

NEW AND CORRECTED MS READINGS OF THE OLD IRISH GLOSSES IN THE VIENNA BEDE

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ABSTRACT

This paper offers new readings and translations of the Old Irish glosses on the fragment of Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* found in the Austrian National Library Codex 15298 (olim Suppl. 2698) in Vienna. In addition to the updated readings, a newly found gloss is discussed at the end of the paper.

INTRODUCTION

The project *Languages in exchange: Ireland and her neighbours* aims to further elucidate the contact relationships mainly among the early medieval Insular Celtic languages. One of the main objectives is to contextualise and analyse the multi- and bilingual glosses featuring the vernaculars, particularly those on Priscian and Bede. An important source are the glosses on Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* (DTR) found in three manuscripts:

- (1) Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 477 (= Ang.), composed in Brittany, is dated to 897 on account of a calculation found on folio 21a.¹ It contains, *inter alia*, Bede's *De Temporibus*, *De Temporum Ratione*, and *De Natura Rerum*. In addition to the Latin glosses, there are also (Irish-influenced) Old Breton glosses by two different hands, that is glossator A and B. Those were edited and/or discussed, for example, by Fleuriot and Evans (1985), Lambert (1983, 1984a, 1984b, 2005), and Bauer (2008). High-resolution images of the manuscript can be viewed on-line at the website of the Bibliothèque Virtuelle des Manuscrits Médiévaux.²
- (2) Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 167 (olim Codex Augiensis CLXVII) (= BCr.), roughly dates to the later part of the first half of the ninth century.³ It transmits, in addition to various computistical works, Bede's *De Temporibus*, *De Temporum Ratione*, and *De Natura Rerum*. There are Latin and Old Irish glosses on

* The work on this article was undertaken as part of the Irish Research Council-funded project *Languages in exchange: Ireland and her neighbours* (IRC Government of Ireland Postdoctoral Fellowship Award No. GOIPD/2016/174). I express my gratitude for assistance and suggestions to the editors of, and referee for, *Ériu*, the staff at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Elliott Lash, Fangzhe Qiu, Corinna Salomon and David Stifter.

¹ Cf. Lambert (2005, 309).

² The high-resolution images can be accessed at: <http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=9322> (accessed 27 March 2018).

³ See Bronner (2013, 19) for an overview of the proposed dates.

the different texts. The latter were edited by Stokes and Strachan (1903) in the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (= *Thes.*). The manuscript can be viewed at the website of the Badische Landesbibliothek.⁴

- (3) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 15298⁵ (olim Suppl. 2698) (= BVi.).

The Old Irish glosses on the fragment of the Vienna Bede have been discussed several times in the past. They were first edited by Stokes (1872, 51–3), who states that he ‘was unable to decipher many, perhaps most, of the glosses’ (p. 51). He does not mention whether he used the original manuscript or photographs. The same is true for the next edition by Zimmer (1881, 253–8, Supplementum p. 13). Strachan (1902) mentions that he used photographs. The glosses were re-edited from (the same?) photographs in the second volume of the *Thes.*, and, finally, in 1956 by Dillon. The manuscript is in a bad condition, damaged by water and wormholes, and part of folio four has been cut away. The glosses are therefore hard to read and some parts are illegible to the naked eye. In spite of this, the previous editors managed to decipher most of them. With the use of high-resolution scans provided by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, the help of UV-light on the original manuscript, and comparison with parallel manuscripts, that is, Ang. and BCr., it has been possible to read even more.

In this paper the new readings are presented followed by the readings of the *Thes.*, and where applicable, the readings of Dillon (1956). The Latin text is taken from Jones’s (1977) edition of *De Temporum Ratione* and its translation from Wallis (2004). The newly established numbering system is based on the old one used by Strachan (1902). It is similar to the one used by Hofman (1996) for the St Gall glosses. The first number stands for the folio, the letter for the column (a–d), the second number for the line, the second letter for the number of the gloss in the line (if there are more than one), and the final number is the gloss number of the *Thes.*, hence BVi. 1a9a.2 is the first gloss in line nine of column *a* on folio 1.

NEW READINGS AND TRANSLATIONS

*Gloss 2:*⁶ BVi. 1a9a.2 (= 1a1.2)⁷

biiḡ soil/ si impo/ issind air/ ms n.

‘there are usually lights around them in that place.’

Thes. (II, 31):

bi(t) soilsi impo issind air insin

‘they will be a light around them in the air.’

⁴ The online manuscript can be accessed at: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/titleinfo/20736> (accessed 27 March 2018).

⁵ For a comprehensive discussion of the manuscript and its history see Dillon (1956, 340–1).

⁶ These are the gloss numbers given in the *Thes.* This gloss is numbered two there, but is in fact the first gloss in the line.

⁷ The numbering in parentheses is that of *Thes.*

The main text⁸ of this passage of the seventh chapter *De nocte* ‘Concerning night’ reads:

Et quomodo nocte caeca procul accensas faces intuens circumposita quaeque loca eodem lumine perfundi non dubitas, tametsi tenebris noctis obstantibus non amplius quam solas facium flammis cernere praeualeas, ita, inquit, purissimum illud et proximum caelo inane, diffusis ubique siderum flammis semper lucidum fit (DTR 7; Jones 1977, 297).

‘If, on a dark night, you are positioned at a distance from some blazing torches, you see some of the surrounding area suffused with their light, although the darkness of night is all about, and all you can see are the separate flames of the torches themselves. By the same token, they say that the empty space which is purest and closest to heaven is always lit up by the light of the stars, scattered everywhere’ (Wallis 2004, 29).

