

OLD - BRETON
GLOSSES

Campbell. I. d. 42

Shelf 76.

OLD-BRETON GLOSSES.

EDITED BY

WHITLEY STOKES,

CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

CALCUTTA: 1879.

18. 1. 1908

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J. F. Campbell of Islay
from W. S.
Calcutta 12/1/80

J. F. Campbell

Hiddesey Lodge
Pensington
London W.

Feb 7. 1880.

Lent a ~~Heeler~~ MacLean, to be
returned when done with
returning ~~the~~ & paper sent
~~there~~ with forwarded to
Whittle Stokes in India



Ballygrant Isle
February 11. 1880

Sir

Received the Old
Breton Glosses at which
I have glanced a little
and which so far interest
me very much especially
as regards Gaelic analogies.
I returned all that I have
had of the Recue brevet
2 vols. and one number
but I have of yours Stokes
Middle Breton Hours. Gwili
elica. & Barne Cromet Anna
Cholmian Chilli Blackies

Gaelic Language and Hunters
Non Organ Dictionary.

Middle Breton Flaws and
Blackies pamphlet I could
return immediately but there
are tough passages in the
Andur and Garoblica that
I should like to study a
little further

I sent Lord Lurd about
the end of December three
copy books of translations
and I have lately re-
ceived a cheque in
payment of the same
I have a copy book done
and another well on to
being done and when

I shall have another three
full I will send them off
I have finished to day the
translation of Loch
bridhe agus Coraidh -
a strange story of day
or two since the battle of
the Green of the Ash
tree At the beginning
I find mention made
of Cailean Maol Maith
this phrase I have tran-
slated Colin Good chief
Turning up Buchanan's
Surnames p. 32 I find
the same chief is called
Colin the Bald . If I have
erred however I have

erred in good company
for Dr O'Donovan says,

When this word mael
is followed by an adjective
it is synonymous with
mal, and signifies chief,
or king. Maeloeare, the
red or ruddy chief; Mael-
dubh, the black chief Irish
Topographical Poems edited
by Dr O'Donovan Introduction
p. 55. Quoted in H. Mac-
donnell's of Antrim Note
p. 53.

If I read all Lord Leolin's
Speeches without skipping a
word they seem to me to give
great promise. I have not
read so much of speeches for
years as I have done

for the last five months
Bratney has been at a
white heap but notwithstanding
standing I skip the
one half of the speeches
of the stars

I am Sir
Yours sincerely
Hector Mackan

P. F. Campbell Esq
Niddry Lodge
Kensington

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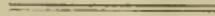
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[*Fifty copies privately printed.*] 

CALCUTTA : 1879.

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PREFACE.

TWO sets of Old-Breton glosses are generally known : one, those in the Bodleian Eutychius, printed as Old Welsh in pages 1052–1054 of the second edition of the *Grammatica Celtica*; the other, those in the Luxemburg fragments of the Hisperica Famina, printed, also as Old Welsh, in pages 1063–1065 of the same book, and, with corrections by Professor Rhys, in the *Revue Celtique*, tome I, pages 348–350. These glosses must be Welsh, Cornish, or Breton. That they are not Welsh, has, I think, been proved by Mr. Bradshaw, who points out, inter alia, that forms like *doguo-misur.*, *do-guo-hintiliat*, *do-uo-hinuom*, *do-guo-renniam*, *do-uo-louse*, cannot be Welsh, in which language similar compounds begin with *di-guo*, *dygua* = *dyo*. That they are not Cornish is rendered probable by the occurrence in *didanuud* (gl. *elicio*) of the compound preposition *di-dan*(= *di+tan*), for which in Middle Cornish we have always either *yn-dan* or *a-than*, and by the absence of the Anglo-Saxon signs for the sounds *th* and *w*. It follows, then, that they are Breton; and these arguments are re-inforced by palæographical considerations and by the general agreement of the forms occurring in the glosses above referred to with those in the glosses now printed, which are uncontestedly Breton.

The mss. from which the following glosses are taken are six in number, namely :—

1. The Berne codex 167, containing scholia on Vergil

and fifty-seven Old-Breton glosses. This is described, as follows, by Professor Hermann Hagen* :—

“Codicem Bernensem 167 (*C*) saec. VIII—X...eadem sed non omnia codicis B scholia continere iam erat notum...Continentur autem eo codice...haec : fol. I^r—I^u cum figura astronomica quaedam ex Isidori de rerum natura libro excerpta ; f. I^u—III^u titulo INCIPIT ARGUMENTUM IN VIR. de Vergilii uita scriptisque nonnulla medii excogitamenta..., f. III^u INCIPIT CARMEN OCTAVIANI CAESARIS DE VIRGILIO...Manu recentiore subscriptum nomen ‘Richardus,’ lectoris scilicet...f. IIII^r—V^u INCIPT. EXPST. SERVII. GRAM. IN BVCOLIC. IN LIBRIS GEORG. ATQUE AENEIDUM Seruui praef. in Bucol. Georg. Aen...Secuntur f. V^u uersus uitæ interpolatae...Sequitur VITA VERGILII POETAE..... f. VI^r decem uersus...Inde a fol. VI.^u fol. XX^r Vergilii Bucolica, INCIPIT DRAMATICON : MICTON. MELIB. TITVR., cum scholiis Bernensibus, f. XX^r—f. XXXIII^u Georgica cum schol. Bern. Sequitur inde usque ad finem Vergilii Aeneis Codicem in Britannia uel Scotia scriptum esse testantur glossae haud paucae *Iro-Celticae*, quas ad uirorum doctorum, quibus talia sunt curae, usum sub uno omnes conspectu iuvat proponere.”

Mistakes such as ‘frigora .i. guascotou,’ ‘fuscus .i. daliu,’ ‘tribuli spine labet .i. gloiatou’ and ‘obnixus .i. utgurthconeti’ seem to shew that the glosses in this codex were transcribed from another ms. by an ignorant or careless copyist.

2. A copy of Amalarius *De divinis officiis*, written (according to Mr. Bradshaw) A.D. 952, apparently at Landevennech. It afterwards passed over to Canterbury and is now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 192.

3, 4, 5, 6. Four copies of the *Collatio Canonum*, a work apparently compiled in Brittany at the beginning of the eighth century. These mss., says Mr. Bradshaw, range from the ninth, or ninth-tenth, to the eleventh century. All four have Old-Breton glosses and must have passed out of Brittany during the Norman desolation of the country,—one to Corbey in Picardy, now in Paris; one to Glastonbury,

* At pp. 690, 691 of his book entitled *Scholia Bernensis ad Vergilii Bucolica atque Georgica*, edidit emendauit praefatus est Hermannus Hagen. Commentatio ex supplementis annualium philologicorum seorsum typis exscripta. Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, MDCCCLXVII.

now at Oxford; one to Canterbury, now in the British Museum; and one to Fécamp in Normandy, now also in Paris.

The first copy, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. Lat. 12021) is, according to Mr. Bradshaw, written by a man named Arbedoc by leave of his Abbot Haelhucar. It contains three Irish phrases * among some extracts 'de disputatione hibernensis senodi.' It has also the canons of Adamnán, described (from misreading the Irish *n* as *r*) as 'canones addamnari uel addominari.'

At the top of one of the pages of the second copy occurs the address '*matguoret benedic mihi*', a name which seems to point to Brittany, while one of the *probationes pennae* in the margin serves, in Mr. Bradshaw's opinion, to connect it with the Luxemburg fragments of the Hisperica Famina.

The third copy, which has been greatly injured by the fire of 1731, is the Cotton Ms. Otho E. xiii. The scribe glosses 'quidam patricius' by 'tiranus,' which reminds one of the tranni or machtierns of the Redon cartulary.

The fourth copy (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 3182) is, says Mr. Bradshaw, the latest of all the mss., but even this cannot be later than 1100.

For the fifty-seven Berne glosses I am indebted to Professor Sophus Bugge of Christiania. He accompanied them by a commentary in German, and, except as regards Nos. 3, 5, 11, 12, 23, 28, 29, 33, 37, 38, 44, 47, 48, 53, my notes on these glosses are little but a translation of his. He also afterwards sent me a new collation of the Berne glosses made by Professor Hagen, which furnishes one new gloss (*uentrem i. tar*) and corrections of six of the others as printed in the

* "Hec est poena magi uel uotui malii si credulus id *demergach* uel preconis uel cohabitatoris uel heretici." Here 'id' stands for 'id est', and *demergach* is perhaps to be equated with *dibergach* in *aith-dibergaig* 'renegades'? Fis Ad.

A man has to fast on "panibus qui efficiuntur de tertia parte *coaid siir throscho*." Here we should read *coid sírthrosctho* 'of the food of a long fasting.'

A man has to live as a commutation for a year's penance so much time 'fordoborfit,' besides having to say so many extra psalms a day. This should be *for doborphit* 'on water diet:' 'in pane et aqua' is the usual phrase.

Scholia Bernensia. The rest of the glosses now printed I owe to the kindness of Mr. Bradshaw, who sent them to me, in January 1877, with a suggestion that I should comment upon them. In so doing I have been greatly aided by the remarks contained in a letter from Professor Bugge dated the 16th September 1879.

W. S.

SIMLA,
21st October 1879.

OLD-BRETON GLOSSES.

I.—THE BERNE GLOSSES.

E. II. 8 frigora id est *guascotou* . 18 ligustra i. *melgabr* . 30
hibiscum i. *elestr* . 47 uiolas i. *uileou*. III 55 quandoquidem i.
annaor . IV 23 conabula i. *mabcauelou* . 47 fusis i. *aguirtitou*.
VII 42 Rusco i. *ethin* . VIII 34 supercilium i. *guorail* . X 19
opilio i. *ousor* . 38 fuscus i. *daliu* . 41 Serta i. *couarcou*.

G. I . 44 putris i. *buc* . 153 labet i. *gloiatou* . 166 uannus i.
cauell . 173 tilia i. *limncollin* . 178 cylindro i. *acronnmain* . 201
lembum i. *caubal* . 262 obtusi i. *truch* . 266 fiscina i. ser uel
cest . 308 Auritos i. *scobarnacion* . 309 Stupea i. *iscartholion* . 323
foedam i. *daureth* . 363 fulice i. *guilannou* . 364 ardea i. *corcid* .
388 cornix i. *cornigl* . 392 putres i. *bocion*.

