Leeds Studies in English

A Difficult School Text in Anglo-Saxon England: The Third Book of Abbo's *Bella Parisiacae Urbis*

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The *Bella Parisiacae urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés were undeniably part of the Anglo-Saxon curriculum.[1] The success of Abbo's poem – and especially of its third book – in England is witnessed by the significant number of English manuscripts containing the Latin text. Moreover, a specifically Insular product is represented by the prose version of the third book as well as the Old English continuous gloss which was provided for this part of the poem.[2]

Around the end of the ninth century, Abbo composed a poem consisting of three books. The first two described the attack launched by the Vikings against Paris, their siege (885–886), and the following events up to 896. The third book has a different content and is apparently intended for a different audience: it is dedicated to a young cleric and aims at improving his behaviour. With short sentences, generally one line long, the cleric is told what to do and what to avoid. Only by following the right path will he (and his fellow brethren) be able to ascend to heaven, there to join the company of the blessed forever singing the praises of the Lord.

The third book differs from the other two not only in subject-matter and length (115 lines against 660 of the first book and 618 of the second respectively), but, above all, in its lexicon. Abbo crams his lines with hundreds of uncommon words, among which Greek loanwords play a major role.[3] There are at least 120 loanwords in the third book and they amount to about half of the glossed words of this book. Rare words are not lacking from the first two books, but their frequency in the third is astonishing and gives this part of Abbo's work that unusual flavour which has procured the poem its large renown and fostered its transmission to England.

As is explained in the *Scedula* prefacing the poem,[4] Abbo himself was aware of the difficulties which the readers would face and therefore chose to gloss

all the difficult words.[5] Nearly half of the words of the third book[6] are accompanied by one or more Latin glosses, yielding an average of three glossed lemmata per line. This recurring pattern and the simple and repetitive syntax of the sentences suggest that the lines have been deliberately built around the key words provided with glosses. The lexical glosses are the majority.[7] They are drawn from the same sources as their lemmata, that is the words interspersed in the lines, and both are drawn from the glossary (or glossaries) used by Abbo. These sources cannot, however, be identified with any of the known glossaries, owing to the way in which such compilations had been put together from the earlier Carolingian period onwards: compilers selected items from different glossaries and also recast the glosses to form a new entry by combining two or more sources.[8] What needs to be highlighted is that Abbo drew from these glossaries not only the very words of his poem, but also the glosses which he himself provided for the difficult lines of the third book of the *Bella Parisiacae urbis*. These glosses are found, with little variation, in all of the manuscripts of the poem, including those of English origin.

About 150 of the key words of the third book have the same interpretamentum or interpretamenta of the corresponding items of the *Liber glossarum*,[9] both those which the latter compilation drew from older glossaries like *Abstrusa* and *Abolita*[10] and those which go back to Isidore and Virgil, among others. One source of Abbo's third book was identified by Laistner in the *Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*,[11] a compilation of about 500 entries, the lemmata of which are primarily Greek loanwords or mere transcriptions of Greek words. The *interpretamenta* provide etymological or pseudo-etymological explanations and are mostly derived from Isidore's *Etymologiae* and the *Liber glossarum*.[12] Among the other sources of the *Scholica* that I have identified so far are *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella and the glosses on the prologues of Jerome, a compilation attested in a number of manuscripts and still unpublished.[13]

Abbo in England

In the last part of the tenth century a number of Continental texts came into fashion in England and Abbo's third book was among them.[14] The reasons for its fortune are to be sought in the features of the text outlined above: it was a self-contained composition, with a large amount of unusual vocabulary, already furnished with glosses.[15]

    Besides the high number of English manuscripts containing the third book of the poem, there is other evidence of the popularity of Abbo's *Bella Parisiacae urbis* in England: about two hundred of the key words of the third book, together with the corresponding Latin glosses, were extrapolated from their context and copied in London, BL, Cotton Domitian i, fols. 37v-38v.[16] A later glossary in London, BL, Royal 7. D. II, fols. 18v-19v, still unprinted, has about eighty entries from the third book of the poem.[17] London, BL, Harley 3271 contains two versions of the third book of the *Bella*: the Latin text in hexameters with interlinear Latin glosses at fols 118v-120r is immediately preceded, at fols. 115v-118r, by a prose version with Old English contextual glosses.[18] Another prose version with interlinear Old English glosses is found in Oxford, St John's College 154, fols. 221v-222r.

    Each line of the third book of the poem confronts the reader with lexical obstacles, and the prose version does not simplify the task, but rather introduces further reasons of bewilderment. The glossator who provided the vernacular glosses must also have had a copy of the poem with Latin glosses at hand. The Latin *interpretamenta* guided and conditioned his choices, as is evident in many instances.

Glossarial words

In several cases the words used in the poem had no circulation outside glossaries and this glossarial lexicon gives Abbo's third book its special flavour of obscurity, produced by the strings of rare words. Such unusual terms, moreover, were often used with the meaning suggested by the Latin gloss or glosses, which, as is known, should not be considered a mere synonym or a translation.[19] Many words occur in a variant form which is not recorded outside glossaries, and, in some instances, these words have no counterparts elsewhere. In many cases the variant form occurs exclusively in the glossaries reckoned to be among Abbo's sources, such as the *Liber glossarum* and / or the *Scholica*. A few examples may suffice here; note that all these terms except two are loanwords from Greek.[20]

    Abbo uses *aforismus* 'pithy sentence, aphorism' (l. 10) and not *aphorismus*, with the variant form with *f* which is rather common and found also in the *Liber glossarum*; *aliqua* 'grots, grits, gruel made with these' (l. 80) and not *alica, halica*; *acrizimus* 'slightly leavened' (l. 29), as in the *Liber glossarum* and the *Scholica*, and not *acrozymus*; *agoniteta*, with the meaning 'warrior, adversary', instead of

