in engagement with signification'.³⁷ Meaning is the guiding principle of these etymologies, and they are as much works of literature as they are of language studies.³⁸ The extent to which religious motivations also played a role in Junius's early work appears from his etymology of Welsh *dyn*, 'man' in his Welsh glossary in Junius 115b, 75r–76r, which begins as follows:

dyn, 'man'. For the etymology of this word, it is important, just as I have broadly shown elsewhere, that the wisest authors of the Teutonic language have called a man *man* from $\mu\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}$ 'rage' and 'madness', so also it is observed here that the ancient *Cymrae* have, just as wisely, called him *dyn*, from $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'terrible, horrible, causing fear, savage and monstrous'.³⁹

Covering two entire pages – the only one of this length – this entry connects Matth. X: 17 'But beware of men' with citations from Classical literature (Cicero, Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Ausonius, Plautus) initially with the aim of demonstrating that man is inherently unstable, bad, violent, belligerent, and by implication, therefore, imperfect and sinful. However, at the end (p 76r) Junius acknowledges that there is also the possibility Welsh *dyn* is related to Greek $\acute{o}\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, 'such an one', using again a Bible text: Matth. XXVI: 18. That the order of these two interpretations is reversed when this same etymology of Welsh *dyn* returns in the *Observationes in Willeramii* suggests that Junius's opinion had shifted towards a more neutral – one might say less Calvinist – interpretation.⁴⁰

³⁷ Van Romburgh, "*Hyperboreo sono*", p. 311.

³⁸ See Van Romburgh, "*Hyperboreo sono*", p. 281, 303–304, where Van Romburgh explains that 'scholars' sensitive engagement and what might appear the philological groundwork of finding and understanding the meaning of words in a text did not happen one after the other, but rather happened in tandem'. Cf. Dekker, *The Origins*, pp. 289–290.

³⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 115b, 75r: 'dyn, Homo. Quod ad vocis hujus etymologiam attinet, quemadmodum alibi fusè ostendimus prudentissimos Teutonicæ autores non sinè ratione Hominem man nuncupâsse, à $\mu\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}$, Furor, insania; ita quoque hîc venit observandum, veteres Cymræos eum non minus sapienter dyn appellâsse, à $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, Terribilis, horribilis, formidabilis, truculentus, immanis. ...'. On p. 75v Junius posits another possible etymology for Welsh *dyn* in the form of Green $\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$, 'whirlpool', or $\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, 'whirling, rotation', which supports the idea that man is unstable.

⁴⁰ Junius, *Observationes*, p. 273.

How the entries from the glossary in MS Junius 115b were integrated in more wide-ranging etymological discourse can be seen in the *Glossarium Gothicum*, for example, the entry on Gothic *balgeis* (nominative *balgs*), the ‘leather bottles’ in which one should not put old wine:

BALGEIS, ‘bottle made of skin’; Matth. 9: 17. Marc. 2: 22. Luc. 5: 37. MATIBALG, ‘bag’; Luc. 9:3. With the Anglo-Saxons *bælige* or *bælge* are ‘leather bottles’. With the Alamanni *belgi*. With the Cambro-Britons *bolgan*, *bwlgan*, *bylgan*, *bwlan* is a ‘leather knapsack’. Festus proposes that *bulgae* is a word of Gallic origin, and explains it as ‘a little sack made of hides’, but with Nonius Marcellus a *bulga* is ‘any little sack’, or a ‘little bag hanging from the forearm’. Whence also with the Gallo-Celts it is *bouge* from this *bulga* with elision of L, and *bougette* as a diminutive. See Spelman in *bulgia*, and Vossius in the first book of *De vitiis sermonis*, chapter 2. Yet the fact that Nonius also cites, under the word *bulga*, those words from Lucilius, from book 27: ‘just as when each of us was given forth to light from a mother’s bag’, clearly and completely demonstrates that the Celts once also used to designate with the same word a belly or a womb; and it is certainly no wonder if some of the Celtic peoples even now retain from this word the meaning of ‘belly’, on account of a certain resemblance of it with this leather pouch which is called *bulga* by the Gauls. Likewise, with the old Cimbrians BELGIR was ‘belly’. With the Cambro-Britons *bol* or *boly*. With the English *bellie*. With the Dutch *balg*. Vossius gives the origin of the word *bulga* in the *Etymologicum Latinum*.⁴¹

⁴¹ Junius, *Glossarium Gothicum*, p. 80: ‘BALGEIS, Utres; Matth. 9: 17. Marc. 2: 22. Luc. 5: 37. MATIBALG, Pera; Luc. 9:3. *Anglosaxonibus* bælige vel bælge sunt Utres. *Alamannis* belgi. *Cambrobritannis* bolgan. bwlgan. bylgan. bwlan est Bulga. Festus tradit Bulgæ vocem origine Gallicam esse, & exponit Sacculum scorteum. at Nonio Marcello Bulga est folliculus omnis vel sacculus ad brachium pendens. unde & Gallo-Celtis ab hoc Bulga, eliso L, est bouge, & per diminutionem bougette. Vide Spelmannum in Bulgia. & Vossium libro Primo de Vitiis serm. cap. 2. Quod verò Nonius in voce Bulga etiam citat hæc Lucilii verba ex libro xxvii, Ita ut quisque nostrum è bulga est matris in lucem editus, manifestè satis evincit Celtas eadem quoque voce Ventrem vel Uterum olim designasse; atque adeò non esse mirandum si nonnullæ gentium Celticarum Ventris denominationem etiamnum ab hac voce retineant, ob quandam ejus similitudinem cum sacco isthoc scorteo qui Gallis dicebatur Bulga. Ita veteribus Cimbris BELGIR erat Venter. *Cambrobritannis* bol vel boly. *Anglis* bellie. *Belgis* balg. *Originem vocis Bulga tradit Vossii etymologicum Latinum*’. The importance of this etymology for Junius appears from its recurrence in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 42, 177r, and in Letter 204

The etymology leaves no doubt that Junius considered the Germanic and the Welsh forms to be related, not just because they resembled one another phonically, but also because he observed a meaningful relation between the significations of the various words. Symbolically, the Biblical image of the new wine in the new leather bottles could signify Christ's new teachings or, more generally, religious renewal.⁴² Through a presumed Celtic etymology, Junius draws the connection between the leather bottles and the womb as the leather bag or pouch from which new people grow physically, thus creating an epistemological argument supported by evidence from the Bible as well as classical authors. The fact that *bulga*, a Celtic loanword in Latin, is the linchpin which holds the argument together adds importance to Celtic and therewith to Welsh. In this type of argumentation, the statement, made in the earlier etymology of Welsh *dyn*, that the ancient Cymrae were just as wise as the wisest authors of the Teutonic languages suggests an attitude of equality between those languages: their importance as storehouses of *antiquitas* was complementary.

This idea of philological complementarity also emerges in Junius's reconstructions of language contact between the Welsh and the Anglo-Saxons. Unaware of the dearth of Celtic loan words in Old English and the uncertainties about their scarcity, Junius imagines a very different situation: in an explanation of Old English *mal*, 'spot, stain', he adds that 'meanwhile, it may be that the Anglo-Saxons, after they were established in England, somehow in trade with the vanquished, also received this word *mal*, among many others, from the British, who called a stain a *magl*, which John Davies, ardent investigator of ancient languages, derives from a Hebrew source'.⁴³ While Junius envisages trade as one avenue of Welsh-English contacts, borrowing also extended to terms in the semantic field of dignity and honour: 'It may also be that Anglo-Saxon *are* 'honour' is derived from Cambro-Britannic *ar* 'above', 'on the top',

to the German theologian, Johannes Clauberg; see Van Romburgh, *For my worthy freind*, pp. 967–969.

⁴² For example, Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew* explains this verse as the Christian Gospel's incompatibility with the Jewish scribes and pharisees; see *Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri. Commentariorum in Mathaeum libri iv*, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCSL 77 (Turnhout, 1969), p. 58.

⁴³ Junius, *Observationes in Willeramii*, p. 124: 'Fieri interim potest Anglo-Saxones, postquam Angliâ positi essent, quodam cùm devictis commercio, etiam hanc vocem mal inter plures alias accepisse à Britannis, quibus Macula dicebatur magl, quod ipsum tamen Joh, Davies, strenuus antiquissimæ linguæ indagator, deducit ab Hebreæo fonte'.

which also explains why among the Welsh a hero abounding with glory is called *arwr*, from *ar* & *gwr*, which means ὑπεράθρωπος, ‘who is above man and has proceeded to such a magnitude that for a mortal man he is made eternal in glory’.⁴⁴ What we can learn from this obviously spurious etymology is that for Junius philology took precedence over history. In his linguistic reconstruction of the ancient world, not so much the shared forms, but rather the shared concepts and metaphors linked through literature, trade and culture posed questions about the common ground between what he termed the ‘Anglo-Saxons’ and the ‘Cambro-Britons’.

The search for *antiquitas*, however, could not be detached from the *origin* of words, although, as Junius confirms in his letter to the readers of the *Glossarium Gothicum*, these origins are more difficult to demonstrate.⁴⁵ In the search for origins, Greek plays a key role as the language to which all other words could be related because it was closest to a hypothetical common ancestor.⁴⁶ In this context, it is interesting to see how Welsh fits in. Halfway in the *Observationes in Willeramii* Junius links Old High German *aha*, ‘river’, with Old English *ea*, Old Norse *aa* and Welsh *aches* and *afon*. All of these words he then interprets as deriving from the first three letters of Greek ἀχελύς, a word for ‘stream’ or ‘water’ found in the Greek lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria.⁴⁷ The principle of this method is what Junius called *de truncatio* ‘cutting words down to a stem’, on which he comments that:

Meanwhile, there is no reason why this method of detruncation should seem extraordinary or unsuitable to anyone because we discovered that the first authors of the Celtic language were inflamed with an astonishing zeal for brevity and everywhere

⁴⁴ Junius, *Observationes in Willeramii*, p. 57: ‘Fieri quoque potest Anglo-Saxonicum ar desumptum esse ex Cambro-Britannico ar, *super, supra* ... unde & ipsis quoque Cymreis arwr dictus est *Heros gloriâ circumfluens*; ab ar & gwr, q.d. ὑπεράθρωπος, qui est supra hominem, atque eo magnitudinis processit, uti pro mortali homine gloriâ factus sit aeternus’.

