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**RETHINKING AND RECONTEXTUALIZING GLOSSES
NEW PERSPECTIVES IN THE STUDY OF
LATE ANGLO-SAXON GLOSSOGRAPHY**

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PORTO
2011

Published with the contribution of
 Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca Scientifica, Italy
 (PRIN 2007)
 University of Palermo
 LUMSA of Rome
 University of Udine

ISBN: 978-2-503-54253-9

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 Gabinete de Filosofia Medieval – Faculdade de Letras, P-4150-564 Porto

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Permission to publish photographs has been granted by Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München (pls. XIII and XIV), the British Library, London (pls. III, IV, VII, VIII, and XV), Burgerbibliothek, Bern (pl. XII), the Chapter of Worcester Cathedral (pl. II [Photograph by Mr. Christopher Guy]), the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (pls. I, IX, and XVI), and Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík (pls. X and XI).

**THE LATIN-ICELANDIC GLOSSARY IN AM 249 L FOL
AND ITS COUNTERPART IN GKS 1812 4^{TO}**

Fabrizio D. Raschellà

The collection of Latin-Icelandic glosses contained on f. 4rv of the manuscript fragment Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar (Árni Magnússon Institute), AM 249 1 fol (henceforth AM 249) is, together with the analogous collection on ff. 24r and 34v of the manuscript Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, GKS 1812 4^{TO} (henceforth GKS 1812), one of only two extant examples of medieval Icelandic glossaries¹. While this in itself is remarkable, it should be mentioned that the two glossaries, which originally formed a single glossary, are some of the earliest Icelandic writings. Dated to the end of the twelfth century or c. 1200², they were written about half a century after the supposedly oldest extant Icelandic manuscript, an Easter table written in the second quarter of the twelfth century³. They are virtually contemporary with the earliest Icelandic text of some length, the Icelandic 'Book of Homilies' (*Hómiljubók*)⁴, which dates back to about 1200 and also contains Icelandic glosses in a section devoted to the *Credo*.

Since the very beginning of research on the two manuscripts, it has been noted that the computistical sections containing the glosses were

¹ For an essential overview of gloss writing in medieval Iceland, see Raschellà, F.D., «Glossography», in Ph. Pulsiano (ed.), *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, Garland, New York and London 1993, pp. 229-30, at 230; id., «Vernacular Gloss Writing in Medieval Scandinavia», in R. Bergmann, E. Glaser and C. Moulin-Fankhänel (eds.), *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen. Internationale Fachkonferenz des Zentrums für Mittelalterstudien der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg 2. bis 4. August 1999*, Winter, Heidelberg 2001, pp. 587-99, at 588-90; Kreutzer, G., «Glossen und Glossare; §3: Altnordische Gl[ossen]», in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd edn., XII, de Gruyter, Berlin and New York 1998, pp. 231-4, at 232-3.

² Cf. *Katalog over den Arnemagnæanske håndskriftsamling*, I, udg. af Kommissionen for det Arnemagnæanske Legat, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Copenhagen 1889, p. 230 (for AM 249), and *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store Kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, udg. af Kommissionen for det Arnemagnæanske Legat, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Copenhagen 1900, p. 41 (for GKS 1812).

³ Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 732 a VII 4^{TO}; cf. Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script as Illustrated in Vernacular Texts from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, The Manuscript Institute of Iceland, Reykjavík 1965, p. 13.

⁴ Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket (National Library of Sweden), Perg. 4^{TO} nr 15.

written by one and the same hand and that they must originally have belonged to a single manuscript, containing a collection of computistical and astronomical writings⁵. The same would apply to the glossaries themselves, which are only slightly later than the main text and may originally have been parts of a single glossary⁶. A total of about 260 Latin *lemmata*, mostly nouns, with their respective Icelandic *interpretamenta*⁷ are included in the two manuscripts⁸. As can be seen from the reproductions (Plates XI-XII), in AM 249 they are inserted in the blank spaces and in the side margins of a computistical table⁹, while in GKS 1812 they appear on the first and last page of the manuscript's oldest section, an extensive treatise on ecclesiastical computus¹⁰, and are arranged, as those in AM 249, in parallel columns. The words occurring in the two lists are extremely diverse and refer most frequently to

⁵ This was first noticed by Guðmundur Þorláksson in his edition of the glossary in AM 249, published in 1884: Guðmundur Þorláksson, «Ísländsk-latinske glosor i et kalendarium i AM. 249, folio», in *Smástykker 1-16 udgivne af Samfund til Udgivelse af Gammel Nordisk Litteratur*, Møllers Bogtrykkeri, Copenhagen 1884-1891, pp. 78-99, at 79-80.

⁶ The part of the glossary in GKS 1812 was edited for the first time in 1878 by Hugo Gering (Gering, H., «Isländische Glossen», *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 9 [1878], pp. 385-94). In 1883 a new and more accurate edition of the glosses appeared in Ludvig Larsson's comprehensive study of the oldest part of the manuscript (*Äldsta delen af cod. 1812 4^o Gml. kgl. samling på Kgl. biblioteket i København*, i diplomatariskt aftryck utg. af Ludvig Larsson, Möllers Boktryckeri, Copenhagen 1883, pp. 41-51), and in 1914-1916 Natanael Beckman and Kristian Kålund published the astronomical terms contained in the glossary's last section (*Alfræði íslenzk. Íslandsk encyklopædisk litteratur*, II. *Rímtöl*, ugg. ved N. Beckman og Kr. Kålund, Møllers Bogtrykkeri, Copenhagen 1914-1916, pp. 72-75); both these works made substantial improvements to Gering's edition. In 1988 Piergiuseppe Scardigli and Fabrizio D. Raschellà proposed a new edition of the glossary with several emendations and additions and provided it with an extensive commentary (Scardigli, P. and Raschellà, F.D., «A Latin-Icelandic Glossary and Some Remarks on Latin in Medieval Scandinavia», in G.-W. Weber (ed.), *Idee Gestalt Geschichte. Festschrift Klaus von See*, Odense University Press, Odense 1988, pp. 299-323). The other part of the glossary – that in AM 249 l fol – has only one edition to date, made by Guðmundur Þorláksson in 1884 (see above, note 5).

