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Manuscripts with Old Breton Glosses

DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE AND CELTIC

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

The manuscripts with Old Breton glosses

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PIERRE-YVES LAMBERT

Manuscripts with Old Breton Glosses
MANUSCRIPTS WITH OLD BRETON GLOSSES

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

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

Before going further, it is necessary to offer a rapid survey of the available bibliography. What we have at our disposal as reference books is very little. There is nothing comparable to Ker’s remarkable Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon², nor to the Corpus of Old Irish glosses edited by Stokes and Strachan³, nor to the Index of Sources compiled by Kenney⁴ for Hiberno-Latin and Irish religious texts. Instead of Ker’s Catalogue, we have just a list of Breton manuscripts by Jean-Luc Deuffic;⁵ instead of the Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, we have a Dictionnaire

³ Whitley Stokes, John Strachan, Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3).
des Gloses en vieux-breton by Léon Fleuriot, the conception of which was heavily influenced by the Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton by Joseph Loth; and with regard to the original Latin or vernacular texts from Brittany, we are reduced to a very short list in the Bibliography of Celtic Sources 400–1200 by Lapidge and Sharpe, obviously incomplete. We lack good philological studies about the texts and commentaries written by Breton scholars at the epoch of the glosses. High quality resources, however, have been provided for the study of Breton hagiography and liturgy. Outside these two subjects, the best we could quote are articles on particular colophons or scriptoria by Guillotel, Dumville, Lemoine, etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE DISCOVERY OF OLD BRETON BY HENRY BRADSHAW

The existence of Old Breton glosses was ignored by Celtic scholars till the year 1875: particularly explicit is the following quote from Zeuss’ _Grammatica Celtica_:

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

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

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


16 Johann Kaspar Zeuss, _Grammatica celtica_, pp. 1076–81; more exactly, they feature as the first item in the section ‘Britonnica’ of the Appendix; the word ‘Cambricae’ is found in the corresponding running headline, ‘Appendix. Glossae Cambricae Oxonienses’.
considered as Old Welsh. It is important to note the fact that all linguists before 1875 were unanimous in analysing the Oxoniensis prior (the term Celticists use for Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F 4. 32) as a wholly Old Welsh manuscript. Whitley Stokes himself treated all the parts of this manuscript in 1861.\(^\text{17}\)

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

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

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

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

‘the Eutychius (De conjugationibus verborum), at the beginning of the volume, presents a totally different appearance. There is no trace of the Hiberno-Saxon character in the writing, which resembles the Caroline minuscule found in French MSS. of the ixth or ix–xth century. This of course struck me at once; and very soon, on working upon the glosses (which are in the same handwriting), I noticed that, in several cases, where Zeuss gives parallel forms as existing on one side in Welsh, and on the other in Cornish and Breton, the Eutychius, which was undoubtedly continental in style of writing, and the Luxemburg fragment, which I had never seen, but assumed to be so from its present home, agreed together in presenting the Cornish and Breton forms as against all the other known early MSS, which presented the Welsh forms. I drew the attention of my philological friends to this point; but as Zeuss had accepted them both as Welsh without hesitation, and as nothing of really Old Cornish or Old Breton was known to test by, judgment has hitherto been suspended and I remained content to work on, waiting for further light’. These philological friends are probably Whitley Stokes and John Rhys. A first result of this examination of the manuscripts was the publication of new glosses, or corrected readings by Stokes (see Plates 1 and 2 for examples).

