

The interconnections of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, ms 251 with the Celtic Bede manuscripts

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This study shows the close connection of the Latin glosses of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, ms 251 with those of the Celtic glossed manuscripts of the Venerable Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*. The emphasis lies on Latin glosses in parallel transmission, which are analysed in detail and compared to each other.

Dieser Artikel zeigt die enge Verbindung der lateinischen Glossen in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, ms 251 mit den keltisch-glossierten Manuskripten von Beda Venerabilis *De Temporum Ratione*. Das Hauptaugenmerk liegt auf den lateinischen Parallelglossen, die detailliert analysiert und verglichen werden.



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1. INTRODUCTION

Parallel transmission of glosses is essential for a better understanding of the glossing tradition on a specific text, because they help to identify the stemma of the manuscripts. The following article will concentrate on the interconnections between the Celtic glossed manuscripts, i.e. those manuscripts featuring Old Irish or Old British Celtic glosses, and St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, ms 251 (= G) featuring the Venerable Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, a connection that has not been discussed by modern scholars so far. Previous scholarship has mainly concentrated on the vernacular parallel glosses to Bede's work. Ground-breaking research has been undertaken by Lambert,¹ especially in his article 'Les commentaires celtiques à Bède le Vénérable' (LAMBERT 1983, esp. 121–127 and LAMBERT 1984). In contrast to his work, this study will mainly discuss Latin glosses. The importance of the so far largely unedited glosses in Latin has been shown by the present author in other articles (BAUER 2017 and BAUER forthc.). The present article will also give the wider context of the underlying text to prevent isolated study of glosses, a procedure which, following MORAN (2015: 141) "has inhibited the exploration of textual relationships" in the past. Apart from G, which is discussed below, the main sources are:

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¹ It is impossible to give an exhaustive list of where Lambert discussed parallel glosses. For an overview see, e.g., LAMBERT 1994.

1. *Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 477* (= Ang.)² dates from the end of the ninth century and has 99 folios. It was written either in Brittany or North-East France, undoubtedly by Breton scribes. A digital facsimile of the manuscript can be viewed on the website of the *Bibliothèque Virtuelle des Manuscrits Médiévaux*.³ It features, inter alia,⁴ Bede's *De Temporibus* and *De Temporum Ratione* with Latin and vernacular Celtic glosses. The latter text is found on folios 44^v–85^v.
2. *Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Augiensis pergamenum 167* (olim *Codex Augiensis CLXVII*) (= BCr.) dates from the later part of the first half of the ninth century (see BRONNER 2013: 19–20). Other scholars date it more precisely, cf. SCHNEIDERS (1989: 251) “vor 830”, BISCHOFF (1998: 351) “848”, and HEINZER (1983: 241) “um 850”. It was either written in Ireland (SCHNEIDERS 1989: 252) or in an Irish milieu on the continent (cf. BISCHOFF 1981: 48). BORST (2006, vol. I: 235) argues for the Soissons and Laon region.⁵ The 49 folios of the manuscript can be viewed at the website of the *Badische Landesbibliothek*.⁶ Besides various computistical works, it contains Bede's *De Temporibus* and *De Temporum Ratione* with Latin and Old Irish glosses. The latter work is found on folios 23^v–46^r.
3. *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 15298*⁷ (olim *Suppl. 2698*) (=BVi.) dates from the late eighth/early ninth century. Unfortunately, the fragment (four folios) is in bad condition and only transmits parts of Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* with Latin and Old Irish glosses.

2. ST GALL, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK, MS 251

The manuscript dates from the first half of the ninth century (cf. SCHERRER 1875: 94). Without giving any reasons why, JONES (1937: 435) specifies the date to shortly before 820. It contains 186 pages (parchment, 36,5 x 26 cm) written in a single column and transmits Bede's *De Natura Rerum* and *De Temporum Ratione* in full, as well as the ending of *De Temporibus*. In addition to this, it features other computistical texts and tables. In 1824 an unknown person included a table of contents on the cover and attributed the manuscript to an abbot Winitharius: *Winitharius abbas*,

² For a comprehensive up-to-date discussion of the manuscript see BARBET-MASSIN 2017.

³ Online at <http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=9322>, accessed 9.9.2019.

⁴ For a complete list of the contents see LAMBERT (1983: 309–310).

⁵ See below for a discussion of its provenance.

⁶ Online at <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/20736>, accessed 9.9.2019.

⁷ For a comprehensive discussion of the manuscript and its history, see DILLON (1956: 340–345).