⁷ In the following I will use the terms 'interpretamentum/-ta' and 'gloss(es)' interchangeably, provided this does not cause confusion with the other more comprehensive meaning of the term 'gloss' as the sum of *lemma* and *interpretamentum*.

⁸ This figure is necessarily approximate. In fact, well over 70 of the *lemmata* are found in AM 249, while at least 177 appear in GKS 1812. However, allowance must be made for a number of *lemmata* which, due to the poor state of the parchment, are illegible or have completely disappeared (see the edition and commentary below).

⁹ *Alfræði íslenzk II*, ed. by Beckman and Kålund, pp. 67-71.

¹⁰ *Äldsta delen af cod. 1812 4^o*, ed. by Larsson, pp. 1-41.

household utensils, agricultural and handicraft tools, domestic animals, furniture and parts of the house, games and entertainment, officinal plants, and the names of stars and planets (the latter two categories occur only in GKS 1812). A considerable number of verbs and adjectives, equally disparate, are also represented. The *lemmata* are most often grouped on the basis of semantic and metonymical relationships and, albeit less frequently, according to their formal, i.e. graphic and phonetic, affinity. Relevant examples taken from AM 249 will be discussed below.

The purpose of the present study is threefold. Firstly, I propose to validate Guðmundur Þorláksson's statement that the two glossaries were originally the constituent parts of a single glossary in such a way that the glosses contained in AM 249 preceded, in the original manuscript, those in GKS 1812; then I will briefly introduce the glossary in AM 249 in its overall structure and present a new edition and commentary.

The original composition of AM 249 as well as its connection with GKS 1812 was effectively reconstructed and described by Guðmundur Þorláksson (hereafter abbreviated GP), whose arguments can be summarized as follows¹¹.

Relying on the assumption that the original quire making up the manuscript was complete, i.e. consisting of 4 bifolia for a total of 8 leaves, it follows that 4 leaves in all are missing. Considering that the first preserved leaf (f. 1rv) in AM 249 contains the calendar for the months of March and April, the first conclusion to be drawn is that the original first leaf, which should have contained the calendar for the months of January and February, is missing. Consequently, the eighth (and final) leaf, which formed a bifolium together with the first leaf, is also missing. The other months contained in AM 249, on ff. 2rv and 3rv, are May-June and November-December, respectively, which filled the third and sixth leaves of the original manuscript. This circumstance allows us to infer that the intermediate leaves containing the months May to October are also missing and that these were the original fourth and fifth leaves. The current last leaf (f. 4rv) in AM 249, containing computus tables (calculations to determine the beginning of fasting periods) and the collection of glosses investigated in the present study, corresponds therefore to the seventh leaf of the original manuscript. The question arises as to what the eighth lost leaf might have contained. Observing that

¹¹ Cf. GP, p. 83.

the last part of the sixth and the whole of the seventh leaf (corresponding to the actual ff. 3v-4v of AM 249) are filled with computus tables and glosses, and that the tables are apparently incomplete, GP concludes that the following leaf also contained in all likelihood computus tables. Moreover, since both the last leaf in AM 249 and the first leaf in GKS 1218 contain lists of glosses, it is equally probable that the missing eighth leaf did as well.

The hypothesis that AM 249 and GKS 1812 were closely connected and originally part of a single manuscript, initially suggested to GP by the presence of similar lists of glosses in both, was confirmed by his careful examination of the script and the ink in the two manuscripts, which proved to be the same for both the glosses and the computistical sections, respectively¹². In fact, GP's thorough codicological analysis of AM 249, together with the equally accurate investigation of the oldest part of GKS 1812 made by L. Larsson¹³, leaves no doubt as to their common origin. This achievement has yet to be disputed and can therefore be used as a sound premise for further and possibly combined examination of both the main text and the glosses. On the other hand, this does not imply that the materials collected in the two manuscripts are original. On the contrary, the presence of orthographic variation, miswritings, lacunae, and occasional discrepancies between *lemmata* and *interpretamenta* in the glosses clearly testify that they are copies of one or more earlier manuscripts¹⁴.

The glosses in AM 249 are written on the fragment's last two pages (f. 4rv). They start in the blank spaces of the penultimate column of f. 4r, of which they occupy only the upper half, and continue in the right margin of the same page. They then start again in the left margin of f. 4v and continue, as in the preceding page, in the blank spaces of the penultimate column and in the right margin, where they come to an end (disregarding their continuation in GKS 1812). Due to damage suffered by the parchment in the outer margin of the leaf, several glosses, especially those in the upper half, are now partially or completely illegible. Moreover, they are written in a pale brownish ink (compared to the dark brown ink of the main text), which sometimes makes them even harder to read. As noted by GP, the glosses are written by a hand

¹² Ibid., pp. 79-80 and 83.

¹³ See above, note 6.

¹⁴ Cf. GP, pp. 84 and 88.

different from that of the main text and are also slightly later in date. It may be further observed that the Latin *lemmata* are, as a rule, written in larger letters than the Icelandic glosses and start, with very few exceptions, with a capital letter. A glance at the photographic reproduction of the leaf will help the reader get a clearer picture of the whole.

Although a valuable edition of the glossary in AM 249 is already available within GP's study of 1884, it has nonetheless seemed appropriate to undertake a new one, which, moving from GP's reading and commentary of the glosses, should first of all give a reliable picture of the manuscript's present state¹⁵. As a matter of fact, some of the glosses – or parts of them – which seem to have been clearly legible to GP have become very faint, and others which were difficult to read at GP's time are now totally illegible. GP's reading and interpretation of most of the words contained in the glosses (both *lemmata* and *interpretamenta*) have seemed reliable and reasonable to me and have therefore been accepted in the present edition. Where alternative or contrasting positions are taken, they are discussed in footnotes to the text.