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19 Bradshaw, Collected Papers, chapter XV; for Bradshaw’s contribution to Old Welsh studies, see also now Paul Russell ‘Grilling in Calcutta’.
20 Bradshaw, Collected Papers, p. 455.
21 Ibid., p. 457.
22 Whitley Stokes, Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius’ Greek Etymology and on the Celtic Comparisons in Bopp’s Comparative Grammar (Calcutta, 1875): Appendix E,
During the summer of 1872, Rhys published a fresh edition of the Luxembourg ‘glossae collectae’.\(^{23}\) Rhys lent Bradshaw a lithograph facsimile of the manuscript;\(^{24}\) and ‘At Easter 1875, I took the opportunity of returning from the north of Italy by way of Luxemburg’, where he discovered another leaf of the Luxemburg fragment as a fly-leaf at the other end of the same manuscript.\(^ {25}\) He borrowed the fragments and had them photographed: ‘The new sheet confirmed what the one already known had led me to suspect. So far as the manuscript itself goes, it is an ignorant un-Celtic transcript of a mutilated or mis-bound original…’.\(^ {26}\)

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

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


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

\(^{25}\) Ibid., p. 467.

\(^{26}\) Ibid., p. 468.

\(^{27}\) Ibid., p. 471.
Bradshaw was at once struck by the similarity of one hand (in corrections and additions) with one of the hands of the Juvencus – a clumsy one, Hand F of Juvencus:

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

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

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

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

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28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., p. 472.
few days. With M. d’Arbois for my guide, M. Léopold Delisle opened
to us the treasures of the Department of Manuscripts and most kindly
allowed us to examine at our leisure, at his house, the two manuscripts
which I was so eager to see. 30
The first manuscript (Paris, BnF Lat. 12021) yielded ‘about a dozen of what
I have now no hesitation in calling Old Breton glosses’. 31 A search through
the other one (Paris BnF Lat. 3182) ‘yielded but three glosses, enough,
however, to show that it too had come from Brittany’. 32
On 24 April 1876, he was in Quimper, examining the Cartulary of
Landevennec which contained the life of St. Winwaloe by Gurdisten; on 26
April, he was in Rennes, reading the Cartulary of Redon, in the palace of the
Archbishop of Rennes. As soon as he returned to England, Bradshaw went to
the British Library to examine the Ms Cotton E XIII:
‘It presented the same X–XIth century handwriting which had become
so familiar to my eyes of late’. ... ‘a cursory examination brought to
light eighteen or twenty Old-Breton glosses, one of which had
pardonably been mistaken for Irish by Wasserschleben’s
correspondent.
Now that I had found four MSS of this one work, all containing
evidences of Breton origin, it was time to reconsider the whole
question of the fons et origo of this collection of Canons. The Arbedoc
and Haelhucar of the earlier of the Paris copies betray their Breton
origin by their names ...
Again, who was the ‘Hucarus Levita ex ultimis Cornugalliae
finibus’, who made extracts from the Collectio Canonum, and its
appended Excerpta ex libris Romanorum et Francorum: was he from
the insular Cornwall, or from the district of Cornouailles in
Brittany? 33
And, on a separate page, Bradshaw recounted his discovery of Old Breton
glosses in another manuscript of the Collectio Canonum:
Easter 1877. Finding that I had six free days before the beginning of
the term, I could not resist the temptation to go over to France, taking
a brief run down the Loire to Orléans, Blois, and Tours, and returning
to Paris by Le Mans and Chartres I was anxious to take a sight, even
for a few minutes, of the copies of the Collectio Canonum at Orleans
and Chartres. I told my friend who was with me, Mr Reginald
Haygate, that I expected, from the casual notice I had seen of their
contents, that the Orleans copy would be in a handwriting something

30 Ibid., p. 473.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., p. 476.
like the Oxford MS. now in my rooms in Cambridge, and that it would probably contain a few Breton glosses.

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

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

Stokes counted 322 glosses in his latest edition of these glosses.

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

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

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

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

34 Ibid., pp. 482–3.
36 Hermann Ebel, ‘Miscellanea’, Beiträge zur vergleichende Sprachforschung 8 (1875), 371–5 (the manuscript of this article was dated November 26, 1874).
geo [p. 339], O.W. didioulam gl. micturio.,’ [p. 341], etc. But in the second edition, published in Calcutta in the next year, 1875, we find some interesting novelties: Stokes added several appendices, three of them being due to the help of Henry Bradshaw:
Appendix E: Additional Old British glosses from the Oxoniensis Prior, [three of them from the text of Eutychius].
Appendix F: Corrections to the Old British glosses edited by Zeuss.
Appendix G: Glosses from the Parker MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge [where the language of the glosses is not mentioned].