agonitheta or *agonotheta* (l. 7); *amphyballus* 'chasuble, sleeveless mantle' (l. 30) and not *amphibalus* (the *Scholica* have *amphiballus* and the *Liber glossarum*, *amfiballum*); *amphyteatrum* 'amphitheatre' (l. 37) and not *amphitheatrum* (the *Scholica* have *amphiteatrum*); *amphytappa* 'rug with pile on both sides' (l. 16) and not *amphitapa* (the *Liber glossarum* has *amfitapa*, the *Scholica*, *amphitapa*); *antropus* 'man' (l. 84) for *anthropus* (the *Liber glossarum* has *antropum*);[21] *aphatia* 'freedom from passion' (l. 72) for *apathia* (the *Liber glossarum* has *apatia*); *apocrisarus*, here with the meaning and negative connotation 'adviser who keeps secrets', for *apocrisiarius* (l. 25);[22] *apoforeta* 'designed (for guests) to take with them' (said of presents) (ll. 83, 89) for *apophoreta* (the *Liber glossarum* has *apophereta*); *biotticus* 'mundane, ordinary' (l. 28) for *bioticus*; *brathea* 'gold foil' (l. 14), for *brattea, bractea*; *crisis* 'gold' (l. 39) for *chrisis*; *catasscopus* 'light vessel for reconnoitring, scout ship', here with the meaning 'scout' (l. 27) for *catascopus*; *diptica* (l. 1) (f.) 'diptych' for *diptycha* (n. pl.); *effebus* 'boy at age of puberty, youth, adolescent' (l. 30) for *ephebus*; *effipia* 'pad saddle, horse blanket' (ll. 17, 19), as in the *Liber glossarum*, for *ephippia*; *emistichium* 'half line' (l. 42) for *hemistichium*, as in the *Scholica*; *enteca* 'hoard, store' (l. 5) for *entheca* (the *Liber glossarum* has *enticam*); *gripphia* 'graphy, script' (l. 11) for *graphia*; *ierarchia* 'hierarchy, power' (l. 4) for *hierarchia*, as in the *Scholica*; *ieron* – a mere transcription of Greek ἱερόν – 'sacred' (l. 64) for *hieron*, as in the *Scholica*; *monotalmus* 'blind from one eye' (l. 35) for *monophtalmus*; *neofitus* 'newly converted' (l. 61) for *neophytus*, as in the *Liber glossarum* and the *Scholica* (R); *oroscopus* (l. 24), here with the meaning 'astrologer who takes horoscopes', for *horoscopus*; *perifrasticus* 'periphrastic, circumlocutory' (l. 32) for *periphrasticus*, as in the *Scholica*; *sincophanta* 'slanderer, impostor' (l. 10) for *syncophanta* (the *Scholica* have *sicophanta / sicofanta*); *zenodochium* 'hospital' (l. 44) for *xenodochium*. The prose version replaces *crisis* 'gold' of the text – glossed with *aurum* – with *obrissis* 'refined gold' (l. 39), a nonce word which stands for *obryzum* and clearly betrays the interference with the word *crisis* employed by Abbo.

The same orthographic difficulties and hypercorrections affect Latin words such as *herilis* 'of a master' (l. 102) for *erilis* and *perhennis* 'everlasting, perpetual' (l. 114) for *perennis*.[23]

Words in disguise

Whereas the former examples belong to the realm of Medieval Latin orthographic instability, which is heightened because they are, for the most part, loanwords from Greek, in the following instances either the form of the word chosen by Abbo, or the word itself, had such a limited circulation as to impose a rather hard task on the glossator. In discussing these examples I do not intend to stress the artificiality and irregularity of his text, but rather to provide explanations for his word choices and those of the glossators, both those at work in the glossaries which were the sources of Abbo and the one who was responsible for the vernacular glosses to the prose version of Abbo's third book.

Ablunda 'chaff, hay, straw' (l. 18) stands for *apluda, adpluda, appluda, aplunda*.[24] The same form of the word is found in the *Liber glossarum* Ab 216, 'Ablundam: paleam' and the *Placidus* Glossary.[25] The word was omitted in the prose version, as it was not relevant, although the original doublet was quite witty and rather sententious: in the poem, the virtuous cleric was supposed to avoid both the 'cows and the chaff' (l. 18).

In line 5 Abbo uses an adjective *absidus* 'clear', which is not recorded elsewhere; the subject is *absida acrimonia* 'lucid rigorousness' (ll. 5-6), a quality of which the cleric should never run short. The word *absida* 'arch or vault, circle described by a planet in its orbit, segment of a circle, kind of round vessel' is a collateral form of *absis, apsis* 'arch, vault', a loanword from Greek ἀψίς; there is also the adjective *absidatus, -a, -um* 'arched, vaulted', but the adjective *absidus* is recorded only here. The origin of this glossarial entry, which occurs also in the *Liber glossarum* Ab 350, the *Scholica* A 35 and other glossaries, is a passage from Isidore, *Etymologiae* XV.viii.7: 'Absida Graeco sermone, latine interpretatur lucida, eo quod lumine accepto per arcum resplendeat' ('the term "vault" is of Greek origin; in Latin, it is rendered with 'bright' as it shines owing to the light it receives through the arch').[26]

Aca 'rejoicing' (l. 69) stands for *acta. Acta* is a loanword from Greek ἀκτή, which means 'sea-shore, beach', and, as a metonymy, 'life of ease'. The same form occurs in the *Liber glossarum* Ac 8, 'Ac<t>a: am<o>enitas'. The entry is originally a Virgilian gloss from *Aeneid* V, 613: 'Amoena pars litoris at procul in sola secretae Troades acta' ('At a distance, on lonely shores, the Trojan matrons, on their own').[27]

Anodia 'pain reliever' (l. 9) stands for *anodyna* and does not occur elsewhere in this variant, with the exception of the *Liber glossarum* An 301,

'Anodia (anodyna): medicamina, quae dolores ad praesens mitigant tantum, non sanant' and the *Scholica* A 59 which have an identical entry.[28] *Anodyna* is a loanword from Greek ἀνώδυνα (n. pl.); larger circulation had *anodynon*, *anodynum* 'painkiller, that which soothes' and the adjective *anodynos, -a, -on*, *anodynus, -a, -um* 'stilling pain'. The Latin gloss *medicinam* prompted the OE gloss *læcedom*.

In line 80 Abbo uses the word *apogeum* with the meaning 'cellar', where Lat. *hypogaeos, hypogaeon, hypogaeum, hypogeum* 'crypt, underground chamber, cellar' was expected. There is no such word in Latin; the adjective *apogeus, -a, -um* is a loanword from Greek ἀπόγειος 'blowing, coming from the land' and is used in reference to the wind, as in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 2, 114, 44. *Apogeum* replaces *hypogeum, hypogaeum* (a borrowing from Greek ὑπόγειον) already in the *Liber glossarum* Ap 122, 'Apogeum (hypo-): est constructum sub terries aedificium, quos nos antrum vel speluncam dicimus', which, for its interpretation, draws verbatim on Isidore, *Etymologiae* XV.iii.12. Abbo's Latin gloss *edificium sub terris, antrum* is a shortened version of the very entry of the *Liber glossarum*. The glossator was mislead preferring OE *scræf* 'cavern', whereas the subject is a cellar, an underground chamber, where the harvest is kept in store: 'Let cellars greatly increase the crop' (l. 80). An entry similar to both the one in the *Liber glossarum* and the one in Abbo is found in the Glossary in Monte Cassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia 90, 'Apogeum: aedificium constructum sub terra, id est antrum vel spelunca' (*CGL* V, 561, 28). Another witness to the pair of words chosen by Abbo and the circulation of *apogeum* is provided by an entry in the First Cleopatra Glossary: 'Apogium, *eorþern*'.[29] There is no reason to correct these glosses as Goetz and Lindsay do in their editions, since they represent 'glossarial' variants, if not glossarial words, and as such circulated in the Middle Ages.

Aprilax 'warmth of the sun' (l. 77) stands for *apricitas* 'basking, sitting in the sun', a substantive that, as well as *apricitas*, refers to the quality of *apricus* 'sunniness, sunshine', see, for example, 'regio apricitatis inclutae' in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 6, 46, 18. Abbo's nonce word *apricitas* occurs in the *Liber glossarum* as well, at Ap 186, 'Aprilax (-itas): calor'. The same glossary features another entry with the correct form, Ap 187, 'Apricitas: calor', which is found also in other all-Latin glossaries, including *Abstrusa*, 'Apricitas: calor' (*CGL* IV, 18, 48), and *Affatim*, 'Apricitas: calor' (*CGL* IV, 480, 10).