GP presented his edition of the glossary in a semi-diplomatic form, thus retaining the arrangement of the glosses in columns according to the manuscript, reproducing variant forms of one and the same letter, and expanding most of the abbreviations. In my edition I did not think it useful to repeat his procedure, all the more so since I, unlike him, had the possibility to accompany my edition with a facsimile of the manuscript. The following criteria have been applied in the present edition:

The Latin *lemmata* are given in the first column on the left. These are followed, in the second column, by their English translation (sometimes tentative)¹⁶. The third and fourth columns contain the Icelandic glosses

¹⁵ I take the opportunity to express here my deepest gratitude to the staff of the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar (the Icelandic Árni Magnússon Institute), first for providing me with excellent photographic reproductions of the manuscripts AM 249 l fol and GKS 1812 4¹⁰ and then for allowing me to work extensively at both manuscripts during my stay in Reykjavík in the summer of 2010. The facsimiles included in this paper are printed with the Institute's permission.

¹⁶ For the meaning of the Latin *lemmata* – at least of those whose reading is sufficiently certain – the dictionaries of medieval Latin by Charles Du Cange and Lorenz Diefenbach have been consulted as a rule, besides other standard Latin dictionaries: Du Cange (Du Fresne), Ch., *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, 10 vols., Favre, Niort 1883-1887; Diefenbach, L., *Glossarium Latino-Germanicum mediæ et infimæ aetatis*, J.

and their English equivalents, respectively. For clarity's sake, each gloss is linked to the corresponding *lemma* by an arrow. When the meaning of the Icelandic gloss corresponds closely to that of the Latin *lemma*, no English equivalent is given. All abbreviations are expanded and the added letters are written in italics. Letters or words that are no longer clearly legible because of deterioration of the parchment are underlined. Missing letters in partially illegible words are included in square brackets, and dots are used to signify the presumable number of missing letters, while angle brackets are used for conjectural additions. Question marks are used throughout to point out uncertain readings, doubtful completions or tentative interpretations, often with reference to an explanatory footnote.

f. 4r

col. I

Accubito¹⁷ '(from a?) couch'? → af samhuilo¹⁸ 'from/of a common bed'

Baer, Frankfurt am Main 1857; id., *Novum glossarium Latino-Germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis*, Sauerländer, Frankfurt am Main 1867. However, explicit reference will not be made to them for every *lemma* but only for those which pose particular problems.

¹⁷ This *lemma* admits of several interpretations. If it does not contain miswritings, it may be intended either as the dat./abl. sg. of *accubitum* ~ *accubitus*, a noun denoting a (large) couch to recline on at meals or to rest, i.e. a kind of triclinium (see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, pp. 50-51, and Diefenbach, *Glossarium*, p. 8, s.v. *accubitus*), or as a verb meaning 'to recline at table' or 'to rest, to sleep' (but, in this case, it usually has the form *accubo*). Supposing, on the contrary, that its original form was somewhat different, we might think of the abstract feminine noun *accubitio*, obviously belonging to the same lexeme as the aforementioned words and meaning 'a lying or reclining, especially at meals'. On the basis of comparison with the Icelandic gloss, it might perhaps be inferred that the Latin *lemma* is actually a masculine or neuter noun in the dative or, more probably, ablative case and that the Icelandic glossator intended to emphasize the grammatical case by adding the preposition *af* 'from; of' (see below, note 18). Why the *lemma* would be recorded in a form different from the nominative is a question probably bound to remain unanswered.

¹⁸ Unless one or more words are missing at the beginning of the Icelandic gloss, the most likely interpretation of this prepositional phrase (in normalized spelling: *af samhvílu*) would seem to be the one conjectured in the preceding footnote. *Samhvíla*, a compound noun derived from the phrasal verb *hvíla saman* 'to rest together', is a rather infrequent word, and its meaning ranges from 'a common place to rest' to 'sexual intercourse'; see Cleasby, R., Vigfusson, G. and Craigie, W.A., *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford 1957, p. 511, and Fritzner, J. and Hødnebo, F., *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, I-III; rettelser og tillegg ved Finn Hødnebo (IV), Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, Bergen and Tromsø 1972, IV, p. 299.

[ue] occursus ¹⁹	'return, recurrence'	→	aftr <i>quama</i>
Malona ²⁰	'flood tide'	→	floþ
ledona	'ebb tide'	→	fiara
Pauimentum	'floor'	→	golf
tectum	'roof'	→	þekia
Tegula	'roof tile'	→	fiol <i>uel</i> þekia 'board' – 'roof'

col. II

Ciriatha[m?] <i>uel</i>	? ²¹ – 'canvas, tent;	→	bo[[?] ²³	?
cadurc[um?]	bed-cover ²²			
Crater	'crater' (a drinking vessel)	→	ker	'vessel, goblet'
Catinus	'large, round dish'	→	discr	'plate'
Parapsid[a] ²⁴	'basin, bowl'	→	biöþ	'tray'
Patara	'(libation) saucer'	→	bliþs(c)öl ²⁵	'drinking vessel'

¹⁹ One or more words with the same meaning of *occursus* are obviously missing at the beginning of this *lemma*.

²⁰ The right form would be *malina*. The ending *-ona* is probably due to analogy with the following *lemma*, *ledona*.

²¹ No other occurrence of *ciriatha* or similar nouns seems to be attested anywhere outside the glossary (cf. GP, p. 89).

²² Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, II, p. 15, and Diefenbach, *Glossarium*, p. 87, s.v. *cadurcum*.