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

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

When Mr Stokes came to Cambridge in January, 1872, he was well pleased to be able, with my transcript in his hand to spare him needless waste of time, to go through the MS. line by line with his own eyes; a search which enabled him to make more than one addition to the number of the glosses which I had already found in the MS. Stokes did not use the label ‘Old Breton’ before the publication of his Old Breton Glosses in 1879. The new material published in that booklet had been entirely provided by his fellow paleographer Bradshaw: here were published the Breton glosses on four manuscripts of the Collectio Canonum, plus the Amalarius glosses in the Cambridge ms. and the Breton glosses from a Vergil manuscript in Berne (Berne, Burgerbibliothek nr 167). From then on, Stokes has no more difficulty to write about ‘Old Breton’ glosses, most of them being brought to him by Bradshaw himself.

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

38 Stokes, Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius’ Greek Etymology, and on the Celtic comparisons in Bopp’s Comparative Grammar […]. (Calcutta, 1875).
40 Whitley Stokes, Old Breton Glosses (Calcutta, 1879) (fifty copies privately printed); reprinted in Revue celtique IV, 1880, p. 324–348.
announced the news about Bradshaw’s discoveries in a ‘chronique’, where he gives an analysis of KSB VIII, 3. Lieferung, and refers to the ‘Miscellanea’, (section ‘Zur Grammatica Celtica’) of H. Ebel (p. 307):


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

41 Revue Celtique, 3 (1876),130.
42 J. Loth, ‘Les gloses bretonnes d’Orléans’, Revue Celtique 4 (1881–3), 104–115 (dated ‘Août 1881’). In the text, vieux-breton is used both for these glosses, and for the Old British Latin inscriptions published by Emil Hübner.
43 Similarly, Loth’s Chrestomathie bretonne (armoricain, gallois, cornique). Première partie, breton armoricain (Paris, 1890), was intended to cover all Brittonic languages, as indicated by the subtitle.
choice; it was misleading and could have stifled an honest scientific concept still in its infancy.\footnote{Stokes had first used the adjective Old Breton five years before, in 1879, and it is worth pointing out that in linguistic studies ‘Breton’ can only refer to the language of Brittany.}

This peculiar use of the adjective ‘vieux-breton’ by Loth in 1884 might explain, in part, the critical reception of the book by Stokes. But Stokes’ main concern was Loth’s misinterpretations of the Orleans glosses.\footnote{Stokes incidently spoke about \textit{Vocabulaire vieux-breton} in the opening paragraphs of his third edition of Orleans glosses, ‘The Breton Glosses at Orleans’, \textit{TPhS} (1885–7), 539–618, at p. 539. His reproaches are: ‘mix(ing) up with Old-Welsh and Old-Cornish glosses and with pseudo-Breton words like … \textit{latic} (the beginning of the Latin \textit{laticlauim chlamidem}); ‘a commentary which is largely annexed from mine; which contains some remarks both new and true, but which, from misplaced confidence in O’Reilly’s Irish Dictionary, and other causes, is often exceedingly erroneous’.}

Stokes was very critical too about the edition by Loth of Old Irish glosses from BnF Lat 11411, a fragment of \textit{Hisperica Famina}.\footnote{Cf. his appreciation of Loth’s edition: ‘A lamentable attempt to edit and explain these glosses will be found in the \textit{Revue Celtique} V, 467–469’, in Whitley Stokes, ‘Notes of a philological tour, I. France’, \textit{The Academy}, 30 (1886) 209; cf. also the report on Stokes’ lecture (with the same title) before the Philological Society, \textit{ibid.} p. 384, col. 2: ‘[He] found that Loth had not only failed to decipher eleven of these glosses, but published the following misreadings […]’.} By defining the Breton manuscripts through the occurrence of Old Breton glosses, Bradshaw was led to admit finally that the same manuscripts had essentially Insular contents under a continental cloth. This was also true for the Hisperic texts. The possible connection of some Hisperic words with Old Irish, and above all the widely spread fashion of Hisperic language among Hiberno-Latin writers would indicate Ireland as the home of the first Hisperic writers.

