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.

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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

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

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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 up to 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 \textit{RUNER, seu Danica literatura antiquissima}, published in 1651 with a long glossary of Norse words.\(^6\)

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


\(^6\) Ole Worm, \textit{RUNER seu Danica literatura antiquissima vulgò Gothica dicta luci reddita ... cui accessit de prisca Danorum poesi dissertatio. Editio secunda auctior & locupletior} (Copenhagen, 1651); \textit{idem}, \textit{Specimen lexici runici, obscuriorum quarundam vocum, quæ 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 \textit{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 \textit{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 Willerami*: 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. Also in 1655 he published an edition of the Old English poems *Genesis, Exodus, Daniel* and *Christ and Satan*. 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*. 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. 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’.


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


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
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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’.\(^{13}\)


\(^{11}\) 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.


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.\(^\text{14}\) And yet it is so obvious, as we can see from his very first etymology in his *Observationes in Willerami*. 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.\(^\text{15}\) 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

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\(^\text{15}\) 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.  

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. 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: for example, he was one of the four executors of the

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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’.

constitutional historian and polymath John Selden (1584–1654), a good friend of Junius’s. 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. 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. 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 linguae Britannicæ, nunc vulgò dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ, ab aliis Wallicæ, et linguae Latinae dictionarium duplex (henceforth Dictionarium duplex): 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. This correspondence suggests that D’Ewes possessed a copy.

The author of the Dictionarium duplex, John Davies of Mallwydd, has been described as ‘the greatest scholar of the late Renaissance period in Wales’. An expert in Latin, Greek

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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.
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 studdied 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

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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. 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. 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, conligere.; *bongler*, v. bongler, Imperitus, artifex.). 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*, and sourcing Old English words from the New Testament, one of the first Old English texts he studied. Old


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 caesorum’ (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.

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.\(^3\) 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 *inseglian*, ‘to place a seal upon’ (80v), Welsh *nifyl* and *niwl*, ‘mist, fog, cloud’, with Old English *nywlynys* ‘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 *arðr* (*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.\(^3\) 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, which Junius was hoping to arrive at through what she terms ‘the liveliness of erudition, not in

\[^{3}\] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 98 is Junius’s copy of Bonaventura Vulcanius, *De literis & lingua Getarum sive Gothorum. Item de notis Lombardicis quibus accessorunt specimena variarum linguarum, quarum indicem pagina quae prefationem sequitur ostendit*, (Leiden, 1597), in which runes are described as *litera Gothica* on pp. 43–47.


\[^{36}\] 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 *μανία* ‘rage’ and ‘madness’, so also it is observed here that the ancient *Cymrae* have, just as wisely, called him *dyn*, from *δεινός* ‘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 ὁ δεινός, ‘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 Willerami* suggests that Junius’s opinion had shifted towards a more neutral – one might say less Calvinist – interpretation. 40

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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 μανία, Furor, insania; ita quoque híc venit observandum, veteres Cymráeos eum non minus sapienter dyn appellâsse, à δεινός, Terribilis, horribilis, formidable, truculentus, immanis. ...’. On p. 75v Junius posits another possible etymology for Welsh *dyn* in the form of Green δίνη, ‘whirlpool’, or δίνος, ‘whirling, rotation’, which supports the idea that man is unstable.
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*.  

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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. 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’. 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’,
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 Willerami* 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 ἀχελός, 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 *detruncatio* ‘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 Willerami*, p. 57: ‘Fieri quoque potest Anglo-Saxonicum esse ex Cambro-Britannico *ar*, *super*, *supra* ... unde & ipsi 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 indagatione persepe 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 κατʼ ἀποκοπτὼ. Of this ancient custom, almost innumerable examples occur everywhere in the Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, Cimbric and Cambro-Britannic languages.\textsuperscript{48}

The following pages contain four lists of such ‘\textit{monosyllaba}’ which Junius relates to Greek words: 304 Dutch, 73 Old English, 37 what he calls \textit{Gothica}, but is actually Old Norse, and 203 Welsh lemmata.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{essentia} (the core meaning), from the \textit{accidentals} (the additional letters and syllables).\textsuperscript{50} Junius notices this tendency to concentrate on the \textit{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 \textit{monosyllaba}, but also by the many cross references: for example, Old English \textit{dry} ‘sorcerer, sorcery’ and Welsh \textit{drwg} ‘rotten, wretched, harmful’ (p. 239), Old English \textit{mæt} ‘food’ and Welsh \textit{maeth} ‘food, sustenance’ and \textit{mæthu} ‘to feed’ (p. 243), suggesting that there was a shared origin and a shared essence to these words.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{52}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{48} Junius, \textit{Observationes}, p. 175: ‘Non est interim cur hæc detruncandi ratio mira cuiquam atque absona videri debat, quum primi Celticæ linguae authores miro quodam studio brevitatis flagrasse plurimasque passim voces è primis Græcarum literis κατʼ ἀποκοπτὼ abrupisse deprehendantur. cuius antiquæ consuetudinis innumera penè exempla in linguà Teutonicà, Anglo-Saxonica, Cimbrica, Cambro-Britannicaque passim occurrunt’.
\item \textsuperscript{50} See Van Romburgh, ‘How to Make the Past Age Present’, pp. 162–163, who explains the search for \textit{essentia} in the context of Aristotelian tradition, seventeenth-century grammatical theory and ideas from Art History.
\item \textsuperscript{51} See also the entries for Old English \textit{braes}, \textit{briw} (p. 235), \textit{ceac} (p. 236), \textit{cod} (p. 237), \textit{ord} (p. 248), \textit{reaf} (p. 251), \textit{sehs}, \textit{sex}, \textit{seax}, \textit{sex} (p. 254), \textit{torr} (p. 255). Junius’s idea of \textit{detruncatio} hearks 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’, \textit{History and Rationality. The Skövde Papers in the Historiography of Linguistics}, ed. K. D. Dutz & K.-Å. Forsgren (Münster, 1995), pp. 95–105.
\item \textsuperscript{52} In the seventeenth century, when Welsh was under pressure and thought to be dying out,
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 *Cambrobrytannicæ Cymræcæve linguae institutiones et rudimenta*, a grammar of Welsh published in 1592 by Siôn Dafydd Rhys, or, in English, John Davies of Breckon (henceforth Rhys). 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. 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. 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