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qui hanc collectionem adornavit ‘Abbot Winitharius, who decorated this collection’. This is presumably based on the preamble given on the first page, which starts with:

Hoc et enim uolumen condidi antequam indignus uinitharius abba forem meis ex propriis sumtibus egi

It is tempting to identify this Winitharius with the ‘first known scribe of St Gall’. There are two securely dated charters with his name, one dates from 760 and the other from 762 (cf. OCHSENBEIN 2000: 150). Ochsenheim states that Winitharius lived at St Gall for about 10 years and left for the Reichenau in Germany at some stage before 770. This identification is, however, far from certain. Indeed, in his list of manuscripts⁸ attributed to Winitharius, Ochsenheim does not mention G. Comparing the manuscripts of this list with G, one gets the impression that the hand of G looks slightly different, i.e. G’s script is comparably smaller than the one in the other manuscripts. This, however, is work for experienced palaeographers. Another reason for hesitation is the timeframe. The completion of Bede’s computistical *magnum opus* is commonly dated to 725 (cf. WALLIS 2004: xvi). This means that if the manuscript was really copied by Winitharius this would have happened only about 40 years after Bede finished his work. While this is possible for the main text, it seems improbable for the glosses, as will be shown below. Therefore, the exact date and the author of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, ms 251 must remain uncertain.

3. PARALLEL GLOSSES

In the definition used here, parallel glosses are glosses with identical or near-identical content on the same lemma of the underlying text transmitted in different manuscripts. Since space is limited here a representative sample of glosses is chosen. It consists of all the glosses of G in chapters 1, 7, 13 and 20. The reason for choosing those in particular is because the number of glosses per page in G decreases significantly after chapter 22, and glosses get scarce after page 79. Furthermore, three out of the four chapters are also attested in the BVi. fragment. The following table shows where the chapters are found in the respective manuscripts:

	Ang.	BCr.	BVi.	G
Ch. 1: <i>De Computo vel loquela digitorum</i>	45 ^b –46 ^a	24 ^b –24 ^d	n/a	47–48
Ch. 7: <i>De Nocte</i>	49 ^b –50 ^a	27 ^a –27 ^b	1 ^a –1 ^b	55–56
Ch. 13: <i>De Calendis, Nonis et Idibus</i>	54 ^{bisa} –54 ^{bisb}	30 ^a –30 ^b	3 ^a –3 ^b	67–68
Ch. 20: <i>Quota sit luna in Calendas quasque</i>	58 ^a –58 ^b	32 ^a –32 ^c	4 ^a –4 ^c	76–78

⁸ This list comprises St Gall ms 2, 11, 70, 109, 225, 238, 907, 1399a.

In the four chapters discussed in this study, G features 32 glosses in total: six in *De Computo*, thirteen in *De Nocte*, eight in *De Calendis* and five in *Quota sit*. Nineteen of them have parallels in the other manuscripts: five in *De Computo*, seven in *De Nocte*, five in *De Calendis* and two in *Quota sit*. This means that G shares around two thirds of its glosses with the other manuscripts.

In what follows, the main text is given as edited by JONES (1977: 263–460). If the manuscripts have different versions of the main text those are given in the commentary. Following the Latin text is its translation cited from WALLIS’ (2004) translation of *De Temporum Ratione*. The glossed forms are underlined and the suprascript numbers serve for reference purposes within this article. The gloss numbers refer to the folio, column (if applicable) and line-number. Ang. 45^b11 is therefore located in line 11 of column b of folio 45 in the Angers manuscript. All readings and translations are based on research on the available high-resolution scans carried out by the present author. The following discussion presents, in addition to already published material, also new glossing material.

4. THE GLOSSES

De computo vel loquela digitorum

CCSL 123B, 269, DTR I

Triginta referuntur ad nuptias: nam et ipsa digitorum coniunctio et, quasi molli osculo se complectens et foederans, maritum pingit^{DTR1} et coniugem. Sexaginta ad uiduas: eo quod in angustia et tribulatione sint positae; unde et in superiore digito deprimuntur, quantoque maior est difficultas expertae quondam uoluntatis illecebras^{DTR2} abstinere, tanto maius et praemium.