⁴⁵ Junius, *Glossarium Gothicum*, ***3r: ‘Immo & in etymologiarum indagazione persæpè amplector originationem, minus quidem probatam, sed morale quid ad communis vitæ usum comprehendentem: ...’ (Indeed, in tracing etymologies I also often include the origin, although less well demonstrated, but something moral that is connected with usage in general life). See also Van Romburgh, ‘How to Make the Past Age Present’, p. 165.

⁴⁶ Junius, *Glossarium Gothicum*, ***3r.

⁴⁷ Junius, *Observationes*, p. 175. Van Romburgh, ‘*For my worthy freind*’, pp. 468–471, shows that Junius received Hesychius’s lexicon in 1634 from Gerardus Vossius; this is presumably the same copy, annotated by Junius, which Rolf Bremmer, ‘Retrieving Junius’s Correspondence’, p. 232, located in Leiden University Library. A treasure trove of ancient Greek vocabulary, Hesychius’s lexicon was valued highly by Humanist scholars.

broke off many words from the first letters of the Greek words *κατ' ἀποκοπτὸν*. Of this ancient custom, almost innumerable examples occur everywhere in the Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, Cimbric and Cambro-Britannic languages.⁴⁸

The following pages contain four lists of such '*monosyllaba*' which Junius relates to Greek words: 304 Dutch, 73 Old English, 37 what he calls *Gothica*, but is actually Old Norse, and 203 Welsh lemmata.⁴⁹ The metaphor of lopping or pruning words serves to explain how, according to Junius, the ancients separated that part of the word containing the *essentia* (the core meaning), from the *accidentals* (the additional letters and syllables).⁵⁰ Junius notices this tendency to concentrate on the *essentia* particularly in 'the Celtic language', but immediately confirms that the same practice can be identified in Dutch, Old English and Old Norse. This shared penchant for detruncation is exposed not only by the lists of *monosyllaba*, but also by the many cross references: for example, Old English *dry* 'sorcerer, sorcery' and Welsh *drwg* 'rotten, wretched, harmful' (p. 239), Old English *mæt* 'food' and Welsh *mæth* 'food, sustenance' and *mæthu* 'to feed' (p. 243), suggesting that there was a shared origin and a shared essence to these words.⁵¹ These etymologies, in which Welsh and Old English are juxtaposed, constitute a subtle demonstration of the value he assigned to Welsh in a comparative framework.⁵²

⁴⁸ Junius, *Observationes*, p. 175: 'Non est interim cur hæc detruncandi ratio mira cuiquam atque absona videri debeat, quum primi Celticæ linguæ authores miro quodam studio brevitatis flagrasse plurimasque passim voces è primis Græcarum vocum literis *κατ' ἀποκοπτὸν* abruptisse deprehendantur. cuius antiquæ consuetudinis innumera penè exempla in linguâ Teutonicâ, Anglo-Saxonicâ, Cimbricâ, Cambro-Britannicâque passim occurrunt'.

⁴⁹ Junius, *Observationes*, pp. 138–233 Dutch (and some Frisian); 233–258 Old English; 259–265 Old Norse; 265–288 Welsh. On the Frisian lemmata among the Dutch *monosyllaba*, see Breuker, 'Junius's Germanic Studies', p. 143. Frisian, however, was also mentioned in relation to Welsh, in 'Ab, *Simius*' (p. 265), 'trecc, *Ornamenta*' (p. 283).

⁵⁰ See Van Romburgh, 'How to Make the Past Age Present', pp. 162–163, who explains the search for *essentia* in the context of Aristotelian tradition, seventeenth-century grammatical theory and ideas from Art History.

⁵¹ See also the entries for Old English *bræs*, *briw* (p. 235), *ceac* (p. 236), *cod* (p. 237), *ord* (p. 248), *reaf* (p. 251), *sæhs. sæx. seax. sex* (p. 254), *torr* (p. 255). Junius's idea of *detruncatio* hearkens back to the belief that monosyllabicity was a characteristic of the most ancient languages; see Marijke J. van der Wal, 'Early Language Typology: Attitudes Towards Languages in the 16th and 17th Centuries', *History and Rationality. The Skövde Papers in the Historiography of Linguistics*, ed. K. D. Dutz & K.-Å. Forsgren (Münster, 1995), pp. 95–105.

⁵² In the seventeenth century, when Welsh was under pressure and thought to be dying out,

ALPHABET

In addition to a focus on words and their meaning, the Leiden copy of Davies' *Dictionarium duplex* highlights other aspects of Junius's interests in Welsh. Four flyleaves at the beginning and end of the book contain in Junius's hand a densely written transcript of excerpts from the *Cambrobryannicæ Cymræcæve linguæ institutiones et rudimenta*, a grammar of Welsh published in 1592 by Siôn Dafydd Rhys, or, in English, John Davies of Breckon (henceforth Rhys).⁵³ Like his namesake, John Davies of Mallwyd, Rhys wrote his grammar with the idea of elevating the status of Welsh, both at home and abroad, where he had spent a considerable part of his career.⁵⁴ However, whereas John Davies of Mallwyd tried to elevate the status of Welsh by asserting its antiquity and links to Hebrew, Rhys did so by demonstrating the rich and intricate prosody of its poetry.⁵⁵ Sounds are an essential part of Welsh prosody; hence Rhys began his grammar with a long chapter on the sounds of Welsh and the alphabet, which he illustrated with impressive tables outlining the different usages and permutations of the 31 letters and letter combinations found in Welsh. Two of Rhys's letter forms deviate from the Latin alphabet: the vocalised *w* and a distinct form of the letter *y*, the one approximating the

Junius's empiricist approach must have contributed to the status of Welsh. Janet Davies, *The Welsh Language: A History* (Cardiff, 2014), discusses the gradual shift from Welsh to English in important domains during the sixteenth century, and mentions that, in the seventeenth century, 'it was widely assumed that the extinction of Welsh was imminent' (pp. 42, 43). See also G. H. Jenkins, R. Suggett and E. M. White, 'The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales', *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, ed. G. H. Jenkins (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 45–122, at pp. 91–92, who point to John Davies and other Welsh Humanists as counter forces.
⁵³ Siôn Dafydd Rhys, *Cambrobryannicæ Cymræcæve linguæ institutiones et rudimenta accuratè, & (quantum fieri potuit) succinctè & compendiosè conscripta* (London, 1592).

⁵⁴ On Rhys, see D. E. Evans, 'Rhys, John David', rev. by B. F. Roberts, *Lexicon Grammaticorum: A Bio-Bibliographical Companion to the History of Linguistics*, 2nd edn., ed. Harro Stammerjohann (Tübingen, 2009), 1264–1265; A. Price, 'Rhys, Siôn Dafydd', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23468>>; R. G. Gruffydd, 'The Life of Dr John Davies of Brecon', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1971), pp. 175–190. Between the mid 1550s and the early 1570s Rhys travelled and worked on the Continent, most importantly Italy, where he published a study of Italian pronunciation.

⁵⁵ Pp. 146–304 contains Rhys's chapters on prosody. According to Evans and Roberts, 'Rhys, John David', p. 1265, 'This part of the work, although it is not altogether well organized, is a valuable compilation. It clearly reflects Rhys's concern that he should demonstrate and explain to the widest possible world of learning the quality of the intricate traditional art of the Welsh poets'.

pronunciation of English /ə/.⁵⁶ Five out of the six pages of excerpts which Junius copied from Rhys's *Institutiones et rudimenta* concern the alphabet in Welsh, and constitute a compilation of Rhys's introductions to each letter, with some additions from elsewhere in the book, forming as it were a primer version of Rhys's first chapter and suggesting that Junius compiled for himself a rudimentary guide to the alphabet and pronunciation of Welsh.⁵⁷ [fig. 5]

That Junius was genuinely interested in the relation between spelling and sound is suggested by the fact that among his books in the Bodleian Library there is his personal copy of the *Logonomia Anglica*, a book on language, spelling and prosody published in 1621 by Alexander Gil (1564/5-1635), perhaps, best known as Milton's schoolmaster at St Paul's School in London.⁵⁸ Unlike other orthoepists (scholars studying the relation between pronunciation and spelling), Gil reached back to Old English for his suggested spelling reform, claiming that the English had preserved the purity of their language.⁵⁹ Even though Junius's work on English and Welsh demonstrates that he did not share Gil's imaginary world of insular linguistic purity and almost total rejection of external influences, the two main principles of Gil's work on spelling must have struck a chord with him.⁶⁰ First, 'All spelling is to be accommodated to the sound used', according to the custom of the learned. Some spellings are acceptable, therefore, while others are not. Secondly, Gil maintained that 'as painters depict the human form so as to imitate life, so should words be spelled according to the living voice'.⁶¹ Gil's analogy of painting and spelling, and of the human form and the human voice, echoes

⁵⁶ Rhys, *Institutiones et rudimenta*, pp. 33, 34.

⁵⁷ Junius copied excerpts from pp. 1, 5, 131, 132, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14–17, 23–29, 31, 33, 34, in that order.

