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Dry-Point Glosses in Irish Manuscripts

Dagmar Bronner

Ink glosses are the most important source for our knowledge of Old Irish; their existence is therefore well-known – every student of Celtic Studies has heard about them. In contrast to this, *dry-point* glosses have so far received only very little attention from Celtic scholars. The only proper study known to me is an article by Pádraig Ó Néill (Ó NÉILL 1998), dealing with the dry-point material found in the so-called ‘Codex Usserianus Primus’ (Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 55), a seventh-century manuscript of the Gospels and our earliest witness to dry-point glossing in an Irish context.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a summary of the state of research concerning dry-point glosses within an Irish context; it will basically present a survey of the – comparatively scant – evidence, in other words, a survey of relevant manuscripts. On the whole, the paper is heavily indebted to Pádraig Ó Néill’s work, who mentions a few manuscripts in his study of the ‘Codex Usserianus Primus’ (Ó NÉILL 1998: 2 & 26 nn. 22–24). With regard to the survey, I have to admit that the title of the paper is not entirely accurate and gives rise to questions of definition. For, ‘Irish manuscripts’ usually means ‘manuscripts written in an Irish script’. However, the survey will deal more generally with dry-point material found in manuscripts with a somehow Irish connection. It also includes manuscripts written by continental scribes which are said to contain annotations by an Irishman, as well as manuscripts of Irish provenance with annotations written in continental script. All of the eight manuscripts discussed below also contain glosses or annotations written in *ink*, the ‘Codex Usserianus Primus’ presenting a bit of an exception as the interlinear¹ entries written in ink into this manuscript throughout supply, or refer to, missing (parts of) words or phrases of the biblical text and do not provide additional information. Four of the glossed texts are biblical, the others are grammatical, exegetical, medical, and philosophical. The language of the glosses is mainly Latin, Old Irish dry-point glosses being safely attested only in the ‘Codex Usserianus Primus’. The manuscripts are listed in chronological order (as far as it goes).

1 The manuscript in all probability also contained marginal entries, which, however, have not been preserved due to the fragmentary state of the codex; cf. the following remarks by Ó NÉILL (1998: 24 n. 3, 3): “most of the margins have been lost”, “its [i.e., the manuscript’s] surviving leaves are badly damaged and disfigured around the edges and by heavy brown and green stains [...]. In addition some marginal text was covered over on one side of each page when the leaves were mounted in the nineteenth century”.

1. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 55 ('Codex Usserianus Primus')

As already mentioned, this is a manuscript of the Gospels containing a version of the *Vetus Latina* text and it has been dated to the beginning or the first half of the seventh century (LOWE 1935: 42 no. 271; COLKER 1991: 101). The codex was probably produced in Ireland (Ó NÉILL 1998: 1–2). The first reference to the existence of (Latin) dry-point glosses in the manuscript, as far as I am aware, is found in *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (LOWE 1935: 42 no. 271).² Some of the Latin glosses and one Old Irish gloss were first edited and published by Bernhard Bischoff in 1954 (BISCHOFF 1966b: 211). The most comprehensive edition of the dry-point material so far has been prepared by Ó NÉILL (1998: 12–23).

Ó NÉILL (IBID.: 3) distinguishes two strata of dry-point glosses, i.e. an early stratum written in a kind of semi-uncial script ("sometimes as large or even larger than the main script") and a later stratum written in Irish minuscule ("tiny, lightly entered"). His study and edition is concerned with the early stratum only, which consists of 120 (or maybe 118) glosses in Latin, 3 (or maybe 5) glosses in Old Irish, and about 18 dry-point symbols, some of which are construe marks. Altogether 112 of the glosses occur in the text of Luke's Gospel (IBID.: 8, 13–22). As regards the glosses in Latin, words or phrases are often abbreviated (or fragmentary). The glosses of the early stratum are dated by Ó NÉILL to the seventh century (IBID.: 10).