Arcisterium (ed. by Winterfeld) or *archisterium* (the variant of some manuscripts) 'monastery' (l. 81) stands for *asceterium*. Abbo's variant is also found in the *Liber glossarum* Ar 158 'Archisterium: monasterium graece'.[30]

Asceterium, asceterion 'monastery, place of abode for ascetics' is a loanword from Greek ἀσκητήριον. The variant form *archisterium* had a circulation outside glossaries in Medieval Latin and is also witnessed in Anglo-Latin texts.[31] The borrowing has been modified through interference from the first element of words such as *archiater, archidiacon, archiepiscopus* which are also borrowed from Greek (ἀρχι-). Of the two Latin glosses, *monasterium i. singularitatem dei servitii*, the latter of which is exclusive of Abbo, the Anglo-Saxon glossator chose the former, *mynster* to the effect of simplifying the message. The poem invites the cleric to disentangle his heart from the envelopments of sin and to pledge it entirely to God (l. 81).

Aslum (l. 76) stands for *asylum* 'place of refuge, sanctuary', a loanword from Greek ἄσυλον. In the poem *asylum* is given the meaning 'plunder, booty' as to the Latin gloss *spolium* 'stolen goods, booty'. The form *aslum* is witnessed by the *Liber glossarum* As 102, '[A]s<y>lum: spolium', as well as by several other glossaries.[32] Abbo's entry provides an intriguing example of the relationship between lemma and interpretation, which mutually define each other's meaning and, as such, circulated together in the Middle Ages. A gloss in Monte Cassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia 439, 'Asilum graece templum ad quod quisquis fugiebat neas erat inde trahi dictum asylum a non traendo spolium',[33] presents an interpretamentum providing all the essential details to explain the pairing of two words with a different meaning, 'sanctuary' and 'booty'. Once again the influence of Servius' comment on *Aeneid* II, 761 was crucial: '"Iunonis asylo" templo unde nullus possit ad supplicium extrahi. dictum "asylum" quasi "asyrum". alii "asylum" ideo dictum, quod nullus inde tolleretur, id est quod συλᾶσθαι, hoc est abripi, nullus inde poterat; vel quod fugienti illuc spolia non detraherentur; σῦλα enim Graece aut furta aut spolia dicuntur'.[34]

Atervus (l. 70 *atervam*) stands for *aeternus* 'eternal', showing a form which also occurs in the *Liber glossarum* At 22 'A<e>tervi (-ni): perpetui' (a gloss to Virgil, *Aeneid* II, 154: 'vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile vestrum').[35] Behind Abbo's variant form of the adjective *aeternus, -a, -um* 'eternal, perpetual' there may be a penchant for (pseudo)-etymologies, such as that of Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6, § 11 ('Aevum ab aetate omnium annorum [hinc aeviternum, quod factum est aeternum]').[36]

Abbo plays on the words *egidia* and *aregidia* in lines 74-75, giving the former the meaning 'goat' and the latter the meaning 'rain'. *Egidia* stands for *aegida*, the accusative of *aegis*, a loanword from Greek αἰγίς 'shield, defence' (from Greek ἄϊξ 'stormy flow').[37] The word originally referred to a divine

attribute of Zeus, represented as a round bib with scales that the god would quake to stir storms; in post-Homeric times the *aegis* became an attribute of Athena who wore it over her dress. Later on it was imagined as an object made of a goat's skin (associated with the skin of Amalthea, the goat that suckled Zeus), owing also to the similarity with Greek αἴξ, αἰγός 'goat'.

Aregidia 'rain, shower' (l. 75) is a variant form (or rather a misspelling) of the entry *aegida* in the *Liber glossarum* Ae 55, 'Aegid[i]a: pluvia'. The interpretamentum, 'rain', which is quite awkward, stems from a Virgilian gloss to *Aeneid* VIII, 354-55 'Cum saepe nigrantem aegida / concutiret dextra nimbos cieret' and Servius' interpretation of these lines: '"Aegida concutiret" hic distinguendum: nam aegida, id est pellem Amaltheae caprae, a qua nutritus est, in sinistra Iuppiter tenet. sane Graeci poetae turbines et procellas καταιγίδα appellant, quod haec mota faciat tempestates. ergo "nigrantem" tempestatem commoventem. dextra nimbosque cieret et de dextera fulmina commoveret: nam modo nimbos pro fulminibus posuit, quae de dextera iacit. aegidis autem concussio commovet pluvias. ergo "concuteret aegida atque per eam nimbos moveret"'.[38] Note that Αἴξ is the Greek name of a star of the constellation of the Auriga, which is called *capella* in Latin; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 18, 66, 26 calls the constellation *capella pluvialis*. An interesting entry is that of the Antwerp-London Glossary, 'Capra aegida, *gatbuccan hyrde*',[39] that is either 'keeper of a he-goat' or, if *hyrde* stands for *heorða*, 'goat hide'.

Baben (l. 22) stands for *bahen*, a loanword or rather a transcription of Greek βαϊνήν,[40] a glossarial entry of Biblical origin. In a number of versions of the Bible the Greek word is translated as 'palm' or 'palm-rod'; other versions merely transcribe it as *baen* (Greek βαΐν), *bahem*, or *bahen*. In some explanations *bahen* is interpreted as the name of a religious chain or piece of jewellery. The Vulgate preserves only one occurrence of the word: 'coronam auream et baen quam misistis suscepimus' ('The golden crown and the bahem that you sent, we have received' I Maccabees 13. 37).[41] Note that Abbo appropriately uses *bahen* to indicate a fitting ornament of kings and knights. Abbo's spelling of the term – evidently the product of a corruption or misreading of *h* for *b* – is also found in the *Glosarium Aynardi*,[42] an alphabetical glossary compiled in France in 969, which shares a remarkable number of items with Abbo's third book and whose relationship to the sources of the poem would be worth investigating, especially in the light of the French origin of this glossary.[43]

Baccaulus 'bier' (l. 34) stands for *capulus* and is glossed with *feretrum* and, in Old English, with *bære*. A similar corrupted form, *bacapulus*, occurs in the

Liber glossarum Ba 19, '[Bac]apulus: in quo mortui efferuntur'[44] and the *Scholica* B 7, 'Baccaulus (R) / bacculus (V) in quo mortui efferuntur'.[45] Latin *capulus* (m.), *capulum* (n.) means, *inter alia*, 'bier, coffin, tomb'. The word (from *capere*) is a frequent one in glossaries,[46] owing to its occurrence in playwrights such as Plautus, as well as in lexicographic compilations such as those of Varro, Festus and his epitome. Servius comments on the word in reference to *Aeneid* VI, 222: 'Feretro graece dixit, nam latine capulus dicitur a capiendo: unde ait Plautus[47] capularis senex, id est capulo vicinus'.[48]