⁵⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 81: Alexander Gil, *Logonomia Anglica. Quâ gentis sermo faciliùs addiscitur. Secundo edita, paulu correctior, sed ad usum communem accomodatio* (London, 1621). On Gil, see E. J. Dobson, *English Pronunciation 1500–1700*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1957), I, pp. 131–151; G. Campbell, 'Gil [Gill], Alexander, the elder', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online, <<https://doi-org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/10.1093/ref:odnb/10729>>.

⁵⁹ See Gil, *Logonomia Anglica*, B1r (preface to the reader), and D. Dixon, 'Alexander Gil's *Logonomia Anglica* Edition of 1621, Translated with an Introduction and Critical and Explanatory Notes', PhD Dissertation, University of Southern California (1951), pp. 98–99.

⁶⁰ Inspired by the historian William Camden, Gil stresses the insularity of the Anglo-Saxons, who were cut off from the Continent, and refused to mix with the Celtic Britons. Moreover, he fulminated against the use of Latin and French words in English, denouncing Chaucer as a terrible example of English poetry. Dobson, *English Pronunciation 1500–1700*, I, pp. 133–134.

⁶¹ Dobson, *English Pronunciation 1500–1700*, I, p. 136 (Gil's principles) and 137 (four mitigating circumstances which allow some change and variation).

Junius's theory of the visual arts. As language was meant to be heard, paintings were meant to be seen, and as the painting of the ancients ought to be regarded as an example to the moderns, so did the language of the ancients, as Gil's *Logonomia* confirmed. Junius, to use the words of Judith Dundas, 'approached painting as an art mediated by words', and constantly connected oratory, poetry and painting in imitation of the classics.⁶² That letters and letter design were an intrinsic part of this artistic chain is suggested the attention paid to letters in his *Catalogus architectorum ...*.⁶³

As Junius's study of Welsh vocabulary could be seen in conjunction with his work on the lexicon of the Germanic languages, so should his notes on the Welsh letters and sounds be considered in the light of his observations on the alphabets used for the Germanic languages, which fill a thirty-one-page introductory treatise to his *Glossarium Gothicum*. This treatise is multi-functional: first, it introduces the reader to his use of different letter fonts for different languages, some of which had been produced at Junius's own initiative and expense.⁶⁴ Secondly, it serves to underline the traditional notion that alphabets could be emblematic of the nature of a language. Letters were attributed with a *figura* (letter form), a *potestas* (the sound), and in some cases, such as the runes, with a *nomen* (a letter name), which could give additional signification. The structure of Junius's observations on the Gothic alphabet is remarkably

⁶² Judith Dundas. 'A Mutuall Emulation: Sidney and *The Painting of the Ancients*', *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, ed. R. H. Bremmer Jr. (Amsterdam, 1998), pp. 71–92, at pp. 71–74. For an elaboration of Junius's theories of visualisation, see Van Romburgh, "'Hyperboreo sono'", pp. 293–294. Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl, *Francis Junius: The Literature of Classical Art*, I, pp. 365–366, explain Junius's concept of the 'Affinitie between the arts', in terms of the connection between pictures and poetry.

⁶³ At least eight entries discuss the origin of letters among the Syrians or Assyrians, whence they were transferred to the Phoenicians and thence to the Greeks. Likewise, Egypt is mentioned as the birthplace of hieroglyphs with important roles reserved for deities such as Isis or Theuth (Thoth) or Hermes Trismegistus. See the translation by Aldrich, Fehl and Fehl, *Francis Junius: The Literature of Classical Art*, II, pp. 66, 161, 200–202, 214, 245, 309, 399.

⁶⁴ Junius, *Glossarium Gothicum*, pp. 1–31. Most of the discussion concerns the Gothic uncials, which Junius had copied from the script of the *Codex Argenteus*, and the runes, for which he relied on the works of Ole Worm. The last two pages depict the font used for Old English, as well as two sets of black letter types: one used for Old High German and another for contemporary English and Dutch. The black letter type used for contemporary Danish and Icelandic (see p. 83 of the *Glossarium Gothicum*) only receives a mention. There are no separate letters for Frisian, which he prints in the font for Old High German (e.g. pp. 71, 384). See Peter J. Lucas, 'Junius, His Printers and His Types: An Interim Report', *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, ed. R. H. Bremmer Jr. (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1997), pp. 177–197.

similar to the excerpts on Welsh letters copied from Rhys. Both begin by stating the number of letters or letter combinations followed by the spelling or *figura*,⁶⁵ and then discuss the pronunciation of each letter in a separate paragraph, with the help of examples, and by comparison with related words from other languages.⁶⁶ Like the Welsh alphabet, the Gothic letters included graphs such as Θ / γw / and Ψ / θ / which were unique to Gothic.⁶⁷ Undeniably, Rhys's methodology is visible in Junius's observations on the *Alphabetum Gothicum*. Following the Gothic alphabet, there is a much more elaborate exposition on Runes, which incorporates not only a discussion of the *nomina*, *figuræ* and *potestates*, but also an edition of the Norwegian Rune Poem with comments.⁶⁸ In this section, the connections between letters and poetry come full circle.

⁶⁵ 'Prædictas quinque & viginti Literas ita notat codex argenteus [...]. Et quoniam earum Nomina nusquam, quod sciam, tradit Antiquitas, proximum est ut ab earum Notatione statim transeamus ad earum Potestatem investigandam ex collatione cum linguâ Græcâ nec non cum iis linguis quas ex Gothicâ traductas esse constat'. (And because, as far as I know, Antiquity does not give us their names anywhere, next is that we immediately pass over to investigating their sound from collation with the Greek language and also with those languages of which it is clear that they derived from Gothic'.) In describing the Gothic alphabet, Junius deplors the fact that, to his knowledge, the letter names had not survived. Obviously, Junius was unaware of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 795, 20v, which gives names for 25 Gothic letters; see D. G. Miller, *The Oxford Gothic Grammar* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 12, 21–26.

⁶⁶ Leiden, UBL, 365 A 7, first flyleaf, verso side: 'Cymræorum literæ seu elementa numero sunt 31. a. b. bh. c. ch. d. dh. e. g. gh. ghh. h. i. lh. l. m. mh. n. nh. o. p. ph. rh. r. sw. t. th. u. w. y. Y. neque alio tempore mutuatur lingua Cambro-Britannica literas f. k. q. w. x. z. quàm cùm voces externarum gentium, quibus hi characteres in usu sunt, conscribendæ veniunt'. ('The number of Welsh letters or elements is 31 [...], and at no other time did the Welsh language borrow the letters f, k, q, w, x and z than when they came to write words from foreign peoples with whom these characters were in use'.)

⁶⁷ Junius, *Glossarium Gothicum*, pp. 7–9. The origin of Θ is uncertain; see Miller, *The Oxford Gothic Grammar*, p. 23; other characters in the Gothic alphabet were uncial forms of Greek capitals.

⁶⁸ The section on runes consists largely of citations from the works of Ole Worm and displays the familiar method of cutting, pasting, rearranging and adding, which we also saw in the section on the Welsh alphabet. Junius derived the text of the Norwegian Rune poem from Worm, *Danica literatura*, pp. 104–113. For Junius's and Worm's interpretations of the poem, see Van Romburgh, "'Hyperboreo sono'", pp. 294–304, *eadem*, 'Septentrional Emblematics: An Early Modern Play on Runes', *Living in Posterity. Essays in Honour of Bart Westerweel*, ed. Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen, Paul Hoftijzer, Juliëtte Roding and Paul Smith (Hilversum, 2004), pp. 221–228. For a the text of the Norwegian Rune Poem, see M. Halsall, *The Old English Rune Poem: A Critical Edition*, McMaster Old English Studies and Texts 2 (Toronto, 1981), pp. 181–182.

POETRY

On the last page of the flyleaves in Leiden, UBL 365 A 7, Junius turns his attention to poetry by copying a set of criteria for good and bad poetry and poets: for example, a good poet displayed the full resources of the Welsh language, eloquence and an excellent style; a bad one was guilty of *vulgaris inventio*, obscure verse and a rude style.⁶⁹ These criteria were copied from the second part of Rhys's book, which contains a detailed account of the prosody and structure of Welsh verse. This part, too, must have been an eye-opener for Junius, for nothing like this existed on Old English verse, samples of which occurred in various printed books that Junius had used in the early phases of his Germanic studies.⁷⁰ In fact, as Danielle Cuniff Plumer has shown, Old English verse was hardly understood before Junius, whom she qualifies as 'the first scholar to make an attempt fully to understand Old English poetry'.⁷¹ The degree to which Junius actually understood the prosody of Old English verse was demonstrated by Peter Lucas in his detailed appraisal of Junius's transcript of the Old English *Judith*, in which Lucas explains that Junius correctly identified 90 % of the verses through inserting punctuation in the form of metrical points and extended spaces; only the irregular, short and hypermetrical verses sometimes posed insurmountable problems.⁷² The question of how Junius managed to penetrate the prosody of Old English verse has never been addressed at great length. In part, his knowledge came from reading and editing the Old English poems *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan*, for in Ms Junius 11 verse lines are very consistently marked by punctuation.⁷³

⁶⁹ Rhys, *Institutiones et rudimenta*, p. 148, the section beginning: 'De iis quæ commodant, & iis contra quæ incommodant Poematibus atque Poetis'. Junius copies the title and adheres to Rhys's schematic layout.

⁷⁰ Danielle Cuniff Plumer, 'The Construction of Structure in the Earliest Editions of Old English Poetry', *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. T. Graham (Kalamazoo, MI, 2000), pp. 243–279, at pp. 274–279, provides a list of the earliest editions of Old English poetry. As Cuniff Plumer explains, in the 1640s even Abraham Wheelock in his edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* struggled with Old English verse, writing in the margin of *The Battle of Brunanburh* that such ancient and rough language took a toll on the reader.

⁷¹ Cuniff Plumer, 'The Construction of Structure', pp. 255–256.