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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.


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’. 

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pronunciation of English /ə/.  

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.  

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. 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. 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. 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’. Gil’s analogy of painting and spelling, and of the human form and the human voice, echoes

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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.  
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. 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


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 uncial, 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 Ø /χw/ and Ψ /ɵ/ 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, figureae 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 Gothiciæ 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 depletes 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 mutatur 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 Ø is uncertain; see Miller, The Oxford Gothic Grammar, p. 23; other characters in the Gothic alphabet were uncial forms of Greek capitals.

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 contrà quæ incommodant Poematibus atque Poetis’. Junius copies the title and adheres to Rhys’s schematic layout.
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 *cynghanedd*, ‘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

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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, and it is highly likely that Junius associated the alliterative patterns in Welsh verse with what he was noticing in Old English verse, when he first set eyes on what is now MS Junius 11.

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. 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 brackets:

223  strælas stede[.]hearde    styrmdon [.] hlude
224  grame [ ] guðfrecan [ ] garas sendon [ ]


79Junius 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.

80Oxford, 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.

81I 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.

82Lucas, ‘Francis Junius and the Versification of Judith’, p. 385, who concludes that ‘the alliteration is satisfactory and only the second a-verse, guðfrecan, 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
strælas & \text{ stede} \quad \text{hearde styrmdon} \\
hlude & \text{ grame} \quad \text{guðfrecan} \quad \text{garas sendon}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
345 & \quad \text{to } \delta \text{am } \text{ælmihtigan } [.] \quad \text{huru } \text{æt } \text{þam ende } [.] \ne \text{ tweode} \\
346 & \quad \text{þæs leanes } [.] \quad \text{be heo lange gyrnde } [:] \quad \text{þæs sy } \delta \text{am leofan } [.] \text{ drihtne} \\
347 & \quad \text{wuldor } [.] \quad \text{to widran aldre } [.] \quad \text{be gesceop wind } \& \text{ lyfte } [ ]^{83}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
to & \quad \text{δam } \text{ælmihtigan} \quad \text{huru } \text{æt } \text{þam ende} \\
\text{ne tweode } & \quad \text{þæs leanes } \quad \text{be heo lange gyrnde} \quad \text{þæs sy } \text{δam leofan} \\
\text{drihtne } & \quad \text{wuldor} \quad \text{to widran aldre} \quad \text{be gesceop wind } \& \text{ lyfte}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[^{83}\text{Lucas, ‘Francis Junius and the Versification of }\text{Judith’, pp. 386–387, to which I added line 347b.}\]

\[^{84}\text{Lucas, ‘Francis Junius and the Versification of }\text{Judith’, p. 383, mentions more examples of Junius’s misinterpretations ‘either where two divisions have been indicated in one verse (339a, 89b, 99b, 344b) or where three divisions have been indicated in two verses (9a, 58a, 273a, 287a, 341a, 346a, 347a)’. In most cases, Junius seems to have construed alliterating triplets (Junius’s pauzes indicated by square brackets): }[] \text{ on mode bliðe } [.] \text{ burga cældor } [.] \text{ pohte } \text{ða } \text{beorhtan idese } [:] [.] \text{ mot } \text{geheawan } [:] \text{ bysne } \text{mörðes bryttan } [:] \text{ geunne me } \text{minra gesynta } [:] (89b–90); [.] \text{æt ende eades } [:] \& \text{ ellendæda } [:] \text{ hogedon } \text{þa eorlas } \text{aweccan } [:] (272b–273); [.] \text{swiðmod } [:] \text{ since } \text{æhte } [:] \text{ oddæ sundoryrfe } [:] (339). It is unclear whether Junius was aware of alliteration of }/\text{j}/ \text{ in: } [:] \text{ idese ageafon } [:] \text{ gearo } \text{þoncolre } [:] \text{ ealles } \text{þæs } \text{Judith } \text{sægde } [:] (340b–341). Three hypothetical triplets do not have consistent}\]
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: [] þrymlic girwan [] up swæsendo [] to ðam het se gumena baldor [] (8–9); [...] fæste be feaxe sinum [] teah hyne folnum [] wið hyre weard (99); [...] is mid niðum [] neah geþrungen [.] he 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. 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-britanic *brith* ‘multicoloured, 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*, *illuistris*, *clarus*, *fulgens*, *lucenturus*, desumisse ex Cambro-Britannico *brith*, *Diversicolor*, *maculosis*, *maculis*, *distinctus*, *variegatus*. Atque adeò jam nunc è re natà oboritur suspicio veteres illos nobilissimæ insulae incolas à priscâ voce *brith* gentem suam brithen nuncupasse; ob antiquam nempe consuetudinem, quâ nobilissimis quiue Britannorum variâ corporum picturâ inter suos magis notabiles videri gestiebant. Supersedœ hîc repetere qœ de hoc eorum ritu sêpiûs 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.