There is a parallel Latin gloss in Ang. by glossator B: *fit lumen in eis in hoc tempore*⁹ ‘light is caused in them at this time’ (50a2c). There are two problematic parts in the Viennese gloss. First, there is a hole in the manuscript towards the end of the first word. Stokes and Strachan (*Thes.* II, 31, fn. b) remark that ‘after *i* the top stroke of a letter is visible’, and suggest reading the 3pl. fut. copula *bi(t)* ‘they will be’. After a close examination of the manuscript and the scans, however, as well as a comparison of the top strokes of similar clusters, that is the *it* found in BVi. 2cd1.21 (=2a1.21) and the *it* of *fefellit* in BVi. 3a9a, the first word should be read as the 3pl. habitual of the substantive verb *būt*.

The second and main problem with this gloss is what *Thes.* reads as *issind air insin*. The editors translated the second word as ‘air’, without commenting on the fact that the Old Irish word for ‘air’ *äér* (o, m) is a hiatus word and has a long *é* in the second syllable. Hence, *air* cannot be the dative singular of this word. A solution for this can also be found, because the manuscript does not in fact have *issind air insin*. After a comparison with similar minim-clusters in BVi., it can be concluded that *insin* has in fact to be read as *msin*, because in a sequence *in* the scribe usually leaves some space between the *i* and the *n*. Since this is not the case here, the three minims should be read as *m*. The passage therefore reads *issind airmsin* ‘in that place’. The full gloss now reads *būt soilsi impo issind airmsin* ‘there are usually lights [bright spots?] around them [that is, Lat. *faces*] in that place’.

Gloss 1: BVi. 1a9b.1 (= 1a1.1)

/dorchai/ nocte
‘dark nocte’.

⁸ In this paper, the phrases above which the glosses are found and the corresponding phrases in the translation are underlined.

⁹ The readings of the glosses of Ang. are all my own based on the high-resolution images found on-line.

Thes. (II, 31):

i. dorchai.

'i.e. dark'

In this case the scribe of the Vienna Bede manuscript made a mistake while copying the main text, that is, *DTR* 7. Instead of copying: ... *nocte caeca* ... he wrongly wrote *circa* for *caeca* and did not copy the word *nocte* at all. This mistake was, presumably, realised by the glossator who inserted the Old Irish gloss *dorchai*, the dative singular of *dorchae* 'dark' used as a functional equivalent of the Latin ablative, between two strokes¹⁰ and added the abbreviation *n.*¹¹ This latter is an abbreviation for Lat. *nocte* (abl. sg. of *nox* 'night'), referring to *nocte* found in the intercolumnar space, added to correct the main text. The word *circa*, however, was not corrected.

Gloss 7: BVi. 1a42.7 (= 1a1.7)

indsoirbe

'the abundance'

Thes. (II, 31):

indsoirbi

'the abundance'

The gloss is situated over Lat. *cōpia* 'supply, abundance'. The last letter was unclear to the editors of *Thes.* (II, 31, fn. d). After a close examination of the manuscript and the scans, and a comparison of the final vowel with similar instances written by the same glossator, it should be read as *e*. A faint horizontal stroke can be seen after the letter, similar to the final *e* of gloss 2a28.19a (= 2a1.19a) *i-mbe* 'in which you may be'. Therefore, the present gloss can be analysed as the nominative singular *soirbe* 'abundance' preceded by the article. For the final consonant of the latter, *t* would be expected, but confusion of *t* and *d* of the article before *s* is not unusual (cf. *GOI* 295).

Gloss 9: BVi. 1b21.9 (= 1a2.9)

i. óien assessed/ dáu a trian/ a trí alleth/ ásé

'i.e. one its sixth, two its third, three its half, six'

Thes. (II, 31):

i. oi-n assessed dáu a trian a trí alleth ásé

'i.e. one its sixth, two its third, three its half, [make] six.'

The main text of chapter eight *De hebdomada* 'The week' elaborates on the number six:

¹⁰ The first of them was wrongly interpreted as *i.* by the earlier editors of the glosses.

¹¹ The full stop is in dry-point.

... dominus, sex diebus mundi ornatum complens, septima requieuit ab operibus suis. Vbi notandum quod non ideo senarius numerus est perfectus, quia dominus in eo mundi opera perfecit sed, sicut Augustinus ait,¹² ideo dominus, qui omnia simul creare ualebat, in eo dignatus est operari, quia numerus est ille perfectus, ut etiam per hunc opera sua probaret esse perfecta, qui suis partibus primus impletur, id est sexta, tertia, et dimidia, quae sunt unum, duo, et tria, et simul sex fiunt (DTR 8; Jones 1977, 300).

‘... the Lord, completing the adornment of the universe in six days, rested from His labours on the seventh. We should note here that the number six is perfect, not because the Lord perfected the works of the universe in [six days], but because (as St Augustine says) the Lord, who was capable of creating everything in an instant, deigned to do His work within this number, because it is a perfect number, in order that He might demonstrate the perfection of His achievement through this number, which is the first [number] to be formed of its factors, that is, of a sixth, a third and a half—namely, one, two and three, and which together make six’ (Wallis 2004, 32).

The Old Irish gloss picks up the end of the given passage and rephrases it. Stokes and Strachan (*Theas.* II, 31, fn. d) remark that ‘[b]etween *i* and *n* [of the first word] is what resembles 8’. The letter should in fact be read as ‘e’, hence the reading offered above, *óien*. This is a peculiar spelling of the Old Irish numeral for ‘one’, which appears in different spellings already in the Würzburg glosses: *oín*, *óin*, *oin*, *óen*, *oén*. The reading *óien* is supported by gloss 4a10.42 (= 4a1.42), which shows the same spelling for the numeral ‘one’, that is *oien* (see below). A similar reading, as in with the letters *e* and *i* in reverse sequence, is also found in the *Cambrai Homily* (fol. 37b, line 23)—*oein*.¹³ Uhlich (2009, 5) cites this as an example of ‘scribal innovations applied [to the *Cambrai Homily*] by an intervening scribe with a knowledge of Irish’.