G. II 381 proscenia i. *racloriou* . 389 Oscilla i. *luscou* . 394
lances i. *discou* . 413 rusci i. *ethin* . 449 tiliae i. *limncollou*.

G. III 100 notabis i. agnosces uel signabis i. *ercentbidite* .
148 musca uolitans i. *attanoc* i. *clehurin* . 406 serum i. *meid* uel
cosmid . 564 pabule i. *huital*.

G. IIII 120 Intiba i. *cocitou* . 122 uentrem i. *tar* . 131 uerbenas
i. *ueruencou* . 168 Fucos i. *satron* uel *guohi* . 388 ceruleus i. *duglas*.

Aen. I 726 laquearibus i. *aninou* uel *acepriou*.

Aen. II 29 manus i. *bodin* . 85 cassum i. *ihepcorim* . 180 patrias
i. *broolion* . 236 canabina i. *coarcholion* . 236 lapsus i. *libiriou* uel
stloitprenou . 646 iactura *pritiri*.

Aen. III 20 auspicibus i. *doromantorion* . 22 tumulus i. *cnoch*.
31 lentum *limn* . 92 cortina i. *esceilenn* . 158 idem uenturos i.
nionuret . 289 transtris i. *libiriou* . 549 antemnarum *deleiou*.

Aen. IIII 131 plagae i. *guinodroitou* . uenabula *guinuclou* . 332
obnixus i. *utgurthconeti*.

II.—GLOSSES IN AMALARIUS.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, No. 192.

uicarius *amsauath* . segnitia *blinder* . habilis *camadas* . nihilominus
nihil minus sic quoque [in marg.] i. non minus . *nahulei* uel *int*
coucant.

III.—GLOSSES IN THE COLLATIO CANONUM, 1ST COPY.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, Ms. LAT. 12021.

ambit enterafib . inopportunius se ingerit *entcrafho heuanemdoguot*.
 turpi *douretit angruit* . aeditui id *costadalt* . accommodata *dehlonetic*.
 fastu *amuuet* . piacula .i. *abscenia* .i. *caul* . istriones .i. *guanorion* .
phitonistarum .i. *torleberieti* . agipam *gulcet* . nos fascinavit *ar uuo*
art hui.

IV.—GLOSSES IN THE COLLATIO CANONUM, 2ND COPY.

BIBL. BODL. MS. HATTON, 42.

ultra .i. *aiul* . ultra ambit uel inopportunius se ingerit *aruanta* .
 incaenis *inuanetou* . antropas (leg. andronas) *dadluo* , acitamenta
clou . fenus .i. *endlim*.

V.—GLOSSES IN THE COLLATIO CANONUM, 3RD COPY.

MUS. BRITT. COTTON MS. OTHO E. XIII.

andronas .i. *dadlou* . scurilis .i. *guaan* . nepta .i. *nith* . gomor *mod* .
 climatibus *Rannou* . uorticem montis .i. *cunrunt* . passae .i. *admet* .
 controuersiam *controliaht* . agipam .i. *latic* . defer .i. *gutric* . ferula .i.
aaltin . hirsutis *aceruission* . beluina rabies *cunnaret boestol* . curiae
dadlou . strutionem .i. *trot* . noctuam .i. *couann* . larum .i. *trac* .
 attacus *deuo :: a* . epimachus *biunrun*.

VI.—GLOSSES IN THE COLLATIO CANONUM, 4TH COPY.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, Ms. LAT. 3182.

graciles *saltrocion* . probum *guohethe* . bouello *buorth*.

COMMENTARY.

I.—THE BERNE GLOSSSES.

1. *guascotou*. The context is

Nunc etiam pecudes umbras, et frigora captant.

guascotou must gloss *umbras*, not (as the glossographer says) *frigora*. It is the plural of *guascot*, now *gwasked* ‘abri,’ W. *gwascawt*, now *gwasgod*, ‘shelter,’ O. Ir. *foscad* Z.² 1028, now *fosgadh* ‘shadow,’ ‘shelter.’ In the modern Bret. *gwaskaden war al loar* ‘a lunar eclipse,’ lit. ‘a shadow over the moon,’ the meaning of *umbra* is retained. From *gua-*, by regressive assimilation for *guo-*, Ir. *fo-*, ὑπο, and *scot*, Mid.-Br. *squeut*, Corn. *scod*, O. Ir. *scáth*. Compare ὑπόσκιος as Mod.-W. *cysgod* is analogous to σύσκιος. The plural ending *-ou* seems here to be original, for that *scot* was an *u*-stem is probable from Goth. *skadu-s*.

2. *melgabr* (gl. *ligustra*). In the Berne scholia to Ecl. II 18 ‘*ligustra*’ is explained by ‘*flores papauerum*.’ *Mel* is therefore = Corn. *mill* (gl. *papauer*) Z.² 1076. Compare also O. W. *mell-hionou* (gl. *uiolas*), Corn. *mel-hyonen* ‘vigila.’ As to *gabr* it must be the Mid. Br. *gaffr* ‘*capra*,’ Corn. *gauar*, W. *gafr*, O. Ir. *gabor*, Gaulish *gabro-*, which is cognate with O. Ir. *gaibiu* = *habeo* as *caper* is cognate with *capio*. *Mel-gabr* thus means ‘*papaver caprae*,’ and is an improper compound like *Penn-ohen* ‘*caput boum*’ Z.² 126, W. *costad-alt* infra No. 75, *ryt-ychen* ‘*vadum boum*,’ ‘*Oxford*,’ *Penn-ichenn* Z.² 125, *tal-cen*, etc.

3. *elestr* (gl. *hibiscum* ‘*wild parsnip?*’ ‘*mallow?*’) now *éléstr* ‘*iris*,’ *elestrenn* ‘*gladiolus*’ Cath., Corn. *strail elester* (gl. *matta*) Z.² 1079, *elestren* (gl. *carex*) Z.² 1076, W. *elestr* ‘*flag*,’ ‘*fleur-de-lis*,’ ‘*iris*,’ Ir. *elestar*, *f-elestar*, *s-oilestar* (gl. *gladiolum*) Ir. Gl. No. 795. Probably cognate with ἄλισμα ‘*waterplantain*.’ Ducange has *alestrare*, *alistrare* i. e. *humectare*.

4. *uileou* (gl. *uiolas*), a loanword.

5. *annaor* (gl. *quandoquidem*). Prof. Bugge compares the Corn. *an ur* R. 882, and Mod. Ir. *anúair* ‘when’: this is the Mid. Ir. *inuair* (Three Fragments, 122), the O. Ir. *inn-úair* (Isésin tra in cocholl roíarr áed for a gilla *innúair* ut, LL. 214.b.1).* The Old Breton *ann* for *enn* is the definite article, and *aor* (W. *awr*) is for *ōr* borrowed from hōra, just as *caul*, infra No. 78, is for *cūl*, borrowed from, or cognate with, *culpa*.

* ‘Now that is the cowl which Aed asked of his gillie then.’ The corresponding Welsh adverb is *yr awr*: a honno ae gweircheidw wy *yr awr* y kandeiryocoont ‘and that one guards them when they rave,’ *Y Seint Great*, ed. R. Williams, p. 418.

6. *mabcauelou* (gl. *conabula* i.e. *cunabula*). A compound of *mab* 'child', O. W. *map*, Ir. *macc*, and *cauelou*, better *cauellou*, pl. of *cauell* (gl. *uannus*) infra No. 15, *cauell* 'berseau a gesir enfants,' *cauell da quempret pesquet* 'nassa,' Cath., Corn. *cawal*, W. *cawell* 'corbis,' Z.² 819, A. S. *cawl*, *ceawl* 'basket.' All borrowed from the Romance *cauella*, which occurs in the Cassel glosses.

7. *aguirtitou* (gl. *fusis*). Here *a* is the preposition (W. *ac*), which is used to express the ablative, as in *a cronnmain*, *a ninou*, *a cepriou*, *a ceruission*, and perhaps occurs in composition in *enter-a-fib* No. 63, and *guirtitou* is the pl. of *guertit*, now *gwerzid*, Corn. *gurhthit*, W. *gwerthyd* 'spindle,' 'axis,' Ir. *fersaid*. All apparently, from a groundform **veritati*, root VERT, whence also Ch. Slav. *vreteno* and Mod. High German *wirtel*.

8. *ethin* (gl. *rusco*). So *ethin* (gl. *rusci*) infra No. 31. This is = Corn. *eythinen* (gl. *ramnus*) Z.² 1077, W. *eithin* 'furze,' 'gorse,' Ir. *aittenn*. Prof. Bugge compares, doubtfully, Ch. Slav. *ostřină* 'stachel,' Lith. *aksztinas*.

9. *guorail* (gl. *supercilium*). From *guor* 'super,' Z.² 905, and *ail* = O. W. *ail* 'brow,' Kuhn's Beitr. VII, 390, 398, now *ael*. From this *ail* the Old Breton name *Gurm-hailon*, Cart. Red. 224, 225, seems derived.

10. *ousor* (gl. *opilio*) = Mid. W. *heussawr* 'pastor,' now *heusor*, Z.² 830. Compare Mod. W. *heus-leuen* 'sheep spouse,' *heuso* 'to protect,' 'to shield.' The stemword, according to Prof. Bugge, seems Lat. *hapsum* 'vellus lanae' Gl. Isid. cited by Diez, Etym. Wörterb. 4^{te} Ausg. s. 512, s. v. *aus*, which in the Mod. Provençal means 'fleece,' O. Fr. *heus* de mouton. For the change of meaning Prof. Bugge compares Skr. *mesha* 'fleece' and 'sheep.'