Thirty refers to marriage, for this conjunction of fingers depicts husband and wife, wrapped and linked (as it were) in a tender kiss. Sixty refers to widows, because their position is one of confinement and tribulation; hence they are pressed down against the upper finger, for the more the will of a [sexually] experienced person suffers in abstaining from sin, the greater the reward. (WALLIS 2004: 9)

DTR 1:

Ang. 45^b11	significat ‘it signifies’
BCr. 24^b47	.i. significat ‘i.e. it signifies’
G 47.11	i. significat ‘i.e. it signifies’

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Bede's chapter *De computo vel loquela digitorum* explains different ways of calculating or speaking with the fingers. These three glosses are lexical glosses on the Latin verb *pingere* 'to decorate, embellish, paint, tint, portray', which in this context must mean something like 'represent', because the fingers represent the kissing husband and wife. Since this is not the primary meaning of the verb, it is glossed with *significare* 'to express, signify' in the third person singular.

DTR 2:

BCr. 24^b52	.i. incitatio/ nes ꝛ uoca/ tiones in/ malum 'i.e. incitements or vocations into evil'
G 47.14	incitationes ꝛ uoca tiones inmalum 'incitements or vocations into evil'

In contrast to DTR 1, only BCr. transmits a parallel gloss here. Apart from the *.i.* at the beginning the two are identical.

CCSL 123B, 272, DTR I

... qua literis quis singillatim expressis uerba, quae hisdem literis contineantur, alteri qui hanc quoque nouerit industriam^{DTR3} ...

... by forming one letter at a time, (transmit) the words contained by those letters to another person who knows this procedure ... (WALLIS 2004: 11)

DTR 3:

Ang. 46^a14b	peritiam computandi 'experience [acc.sg.] of computing'
BCr. 24^d5	.i. peritiam [leg. peritiam]/ computa/tionis 'experience [acc.sg.] of computation'
G 48.9	peritiam 'experience [acc.sg.]'

These three glosses on the accusative singular of Lat. *industria* 'diligence, purpose' are all slightly different. Ang. has the genitive singular of the Latin gerund of the verb *computare* 'to calculate, compute, reckon together' as the second word, while BCr. has the genitive singular of the abstract noun *computatio* 'calculation, reckoning, computation'. G is a single-word gloss altogether. Nonetheless they very likely go back to a common original. Two scenarios seem possible: (1) the archetype was a single-word gloss and the glossators of Ang. and BCr. independently felt the need to further clarify which sort of *peritia* is needed, or (2) the original gloss featured a suspension such as *.i. peritiam comp-*, which was expanded differently in Ang. and BCr., and completely left out in G.

CCSL 123B, 272–3, DTR I

Sed haec Graecorum computo literisque facilius disci simul atque agi possunt, qui non, ut Latini, paucis hisdemque geminatis suos numeros solent exprimere literis; uerum toto alphabeti sui caractere in numerorum figuras expenso, tres qui plus sunt numeros notis^{DTR4} singulis depingunt, [273] eundem pene numeri figurandi^{DTR5}, quem scribendi alphabeti ordinem sequentes

But this can be more easily learned and manipulated using the letters and numbers of the Greeks, who do not, like the Latins, express numbers by a few [12] letters and their duplicated forms; rather, they depict the figures of numbers with individual signs, by means of all the letters of the alphabet, plus three additional numbers, /273/ as follows: [...] Thus whoever has learned to signify numbers with his fingers knows without hesitation how to shape letters with them as well. (WALLIS 2004: 11–2)

DTR 4:

Ang. 46^a24c	.i. episenon. et cophin. et ennacose. 'i.e. episenon and cophin and ennacose'
BCr. 24^d24	.i. erisi/ non./ Ψ. cosihin/ ↑ enna/ cos ⁹ 'i.e. erisinon, cosihin, ennacos'
G 48.17a¹⁰	ς. episimon. Ψ cophi ^e n./ ↑ ennacos 'episimon, cophi/en, ennacos'

These three glosses give the names of the three additional Greek numbers (cf. WALLIS 2004, 12 fn. 4). 6 is represented by the letter *stigma*, a ligature of *sigma* ζ and *tau* τ. In the glosses the name *episeimon* is used, which can also be used as a generic term for the additional numbers. The archaic letter *koppa* Ϝ is used for 90. In the three glosses it is called *cophin* (Ang.), *cosihin* (BCr.) and *cophi/en* (G). The third extra-alphabetic numeral sign is called *ennacos(e)*, i.e. Gr. ἐνακόσιοι, which is depicted by Ϡ. It represents 900. Similar glosses are also found in the manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS 130 (Phillipps 1832) edited by JONES (1977: 272–3). These glosses, however, are not precisely the same.

DTR 5:

BCr. 24^d25	<i>quia</i> III.no/ tae in/ tribus lo/ cis or/ dinem/ album [leg. aliorum ?]/ <i>commo</i> / uent 'because three signs in three places disturb the order of the others'
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⁹ These special characters are used, because they closely resemble the signs used by the glossators.