Badanola 'portable bed, letter' (l. 16) stands for *baionula, baionola.* The word *baionula* derives from *baiulare* 'carry, bear (load)'; see also *baiulus* 'porter, carrier of a burden, letter-carrier', *baiulatio* 'carrying, bearing of burdens, loads', *baiulator* 'carrier, porter', *baiulatorius, -a, -um* 'of / belonging to carrier'. It is a word used by Plautus (*Asinaria* 660, *Mercator* 508), which found its way into medieval glossaries. The form with *d* picked up by Abbo occurs in the *Glosarium Aynardi*: 'Badanola est lectus qui fertur in itinere'.[49] This form is found also in some manuscripts of the *Scholica*, entry B 25 'Badanola: lectus qui itinere fertur'. The explanation is the same as Isidore, *Etymologiae* XX.xi.2, 'Baianula est lectus qui in itinere baiolatur, a baiolando, id est deportando' ('*Bainula* is a bed that is carried along on a journey, from *baiolando*, that is carrying.' Variant forms *baianola, badanola*), followed by the *Liber glossarum* Ba 58, 'Baionola est lectus qui in itinere baiolatur'. The manuscripts of Abbo's poem have either the gloss *lectus in itinere* or *lectus itineralis*, which is the model for the OE *forbed*,[50] a compound which also occurs in the Antwerp-London Glossary 'bajanula, *ferbed*' (WW 154, 4, not in Kindschi).

When inviting the cleric to be committed to learning, Abbo uses the word *sinteca* with the meaning 'composition, compilation' (l. 12), instead of *syntheca.* Both lemma and interpretation are derived from the *Scholica* S 14, 'Sint<h>eca (Sy-): compositio', whereas the other glossaries have either *synthesis* 'mixture',[51] a loanword from Greek σύνθεσις, or the adjective *synthetus, -a, -um* 'composed' borrowed from Greek σύνθετος.[52] The existence of a further loanword from Greek συνθήκη is supported by the occurrence of Med. Lat. *synthychia* meaning 'treaty'.

Abbo's mastery of Latin is evident in his use of *teologus* (l. 33) in the sense of 'word of God', instead of 'one who writes, teaches about God' (the loanword from Greek θεολόγος, with a large circulation, is *theologus*). The Latin gloss *divinus sermo* has no counterpart elsewhere and is followed by the Old English gloss, *godcund spæc.* The literal interpretation of the Latin word may have been

fostered by the corresponding definition of the *Liber glossarum* Te 394, 'T<e>ologus: Dei disputator; theos enim dicitur Deus, logos ratio vel sermo', if not by a careless reading of the *Scholica* T 4, 'Theologus (R) / teologus (V): divinus sermocinator'.

Book-rest or necklace

It was this very vocabulary which was responsible for the popularity of the third book of the *Bella Parisiacae urbis* in England, where it became itself a sourcebook of hermeneutic vocabulary and was sectioned anew to build new glossaries. The study of this text, the composition of a prose version and its glossing were not a mere mechanical process, as it will be evident from the following examples.

In line 39 Abbo praises the merits of teaching in glowing terms: 'Scandito analogium, crisis nitet in ore docentis' ('Ascend the lectern, gold shines in the mouth of the teacher'). For some reason, however, the word *analogium* 'lectern' was not accompanied by a Latin gloss. *Analogium* (l. 39) 'lectern, pulpit, book-rest', is a loanword from Greek ἀναλογεῖον, the circulation of which was not limited to glossaries, as it was also found in popular texts such as Isidore's *Etymologiae* (XV.iv.17) and the *Benedictine Rule* (ch. IX). The vernacular glossator, on the other hand, rendered the word with OE *healsmene* 'necklace', which should not be considered an error, but a choice brought about by the prose rearrangement of the relevant line in one sentence 'Nitet analogiam scandito obrissis ore docentis'.[53] The verbal form *scandito* was taken for the adjective *candido* 'bright', modifying *analogium* (corrupted in *analogiam*). In the attempt to make some sense of the corrupted reading, the dazzling object was hence associated to *anabola*, a word already used in line 20, and there provided with the Old English gloss *healsmene* 'necklace'.

Anabola, which in line 20 was accompanied by the Latin gloss *ornamentum muliebre*, is a loanword from Greek ἀναβολη 'short mantel, shawl' attested in Late Latin,[54] with a few occurrences in glossaries,[55] including the *Scholica* A 71, 'Anabola ornamentum est muliebre [. . .]'. The OE *healsmene* is not entirely appropriate, because an *anabola* is a 'shawl', but the Latin gloss, *ornamentum muliebre* 'woman's adornment' was responsible for the simplified rendering 'necklace'.[56]

Counting-board or writing tablet

The first piece of advice given to the cleric is never to take the diptychs from his side (l. 1). In line 33 he is invited to keep the *abbachus* in his hand and the Gospel in his mouth. The Latin *dipticas* 'diptychs' (l. 1) was glossed by *tabellas* in Latin and by *weaxbred* in Old English.[57] The same word was chosen to gloss the Latin *abbachus* at line 33, with reference to an instrument in use in Anglo-Saxon schools.[58] The choice of *weaxbred* for *abbachus* is remarkable, and, in my opinion, it witnesses to an internal net of relationships between the entries of the poem and their Latin and Old English glosses, which encouraged the repetition of the vernacular glosses with an undisputable didactic aim.

   Abbachus (l. 33) stands for *abacus* 'counting-board, side-board, slab table, square stone on top of column', a loanword from Greek; also Latin *abax* is a loanword from Greek ἄβαξ. The word has several occurrences in glossaries, where the different interpretamenta reveal that the sources of the entries were manifold.[59] The meaning 'sideboard, the top of which was made of marble, used for the display of valuable vessels' is witnessed by such a gloss as 'Abacus: mensa in qua calices ponuntur' (*CGL* V, 652, originally a gloss to Juvenal, *Saturae* III, 204). The following entry, from the *Glosarium Aynardi*, 'Ab<a>cus et abax est pars capitelli vel tabula lusoria vel mensa marmorea in qua antiqui mittebant calices' (A 262), combines many meanings, that is 'square stone on top of column, gaming-board and sideboard'.

   The *abacus* was also a 'counting board, covered with sand or dust, and used for arithmetical computation', as, for example, in another gloss to Juvenal: 'Abacon: signum geometricum' (*CGL* V 652, 1). The Latin gloss which occurs in all the manuscripts of the *Bella Parisiacae urbis*, *tabula pictoria*, has no counterpart elsewhere. Quite close to Abbo's source is the entry of the Harley Glossary (A 1 'Abacus id est mensa pingentis, stilus, tabula vel virga geometricalis'), a compilation where a disparate amount of glossarial material merged in a way which still needs a throughout explanation.