11. *daliu* (gl. *fucus*). This is an obvious mistake for *duliu*, a compound of *du* = Ir. *dub* 'black' (cf. *du-glas*, gl. *ceruleus* infra No. 41) and *liu* 'color.' So *liou* (gl. *neuum*) Lux., Corn. Bret. *disliu* (gl. *discolor*), W. *disliw*, Corn. *unliu* (gl. *unicolor*): W. *liu* (gl. *gratia*): Lat. *livor*; and cf. Apollini *Livio*, Orelli 2021, *Livius*, Z.² 109.

12. *couarcou* (gl. *serta*) seems compounded of *cou-* for *cov-*, *com-*, Z² 902, and *arcou* pl. of *arc*, which I take to have lost initial *p*, and to be cognate with Skr. *praçna* 'geflecht,' 'geflochtes korb,' BR. *πλέκω*, *plico*, *plecto*.

13. *buc* (gl. *putris*), pl. *bocion* (gl. *putres*) infra No. 27. The ms. has *putris* i.e. *buc* i.e. *mollis*. This is now written *bouc* 'mou,' 'tendre,' 'délicat.' It is the Mid. Ir. *boc* (gl. *tener*), compar. *buigí* (gl. *mollior*), *boc-glas*, Táin Bó Fráich, Mod. Ir. *bog* 'soft,' 'moist,' whence *bogach* 'marsh' and the English loanword *bog*. If, as is

possible, the *b* here is from *gv*, we might compare AS. *cweccan*, *cwacian*, though the Teutonic *c* does not correspond with the Celtic.

14. *gloiatou*. The ms. has in the margin, opposite Georg. I 153, Tribuli spine labet i. e. gloiatou. The context is

Lappaeque tribulique interque nitentia culta
Infelix lolium.

Here the copyist has obviously blundered, for 'labet' should be 'lappae' and *gloiatou* can only refer to 'nitentia.' Compare O. W. *gloiu*, now *gloyw*, *gloew*, 'limpidus,' 'lucidus,' Kuhn's Beitr. IV 411, O. Ir. *glé*, Z.² 105. For the suffix cf. *ung-coffat* 'co-uterinus,' *cleizyat* 'mantinus' i. e. *scaeva*, *-guilat* 'hilaris,' *girat* 'lamentabilis,' Z.² 842.

15. *cofinus uel cauell* (gl. *uannus*). See above, No. 6.

16. *limncollin* (gl. *tilia*), pl. *limncollou* (gl. *tiliae*), infra No. 32.

These are compounds of *limn* (gl. *lentum*), infra No. 50 = W. *llyfn* 'smooth,' Ir. *slemon*, (*slemona* gl. *levia* Z.² 776), *slemain* 'lubricus' (ex **slibna*, * *slibni*) and *coll-in*, *coll* (ex **cosla*) = W. *collen*, *coll* 'hazel,' Z.² 791, Kuhn's Beitr. VII 396.

17. *a cronnmain* (gl. *cylindro*). Here *a* is the preposition already noticed (No. 7), and *cronnmain*, a compound of *cronn* 'round,' O. Br. *cron* (gl. *tornatili*) Lux., now *krenn*, O. W. *crunn*, Kuhn's Beitr. VII 391, O. Ir. *cruind*, and *main* 'stone,' now *maen*, Corn. *men*, W. *maen*, Kuhn's Beitr. IV 404.

18. *caubal* (gl. *lembum*). Borrowed from the Latin *caupulus*, like W. *ceubal* 'ferry-boat,' 'skiff,' Old-Northumbrian *cuouple* 'navicula,' and Scotch *coble* 'a small fishing-boat.'

19. *truch* (gl. *obtusi*). Borrowed from the Latin *truncus*, like Mid. W. *truch*, Kuhn's Beitr. IV 423, now *trwch*. The Mod. Br. *trouch* is used only as a substantive, meaning 'coupe.' The Corn. *trech* glosses *truncus*, Z.² 1077.

20. *ser uel cest* (gl. *fiscina*, 'a small basket of wickerwork,' 'a measure for milk'). Here I think *ser* must be borrowed from the Latin *sēria* 'jar.' Possibly, however, it is a mistake of the scribe for *per* 'bassin' 'chaudron' = W. *pair*, Ir. *coire* ex **kvapria*. The other word *cest*, now *kest*, 'corbeille,' 'panier,' is, like W. *cest* 'a narrow-mouthed basket,' borrowed from Lat. *cista*. There is a W. *cist* according to Rhys. It occurs in *Y Seint Greal* 99.

21. *scobarnocion* (gl. *auritos*), pl. of *scobarnoc* 'auritus' = now *skouarnec* 'hare,' Corn. *scouarnoc* (gl. *lepus*), W. *ysgyfarnog*, and (if it be genuine) O'Reilly's *sciberneog*. The stemword is *scovarn*, Mid. Br. *scouarn* 'ear,' now *skoarn*, (Corn. *scouarn* (gl. *auris*), *scovern*, *scoforn*, Mid. W. *eskeuarn*, now *ysgyfarn*. These words have nothing to do (as Prof. Windisch, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*

XXI 429, supposes) with the root *sku* ‘schauen’ or the Gr. *κοὐζ*, *ἀκούει*. They are unquestionably, as Prof. Bugge suggests, loans from the Latin *caverna*. For the meaning he compares Pliny N. H. XI 50, 1: ‘cavernas habere aurum loco.’ The *s* is prosthetic, as in *scлacc* = Fr. ‘glace,’ *scлаer* = Fr. ‘clair.’ For the *o* he compares Port. *covo* ‘hollow,’ *cova* ‘hole,’ and other words in Schuchardt’s Vocalismus I 178. For the *b* of *scobarnoc* he compares Bret. *benin*, *bilen*, *bisaig*, *beronic*, *rambre*.

22. *iscartholion* (gl. *stupea*). Plural of an adj. *iscarthol*, formed like *broolion*, *coarcholion* (infra Nos. 45, 46). The substantive *iscarth* is = W. *ysgarth* ‘offscouring,’ ‘excretion,’ O. Ir. *escart* (gl. *peripsema*, i. e. $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\psi\eta\alpha$) Z.² 800, Mid. Ir. *escart* (gl. *scupa*, leg. *stuppa*), Ir. Gl. No. 254. From the prefix *is*, W. *es-*, *ys-*, Z.² 904, Ir. *es-* and *carth* now *karz* ‘raclure,’ ‘ordures,’ W. *carth* ‘hemp,’ ‘tow,’ ‘oakum.’

23. *daureth* (gl. *foedam*). The context is “Et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbris atris.” This is obviously cognate with *douretit* infra No. 64 and possibly with the O. W. *dāfraud* in the phrase *dāfraud atuis* Juvencus, pp. 2, 18, Kuhn’s Beitr. IV 390, VII 412, where *atuis* is perhaps the O. Ir. *athiss* ‘opprobrium.’ I conjecture that it stands for **dranād*, *dravāja*, a derivative from the root *dru*, whence also the Welsh *drewi* ‘olere,’ ‘foetere,’ Rhys, Rev. Celt. i. 368.

24. *guilannou* (gl. *fulice* i. e. *fulicae* ‘coots’), pl. of *guilann* = Mid. Br. *goelann* ‘ulula’ Cath., now *gwélan*, *goélan*, *goilan*, Corn. *guilan* (gl. *alcedo*) = Ir. *foilenn*, Z.² 778. All from a root meaning to wail, M. Br. *goelaff*, now *gwéla*, W. *guylaw* now *gwylo*. The words under notice have furnished two of the rare Celtic loanwords in English and French, namely, Eng. *gull* and Fr. *goëland*.

25. *corcid* (gl. *ardea*), Mid. Br. *quercheiz*, Cath., now *kere’heiz*, Corn. *cherhit* i. e. *kerhith*, W. *crychyd*. If *corcid* is not a scribe’s mistake for *cercid*, the *e*, *y* in the forms just cited must have sprung from *o*, and Professor Bugge may be right in comparing the Gr. *κόρκωπας*, Fick³, 141.] The O. H. G. *hreigir*, N. H. G. *reiher* A. S. *hrāgra*, O. N. *hegri* (for *hreigri*) may possibly be cognate.

26. *cornigl* (gl. *cornix*). A loan from Lat. *cornicula*. One would have expected *cornicl* as *articul* from *articulus*, Z.² 817.

27. *bocion* (gl. *putres*). See above, No. 13.

28. *racloriou* (gl. *proscenia*), pl. of *raclaur* ‘proscenium,’ a compound of the prep. *rac* ‘before,’ Corn. *rak*, *rag*, W. *rac*, Z.² 677, 678, 679, now *rhag* (Skr. *prâk*, Ebel), and *laur* (gl. *solum*) Z.² 1054, Mid. Br. *laur*, Buhez Mabden, 280, *leur* ‘aere,’ ‘aera’

Cath., now *leūr* 'sol,' 'aire,' Corn. *lor* (gl. *pavimentum vel solum*), W. *llawr*, Ir. *lár*. These words have all probably lost initial *p*, and are identical with A. S. *flōr*, Eng. *floor*, N. H. G. *flur*.

29. *luscou* (gl. *oscilla*). The context is

tibique

Oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu. (G. 2, 389), and here, of course, *oscilla* is the pl. of *oscillum*, the little masks of Bacchus hung up in vineyards. But the glossographer obviously took it to be the pl. of *oscillum* 'a swing;' for *luscou* is the pl. of *lusc*, which is cognate with the modern *luska* 'osciller,' *luscelladur* 'oscillation,' Mid. Br. *quef-lusqui* 'remuer,' 'tressaillir' *Poèmes Bretons*, 204. The Corn. *lesk* 'a cradle,' Lhuyd, Arch. Brit. 53, s. v. *cunabula*, 69 s. v. *incunabula*, is perhaps cognate. The Irish 'luska' and 'leinv-lusca,' which Lhuyd also quotes, are to me unknown. But the Ir. *luascad* 'a rocking,' *luascach* 'waving,' *luascan* 'cradle' may be cognate. Chevallet connects the Fr. *locher* with these words. But Littré prefers Diez's etymology from MHG. *lücke* 'loose.'