⁷² Peter J. Lucas, 'Franciscus Junius and the Versification of *Judith*', *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P. E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal, (Kalamazoo, 1997), pp. 369–404, at p. 378.

⁷³ On Junius's editing of these poems, see Peter Lucas's introduction to Junius, *Caedmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica ...*, repr. (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 2000), xx–xxv.

Secondly, some of his insights may derive from Ole Worm's *Danica literatura*, in which the principle of alliteration in the smallest verse unit, the *distych*, is explained: 'sonorous consonants have to be the same in the former half line and the latter; either two of these consonants are in the former, and one in the latter half line, or vice versa, one in the former and two in the latter; never all three at the same time in the same [verse]. Moreover, all vowels harmonise with vowels'.⁷⁴ Although Worm's observations provide important clues for understanding the alliteration in Old English verse, the picture is certainly not complete.

Alliteration is, however, in a much more complex way also a key part of the Welsh metrical concept known as *cynganedd*, 'harmony', and Rhys's chapter, *De Poemate metrico & eius Generibus*, abounds with schemes explaining with elaborate examples and craftily printed connecting lines how consonants and vowels from one part of a verse line recur in another.⁷⁵ Rhys analyses examples of Welsh verse in terms of *scansio* (scansion of the verse feet) and what Rhys terms *symphonia* (the relation between the sounds) which he divides into *consonantica* (linking consonants) and *sonora* (vowel harmony including rhyme). Under *consonantica* Rhys first divides the verse lines into metrical units by means of asterisks, and then connects the recurring consonants by means of connecting lines. Rhys then extracts the patterns of consonantal harmony from the verses and prints them in the form of recurrent sequences of consonants separated by asterisks. In the large majority of cases, the consonants or consonant clusters occur twice, as can be seen, for example, on page 160: 'P m c bh * P m c bh', but in rare cases Rhys lists consonants which recur three times, for example, on p. 161: 'R t h d * R t h * R t h d'.⁷⁶ [fig. 6] Rhys intended these diagrams as recognisable and

⁷⁴ Ole Worm, *Danica literatura*, p. 167: '1. Consonantes sonoræ prorsus debent esse eadem tam in priori, quam in posteriori versu. 2. Illarum duæ sint in priori, una in posteriori versu, vel vice versa, una in priori, & duæ in posteriori, nunquam omnes tres simul in eodem. 3. Vocales omnes eandem reddunt harmoniam'.

⁷⁵ For the rules of Welsh verse, see Gwyn Williams, *An Introduction to Welsh Poetry: from the Beginnings to the Sixteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1953); Tony Conran, 'Introduction', *Welsh Verse* (Bridgend: Poetry Wales Press, 1986).

⁷⁶ The poem analysed by Rhys begins 'ofer o iawnder undawd'; see *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad a Dafydd Ddhu o Hiraddug*, ed. R. Geraint Gruffyd and Rhiannon Ifans (Aberystwyth, 1997), Atodiad C, rhif 6. Although the recurring patterns cross Rhys's scansion of this line ('wrth-yd . ail-ar . thur-wrth . wawd .'), for anyone who is not acquainted with Welsh or Welsh verse – and there is no reason to assume that Junius was – the impression emerges of a verse line in which the same pattern of consonants occurs three times. Rhys lists similar patterns on pp. 175, 187 and 198.

understandable demonstrations of the metrical patterns in Welsh even to readers who had not mastered the Welsh language,⁷⁷ and it is highly likely that Junius associated the alliterative patterns in Welsh verse with what he was noticing in Old English verse,⁷⁸ when he first set eyes on what is now MS Junius 11.⁷⁹

If so, some of Junius's reconstructions of problematic lines in his transcription of the poem *Judith* might confirm that he was influenced by what he saw in Rhys's chapter on Welsh verse.⁸⁰ To make this clear, I have copied the following examples from *Judith* from Peter Lucas's study of Junius's transcription, with both the modern caesurae separating the half lines and Junius's pauses (either points or wide spaces) indicated by square brackets⁸¹:

223 strælas stede[.]hearde styrmdon [.] hlude
 224 grame [] guðfreca[n] [] garas sendon []⁸²

⁷⁷ See Evans and Roberts, 'Rhys, John David', p. 1265: 'It clearly reflects R.'s concern that he should demonstrate and explain to the widest possible world of learning the quality of the intricate traditional art of the Welsh poets'. This is corroborated by Price, 'Rhys, Siôn, Dafydd', and by Cerie Davies, 'Latin Literature', *A Nation and Its Books: a History of the Book in Wales*, ed. P. H. Jones and E. Rees (Aberystwyth, 1998), pp. 67–74, at p. 67.

⁷⁸ Remarkably, alliteration plays hardly any role in the first theoretical analysis of Old English verse: chapter 23 of George Hickes's *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archaeologicus* (Oxford, 1703–1705), in chapter 23 of the *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica et Mæso-Gothica*, pp. 177–221. See S. McCabe, 'Anglo-Saxon Poetics in the *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archaeologicus* of George Hickes: A Translation, Analysis, and Contextualization', unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of New Mexico, 2010, pp. 196–197.

⁷⁹ Junius received the manuscript from James Ussher, the archbishop of Armagh, in 1651. Peter Lucas states in his introduction to Junius, *Caedmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica ...*, repr. (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 2000), iv, that Ussher presumably obtained the manuscript after D'Ewes died in 1650, and gave it to Junius a year later. This would mean that when Junius stayed with D'Ewes in 1648/9, it was in the latter's possession, and Junius must have seen it there around the same time as when he consulted Davies's *Dictionarium duplex* and, in all likelihood, Rhys's *Elementa et rudimenta*.

⁸⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 105, fols. 1–12. It is important to bear in mind that verse was copied like prose, in long lines, and that verse units could only be distinguished through punctuation.

⁸¹ I left out Lucas's notation of the scansion and placed the line numbers in front of the verse lines. Junius copied the verse in long lines, as in the manuscript: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv, fols. 202–209.

⁸² Lucas, 'Francis Junius and the Versification of *Judith*', p. 385, who concludes that 'the alliteration is satisfactory and only the second *a*-verse, *guðfreca[n]*, will not scan regularly (because it has only three syllables)'.

Wrongly interpreting the Old English compound *stedehearde* as two words, Junius reconstructs five verse units instead of the four needed for the two verses in the poem, thereby creating virtually a doublet followed by a triplet.

strælas stede **hearde styrmdon**
hlude grame **guðfreca** **garas sendon**

Similarly, in lines 345–347, Junius misconstrues three hypermetric lines into eight verse units, though in such a way that, as Lucas explains, all parts still scan, albeit with some rare anomalies:

345 to ðam ælmihtigan [.] huru æt þam ende [.] ne tweode
 346 þæs leanes [.] þe heo lange gyrnde [;] þæs sy ðam leofan [.] drihtne
 347 wuldor [.] to widran aldre [.] þe gesceop wind & lyfte []⁸³

Whereas Lucas reconstructs two doublets, followed by a singlet, ‘Ðæs sy ðam leofan’, followed by another doublet (leaving 347b out of account), it may be possible that, here too, Junius considered triplets:

to ðam ælmihtigan huru æt þam ende
 ne tweode þæs leanes þe heo lange gyrnde þæs sy ðam leofan
 drihtne wuldor to widran aldre þe gesceop wind & lyfte

In both cases, these reconstructions violate the rule which, as we know now, forbids alliteration on the last stressed syllable in a verse line; for Junius, however, this may have been the lesser problem, as the verse pattern was exceptional to begin with.⁸⁴ If Junius considered the

⁸³ Lucas, ‘Francis Junius and the Versification of *Judith*’, pp. 386–387, to which I added line 347b.

⁸⁴ Lucas, ‘Francis Junius and the Versification of *Judith*’, p. 383, mentions more examples of Junius’s misinterpretations ‘either where two divisions have been indicated in one verse (339a, 89b, 99b, 344b) or where three divisions have been indicated in two verses (9a, 58a, 273a, 287a, 341a, 346a, 347a)’. In most cases, Junius seems to have construed alliterating triplets (Junius’s pauses indicated by square brackets): [] on mode **bliðe** [] **burga ealdor** [] þohte ða **beorhtan idese** [] (57b–8); [.] **mote geheawan** [.] þysne **morðres bryttan** [.] geunne me **minra gesynta** [.] (89b–90); [] æt ende **eades** [] & **ellendæda** [.] hogedon þa **eorlas aweccan** [] (272b–273); [] **swiðmod** [] **sinces ahte** [] oððe **sundoryrfes** [] (339). It is unclear whether Junius was aware of alliteration of /j/ in: [.] idese **ageafon** [.] **gearo þoncolre** [;] ealles ðæs **Iudith sægde** [.] (340b–341). Three hypothetical triplets do not have consistent

possibility of alliterative triplets to solve metrical problems he experienced in Old English verse, Rhys's graphical representations of alliteration in Welsh verse, with identical consonants or consonant clusters occurring twice and, in rare cases, three times in a sequence, may well have been Junius's inspiration. Most important for Junius must have been the fact that alliteration was a common feature in Welsh, Old English and Old Norse verse, because this supported the notion of a shared antiquity – something which he had also diagnosed in the vocabulary. Whether Rhys's chapter on Welsh prosody contributed to Junius's insight into Old English metre remains a suggestion, but Junius clearly knew Rhys's work, and the possibility should not be excluded, therefore. The very fact that Welsh could boast an ancient, sophisticated poetical tradition asserted its importance and relevance, and Junius may well have been keen to highlight that Old English verse possessed similar characteristics.