We should ask ourselves what were the criteria to define a Breton manuscript, according to Bradshaw. We have seen that Bradshaw was ready to consider as Breton any manuscript with Breton glosses. He himself had reached this definition with the help of a palaeographical analysis: Brittonic glosses in a Continental script could be interpreted as being of Continental origin, that is, of coming from Brittany; but the final and decisive criterion was a linguistic one: the Breton origin was proved by the occurrence of Old Breton glosses, the dialect of which was recognizable by particular features, such as the non-diphthongisation of /ɔ:/.

In the absence of Breton glosses, the probability of a Breton origin could be deduced from a Breton name of scribe (or owner) in colophons, or from an indication of provenance. In addition, as noted above, the content of a manuscript (the calendar of saints, the lives of saints, localised charters) or its medieval localisation could also indicate a Breton origin.\footnote{See above, p. 2.}
Later on, in 1912 Wallace M. Lindsay brought to scholarly attention the use of Insular abbreviations in the older Breton manuscripts.\footnote{Wallace M. Lindsay, ‘Breton Scriptoria: Their Latin Abbreviation-symbols’, \textit{Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen}, 29 (1912), 264–72. This study was conceived as a complement to his \textit{Old Welsh Script} (Oxford, 1912). He analysed nine Breton manuscripts, plus two others in his commentary (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F 4. 32 and Leiden, Voss. Lat. F 96 A).} In this important study, he chose to examine the abbreviations of only nine manuscripts, characterized as Breton by their glosses. He divided them into three groups, (in chronological order), the first one with Insular script, the second with Continental script of the ninth and tenth centuries, and the later manuscripts (eleventh century). Put into simpler terms, where Bradshaw had a negative definition of Breton palaeography (‘non-Insular script’), Lindsay introduced a positive one, the varying presence of Insular abbreviations, a feature tempered by date, and perhaps proportionate to the remoteness of an Insular model.

This is the first attempt at a palaeographical definition of a Breton manuscript. It is obvious that the use of Insular abbreviations decreases in the later manuscripts, but the tiny number of witnesses summoned by Lindsay for each period does not allow general rules to be drawn about a single Breton habit, even within a given period. The reader gets the impression that the use of Insular abbreviations is varying without limits, as if Breton scriptoria had no particular rule, but allowed each system to be used side by side, in varying degrees, each scribe being left free to keep the Insular abbreviations of his exemplar or to replace them with their Continental counterparts. Anyway, the threefold division established by Lindsay among Breton manuscripts was followed by Fleuriot when he drew up his own list of manuscripts with Breton glosses in a tentatively chronological order.\footnote{Fleuriot, \textit{Dictionnaire}, pp. 4–7.} Fleuriot discovered many manuscripts with Old Breton glosses, but he did not study their palaeographic features (apart from some remarks about Angers 477 in his Dictionary); this was a field he preferred to leave to palaeographers,

Il y a certainement d’autres mss. d’origine bretonne dispersés un peu partout. Seul un paléographe pourrait reprendre et compléter le travail de Lindsay, excellent, mais vieux de cinquante ans [...]. Ce paléographe pourrait aussi faire œuvre utile pour l’histoire de l’Armorique ancienne en classant ces mss., et en identifiant les scriptoria des différentes abbayes.\footnote{Fleuriot, \textit{Dictionnaire}, p. 8.} 