30. *discou* (gl. *lances*), pl. of *disc*, borrowed from *discus*. Hence also Ir. *tesc* (gl. *lanx*) SG. 20^a, AS. *disc* (*dix*), Engl. *dish*. From the diminutive *disculus* comes W. *discl* (gl. *lance*) Juvencus, p. 59, Mid. W. *dysgyl*, Y Seint Greal 144.

31. *ethin* (gl. *rusci*). The ms. has 'Exiguum rus rusci id. inculti agri rusc ethin. See above, No. 8.

32. *limncollou* (gl. *tiliae*). See above, No. 16.

33. *ercentbidite* (gl. *notabis* i. *agnosces uel signabis*). Here *er-* is the particle found in *em-er-bedaf*, but generally written *ar*, Corn. *ar-*, *er-*, *yr*, W. *ar-* Z.² 900 : *cent* another prefix from *cant* Z.² 901 = *xatá*; and *bidite* is = the Corn. *bythyth* 'eris,' Z.² 556, W. *bydy*, with suffixed *te* of the pron. of the 2d sg. Z.² 370, 507. The corresponding verb in Welsh is *arganfot* Z.² 574, 907, *arganuot*, Y Seint Greal 272, now *arganfod* 'to behold,' 'to discover,' 'to perceive.' The Irish cognate seems *cétbuith*, *cétbuid* 'sentire,' 'sensus,' Z.² 992, = W. *canfod*.

34. *attanoc* i. *clehurin* (gl. *musca uolitans*). Here *attanoc* is for *atanoc*, pl. *atanocion* (gl. *alligeris*) in the Luxemburg glosses. The cognate Welsh adjectives are *adnog*, *adeiniog* 'winged,' both derived from *atan* 'penna,' pl. *ataned*, an older form of which, *etn* (= Ir. *én*), is preserved in the gloss *etn-coilhaam* (gl. *aspicio*) Eutych. 6^b. These words have all lost initial *p* and are connected with *πέτρωμα* and other words treated by Curtius G. E. No. 214. *clehurin* is the Mid. W. *cleheren* 'tabanus,' now *clyrym*, *cleren* 'fly.'

35. *mcid* uel *cosmid* (gl. *serum*). Here *mcid* is = Corn. *meith*

(Lhuyd, Arch. Br. 149,^c 289,^a W. *maidd*, Ir. *medg* ‘whey,’ and *cos-mid* is W. *caws maidd* ‘whey-curds’: *cos*, now *kaouz*, W. *caws* ‘cheese,’ *cosyn* ‘a cheese,’ Ir. *cáise*, are all borrowed from the Latin *cāseus*.

36. *huital uel uerrucae* (gl. *pabule i. e. papulae*), the collective to **huitalenn*, W. *chwydalen* ‘blister.’ The Mid. Br. *hueaff* now *chouéda*, and W. *chwydu* ‘to vomit,’ are cognate. So, as Prof. Bugge remarks, Lat. *vomica* is cognate with *vomo*.

37. *cocitou* (gl. *intiba*). Notwithstanding the difference of meaning between *cicuta* and *intybum*, this should, I think, be *cecitou* (gl. *intyba*), where *cecitou* is the pl. of *cecit*, now *kegid*, borrowed, like W. *cegid*, Corn. *kegaz*, from the Latin *cīcūta*. The scholia Bernensia have “Intuba quod intus cava sint, quasi tuba.” The stalks of the *cicuta* or hemlock are hollow: see Lucr. 5, 1382, Verg. E. 2, 36. Professor Bugge prefers to connect *cocitou* with W. *ceccys* ‘plants with hollow stalks,’ [whence Eng. *kex?*] *ceccysen* ‘canna,’ Davies, and *cēg* ‘throat’ = Ir. *scóig*. But this last seems the Br. *chouc*, ‘on lit *scouc* dans un ancien ms.’ (Le Pelletier).*

38. *tar* (gl. *uentrem*). This gloss stands over the word ‘nec’ in the line *Cresceret in uentrem cucumis, nec sera comantem*. It must refer to ‘uentrem’ and is = the Ir. *tarr*, Mid. Br. *torr*, Corn. and W. *tor*: it reoccurs, spelt *tor*, infra, No. 71.

39. *ueruencou* (gl. *uerbenas*). A loanword from Lat. *verbenāca*, The *c* is perhaps to be compared with the *g* of the Corn. *tivul-g-ou*, Z² 847.

40. *satron uel guohi* (gl. *fucos*). Here *satron* is the collective of the singulative *satronenn*, Mid. Br. *sardonenn* ‘bourdon,’ ‘assillus,’ ‘fuscus’ (leg. *fucus*) Cath., now *sardonen* ‘frelon,’ ‘taon.’ The Cornish *sudronenn* (gl. *fucus*) should apparently be *sadronenn*.

guohi. The singulative of this is * *guohienn* = Corn. *guhien* (gl. *vespa*). The Lat. *vespa*, Ch. Slav. *vosa*, O. Pruss. *wobse*, Lith. *vapsà* seem cognate: cf. *uher* in Corn. *gurth-uher* = *vesper*.

41. *duglas* (gl. *ceruleus*) is, like W. *dulas*, Ir. *dubglass*, a compound of *du*, Ir. *dub* (= **dugva*, *dunkel*) and *glas* ‘viridis’ (gl. *glaucum*) Lux. cognate with *glastum*, Kuhn’s Beitr. IV 398, VII 389.

42. *aninou uel acepriou* (gl. *laquearibus*). The context (Aen. I 726) is

dependent lychni laquearibus aureis

Incensi.

As to the prep. *a* before the ablative, see No. 7, supra. *Ninou* is the pl. of *nin* = W. *nen* ‘ceiling,’ ‘vault,’ ‘roof,’ ‘the heaven.’ Corn. *nен-bren* (gl. *laquear*), Bret. *nein* ‘sommet,’ ‘faite,’

* Poèmes Bretons, p. 181, s. v. *chouc*.

‘âme,’ ‘comble.’ There is an Irish *nion* (leg. *nin*), which O'Reilly explains by ‘Heaven, the expanse or firmament’, and which he exemplifies by ‘*Pattraicc fri heasgnamh Ninne*’ (leg. *nine*) ‘Patrick when ascending to heaven.’ This may be the Irish cognate.

cepriou (= *cepriou* gl. *tignae*, Luxemburg Gl.) is the pl. of *cepr*, Mid. Br. *quepr* ‘chevron’, now *kêbr* m., Corn. *keber* (gl. *tignum*), W. *cebr*, from Med. Lat. *caprio*, a derivative from *caper*, as Fr. *chevron* = *caprionem*.

43. *bodin* (gl. *manus*). The context (Aen. II 29) is

Hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles,

Compare *bodin* (gl. *phalangem*) Lux. pl. *bodiniou* (gl. *phalanges*), Mid. W. *bydin*, Z.² 90, Ir. *buiden*, Kuhn's Beitr. II 174. Root *bhadh*.

44. *i hepcorim* (gl. *cassum*). The context (Aen. II 85) is

nunc cassum lumine lugent.

Here *i*, for *in*, is the preposition, later *en*, and *hepcorim* is an abstract substantive, formed like *diprim* Z.² 821, *molim*, etc. and = Mod. W. *hebgori* ‘to dispense with,’ ‘to put aside,’ ‘to omit.’ It is compounded of *hep*, the preposition meaning ‘without,’ Z.⁴ 679, W. *heb*, Ir. *sech*, Lat. *secus*, compar. *sequius*, and *corim* = Ir. *cor* ‘to put,’ ‘to cast.’

45. *broolian* (gl. *patrias*), pl. of *brool*, a deriv. from *bro* = W. *bro* ‘land,’ ‘*brogae Galli agrum dicunt*’ Z.² 207: O. Ir. *mrug* = O. N. *mörk*, Zend *merezu* and cognate also with Lat. *margo* and Goth. *marka*.

46. *coarcholion* (gl. *canabina*). The ms. has *uincula i. canabina i. coarcholion*. This is the pl. of *coarchol*, a derivative from *coarch* now *koarc'h*, *kouarc'h*, Corn. *kúer*, W. *eywarch* ‘hemp,’ ‘flax.’

47. *libiriou uel stloitprenou*. Prof. Hagen says that this gloss is on the margin v. 236 of the second book of the Aeneid over the words “*Lapsus siue rotunda ligna quae rotis subponuntur*.” The context is

235. Accingunt omnes operi, pedibusque rotarum
Subjiciunt lapsus.

‘They put the runnings of wheels under its feet;’ and to the rollers over which Sinon's horse was dragged into Troy the glossographer doubtless refers. As to *libiriou*, pl. of *libir*, I think the second *i* is an irrational vowel and that *libir* should be equated with the Mod. W. *llyfr*, which occurs in the phrase *llyfr cár* ‘that part of a drag which is on the ground.’ It is just possible that Gr. *δλιβρός*, O.H.G. *sleffar* may be connected with this *llyfr*.

In *stloitprenou*, we have a compound of *stloit* for *sloid* (A.S. *slidan*, Eng. to *slide*, O. Norse *sledhi* ‘schlitten’) and *prenou* pl Fick³ III 359 of *penn*, Corn. *pren* (gl. *lignum*), Ir. *crann*, Lat.

guernus. Our *stloit*, like the Ir. *slaod* ‘sledge,’ W. *ysled*, Corn. *slodyys*, O. 2318, appears to be a loan-word. From *stloit* descend the modern *stlej* ‘rampement,’ *stleja* ‘ramper,’ *stlejet*, *stlejuz*, the final *t* becoming the lingual sonant spirant, as in *roueou* infra No. 56, *egenn*, *nigal*, and *pinigen*.

For the intercalation of *t* between *s* and *l*, cf. *s-t-labey* ‘ordure,’ *s-t-laon* ‘anguille’ and perhaps *es-t-lam* ‘étonnement.’

48. *pritiri* (gl. *iactura*). The context is ‘facilis iactura sepulcri,’ ‘the loss of a tomb will fall on me lightly;’ over *iactura* is written ‘dampnum vel *pritiri* i.e. projectio mea in sepulchro’. The glossographer seems to have regarded *iactura* as possibly meaning ‘consideration’ (cf. *iactantem pectore curas*, Aen. I, 227). For *pritiri* is the modern *pridiri* ‘soin,’ ‘souci,’ ‘sollicitude,’ Mod. W. *pryderi* ‘anxiety,’ ‘deep thought.’ cf. O. W. *preteram* (gl. *perpendo*).