Gloss 18a: BVi. 1d26a.18a (= 1b2.18a) and BVi. 1d26b.18b (= 1b2.18a)

.i. anno co mis embolismo¹⁴

‘i.e. in a year with the embolismic month.’

.i. i ndeud ogdata 7 circuil

‘i.e. in the end of the octad and the [entire] cycle.’

¹² Wallis (2004, 32 fn. 64) remarks that this refers to Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei* 11.30 (350.1–12). Furthermore, as the referee informed me, an almost identical passage occurs also in Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, xxxv, 16.

¹³ *Theas.* II, 244, with *óen* in the normalised text.

¹⁴ Since the Irish loanword from Lat. *embolismus* is attested as *emblesim* in the BCr. 3d, this form is expanded as Latin here, because an abbreviation *embō* seems very unlikely to stand for a form of *emblesim*.

Thes. (II, 32):

... *acom~ embo~ .i. indeud ... 7 epe* (?)

'i.e. after ...'

Dillon (1956, 343):

amal com emlid .i. i indeud 7 end

n/a.

The context in the main text is:

Septima species hebdomadis est qua propheta Danihel utitur, more quidem legis septenis annis singulas complectens hebdomadas, sed noua ratione ipsos annos abbrevians, duodenis uidelicet mensibus lunae singulos determinans, embolismos uero menses, qui de annuis .xi. epactarum diebus ad crescere solent, non lege patria tertio uel altero anno singulos adiciens, sed ubi ad duodecimum numerum augescendo peruenirent pro integro anno pariter inserens (DTR 9; Jones 1977, 304–5).

'The seventh kind of week is that employed by the Prophet Daniel, comprising (after the manner of the Law) seven years in each week, but abbreviating these years by a new calculation; that is, he fixed each [year] at twelve lunar months, and did not include in the second or third years (as tradition decrees) the embolismic months which normally accumulate from the eleven days of the epact of every year. Rather, he counted a whole year whenever the sum of 12 [lunar months] was reached' (Wallis 2004, 36).

The ninth chapter of *De Temporum Ratione* is called *De hebdomadibus LXX prophetis* 'On the seventy prophetic weeks', a reference to chapter nine of the Book of Daniel. Bede discusses the prophecy given to Daniel by the angel Gabriel¹⁵ and offers an explanation of how to calculate the seventy prophetic weeks. The passage of interest here is found at the beginning of the chapter. The main text informs the reader that the Prophet Daniel did not include embolismic months in his calculation. These are extra¹⁶ lunar months, which 'were intercalated at appropriate places of the respective lunar cycle to keep the lunar year in line with the Julian calendar' (Warntjes 2010, 349). As already mentioned by Wallis (2004, 36, fn. 85) this means that the prophet Daniel's year consists of 354 days. She states that '[n]ormally, one or two such ordinary years are followed by an embolismic year of 13 lunar months.' The nineteen-year cycle¹⁷ is divided into two main

¹⁵ Tanner (2009, 181) states that this prophecy has been 'one of the most notorious interpretive problem passages in Old Testament studies'. Montgomery (1927, 400) even called '[t]he history of the exegesis of the 70 Weeks ... the Dismal Swamp of O.T. criticism.'

¹⁶ For a comprehensive introduction to these matters see Warntjes (2010, 349–50).

¹⁷ See Warntjes (2010, 348–9 and 351) for concise definitions.

parts: *hendecas* (11 years) and *ogdoas* (8 years). Wallis (2004, xlvi) presents the following pattern of common (C) and embolismic (E) years in the cycle: 'CCECCECE' for the *ogdoas* and 'CCECCECCECE' for the *hendecas*. As the Latin text states, the Prophet Daniel, however, 'did not include in the second or third years ... the embolismic months' (Wallis 2004, 36). Glosses on this passage are transmitted in Ang. and BVi.¹⁸ So far none of the scholars working on the latter manuscript has been able to read fully and make sense of the gloss(es) on it. After a close examination of the scan and the original manuscript, as well as a comparison with Ang., an interpretation is now possible.

First of all, it has to be stressed that the text *Thes.* and Dillon (1956) treated as one gloss, that is 18a, actually contains two glosses. They will henceforth be called BVi. 1d26a.18a and BVi. 1d26b.18b. The reading of the glosses turned out to be difficult, because the manuscript is very faded in this part. Having consulted the original manuscript, using UV-light on it, and through the use of different filters on the scanned image, the following reading can be established for 1d26a.18a, which is located over *tertio uel altero anno* of the main text: *.i. añ com̃ embō*, expanded as *.i. anno co mis embolismo*. This reading corresponds largely with the edition in *Thes.* ... *acom~ embo~* and does not agree with Dillon's reading *amal com emlid*. Neither of the two editions, however, gives a translation. The new reading offers a straightforward solution—to translate the gloss as 'i.e. a year with an embolismic month'. The gloss, therefore, explains *tertio uel altero anno* of the main text. An embolismic year occurs after either one or two common years. The former in fact only happens at the end of both the *hendecas* and the *ogdoas*, and this is what the 'second' and 'third' refer to in this passage of *DTR*.

For the second gloss in Vienna, which follows after the first, a comparison with Ang. is necessary. Over *adiciens, sed* in the last line of the main text of Ang. folio 51a, the following Latin gloss by glossator B is found: *ut in fine oḡ et eñ*, to be read as *ut in fine ogdoadis et endacadis* 'as in the end of the octad (eight-year-cycle) and the eleven-year-cycle' (Ang. 51a37c). This gloss forms a further comment on the embolismic months, which the Prophet Daniel had not included in his calculation. As already mentioned above, both the eight-year and the eleven-year cycle end with an embolismic year, and this is what the gloss indicates. This parallel gloss helps us to read and translate the final part of gloss 1d26b.18b in the Vienna manuscript, which is faded. It can be read as *.i. indeud oḡ 7 cirē*, expanded to *.i. i ndeud ogdata 7 circuil* 'in the end of the octad and the [entire] cycle'. The Vienna gloss seems to be a translation of the Latin one. Latin *in fine* 'in the end' is translated by Old Irish *indeud* 'in the end'. Since the next word is abbreviated it is impossible to decide whether it should be read as Latin *ogdoadis* (as in Ang.) or Old Irish *ogdata*, the genitive singular of the Latin loanword, the only other attestation

¹⁸ This part of *De Temporum Ratione* does not appear in BCr.

of which is also genitive singular, in *AU* s.a. 1090.1, and is registered in *DIL* under the probable, but unattested nominative singular *ogdait* 'octad'. The final word appears also only in abbreviation, but it is likely that it has to be expanded as the Old Irish genitive singular *circuil* 'of a cycle'. In this instance, *circuil* stands for the whole nineteen-year cycle, *ogdoas* plus *hendecas*.