²³ The parchment is wrinkled and faded here, and only the sequence *bo-* is clearly legible. GP has *boll.*, which he interprets as *bolli* 'bowl'. Considering the meaning of the second Latin *lemma*, *cadurcum*, which denotes a kind of linen or of bed-cover, possibly used as a tent, a word like *boldang* (n. 'a sort of thick linen': Cleasby, Vigfusson and Craigie, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, p. 72) might originally have appeared in this place, provided that the term was already in use in the twelfth century. In fact, its first written record in Icelandic is dated to the seventeenth century; see Blöndal Magnússon, Á., *Íslensk orðsifjabók*, Orðabók Háskólans, Reykjavík 1989, p. 70.

²⁴ Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, VI, p. 161, Diefenbach, *Glossarium*, p. 412, and id., *Novum glossarium*, p. 280, s.v. *parapsis*.

²⁵ GP, pp 89-90, assumes here a miswriting for 'bliþscol', i.e. *blíðskál*. This word is attested only once in Old Norse literature, namely in Snorri Sturluson's *Háttatal*, and is rendered as «god, behagelig skál, om drikkekarret», i.e. 'a pleasurable drinking vessel', by Finnur Jónsson in his revised edition of Sveinbjörn Egilsson's dictionary of skaldic poetry: see Sveinbjörn Egilsson and Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon poeticum antiquae linguae Septentrionalis. Ordbog over det norsk-islandske skjaldesprog*, 2nd edn., Møllers

Ciphus uel Sciathus	'bowl, goblet' 'ladle'	→ ker	'vessel, goblet'
Clitella	'pack-saddle pannier'	→ tasca	'chest; basket'
Numallo	? ²⁶	→ tōscosueinn	'chest-bearer; porter'
Pumex	'pumice'	→ vicr	
Trunca ²⁷	'trunk'	→ stofn	'stump, trunk'
Mastigia uel Claua	'scourge, whip, cane' – 'club'	→ kylva	'club'
Clauis	'key'	→ lykil	
Clauus	'nail'	→ nagle	
Lethargius ²⁸	'drowsiness, lethargy'	→ søfr ihel	'he sleeps to death'
bultum uel Catapulta	'missile'? – 'catapult, missile'	→ colfr	'bolt, missile'

f. 4v

col. I

Puluinar	'bolster, cushion, pillow'	→ vengi	'pillow' ²⁹
Culcitra ³⁰	'cushion, mattress'	→ bepr	'bed; bolster, pillow'

Bogtrykkeri, Copenhagen 1931, p. 53: GP's conjecture seems reasonable and is accepted here.

²⁶ GP, p. 90, reasonably assumes for this word a derivation from *num(m)us*, 'money', conjecturing the meaning «den som bærer pengepungen, en almisseuddelers dreng», i.e. 'he who carries the purse, the assistant of an alms distributor'. Diefenbach, *Glossarium*, p. 385, has *num(ma)rius* and *num(m)ularius*, both with the meaning 'moneychanger'.

²⁷ Probably a secondary feminine form for classical *truncus*, m.

²⁸ For classical *lethargus*.

²⁹ The neuter noun *vengi* (related to masc. *vangi*, 'cheek') is found only once with the meaning 'pillow' in Icelandic literature, namely in *Guðrúnarkviða*; see Sveinbjörn Egilsson and Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon poeticum*, p. 604, s.v. 1. *vengi*, and Fritzner and Hødnebo, *Ordbog*, III, p. 907, and IV, p. 418. In prose it usually occurs as a synonym of *vangr*, m. 'field, ground', both words having the same etymology.

³⁰ The parchment has become very dark in this place, and the reading of all the words from 'Culcitra' to '[..]bbo' is, except for 'Capulum', very uncertain.

Capulum	'handle' (esp. a sword-hilt)	→ hialt ³¹	'(cross-guard of the) hilt'
Acetus ³²	'vinegar'	→ iostr	'yeast'
[..]bbo ³³	?	→ kilpr ³⁴	'handle' (esp. of a bucket)
Ogga ³⁵	?	→ grip ³⁶	'grip, grasp'
Adorgior ³⁷	?	→ [ec] meþe viþaðra	'[I] talk to others'
[A]bsorbuit ³⁸	'he swallowed down, devoured'	→ [sa]ur ga ec ³⁹	'I defile, soil; desecrate'
Lenocinium	'pandering'	→ saurlíui	'dissolute life'

³¹ Reading according to GP. The parchment is now entirely dark in this place.

³² For classical *acetum*.

³³ The parchment has become so dark and wrinkled in this place as to make any reading conjecture impossible. '[..]bbo' is from GP, who, however, gives up any attempt of completion.

³⁴ See above, note 31.

³⁵ GP's reading is '[...]ggo', with three presumably missing letters at the beginning and a final -o. No conjecture, however, is made concerning the identification of the word.

³⁶ The first letter of this word is fairly legible, while all the others are very faded. GP conjectures *griþi* 'servant'; nevertheless, considering the meaning of the preceding word, *grip* would perhaps be a more plausible reading. The Latin *lemma* is, of course, of no help.

³⁷ The Latin word most resembling this *lemma* is the verb *adorior*, which means 'to attack, assail'. This meaning does not match, however, that of the Icelandic gloss (in normalized spelling: [ek] mæli við aðra). Semantically closer to the latter would certainly be *adoro*, which in its wide semantic spectrum includes the meaning 'to address sb.', but it is formally too distant from *adorgior*. It must be concluded that it is probably a misinterpretation on the part of the glossator.

³⁸ So GP. The first letter seems in fact to be an 'A', and the reading of the following letters is certain enough. Nonetheless, the meaning of the Latin *lemma* is quite distant from that of the corresponding Icelandic gloss. Actually, it is not unlikely that another verb, resembling the Latin *absorbeo* in form but much closer to the Icelandic *saurga* in meaning, that is *obsordeo* 'I get dirty' (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, VI, p. 22, s.v. *obsordere*: «sordidus fio»), was present in the original. If so, *absorbuit* would be a banal miswriting for *obsorduit*. Moreover, it is not clear why the perfect (3rd pers. sg.) is used in the Latin *lemma* instead of the present. The Icelandic gloss is in the present form (1st pers. sg.).