House without foundations or infirmary

In Abbo's long series of recommendations, some are more general and commonplace, such as that in line 55 'Abbaso quo fuerit, sit hirudo frequens [. . .]' ('Let the leech be always near to the infirmary'). *Abaso, abbaso* (l. 55) is a word

of obscure etymology and limited circulation outside glossaries; also the original meaning is uncertain, either 'lowest house' or 'house without foundations'.[60] Abbo used the word in the sense of 'infirmary' which adroitly fits the line, thereby misinterpreting the Latin gloss *infirma domus*, 'house without foundation', as *infirmatorium*. The interpretamentum *infirma domus* glosses the lemma *abaso* both in the *Liber glossarum* A 24, 'Abaso: infi[r]ma domus' and the *Scholica* A 33, 'Ab[b]aso (V) / abbasso (R): infirma domus quasi sine base',[61] where is evident a penchant for etymological interpretations.[62]

Lindsay surmised a corruption of *infima* 'lowest'[63] into *infirma* 'unsteady'.[64] Whatever the original word which interpreted *abaso* may have been, it underwent further modifications into both *infama*, a nonce word derived from interference with the adjective *infamis* 'infamous, of ill-fame', witnessed by the *Abavus* Glossary: 'Abaso: infama domus' (*CGL* IV, 301, 6) and, on the other hand, into *infirmi* 'of the sick'. In England the Corpus Glossary features the interpretation *infirma* (A 18, A 31) twice,[65] while the Antwerp-London Glossary has 'Abaso, infirmatorium, *seoccra manna hus*' (Kindschi 238, 8).

Faced with an entry of doubtful significance and a Latin gloss such as *domus infirma*, the Anglo-Saxon glossator imagined for *abaso* a metaphoric meaning, so that the alleged unstable house became a weak, sick, household (giving *domus* the meaning 'household, religious house'), and rendered with OE *untrum hiwræden*. Later on *zenodochium* 'hospital' (l. 44) is rendered with *þearfena hus* 'house of the poor', in accordance with the Latin gloss 'domus qua pauperes colliguntur'.

Filthy biers and flute players

Abbo uses the word *baccaulus* 'bier' twice, once in the text (l. 34) and once as a gloss (l. 3). In both cases the Old English gloss *bære* is a correct although uninspired rendering.

The word *baccaulus* occurs, at the beginning of the poem, as a gloss to *sandapila* (l. 3) 'bier used for poor people, malefactors', a word employed, among others, by Martial and Juvenal. By choosing this kind of word, Abbo wanted to charge the lines with additional significance. When saying that the 'dirty bier' should not rejoice in the cleric, Abbo means that his addressee should lead a righteous life and die accordingly, quite unlike those malefactors who, in Roman times, were carried away in a filthy bier. The pair *sandapila: baccaulus* does not

occur elsewhere, because in all glossaries the interpretation is *feretrum*, for example in the *Scholica* S 13, 'Sandapila: feretrum'.[66] Likewise, in the same line of the poem, the cleric is told to avoid a *toparcha* 'ruler of a district',[67] by which Abbo alludes to the devil who lays snare for the cleric and who is never called by name. The same happens with the hell into which the devil aims to plunge Abbo's addressee.

Similar overtones connote the use of *corcula* (l. 2), which is a patent misspelling for *choraula* 'player on reed pipes, flute player', a loanword from Greek χοραύλης (the feminine form, *choraule*, is also borrowed). In this instance the *Scholica* C 37, 'Choraula: princeps chori ludorum, quo nomine potest dici totus chorus' have the correct form and Abbo's variant may be due to a misinterpretation of an open *a*. The word designates the 'player who accompanies the choir with his flute', a meaning provided by Abbo's gloss, *princeps ludi*, which is an abridged version of the interpretation of the *Scholica*.[68] *Choraula* is given different interpretations in the all-Latin glossaries, but Abbo chose the first part of that of the *Scholica*, because it provided him with the required meaning. The line instructs the cleric to 'Avoid being the conductor of a ludic performance', that is encouraging other people to behave improperly, with an allusion to inciting role of the *choraula* within the choir. Later on Abbo will warn the cleric to 'stay away from the theatres' (l. 37), as licentious entertainment is dangerous for his eyes (l. 38).

Devoted to a woman or lustful

Abbo pretends to provide the cleric with a set of instructions, some of which are, at first sight, rather improbable, such as 'Prodigus, obliqus, monotalmus, subdolus haud sis' ('By no means be profligate, indirect, one-eyed, deceitful') (l. 35). A striking piece of advice is that in line 23 of the poem, where the cleric is advised not to be 'wife-bound'. The word *uxorious* is accompanied by the Latin gloss 'servator uxoris', which shows that Abbo picked up the word from a glossary with an entry similar to the one in the *Liber glossarum* Ux 4, 'Uxorius: uxori deditus'.[69] The adjective *uxorious, -a, -um* 'of or belonging to a wife, excessively fond of a wife' is used by Plautus and Terentius; also the substantives *uxorious* (m.) and *uxorium* (n.) are attested, the latter in Paul's Epitome of Festus 379: 'Uxorium pependisse dicitur, qui quod uxorem non habuerit, res populo dedit' ('He is said to have paid the *uxorium* [a tax imposed on male citizens in ancient Rome for not

marrying], because he who did not marry gave his goods to the people'). Virgil in *Aeneid* IV, 266, uses the word in reference to Aeneas and his attitude to Dido. Servius provides this comment for the relevant line 'Uxorius nimium uxori deditus vel serviens' ('*uxorius*, exceedingly dedicated to his wife or submissive'), comparing it to Horace, *Carm.* I, ii, 19-20 ('labitur ripa Iove non probante / uxorius amnis' – 'against Jove's will, the river, compliant to his wife, flows over its bank'), where *uxorious* refers to the relationship between the river Tiber and its wife Ilia.

In the Anglo-Saxon prose version of the third book of the *Bella Parisiacae urbis* the cleric is advised not to be *luxorious* rather than *uxorius*. *Luxorious*, with a surmised meaning such as 'dissolute', is a nonce word which sprung from the conflation of *uxorius* with words such as *luxus* 'luxury, soft living', *luxuria* 'lust, dissipation', *luxuries* 'luxury, extravagance', *luxuriosus, -a, -um* 'immoderate, wanton', and *luxuriare, luxuriari, luxoriare* 'to indulge'. The change from the original, in which the cleric was supposed not to be 'devoted to a woman', may have been fostered by the evident impracticality of the statement. The Old English gloss, *to gal* 'too wanton', follows the reading of the prose version rather than of Abbo, with the addition of the adverb *to* 'too'. Later on, at line 88, *galscipe* 'wantonness' glosses the Latin *venus* 'lust', again something strictly forbidden to the cleric.

As mentioned above, Abbo's putative aim is to improve the young cleric's behaviour, giving him precepts to follow. These precepts, which were already quite obscure in the original, tended to become blurred in the transmission and the translation into Old English. However, the original difficulties as well as those introduced in the course of the transmission were often brilliantly mastered by the glossator. Undoubtedly, Abbo's lines succeeded in providing Anglo-Saxon clerics, and Anglo-Saxon students in general with a rich store of learned vocabulary.[70] He definitely kept them busy and sharpened their acumen in the long hours they spent trying to master this difficult school text.

NOTES

[1] Joyce Hill has written on several occasions about education in Anglo-Saxon England: see, among her most recent contributions, 'Winchester Pedagogy and the *Colloquy* of Ælfric', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 29 (1998), 137-52, and 'Learning Latin in Anglo-Saxon England: Traditions, Texts and Techniques', in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. by Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 7-29. In these works, school texts and techniques are always examined within the broader context of the Benedictine Reform and the entire literary production of the tenth and eleventh centuries, a perspective that gives Joyce's work in this field that special blend of sound learning and far-reaching results which is a feature of all her contributions to our discipline.