MOTIVATION

The question of what motivated Junius to include Welsh in his etymological studies of Old English, Old Norse and other Old Germanic languages is inherently related to how he conceptualised Welsh and Celtic, and to how he saw his own work in relation to that of others. Junius was, after all, not the first to express an interest in Welsh. Humanist scholars before him had been interested in Celtic antiquity and languages, causing a succession of paternosters and Bible fragments in Welsh and Irish to appear in print, none of which Junius ever used in his etymologies and glossaries, however.⁸⁵ Similarly striking is his reluctance to engage broadly with the antiquarian tradition and with earlier speculations about the Celtic languages.⁸⁶ The

alliteration: [] *prymlic girwan* [] *up swæsendo* [] *to ðam het se gumena baldor* [] (8–9); [.] *fæste be feaxe sinum* [.] *teah hyne folmum* [] *wið hyre weard* (99); [.] *is mid niðum* [.] *neah geþrunge[n]* [.] *þe we sculon losian* [] (286b–287).

⁸⁵ A selection of these fragments was printed by Th. M. Chotzen, *Primitieve Keltistiek in de Nederlanden* (The Hague, 1931), pp. 51–57. Despite its age, Chotzen's treatise is still well worth reading as an introduction to Celtic studies in the Netherlands and also beyond. For the impact of the Celts in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholarship, see Daniel Droixhe, *L'Étymon des dieux. Mythologie gauloise, archéologie et linguistique à l'âge classique* (Geneva, 2002).

⁸⁶ Junius travelled to Scotland in the 1640s, but there are no indications that he ever made it to Ireland; see Van Romburgh, "*For my worthy Freind*", pp. 758–9 (letter 164). In Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 74, 17r, Junius postulates from Bede's spurious etymology of the *Dalriada* in Book I of the *Historia ecclesiastica* that *Dal* means 'father', linking it promptly to Greek δάλεμον, meaning 'tutor' or 'protector'. The place name *Inis Bofind*, also found with

ancient Britons had long been the subject of a rich tradition of antiquarian imagination and were often depicted as scantily dressed with painted bodies, which explained the name of the Picts.⁸⁷ Only once did Junius allude to this custom, and then only briefly, in his comment on the name of ‘Cambro-Britons’:

the English have taken their word *bright* [...] from Cambro-britannic *brith* ‘multi-coloured, spotted, decorated with spots, made of various sorts of colours’; ‘... the suspicion arises that the ancient inhabitants of these noble islands have called the people *brithen* from the old word *brith*; certainly because of the ancient custom by which all the noblest Britons were joyful to be seen among their great distinguished men by the diverse painting on their body. I will not repeat here what other scholars have observed about their religious customs’.⁸⁸

His cautiousness in making these assertions may arise from the experiences of others who had been less prudent. Antiquarian tradition had it that the early Britons, descending from Noah’s son Jafeth, had spread out not only to Great Britain and Ireland, but also to the Americas, where European explorers had seen people with body paint.⁸⁹ In 1642 Junius’s long-time

Bede, is explained in on the same folio as ‘the island of white heifers in the langage of the Scoti’, while in another note Junius adds that some *Scotica* can be read in the Life of St Findan, an Irish missionary who ended up in Switzerland, printed in Melchior Goldastus, *Alamannicarum rerum scriptores aliquot vetustis ...*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt, 1606). The life of St Findan occurs in volume I, pp. 318–322. Junius’s copy is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 20. There is, however, no sustained effort in Junius’s works to study any other Celtic language but Welsh.

⁸⁷ The tradition was described by Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination* (New York, 1989), pp. 54–86, in his third chapter entitled ‘From the Ark to the Americas’. Piggott writes that ‘William Camden seems to have been the first to make a direct comparison between native American body decoration and that recorded of the ancient Britons’ in his *Annals of Great Britain under Queen Elizabeth*.

⁸⁸ Junius, *Observationes*, p. 40: ‘Anglos denique suum *bright*, *Splendidus*, *illustris*, *clarus*, *fulgens*, *lucentulus*, desumsisse ex Cambro-Britannico *brith*, *Diversicolor*, *maculosis*, *maculis*, *distinctus*, *variegatus*. Atque adeò jam nunc è re natâ oboritur suspicio veteres illos nobilissimæ insulæ incolas â priscâ voce *brith* gentem suam *brithen* nuncupasse; ob antiquam nempe consuetudinem, quâ nobilissimi quique Britannorum variâ corporum picturâ inter suos magis notabiles videri gestiebant. Supersedeo hîc repetere quæ de hoc eorum ritu sæpiùs ab eruditis observata;’. Cf. William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, ed. R. D. Dunn (Toronto, 1984), pp. 155–156, who speaks of ‘the ancient Picts and Britans, who going naked to the warres, adorned their bodies with figures and blazons of diverse colours, which they conjecture to have bene severall for particular families, as they fought devided by kindreds’.

⁸⁹ Piggott, *Ancient Britons*, pp. 73–86, describes how the young William Camden ‘seems to

acquaintance, the humanist and diplomat Hugo Grotius, published a treatise entitled *De origine gentium Americanarum*, in which Grotius argued that America had been colonised from Iceland, citing toponymical evidence to prove it.⁹⁰ This was swatted down a year later by the Dutch philologist, geographer and polymath, Johannes de Laet, who, instead, made the suggestion that one of the groups that had made it to the American shores were the Welsh. As part of his evidence, De Laet used Welsh words from Davies's *Dictionarium duplex*,⁹¹ which indicates that Junius was not the first continental scholar to have used that dictionary.⁹² Instead,

have been the first to make a direct comparison between native American body decoration and that recorded of the ancient Britons' (p. 74). Camden made the connection through his reading the voyages of Martin Frobisher; see Hugh Trevor Roper, 'Queen Elizabeth's First Historian: William Camden', *Renaissance Essays*, ed. H. T. Roper (Chicago, 1985), pp. 121–148, at p. 140.

⁹⁰ Hugo Grotius, *De origine gentium Americanarum dissertatio* (s.l., 1642). On p. 7, Grotius lists placenames ending in *-lan*, which he links to Germanic *land*. See Benjamin Schmidt, 'Space, Time, Travel: Hugo de Groot, Johannes de Laet, and the Advancement of Geographic Learning', *Lias* 25 (1998), pp. 177–199, at pp. 189–190.

⁹¹ Johannes de Laet, *Notæ ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii De origine gentium Americanarum et observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficillimæ illius quæstionis* (Amsterdam, 1643), pp. 140–144. De Laet had received his copy of Davies's *Dictionarium duplex* from Sir William Boswell, the English ambassador in The Hague; see Rijcklof Hofman, 'Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn (1612–1653)', *Kelten en de Nederlanden van de perhistorie tot heden*, ed. L. Toorians (Leuven, 1998), pp. 149–167, at p. 157. After refuting Grotius's theses and commenting on the views of other experts, De Laet voices his own *observationes*, the second of which (pp. 137–151) discusses the possibility that inhabitants of Wales and Ireland travelled to American shores. Not surprisingly, 'historical' evidence is drawn from the story of Madoc, the son of Owen Gwynned, whose travels De Laet read about in David Powel, *The Historie of Cambria Now Called Wales ...* (London, 1584). On the linguistic evidence De Laet observed that 'the common manner of speaking of the Welsh language seems to promise more than that of Norway (magis enim promittere videtur linguæ Cambricæ idiotismus quam Norwagicæ)' (p. 139). Focusing on names of body parts, De Laet then first gives the words in Welsh and Irish before comparing them to evidence from the indigenous languages of the Americas. Whereas De Laet's source of Welsh is clear, the origin of the Irish words is not. In November 1642 the English antiquary John Morris sent De Laet a list of Irish words compiled by a Franciscan friar who remains unnamed but was at the time a prisoner in the Fleet Prison in London. This list was written in three columns, containing the words in Irish script, a transliteration in Latin script and a Latin or English translation or explanation; see J. A. F. Bekkers, *The Correspondence of John Morris with Johannes de Laet* (1634–1649) (Assen, 1970), p. 81 (letter 38). Chotzen, 'Primitieve Keltistiek', p. 29 claimed that De Laet's list was the oldest printed Irish vocabulary known to him, and believed (fn. 58) that De Laet did not know the first printed dictionary of Irish by the Franciscan friar Míchél Ó Cléirigh, *Foclóir nó Sanasán Nua* (Louvain, 1643).

⁹² De Laet may well have been using Davies's *Dictionarium duplex* for a dictionary of Old

Davies's *Dictionarium duplex* was also the topic of a book-length study on Welsh and its 'Scythian' origins by the Leiden Professor of history Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn (1612–1653), whose book, titled *Originum Gallicarum liber* was published in 1654, a year after its author's death.⁹³ Its place of publication was Amsterdam, the city where Franciscus Junius was living at the time. Remarkably, I have never found a single explicit reference by Junius to Boxhorn's work on Welsh, but an instance of veiled criticism appears in Junius's *Glossarium Gothicum*, p. 147, where he comments on Gothic *dulgis skulans*, 'debtors', and *dulgahaitjin*, 'creditors', that: 'if anyone could inform us that the Welsh were of Scythian origins, or had some kind of communication with any of the nations of the Goths, I would completely believe that these were related to the Welsh words *dylu*, 'to owe money' and *dyled*, 'debt'.⁹⁴ The implication of this remark is that Junius remained unconvinced by Boxhorn's evidence of a 'Scythian' of a Scythian mother tongue.

Further comparisons between Junius's discussions of Welsh and earlier scholarship accentuate the lack of references to territory or ethnicity. For example, in Junius's work, there

English on which he had been working. See B. J. Timmer, 'De Laet's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary', *Neophilologus* 14 (1857), pp. 199–202. On De Laet's scholarly network, see Bekkers, *The Correspondence*, pp. xviii–xxvii; Rolf H. Bremmer, 'The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet (1581–1649) as a Mirror of his Life', *Lias* 25 (1998), pp. 139–164; *idem* "'Mine is Bigger Than Yours": The Anglo-Saxon Collections of Johannes de Laet (1581–1649) and Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–50)', *Anglo-Saxon Books and Their Readers: Essays in Celebration of Helmut Gneuss's Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*. ed. T. N. Hall and D. Scragg (Kalamazoo, 2008), pp. 136–174.