³⁹ The first letters of the gloss are now illegible; the word is completed according to GP.

Lupercal uel Lupānar uel [.....] ⁴⁰ uel Mercatoria	'brothel'	→	hor hus	
Manzer	'bastard'	→	sonr Portcono	'whore's son'
Postora ⁴¹	'posterior, buttocks'?	→	brigzle	'shame' (i.e. pudenda?) ⁴²
Cautirior	'I burn myself'	→	ec em suiþinn	'I am burnt'
[Tor]ris ⁴³	'brand'	→	[svi]þu brandr ⁴⁴	'(fire)brand'
col. II				
Omen; fausta	'omen' – 'favourable prognostics'	→	heill; idem	
Sciolus	'sciolist'	→	Scriþgiarn	'garrulous' ? ⁴⁵
Sciolitas	'sciolism'	→	Scriþgirn	'garrulity' ? ⁴⁶
bubo	'owl'	→	vfr	
Pauus	'peacock'	→	Pai	
Dedalus	'Daedalus'	→	volundr	'Wayland (the Smith)' ⁴⁷

⁴⁰ GP reads here 'Prostibulum'. As a matter of fact, none of the letters making up this word are legible with certainty. It may well be, however, that the parchment was in better condition when GP examined it.

⁴¹ Considering the context, this word could be thought of as an alteration, possibly due to miscopying, of *postera* 'back parts', i.e. 'buttocks' (cf. GP, p. 93, with reference to this entry in Diefenbach's *Glossarium*). However, its relation with the corresponding Icelandic gloss is rather doubtful; see below, note 42.

⁴² If the reading of the Icelandic gloss is correct (and it would seem to be so, in spite of the fading of the central part of the word), then we have a noun with the basic meaning 'blame, shame'; see Cleasby, Vigfusson and Craigie, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, s.v. *brigzli*. This is somewhat distant from the (presumed) meaning of the Latin lemma, yet not so much as to exclude a feeble connection with it.

⁴³ So GP. At present only some indistinct signs in a dark spot are visible.

⁴⁴ Completion according to GP.

⁴⁵ GP: «Scriþgiarn] Dette ord [...] findes ikke i ordbøger, lige så lidt som det følgende navneord S[c]riþgirn. [...] I følge sin sammensætning skulde Scriþgiarn nærmest betyde: "den som let forløber sig" eller lignende» (pp. 94-95).

⁴⁶ See above, note 45.

⁴⁷ The Icelandic gloss is obviously an attempt to equate the Greek mythological figure Δαίδαλος (Latin *Daedalus*) with a corresponding or similar figure in Germanic

Inter lunium ⁴⁸	'interlunation'	→	Neþar ⁴⁹	'waning moon'
Malau ⁵⁰	'under bad auspices'	→	illo heille	'in a evil hour'
Altercor	'I wrangle'	→	þrete ec	
mixtiouis Pastiles ⁵¹	'loaf made of mixed grain'?	→	brauþco(r)n (?) ⁵²	'grains for bread-making'
col. III				
Pelta	'light, crescent shaped shield'	→	scioldr	'shield'
Aleam	'tables' (a board game with dice) ⁵³	→	tafl	
[Tens?]era ⁵⁴	'checker; die'	→	[bau?]n ⁵⁵	'bean; pellet'

mythology, i.e. Wayland the Smith (*Vǫlundr* in Old Norse). Both are actually represented as skilful craftsmen in their respective traditions. This is the only proper name occurring in the glossary. The continuation of the glossary in GKS 1812 includes several proper names, yet all referring to stars.

⁴⁸ GP reads 'Inter limium', stating that this is a miswriting for *interlunium*. However, it seems to me that the word may be read as *interlunium* as well.

⁴⁹ Usually: *niðar*.

⁵⁰ I.e. *mala ave*, literally '(under the influence of) an ill bird', i.e. of a 'bird of ill omen'.

⁵¹ The Latin terms nearest to the manuscript's *pastiles* I have been able to find are – considering the possible meaning of the Icelandic gloss (see below, note 52) – *pastilla*, *pastillum*, *pastillus* 'small loaf or flat cake': Diefenbach, *Glossarium*, p. 415; cf. GP, p. 97. As for *mixtiouis*, this is in all likelihood, as already noted by GP, a miswriting for *mixtionis*, i.e. the genitive of *mixtio* 'mixture, blend'. We thus have for this lemma a noun phrase approximately meaning 'a small bread made by mixing various ingredients', which would also satisfy to some extent the correspondence with the Icelandic gloss.

⁵² GP has *brauþcon* in his transcription, but admits in his commentary that this gives no plausible meaning. After discussing at some length the possible readings of this gloss, he concludes that *brauþcorn*, in which a presumably lost original *r* is restored between *o* and *n*, would be the most suitable one.

⁵³ Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, I, p. 173, and Diefenbach, *Glossarium*, p. 21, s.v. *alea*.

⁵⁴ I.e. *tessera*. Completion according to GP. See further below, note 55.

⁵⁵ Completion according to GP. Actually, the initial part of both the Latin lemma and the Icelandic gloss are illegible at present, and, to judge from GP's words («Dette ord er meget utydeligt i hdskr., og læsningen er ingenlunde sikker», p. 97), the situation must not have been much better in his times. While GP's completion of the Latin word is plausible in consideration of the adjacent glosses, the same cannot be said about the Icelandic one, the meaning of which is considerably different from that of the former – unless beans were occasionally used as checkers (less probably as dice).