Gloss 38: BVi. 3c30.38 (= 3b1.38)

*tri lida indi .i. embolismus*¹⁹ *in tris lid 7 iunius/ 7 iulius*
 'three Lida in it, i.e. the embolismic (year), the third Lida and June and July'

Thes. (II, 34):

trilida indi ... lid 7 iunius 7 iulius
 'three Lida in it ... and June and July.'

Dillon (1956, 343):

tri lida indi ... xc lai inti in lid 7 iunius 7 iulius
 'three Lida in it ... ninety days in it, the Lida and June and July'

The main text in the fifteenth chapter of *DTR*, *De mensibus anglorum* 'Concerning the months of the English' reads:

Cum uero embolismus, hoc est .xiii. mensium lunarium, annus occurreret, superfluum mensem aestati apponebant, ita ut tunc tres menses simul Lida nomine iocarentur, et ob id annus ille Thrilidi cognominabatur habens quattuor menses aestatis, ternos ut semper temporum caeterorum (DTR 15; Jones 1977, 330).

'When an embolismic year occurred (that is, one of 13 lunar months) they assigned the extra month to summer, so that three months together bore the name "Litha"; hence they called [the embolismic] year "Thrilithi". It had four summer months, with the usual three for the other seasons' (Wallis 2004, 53–4).

This gloss is unique to the Vienna Bede. It comments on the embolismic years in the English calendar, which, according to Bede, were called 'Thrilithi', because they had three months that bore the name 'Litha'. Bosworth and Toller (1898, 1069) give this passage of Bede as the only attestation of the adjective *pri-lit̃e*. The middle part, this is between *indi* and *lid*, has only been edited tentatively so far. After a careful examination, it can be concluded that Dillon's reading has to be dismissed. Neither does the manuscript transmit his proposed text, nor would one expect 'ninety days',

¹⁹ The abbreviation *embō* is again expanded as Latin form here. See the footnote on gloss 18 = BVi. 1d26a.18a (= 1b2.18a) above.

because the main text does not talk about any number of days here at all. The gloss rather reads *tri lida indi .i. embolismus in tris lid 7 iunius 7 iulius* ‘three Lida in it, i.e. the embolismic (year), the third Lida and June and July’. The gloss consists of two parts. The first one states that there are three *Litha* in the embolismic year. The second part gives the Latin names of the two ‘normal’ *Litha*, since they are both called *Litha* in the English calendar.

Gloss 42: BVi. 4a10.42 (= 4a1.42)

.i. da lae fri oienlittir
‘i.e. two days with one letter.’

Thes. (II, 35):
.i. da l(ae) for (o)enlittir
‘i.e. two days on one letter.’

The main text reads:

Et ut diebus quos signare uolebamus literae sufficerent, non singulis has diebus sed alternis apposuimus; atque ideo non ultra O literam alphabetum tangere opus erat (DTR 18; Jones 1977, 343–4).

‘In order that there might be enough letters for the days we wish to indicate, we have not placed them against every day, but against every other day; hence it is not necessary to take the alphabet beyond the letter O’ (Wallis 2004, 63).

It is part of the explanation which Bede provides for ‘someone rather less skilled in calculation’ to find out about the course of the Moon in a way ‘adapted to the capacity of his intelligence.’²⁰ The gloss explains the Latin part *non singulis has diebus, sed alternis apposuimus*. Both BCr. and Ang. have parallel glosses here. The former has *.i. da llae for óenlittir* ‘two days on one letter’ (BCr. 31d54 = 31d3). Ang. has two glosses here: (1) the Old Breton gloss *.i. pop eil loc* ‘every second place’ (57b16c) by glossator A, and (2) the bilingual gloss *dou did cum unam litteram* ‘two days with one letter’ (57b16d) by glossator B. The two Old Irish glosses share the same meaning;²¹ their spelling and the forms used, however, are different.

In BCr., the nasalisation of the initial consonant of *lae* ‘day’ is indicated by doubling the *l* after the neuter nominative of the numeral *dá* ‘two’. Furthermore, the composition form of the numeral ‘one’ is spelled *óen* in this manuscript, where the Vienna Bede has the peculiar spelling *oien* again (see the discussion of BVi. 1b21.9 (= 1a2.9) above). The second member of the compound is spelled with double *tt* in BCr., which is noteworthy, because

²⁰ These two quotes are taken from Wallis’s (2004, 63) translation of the beginning of DTR 19.

²¹ The same is true for the Old Breton gloss.

this word is usually spelled with a single *t* (cf., for instance, 31 occurrences in the St Gall glosses, two in the Milan glosses, always with single *t*), despite the fact that the *t* is voiceless. The double spelling could be a Latinized spelling influenced by Latin *littera* 'letter'.

Gloss 49: BVi. 4b8.49a (= 4a2.49):

.i. ar chiunn .i. xi k^{f2} aprilis .i. anni (?) ar chiun isin libur
 'i.e. below²³ i.e. the eleventh calends of April (March 22) i.e. of the year
 (?) below in the book'

Thes. (II, 35):

..... *as...archinn (?)*

n/a.