49. *doromantorion* (gl. *auspicibus* i.e. *considerantibus*). Here *do* is the Bret. and Corn. form of the preposition = W. *di*, Ir. *du*, *do*, and *romantorion* the pl. of **romantor*, which Prof. Bugge equates with the Lat. *praemonitor*. The *ro* (W. *rhy-*, Lat. *pro*) here corresponds with Lat. *prae-*, as in W. *rhy-farnu* ‘to prejudge,’ ‘*prae-judicare*’.

50. *cnoch* (gl. *tumulus*). This is the Mid.-Br. *knech*, *quenech*, *quenechenn*, now *kréac'h* ‘montée,’ ‘tertre,’ ‘petite montagne,’ W. *cnw* ‘hump,’ ‘hillock,’ Ir. *cnooc*. Zeuss connects the last mentioned word with W. *cwnwg* ‘summitas, culmen,’ *erchyniad* ‘elevatio,’ *cwn* ‘summitas,’ ‘altitudo,’ and the names Cuno-bilinus, Cuno-tamus, Cuno-maglus, Maglo-cunus, *Ἀρχύνια (ὅρη)*, Her-cynia silva, Her-cuniates, G. C.² *praef. vii. 92, 101*.

51. *limn* (gl. *lentum*). See above, Nos. 16, 32.

52. *esceilenn* (gl. *cortina*). Here, as in the Old Welsh gloss *lenn* (gl. *cortina*) Mart. Cap. Kuhn's Beitr. vii 409, *cortina* is understood to be a ‘curtain’ (‘velum ex pelle’), and *esceilenn* is a singulative form, cognate with the Mid. Ir. *scáil* ‘shade,’ ‘phantom’ and the modern Gaelic *scáil* ‘veil,’ ‘curtain.’

53. *nionuret*. The context is

... idem uenturos (i. nos) tollemus in astra nepotes.

‘We it is that will raise to the stars the descendants that shall come after you.’

Here *ni* is ‘we,’ Z.² 369, *on* is the possessive pron. of the first person pl. Z.² 384, and *uret* may be an abstract noun, a mistake for, or a corruption of, *unet*, W. *unyd*, meaning, as a substantive, ‘unitas,’ or, as an adverb, ‘as one,’ ‘like,’ ‘the same as.’ Compare the Mod. Bret. phrase *ni hon unan* ‘nous mêmes.’ An-

other conjecture is that *uret* is derived from *ur* = the Irish infix'd pronoun *or**: that they have each lost *n* in anlaut (like Br. *effou*, *azr*, *Ormant*: Ir. *acc*, *áru ex *naghtran*, *eas*, *eascu*, *Uachongbail*, *uimir*); and that they may accordingly represent an Old Celtic *no-r*, just as the Ir. *bor*, *bar*, *far* 'you,' *for-n*, *bor-n*, *far-n* 'your' may stand, respectively, for *vo-r* and *vor-n*. The most probable hypothesis is that the copyist has misread the *n* of *unet* as *r*.

54. *libiriou* (gl. *transtris*). Prof. Bugge thinks that the glossographer may have regarded *transtra* as meaning "quaecunque tigna in plano transversum posita." It has also been conjectured, with some probability, that *libiriou* is a mistake for *dibiriou* pl. of *dibir*, now *dibr*, Corn. *diber* (gl. *sella*), W. *dibyr*. Possibly, too, it may be a mistake for *libirnou* = the Ir. *liberna* 'galleys', which occurs in LB. 111 b, and is a loan from the Latin *liburna*.

55. *deleiou* (gl. *antemnarum*). Plural of *dele*, now *délez* 'vergue ou antenne,' 'hors de Léon *délé*', Legon., Corn. *dele* (gl. *antempna*) Z². 1070, Ir. *deil* 'rod,' Goid². 176, *del*, Corm. s. v. *Caindelbra*.

56. *guinodroitou* (gl. *plagæ*). A compound of *guinod*, borrowed from Lat. *venatus* (as Mid. Br. *guiznezl*, *guinhezl*, Mod. Br. *gwénaer*, *gwinaer* from Lat. *venator*) and of *roitou*, Mid. Br. *roedou* Z². 98, 287, now *rouejou*, pl. of *roit*, *roet* Cath., Corn. *ruid* (gl. *rethe*), Mid. Corn. *ros*, D. 54, W. *rhwyd*, all borrowed from Lat. *rēte*.

57. *guinuclou* i.e. *lanceae uenatrices* (gl. *uenabula*), pl. of *guinucl*, from the same root as *guinod*, No. 56. But the suffix *-ucla* is Celtic and is found also in W. *mynwgl* 'collum,' Z². 820 = Ir. *muinél*.

58. *utgurthconeti* (gl. *obnixus* i.e. *perdurans* i.e. *contra nisus*); the context is

Ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat
Lumina, et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.

This seems a mistake for *utgurthconetic*, the part. pret. pass. (here used with an active meaning) of a verb **ut-gurthconam*,

* The following examples will suffice: *con-or-tinóltar* (gl. *locemur*) L. H. 38 (Goid. 2d ed. 64, where it is wrongly explained): *ragmuidne at degaid isin muir con-or-báiter* and 'we will go after thee into the sea, so that we may be drowned there,' H. 2. 16, col. 371: After the particles *no* and *ro*: *nor-forraig do gleo garb glé ror-briss is ror-buaidre*, LL. 50 b. 1. Compounded with the prep. *do*: *no-dar-be-ne* i.e. *biaid linne*, 'we shall have,' O'Cl. Gl. The corresponding form of the 2d pers. pl. *bor*, *bar* is exemplified in Rev. Celtique III, 95: *do-bor-ficba*, LU. 15 a, *ro-bor-ficba*, 84 a, *ro-bar-cured* 84 b, *ar-nách-bar-accaister* 85 a, *do-for-fuc*, *ro-bar-bia*, LL. 197, a. 2, *do-bar-beraid*, LL. 46, b. 2, *ro-bar-tinoil* LB. 8 a, *do-bar-ruachtadar*, Leb. Buide Lecain, col. 647, to which may be added *ro-far-cruthaigfe*, LB. 184 a. b, *ro-bar-dimicnigsebar*, LB. 184 b.

compounded with two prepositions *ut* for *ud*, Ir. *ud* (in *uccu ex ud-gu*), *od*, Z². 878, 885, Skr. *ud*, in Gr. ὕστερος ex υδ-τερο-. Goth. *ut*, O. H. G. *uz*, N. H. G. *aus*, and *gurth* Z². 682, 905, O. W. *gurt*, Z². 1057 = Ir. *fort*, *frith* Z². 875, Lat. *versus*. As to *conam* Prof. Bugge puts it with the W. *cynu* ‘surgere,’ *erchynu* ‘elevare,’ ‘exaltare,’ Z². 92, 895. It seems to occur in *anguoconam* (gl. lac-to,* not ‘vigilo,’ as printed in Z². 1054). As to the termination in *etic* (the regular form in Welsh) cf. *dehlouetic* infra No. 67 and the pl. *craseticion* (gl. *spicis*, leg. *spissis*) in Lux.

II.—GLOSSES IN AMALARIUS.

59. *amsauath* (gl. *uicarius*). The context is: “quasi ergo ante iudicem sic ante sacerdotem quia *uicarius* Xti. dni. [Christi Domini] est.”

The root of this word is *sta* (Curtius, No. 216), whence *stam* (Ir. *se-ssam*) *sam*, *sav* now *sao* ‘posture d'un corps qui est debout, élevé.’ The termination *-ath* for *-at* as in *lagat* ‘oculus,’ Z². 839: the prefix *am-* here signifying variety or interchange, as in W. *am-liw*, *am-ryw*, *am-gen*, Z². 897.

60. *blinder* (gl. *segnitia*) = Mid. W. *blinder* ‘fatigatio,’ Z². 829: a derivative from *blin* (gl. *inerte*) Lux. pl. *blinion* (gl. *inertes*) Lux. W. *blin* ‘fatigatus,’ ‘lassus,’ ‘defessus,’ which Prof. Bugge regards as a participle pass. in *na* (Beitr. VII 67) = Skr. *glāna* ‘erschöpft.’ For the formation by *der* cf. *breinder* ‘putredo,’ *berrder* ‘brevitas,’ etc. Z². 829.

61. *camadas* (gl. *habilis*). The context is: “qui secundum uerba sancti Gregorii semet ipsum metitur ipse *habilis* est.” This is the O. W. *cimadas* (gl. *par*), Kuhn's Beitr. VII 390, now *cyfaddas*, the Ir. *comadas* ‘fitting,’ ‘meet,’ Z². 994, from *com-* and *adas*, W. *addas*.

62. Non minus *nahulei* uel *int coucant* (gl. *Nihilominus* in caeteris operibus quantum segregetur). In *nahulei* = the *nahu* seems now *naou* in *naouac'h* ‘néanmoins,’ where *na* is the negative; but I cannot explain the *-hu*. The *lei* (like *llai* in W. *nid an-llai*), Corn. *le*, Ir. *laigiu* is = ἐλάσσων. The adverb *int coucant* is Mid. Br. *cougant* ‘certainement,’ *Poèmes Bretons du Moyen Age*, 3, 248, 266, 279. W. *yn geugant*, *ceugant* ‘certo, certus,’ *addaw yn geugant* ‘certo promittere,’ *ar peth yn angheugant* ‘re incertâ et dubiâ,’ *ceugant yw angarw* ‘certa est mors,’ Davies. The prefix *int* = *ent*, No. 63, is = the Greek ἀντι ‘like’ in *ἀντίδουλος*, *ἀντίθεος*, *ἀντίπατος*. In Welsh and Cornish it assumes the form *in*, *yn*, Z². 615.

* Lactare, deficere in pondere.—Ducange.