Pirgum	'game board'	→ tafiborþ	
Largus	'lavish'	→ qrr	
Prodigus	'prodigal, spendthrift'	→ glapgiöf(ull?) ⁵⁶	'recklessly generous'
Dilapidator	'squanderer'	→ glotronar maþr ⁵⁷	
Corbanas	'treasure chamber' ⁵⁸	→ fe hirzla	'treasury'
Erarium	'public treasury'	→ fe hus	'treasury'
Crumena	'money bag'	→ sioþr	
Marsupium	'pouch, purse'	→ Pungr	'(small) bag, purse'
bursa	'purse'	→ sciöþa	'small skin bag'
Furulus uel Far[r?]jago ⁵⁹	'sheath' – ?	→ malr	'knapsack'
Loculus	'coffer, casket'	→ fe hirzla	'treasury'
Fenerator	'money-lender, usurer'	→ leigo sæ(ing?)r ⁶⁰	'one who gets rich from lending money?'

⁵⁶ The form *glapgiöf* (in normalized spelling, *glapgiöf*) is not found as such anywhere else. Moreover, its second component, *giöf* 'gift', identifies it as a noun denoting a thing, while the Latin *lemma* is an adjective referring to a person. On the other hand, no letter seems to be missing here. GP suggests completing it as *glapgiöffull*. In fact, although not even this word is found outside the glossary, it would nicely match the Latin *lemma*.

⁵⁷ The word (or noun phrase) is composed of *glotronar* – gen. of *glotran*, a variant of *glutran* 'squandering' – and *maþr* 'man'. The latter is represented by the typical abbreviation ʝ, i.e. the *m*-rune, whose name was, indeed, 'maþr'. GP does not note this fact and does not expand the abbreviation.

⁵⁸ Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, II, p. 560, and Diefenbach, *Glossarium*, p. 150, s.v. *corban* and *corbana*. The word is from Greek κορβανᾶς, a term of Hebrew origin denoting the treasury of the temple at Jerusalem; see Liddel, H.G. and Scott, R., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, with a Supplement, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1968, s.v. κορβᾶν.

⁵⁹ No word resembling the manuscript's *farago* seems to exist denoting a 'sack' or something of the kind, as we would expect here. On the other hand, *farrago*, apparently the nearest word, meaning 'mixed fodder for cattle', does not fit the context. GP surmises that the scribe may have misinterpreted his model and/or skipped an Icelandic gloss here.

⁶⁰ As already stressed by GP, p. 98, the composition of this noun is quite singular. While its first component, *leigo-*, is very common in compounds meaning '(something given or taken) on loan', the second component, *-sætr*, is not found elsewhere, and must contain some miswriting. GP associates it tentatively with the verb *selja* 'to sell' and the related feminine noun *selja* 'a female vendor' (occurring only as the second member in compounds), thus obtaining the overall meaning 'one who lets goods (or money) out on

Fenus	'interest, usury'	→ fœ ⁶¹	?
Censum; Diuitie	'riches, wealth'	→ auþr; item	
Gazas	'treasure, riches'	→ auþr	
Gathofilatium	'treasury'	→ fe hirzla	

Let us now briefly consider some characteristics of the words contained in the glossary.

As already mentioned, *lemmata* are, as a rule, grouped on the basis of semantic affinity, although other criteria are applied as well. In any case, the sequence of words seems to be determined by mere association of ideas, that is, words have apparently no other connection with each other than their affinity or contiguity of meaning. That these glosses, at least in their current arrangement, refer to any fully developed and coherent written Latin text can therefore be excluded. On the contrary, more than a few of them look as if they were taken at random from what must have been a common and unrefined variety of spoken language. Words like 'brothel' (*lupercal*, *lupanar*, *mercatoria*, and another, totally illegible, word)⁶², 'pandering' (*lenocinium*), 'bastard' (*manzer*), 'squanderer' (*dilapidator*), 'usurer' (*fenerator*) – especially if associated with couches (*accubitum*), mattresses and pillows (*culcitra*, *pulvinar*), money bags and purses (*crumena*, *marsupium*, *bursa*), board games and dice (*alea*, *pirgum*, *tessera*) – inevitably evoke the image of a lifestyle quite different, say, from that of monasteries, churches and schools, i.e. the places where books were written and read. Other words denote, as mentioned above, objects of everyday and practical use, such as household and work tools, while still others are associated according to

interest'. In my opinion still another conjecture is conceivable, namely that some letters – possibly an abbreviation – may have slipped from the pen of the scribe, and that the second member of the compound was originally *sælingr* 'a wealthy man'; see Cleasby, Vigfusson and Craigie, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, s.v. *sælingr*, and, on the abbreviations for '-ing-', Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, pp. 53-54 and 87. Consequently, *leigosælingr* would be 'one who gets rich from lending goods or money'. Unlike GP's assumption, this explanation would, among other things, account properly for the manuscript's spelling of the root vowel – 'æ' (= 'æ') – against the 'e' of *selja* and related forms.

⁶¹ This form is not found anywhere outside the glossary and is probably a miswriting for *fé* 'money'. GP's suggestion that it may be a neologism coined by the glossator himself from Latin *f(ō)enus*, i.e. the word appearing in the *lemma*, is scarcely tenable.

⁶² See above, note 40.

their formal similarity, that is sound structure, rather than to semantic affinity (e.g. *clava* 'club', *clavis* 'key', *clavus* 'nail', on f. 4r, col. II). All in all, it can be said that the *lemmata* contained in the glossary belong to a category of words mostly used in daily and practical life, even in the worldliest of circumstances, and therefore not likely to occur in books, least of all in church and school books. Indeed, this must have been the principal aim of the glossator: to make known – by occasionally filling the blank spaces of a computus table (a typically ecclesiastical instrument, among other things) – words and expressions that young students and aspiring clerics would have looked up in vain in their edificatory school readings.