The nature of the Latin glosses is twofold. Some of them present corrections, or – from a modern perspective – *variae lectiones*, based on Vulgate readings, sometimes also corresponding to readings of other *Vetus Latina* versions. Other glosses are exegetical, on the one hand drawing upon patristic sources (e.g., Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Matheum, Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*; Ambrosius, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam*), on the other hand agreeing with Hiberno-Latin commentaries (e.g., pseudo-Hieronymus, *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum*; an anonymous *Commentarium in Lucam*), thus representing a common Hiberno-Latin exegetical tradition (IBID.: 6–9). The Old Irish glosses seem to be purely lexical in nature: fol. 86r "*focrici*" 'wages, payments' (nom./acc. pl. of *fochraic*) glossing *stipendiis* (IBID.: 14 no. 32; Lk 3:14); fol. 113r "*oen*" 'single' glossing *oculus tuus simplex*, maybe be-

2 "A number of Latin interlinear glosses written with a stylus in Insular script are seen on foll. 25, 25^v, 79, etc." This discovery – and presumably also further discoveries of dry-point glosses mentioned in other volumes of *CLA* – seem(s) to have been made by Bernhard Bischoff, who worked as an assistant for Elias Lowe in this project; see Ó CRÓINÍN 1996: 128–133, esp. 129: "The year 1934 saw the appearance of volume one of *CLA*, and Lowe and Bischoff then travelled to England for the first time. Bischoff went on alone to Dublin for a week, where he drew up the descriptions of the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells and the other Dublin manuscripts that appeared in vol. 2 of *CLA*. In general, Bischoff travelled first to the various libraries, with Lowe following some days later (though Lowe never saw the Dublin manuscripts)." Bischoff mentioned these dry-point glosses in his article "Über Einritzungen in Handschriften des frühen Mittelalters" published in 1937 (BISCHOFF 1966a: 89; this revised version of the 1937 article also mentions an Old Irish gloss).

longing to the later stratum (IBID.: 18 no. 69; Lk 11:34); fol. 124r “*dilus*” ‘private property, possessions’ (dat. sg. of *diles*) glossing *dissipauit substantiam suam* (IBID.: 19 no. 79; Lk 15:13).³ Besides these, there are two instances of an exegetical gloss “*corp*” on fol. 110r, glossing *in iumentum* and *ad stabulum*, respectively, which may either be Old Irish or may represent the abbreviated Latin *corpus* (IBID.: 17 nos. 65 & 66 ; Lk 10:34). Finally, Ó NÉILL (IBID.: 9) characterizes the purpose of the glosses as “personal notes whose meaning and associations would be immediately obvious to the glossator” and “verbal cues for teaching”.

2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 9382

This manuscript from Echternach, dated to the beginning of the eighth century, is written in Anglo-Saxon script. It is again a biblical manuscript, containing the Books of the Prophets from Jeremiah to Malachi (LOWE 1950: 18 no. 577; EBERSPERGER 1999: 179). The presumed Irish connection of the codex consists in the name of the scribe Vergilius, which may be the latinized form of the Irish name Fergal. The scribe could thus have been an Irishman (cf. McNAMARA 1995: 93, 95).⁴ The Irish historian Dáibhí Ó CRÓINÍN (1999: 94) discovered and edited dry-point glosses from the manuscript, some of which were only partially decipherable, stating that some of them “may be [Old] Irish”, the others being Latin. However, Andreas Nievergelt studied the manuscript in 2013 and subsequently told me⁵ that the published edition is in places debatable and not entirely reliable: some of the readings are doubtful, and – this is the important point – the presumed Old Irish glosses could actually as well be Latin and/or a vernacular other than Irish.⁶

3. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, F. IV. 24, fol. 93

This is a palimpsest, of Bobbio provenance, with a fragment of the Second Epistle of Peter, which has been dated to the eighth century and may have been written in Ireland; in any case

3 For a brief linguistic discussion of these glosses see Ó NÉILL 1998: 10.

4 That Vergilius was Irish is considered as a fact by Ó CRÓINÍN (1984: 28 & n. 1; 1999: 94). Moreover, he points out that there existed links between Echternach and Ireland, since Willibrord, the founder of Echternach, spent several years in Ireland before coming to the continent (ID. 1984: esp. 32–33). – Concerning the provenance of the biblical text note the cautious remarks by McNAMARA (1995: 95): “As matters stand [...] we cannot with any degree of assurance regard this Echternach text as having come from Ireland, or as representing an Irish text of the Prophets.”