¹⁰ This gloss occurs in the margin.

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G 48.17b i. *quia* tres notæ in tribus locis ordinem aliorum
 commouent
 ‘because three signs in three places move in another
 order’

Only BCr. and G have glosses here. Fundamentally, they are the same with the exception of *album/aliorum*. It seems like the scribe of BCr. misread his source here, while the one in G correctly copied the expected *aliorum*.

De Nocte

CCSL 123B, 295–6, DTR VII

Est autem nox solis absentia terrarum umbra conditi donec ab occasu redeat ad exortum, iuxta quod naturam eius et poeta^{DTR6} describens: [296] ruit, inquit, oceano nox, inuolens umbra magna terramque polumque.

Night is the absence of the Sun, when it is concealed by the Earth’s shadow from the time it sets until the time it rises again. The poet describes its nature accordingly: night sank [from]¹¹ the ocean, wrapping Earth and pole in a mighty shadow. (WALLIS 2004: 28)

DTR 6:

Ang. 49^b25f	<i>uirgilius</i> ‘Virgil’
BCr. 27^a17	<i>uirgilius</i> ‘Virgil’
G 55.13	<i>uirgilius</i> ‘Virgil’

These three glosses inform the reader that what follows is a quotation from Vergil’s *Aeneid* (2.250–251). WALLIS (2004: 28 fn. 52) stresses that the quote does not immediately come from Vergil, but that it is rather taken from Isidore’s *Etymologiae* (V, 31).

CCSL 123B, 297, DTR VII

Lunam uero aiunt cum infimas sui circuli apsidas^{DTR7} plena petierit, nonnumquam umbra memorata fuscari; donec paulatim centrum terrae egressa, rursus a sole cernatur.

But they say that when the Moon is full and seeks its lowest point, it [30] sometimes is obscured by a visible shadow until, having removed itself a little bit from the centre [i.e. plane] of the Earth, it is again exposed to the Sun. (WALLIS 2004: 29–30)

¹¹ WALLIS (2004: 28) translates ‘into’. I thank the reviewer one for this correction.

DTR 7:

Ang. 50^a8b	<i>medium centrum cuius</i> 'middle, centre of which'
BCr. 27^a58	.i. <i>punctum medium</i> 'middle point'
G 55.35	.i. <i>punctum medium.</i> 'middle point'

While BCr. and G transmit the exact same gloss here, Ang. only has a similar gloss. It is interesting to note that unlike in BCr., the scribe of G does not use suspension-strokes for the final *m* for the two words of the gloss.

CCSL 123B, 297–8, DTR VII

Nam quia in umbra facienda tria simul concurrere necesse est: lucem, corpus, [298] et obscuratum locum. Et ubi lux corpori par est, ibi aequalis umbra iacitur; ubi lux corpore exilior, ibi umbra^{DTR8} sine termino augetur; ubi lux corpore maior, ibi umbra paulatim rarendo deficit.

For three things must occur together to make a shadow: light, a body, and a place on which the shadow is cast. And where the light is equal [in magnitude] to the body, a shadow of constant [diameter] is thrown; where the light is smaller than the body, the shadow increases indefinitely; where the light is greater than the body, the shadow gradually diminishes and dies away. (WALLIS 2004: 30)

DTR 8:

Ang. 50^a11b	ut fit lucerna <i>contra</i> corpus hominis 'as is the case when a lamp (is positioned) against the body of a man'
BVi. 1^a28	ut lucerna fit 'as is the case when a lamp'
BCr. 27^b6	ut fit/ can/ dela/ o ^{tr} a [= <i>contra</i>]/ cor/ pus/ hominis 'as a candle is done against the body of a man'
G 55.39	i. ut fit candela o ^{tr} a [= <i>contra</i>] corpus hominis 'as a candle is done against the body of a man'

This example shows a closer connection of Ang. and BVi. on the one hand and BCr. and G on the other. The former two have Lat. *lucerna* 'lamp' while the other two have a different word for an artificial source of light, i.e. Lat. *candēla* 'candle'. Bede explains shadows here and the glosses further elaborate that it works just like artificial light held against a human.

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CCSL 123B, 298, DTR VII

An non ille, id est Moyses, putauit dicendum, quantum de spatio aeris occupet umbra terrae, cum sol recedit a nobis, diemque abducti, inferiora axis illuminans; et quemadmodum in regionem umbrae^{DTR9} huius incidens lunae globus eclipsim faciat.