[2] See Patrizia Lendinara, 'The Third Book of the *Bella Parisiacae Urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and its Old English Gloss', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 15 (1986), 73-89, repr. in her *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 622 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 157-75; recently Anthony Adams and A. G. Rigg have also translated the third book: see their 'A Verse Translation of Abbo of St. Germain's *Bella Parisiacae urbis*', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 14 (2004), 1-68.

[3] On contemporary knowledge of Greek, see, inter alia, Bernhard Bischoff, 'Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 44 (1951), 27-55, repr. in his *Mittelalterliche Studien II* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1967), pp. 246-75; Otto Prinz, 'Zum Einfluss des Griechischen auf den Wortschatz des Mittellateins', *Festschrift B. Bischoff*, ed. by Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1971), pp. 1-15; Edouard Jeauneau, 'Jean Scot Erigène et le grec', *ALMA*, 41 (1979), 5-50; and the comprehensive treatment by Walter Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronimus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern and Munich: Franke, 1980), as well as *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Michael W. Herren, King's College London Medieval Studies, 2 (London: King's College, 1988).

[4] Paul von Winterfeld MGH, PLAC IV, 1, 72-121 (pp. 78-79). In my opinion Abbo meant to mock the Greek vogue of his time; that is, the penchant for Graecisms (and rare words in general) which characterized the school of Laon, including John Scottus.

[5] There are other works from this period provided with glosses by their authors, such as the *Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris* (Paul von Winterfeld, MGH, PLAC IV, 354-403), but none bears comparison with Abbo's poem. For a study of the glosses of the first two books, see Bengt Löfstedt, 'Zu den Glossen von Abbos *Bella Parisiacae Urbis*', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 22 (1981), 261-66.

[6]   The glossed words are 296 out of a total of 698 (reckoning conjunctions with the exception of the enclitic -*que*). Some words display two (48 x) or three (6 x) glosses of the same or of a different typology, amounting to a total of 356 glosses.

[7]   326 out of 356. There are a few glosses which decode metaphors, for example 'toparcha: .i. diabolus erebi' (l. 3); there are a few grammatical and syntactical glosses; one (noxis: .i. pro culpis l. 78) is both lexical and grammatical; finally, one points out the use of a rhetorical figure, *silemsis* (= *syllepsis*, from Greek σύλληψις: l. 46).

[8]   See W. M. Lindsay, 'The *Affatim* Glossary and Others', *The Classical Quarterly*, 11 (1917), 185-200; Terence A. M. Bishop, 'The Prototype of the *Liber glossarum*', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. by Malcolm B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978), pp. 69-86. This practice, while multiplying the possible number of candidates, reduces the chance of finding the exact glossary used by Abbo, who indeed could himself have followed the same procedures of conflation and combination.

[9]   The *Liber glossarum* is one of the largest medieval glossaries: W. M. Lindsay and others, *Glossaria Latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, 5 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1926-31; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), I, 15-604 (henceforth *GlL*); excerpts in Georg Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum a Gustavo Loewe inchoatum*, 7 vols (Leipzig, 1888-1923; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965), V, 161-255 (henceforth *CGL*), see also Georg Goetz, 'Der *Liber Glossarum*', *Abhandlungen der k. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philol.-hist. Klasse*, 13 (1893), 213-88; and David Ganz, 'The *Liber Glossarum*: A Carolingian Encyclopaedia', in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. by Paul L. Butzler and Dietrich Lohrmann (Basel: Birkäuser, 1993), pp. 127-35.

[10]   *Abstrusa* (ed. *GlL* III, 1-90) and *Abolita* (*GlL* III, 97-183) survive, in a composite form, in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3321 (*CGL* IV, 3-198): the two manuscripts used by Goetz in his apparatus, Paris, BN, lat. 7691 and lat. 2341 (as well as the fragmentary Bern, Burgerbibliothek A 92. 3), contain only the *Abstrusa*. *Abolita* was printed within square brackets in *CGL* IV 4-198, following an editorial practice which produced serious misunderstandings in subsequent research: see M. C. Dionisotti, 'On the Nature and Transmission of Latin Glossaries', in *Les Manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du moyen âge: Actes du Colloque international organisé par le 'Ettore Majorana Centre for Scientific Culture', Erice, 23-30 septembre 1994*, ed. by Jaqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Etudes Médiévales, 1996), pp. 205-52 (pp. 215 and 250).

[11]   M. L. W. Laistner, 'Abbo of St-Germain-des-Prés', *ALMA*, 1 (1924), 27-31, and 'The Revival of Greek in Western Europe in the Carolingian Age', *History*, 9 (1924), 177-87 (pp. 185-86). This glossary was first attributed to Martin of Laon (Thomson, Laistner) and

eventually regarded as a product of the Laon cultural milieu; according to Contreni the ultimate home of the *Scholica* must be sought in Spain: John J. Contreni, 'Martin Scottus (819-875) and the *Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*: A New Look at the Manuscripts', *Manuscripta*, 19 (1975), 70-1; 'The Biblical Glosses of Haimo of Auxerre and John Scottus Eriugena', *Speculum*, 51 (1976), 411-34 (pp. 413, note 18, and 426, note 57); *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1978), p. 114.

[12]   The frequent overlapping between the items of the *Scholica* and those of the *Liber glossarum* complicates research on Abbo's sources.

[13]   Abbo did not draw his material from any of the extant manuscripts of the *Scholica*. There is no complete edition of this glossary: *CGL* V, 583-6 prints excerpts from Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 215 (henceforth V); the edition of M. L. W. Laistner, 'Notes on Greek from the Lectures of a Ninth-Century Monastery Teacher', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 7 (1923), 421-56, is based on a collation of this manuscript with London, BL, Royal 15. A. XVI (henceforth R). I am preparing a new edition of the *Scholica*.

[14]   See Michael Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 67-111, repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), II, 105-50 and 474-79, and 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: [1] The Evidence of Latin Glosses', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 99-140.

[15]   Note the collocation of the poem in the third part of Cambridge, UL, Gg. 5. 35: see A.G. Rigg and Gernot R. Wieland, 'A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid-Eleventh Century (the "Cambridge Songs" Manuscript)', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 113-30; the definition of classbook, though still useful, is in need of revision: see Gernot R. Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), 153-73. For the Continental curriculum, see Günther Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 5 (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1970); for England, besides Lapidge's works cited in note 14, see T. Julian Brown, 'An Historical Introduction to the Use of Classical Latin Authors in the British Isles from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century', *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo*, 22 (Spoleto: Centro di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1975), 237-99 and 259-60; Helmut Gneuss, *The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England*, The Toller Memorial Lecture 1989, 2nd repr. with new postscr. in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 75-105.

[16]   Patrizia Lendinara, 'The Abbo Glossary in London, BL, Cotton Domitian i', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 133-49, repr. in her *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries*, pp. 177-98.

[17] In my opinion, the Abbo entries of both the Domitian and the Royal glossaries are drawn from the version of his poem in Cambridge, UL, Gg. 5. 35, fols. 363v-365v.