This appeal was heard by colleagues and pupils – particularly Louis Lemoine, who devoted a thesis and several articles to the analysis of manuscripts with Old Breton glosses, (their abbreviation-symbols, and...
syntactic marks) but also by Guillotel and Dumville, concerning the Breton
scriptoria.\(^{51}\)

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

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

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

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\(^53\) These Gospel books, however, never exhibit any marginal or interlinear gloss, and they consequently fall outside the present study.
Manuscripts with Old Breton Gloses

Brittonic. Specific links with Welsh scribal practice demonstrate this: rather than testimonies to Welsh influence in Brittany, these links are an indication of a shared inheritance going back to sub-Roman Britain, to the fifth and sixth centuries; they are, then, but an aspect of the generally Brittonic nature – attested by language and social structure – of early Breton culture.

However, we possess no manuscripts surviving from pre-Carolingian Brittany; and from the period ca 775 × ca 850 (to give it the broadest limits) only a few direct witnesses testify to what Breton Insular script looked like. That script-system was abandoned seemingly, very rapidly, in the middle two quarters of the ninth century, in favour of a regional variety of Caroline minuscule. Although Breton Caroline bore some marks, particularly in its abbreviation-system, of the older Insular scriptorial habits, these forms were being increasingly abandoned by the earlier tenth century...

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

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

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

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

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

L’origine de certains manuscrits reste discutable: mss à gloses en vieux-breton, mss avec addition neumatique bretonne, mss possédés par des Bretons. Ces critères ne sont pas toujours significatifs pour être assurément en présence d’un manuscrit copié par un scribe breton.

Origine et provenance paraissent à cet égard souvent bien distinctes.

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

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60 H. Mostert, The Library of Fleury, BF 93 (Berne Burgerbibliothek 167) ‘Brittany or Auxerre’; BF 100 (Berne Burgerbibliothek 179) ‘Brittany or Auxerre’.
they found them in their exemplar. These are stray glosses, disconnected from their original main text; we could compare them to gold nuggets found in a river far from their original location, except that our disconnected glosses have hardly any value, there being almost nothing to which they would confer Bretonicity. The same could be said about Brittonic glosses found in various glossaries, the Leiden Vossianus Lat. 24 (containing also Old High German and Anglo-Saxon glosses) or the London, British Library, Harley 3376 (with Anglo-Saxon and Old Cornish glosses). Both examples are huge collections of Latin glosses, the vernacular being restricted to a very small proportion.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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63 Dumville, ‘The English element’, 11. He also believes that Bretons had been ‘responsible for the introduction of the work of Amalarius into the English Church as part of the movement of Breton intellectual goods to England in the late ninth and early tenth century’. At that period, for example, Breton Gospel books were exported to England.
were Canonical and Hisperic texts. What he has to say about them is particularly interesting. Though he was aware of many references to insular sources in the *Collectio Canonum*, his first idea about this *Collectio* was that it had been compiled in Brittany. In his view, this would have explained the adjective ‘hibernensis’ in the references to ‘Synodus Hibernensis’. When he gained access to the famous Arbedoc manuscript, and to the colophon attributing the *Collectio* to Cú Chuimne and Ruiben of Daiminis and Iae, he accepted this authorship, but his opinion was that it could have been revised in Brittany:

> the work originated, probably in Ireland, at the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century... forming a digest of decisions of councils and citations of Holy Scripture and fathers of the Church which had by that time become far too voluminous to be consulted without grave difficulty’

It passed at once into Brittany with settlers there; Brittany was its adopted home; the second and somewhat enlarged recension of it was also produced in Brittany; and it is almost exclusively from Brittany that it spread to the neighbouring districts, and thence elsewhere, in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries, only reaching the Anglo-Saxon Church quite late in this period. In the quotation of ‘Romani’, as opposed to ‘Hibernenses, Synodus Romana’, Bradshaw saw traces of a resistance to Romanization: ‘a desire on the part of its Irish compiler to preserve for posterity the decision of their national synods...’.