III.—COLLATIO CANONUM, *First Copy.*

63. *enterafib* (gl. ambit).

64. *ent crafho heuanemdoguot* (gl. inopportunius se ingerit).

The context is: “sic is qui ultro ambit uel inopportunius se ingerit procul dubio est repellendus.”

In the former gloss *fib*, the modern *finv*, is = W. *chwyf* ‘movet,’ or *chwif* (*chwifiwr* ‘vagus,’ *chwimio* ‘movere’ Davies), from a groundform *svimit*, the infected b being written for infected m. The Br. *f* from *sv* is to be compared with that of *fariel*, *fubuenn*, Corn. *di-fun* ‘sleepless.’ The verb is here perhaps compounded with three prepositions (Z.² 908), *en-* (W. *en-*, *yn-*, Corn. *in*, *en*, *an*, Z.² 905), *ter* (= Corn. *ter*, *der*, Z.² 681), and *a* (= W. *ac*, Z.² 673). The somewhat similar Corn. *entre* in *entredes* (= *entre + tes*) (gl. cauma i. e. $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha$) is = *en + tre*. But Prof. Bugge reads the gloss thus: *enter a fib* and explains *enter* as an adverb = *ent* = *int*, No. 62, + *ter*, now *tær* ‘vif,’ ‘prompt,’ ‘impétueux,’ W. *taer* ‘importunus,’ ‘instans,’ ‘urgens’, which he conjectures may come from *stagra* = O. Bactr. *tighra* ‘keen’ and cognate with OHG. *stechan*. The *a* he thinks the relative (cf. *a arecer* gl. *canti*, Lux.)

In the latter gloss, *ent crafho* (leg. *crafhoch*?)—which occurs in Vicomte de la Villemarqué’s, not Mr. Bradshaw’s, copy—must be an adverb translating ‘inopportunus,’ just as W. *yn gallach* Z.² 298, is the equivalent of ‘fortius’: the positive *craf* would be = the W. *craff* ‘firmus,’ whence *craffu* ‘fortiter invadere’ Z.² 163, Corn. *craf* (gl. *avarus*). The *h* in *craf-h-o* is due to the accent on the following vowel. So in *pel-h-och* ‘diutius,’ M.J. 21b, *Gurm-h-ailon*, supra No. 8. and *cle-h-urin*, *coil-h-aam*, supra No. 34. So also in the loan-words *ca-h-un* camínus, *com-h-azr* commáter, *e-h-oc* esócem, *guin-h-ezl* venátor, *gou-h-in* vagína, *guiuf-h-er* vivérra, *melin-h-ezr* molinárius, *maang-h-ez* masnáda, *pro-h-em* próemium, *rem-h-et* remédium, *salin-h-ezr* salinárium, *vail-h-ant* valéntem. For Welsh and Cornish instances of the evolution of *h* by the accent, see Rhys, Lectures, 2d ed., pp. 230, 231.

In *heuan em-d.* we have, first, *ev* the Mid. Br. *eff*, Z.² 372, now *hen*, O. W. *em*, Skr. *ama*, and then *an-em* the Mid. Br. *en-em* in *d-en-em diffen* ‘ad se defendendum,’ M.J. 179 a, where *em* is the common prefix used to form reflexive verbs, Z.² 899.

doguot is either for *dogout*, later *dougo*, the 3d sg. pres. conjunctive of *dougaf*—to be compared with early Welsh forms in *-wy(t)* and *oe(t)* like *guledichuy* ‘dominetur,’ *cothvy* i. e. *coddwy* ‘laedat,’ *digonwy* ‘faciat,’ *carwy* ‘amet,’ *rodwy* ‘det,’ *syllwy* ‘videat,’ *catwy* ‘servet,’ and *creddoe* ‘credat’ (Evander Evans in Arch. Cambr.

April 1873, p. 148), or the beginning of some verb compounded with the two prepositions *do* and *guo*, like *doguomisuram*, *doguorenniam*, Z.² 907. If the latter conjecture be right, we may perhaps supply the wanting letters thus: *doguotouc*, where *touc* for *zouc* is the third sg. pres. indic. act. of the verb *dougaf* ‘porto,’ Z.² 583 : cf. *dodocetic* (gl. *inlatam*) Lux. 64.

65. *douretit angruit* (gl. *turpi*). The context is: “diaconos... non multo uino deditos non turpi lucrum sectantes” and the Breton words appear to mean ‘foeditas turpis.’

As to *douretit*—the ms. has *dour&it*—it seems an abstract noun formed from the adj. *douret* = *daureth* (gl. *foedam*), see No. 23. As to *angruit* it is perhaps = **engrêt*, Lat. *aegretum* from *aegreo*, as O. Fr. *engroté* is found from Lat. *aegrotatus*, as the O. Fr. *heingre* (Br. *hacre* ‘obscenus,’ ‘turpis,’ Cath.) from Lat. *aeger*. The phrase *douretit angruit* would thus correspond in meaning with the O. W. *dafraud atuis* ‘foedum opprobrium,’ supra, No. 23.

66. id *costadalt* (gl. *aeditui aeclesiarum*); here id stands for ‘*id est*,’ and *costad-alt* is an improper compound (like *mel-gabr* supra, No. 2) of *costad*, a loan from Lat. *custos*, *custodis*, and *alt* = Ir. *alt* i.e. *teach* ‘house,’ O’Dav. 54, whence *aitlire* i.e. *saor denma tighi*, ibid. Prof. Bugge compares the Med. Latin *custos ecclesiae* = *aedituus*, also *custos basilicae*, *sacrarii*, *altaris* (DuCange), O. Fr. *coustre* ‘sacristain,’ OHG. *custor*, NHG. *küster*.

67. *dehlouetic* (gl. *accommadata*). The context is: “uox lectorum simplex est et clara pronuntiationis genus (uel generi) accommodata.” Vicomte de la Villemarqué suggests that this gloss may be = W. *delwedig*, pret. part. pass. of *delwi* ‘to form,’ ‘to fashion.’ This seems to be right, though it leaves the *h* unexplained. *Delwi* is a denominative from *delw* ‘figura,’ ‘forma,’ (O. W. *delu* gl. numismatis Juv. 80), Ir. *delb*. In Cornish it is found only as an adverb: *dell deveras* ‘how it dropt,’ P. 221, 3 (where the second *l* is an assimilated *v*), *dell-o Iesus dystryppijs* ‘how Jesus was stript,’ P. 177, 1: *del-ma* ‘hoc modo,’ ‘sic,’ Z.² 734.

68. *amuoet* (gl. *fastu*). The context is: “multi clericorum ieuniant fastu superbie ex propriis suis nihil largientes egenis.” In *amuoet*, better *amhuoed*, we have, according to M. de la Villemarqué, the O. Breton reflex of the Mod. W. *ymchwydd* ‘a swelling of one’s self,’ Pughe, who cites the sarcastic adage *tri pheth mawr o ymchwydd ymborth ar waed: gele, horen a rhyfelwr* ‘three things great with self-swelling by feeding on blood: a leech, a tike*

* Sic. Davies explains *horen* by ‘pediculus suillus;’ so possibly by ‘tike’ Pughe meant ‘tick,’ Fr. *tique*.

and a warrior.' Here, if M. de la V. be right, *am-* (W. *ȳm-*) is used to express reflexive action (Z.² 898) and (*h*)*uoet* is the ancestor of the Mid. Breton *huez*, Cath., now *c'houéz* 'souffle,' whence *huezañ*, Cath., now *c'houéza* 'souffler,' 's'enfler,' 'grossir,' W. *chwydd* 'tumor,' *chwyddo* 'tumere'; or is the W. cognate *chwythu* 'to blow'? But it is possible that we should read *a muoet*, regarding *a* as the preposition used to express the ablative (No. 7) and *muoet* for *mouet* as = W. *mwyad* pl. *mwyadau* 'auctiones,' 'augmenta.*

69. *abscenia* i.e. *caul* (gl. *piacula*). The context is: "propter *piacula regum*." Here *abscenia* is for *obscena* and *caul* is = W. *cwl* 'culpa,' 'peccatum,' Ir. *col*, gen. *in chuil* (gl. *piaculi*) MI. cited by Muratori, Antt. Ital. III. col. 871 — *au* being written for *ū*, as *ao* in *ann-aor*, supra, No. 5, is written for *ō*.

70. *guanorion* (gl. *istriones*). The context is: "impudicos et *istriones* non nutrire." Pl. of *guanor* 'histrio,' 'scurra,' a derivative from *guaan* (gl. *scurilis*) infra, No. 81, which seems identical with W. *gwann* 'debilis,' Ir. *fann*, Lat. *vānus* from *vac-nus. Compare the W. *dyn gor-wag* 'scurra.'

71. *torleberieti* (gl. *phitonistarum*, leg. *pythonistarum*). The context is: "magorum et *phitonistarum* et *augoriarum* superstitionibus non intendere." This is a compound of *tor*, better *torr* 'venter' Cath., Corn. *tor* (gl. *venter*), W. *tor*, Ir. *tarr* (cf. *tar*, supra, No. 38) and *leberieti*, pl. of *leberiet* = W. *llafariaid* 'an uttering,' 'a speaking.' For the termination in -iat see Z.². 840. The meaning of the gloss is thus 'ventriloquisms.' Compare the Mod. W. *bol-lafariaeth*.

72. *gulcet* (gl. *agipam*). The context is: "Episcopo liceat commendare uestimentum quo utitur et *agipam* et *taxam*." This is the Mid. Br. *golchet* (*golchet da gouruez* 'coete de lit,' Cath.) O. W. *cilchet*, pl. *ir cilchetou* (gl. *vela*) Z.². 1056, O. Corn. *cilcet* (gl. *tapiseta*, gl. *stratorium*) Z.². 1063, Ir. *colcaid*, Z.² 802, all borrowed from Lat. *cultica*. For the weakening of *c* to *g* in anlaut cf. *gant*, *gueffret* and *goural*.

