X.—OLD-IRISH GLOSSES ON THE BUCOLICS.

From a MS. in the Laurentian Library. By WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L.

GEO. THILO (Rheinisches Museum, Neue Folge, XIV. 132-133) was the first to call attention to the Old-Irish glosses, which are found in the abridgments of Philargyrus' scholia on the *Bucolics* contained in two tenth-century codices, one in the Laurentian library, marked plut. XLV. cod. 14, ff. 1-22, the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 7960, ff. 1-17. Thilo printed six of these glosses, which were reprinted by Zimmer (*Gloss. hib. supplementum*, p. 5), with the addition of one from the latter codex contributed by Herm. Hagen. To these seven, I added, in the *Academy* for Jan. 17, 1891, pp. 64-65, thirty from the Paris MS. I now present a complete list of those in the Laurentian codex. Among them I have inserted the end of a scholium on *Ecl.* III. 90, which tends to show the nationality of the maker of the abridgment in which it occurs. The Irish glosses in the Paris MS. will be published in the *Revue Celtique* for July, 1893.

Both MSS. are in continental handwritings, and the scribes were, naturally, ignorant of Irish. Hence sundry mistakes in copying the Irish glosses, such as bisecting and trisecting words, transposing letters, and sometimes putting *c* for *t*; *e*, *o* or *t* for *c*; *h* for *b*; *s* for *f* and *f* for *s* or *p*; *m* for *in*; *t* for *d*, *d* for *b*, and even *u* for *il* and *ic* for *a*. Five of these glosses—viz. (16), (25), (47), (65), (104)—are so corrupt that I am unable to explain them satisfactorily. But, on the whole, they have been handed down in a comprehensible form, and apart from the lexicographical value of them all, the gen. sg. *milge*, the nom. pl. *derce*, the accusatives pl. *bledmil*, *englemen*, *darcha*, *grode*, the verbs *cit*, *farmuinethar*, *tuerecha*, *dodihel*, *banrag*, *folloine*, *fedid*, *immonaise*, *adreth*, *sibrase* and *adreichlus*, and the participles *clithi*, *nephglidi* will be welcome to the student of Old-Irish grammar.

¹ Reprinted, with many corrections and additions, from Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, xxxiii. 62-80.

- (1) Fo. 2v. 10 Da .i. cit (Ecl. I. 19).
 (2) „ 3r. 14 Raucæ .i. brongidi (Ecl. I. 58).
 (3) „ 3v. 9 Dumosa .i. drisidi (Ecl. I. 77).
 (4) „ „ 39 Cicadis.¹ cauig (Ecl. II. 13).
 (5) „ 4v. 8 Uiolas .i. scotha l. uaccinia (Ecl. II. 47).
 (6) „ „ 11 Anethi. *propir losa* (Ecl. II. 48).
 (7) „ 6v. 10 De Menio uero nihil reperi ut Adannanus² ait
 (Ecl. III. 90).
 (8) „ „ 13 Fraga .i. subi (Ecl. III. 92).
 (9) „ „ 22 in eruo .i. tincur (Ecl. III. 100).
 (10) „ „ 23 fascinat .i. farmuinethar (Ecl. III. 103).
 (11) „ 7v. 27 flauescet blicfithir (Ecl. IV. 28).
 (12) „ „ 28 Arista broth (Ecl. IV. 28).
 (13) „ 8r. 8 mentiri .i. tucreacha fusca enim luna mentitur
alium colorem (Ecl. IV. 42).
 (14) „ 8v. 1 labruscas .i. feadinne (Ecl. V. 7).
 (15) „ „ 34 thiasos .i. clasa (Ecl. V. 30).
 (16) „ „ 39 auene .i. mailan uilchi uelcu infec uel zezaniae
 (Ecl. V. 37).
 (17) „ „ 40 uiolla .i. scoth uel fobuirge (Ecl. V. 38).
 (18) „ 9r. 1 phalliorus (sic!) .i. geelcæ l. aiten (Ecl. V. 39).
 (19) „ „ 3 Tumulum .i. fert (Ecl. V. 42).
 (20) „ „ 4 superattite (sic!) carmen .i. sit scriptum super
tumulo .i. membræ superscripte (Ecl. V. 42).
 (21) „ „ 6 In gramine .i. israth (Ecl. V. 46).
 (22) „ „ 14 Intonsi .i. nephglidi l. intacti (Ecl. V. 63).
 (23) „ „ 20 nectar cetgrinnæ³ (Ecl. V. 71).
 (24) „ „ 28 thimo .i. *propir fedo* (Ecl. V. 77).
 (25) „ „ 30 damnabæ .i. fisi lusu .i. res facies⁴ ut uotam
tuam multi adorarent (Ecl. V. 80).
 (26) „ „ 34 cicuta .i. buinne (Ecl. V. 85).
 (27) „ „ 35 Pedum .i. bron brachia .i. baculum incuruum
quo pedes ouium impediuntur (Ecl. V. 88).
 (28) „ „ 37 nodis⁵ obid (Ecl. V. 90).
 (29) „ 9v. 18 sarta .i. coerca (Ecl. VI. 16).
 (30) „ „ 19 ansa .i. dorn (Ecl. VI. 17).