⁹³ Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn, *Originem Gallicarum liber. In quo veteris & nobilissimæ Gallorum gentis origines, antiquitates, lingua & alia cruuntur & illustrantur. Cui accedit antiquæ linguæ Britannicæ lexicon Britannico-Latinum, cum adjectis & insertis ejusdem authoris Adagiis Britannicis sapientiæ veterum druidum reliquiis, & aliis antiquitatis Britannicæ Gallicæque nonnullis monumentis* (Amsterdam, 1654). The second part of the book (pp. 1–75) contains Boxhorn's excerpts from Davies's *Dictionarium duplex*. Caryl Davies, 'The *Dictionarium duplex*', pp. 167–169, comments on the impact of Boxhorn's *Originem Gallicarum* that 'it had far-reaching effects in disseminating awareness of the Welsh language abroad'. Prys Morgan, 'Boxhorn and the Welsh', *Dutch Crossing* 24 (2000), pp. 183–190, at pp. 185–186, argues that Boxhorn's Latin translations of Davies's Welsh proverbs originate from Sir Simond's D'Ewes, who had received them from Davies, and that these proverbs may have reached Boxhorn via Sir William Boswell.

⁹⁴ Junius, *Glossarium Gothicum*, p. 147: 'Omnino putarem hæc affinia Cambrobritannicis *dylu*, *Debere*, & *dyled*, *Debitum*, *si quis edoceat Cymræos esse originis Scyticæ, aut aliquid commercii habuisse cum gentium Goticarum aliquâ*'.

are no instances of the Latin geographical name of *Wallis*, used by Boxhorn to define Wales.⁹⁵ Even more remarkable is the complete absence of visual maps in Junius's works. As Rebecca Brackmann has explained in her chapter on 'Images and Imaginings of England', maps featured in the manuscripts of Laurence Nowell, in William Lambarde's *Archaianomia*, and in William Camden's *Britannia*, all as clear expressions of how they conceived of England or Britain in the present and in the past.⁹⁶ The words underlined in Old English manuscripts by these earlier generations of antiquarians who perused medieval manuscripts were often personal names and place names, which they then used as an aid in producing historical prosopographies and topographies of the country.⁹⁷ By contrast, Junius painted a linguistic landscape of North-West Europe. Echoing Bede's account of multilingualism in England, Junius tells his readers in the *Observationes* that: 'Assuredly, once three languages [Gothic, Old English and Franconian] prevailed in a large part of Northern and Western Europe: (as I pass by the very ancient language of the *Cymrae*, of which much elsewhere)'.⁹⁸ In this linguistic configuration, the position of Welsh is that of a parallel line, the nature of which may well lie in the qualification of *antiquissima* 'very old or most old', given to Welsh not just here, but also in many etymologies where he speaks of Welsh as the very ancient language of the '*Cymrae*'. Junius does not use *antiquissima* lightly, as appears from the dedication letter to the same *Observationes* in which he claims that 'the Franconian language is surely old (*antiqua*), the Anglo-Saxon one older (*antiquior*), but the Gothic one is older by far (*antiquissima*). For Old Norse, he uses *vetus*, which is also applied to Old Frisian.'⁹⁹

The question of how Junius could reasonably compare Welsh, a language spoken in his

⁹⁵ Boxhorn, *Originum Gallicarum liber*, p. 52: 'Vetus Britannorum lingua, à qua Gallorum non diversa, in Wallia Britanniae aut Cambria hodie superest'.

⁹⁶ Rebecca Brackmann, *The Elizabethan Invention of Anglo-Saxon England: Laurence Nowell, William Lambarde and the Study of Old English* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 148–178, at p. 153, points to the absence of Wales on Laurence Nowell's map of England and Ireland in London, British Library, Additional 62540.

⁹⁷ Brackmann, *The Elizabethan Invention of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 94–103.

⁹⁸ Junius, *Observationes*, p. [χ]1v: 'Tres profectò (ut præteream antiquissimam Cymræorum linguam, de quâ alibi fusiùs) in longè maximâ borealis occidentalisque Europæ partes olim obtinebant linguæ'.

⁹⁹ Junius, *Observationes*, p. [φ]2v: 'Antiqua certè est lingua Francica, antiquior Anglo-Saxonica, longè verò antiquissima est Gothica'; 'veterem Cimbricam'; [χ]2r: 'Frisica illa vetus'.

own day and age, with ancient, extinct languages such as Gothic,¹⁰⁰ Old English or Old Norse, and with modern languages such as English and Dutch, requires a closer look at how Junius conceptualised such languages. The terms he used to designate languages often included Latin ablative plurals, such as *Anglis* or *Frisiis*, which typically tend to refer to a diachronic collective of speakers. For example, Old Norse is often rendered by the term *Cimbris*, ‘among the Cimbrians’, collectively identifying Danes, Swedes, and Icelanders with the ancient *Cimbri*, a people living in Jutland in the second century BC.¹⁰¹ *Cimbris* is therefore a *totum pro partibus*, used as an umbrella term referencing the antiquity and the scope of a group of related languages or dialects. Similarly, Dutch was captured by the term *Teutonicis*, another ancient tribal name used as collective denominator and a projection back in time.¹⁰² The same holds for *Cambro-Britannis*, or *Cymraeis*, by which he refers to both the contemporary Welsh and the ancient Britons, except that, unlike *Cimbris* or *Teutonicis*, *Cambro-Britannis* was a fairly recent term, used in all likelihood by the Welsh historian Humphrey Llwyd in the 1560s, and printed for the first time in 1572, in the latter’s *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptiones fragmentum*.¹⁰³ Occasionally Junius confuses *Cambro-Britannis* with *priscos Britannos*, ‘the old Britons’, almost like a slip of the pen.¹⁰⁴ While the use of *Cambro-Britannis* among Welsh authors seems to have declined from 1620 onwards, the term remained popular among scholars who were disseminating the antiquity of Welsh to an international readership, and Junius ranks prominently in that class.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ In his *Glossarium Gothicum*, p. 147, Junius comments on Gothic *dulgis skulans*, ‘debtors’, and *dulgahaitjin*, ‘creditors’, that ‘*Omnino putarem hæc affinia Cambrobritannicis dylu, Debere, & dyled, Debitum, si quis edoceat Cymraeos esse originis Scyticæ, aut aliquid commercii habuisse cum gentium Goticarum aliquâ*’ (‘if anyone convinced me that the Welsh were of Scythian origins, or had some kind of communication with any of the nations of the Goths, I would completely suppose that these were related to the Welsh words *dylu*, ‘to owe money’ and *dyled*, ‘debt’).

¹⁰¹ G. Neumann, T. Grünewald and J. Martens, ‘Kimbern’, *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 16 (Berlin and New York, 2000), pp. 493–504.

¹⁰² S. Zimmer, ‘Teutonen’, *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 30 (Berlin and New York, 2005), pp. 368–369.

¹⁰³ Philip Schwyzer, ‘The Age of the Cambro-Britons: Hyphenated British Identities in the Seventeenth Century’, *The Seventeenth Century* 33 (2018), pp. 427–439, at p. 429. Schwyzer’s detailed investigation of ‘Cambro-Britons’ and its various forms outlines the variety of meanings which this term expressed within a few decades after it was first used.

¹⁰⁴ For example, Junius, *Observationes in Willeramii*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ Schwyzer, ‘The Age of the Cambro-Britons’, p. 435, refers in particular to the efforts of

CONCLUSION

Junius's inclusion of Welsh in his studies of Old English, Old Norse, Gothic, Old High German and Old Frisian was unique in its time. No-one before him had brought all of these languages together and studied them in such methodical depth and cohesion. His work combines very traditional humanist ideas with startling innovation, and influenced the study of etymology in the eighteenth century, including the position of Welsh.¹⁰⁶ Even though Junius's methodology has in many ways become outdated, his work still teaches us, today, how important it is to study the vernacular languages and cultures of the early Middle Ages against the background of the Latin texts that form the spine of our disciplines. Reading his work instills the feeling that philology, the study of words texts and meanings, mattered, as it matters today. Most remarkably, perhaps, Junius pursued his academic work without explicit underlying or ulterior motives. It made no difference who the speakers of a language were, or whether the language was Welsh, Gothic, Old Norse or Old English. The frontispiece to his Gothic and Old English Gospels presents no map, no Hengist and Horsa, no conquerors, no vanquished, but a gate or portal in which we can read, in Greek, a variation from St Paul's Letter to the Colossians, chapter 3, verse 11: 'there is neither Skythian nor Barbarian, but Christ is all and in all'.

Siôn Dafydd Rhys and John Davies of Mallwyd, whose works were seminal to Junius's positive appraisal of the Welsh language. Their linguistic arguments must have outweighed, for example, John Selden's disparaging comments on 'Cambro-Briton' history in the 1612 edition of Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*. Junius and Selden were friends.

¹⁰⁶ Junius's use of Welsh did not go unnoticed with some of his successors. Edward Lye who published the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* in 1743 included more Welsh in the editorial additions to Junius's work and experimented with Irish. Earlier, Stephen Skinner's *Etymologicon linguae Anglicanae* (London, 1671), included Welsh as one of twelve source languages and copied some of the Welsh from Junius; for examples, see Skinner, *Etymologicum*; s.v. ape, bald.

ANTIQUE
LINGUÆ BRITANNICÆ,
Nunc vulgò dictæ CAMBRO-BRITANNICÆ,
A suis CYMRAECÆ vel CAMBRICÆ,
Ab aliis WALLICÆ,
ET
LINGUÆ LATINÆ,
DICTIONARIUM DUPLEX.