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

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


68 Ibid., 20.
As an example, he took the Cambrai manuscript with a Old Irish passage (Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale n° 679 (formerly 619)). After showing that the Irish sermon could not have been copied by someone reading Irish, Bradshaw remarked that the word *Emmanuel*, written in the margin of this manuscript, also occured in the margin of two other manuscripts of Breton origin. This, according to him, is ‘a possible indication that all three manuscripts were copied from a prototype existing in Brittany, which was itself written at a time when a greater number of Irish Students were to be found in the monasteries of St Gildas at Rhuys and of Winwaloe at Landevennech, than was likely to be the case in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a) an abridgment of the first five books of the Bible, *Liber ex lege Moysi*;
(b) a penitential attributed to Winniau;
(c) *Excerpta legum Francorum et Romanorum*, also called *Canones Wallici*.

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

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The dating of this text is still the object of debate, but I will not insist on the subject, except to mention that the dating has been corrected by David Dumville to the seventh century.\footnote{David N. Dumville, ‘On the dating of the Early Breton Lawcodes’, Études celtiques, 21 (1984), 207–21.}

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

Glosses common to Orléans 221 and another witness:
- canora\[ bann, Orléans 221 n° 87\footnote{The numbers refer to Stokes’ edition, mentioned above n. 45.} (Wasserschleben ix.2) = London BL Cotton Otho E.XIII
- andronas\[ dadlou, Orléans 221 n° 90 (Wasserschleben x.b) = Oxford Hatton 42, Cotton Otho E.XIII
- nepta\[ nith, Orléans 221, n° 94 (Wasserschleben x.q) = Cotton Otho E.XIII
- acitamenta\[ clou, Orléans 221, n° 210 (Wasserschleben xvii.11) = Oxford Hatton 42
- defer\[ guotic, Orléans 221 n° 242 (Wasserschleben xlii.4) = Cotton Otho E.XIII
- probrum\[ prome\[ tic, Orléans 221, unedited, (Wasserschleben xxi.12) = guohethe, BnF 3182

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

A manuscript with Old Breton and Old Irish glosses, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 279 (‘Parker MS’):\footnote{Cf. Helen Smith, ‘Ireland, Tours and Brittany, the case of Cambridge Corpus Christi College, MS 279’, in Irlande et Bretagne, ed. Laurent and Davies, pp. 109–23.}

Or\l.\. glosses, bolcha gl. papulas, trusci gl. scabiem, reet = recht gl. inpitiginem (sur Lev 20.27, in the Liber ex lege Moysi)
Brittonic glosses: anre gl. colirio; in dibbrit gl. in negotio

A ms with Old Breton and Anglo-saxon glosses: Oxford, Hatton 42.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Excursus on the long colophon of BnF Lat 12021
It has been shown by Lemoine that the long colophon of BnF Lat 12021 (Saint-Pierre-de Corbie), was probably the result of the accumulation of several colophons related to the different parts of the manuscript83. This is probably correct: it is in fact a medley of scribal annotations, together with sententiae or proverbs, added to the marginal annotations or final colophons, presented as short prayers for the scribe; the only name which seems to be kept by the compiler, was probably his own name, Arbedoc, and the name of his abbot Haelhucar.

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

Obsecro itaque uos omnes qui in hunc senatum praedicare siue decreuere seu interpretare uel discernere dilectaueritis scripture me pro Arbedoc herum poli rogare non distolatis ut mihi humumculo in uita in morte et post mortem misertum (read hoc senatu, scriptore, mei homunculi, misertus) fore dignetur

I beseech all of you who will enjoy to preach in this convent, or, to decide, or to interpret, and to analyse, that you may not postpone to pray the Lord of the world for me, the scribe Arbedoc, that he deign to have mercy on me, little man, during my life, at the moment of my death and after my death.