But he – that is, Moses – did not think it necessary to discuss how far Earth’s shadow extends into the air when the Sun retreats from us and takes away the day, illuminating the lower pole, or how the Moon, climbing into the region of [Earth’s] shadow, is eclipsed. (WALLIS 2004: 30)

DTR 9:

Ang. 50^a18e	i. <i>confinium</i> aeris et aetheris ‘i.e. (into the) border of the air and the ether’
BCr. 27^b20	.i. in partem † in <i>confinium</i> ‘i.e. into the region or into the border’
G 56.1a	.i. in partem ‘i.e. into the region’

Again, the glosses in BCr. and G are closely connected. G only transmits half of BCr. 27^b20, which ends with *† in confinium*. The last word is also the first word of Ang. 50^a18e. While a connection seems plausible a definite interpretation is not possible at this stage.

CCSL 123B, 298, DTR VII

Quam^{DTR10} mira prouisio creatoris ita temperauit ut ubi ob solis longinquitatem rigidior, ibi ad opera breuianda et fouenda sit membra prolixior! Quia et hieme quam aestate uniuerso orbi^{DTR11} longior, et in ipsa hieme multo Scythia quam Afris est productior;

A wonderful forethought on the part of the Creator has so balanced matters [*temperavit*] that where [the climate] is colder because of the distance of the Sun, there the night is longer, in order that labour might be shortened and limbs kept warm. For winter [nights] are longer than summer [nights] everywhere throughout the world, and much longer in [winter]¹² in Scythia than in Africa (WALLIS 2004: 31)

DTR 10:

Ang. 50^a25a	.i. noctem ‘i.e. night (acc.sg.)’
BCr. 27^b33	noctem ‘night (acc.sg.)’
G 56.8	i. noctem ‘i.e. night (acc.sg.)’

¹² Wallis wrongly translates ‘summer’ here.

In this example all three manuscripts feature the same gloss, i.e. the accusative singular of Lat. *nox* ‘night’. They are grammatical glosses explaining that the relative pronoun *quam* refers to ‘night’.

DTR 11:

BCr. 27^b37	quanto magis scithis ‘how much more for the Scythians’
G 56.10	quanto magis scythis. ‘how much more for the Scythians’

Only BCr. and G transmit a parallel gloss here again. The gloss emphasises the fact that winter nights are much longer in Scythia than in Africa, which Bede states in the clause following the gloss: *et in ipsa hieme multo Scythis quam Afris est productior* ‘and [nights are] much longer in [winter] in Scythia than in Africa’.

CCSL 123B, 299, DTR VII

Ante diem clauso componet uesper Olympo^{DTR12}.

The evening star [*vesper*] would close the gates of Olympus against the day (WALLIS 2004: 31)

DTR 12:

BCr. 27b49	quod totum lam/ padibus lucet/ ολων H [= autem] totum ‘because it shines fully through lamps; ολων however <i>totum</i> ’
G 56.18b	quod totus lampudibus [leg. lampadibus] lucet ·olon· H [= autem] totum ‘because it shines fully through lamps; ολων however <i>totum</i> ’

This example is interesting for different reasons. Firstly, G features an insular abbreviation here, i.e. H for Lat. *autem* ‘moreover, also’. Secondly, the *u* in the second syllable of *lampudibus* is likely caused by the misreading of an insular open *a*. The glosses are nearly identical, apart from the *u* there are only two (minor) differences: G has the masculine form *totus* ‘all’ where BCr. has the neuter *totum*, and the Greek ὅλον, the genitive plural of ὅλος ‘whole, entire’ is transcribed in the Latin alphabet in G. Nonetheless, the two glosses have to go back to a common archetype. It is an etymological gloss going back to the long-lasting pseudo-etymology *Olympus* < *olo-lampus*, which is present in Isidore’s *Etymologiae* XIV, 8, 9: *Olympus quasi Ololampus*.