¹ MS. cicades.² Adannanus, Thilo, perperam. Adannanus, P.³ MS. nectacæ grinnæ.⁴ MS. facier.⁵ MS. nobis.

- (31) *Fo.* 9v. 22 *moris* .i. *merih* (Ecl. VI. 22).
 (32) „ „ 23 *frontem* .i. *grode* (Ecl. VI. 22).
 (33) „ „ „ *timpora*. a *aru* (Ecl. VI. 22).
 (34) „ 10r. 4 *nerea* .i. *bled* .i. *mil* .i. *animalia maris*¹ (Ecl. VI. 35).
 (35) „ „ 32 *cornua* .i. *benn* (Ecl. VI. 51).
 (36) „ „ 36 *stabula* .i. *lesib* l. *gelbin* (Ecl. VI. 60).
 (37) „ 10v. 7 *alnos* .i. *ferna* (Ecl. VI. 63).
 (38) „ „ 7 *permessi* .i. *propir fluminis boe[o]tiæ* (Ecl. VI. 64).
 (39) „ „ 13 *apio* .i. *luib sérb* (Ecl. VI. 68).
 (40) „ „ 16 *ornos*² .i. *ligna* .i. *darchachis* .i. *calamis* (Ecl. VI. 71-72).
 (41) „ „ 19 *inguina*³ .i. *nomen loci in quo canes scille latrabant uel melen*⁴ (Ecl. VI. 76).
 (42) „ „ 35 *arguta dresach tach* (Ecl. VII. 1).
 (43) „ „ 37 *arcades* .i. *sulbari* l. *fissidi* (Ecl. VII. 4).
 (44) „ 11r. 3 *deerrauerat* .i. *todidel* (Ecl. VII. 7).
 (45) „ „ 4 *salu[u]s* .i. *slan* (Ecl. VII. 9).
 (46) „ „ 5 *examina* .i. *saithi* (Ecl. VII. 13).
 (47) „ „ 8 *seria* .i. *samre* (Ecl. VII. 17).
 (48) „ „ 23 *setosi* .i. *simch* (Ecl. VII. 29).
 (49) „ „ 28 *suras*⁵ .i. *gairri* (Ecl. VII. 32).
 (50) „ „ 38 *rusco* .i. *ait tun* l. *ruse* (Ecl. VII. 42).
 (51) „ „ 39 *muscosi* .i. *coennich* (Ecl. VII. 45).
 (52) „ 11v. 2 *turgent* .i. *astaid* (Ecl. VII. 48).
 (53) „ 11v. 2 *tede* .i. *caindla* (Ecl. VII. 49).
 (54) „ „ „ *fuligine* .i. *osuidi* (Ecl. VII. 50).
 (55) „ „ 9 *pampiniis* .i. *channachdi* (Ecl. VII. 58).
 (56) „ „ 10 *populus* .i. *pro[pir] fedo* (Ecl. VII. 61).
 (57) „ „ 13 *fraxinus* .i. *umnus* (Ecl. VII. 65).
 (58) „ „ 14 *pinus* .i. *oct gag* (Ecl. VII. 65).
 (59) „ „ „ *habies* .i. *octh gachasardua*. *Lailu* (Ecl. VII. 66).
 (60) „ „ „ *populus* .i. *fit* (Ecl. VII. 66).
 (61) „ 12r. 6 *sine* .i. *leic* (Ecl. VIII. 12).
 (62) „ „ 8 *age* .i. *fer airli* .i. *cito ueni* (Ecl. VIII. 17).

¹ MS. *animali amaris*.² MS. *ornus*.³ MS. *inguma*.⁴ MS. *uelme lendulicias*, where *dulicias* is the beginning of a gloss on *Dulichias* (Ecl. VI. 76).⁵ MS. *surras*.