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

3. Orosius

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The scholia from Berne 167 have been used by Hermann Hagen to produce his ‘Scholia Bernensia’, where one can find many elements taken from the Philargyrian compilation, mixed with loans from Servius or Servius auctus.92 Berne 167 (s. ix²) comes from Fleury, and ultimately (possibly) from Auxerre, and could have been compiled with the help of Hiberno-Latin manuscripts. The linguistically Irish element is very limited; what we find is rather parallelisms between glosses in Old Breton (Berne 167) and the glosses in Old Irish (the Philargyrian compilation).93 We also have the proof that the Old Irish words, in the Philargyrian compilation, have been copied with a sort of Bretonisation, – although their manuscripts, till now, have not been recognised as Breton.

5. *Priscian’s Grammar*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-ch- is misspelt as -oh- once:

- f. 33 b, clesmanahohan = clesmanachan, gl. parasitaster (Bachellery: clesman..han, Fleuriot: clesmanecohan or clesmanctohan) (Plate 6 overleaf (p. 30))

More important deformations may occur:

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

- glainnine gl. mala [Sg. 45b18] gives f. 12a glainninet, gl. maxilla do psilen [Sg. 17b6] is replaced by f. 14a do epsilien.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Plate 9: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 17a13, bacca[ .i.bacca uel caer, soccus[ .i. assa.
f. 13a, globus[ **comter**, = OIr *comterchomraic* cf. *comterchomrac* Sg. 16b3 (Plate 8)
f. 17a, sit[ **indix**-, = OIr *indexnigedar*, cf. Sg. 22b3, a suppletive of the verb ‘to be’
Sometimes the scribe kept only the first words of a sentence:
f. 12a, **uel imbat**: Sg. 15a2, **uel imbat da ss**
The scribe seemingly writes only the first letters, because he hesitates to transmit a foreign gloss, which he finds hard to understand.

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

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

(e) The Old Irish word is replaced by an Old Breton calque: a parallel compound or derivative
osculum[ **ginán** (Sg. 46a2), becomes OBr **genouan** (f. 31a) (Plate 13 overleaf (p. 32))
(and in the same gloss, OIr **póc** is preceded by its Old Breton translation **apom**, ut sup.)
Strabo[ **cammdere** (Sg. 63a4), becomes OBr **cammdirh** (f. 41a) (Plate 14 overleaf (p. 32))
Plate 10: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 12b15, aeneus [humid
Plate 11: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 38a27, (fo)rensis [dadalti

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

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

Plate 14: Paris BnF Lat. 10290, fol. 41b34 strabo [cammdirh
Manuscripts with Old Breton Glosses

OlIr *imgognam* = OBr *imguognim*, ‘construction’
OlIr *tarmforcenn* = OBr *tranguar(phe)nn* ‘ending’

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

In his study of the Old Irish glosses, Bachellery expressed two caveats: ‘every edition of Celtic glosses on Priscian should be preceded by a critical examination of the Latin text, in such form as it was circulating in Celtic monasteries, with its variants and blunders’;96 and secondly, ‘the Brittonic glosses should be studied by systematically comparing them with the Irish and Latin glosses of the Irish manuscripts’, because many dubious glosses, hard to explain as Old Breton, might receive an explanation as mangled Old Irish glosses (‘gloses irlandaises estropiées’), mangled by the Breton scribes, and otherwise unknown in the other Priscian manuscripts.97

This was written in 1964 at a time when linguistic studies on Old Irish glosses were still kept apart from the philological work of Latinists, a remarkable exception being the Dutch scholar Maartje Draak.98 Bachellery completely understood the need for what we now call the contextualisation of vernacular glosses. Since then, many works by Anders Ahlqvist,99 Paul

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97 Ibid., ‘… Une foule d’autres gloses douteuses, bien difficiles à expliquer comme mots vieux-bretons, pourraient peut-être s’expliquer, comme le suggère d’ailleurs M. Fleuriot, par des gloses irlandaises estropiées par les copistes bretons, et dont la forme correcte ne nous est conservée par aucun ms. connu de Priscien.’
Russell, Rijklof Hofman, Franck Cinato and Pádraic Moran have facilitate the comparison between the different corpuses of glosses on the Recensio Scotica of Priscian. Louis Lemoine working on the Breton witness reached the same results as Maartje Draak.