[18] This manuscript is the base of the editions by Julius Zupitza, 'Altenglische Glossen zu Abbos Clericorum Decus', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 31 (1887), 1-27, and William H. Stevenson, *Early Scholastic Colloquies*, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series, 15 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929, repr. New York, 1989), pp. 103-12 (both with variant readings from St John's College 154 in the apparatus). The text of St John's College 154 is also used to supply the words missing from the Harley interlinear gloss. All quotations from the prose version and the Old English glosses are from Stevenson's edition.

[19] See Patrizia Lendinara, 'Glosse o traduzioni', in *Tradurre testi medievali: obiettivi, pubblico, strategie*, ed. by Maria Grazia Cammarota and Maria Vittoria Molinari (Bergamo: Sestante, 2002), pp. 249-77.

[20] All the loanwords used by Abbo are, with a few exceptions, discussed by Friedrich O. Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein*, Preisschriften gekrönt und herausgegeben von der fürstlich Jablonowski'schen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig, 23 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1882; repr. 1964).

[21] The word is a transcription from Greek, which Abbo integrated morphologically, rather than a loanword; in Isidore, *Etymologiae* XI.i.5 there is the Greek word.

[22] The original meaning of the word is 'official who represents a particular church at the imperial court in ecclesiastical cases'; I will return to the new meaning of this gloss and many others of Abbo's poem in a forthcoming work.

[23] In one manuscript of *Scholica*, London, BL, Royal 15. A. XVI (fols. 74v-83v), which was at Canterbury by the second half of the tenth century, an effort to improve the spelling of the Greek loanwords by adding the *h* above the line where appropriate is evident, as well as painstaking corrections of false word-division.

[24] Winterfeld records – unsystematically – only the major variant readings from the manuscripts he knew. A thorough revision of his edition is an unavoidable first step towards a new edition of the prose version with its Old English glosses.

[25] *CGL* V, 6, 20 (*Plac. lib. Rom.*) 'Abludam: paleam'; 43, 6 (*Plac. lib. Rom.*) 'Ablundam: paleam'. The inflected form of the entry suggests that the origin of this gloss may be Festus 10: 'Apluda est genus minutissimae paleae frumenti sive panici [. . .]. Sunt, qui apludam sorbitionis liquidissimum putent genus' ('*Apluda* is a kind of very thin chaff of either wheat or millet [. . .]. There are those who believe it is a very thin sort of soup'); for the uninflected form, see the *Glosarium Aynardi* A 215: 'Ablunda est palea'. There are several glossary entries with the lemma *apluda* such as *CGL* V, 6, 30 (*Plac. lib. Rom.*) and 48, 9 (*Plac. lib. gloss.*).

[26] Isidore's etymology may be based on Greek ἅπτω 'to light', rather than on ἀψίς

[27] See also the comment by Servius: 'sed propter differentiam commutatur, ne non secreta et amoena litorum, sed participialiter acta significet' ('it changes its meaning by difference, so

that it means not the easily accessible and pleasant sides of the shores, but, as a participle, shore'). As a literal translation of the last word I would suggest 'trodden': Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Virgilii carmina commentarii*, 3 vols (Leipzig: 1878-1902; repr. Hildersheim: Olms, 1961). All references to Servius' commentaries are to this edition.

[28] *Anodia*, which occurs, *inter alia*, in Aurelius, *De acutis passionibus* (ed. by Daremberg, p. 720, 2-4) is one of the medical entries of the *Liber glossarum*, see J. L. Heiberg, 'Glossae Medicinales,' *Historisk-Filologiscke Meddelelser udgivne af det Kgl. Danske videnskabernes Selskab*, 9, 1 (Copenhagen: 1924-25).

[29] Thomas Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, ed. and collated by Richard P. Wülcker, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: 1884; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), 350, 15 (hereafter WW). OE *eorþern* 'earth-place, tomb, sepulchre' occurs also in poetry.

[30] For the standard form, see As 26: 'Asceterium: monasterium Graece' and *Abolita* (*CGL* IV, 22, 16): 'Asciterium: monasterium'.

[31] On the word, see Michael Lapidge, 'How "English" is pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin', in *Britannia Latina: Latin in the Culture of Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Charles Burnett and Nicholas Mann, Warburg Institute Colloquia, 8 (London and Turin: Warburg Institute, 2005), pp. 1-13 (pp. 11-12).

[32] *CGL* II, 248, 59: 'Asulon: asilum'; IV, 21, 50 (*Abstrusa*): 'Aslum: spolium'; IV, 311, 24 (*Abavus*): 'Aslum: spolium'; V, 268, 37 (Second Erfurt): 'Aslum: spolium'; V, 338, 34 (First Erfurt): 'Assellum: spolium'.

[33] Before *CGL* IV, 3, 20 in note. For similar interpretations, which witness to the circulation of this pseudo-etymological explanation of *asylum*, see *CGL* V, 4, 18 (*Plac. lib. Rom.*): 'Asillum graece templum ad quod siquis confugiebat nephas erat trahi idest añ trahendo spolium'; *CGL* V, 48, 32 (*Plac. lib. gloss.*): 'Asilum grece templum ad quod quis confugebat nefas erat trahii id est non trahendo spolium'.

[34] ('"Juno's refuge", a sanctuary whence no one may be taken out to torture. It is said *asylym* as if [to say] *asyrum*. Others say that it is called *asylum* because no one may be taken out of it, that is because no one could 'συλᾶσθαι', meaning 'be taken away', from there; or because spoils could not be taken away from the one who takes refuge there; in fact booty or spoils are called σύλα in Greek'). See also Servius' comment on *Aeneid* VIII, 342-43: 'hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum rettulit' ('from there [he shows] a large wood, that the fierce Romulus made into a refuge').

[35] ('you, ever-burning flames and inviolable fire'). A number of entries of the third book have a counterpart in Virgilian glosses.

[36] ('*Aevum* is so called from the length of all the years [hence *aeviternum*, what has been created eternal]'). For the etymology of *aeternus*, see Alois Walde and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 4th edn, 2 vols (Heidelberg: Winter, 1965), I, 21, *s.v. aetas*.

[37] See, respectively, *CGL* III, 520, 16: 'Aegida: scutum Iovis'; V, 263, 1 (Second Erfurt): 'Aegedas: scutum Minervae', and IV, 476, 31 (*Affatim*): 'Aegida: pellis caprarum'.

[38] Respectively ('When he often shook his darkening aegis with his right hand he stirred up the clouds') and ('"[When] he shook his aegis", here it is necessary to draw a distinction: indeed, Jove holds the aegis, that is the skin of the goat Amalthea, by which he was fed, in his left hand. As a matter of fact the Greek poets call whirls and storms καταιγίδα, because this [aegis], when shaken, arouses the storms. Therefore darkening [means] "that arouses storms". With his right hand he [Jove] would summon the clouds and from the right he would hurl the thunderbolts: in fact he [Virgil] wrote clouds instead of thunderbolts, which he [Jove] throws from the right. Then the shaking of the aegis produces the rains. Therefore [the line means] "when he shook his aegis and moved the clouds with it"').

[39] Lowell Kindschi, 'The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS 32 and British Museum MS Additional 32,246' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Stanford University, 1955), p. 75, gloss no. 8.

[40] See *Th. L. L* II, 1682, 41 and *Th Gr. L.* III, 47.