PRIUS,
BRITANNICO-LATINUM, Plurimis
venerandæ antiquitatis Britannicæ
monumentis respersum.

POSTERIUS,
LATINO-BRITANNICUM.
Accesserunt ADAGIA BRITANNICA, & plura &
emendatiora quàm antehac edita.

PSAL. 122. 9.

לְמַעַן בֵּית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲבָרְכֶנּוּ כִּי לָךְ:

Ecclus 33. 17. & 24. 34.

Κατανοήσατε ὅτι οὐκ ἔμοι μόνῳ ἐκοσμίασα, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς
ζητῶσι παιδείαν.



LONDINI,
Impress. in ædibus R. YOUNG, Impensis JOAN.
DAVIES SS. Th. D. An. Dom. 1632.

Ex Bibliotheca Viri Illust. Isaaci Vossii. 77

Fig. 1. Leiden, University Library, 365 A7, frontispiece

In nomine r̄ A x̄ Ω

A, & Ac Coniunctiones. Et, ac, atque. A & Ag Prepositiones, Cum. Utrumque A ante initiales consonantes poni solet; Ac & Ag ante vocales. A prepositionem differentie gratia circumflectimus, A coniunctionem non circumflectimus. A Adverbium interrogandi significat An, num, numquid, ut A fu neb, Numquis fuit. ut & Arabum A. A item est Adverbium seu particula verbis preposita nihil significans, ut Duw a wnaeth, Deus fecit; Duw a wyr, Deus scit; Barn a fydd, Iudicium est futurum. A item est Prepositio in compositione usitata, & vocum significationem nonnihil augmentat, ut Achadw ab A & Cadw, Achar ab A & Câr; Achrwim ab A & Crwm; Aphwys ab A & Pwys; Athrist ab A & Trist.

Ab Simia. Ab in cognominibus pro Mâb.

Abad. Abbas. sic Arm. pl. Ebyd, Abbares.

Abades. Abbatissa. sic Arm.

Abadaech. Abbacia officium & beneficium.

Abatty. Abbacia domus, Monasterium cui præest Abbas. sic Arm.

Aball, Ll. reddit Anundab, unde Tyr. Disidium reddit; ego existimo idem significare quod Pall Inopia, defectus, penuria, indigentia, exitium; y mac traia, a lladrad, ac anudon wedi gyrru ar aball bob cynneddfau da. R. M. in prolog. N. T. & sic Galf.

Aballu, Perire, deficere.

* Aban, rhyfel. Ll. Bellum, prelium. Dicitur & Eban. Aban a ddaw beunydd ynn, i'n bro ni a bair newyn.

* Abar, cadreddi. Ll. videtur esse nomen Adieci. & significare Corruptus, mar-

cidus, putidus, putris. Gr. ou. opds. Alys est idem quod Buria, Cadaver, vi. Minsh. in voce Carcasse. Abar feddau, D. B. Nid abar y gwnaeth. G. Cynbwyf abar a'm bo lludded. M. Br. Lleer gwawr, gwedy bo adar, lle y mae saint, yn sant diafar. C.

Abediw, vid. Ebediw & Obediw.

Aber, Casus fluvij, ostium fluvij, portus. Venedotis Torrentem significat quod in fluvium effundatur.

Aberth, Sacrificium. Ab Heb. זבחי, Zebach.

Aberthu, Sacrificare.

Aberthawr & Aberthwr, Sacrificus.

Abl, Habilis, potens, sufficiens. Sic Arm. Haber D. G.

Abledd, Potentia, sufficientia.

Abo, Idem quod Abwy. Habet P. M.

* Abred. q. Hyd pan ddillyngwys Crist geithiwed, o ddyfnfais aphwys abred. Tal. vid. Diabred.

Abrwylgl, est quod nunc dicitur Amrosgo, Immensus, ingens. Abrwylgl ei faran ar gann a glâs. M. Br. Gwr abrwylgl ei taint.

Absen, Absentia. Gwydd ac absen, Presentia, & Absentia. Item Calumnia & Obrectatio in absentes.

Absennwr drwg, Obrectator, obloquentor, qui absentes rodit.

Absen drwg, & drwg absen, Obloquentio obrectatio in absentes. Da ei absen, dicitur is qui de absentibus bene loquitur.

Abwy, & Abo, Cadaver, caro morticina, morticinum.

Abwyd, Esca, Sca. Ab A & Bwyd. A. licubi Amwyd.

Ac. vid. A.

Accen, Accentus, tenor sermonis, tonus pronunciationis.

Accw, Ibi, illic. Gr. ἐκεῖ.

Ach, Stemma, prosapia, parentela, genealogia. Heb. אַחֵי, iachaf, prosapia, genealogia. Pl. Achar & achoedd.

Achau y rad o chaid dydd, Achoedd Efaferch Ddafydd. L. G.

Achwr. Genealogiarum peritus.

Ach, particula in compositione usitata, ut in Achludd, achles.

Achadw, Idem quod Cadw, ab A & Cadw. Goryllais yn achadw ffin. Gwal.

Achanog, idem quod Anghenog, Egenus, indigus.

Achar, ab A & Câr, Amat, amabit, amans. Neb traha nid acher. N. Fade compositum Diachar, vârosus, dicitur tos, d'vêpâros.

* Achef. q.

* Achen. vid. an idem quod Echen. Cenedl. Ll. genus, natio. Sumitur pro Ach. Ynachen y ddraig wen wiw Rowllaes y mae'r arianlliw. Iolo i aifau mortimer. Mae syched, masw eihachen, Meddwod i'horfod ith ên. D. G. Pr gôg. I brofi vchod ei b. i achen, Ym nyig arafwch y mae Igrifen. L. G.

* Acheru. Vid. an ab A. & Canu. Achenaf vchenaid gyfrin. M. Br.

* Achenedd.

* Aches, idem quod Afen, Rivus, flumen.

Achlath. b. e. i gyd oll, Omnes, totus, universus in universum.

Achles. Confugium, refugium, asyllum, protectio, locus ubi quid soletur, defensio. Heb. חָלָק Chalak, est tenere, blandiri, adulari.

Achlesu. Indulgere, soneare, confouere, refocillare, in tutelam, curam, vel asyllum accipere. Y thai da a achlesir yn Carffed yr eglwys, Confocillatur boni in gremio ecclesie.

Achludd. Occulture, occultum, occultatio. Iudo

Fig. 2. Leiden, University Library, 365 A7, A1r

~~angon, v. anker, Anchora~~

anhrift, Anti-Christus.

habes inter monosyllaba C-B^{ca} in aha. v. goror, Ora superior; quod

65

angor, v. anker, Anchora.

angraift, Corruptio, redargutio. in pēpīpan, Pœnitentiam injungere.

annog, Provocare, incitare. Jo. Davies deduxit ab ἀνώγειν, Hortari, suadere, jubere, instigare.

anterth, in ondr, Meridies.

anturio, Audere, aggredi arduum aliquod ac tantum non inextricabile opus. in abōnd, Vespera.

anwyd, Natura, ingenium. in wito, witto, Ingenium.

âr, Arvum. vide monosyllaba C-B^{ca} in aha.

ar, Particula epitatica. v. monosyllaba C-B^{ca} in aha.

ar, Super, supra. in dr, Honor.

aradr, Aratrum. Manifeste fatir est ex ἀροτρον. Goth. ARBRO, aradr.
aralleg, Allegoria. Liquec per quandam literarum transpositionem factum
ex ἀλληγορία. unde v. Angl. allegorie. Gall. allegorie. Ital. allegoria.

arch, v. archō, Capsa, cista.

archen, Vestitus, amictus. ab ἀρκεῖν, Propulsare; quod vestes propulsent aëris injurias.

archolli, Vulnerare. Jo. Davies deduxit à ἄρχαλ, chalal,
Vulnerare, occidere.

aredig, v. arōn, Arare.

argyflwr, Timidus. v. argh, Malus, inutilis.

arian, Pecunia, argentum. Jo. Davies vult corruptū ex ἀργεος.
Gallis quoque argent pari proprus ratione Pecuniam denotat.

Fig. 3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 115b, fol. 65r

aer, Prælium. v. monosyllaba C-B^{ca} in aha.
 aeth, Ivit. Joh. Davies deducit ab ἄθη, athah, Ivit, abilit.
 unde quoque Gothicum ἄþ, od, positum est pro Ivit; le-
 gimus enim in Epicedio regis Regneri Lodbrog, S³,
 ἄþ Rḷþk i NḷMBḷḷþt. od rasn i valblode.
 hoc est; Ivit corvus in stragis sanguine.
 Anglo-Saxones denique ab hoc ipso ἄþ sumserunt suum
 eode, Ivit; quod habet Matth. XXI, 29. 30. atque alibi passim.

afal, v. appal, Malum, pomum.

~~af, Flumen, fluvius. v. aha, Flumina.~~
 affwys, Abyssus, immense altitudinis vorago, præcipitium
 in immensum patens ac fundo carens. Corruptum est
 ex ἄβυσσος pro ἄβυδος, sine fundo, carens fundo.

afon, Flumen, fluvius. v. aha, Flumina.

agoriad, v. sloutol, ~~Agoria~~ Clavis.

aig, Grex, v. monosyllaba C-B^{ca} in aha.