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

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105 Fleuriot, Dictionnaire, p. 31,
than one glossator have been at work, some with a Welsh background and some others with a Breton education.

6. **The Bede manuscript, Angers 477**

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

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

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107 Daibhí Ó Cróinín and Maura Walsh, eds, *De ratione computandi* and Cummian’s Letter *De Controversia Paschali*, together with a related Irish computistical tract, *De ratione computandi* (Toronto, 1988); Immo Warntjes, ed., *The Munich Computus text and translation* (Stuttgart, 2010).
misunderstood as *samuin* ‘All Hallows’ and translated with Brittonic *Kal(ann) guiam* ‘Winter Calends’.\(^{108}\)

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

I found only two glosses with a sure Old Irish form:

blandus[ *blangas*, a blunder for the Irish compound *bán-glas* (Plate 16)

uapores aquarum[ *uschuidou*, probably the adjective formed on OIr *uisce*: *uiside* (Plate 17)

But many Old Breton glosses are parallel to the Old Irish glosses found in the Bede manuscript in Vienna and Karlsruhe.\(^{112}\) An Irish background is therefore probable, although the presence of the Irish language is confined to what we may call ‘fossil glosses’, exactly as in BnF Lat. 10290.

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


\(^{112}\) Pierre-Yves Lambert ‘Les commentaires celtiques à Bède …’ first part, p.120–129.
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Plate 15: Angers 477 (461), fol. 47v, marg. sup., cryptogram

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

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

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Plate 18: Angers 477 (461), fol. 29v, On the legitimate fasts (haec sunt ieiunia legitima ...
for example, a sample of his writing (Plate 18, preceding page (p. 37)) on f. 37v, about ‘legitimate fasts’. The transformations we have seen worked upon Irish words which have been bretonized in Priscian glosses are applied there to Old Welsh glosses. Scribe A is prone to transform Old Welsh words into Old Breton ones. Fleuriot gives several examples of this tendency to bretonize W words: it explains variant spellings, particularly for diphtongs and triphongs, guiam / guoiam ‘winter’, or for the notation of an internal i-infection: OW guecrisiou / guoecrisiou / OBr guocrisiou ‘belts, zones’. Both words occur in the same gloss:

Angers 477, f. 13a, (scribe B) o guoecrisiou guoiamont gl. a polis squalent, ‘they hibernate from the parallels on’.

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

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

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


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

New research is being carried out by Jacopo Bisagni and Immo Warnjes on two domains hitherto neglected: computistical pre-Bedan texts and exegetical texts. I find it comforting to see their efforts rewarded with significant discoveries\(^\text{118}\) – sometimes by examining manuscripts already spotted out by their predecessors!

APPENDIX
A supplement to the list of manuscript with Old Breton glosses in Fleuriot’s *Dictionnaire*:
Fleuriot referred to thirty-six such mss. in his list (*Dictionnaire*, pp. 5–7). He added a thirty-seventh one (wrongly reckoned as ‘trente-sixième’ in his note p. 7) in appendix II of the same book:

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

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

In editing these glosses communicated to him by Bernhard Bischoff (Études Celtiques 16 (1979), 197 f.), Fleuriot mentions a sixth fragment, Hannover, Kestner Museum 3958 Ms. Culemann, Katalog I, n° 45 (366). But this last fragment bears no gloss.

[Too late to be included are the glosses by Guillaume Le Breton, chaplain of Philippe Auguste, on his ‘Chronics of the reign of Philip’, edited by Fleuriot and published by Gwenaël Le Duc, in Bretagne et Pays celtiques, Langues, Histoire, Civilisation, Mélanges offerts à la mémoire de Léon Fleuriot, Gw. Le Menn, J.-Y. Le Moing edd., (Saint-Brieuc 1992), 315-324].

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

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