The main text in chapter 20 *Quota sit luna in Kalendas quasque* 'What the age of the moon is on any given first day of the month', is:

Si enim uis scire quota est luna in kl. Ianuarias anno secundo circuli decennouenalis, tene ·viii· regulares, adde epactas ·xi·, fiunt ·xx·. Vicesima est luna. Si uis scire quota est luna in kl. Iunias anno tertio, tene regulares ·xii·, adde epactas anni illius ·xxii·, fiunt ·xxxiiii·. Tolle ·xxx·, remanent ·iiii·. Quarta est luna in kl. memoratas (DTR 20; Jones 1977, 346).

'If you wish to know the age of the Moon for the kalends of January in the second year of the decennouenall cycle, take the regular [of January]—9—and add the epact—11—and that makes 20: it is the twentieth Moon. If you want to know what Moon it is on the kalends of June in the third year, take the regular 12, add the epact for that year—22—and that makes 34. Subtract 30, and 4 remain; on the kalends in question, the Moon is four days old' (Wallis 2004, 66).

While the first and third parts of the gloss are unique to the Vienna manuscript, the second part *.i. xi kl aprilis* 'i. the eleventh calends of April (March 22)' has parallel Latin glosses in BCr.: *.i. xi. kl aprilis* (BCr. 32a54), and in Ang. by glossator B: *xi. kl aprilis* (58a10d). The glosses comment on Latin *epactas* 'epacts' in the main text. The gloss of the Vienna Bede is extended with *.i. ar chiunn* 'i.e. below' and *.i. anni (?) ar chiun isin libur* 'i.e. of the year (?) below in the book'. This seems to refer to chapter 50²⁴ of *DTR* in which Bede explains that the epacts, which increase every year by 11, remain constant 'each day throughout the entire circle of the

²² Since there is no way to decide whether the abbreviation *kl* should be expanded as the Latin or Irish form, it is left abbreviated here.

²³ The literal meaning of *ar chiunn* is 'ahead', but in meta-textual references it can also be translated in English as 'below, in what follows'. Cf. *eDIL* s.v. *cenn* 27.

²⁴ I am grateful to the referee for pointing this out to me.

revolving year²⁵ (Wallis 2004, 131), although, technically, the number of the epacts indicated in a nineteen-year cycle refers by convention to the age of the Moon on the eleventh calends of April. Therefore, the gloss can be interpreted as follows: 'i.e. below [i.e. in chapter 50 of *DTR*], i.e. the eleventh calends of April, i.e. [this number gives us the epacts] of the [whole] year [discussed by Bede] below in the book [i.e., again, in chapter 50].' While the glosses in Ang. and BCr. only state the fact that the epacts stand for the age of the moon on the eleventh calends of April, the Vienna manuscript gives more information on their significance.

Gloss 55: BVi. 4b23.55 (= 4a2.55):

.i. teora bliadni frithriagla ...
'i.e. three irregular years'

Thes. (II, 35):
... .. *bliadni*

This is a gloss on:

Sunt autem anni tres circuli decemnouenalis in quibus idem argumentum stabilitatem sui tenoris conservare nequeat (DTR 20; Jones 1977, 347).

'However, there are three years in the 19-year cycle when this formula cannot preserve the stability of its course' (Wallis 2004, 67).

Here Bede discusses a formula to calculate the age of the moon on any given first day of the month. Although even the main text is almost illegible here, it was possible to read the gloss with the help of UV-light and a comparison with the Karlsruhe manuscript. BCr. 32b17 (= 32b6) reads: *.i. teora bliadni frithriagla namma leissem* 'i.e. he has only three irregular years'. The gloss is a further explanation of the main text, that is on the algorithm to calculate the age of the moon. Unfortunately, there is a crease in the Vienna manuscript after *frithriagla* and therefore the end of the gloss can no longer be read. It seems, however, very likely that we may have here a copy of the same gloss also found in BCr.

Gloss 58: BVi. 4b44.58 (= 4a2.58):

egiptacdae²⁶ .i. IIII kt
'Egyptian i.e. the fourth calends'

²⁵ Jones (1977, 435): *per totum anni uertentis orbem suas quaeque dies habet adiectiones lunares .xi.*

²⁶ The abbreviation is expanded following the usual practice of *Thes.* for the Karlsruhe and Vienna Bede. Keeping in mind the parallel gloss in Ang., one could also expand as Latin *egiptii*. In the face of the other examples in BCr. and BVi., however, the expansion as Old Irish *egiptacdae* is preferred here.

Thes. (II, 36):

egipt̄ (?) hi (?) IIII, kl̄

‘Egyptian (?), on the fourth before the Calends.’

The main text reads:

Si enim ipsum argumentum iuxta Aegyptios a Septembrio mense ubi principium est anni eorum inchoaueris, necesse est ut luna Iulii mensis eo anno ·xxviii· dies ut nunquam alias habeat, uno uidelicet ratione saltus amisso; et ob id luna kl̄. Augustarum tertia reddatur, quae iuxta argumenti regulam secunda computabatur (DTR 20; Jones 1977, 348).

‘But if you start [to use] this formula at the month of September, after the manner of the Egyptians, whose year begins at that point, it is necessary that the Moon of July in that year have twenty-nine days and never more, one day having been removed because of the leap of the Moon. In consequence, the Moon of the kalends of August, calculated as the second according to the rule of the formula, will be assigned as the third’ (Wallis 2004, 67).

There are glosses in all three manuscripts on this passage:

BVi. 4b44.58 (= 4a2.58):

egiptacdae .i. IIII kl̄

‘Egyptian i.e. fourth calends.’

BCr. 32b46 (= 32b12):

.i. hi .IIII. kl̄ septembris

‘i.e. in the fourth calends of September.’

Ang. 58a37h:

egiptii in .IIII. kl̄ augustarum²⁷

‘of Egyptian in the fourth calends of August.’