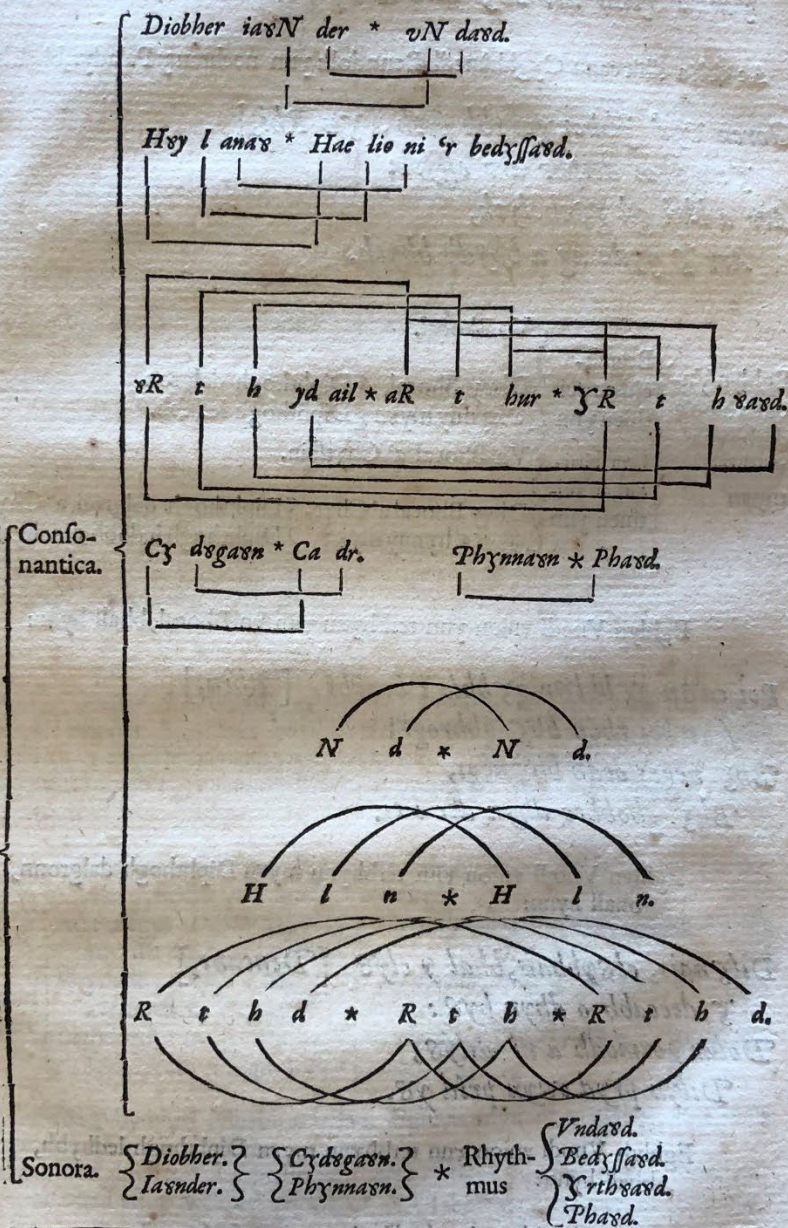
alaf, Divitiæ, opes. Jo. Davies putat corruptū ex ὀλβος.

Fig. 4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 115b, fol. 64v (top)

Litera sunt dictionum ^{minuta} mutientes ~~seu~~ voces.
 Cymraorum litera seu elementa numero sunt 31. a. b. bh. c. ch. d. dh.
 e. g. gh. ghh. h. i. lh. l. m. mh. n. nh. o. p. ph. rh. r. s. t.
 th. u. y. y. neque alio tempore mutuatur lingua Cambro-
 Britannica literis f. k. q. w. x. z. quam cum voces externarum
 gentium, quibus hi characteres in usu sunt, conscribenda veniunt.
 Capitali & primaria omnium literarum divisione, ~~quae~~ diffunduntur hae
 litera in Vocales octo, & Consonas viginti tres.
 Vocales sunt litera, qua per se sonum integrum vocemve perfecta possunt efficere.
 aliter Vocales litera sunt propria atque insita vi sonora, id est,
 sine reliquarum literarum admixtione. Harum facultas est dictiones sin-
 gulas colligere, easdemque rursus in distinctas syllabas diraricare.
 Consonantes sunt litera qua tantum cum vocalibus sonum integrum possunt efficere.
 aliter Consonantes litera sunt qua una cum vocalibus in orationum
 dictionibus consonant, eo prorsus pacto, ut nulla ex earum sono emanet
 utilitas, nisi quam diu cum vocalibus coeant consentientibus, concinne
 temperateque, partim oxytone, partim barytone. ut ab, ba. ach, cha. &c.
 Semivocales sunt Consonae, qua sonum per se tanquam vocalis dimidium efficere
 possunt: ut lh. l. m. mh. n. nh. rh. r. s.
 Semivocalis acuta, Consona est qua denticibus primoribus inter se coeuntibus
 forti sibilo effertur: ut s in sa. se. si. so. &c.
 Consona muta sunt, qua sola, id est sine vocali, conatum quandam dum-
 taxat mutiunt: ut p. ph. e. ch. &c.
 Consona tenues sunt, qua leniter mutiunt: ut p. c. t. b. g. d.
 Densa & muta sunt, qua halitusse mutiunt: ut ph. ch. th.
 Muta propterea dicuntur, quod cum Liquidis & Vocalibus collata mutiant,
 parvoq; aut nullo fere sono sint praeditae. Appellantur quoque Muta, quod
 sua natura in oratione exiguum admodum soni momentum sortiantur.
 Atque hoc muti soni genus his qua sequuntur accedit; b. c. d. g. h. p. t.
 Reliqua omnes Consonantes sunt & nominantur Liquidae clarisonaive,
 quod clarus & vocalis sit earum sonus.
 Umbratiles nominantur Consonantes quaedam, quod tanquam umbra eva-
 nescant, aliarumque literarum facultas in earum locum sese quendam im-
 petu intrudat in orationis contextu. at Prædominantes nominantur,
 qua Umbratiliu robur superant, easq; a sermoris complexu prorsus ex-
 pellunt, & tanquam Reges, sua ipsarum fortitudine, Umbratiliu regnu usurpant.
 A literam Cymraei oris rictu medioeriter hiantes, spiritusque conatu decore ac ve-
 nusto, moderata etiam vocis tum claritate, tum a partione pronuntiant.
 Cymraei igitur hoc elementum proferre volenti, non minus a clausi crassiva
 vitandus est obscurior sonus, quam eius qui vel ad impensam contractis Bronchi
 musculi formatur angustus nimis exilisque, & puerorum vaginæ non absimilis,
 vel qui a plur. iusto nonnullorum affectata & effaminata oris diductione audiri solet.
 Angli istud a fere edunt in vocibus pale, ale, fale, wan, pan. &c. at non
 item in vocibus hall, shall, call, mall. ubi a ante ll geminatu crassius
 auditur: neque in vocibus quibus muliercula nonnulla & puella An-
 gliana nimis anguste ipsum a expediunt, quum pro shame, chamber,
 sane, pronuntiant shame, chamber, sane, &c.
 B nec diuins coactiusve, neque etiam mollior aut laxius quam eius postulat na-
 tura, Latinorum & Italorum prorsus more, proferunt Cymraei; levi nimirum
 congruoq; nisi compressis utrimque labellis, pariterq; melius ac impedito
 concurrentis coauxiliantisve vocalis sono per spiritus impetum expe-
 dite leniterq; propulso.
 Bh mollior & laxa sonant Cymraei, eadem omnino soni formatione, qua La-
 tini & Itali consonum V, aut Graeci suum β, aut ~~Denique~~ Hebraei ד, ~~quod~~
 Beth non dageshatum, levi nempe conatu interni, summitate interna pri-
 ma cum superna dentium valli fastigio leniter apposita, quo, subveniente
 subveniente deinceps vocali, inclusus & impeditus sonus leni spiritus impetu expeditur.
 C litera durum quendam ac veluti intra rictu oris confinia haerentem sonu nostrates
 masculo, pingui, ac robusto quoda nisi conative expromunt, lingua posteriore
 sui dorsi parte ad mediam eamque, penitiorum faucium palatū regione prius
 reduta, ac molaribus utrimque illisa, illineq; deinceps rejecta, depulso tanto
 retrorsum palatum, versus ipso sono eadem fere forma, qua Latini proferunt C
 ante A, O, V. Viribus respondet hoc elementum Consonantibus k & q. nam cephyl
 quasi kaphyl aut qephyl sonat, & Ebraeorum P, quod omnino equipollet.
 Ch effertur Cymraei densissima aspiratione iuxta fauces summasque gula gut-
 turisque partes, lingua postrema sui dorsi parte penitiorum posterioremve
 palati regionem collidente, retrorsum retroversum laryngam, versus asprum
 densissimamq; sono, seu H, cheth Hebraeorum, aspere. Angli, praesertim Sep-
 tentionales, illud exprimunt per gh; ut rough, thought, might, wight. &c.
 D fortitū

Fig. 5. Leiden, University Library, 365 A7, flyleaf [1]v

Scanfio. { Di-o. bber-iaδn. der-vn. daδd-bδyl. a-naδ.
 Hae-lio. n'r-be. d'f-faδd.
 δrth-yd. ail-ar. thur-δrth. δaδd.
 Cy-dδ. gaδn-cadr. phyn-naδn. phaδd.



Nota.

Ebh a elhir trawsgyghanédhu y gerdh ynn nechrau yr Eghlyn, bhall hynn:

Dúodh

Fig. 6. Leiden, University Library, 365 A6, p. 161

The Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic offers programmes of study, at both undergraduate and graduate level, on the pre-Norman culture of the British Isles in its various aspects: historical, literary, linguistic, palaeographical, archaeological. The Department also serves as a focal point for scholars visiting Cambridge from various parts of the world, who are attracted to Cambridge by the University Library (one of the largest in the world), the collections of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic manuscripts in the University and various college libraries, the collection of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and Scandinavian coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, or the rich collection of Anglo-Saxon artefacts in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. It is possible for the Department to host a small number of Visiting Scholars each year.

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