- (63) Fo. 12r. 34 cotibus .i. lecibus (Ecl. VIII. 43).
 (64) „ 12v. 4 electra .i. orget (Ecl. VIII. 54).
 (65) „ „ „ ululæ .i. coinnil (Ecl. VIII. 55).
 (66) „ „ „ cignis .i. elu (Ecl. VIII. 55).
 (67) „ „ 23 ui[t]ta .i. snathæ (Ecl. VIII. 64).
 (68) „ „ 37 licia .i. engleñ *quasi ligia per que ligantur*
 stamina (Ecl. VIII. 74).
 (69) „ „ 39 necte .i. immonaise .i. cunliga (Ecl. VIII. 77).
 (70) „ 13r. 5 bocola .i. bonat (Ecl. VIII. 86).
 (71) „ „ „ seræ etmaill (Ecl. VIII. 88).
 (72) „ „ 6 exuias .i. inda fódh (Ecl. VIII. 91).
 (73) „ „ 19 corripuit .i. adreth (Ecl. VIII. 105).
 (74) „ „ 23 Hylax¹ .i. conbochuil (Ecl. VIII. 108).
 (75) „ „ 31 fors .i. toc eth (Ecl. IX. 5).
 (76) „ 13v. 12 examinas athi (Ecl. IX. 30).
 (77) „ „ „ taxos .i. fer .i. arbor (Ecl. IX. 30).
 (78) „ „ 14 anser .i. gigren (Ecl. IX. 36).
 (79) „ „ 15 inter argutos olores .i. iter nelu. luin cen chu
 (Ecl. IX. 36).
 (80) „ „ 18 populus .i. pro[pir] fedo (Ecl. IX. 41).
 (81) „ „ 24 apricis .i. clithi (Ecl. IX. 49).
 (82) „ „ 25 omnia fert .i. follo. incl.² fedid (Ecl. IX. 51).
 (83) „ „ 28 equor .i. muir (Ecl. IX. 57).
 (84) „ 14r. 3 simæ³ .i. milberach .i. uirgulta .i. inpresī naribus
 (Ecl. X. 7).
 (85) „ „ 8 pinifer. fin tad birtihd (Ecl. X. 14).
 (86) „ „ 13 subulci .i. mucibi (Ecl. X. 19).
 (87) „ „ 18 ferulas .i. flesca (Ecl. X. 25).
 (88) „ „ 20 ebuli .i. pro[pir] fedo (Ecl. X. 27).
 (89) „ „ 20 bacis .i. cariaib (Ecl. X. 27).
 (90) „ „ 28 uinitor⁴ .i. finbondid (Ecl. X. 36).
 (91) „ „ 29 certa .i. coherta (Ecl. X. 41).
 (92) „ „ 34 a auch (Ecl. X. 48).
 (93) „ „ 37 modulabor .i. sibrase .i. scribam (Ecl. X. 51).
 (94) „ „ 38 malle⁵ .i. ma acubrimse (Ecl. X. 53).
 (95) „ „ 40 uenabor .i. adcichlus (Ecl. X. 56).

¹ MS. híias.² In the MS. the *e* joins the barred *l*, so that at first sight we seem to have *ind* with barred *d*.³ MS. semæ.⁴ MS. uiniator.⁵ MS. malles.

- (96) Fo. 14r. 5 cornu .i. ondidbuoc (Ecl. X. 59).
 (97) „ „ 6 spicula .i. fogau l. gaau (Ecl. X. 60).
 (98) „ „ 10 liber .i. insnob (Ecl. X. 67).
 (99) „ 16r. 6 palus .i. oethor (Ecl. I. 49).
 (100) „ „ 11 susurro .i. susurratio l. amal quod de apibus
 nascitur (Ecl. I. 56).
 (101) „ 16v. 8 uac[c]in[i]a .i. uiole purpureæ l. subi l. certe
 derce ruich (Ecl. II. 18).
 (102) „ „ 26 Calathis .i. oeth alca ib (Ecl. II. 46).
 (103) „ „ 29 pruna .i. airni draigin (Ecl. II. 53).
 (104) „ 17r. 25 transuersa tuentibus hircis .i. maiccini disse
 uerecunde, hircus enim lasciuum animal et
 petulcum,¹ animal et feruens semper ad coi-
 tum. Cuius oculi ob libidinem in transuersum
 aspiciunt (Ecl. III. 8).
 (105) „ „ 40 Stipula .i. cuislen (Ecl. III. 27).
 (106) „ 17v. 3 corymbos .i. brutus (Ecl. III. 39).
 (107) „ „ 26 malo me petit .i. cabanrag (Ecl. III. 64).
 (108) „ 18r. 11 fraga .i. subi. quidam tamen dicunt poma iuxta
 terram nata (Ecl. III. 92).
 (109) „ „ 21 in eruo .i. fond orbeman (Ecl. III. 100).
 (110) „ 18v. 23 cum bacchare .i. bin uel genus herbe et odoris
 iocondi (Ecl. IV. 19).
 (111) „ 19r. 17 quid? ² .i. cirice (Ecl. V. 9).
 (112) „ „ 18 si .i. adas (Ecl. V. 9).
 (113) „ 19v. 1 auenae ³ .i. mail molchi uel cuintbe cha .i.
 genus zizaniae ⁴ (Ecl. V. 37).
 (114) „ „ „ uiola .i. fobuirge (Ecl. V. 38).
 (115) „ „ 2 palliorus .i. gle elge (Ecl. V. 39).
 (116) „ „ 9 calathis .i. cathal caib (Ecl. V. 71).
 (117) „ 20v. 23 bachare .i. boethin (Ecl. VII. 27).
 (118) „ „ 26 sinum lactis .i. genus uasis .i. bomilge (Ecl.
 VII. 33).
 (119) „ „ 35 rusco ⁵ .i. aittiu (Ecl. VII. 42).
 (120) „ 21v. 17 Licia .i. englemen (Ecl. VIII. 74).
 (121) „ „ 27 Hylax ⁶ .i. horcæ milchu uel conbocail (Ecl.
 VIII. 107).