73. *ar uuo art hui* (gl. *uos fascinauit*). Here *ar uuo art* (leg. *aruuoart*) stands for *ar-guo-garth*, a *t*-preterite, to be compared with the O. Ir. *ad-ob-ra-gart* (gl. *uos fascinauit*) Z.² 455. The root is *GAR*, whence *γηρύω* and other words collected by Curtius, G. E. No. 133. For the infection of the *g* cf. *bu-orth* infra No. 101, and the examples in Z.² 202, 103. For the development of meaning cf. *γόντς* (root *GU*), *incantare*, Curtius, G. E.,

* W. *mwyd* 'that is swelled or puffed up,' Pughe, is (as Bugge points out) still nearer our *muoet*: but with this meaning it is at least doubtful.

No. 642, and Corn, *vur-cheniat* (gl. incantator). The Irish verb *ar-fo-imim* 'recipio' is similarly compounded with the prepositions *ar* and *fo = guo = óπο*.

hui is the pers. pronoun of the 2nd pl. Mid. Br. *huy*, now *c'houi*, Z². 371, Corn. *why*, O. W. *hui*, Mid. W. *chwi*. From **svi*, Ir. *-si, sib* = **si-svi-*.

IV.—COLLATIO CANONUM, Second Copy.

74. *aiul* (gl. ultro). This adverb is formed from the prep. *a*, supra, No. 7 and the subst. *iul*, Mid. Br. *youll*, M. 10^a, *eoll*: *am eoll* 'à ma volonté,' Cath., now *ioul*, Corn. *awell, awel* 'desire,' W. *ewyll*, ex **avilla*. Root AV, whence Lat. *avidus, avarus, avēre*, and possibly (as Siegfried thought) the Irish *deolid* 'gratia,' *indeolid* (gl. gratis).

75. *aruanta*: the context is: "Sic is qui ultro ambit uelinopportunius se ingerit procul dubio repellendus." Mr. Bradshaw says, "The word *aruanta* (I am not quite satisfied about the second letter) is written in the margin opposite the line beginning *inopportunius*. Does it refer to *ingerit*? There is no referring mark." I conjecture that *aruanta* is a gloss on "ultro ambit." It is compounded with the prep. *ar*, Z². 900, and the *-uanta* may possibly be for *huanta* (cf. *amuoet* if for *amhuoet*) the 3rd sg. pres. indic. act. of a verb cognate with W. *chwannawc* 'desiderans,' Z². 153, W. *chwennychu* 'desiderare,' *chwant* = Ir. *sant* 'desiderium' and O. Br. *couhuantolion* gl. andrivenereis i. e. cupidi (if this be the right reading of the Luxemburg gloss). For the third sg. in *-a*, see Mid. W. *kanhatta, teruyna* and other forms cited Z². 508, to which may be added *penitra* (gl. *tractat*) and the following collected by the late Professor Evander Evans*: *doluria* 'dolebit,' *eheta* 'convolabit,' *cerda* 'procedet;' these from the oldest copy of the laws: *guada* 'denies,' *palla* 'fails,' *gnää* 'does:' these from Cynddelw: *puylla* 'considers,' *treidia* 'penetrates,' *bryssya* 'hastens,' *atveilya* 'decays;' and *yd ãa* 'goes' from Llywarch Hen.

76. *inuanetou* (gl. incænis). The context is: "non oportet sacerdotes uel clericos quibuscumque spectaculis incaenis aut nuptiis interesse," whence it would seem (according to Mr. Bradshaw) that the Latin word intended was 'encaeniis,' which must mean 'secular festivals.' Here *inuanetou* (if this be the right reading) is the pl. of *inuanet*. The *in* seems the prep. *in-* used as a prefix, Z² 905, but infecting as in Mod. W. *ynfer* =

* Studies in Cymric Philology, No. II, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, April 1873, p. 147.

Ir. *inbher* ‘influxus.’ The *-uanet* (from *banet?* *manet?*) is obscure to me. Is Ir. *banessa* (gl. *nuptiae*) cognate? or is the uninfected form *manet* cognate with Lat. *men-sa*, as *banquet* with *banc* (‘c'est ainsi qu'en Allemand *tafel* possède à la fois le sens de table et celui de festin,’ Brachet)? Or, lastly, should we read *in uaretou* (gl. in *cenis*) and regard *uaretou* as the pl. of *uar-et*, a compound of *uar* ‘evening’ (Corn. *uher*, *uer*, *uar*, W. *ucher*) and *et* ‘a meal’ = Mid. Br. *eth* ‘corn,’ W. *yd*, Ir. *ith* = Skr. *pitu?* It is to be hoped that a new collation of the ms. will justify this suggestion, which is due to Prof. Bugge.

77. *dadluo* (gl. *antropas*). The context is: “Clericus per plateas et *antropas* nisi certa necessitate non ambulet.” Here ‘*antropas*’ is miswritten for ‘*andronas*,’ acc. pl. of *andron*. ‘Festo et aliquot scriptoribus Latinis *Andron*, compitum, locus publicus ubi viri, *oi* *ἄνδρες*, invicem confabulantur,’ Ducange. *Dadluo* (= *dadlou*, infra, No. 79) is the pl. of *dadl* (ms. *dadlt*) (gl. *curia*), *dadl* (gl. *concio*) Eutych. 3^b, 8^a; O.W. *datl* (gl. *foro*), *datlocou* (gl. *fora*) Z.² 1055, Ir. *dál* ‘curia,’ ‘forum,’ Corn. *datheluur* (gl. *concionator*). The plural ending *-uo* is for *-ou*, as in O. W. *crummanhuo* (gl. *scropibus*). An older Breton form *datol* (for *datl*) is preserved in the verb *datolaham* (gl. *lego*) Eutych. 5^b.

78. *clou* (gl. *acitamenta*). The context is: “unus uendidit acitamenta eius in oblationem ecclesiae dei.” The gloss stands over the space between ‘*acitamenta*’ and ‘*eius*.’ I cannot explain it. Prof. Bugge conjectures that *clou* is for *cloou* pl. of *clo* = *clavus* (W. *cloeu* ‘clavi,’ Z.² 285) and that *acitamenta* is for *acutamenta* (*acutus* ‘nail,’ Ital. *aguto*, Placidus XXI 91 ed. Deuerling.)

79. *endlim* (gl. *fenus*). Mid. W. *ennill*, Y Seint Greal, 42, 196, now *ynnill* ‘lucrum,’ ‘quæstus,’ ‘emolumen-tum,’ Ir. *indile* i. *tormach* ‘increase,’ H. 3. 18, p. 71, col. 1, and see Cormac, p. 96. In Irish *indile* or *innile* also meant ‘cattle:’ *techit ass fochetoir ind innile* 7 in *búachaill*, LU. 26a. For the termination of *endlim*, cf. *diprim*, *erchim*, *molim*, Z.² 821, *stlinn*, Kuhn’s Beitr. IV. 392 and *corim* No. 44.

V.—COLLATIO CANONUM, *Third Copy.*

80. *dadlou* (gl. *andronas*). See above, No. 77.

81. *guaan* (gl. *scurilis*). See above, No. 70.

82. *nith* (gl. *nepta*). The context is: “Clerici cum matre uel thia filiaque uel sorore nepta tantum uiuant.” Here *nith* ‘neptis ex fratre uel sorore,’ is Mid. Br. *nyz*, Cath., Corn. *noit* (gl. *neptis*), W. *nith*, O. Ir. *necht* (gl. *neptis*) Z.² 68.

83. *mod* (gl. *gomor*). The context is: “Sciendum quantum

est pondus primitiarum i. gomor." Here *gomor* is the Hebrew *homer* or *chomer*, a measure for things dry, and *mod*, like Mod. W. *môdd*, is borrowed from the Latin *modus*. The Ir. *muide* 'churn,' W. *buddai*, and Mod. Br. *méz* seem from *modius*, Fr. *muid*.

84. *rannou* (gl. *climatibus*). So in Lux. *rannou* (gl. *patri monia*). Pl. of *ramm* 'pars,' Cath., W. *rhann*, Ir. *rann*. Hence *rannam* (gl. *partior*) Eutych. 4.

85. *cunrunt* (gl. *uorticem montis*).

86. *admet* (gl. *passae*).

The context is: "cumque dauid transiet paululum uorticem montis apparuit ei siba ... cum duobus asinis qui honorati [sic] erant cœcis panibus et .c. alligaturis uuae passae."

Here *cunrunt* seems a compound of *cun* (W. *cwn* 'altitudo,' 'summitas,' Z² 92) and *runt* for *rund* now *rond* 'rotundus,' *nt* being for *nd*, as in *cantoell*, *confuntaff*, *resontas*, etc.

admet is = W. *addfed* 'matus,' Mid. Br. *azff*, Rev. Celt. i. 399, Corn. *arvez*, Ir. *abaidh* (ex *ad-vati*, *ad-mati*), from the prefix *ad*, Z². 897, and *met*, which is either ex *mati* and connected with Lat. *mat-urus*, *Mat-uta*, *matu-tinus*, or (as Prof. Bugge thinks) cognate with Old Welsh *metetic* 'reaped,' *et-met* 'retonde,' Mod. Br. *médi*, *midi*, just as the English *ripe* is cognate with *reap*.

87. *controliaht* (gl. *controuersiam*). The context is: "De iur gatoribus quod per controuersiam cuncta faciunt incerta." Here *controliaht* (for *controliacht*, *-iact*, or for *controliath*: cf. W. *dranoeh*, Laws 2, 1, 27) is a derivative from **control*, Mid. Br. *contrel*, borrowed from Lat. *contrarius*, whence also Mid. W. *y kythreul* 'the Devil,' Y Seint Greal 75, *kythreul*, Z². 819, now *cythrawl*, as in *gwynt cythrawl* 'a contrary wind.'

88. *latic* (gl. *agipam*). The context is: "commendare uestimentum quo utitur et agipam [] taxam." Here *latic* is the equivalent of *gulcet*, No. 72 supra. It must be a loan from *lōdix* 'a counterpane.' Hence also the Ir. *loit* in *dia loit find* 'two white blankets' Cormac (Mac Firbis' copy) s. v. *cermnas*. The *a* of *latic*, says Mr. Bradshaw, may be *o*, but there is a little hole which just destroys the letter. For Br. *ă* = Latin *ō*, cf. *costad*, No. 66.