⁹¹ Johannes de Laet, *Notae ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii De origine gentium Americanarum et observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficilissime illius questionis* (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 Rijklof 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 Cambriæ 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 Michél Ó Cléirigh, *Foclóir nó Sansán 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. 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’. 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

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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

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own day and age, with ancient, extinct languages such as Gothic, 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 Cimbrì, a people living in Jutland in the second century BC. Cimbris is therefore a totem 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. 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. Occasionally Junius confuses Cambro-Britannis with priscos Britannos, ‘the old Britons’, almost like a slip of the pen. While the use of Cambrobritannis 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.

100 In his Glossarium Gothicum, p. 147, Junius comments on Gothic dulgis skulans, ‘debtors’, and dulghaitjin, ‘creditors’, that ‘Omnino putarem hæc affinia Cambrobritannicis dylu, Debere, & dyled, Debitum, si quis edoceat Cymræos 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’).
104 For example, Junius, Observationes in Willerami, 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
LINGÆ BRITANNICÆ,
Nunc vulgò ditæ CAMBRO-BRITANNICÆ,
A suis Cymraecæ vel Cambriæ,
Ab aliis Wallææ,
ET
LINGÆ LATINÆ,
DICTIONARIUM DUPLEX,
PRIUS,
BRITANNICO-LATINUM, Plurimi,
venerande antiquitatis Britannicae
monumentis resperium,
POSTERIUS,
LATINO-BRITANNICUM.
Acceserunt ADAGIA BRITANNICA, & plura &
emendatora quam ante habœ edita.

Ps. 122. 9.

Ecclus 33. 17. & 24. 34.

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Ex Bibliotheca Viri Illust. Iaaici Vossii.
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<td>Leiden, University Library, 365 A7, A1r</td>
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anchores, Anchora.

angriffis, Redargutio, in posterum, Poesentiam injungere.

annog, Provocare, incitare. Jo. Davies deduxit ab aví-
veiv, Hortari, suaderi, jubere, instigare.

anterth, in oder, Meridies.

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

anwyd, Natura, ingenium. in Voiv, Voiv, Ingenium.

ar, Arvum. vide monosyllaba C-B in ash.

ar, Particula epistatica. v. monosyllaba C-B in ash.

ar, Super, supra. in vex, Honor.

arlægen, Allegoria. Liquef que quandam litterarum transpositionem factum
arch, v. archa, cupla, etca.

archen, Vestitus, amictus. ab ágæiv, Propulsare;
quod vestes propulsent aéris injustias.

archolli, Vulnerare. Jo. Davies deduxit a ἄρη, chalal,
Vulnerare, occidere.

arēdug, v. asrun, Arare.

argylyswr, Timidus. v. argyl, Malus, inutilis.

arvan, Pecunia, argèntum. Jo. Davies vult corrupti ex áspere.
Gallis quoque argentum parvi propterea ratione Pecuniam denotat.
acer, Praelium. v. monosyllaba C-Bae in aba.

neth, Iuvit. Joh. Davies deducit ab ących, at which, Iuvit,

unde quoque Gothicum aP, od., posuit est pro Iuvit; le.

simus enim in Epicadio regis Regniæ Lodiæ, 5, 3,

dP RAPK I NLBMT. od raph i valutode.

hoc est; Iuvit corvus in stragis sanguine.

Anglo-saxones debere ab hoc ipsa AB sumerunt sum

code, Iuvit; quod habet Matth. XXI, 29. 30. atque aliis passim.

afal, v. appel, Malum, pomum.

affinis, Abyssus, immensa altitudinis vorago, precipitum

in immensum patens ac fundo carens. Corruptum est

ex asbusos pro abudos, sine fundo, carens fundo.

afon, Flumen, fluvius. v. abba, Flumina.


aig, Graec. v. monosyllaba C-Bae in aba.

asaf, Divitia, opes. Jo. Davies putat corruptu ex defos.
Fig. 5. Leiden, University Library, 365 A7, flyleaf [1]v
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