¹ MS. pecul cum.² MS. quod.³ MS. anime.⁴ MS. zezame.⁵ MS. ruscior.⁶ MS. hilas.

- (122) Fo. 22r. 28 minio .i. uafordín (Ecl. X. 27).
 (123) „ 22v. 1 spicula .i. fogu (Ecl. X. 60).
 (124) „ „ 4 liber .i. sinob (Ecl. X. 67).

COMMENTARY.

L. = the Laurentian codex.

P. = the Paris codex.

- (1) *cit* (gl. da), imper. sg. 2 of a verb cognate with *cet* 'permission,' which Thurneysen (KZ. XXXII. 571) connects with Lat. *cēdo* from **kezdō*. Not in P.
- (2) *brongidi* (gl. raucae), pl. n. f. of *brongide* cogn. with Gr. βράγχος 'hoarseness,' βραγχός 'hoarse.'
- (3) *drisidi* (gl. dumosâ), dat. sg. f. of *driside*, derived from *driss* (gl. vepres) Sg. 47^a 8, cognate with Welsh *drysu* 'briars, brambles,' M. Bret. *dresen* "épine." This or a like gloss is the source of the "†drisidis," which Thilo and Hagen have inserted in their text of Servius, III. 17, l. 1, believing, apparently, that it is corrupt Greek.
- (4) *cawig* (gl. cicadis), a scribal error for *cailig*, pl. n. of *caillech* = Welsh *ceiliog rhedyn* "cicada," ad v. "gallus filicis." Corn. *chelloc* 'cock' (Gaul. *Calidcos*?). Cognate with Gr. καλέω, Lat. *calare*, OHG. *halôn* "berufen."
- (5) *scotha* (gl. uiolas), pl. acc. of *scoth* (gl. uiolla) No. (17). Hence *scotae* (gl. uiolarium) Sg. 35^b 1. But *scoth* ordinarily means a flower of any colour (*dere a scotha* "red its flowers," H. 3. 3. p. 59^b). Connexion with Lat. *scato*, *scateo* seems possible. Or should we compare NHG. *schosz*, *schöszling* and Fr. *écot* 'tree-stump,' *✓skut*?
- (6) *propir losa* (gl. anethi), "the proper name of a plant." So we have *propir fedo* (24), (56), (80), (88), *propir fluminis* (38). *Propir*, pl. *propiri*, Sg. 32^b 14, is borrowed from the Lat. *proprium* (nomen), and *losa* is the gen. sg. of *lus* = Welsh *llys* "herba," pl. *llysiau*. Corn. *losow*, *losowys*, sg. *losowen*, Mer. 1483, Br. *louzou*.
- (7) *Adammanus* a Latinisation of the Ir. *Adamnán*, a dimin. of *Adam*, here apparently denoting some Irish grammarian. Other such diminutives (which have been connected with Lat. *nānus*) are *Flaithnán*, *Gartnán*, *Lachtnán*, *Liathnán*, *Lubnán*, *Lomnán*, *Lescnán*.