De Calendis, Nonis et Idibus

CCSL 123B, 325–6, DTR XIII

Priscis temporibus pontifici minori haec prouidentia delegabatur ut nouae lunae primum obseruaret aspectum uisumque [326] regi sacrificulo^{DTR13} nuntiaret. Itaque sacrificio a rege et minore pontifice celebrato, idem pontifex kalata, id est uocata, in Capitolium^{DTR14} plebe, iuxta Curiam Calabram quae casae Romuli proxima est, quot numero dies a kalendis ad nonas superessent. Pronuntiabat et quintanas^{DTR15} quidem dicto quinquies, uerbo kalo septimanas repetito septies praedicabat. Verbum autem kalo graecum est, id est uoco, et hunc diem qui ex his diebus qui calarentur^{DTR16} primus esset placuit kalendas uocari;

In olden times, the responsibility for observing the first appearance of the new Moon and of announcing its sighting to the royal sacrificing-priest [51] was delegated to a minor priest. Then, after a sacrifice had been offered by the priest-king and the minor priest, the priest, summoning [*kalata*] the people of the Capitoline to the Curia Calabra, very near the house of Romulus, announced the number of days from kalends until nones. He proclaimed “quintanas” [i.e. that five days remained] by saying “kalo” five times, and “septimanas” [i.e. that seven days remained] by repeating it seven times. The word “kalo” is Greek and means “I call”, so it seemed good to name the day which was the first of those “called out” the “kalends”. (WALLIS 2004: 50–1)

DTR 13:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Ang. 54^{bis}27a | .i. maiori pontifici
'i.e. to the greater high-priest' |
| BVi. 3^a36.33 | don <i>primsacard</i>
'to the high-priest' |
| BCr. 30^b1 | .i. regi colenti sacrificia <i>hoc est</i> regi qui sacrificus
<i>perfiebat</i> † pontifici maiori.,
'i.e. to the king who performs the sacrifices, this is
to the king who was made sacrificial or to the
greater high-priest' |
| G 67.13b | i. regi colenti sa/ crificia hoc est qui/ sacrificus
<i>prefiebat</i> / † pontifici maiori
'i.e. to the king who performs the sacrifices, that is
to the king who was made sacrificial or to the
greater high-priest' |

The glosses of Ang. and BVi. on the one hand and BCr. and G on the other show a closer connection. Ang. 54^{bis}27a and BVi. 3^a36.33 seem to be translations of each other, maybe from a common source. It is, however, impossible to establish the direction. The glosses in BCr. and G only differ in the fact that, unlike BCr., G expands the abbreviations. This leads to the unusual form *prefiebat* in G, where BCr. has *perfiebat*.

DTR 14:

Ang. 54^{bisa}29a	<i>quia</i> in eo caput iouis <i>est</i> 'because in it is the head of Jupiter'
BVi. 3^a38	.i. templum idoli 'i.e. a temple of an idol'
BCr. 30^b3b	.i. templum iouis <i>in quo/ capita deorum/ incaelatura/ fiebant</i> .. 'i.e. the temple of Jupiter, where the heads of the gods used to be made in engravings'
G 67.15¹³	templum iouis/ <i>in quo capita/ deorum ince/ latura fie/ bant</i> 'the temple of Jupiter, where the heads of the gods in engraving were'

All four manuscripts feature a gloss here. The glossator of Ang. informs the reader that the head of Jupiter is kept in the Capitolium. The gloss in Vienna states that the Capitolium is a 'temple of an idol'. BCr. and G have the same gloss again saying that it is the temple of Jupiter in which the engraved heads of the gods were made. It is noteworthy that the explanations proceed from very simple (BVi.) to complex (BCr. and G).

DTR 15:

Ang. 54^{bisa}31a	die annte nonas 'on the day before the nones'
Ang. 54^{bisa}31b¹⁴	nonas haben/ tibus <i>mensibus</i> 'in months that have nones'
BCr. 30^b6	nonas 'nones (acc.pl.)'
G 67.16	.i. nonas 'i.e. nones (acc.pl.)'

Ang. transmits two glosses here. The first one emphasises the fact that the proclaimed *quintanas* stands for the number of days before the nones. The meaning of the second gloss remains unclear, because all months have nones. Reviewer two suggested that the garbled sign, which is found above *nonas* in the manuscript, might be a numeral later 'corrected' by another scribe. A convincing interpretation for the gloss has still to be found. BCr. 30^b6 and G 67.16 only consist of a single word which, similar to

¹³ This gloss occurs in the margin.

¹⁴ This gloss occurs in the margin.

The interconnections of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, ms 251 with the Celtic Bede manuscripts

Ang. 57^{bisa}31a emphasises the fact that the mentioned five days are before the nones.

DTR 16:

BCr. 30^b9	.i. nam kalabantur <i>omnis usque nonas</i> 'i.e. for they were all called out until the nones'
G 67.18b	kalabantur enim/ <i>omnis usque nonas</i> . 'for they were all called out until the nones'

The two glosses stress the fact that the days were called out. They only differ in the usage of the conjunctions Lat. *nam* 'for, thus, because' vs. Lat. *enim* 'for, so, because'. Therefore, they seem to go back to a common original. It is, however, impossible to say which conjunction the archetype had, which means it has to remain unclear which glossator changed it, or whether they both did.