Although they all comment on the same passage, these glosses are all different. What they have in common is that they deal with the fourth calends of a certain month and presumably comment on how to use the formula given in this chapter of *DTR*. While *Ang.* talks about the fourth calends of August, however, *BCr.* mentions the fourth calends of September, and *Vienna* does not mention a month at all. Since the glosses in *Ang.* and *BVi.* both feature words meaning ‘Egyptian’ they seem to be more closely connected. Whether or not the original gloss of the *Vienna* manuscript also read ‘August’ can no longer be determined. Nonetheless, it can be stated that both glosses refer to the ‘manner of the Egyptians’ in the main

²⁷ This Latin gloss by glossator B is found over *et ob id luna*.

text, who begin their year in September. The gloss in BCr., although not mentioning the Egyptians, must also refer back to this. The one in Ang. features the Egyptians, but comments on a passage of the next sentence, which in Wallis's (2004, 67) translation reads 'the Moon of the kalends of August.' The glosses refer to the fact that in Medieval computistics the beginning of the first Egyptian month was placed on the 4th kalends of September [= 29 August]. As can be seen, for instance in *De Ratione Computandi* 37:²⁸ 'Sciendum nobis quot sunt initia mensuum apud Aegyptios. Haec sunt: .iiii. Kl Septembris' (Ó Cróinín and Walsh 1988, 148), this tradition was well known to the Irish. This information is found in Isidore of Seville's works, for example, in *De Natura Rerum* 6.7.²⁹ It seems that the earliest form of the gloss only consisted of the date *iiii kl*, without specifying the month. In BCr. the correct month *Septembris* was added to this. In Ang., however, the glossator augmented the gloss with the wrong month, i.e. August. This could be caused by the fact that the kalends of August are mentioned immediately afterwards in the base text. Since BVi. does not indicate the month at all, it may reflect the earliest stage of composition of this gloss.

Gloss 60: BVi. 4c13.60 (= 4b1.60):

aetas lunae for kl m̄s egiptac dai in so

'This is the age of the moon on the kalends of the Egyptian month.'

Thes. (II, 36):

... U (?) *for kl m̄s egiptac dai in so*

'... on the Kalends of the Egyptian month this'

The Latin text of the passage in chapter 20 reads:

Non autem transitorie commemorandum quod hoc argumentum a Septembrio quidam incipiunt, ponentes eidem Septembri regulares .v.; Octobrio .v.; Nouembrio .vii; Decembrio .vii; et cetera ut supra nos posuimus. Quod ob auctoritatem Aegyptiorum rationabiliter prorsus agunt ut a quibus origo computandi sumpta est horum quoque in computando anni principium imitentur (DTR 20; Jones 1977, 349).

'However, do not overlook the fact that some people begin this formula from September, giving the regular 5 to September, 5 to October, 7 to November, 7 to December, and for the rest, as we give it above. Because of the authority of the Egyptians, they act in a thoroughly reasonable manner so as to imitate, in the calculation of the beginning of the year, those from whom the art of calculation took its origin' (Wallis 2004, 68).

²⁸ I am grateful to the referee for the additional references and explanation of the meaning of these glosses.

²⁹ For a comprehensive list of further references, see the source apparati in Warntjes (2010, 66–8).

The parallel gloss in BCr. reads *aetas lunae in so for kl caich m̄s la aegyptacdu 7 is de ro-saig ind nomad for kl ianuarii ar chinn* ‘this is the age of the moon on the calends of each month according to the Egyptians and thence the ninth coincides with the following first of January’ (BCr. 32c00 = BCr. 32c01). As in the case of the previous gloss (BCr. 32b46), BCr. adds more information. The new section of the gloss seems to state that it is possible to figure out that the age of the Moon on the 1st of January will be 9, by using the data provided by Bede according to the Egyptian calendar as the basis of the computation. This means that the glossator in BCr. converts the Egyptian-style information into Western calendrical data. As in the case of BVi. 4b44.58 above, the additional information given in BCr. may be an indication that BVi. reflects the earliest stage of composition of this gloss.

Gloss 69: 4c33.69 (= 4b1.69):

.i. bīth doith for laim
‘it is wont to be ready at hand’ (?).

Thes. (II, 36):

.i. buth doith³⁰ forlaim
‘that they should be...’

Dillon (1956, 343):

buth boith for laim
‘it were probably “to be at hand”’ (?).

The text in chapter 21, *Quae sit feria in Kalendas* ‘What day of the week it is on the calends’, reads:

Hoc tantum memor esto ut cum imminente anno bissextili unus concurrentium intermittendus est dies; eo tamen numero quem intermissurus es in Ianuario Februarioque utaris, at in kalendis primum Martiis per illum qui circulo continetur solis computare incipias (DTR 21; Jones 1977, 350).

‘Remember that when a leap year occurs, one of the concurrent days is dropped; however, you use the number which is going to be dropped in January and February, but on the first of March, you start to compute with that [number] contained in the solar cycle’ (Wallis 2004, 68–9).

As already suggested by Dillon (1956, 343) the gloss seems to be ‘an attempt to explain *imminente* as *immanente* and derived from *in manu*’.

³⁰ *Thes. II, 36 fn. d:* ‘this seems corrupt; leg. *doib*?’

His reading, however, cannot be maintained. After a careful examination of the scan and the manuscript itself the first word has to be read as *biith*,³¹ that is the 3sg. habitual present of the substantive verb. The second word clearly reads as *doith*, which I understand as a variant spelling of *daith* 'swift, ready'. The combination substantive verb followed by adjective is unusual and can only happen in somewhat unclear conditions as laid out by *GOI* §774.2. The other problem with this gloss is the spelling of the adjective *doith* with *oi*, because in its older form it always occurs as *daith*.