- (8) *subi* (gl. *fraga*), pl. acc. *subi* (gl. *uaccinia*) (101), pl. nom. of **sube* = *subha* "berry," O'R. or *suib* O'Br. Welsh *syfi* "fraga," sg. *syfien*: Bret. *sivi* "fraise."
- (9) *tincur* (gl. *pingu* . . . in *ervo*). I cannot explain this gloss confidently. It seems the dat. sg. of *tincor*, LU. 99^b 30 (a *tincor* do lind 7 do bíud), which appears to mean "a supply," "an abundant provision." gen. sg. *tincair* O'Curry M. and C. III. 499, l. 17. A homonym is in LL. 109^a 5: *ni roacht o Gull tascud no tincur dind íót forsa mbái*. Compare gloss (112).
- (10) *farmuinethar* (gl. *fascinat*), better *formuinethar*, pl. 3 *fordob-moinetar* (gl. *aemulantur vos*) Wb. 19^d 27. Welsh *gorfynu* 'to rival, to envy.' The gloss *adligon* which comes next in L. 7^r 6, is *adligor* in P. and stands for *adligorice* = *allegorice*.
- (11) *bliefithir* (gl. *flauescet*), a scribal error for *bláfithir* sg. 3 *b-fut.* of a deponent verb cognate with Ir. *blá* = Lat. *flavus*.
- (12) *broth* (gl. *arista*). O'R. has a gloss *broth* .i. *arbhar* "corn": also *broth* "straw." *broth* "a straw," O'Br. Cognate with Lat. *frutex*? The gloss on Argo, Ecl. iv. 34, viz. *monau*, which comes next in L. 8^r 2, is *inonau* in P. and stands for *nomen nauis*.
- (13) *tucreacha* (gl. *mentiri*), should be *ducrecha*, pres. ind. sg. 3 of the verb whence the pl. 3 *ducrechat* (gl. *moliuntur*) ML. 30^b 6 (gl. *demolentibus*), ML. 85^b 3, *ducrechubsa* (gl. *demolliar*) ML. 126^c 23, *amal bid an-durochrech* (gl. *quasi . . . commentatus*) ML. 68^c 11.
- (14) *feadinne* (gl. *labruscas*) should apparently be *fiad-fíni* "wild vines," a compound of *fiad* "wild" = Welsh *gwydd*, and *fine*, borrowed, according to Cormac, from Lat. *vinea*.
- (15) *clasa* (gl. *thiasos* "Bacchic dances"), *clausa* P. This seems for *classa* pl. acc. of *class* (pl. n. *classa buana binde*, Féil. prol. 181; *clasa aingel oc claiscetul*, LB. 111^b 2) borrowed from, or cognate with, Lat. *classis*.
- (16) *mailan uilchi uel cuinfec* (gl. *auene*). This gloss is, I fear, hopelessly corrupt. In (113) it appears as *mail molchi uel cuintbecha*. In the Paris MS. 7^v 8 it is *mailam uilhi l.cui infec*, ibid. 15^b 26, it is *mailchi molchi l. cuintbe cha*. Perhaps the *mailan* may be = *máelán* "beare, a kind of coarse barley," (Vision of MacConglinne, ed. K. Meyer, p. 186.) which may be cognate with Welsh *meillion* "trefoil, clover."

- (17) *scoth* uel *fobuirge* (gl. uiolla). As to *scoth* v. supra (5). *Fobuirge*, which reoccurs infra No. (114), is either a sister-form of, or a scribal error for, *sobairge*=*sobairche* "hypericum quadrangulum," Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. *sobrach*. Have we the same word in the imperfect gloss . . . *tannica fobirge*, Zimmer, Gloss. Hib. supplementum, p. 4?
- (18) *geelcæ* uel *aiten* (gl. phalliorus, i.e. paliurus) = gehelcæ l. arten, P. Here *geelcæ* is=*gle elge* infra (115). It probably stands (as Prof. Strachan suggests) for **gel-scé*, a compound of *gel* "white" and *scé* "thorn." *aiten*, better *aitten*, dat. *aittun*, gl. rusco (50), *aittium*, gl. rusco (119), is=Welsh *eithin*, Corn. *eythinen* (gl. ramuus), O. Bret. *ethin* (gl. rusco). It occurs in the compound *aiten-sliab* "a furzy mountain," H. 3. 3, p. 63^b 8. *aitenn-sliab*, LL. 210^a last line.
- (19) *fort* (gl. tumulum) is=*fert* i. adnacu, Corm. Tr. p. 79: see also *fert* "grab," Windisch, Wörterb. p. 544. pl. n. *ferta*, LL. 44^b 29.
- (20) *membrae* (gl. tumulo) = *meambra*, O'Cl., who explains the word as meaning "a shrine or case in which are relics." See also Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. *memra*, and add *Less an memra* "the Fort of the Shrine," Four Masters, A.D. 1143. Borrowed from Lat. *memoria*, the grave or shrine of a martyr or saint.
- (21) *israth* (gl. in gramine). Here *i* is=Lat. *in*, Gr. *ἐν*, and *srath*, gen. *sratha*, is the dat. sg. of *srath* "the bottom of a valley," "fields on the banks of a river," see Windisch s.v. The Welsh cognate is *ystrad*, Old Welsh *istrat* "the flat land bordering on a slow stream," Rev. Celt. II. 190. In the gloss "equiparas .i. coequaris .i. accom 7 ablo," L. 9^r 8, the last three words stand for *accusativo et ablativo*, and mean that *aequiparas*, in Ecl. V. 48 governs the accusative and ablative.
- (22) *nephglidi* (gl. intonsi). This is the nom. pl. msc. of a compound of the negative prefix *neph-* or *neb-* (G. C.² 861) and *glide* or *glithe* the pret. part. pass. of *gelim* 'I eat, graze,' cogn. with Skr. *gilati*, Lat. *gula*.
- (23) *cetgrinnæ* (gl. nectar). So in Sg. 122^b 2 *cét grinne fino* (gl. nectar), and in Ir. Gl. 1045 *cétgrindi foilci* (gl. nectar). The *cét* is the common prefix meaning "first," and cognate with Welsh *cynntaf*, Ch.-Slav. *čína*; but the *grinne* is obscure.
- (24) *propir fedo* (gl. thimo), "proper name of a tree." As to *propir* see (6) supra; *fedo* (also in Nos. 56, 80, 88) is the