CCSL 123B, 326–7, DTR XIII

Notandum autem quod in scriptura sacra kalendas cum legimus, nihil aliud quam nouae ortum lunae intellegere debemus, iuxta illud^{DTR17} Numerorum: In kalendis [327] autem, id est in mensium exordiis, offeretis holocausta domino.

Notice that when we read of the kalends in Holy Scripture, we should take it simply to mean the appearance of the new Moon, as in the Book of Numbers: For at the kalends, that is, at the beginning of the months, you will offer holocausts to the Lord. (WALLIS 2004: 51)

DTR 17:

Ang. 54^{bisb}9b	exemplum 'example'
BCr. 30^b30a	i. <i>exemplum</i> 'i.e. example'
BVi. 3^b15	exemplum 'example'
G 67.30	.i. <i>exemplum</i> 'i.e. example'

All four manuscripts transmit the same gloss here, which informs the reader that what follows is an example from the Book of Numbers.

Quota sit luna in Calendas quasque

CCSL 123B, 346–7, DTR XX

Hoc autem [347] praecedens quod commemorauimus argumentum, et nonnullis^{DTR18} ad transcribendum iam dedimus et in principiis huius nostri opusculi praefigendum esse censemus.

We have given out the formula which we explained earlier on to several people to be copied, and have also recommended that it be prefixed to this present work. (WALLIS 2004: 66)

DTR 18:

Ang. 58^a16a	.i. guilerou .- 'i.e. calendars'
BCr. 32^b7	.i. paginæ regularis 'of the Table of Regulars'
BVi. 4b16.53	pagine regularis 'of the Table of Regulars'
G 77.6	i. paginæ regularis 'of the Table of Regulars'

In this example BCr., BVi. and G share the same gloss, which refers to the 'Table of Regulars' (*pagina regularum*) which is found at the beginning of *De Temporum Ratione*. This table is an aid for someone who does not have enough mathematic skills. In chapter 19 Bede offers a system of key-letters which are connected with dates in the Julian calendar. These refer to the mentioned table, "which locates the Moon's position in the zodiac, and correlates this to the month in which the Sun will occupy the same position." (WALLIS 2004: 291). Ang. 58^a16a is in Old Breton. It has the plural of OBret. *guiler* 'calendar (of religious festivals)', a form which is attested five times in Ang.: Ang. 57^b13 .i. in *guilerou*, Ang. 57^b18 .i. *huic libro dan guileri* 'i.e. to this book; to the calendars'¹⁵ and Ang. 58^a16a .i. *guilerou* .-, Ang. 57^b26 *guilerou*, Ang. 57^b32 *guiler*. It is also attested once in Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale 476 fol. 6^a14 .i. *guiler*. The parallel glosses to Ang. 57^b26 feature the Irish counterpart to OBret. *guiler*: BCr. 32^a12 .i. *félire* and BVi. 4^a23a.43 *felere*¹⁶ 'calendar (of religious festivals)'.

¹⁵ The parallel gloss BCr. 31d56 only has the Latin part of this gloss: .i. *huic libro*. It seems therefore likely that the glossator in Ang. found this Latin gloss in his original and added the Breton part on his own.

¹⁶ For this spelling cf. also BVi. 3b36a.36 *feilere*.

CCSL 123B, 348, DTR XX

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 numquam alias habeat, uno uidelicet ratione saltus^{DTR19} amisso; et ob id luna kl. Augustarum tertia reddatur, quae iuxta argumenti regulam secunda computabatur.

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)

DTR 19:

Ang. 58^a37h	egiptii in .IIII. kl augustarum ¹⁷ ‘the Egyptians on the fourth kalends of August’
BCr. 32^b46	.i. hi[c] .iiii. kalendis septembris ‘i.e. these [<i>scil.</i> the Egyptians][place the <i>saltus</i>] on the fourth kalends of September’
BVi. 4^b44.58	egiptac dai .i. IIII kalendae ‘Egyptians i.e. fourth kalends’
G 77.24	.i. iiii kalendis septembris ‘i.e. the fourth kalends of September’

These four glosses are all different, but yet comment on the same passage.¹⁸ Again, BCr. and G are nearly identical – G only lacks the *hi* [leg. *hic*]¹⁹ at the beginning – while the other two manuscripts differ. Ang. talks about the kalends of August and BVi. does not mention a month at all. ‘September’ found in BCr. and G, is actually a mistake on the part of the glossators – it should be ‘August’. This indicates a closer connection of BCr. and G once more.