5 Communicated via e-mail, 07/12/2013.

6 It seems to be a common problem to ascertain beyond doubt the linguistic identity of (vernacular) glosses consisting of single, or even fragmentary, words. Cf., for example, the case of the presumed Welsh (BISCHOFF 1966a: 90, with reference to MADAN/CRASTER 1922: 172) dry-point glosses in the tenth-century ‘Codex Oxoniensis Posterior’ (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 572): “of the two possible Brittonic dry-point glosses in this manuscript, one is almost certainly Latin, and the Brittonic character of the other is open to serious doubt” (FALILEYEV/RUSSELL 2003: 97).

it contains ink glosses in Old Irish (and Latin).⁷ The only reference to dry-point material, as far as I am aware, is the following remark found in *Codices Latini Antiquiores*: “Numerous [ink] glosses in Old Irish; a few in Latin by a somewhat later Irish hand using a stylus” (LOWE 1947: 16 no. 457). No further details seem to be known.

4. Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 51

This is a comparatively famous Irish manuscript (i.e., written in Irish script) of the Gospels with a mixed Vulgate-*Vetus Latina* text, produced either in Ireland or in an Irish scriptorium on the Continent around or after the middle of the eighth century and preserved in Saint Gall since medieval times (DUFT/MEYER 1953: 66, 70, 71; DUFT 1982: 927). The reference to dry-point – and ink – glosses is again found in *Codices Latini Antiquiores*: “Corrections and probationes pennae [...] in Caroline minuscule saec. IX, some are scratched in with a stylus” (LOWE 1956: 20 no. 901). I examined the digital images of the whole manuscript available online and can add a bit of information to these remarks. – Note, however, that dry-point entries are usually not visible on digital images and that therefore the examination and its ensuing results must needs be regarded as preliminary.

The dry-point and ink glosses are termed “corrections”. Indeed, the longest of the dry-point entries consists of the text of Mt 18:2–3, which was omitted in the main text on p. 44, and added on p. 45 in the upper margin.⁸ On the other hand, most of these “corrections”, from a modern perspective, would rather be termed *variae lectiones* to the biblical text. According to biblical scholarship the main text contains “some rare or unique readings” (McNAMARA 1990: 112; 2002: 265)⁹ and it has been noted that some of the ink glosses represent readings from the Vulgate text (e.g., ID. 1990: 114–116; cf. p. 8 of the codex). This is also valid for some of the dry-point glosses; for example, on p. 52 (line 2) the gloss “*de arboribus*” is written interlinearly above the unusual reading “*arborum*” (cf. Mt 21:8: *alii autem caedebant ramos de arboribus et sternebant in via*). As we have already seen, the same phenomenon is also found in the ‘Codex Usserianus Primus’. Additionally, for example, the interlinear gloss “*debitum mortis*” on p. 43 (line 3) written above “[*uesti*]menta autem eius facta sunt sicut nix” (cf. Mt 17:2) is to all appearances exegetical.

7 An edition of the Old Irish and some of the Latin glosses is available in STOKES/STRACHAN 1901: 713–714.

8 Another long dry-point entry consisting of the text of Mt 21:6–7 occurs in the right-hand lower margin on p. 51.

9 See also McNAMARA 1990: 113 (cf. ID. 2002: 266): “The partial collation [...] indicates that we are in the presence of some curious phenomena, ranging from readings otherwise unattested in the early chapters of Matthew to an extraordinary correspondence with the Irish texts D and R (the Book of Armagh and the Mac Regol Gospels) throughout John.”

5. Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 904

This is the so-called ‘Saint Gall Priscian’, a manuscript of Priscian’s *Institutiones grammaticae* which has been dated to the second quarter of the ninth century (c. 845) and which was probably produced in either Nendrum or Bangor in what is today Northern Ireland (HOFMAN 1996: 12, 17, 21–23). The manuscript has been in the possession of the abbey library of Saint Gall since medieval times and is famous among modern scholars for its large corpus of Old Irish (and Latin) *ink* glosses.¹⁰ The reference to *dry-point* glosses apparently rests on unpublished information provided by Gearóid Mac Eoin, the former Professor of Old and Middle Irish at the university of Galway (Ó NÉILL 1998: 26 n. 23). On the other hand we know that the codex contains drawings made with a stylus and some other implement (NIEVERGELT 2007: 91 n. 98; 2013: 64). Again, I examined the digital images of the whole manuscript in the hope of finding glosses. What I mostly found are actually drawings, sketches, or mere scribbles on the margins or between the columns. There are human faces, heads of animals, some kind of interlace ornamentation, but also initials or capital letters (some of which are letters in rustic capital, i.e. in continental script).¹¹ As regards glosses, there are sequences of letters visible on some of the pages, often very faint and therefore not clearly decipherable. In other cases, there does not seem to be an obvious connection between the dry-point entry and the main text.¹² The only gloss I could make sense of is found on p. 210. It is obviously a textual correction (apparently written in continental script): the abbreviated word “*omnia*” in the main text is to be replaced by “*nomina*”.¹³

6. & 7. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 92 & MS 424

According to John CONTRENI (1978: 96, 123) these two ninth-century manuscripts, once belonging to the cathedral library at Laon, contain annotations written in dry-point Tironian notes – along with annotations written in ink Tironian notes. MS 92 was produced either in Reims or in Laon (CONTRENI 1978: 42–43, 55; cf. BISCHOFF 2004: 24–25); the annotated text is a copy of Bede’s *In Marci euangelium expositio* (CONTRENI 1978: 96 & 172).¹⁴ MS 424 has been dated to the second quarter of the ninth century and seems to have been produced either

10 For editions of the glosses see STOKES/STRACHAN 1903: 49–224; HOFMAN 1996; <www.stgallpriscian.ie>; for an edition of the marginalia (including poems) see STOKES/STRACHAN 1903: xx–xxiii, 290.

11 See, for example, pp. 121, 170. The most striking example of this activity is p. 200. Some of the drawings were apparently executed with such an amount of pressure that traces of them are visible on the following leaf, p. 202.

12 For example, on pp. 168 and 247, between columns.

13 Cf. HERTZ 1859: 20.3–4: *et rursus nomina declinationem pronominum [sequuntur]* (= *Institutiones grammaticae* XIII.29). Hertz (ibid.) notes the gloss in the *apparatus criticus*, assigning it to hand g.

14 The dry-point notes are found on fol. 159v.

in northern Italy or in France (BISCHOFF 2004: 35; cf. CONTRENI 1978: 45 n. 24, 123); it contains copies of Oribasius's medical writings (BISCHOFF 2004: 34; CONTRENI 1978: 97). CONTRENI identifies the hand of the notes as that of an Irishman, Martinus Hiberniensis (*ob.* 875), teacher at the cathedral school of Laon (IBID.: 96, 97, 123). The existence of dry-point Tironian notes in MS 92 is confirmed by BISCHOFF (2004: 24).

8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F. 3. 15

Further evidence for dry-point glosses from Ireland is provided by a copy of Calcidius's Latin translation of Plato's *Timaios* (Ó NÉILL 1997: 13; 1998: 26) which was produced in the late eleventh or early twelfth century and has been tentatively associated with the monastery of Glendalough (Ó CUIV 2001: 308–309, 311).¹⁵ The copy also contains ink glosses in Latin and Irish (IBID.). Details concerning the dry-point entries seem to be solely provided by the following remarks found in two articles by Pádraig Ó Néill, which illustrate that they are in Latin and apparently indicate corrections: “Many of the places where [scribe 2] makes corrections have an adjacent marginal notation in dry point” (Ó NÉILL 1997: 12–13), “[t]hey seem to be scribal cues for corrections; e.g. at fol. 7a, the dry-point gloss *an* in the margin corresponds to the correction AN in the main Latin text of Calcidius” (ID. 1998: 26 n. 24).

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¹⁵ The Calcidius copy is the first of altogether four different, albeit closely associated, codicological entities which make up the manuscript. For both a detailed description of the codex and discussion of its provenance see Ó NÉILL 1997.

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Digital images

Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 55 (‘Codex Usserianus Primus’):
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