- gen. sg. of *fid* a stem in *u*=Welsh *gwydd-en* "arbor," O.N. *viðr*, As. *wudu*, Eng. *wood*, OHG. *witu*. It occurs compounded in *fid-bocc* infra No. (96).
- (25) *fisi lusu* (gl. *damnabis*)=*fusi lisu*, P. This gloss is certainly corrupt. The *-su*, no doubt, is the pronominal suffix of sg. 2, the *-lu* may be miscopied for *-bi*; but the rest of the gloss is obscure.
- (26) *buinne* (gl. *cicuta*) is=*buinne* (gl. *tibia*), Wb. 13.^b
- (27) *bron brachin* (gl. *pedum*)=*brom brachin*, P. We should probably read *bronbachal*: cf. *Hic est Oingussius cuius cognomentum Bronbachal*, *Vita Columbae*, p. 21^a of the Schaffhausen codex. gen. sg. mors Oengusa *Bronbachlae*, *Annals of Ulster* 648. Here *bachal* is a loan from Lat. *baculus* or *bacillus* (see Thurneysen *Kelto-rom.* 38, 39), but *bron* (*brón*?) is obscure. Can it be for *brog-no-* cognate with *βρόχος*?
- (28) *obid* (gl. *nodis*), leg. *oidb*, pl. n. of *odb* M. (gl. *obex*) MS. lat. 11, 411, fo. 125^b, pl. acc. *udbu*, Windisch, *Wörterb.* s.v. *odb*. = Welsh *odd* "tuberculum."
- (29) *coerca* (gl. *serta*)=*coherta*, gl. *serta*, infra (91), pl. of **cohert*, a compound of *co-* and *sert* (=Lat. *sertum*), which occurs in the Laws, 1, 12, line 13, *deilb rig roda sluagaib sert saigid*.¹
- (30) *dorn* (gl. *ansa*)=*dorn* M. "fist, hand," Windisch's *Wörterb.* Welsh *dworn* *pugnus*, *pugillum*, Bret. *dorn* "main." Lett. *dùre* "fist."
- (31) *merih* (gl. *mōrīs*), a scribal error for *merib*, as it is in P., pl. dat. of **mer*=Welsh *mer* in *mer-wydd* "mulberry-trees." pl. n. *mera derga*, *caera glassa*, LL. 117.^b Compare Gr. *μóρον* "the black mulberry."
- (32) *grode* (gl. *frontem*) is either the acc. pl. of *gruad* "cheek," =W. *grudd*, a neut. stem in *s* (KZ. XXIX. 379), or else a derivative therefrom.
- (33) *a aru* (gl. *tempora*, i.e. *tempora*) seems a scribal error for *aracha*, the acc. pl. of *aire* 'temple,' gen. *arach*.
- (34) *bled-mil* i. animalia maris (gl. *Nerea*). The glossographer took *Nereus* to be equivalent to *Nerei filius* "a seamonster." See Windisch, *Wörterb.* s.v. *bledmall*, and add examples of the Mid. Ir. acc. sg. and pl. ar in *mblédmil muride*, LL.

¹ Sic in MS. The edition has *saighit*.

- 217^b 1. *norannad bledmila in mara*, LL. 108^a 25. A compound of *bléd*=Welsh *blaidd* "lupus," and *míl* pl. acc. of *míl* N.=Welsh *míl* "bestia," cognate with Gr. *μῆλον*.
- (35) *benn* (gl. *cornua*), acc. pl. of *benn* horn, peak, which is now fem., but in Old and Early Middle Irish seems to have been a neut. stem in *u*. dat. *benn*, Goid.² 93, gen. *benna*, Fiace h. 29, pl. dat. *bennaib*, LL. 251^b 45. The acc. pl. for *cethora benna*, LU. 58^a proves that before the twelfth century *benn* had passed over to the fem. *ā*-declension. Welsh, Corn. *ban* 'horn, peak' shews a different grade of vowel.
- (36) *lesib uel gelbin* (gl. *stabula*). The context is *Perducant aliquae stabula ad Gortynia uaccae*, and the pl. dat. *lesib* may be intended to translate, not "stabula," but "stabula ad." The nom. sg. is *less* M. "enclosure," "garth," gen. *liss*, dat. *liuss*, acc. *less*, pl. acc. *lissu*, Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. Welsh *llŷs* "aula, curia, palatium," Bret. *lez*. As to the possible connexion with Fr. *lice*, *lisière*, see Diez s.v. *liccia*. The etymology of the *ἀπ. λεγ. gelbin* is obscure to me.
- (37) *ferna* (gl. *alnos*), acc. pl. of *fern*, gen. *ferna* "alder"=Welsh *gwern*, sg. *gwernen* "alnus," Gaul. *Verno-dubrum*, Fr. *verne*.
- (38) *propir fluminis* "the proper name of a river": see above (6).
- (39) *luib serb* (gl. *apio*). Here *luib* is the dat. sg. of *luib*, gen. *luba*, Sg. 65^a, 61^a, Old-Welsh *lu* in *luird* (gl. *horti*) =Ir. *lub-goirt*, Corn. *lu* in *lu-orth*, Bret. *li* in *liorz*, and *serb* "bitter"=Welsh *chwerw*, M. Bret. *hueru*, urkelt. **svervo-s*, which has been connected by Brugmann with NHG. *sauer* from *suer*, *súr*. This gloss is followed by the word *heréna*, a corruption of the Lat. *harēna*, here used to denote the Nemean *ἄγων*, where poets were crowned with parsley.
- (40) *ornos .i. ligna .i. darchachis .i. calamis*. Here two glosses (one Irish, the other Latin) have been run together. Read: *ornos .i. ligna .i. darcha .chis .i. calamis*. Here *darcha* is the acc. pl. of the Irish *c*-stem *dair* "oak," and "chis" is for the Lat. *his* (Ecl. VI. 72), as *michi*, *vecho* in Irish latinity are for *mihi*, *veho*.
- (41) *melen* (gl. *inguina*) is a copyist's error for **mleen* or *mlén* =Mid-Ir. *blén* "groin," die *weichen*, acc. *bleoin*, *blén*, Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. This supports Strachan's etymology, *mlén* from **mlaknā*, cognate with Gr. *μαλακός*.