Moreover, a number of the Latin *lemmata* show a distorted or incomplete form, which may sometimes be due to copying mistakes on the part of the scribe (e.g. *malona* for *malina* 'flood tide'; *postora* for *postera* 'posterior, buttocks'; *mixtiovis* for *mixtionis* 'mixture'). Yet it cannot be excluded that, in some instances at least, the 'unorthodox' Latin forms reported in the glossary belong to an uncultivated variety of spoken language and differ therefore to some extent from classical or written standard forms. Thus, for example, nouns frequently occur in cases other than the nominative (*accubito* for *accubitum* 'couch', *aleam* for *alea* 'tables' (a game with dice); *pirgum* for *pirgus* 'game board'), or show a grammatical gender different from that usually found in literary and formal writings (*trunca* for *truncus* 'trunk'; *acetus* for *acetum* 'vinegar'), while verbs may occur in forms other than the first person singular of the present indicative (as *absorbuit* for *absorbeo* 'to swallow'). Some of the Icelandic *interpretamenta* are very approximate, if not entirely wrong. Thus *clitella* 'pack-saddle pannier' is glossed by *taska*, a general term for 'chest' or 'basket'; *lethargius*, a noun meaning 'drowsiness, lethargy', is rendered with a verb (to boot in the third person singular!), i.e. *søfr í hel* 'he sleeps to death'; *lenocinium* 'pandering' is equated to *saurlifi* 'dissolute life'. Sometimes, however, the comparison is impracticable because the Latin *lemma* is not found anywhere else in the same form: this is the case, among others, of *numallo*, which is glossed by *tuskusveinn* 'chest bearer, porter', and of the verb *adorgior*, rendered as (*ek*) *mæli við aðra* 'I talk to others'⁶³.

None of these shortcomings is in any way surprising for those familiar with the Latin-Icelandic glossary in GKS 1812, of which AM

⁶³ See above, notes 26 and 37, respectively.

249 was originally the initial and complementary section, as stated above. Both glossaries show all of the characteristics previously described, and much of what has already been observed about the glossary in GKS 1812⁶⁴ applies perfectly to the glossary in AM 249 as well.

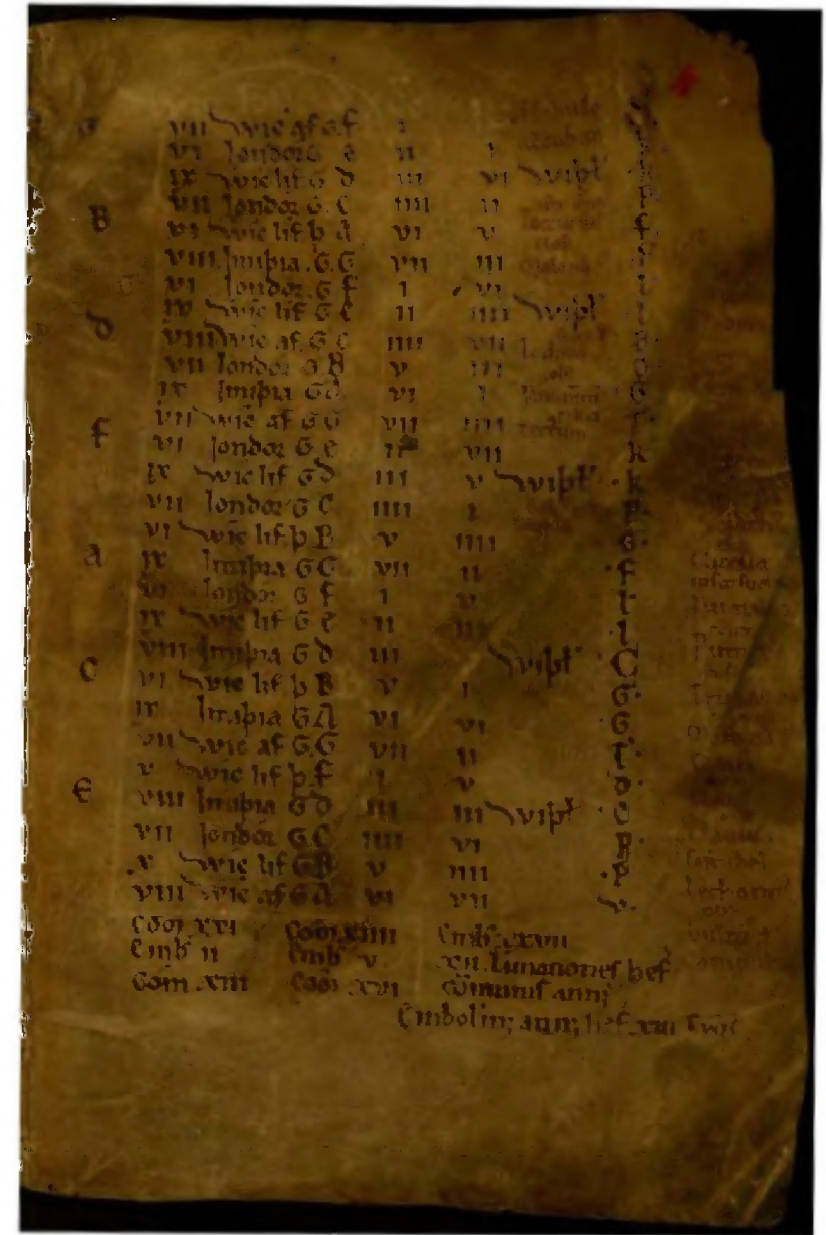
A further question which arises in considering the overall tenor of the glosses contained in AM 249 regards the kind of Latinate culture this vocabulary belonged to and where this variety of language was spoken. Certainly, it was not spoken in Iceland, least of all in Icelandic schools and monasteries, which were the only places on the island where spoken Latin was likely to be in use, if nothing else as a school subject. In reality, much of such a vocabulary was of no practical use in the sober and morally sound society of Iceland in the High Middle Ages. Rather, as already suggested in the above-mentioned study by Scardigli and Raschellà, the glossary – which does not show any overt reference to the ecclesiastical milieu – «bears the imprint of eminent practicality, almost as though it were a manual of expressions to be used in the most mundane circumstances of daily life»⁶⁵. In addition, it may be observed that such a vocabulary would have proved especially useful in those foreign countries where the Icelanders went for a long time, after their conversion to Christianity, to acquire their higher education or on pilgrimages to Christian holy sites. Such journeys often led to experiences which were very different from the trip's original purpose⁶⁶. This may, among other things, give us a hint as to the presumable origin of the glossary and the reason why it was written. In this regard, again, I cannot but repeat what I have already observed in commenting on the