[41] In I Maccabees 13. 51: 'et intraverunt in ea [. . .] cum laude, et ramis palmarum et cinyris et cymbalis' ('And they entered into it [. . .] with thanksgiving, and palm branches, and lyres, and cymbals') there occurs the rendering 'palm-rod'.

[42] Paolo Gatti, *Ainardo, glossario*, Millennio medievale, 23, Testi, 9 (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000).

[43] The *Scholica* B 22 and the so-called *Glossae Scaligeri* (*CGL* V, 592, 68) have *baen*.

[44] An identical interpretation, drawn from Isidore, *Etymologiae* XX.ii.7, is offered by Ca 519.

[45] See also *CGL* IV, 210, 15 (*Abba*): 'Bacapulus: in quo mortui efferuntur'; V, 170, 13 (*Plac. lib. Paris.*): 'Bacapulus: in quo mortui efferuntur'. A similar entry occurs in the Harley Glossary B 14: 'Bacapulus . vel baccalis. In quo mortui efferuntur': Robert T. Oliphant, *The Harley Latin-Old English Glossary Edited from British Museum MS Harley 3376*, Janua linguarum, Series practica, 20 (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).

[46] *CGL* IV, 27, 51; IV 215, 19; IV, 315, 50; V, 52, 13; V, 174, 22; V, 174, 37; V. 274, 2; V, 335, 6; V, 550, 9.

[47] Plautus, *Asinaria* 893: 'Perii misera, ut osculatur carnufex, capuli decus' ('Wretch that I am, I'm lost! How the villain is kissing away the garnishing of a bier').

[48] ('He used the word *feretrum* in Greek, in fact in Latin *capulus* is so called from *capiendo*: whence Plautus says *senex capularis*, that is "old man with one foot in the grave",

that is close to his burial'). See also Servius' comment to *Aeneid* XI, 64: 'haud segnes alii cratis et molle feretrum' ('and the other men zealously [pleach] a soft bier of oaken twigs').

[49] See also *CGL* V, 592, 12 (*Glossae Scaligeri*): 'Banadola lectus quod in itinere fertur. In alio Gloss. Baniola'.

[50] Lucia Kornexl, '"Unnatural words"? Loan-Formations in Old English Glosses', in *Language Contact in the History of English*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger, 2nd rev. edn (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2003), pp. 195-216, points out that the glossator was expected to provide a lexical equivalent belonging to the same word class as the lemma, whereas, given the choice, he would perhaps have selected a different construction.

[51] *Liber glossarum* Si 480; on the other hand *CGL* II, 111, 35; II, 466, 28; III, 442, 78 features the inversion of the lemma and the interpretamentum, 'Compositio: σύνθεσις'.

[52] *CGL* V, 389, 50 (First Erfurt): 'Synthea: composita'; 389, 50 in note (Épinal): 'Syntheta: conposita'; 557, 4 (*Cassin*. 402): 'Sintheta: composita'.

[53] This sentence has undergone several corruptions and therefore does not make sense. Only by interpreting *analogiam* (acc.) as a nominative, *obrissis* as the genitive of *obryzum* (with the likely interference of *c(h)risis*), and *scandito* as *candido* (in a dat. or abl. case), we obtain the following: 'The analogy of refined gold shines in the bright mouth of the teacher'.

[54] See also *anaboladium* 'kind of cloak, shawl, scarf', *anabolagium* 'veil, head covering, amice', *anabolarium* 'veil, head covering, amice', and *anabolium* 'dress'.

[55] *CGL* III, 439, 37: 'Anabla: ὤφειλον' and 475, 35: 'Anabla: ὤφιλον'.

[56] The Antwerp-London Glossary has 'Anabola, *winpel*' Kindschi, 88, 4; OE *wimple* means 'cloak'.

[57] *Diptycha*, a loanword from Greek δίπτυχα (n. pl.), means both 'double tablet given to consuls, praetors with their portrait' and 'writing-tablet of two leaves'; also a Latin *diptychum* from Greek δίπτυχον is attested.

[58] In the classroom students used wax tablets to write down passages to be memorized for the next class.

[59] Georg Goetz, 'Epikritische Noten (*abactor. abigeus. abacus. abaddir*)', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, 1 (1884), 558-64 (pp. 563-64).

[60] Georg Goetz, 'Lexikalisch-kritische Bemerkungen', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, 2 (1885), 337-48 (pp. 346-47).

[61] Lat. *basis* 'base' is a loanword from Greek βάσις.

[62] See also the *Glosarium Aynardi* A 218: 'Abaso: domus infirma vel infirmi, et dicitur ab a, quod est sine, et basis, id est fundamentum'.

[63] According to Lindsay, *Liber glossarum*, p. 15, the change took place in *Abstrusa* and was provoked by the interference of the entry immediately following *abaso*, 'Absurdum: infirmum, inconveniens' (*CGL* IV, 3, 8).

64   See also *CGL* IV, 3, 7 (*Abstrusa*): 'Abaso: infirma domus'; IV, 471, 8 (*Affatim*): 'Abaso: infirma domus'; V, 259, 24 (Second Erfurt): 'Abaso: infirmadomus'; V, 343, 11 (First Erfurt): 'Abaso: infima domus'; V, 343, 22 (First Erfurt): 'Abaro: infirma domus'.

65   W. M. Lindsay, *The Corpus Glossary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921).

66   *CGL* II, 178, 22: 'Sandapila: feretrum vel loculum in quo defuncti portantur: sic enim de Domitiano imperatore legimus, cuius cadaver populari sandapila per vespelliones reportatum atque ignominose sepultum'; *Liber glossarum* Sa 365: 'Sandapila: feretrum'; *CGL* V, 97, 23 (*Plac. lib. gloss.*): 'Sandapila: feretrum'; V, 578, 28 (*Cassin.* 90): 'Sandapila: feretrum idest locus ubi portantur gladiatores mortui non in quo nobilium corpora sed in quo plebeiorum atque damnatorum'; V, 654, 21 (glosses from Juvenal): 'Sandapila: feretrum'.

67   The OE gloss *helle ealdor* blends the meaning of the two Latin glosses provided by Abbo: *princeps unius loci .i. diabolus erebi.*

68   Among others, *mimus* in *Abolita* (*CGL* IV, 44, 40), *Plac. lib. Rom.* (*CGL* V, 12, 32), *Liber glossarum* Co 2141; *cantator* in *Liber glossarum* Co 2140, and *iocularis* in Second Erfurt (*CGL* IV, 325, 31); *Glossae Scaligeri* (V, 594, 58; V, 596, 30).

69   See also the *Liber glossarum* Ux 3: 'Uxorius: uxori serviens', as well as *CGL* II, 597, 55: 'Uxorius: amator'; IV, 470, 51 (*Glossae AA*): 'Uxorius: uxori deditus'; V, 559, 21 (*Cassin.* 402): 'Uxorius: uxoris serviens'; V, 583, 20 (*Cassin.* 90): 'Uxorius: uxoris dedecus'.

70   By the tenth century schools were also attended by lay students, as is witnessed, for example, by the words of Æthelwold: see Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester: Life of St Æthelwold*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. lxxxvi-xcix.