- (42) *dresachtach* (gl. *arguta*), better *drésachtach*, as in LU. 106^a 32, derived from *drésacht* "ein knarrendes oder quietschendes Geräusch" (Windisch), LU. 112^a 29, and this (according to Strachan) from *drens-*: cf. Goth. *drungus* φθόγγος, ON. *drynr* "roaring," Skr. *dhraṇ* (*dhraṇati* *ṣabde*).
- (43) *sulbari* uel *fissidi* (gl. *arcades*). Here *sulbari* is the nom. pl. of *sulbair* "gut sprechend, beredt" (Windisch s.v.) = Welsh *hylafar*, abret. *helabar* (gl. *grecus*), urkelt. **su-labari-s*, (where *su-* is = the Skr. laudatory prefix *su-*), and *fissidi* is the nom. pl. of *fissid* = *fisid*, *fissith* (gl. *sophista*, gl. *catus*) Sg. 15^b 52^a, root *vid*. The pl. n. of *fissid* occurs, with the *f* infected, in *cenuded issidi* 'though ye are knowing,' Turin palimpsest. A cognate adverb, *ind-fissid* (gl. *scite*) occurs in ML. 68^e 9.
- (44) *todidel* (gl. *deerraverat*), better *dodihel* as in P. Cognate with *do-m-ar-aill* mihi uēnit, *ad-n-ellat* quo transeunt, *do-sn-aid-libea* uisitabit eos, *fo-n-ind-lea* (gl. *euagari*), *do-n-ella* ut deuiet, and other verbs collected by Ascoli, Gloss. pal. hib. pp. lvi. lvii. A Welsh cognate is *elaf* "ibo," a Latin *amb-ulare*.
- (45) *slan* (gl. *saluus*), better *slán* (gl. *salvus*) Wb. 8^d 4, from an oxyton or paroxyton **salano-s*, cognate with Lat. *sal-vu-s*.
- (46) *saiithi* (gl. *examina*), *sathi* (76), pl. nom. of *saithe* M. "a crowd," "a swarm" (of bees, etc.). So in ML. 90^b 7 *in tsathi* (gl. *examina*), and see Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. *saithe*. Welsh *haid* "examen," Bret. *het*, urkelt. **satjo-s*.
- (47) *samre* (gl. *seria*, acc. pl.). This gloss is obscure and probably corrupt.
- (48) *sinch* (gl. *setosi*) is badly corrupted by the copyist. I conjecture that it is a misreading of *finnich* gen. sg. msc. of *finneck* "hairy," and = *finnigh* in Corrcenn mac Faitheman finnigh, H. 3. 3, p. 59^b. So the nom. pl. msc. *finnich* or *finnig* (tri brúitt finnig, LL. 266^b 13), *findech*, LL. 266^b; *findach*, Vision of MacConglinne. The cognate noun is *finn*, a stem in *u*, whence the gen. pl. *inna finnæ* (gl. *pilorum*) ML. 72^b 16. Cf. Lat. *villus* from **vinlus*.
- (49) *gairri* (gl. *suras*), acc. pl. of *gairr* "the calf of the leg," dat. sg. *ina gairr*, LL. 289^a 8, where it is used as synonymous with *colptha*. This is the Irish reflex of Welsh *garr* "poples," M. Bret. *garr* "jambe, tibia," with which Diez connects the Span. *garra* and Fr. *jarret*.