⁶⁴ Scardigli and Raschellà, «A Latin-Icelandic Glossary», pp. 309-10.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

⁶⁶ The opinion that such a list of words might serve as a language guide for pilgrims has been expressed with regard to the glossary in GKS 1812 by Stefán Karlsson and is shared by other Icelandic scholars; see Stefán Karlsson, «Salerni», in *Dagamunur gerður Arna Björnssyni sextugum 16. janúar 1992*, Menningar- og Míningarsjóður Mette Magnussen, Reykjavík 1992, pp. 98-102, at 100. Besides fostering the production of the renowned travel guide (*leiðarvísir*) of the Icelandic abbot Nikulás of Munkaþverá (s. xii²), pilgrimages are often mentioned in the Icelandic sagas as a widespread religious practice. On this subject see, among others, Einar Arnórsson, «Suðurgöngur Íslendinga í fornöld», *Saga. Tímarit sögufélags* 2 (1954-1958), pp. 1-45; Raschellà, F.D., «I pellegrinaggi degli Scandinavi nel medioevo», in *990-1990: Millenario del viaggio di Sigeric, arcivescovo di Canterbury*, Centro di Studi Romei, Florence 1990, pp. 31-40, *passim*; Cucina, C., «Il pellegrinaggio nelle saghe dell'Islanda medievale», in *Rendiconti. Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie IX, vol. IX, fasc. 1, Rome 1998, pp. 83-155.

nature of the glossary in GKS 1812 in the previously mentioned study: although other hypotheses on the origin of the glossary cannot be excluded *a priori*, the most feasible one would seem that it is a transcription – possibly made with an informal teaching purpose⁶⁷ – of the personal and, therefore, originally private jottings of an Icelandic scholar who had studied abroad in a place where Latin, in addition to being a learned language, was also used in everyday life.



⁶⁷ Cf. Scardigli and Raschellà, «A Latin-Icelandic Glossary», p. 309.

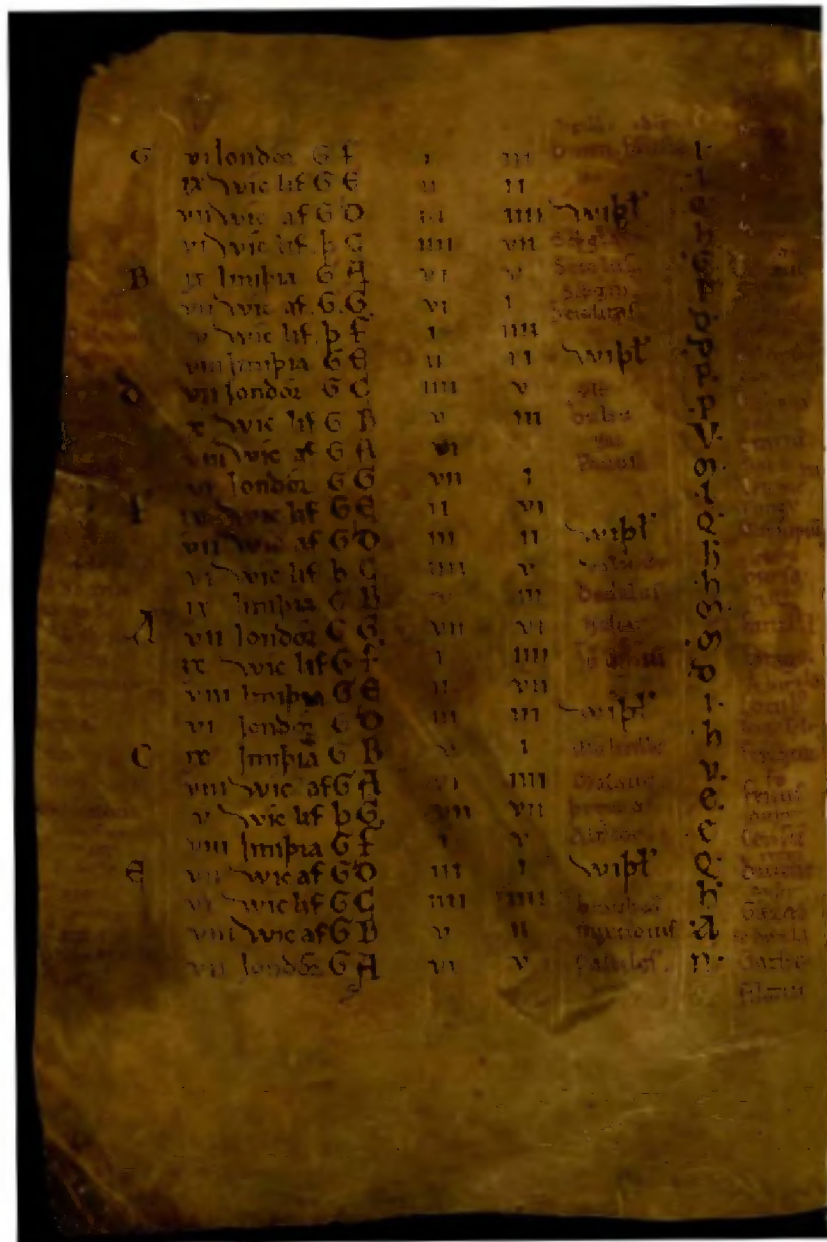


Plate XI
Reykjavik, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 249 I fol. f. 4v