89. *gutric* (gl. *defer*). The context is: "Si debitor inrogandus uel exigendus defer." The margin says ::ffer, probably the remains of differ. Compare O. W. *nouinn-guotricu segeticion* 'nine blessed delays,' Mid. W. *godrigyaw* 'to tarry,' Y Seint Greal, 227, Mod. W. *godrig* 'mora,' from *guo* and *tric* (*trigo* 'morari') cognate with, or borrowed from, Lat. *tricari* 'to make difficulties,' to trifle,' *tricæ* 'hindrances,' 'tricks,' Prov. *tric*. Hence also the Mid. Br. *trig* in the phrase *hep trig* 'sans tromperie.'

90. *aaltin* (gl. *ferula*). The context is : "nec ferula curare meditetur quisque quod gladio percutiendum." Here *a* is the prep. used to indicate the ablative (as in Nos. 7, 17, 41) and *altin*, Mid. Br. *autenn* now *aōten* 'rasoir,' 'couteau' is the O. Corn. *elinn* (gl. *nouacula*) Z.² 1062, W. *ellyn*, O. Ir. *altain* i. scian *barrtha*, O'Dav. 54, *amal in n-altain n-áith* (gl. *sicut rasorium acutum*) Ml. col. 301. The glossographer here, as elsewhere, is not exact in his renderings.

91. *aceruission* (gl. *hirsutis*).

92. *cunnaret boestol* (gl. *beluina rabies*). The context is : "aliros hirsutis serra dentibus attruit : alios armato ferro insulcans unguila sparsit : alios beluina rabies morsibus detruncando comminuit."

In *aceruission* *a* is the preposition used to indicate the ablative, (No. 7, supra) and *ceruission* stands for *geruission*, pl. of *geruiss*, the *g* being prolected owing to the influence of the lost *c* of *a*, which is still found in the Luxemburg gloss *ac-i(r)-riminiou*. So in the Mod. Br. *dék kad* 'ten hares' (*gad*) and the Cornish *drok-coleth* from *drok + goleth*. With the *geruiss* thus obtained cf. W. *gerwin* 'asper,' 'rigidus,' a derivative from *garw* 'asper,' M. Br. *garu*, Cath., now *garō*, Corn. *garow*, Ir. *garb*. For the termination in *-iss* cf. the W. adjectives *dilis*, *dylis* now *dylys* 'certus,' 'securus,' (Ir. *diles*), *hysphys* 'manifestus,' 'certus,' Z.² 834.

cunnaret is = W. *cyndaredd* 'rabies,' the final *t* being written for infected *d*, and the *d* in inlaut assimilated as in the Mid. Br. *connar* 'rage,' Cath., whence *conniryc* 'rabidus' = Corn. *con(n)-erioc* (gl. *rabidus*), Mid. W. *kandeiryawc*, Y Seint Greal, 301, 418, now *cyndeiriog*.* These words must all come from some Old Celtic *cun-dara-s* meaning 'hound-madness,' 'hydrophobia.' For the nasal infection of *d* see Z.² 118, 205, 207, 901.

boestol is an adj. formed from *boest* borrowed from Lat. *bēstia*, whence also W. *bwyst* (*fil*), Ir. *béist*.

93. *dadlou* (gl. *curiae*). See above, No. 77.

94. *trot* (gl. *strutionem*).

95. *couann* (gl. *noctuam*).

96. *tracl*—'I think not *trad*,' says Mr. Bradshaw, (gl. *larum*).

The context is : "Haec sunt que de auibus comedere non debetis

* I may take this opportunity of pointing out that the Cornish *di-scoru-nait* (gl. *rabies*) Z.² 1072, is to be explained by reference to the Br. *curun* 'thunder' = *κεραυνός* for *σκεραυνός*, Curtius G.E. 694, just as the Cornish *folter-guske* (gl. *freneticus*) is to be explained by the Br. *foultr*, Fr. *foûdre*, 'fulgor.' Compare the Greek *ἐμβρόντητος*, *κεραυνοβλήτης*, and the Latin *attonitus*.

[see Leviticus xi. 15] strutionem et noctuam et larum." The first of these birdnames *trot*, like Corn. *troet*, Ir. *struth*, seems borrowed from *struthio* or Prov. *estrut*. (W. *ostruth* is, like Fr. *autruche* from *avis-struthio* and the Mid. Br. *lotrucc*, Cath. is borrowed from Fr. *l'ostruce*, now *l'autruche*.)

couann is now *kaouen* or *kaouan* 'hibou,' 'orfraie:' cf. Med. Lat. *cauannus*, *cauanus*, Ducange, and many other words cited by Diez, Etym. Wörterbuch, s. v. *choe*.

trac I cannot explain, except as borrowed from *trochilus*, a kind of wren.

97. *deuo* :: : *a* (gl. *attacus*). This I cannot explain.

98. *biunrun* (gl. *epimachus*), the $\delta\phi\iota\mu\alpha\chi\sigma$ of the LXX, a kind of grasshopper.

The context is: "comedere debetis . . . attacus atque epimachus ac locusta" . . [Leviticus xi. 22]. For *biunrun* we should certainly read (according to Prof. Bugge's conjecture) *bianran*, a compound of *bian* for *bihan* = W. *bchan** 'little' and *ran* borrowed from *rana*, which in German dialects (Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s. v. Frosch) is called grashüpfer.

VI.—COLLATIO CANONUM, *Fourth Copy.*

99. *saltrocion* (gl. *graciles*). The context is: "Sunt aliae penitentes quae sic iuuere uolunt. uitiosae . garrulae . uagae . fabulosae . graciles nihil commodi praebentes aliis."

The word glossed must be 'uitiosae,' not 'graciles,' for *saltrocion* is the pl. of an adj. *saltroc*, derived from *saltr*, now *saotr* 'saleté,' 'corruption,' a loan (like Fr. *sale*) from the OHG. *salo* trübe. The O. Corn. *halou* (gl. *stercora*) Z.² 1063, and W. *halawg*, Ir. *salach*, seem cognate with *salo*.

100. *guohethe* (gl. *probum*, *var. lec.* *pravum*). The context is: "Patricius. Non oportet indices tam ueloces esse in iudicio donec sciant quod probum fiat . quod dictum est. Noli iudex esse cito." For 'probum' we should perhaps read 'probrum,' *guohethe* seems

* The Irish cognate is *becc* (W. *bach*), which Prof. Bugge, with much probability, regards as a very old loan from the vulgar Latin *piccus* 'spitz,' whence also Ital. *piccolo*, Sp. *pequeño* 'little.' Other instances of *b* for *p* in Celtic loanwords are Ir. *biall*, W. *bwyell* 'hatchet' from *pialla* Diez II 914, Ir. *bé* from *pix*, Ir. *bé* from *pacem*, Br. *baradoes* from *paradisus*. Rhys puts *becc*, *bach* with $\sigma\mu\iota\pi\rho\sigma$ (*Rev. Celt.* II. 189) and seeks a trace of an earlier anlaut *sb* (from *sm*) 'in the fact that in North Wales *bach* forms a remarkable exception to the initial mutation of feminine adjectives. Thus *geneth* *bach* 'a little girl,' *afon bach* 'a small river,' not *fach*, as might be expected according to the general rule. Bugge justly observes that this peculiarity is explained by his assumption that *bach* originally began with *p*.

the mod. *gwasa* ‘pessimus,’ the irregular superlative of *drouk* Corn. *guetha*, D. 1130, *gueze*, P. 196, 2, W. *gwaethaf*: cf. Mid. W. *gwaelhau* ‘to make worse’, Y Seint Greal, 141. The insertion of *h* between the elements of the diphthong *oe* for *oa* (cf. *goazhat* ‘em-pirer,’ Cath.) is curious; we find it also in the Corn. *bahell* ‘securis,’ = W. *bwyell*, *bahet* (gl. *aper*) = W. *baedd* ‘boar,’ and *chahen* (rit) = W. *cain-* and in the W. *Juthahelo* (Rhys, Lectures, 2d ed., p. 232) and *tranoheth* ‘trans noctem,’ ‘mane,’ Laws 2, 1, 27. The loss of the final *m* is remarkable; a similar loss is noticeable in the Old Cornish ms. Bodl. 572 (the glosses in which are printed in Zeuss² 1060-63 as Old Welsh), where we find *dowomisura mi* (gl. *compensabo*).*

101. *buorth* (gl. *bouello*). The context is: “canis peccorum quodcumque mali fecerit in bouello uel in pascuis” (his owner is to make good the damage). *Bovellum* idem quod *bovile*, in Canonibus Hibern. lib. 51, cap. 5, Du Cange. Our *buorth* would therefore mean a ‘cowyard,’ and is compounded of *bu*, Ir. *bo* = *bos*, *βoūs* and *gorth* now *garz* ‘haie,’ ‘clos,’ Corn. *gorth*, *garth* in *luworth*, *lowarth* = M. Br. *liorz*, W. *lluarth* ‘garden,’ pl. *luird* (gl. *horti*), Ir. *gort* = *χόρτος*, ‘hortus.’ The Welsh equivalent of our *buorth* is *buarth*, which Pughe explains “a cow-yard or inclosure where cows are turned to be milked; a place to fold cattle; a fold,” and which he illustrates by the adage *gwell buarth hysb nag un gwag* “a dry dairy is better than an empty one.”

With this proverb the present essay may fitly close, for though arid to most readers, it is, thanks to Professor Hagen and Mr. Bradshaw, full of new material for Celtic philology.

* For this gloss, hitherto unprinted, I am indebted to Mr. Bradshaw. I have had to represent by *w* the Anglo-Saxon form of that letter. Other Old Cornish glosses, hitherto unprinted, in the same codex, are *cennen* (gl. *membra[na]*) and *gemmaou* (gl. *saphero et exsmaragdo*.) A new Old-Breton gloss from the Luxemburg codex is *luson* (gl. *tramitem*). Mr. Bradshaw equates this with the W. *llyson* pl. of *llws* ‘track.’

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