Of the other manuscripts, only Ang. fol. 57b has glosses on this passage. The one found over *imminente* (.i. *apropiante .ui. kt mar*) has no connection to BVi. 4c33.69 (= 4b1.69). There is, however, also a gloss over *bissextili* which is still legible and reads *bissexti*. A possible solution for BVi. 4c33.69 (= 4b1.69) would be that we are dealing with a corrupt copying of a gloss that originally read *bisex do bith for laim* 'there is a bissextile at hand', which would be in some way connected with the gloss in Ang. It has to be stressed, however, that such a reading is not supported by the manuscript. Therefore, no definite conclusion can be drawn.

Gloss 71: BVi. 4d5.71 (= 4b2.71)

do-ber/ frie álin/ lae othus/ bliadne con/rici alae/ frecndairc/ i nbi [i mbi]
 'there is added to it the number of days from the beginning of the year until you reach the present day in which you are'

Thes. (II, 36):

dober frit ál(in) lae othus bliad(ne c)rici alae frecndairc imbi
 'thou putteth the number of days from the beginning of the year up to the present day in which thou art'

Dillon (1956, 344):

dober frie a lin lae o thus bli(adne con)rici a lae frecndairc indi
 'there is added to it the number of days from the beginning of the year until the present day in it'

The main text reads:

Si ergo uis scire hoc vel illo die quota sit luna, computa dies a principio mensis Ianuarii usque in diem de quo inquiris et, cum scieris, adde aetatem lunae quae fuit in kalendis Ianuariis (*DTR* 22; Jones 1977, 351).

'If you wish to know how old the Moon is on this or that day, count the days from the beginning of January up to the day you want, and when you know this, add in the age of the Moon on the kalends of January' (Wallis 2004, 69).

³¹ The second consonant could also be a *c*, but a form *biich* does not make sense in Old Irish.

This gloss, unique to the Vienna manuscript, is found in the intercolumnar space. A very faint *signe de renvoi* to the gloss can be found over *illo*. The Irish translates the instruction of how to calculate the age of the moon. After carefully examining the manuscript as well as the scan, the following judgement can be made: (1) the conjugated form of the preposition *fri* should be read as 3sg.fem. *frie*, which refers to the feminine Latin form *aetātem (lūnae)* to which the number of days is added: *do·ber frie á lin lae* ‘there is added to it the number of days’ (cf. Dillon 1956, 344). And (2) the final verbal complex should be read as the preposition *i* ‘in, into’ with the 2sg. habitual present of the substantive verb *i·nbl* [leg. *i·mbf*] (cf. *Thes.* II, 36). The final part *a lae frendairc i·nbl* [for *i·mbf*] therefore renders (somewhat freely) the Latin *in diem de quo inquiris*.

Gloss 74: BVi. 4d26.74 (= 4b2.74):

*dind·rala/ huait*³² *CXUIII/ do·fuarat latt/ o ienar .i. nonus/ 7 X condid/ .XI.*
 ‘if 118 happens to be (taken) from your starting point [i.e. 120],³³ it remains with you from January, i.e. the ninth (day of the moon) and the tenth (day of the moon) so that it is the eleventh (day of the moon):’

Thes. (II: 37):

dindrala huait CXUIII dofuarat latt oienar (?) X (?) nonus 7 X condid (?) .XI.
 ‘if thou put from thee a hundred and eighteen there remains with thee from January (?) ... so that it is eleven.’

In chapter 22, *Argumentum de qualibet luna uel feria* ‘A formula for any moon or weekday’, the main text reads:

Si ergo scire uis, uerbi gratia, anno quo per kalendas Ianuarias nona est luna, quota sit luna in kalendas Maias, dicito Maias in Calendas ·cxxi; tolle kalendas, remanent ·cxx; adde ·viii, fiunt ·cxxviii; partire per ·lviii· (quingages nouies bini cendecusoctus), tolle ·cxviii, remanent ·xi. Vndecima est luna in kalendas Maias. Si uis scire quota est luna in ·xv· kalendas Iunias, dicito Iunius in kalendas ·clii; tolle ·xv· kalendas Iunias, remanent ·cxxxvii; adde ·viii, fiunt ·cxlvi; partire per ·lviii· (quingages nouies bini cendecusoctus), tolle ·cxviii, remanent ·xxviii. Vicesima octaua est luna in ·xv· kalendas Iunias (DTR 22; Jones 1977, 352).

‘So for example, if you wish to know what the age of the Moon is on the kalends of May in a year in which the Moon is nine days old on the

³² This form is not completely legible. However, the comparison with other instances in which Old Irish *cuirithir* is used in the Old Irish glosses on Bede, that is, the parallel glosses on Latin *tolle* BVi. 4c43.70 (= 4b2.74) and BCr. 35c50 (= 32c11) *cuire huait* ‘put from you!’, suggests that one read it as the second singular conjugated form of the preposition *ó* ‘from’.

³³ For further discussion of this impersonal construction and its translation, see Lash (forthcoming).

kalends of January, say “May: 121 on the kalends”: Subtract the [day of the] kalends, and 120 remains; add 9, and that makes 129. Divide by 59: 59 times 2 is 118. Subtract 118 and 11 remain. The Moon is 11 days old on the kalends of May. If you want to know how old the Moon is on the 15th kalends of June [May 18], say “June: 152 on the kalends”: Subtract the fifteen kalends of June and 137 remain. Add 9, which makes 146. Divide by 59: 59 times 2 is 118. Subtract 118 and 28 remain. The Moon on the 15th kalends of June is 28 days old’ (Wallis 2004, 70).