5. CONCLUSIONS

By extrapolating from four chapters of Bede’s *De Temporum Ratione*, the foregoing discussion has shown that the glosses of G are closely connected with the ones found in the Karlsruhe Bede. The following table shows the distribution of all the discussed glosses. ‘X’ is used for identical or nearly-

¹⁷ This gloss is found over *et ob id luna*, cf. BAUER (2017: 12 fn. 27).

¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of the glosses in Ang., BCr. and BVi., see BAUER (2017: 12–3).

¹⁹ I am grateful to reviewer two for this suggestion.

identical glosses, ‘S’ when they are similar and ‘D’ for glosses that differ from each other:

	G	BCr.	Ang.	BVi.
DTR 1	X	X	X	
DTR 2	X	X		
DTR 3	S	S	S	
DTR 4	X	X	X	
DTR 5	X	X		
DTR 6	X	X	X	
DTR 7	X	X	S	
DTR 8	X ²	X ²	S ¹	S ¹
DTR 9	S	S	D	
DTR 10	X	X	X	
DTR 11	X	X		
DTR 12	X	X		
DTR 13	X ²	X ²	S ¹	S ¹
DTR 14	X	X	D	D
DTR 15	X	X	S	
DTR 16	X	X		
DTR 17	X	X	X	X
DTR 18	X	X	S	X
DTR 19	X	X	S	S

G shares all its parallel glosses with BCr. (17 X, 2 S). The connection with the other manuscripts is not that close: Ang. has 5 Xs and BVi. has 2 Xs²⁰. As demonstrated above, the corpora of BCr. and G show independent signs of copying, cf., e.g., DTR 4, 5, 13 or 15. This means that one cannot be the exemplar of the other – rather, a large part of their glosses must derive from a common archetype. Whatever the real date of G²¹ is, it seems to be slightly older than BCr. for which dates between before 830 and around 850 have been proposed. As shown by the peculiar abbreviations and the particular misspellings²², the archetype must stem from an insular context. But is it possible to say whether it originates from Ireland or an Irish (influenced) scriptorium on the continent?

BISCHOFF (1981: 48), and following him, SCHNEIDERS (1989: 252) argue that BCr. was composed in Ireland. They base their arguments on the high number of palimpsest-leaves in the manuscript, which Bischoff doubted to have been collected in a continental scriptorium. He also states that one leaf must have formerly belonged to the monastery of Clúain Dolcáin (Clondalkin, Co. Dublin). Schneiders adds the fact that none of the Irish

²⁰ In the case of the latter this can also be caused by the manuscript’s fragmentary state.

²¹ Cf. the discussion above.

²² Cf., e.g., *lampudibus* for *lampadibus* or the abbreviation for *autem* (both DTR 13).

missionaries which were later venerated as saints on the continent appears in the calendar in the Karlsruhe manuscript. All in all the evidence for an Irish provenance of BCr. is not totally conclusive. Another piece to the puzzle was provided by the present author in a discussion of parallel glosses on Bede's *De Natura Rerum* (BAUER forthc.): it seems that the status of Irish compared to Latin must have been relatively high in the scriptorium of its composition. All of this, together with BCr.'s close connection with the Irish glosses of BVi.,²³ make an Irish origin possible. An Irish center on the continent – as proposed by BORST (2006, vol. I: 235) – is, however also plausible. What can be surely stated at this point is that the archetype for BCr., BVi. and Ang. must have been composed in Ireland.²⁴ Hopefully, future research on parallel glosses (also including other manuscripts) will shed more light onto this matter and the genesis and history of the glossing tradition on Bede in general – once again it has to be stressed that the present study only extrapolated from four chapters of *De Temporum Ratione*.

The foregoing discussion has also shown that critical editions of all the Latin glosses together with the main texts are highly important and one of the main desiderata for the immediate future in relation to the study of Medieval glossing practices. Only comprehensive editions of manuscripts will enable future researchers to fully fathom the complex interactions between glosses and the underlying Latin texts, as well as the interconnections between different manuscripts and their glosses.

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²³ The two manuscripts share a very high number of verbatim parallel glosses, cf., e.g., most recently BAUER (2017).

²⁴ The connections between Ang. and BCr. were recently also discussed in LAMBERT & BISAGNI (2018: 159–160).

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