The gloss was written in the intercolumnar space and a *signe de renvoi* links it to the numeral *CXX* in the main text. There is no one-to-one parallel gloss in the other two manuscripts. On folio 59a12c of Ang., however, there is an interesting Latin gloss by glossator B over *IX*, *fiunt* in the main text: *i. a epactis kt ianuariarum*³⁴ ‘i.e. from the intercalary days of the calends of January’. This gloss refers to the passage in the main text which informs the reader that the moon is nine days old on the calends of January in this example. In the gloss of the Vienna manuscript this is reflected by *do-fuarat latt o ienar .i. nonus* ‘it remains with you from January, i.e. the ninth (day of the moon)’. Although this part is straightforward, the meaning of the gloss as a whole is somewhat puzzling. It does not translate or explain anything in the main text. The editors of *Thes.* could not make any sense of it and left parts of it untranslated.

However, a solution can now be proposed: the gloss offers a different way of calculating the age of the moon on a specific day. In Wallis’s (2004, 69) translation the Bedan algorithm is this: ‘count the days from the beginning of January up to the day you want, and when you know this, add in the age of the Moon on the kalends of January’. The alternative algorithm is used on the same example as given in the main text, that is, to calculate the age of the moon on the calends of May in a year in which the Moon is nine days old on the calends of January.³⁵ Using the table provided by Bede in this chapter, which informs us that the calends of May are the 121st day, the starting point for the calculation is 120 (after subtracting the day of the calends itself). This is exactly the number to which the gloss refers to in the main text: *CXX*. The gloss instructs the reader to subtract 118 from this number (*dind-rala huait CXVIII* ‘if 118 happens to be (taken) from your starting point’). This is the number of days in four synodic lunar months (one synodic lunar month is 29.5 days), and there are four synodic lunar months from the calends of January to the calends of May. 120 minus 118 equals 2, which is not mentioned in the gloss. It states, however, that there are nine days from January remaining, that is, the age of the moon on the calends of January: *do-fuarat latt o ienar .i. nonus* ‘it remains with you from January,

³⁴ As pointed out by the referee, this could also be expanded to *kt ianuarii*, since the formula ‘calends of January’ also existed.

³⁵ It is noteworthy that the computistical data used correspond to the data for the epacts on the calends of each month in the first year of the Victorian nineteen-year cycle (cf. Warntjes 2010, 180–1).

i.e. the ninth (day of the moon)? The next part of the gloss is confusing, but it becomes clear with the knowledge that the result of the above-mentioned calculation is 2. The glossator adds two days to the ninth (*nonus*): *nonus 7 X condid .XI*. ‘the ninth and the tenth so that it is the eleventh (day of the moon)’. The Bedan algorithm used in the main text also gets to the result that the moon is eleven days old on the calends of May. The alternative algorithm therefore seems to work, and the application of it to another example of the main text shows that it really does.

The example taken for this is also from chapter 22 and defines the age of the moon on the fifteen calends of June (May 18). Using the alternative algorithm given in gloss BVi. 4d26.74 (= 4b2.74), one gets the following calculation: the starting point is 137 (the calends of June [1st of June] are the 152nd day of the year, but 15 must be subtracted from that figure, because this example concerns the 15 calends of June) since there are four synodic lunar months between January 1 and May 18 one has to subtract 118: 137 minus 118 equals 19, and by adding the 9 (the lunar age on calends of January) one obtains 28 as the final result. This is exactly the result of the Bedan algorithm: *vicesima octava est luna in XV Calendas Iunias* ‘the moon is 28 on the fifteen calends of June’. The alternative algorithm also works with the third example given by Bede in *DTR* 22. Gloss BVi. 4d26.74 therefore offers an equally effective, but much simpler calculation than the one given by Bede.

A NEW GLOSS

Gloss 76: BVi. 3d44.76

.i. r ... aig cach in alaill

‘i.e. ... each one into the other.’

The main text of chapter 16, *De signis duodecim mensium* ‘The signs of the twelve months’, reads:

Vndique gyrum caeli rotundissimum per lineam zodiaci circuli, quasi per zonam quandam amplissimae sphaerae circumdatam distincti ordines gemmarum .xii. sese inuicem contingentium obsident. Tanta sunt magnitudinis ut non minore quam duarum spatio horarum, uel oriri uel occidere uel de loco possint moueri; (DTR 16; Jones 1977, 333–4).

‘The gyre of the heavens, perfectly round at every point, is bound by the line of the zodiacal circle, like the discrete settings of twelve gems adjacent to each other on a sort of girdle wrapped around a very large sphere. They are of such great size that they cannot rise or set or move from a position in less than two hours’ (Wallis 2004, 55–6).

The main text elaborates on the zodiac signs, which are seen as jewels that are adjacent to each other. This gloss is unique to the Vienna Bede and has

been overlooked in the manuscript so far. It is very faint and could only be read under UV-light. The first word, however, still remains partially unclear, and no definite conclusion can be drawn. There are, however, ways to limit the possibilities. Since it is the first word of the gloss it is very likely a verb. The first letter appears to be an *r* with suspension stroke above. What follows is illegible and it is also not clear how many letters one should read in between (two or three seem plausible), but the word ends in *aig*. A fuzzy search on *eDIL* helped to limit the possibilities to three: *ro-saig* ‘reaches, extends’, *reraig*, the 3sg. pret. of *rigid* ‘stretches, distends’, or the augmented 3sg. pret. *ro-reraig*. All three forms fit semantically, since the gloss comments on what Wallis (2004, 55) translates as ‘twelve gems adjacent to each other’ in the main text. The three possible readings and translations of the gloss are:

- (1) *.i. ro-saig cach in alaill* ‘each one extends into the other’
- (2) *.i. reraig cach in alaill* ‘each one stretched into the other’
- (3) *.i. ro-reraig cach in alaill* ‘each one had stretched into the other’

Although the last option is longer than the other two it probably would still fit into the space provided. The usage of a preterite form in a gloss like this is unusual, which makes number (2) improbable, and since the main text also discusses the matter in the present tense, the first option is the most likely solution. A definite reading, however, has still to be made.

ABBREVIATION

eDIL *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language*, available at: <http://www.dil.ie/> (accessed 6 September 2017).

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