- (50) *aittun* vel *rusc* (gl. *rusco*). As to *aittun* see above (18). This *rusc* (leg. *rūsc*) seems borrowed from, or cognate with, Lat. *rūscum* "butcher's broom." Another *rūsc* (= Welsh *rhîsg*, Corn. *risc*) means "bark," "a vessel made of bark," and is connected by Diez with Fr. *ruche*. See also Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches* 111.
- (51) *coennich* (gl. *muscosi*), pl. nom. msc. of *coennach* "mossy." In modern Irish *caonnach* is "moss" and *caonnachamhuil* "mossy": *coenna* (gl. *putamen*), Pr. Cr. 33^b, seems cognate.
- (52) *astaid* (gl. *turgent*), a mistake for, or a sister-form of, *attaid*, *attait*, pres. ind. pl. 3 of *attaim* "turgeo," a denominative from *att* 'a swelling,' gen. fri mét in *atta*, LB. 142^b, a masc. or neut. stem in *u* from a pre-Celtic **azdu*, cogn. with AS. *ōst* (gl. *nodus*).
- (53) *caindla* (gl. *tede*, i.e. *taedae*), pl. nom. of *caindel* F. borrowed from Lat. *candela*. gen. sg. *co enoce na caindle*, LL. 304^b, dat. sg. *gabait in coire din chaindil* 'they take the caldron away from the torch,' *ibid.* A compound, *rīg-chaindell*, occurs, LL. 301^a, where the double *l* may be due to the length of the preceding vowel.
- (54) *o suidi* (gl. *fuligine*), *ó, ua* "from, by," (96), (122) *suidi* dat. sg. of *suide*, a fem. stem in *iâ* cognate with Fr. *suie*, AS. *sōt*, Eng. *soot*, or with Gr. *σποδὴ* 'ashes, scoria.' Now, corruptly, *súgha*, *súitheche*, *súithe*.
- (55) *channachdi* (gl. *pampineis*) = *chanachdi* P., pl. acc. fem. of *cannachde*, a derivative of *cannach*, which O'R. explains by "sweet-willow, myrtle": *cannac[h]* a *canna* i. fid bis il-laim, H. 2. 16, col. 95.
- (56) *propir fedo* (gl. *pōpulus*) "the proper name of a tree." See above (6).
- (57) *umnus* (gl. *fraxinus*), miscopied by the scribe for *unnius* or *uinnius* F. *ind huinnius ardd* (gl. *alta fraxinus*) Sg. 67^a. Hence the modern *uinseann*. Zeuss compares the Welsh *onn*, *onnen*. If the *nn* is from *sn* cf. also Lat. *ornus* from **osinus*.
- (58) *oetgag* (gl. *pinus*). This is certainly = *ochtach* F. gl. *crann giuis*, Bk. of Lecan 149^b 1: the kingpost of a house, Corm. It may stand for **[p]uktākā* and be cognate with OHG. *fuhta*, *fichte*, Gr. *πεύκη*, Lith. *puzis*.
- (59) *oethgacha sardua*. *Lailu* (gl. *habies*) = *oethgacha sardua lailu*, P. This is obviously miscopied for *ochtach as ardu alailiu* "a fir

- that is higher than (the) other," the *abies* being taller than the *pinus*. Here *alailiu* is the instl. sg. of *alaille*.
- (60) *fit* (gl. *pōpulus*), leg. *fid* "a tree," gen. *fedo* supra (24), (56), and infra (83), (91).
- (61) *leic* (gl. *sine*), better *léic*, imperat. sg. 2 of *léicim* from **leinkuió*, a mixture of *leig* and *ling* (Strachan), cognate with Lat. *linguo*.
- (62) *fer airli* (gl. *age*). Here *fer* seems the imperat. sg. 2 of *feraim* 'I give,' and *airli* is the acc. sg. *airle* F. "counsel."
- (63) *lecibus* (gl. *cotibus*), leg. *lecib*, the dat. pl. of *lecc* F. = Welsh *lléch* "lapis, scandula, tabula saxeæ." From *[*p*]lekka, vorkelt. *[*p*]lknd, cognate with Lat. *planca*, Gr. *πλάξ*, *πλάκινος*, Lett. *plakt* flach werden.
- (64) *orget* (gl. *electra*), a mistake for *órarget* "gold-silver," (the Paris MS. has *orar get*). The Irish glossographer took *electra* to mean the mixed metal resembling amber (*ἡλεκτρον*) in colour, which Vergil mentions in Aen. 8, 402.
- (65) *coinnil* (gl. *ululæ*) I have not met elsewhere and cannot explain.
- (66) *elu* (gl. *cignis*) seems a mistake for *elaib*, pl. dat. of *ela* (gl. *cygnus*) Ir. Gl. 509, now *eala*, sg. acc. *mar hela ir-richt aingil gil* 'like a swan in the shape of a white angel,' Salt. na Rann, 1671, pl. acc. *nelu*—leg. *helu*—(gl. *olores*) infra (82). The Welsh *alarch*, and Corn. *elerhe* (gl. *olor* l. *cignus*) seem cognate. Various non-Celtic words have been compared, Lat. *olor*, Gr. *ελέα*, or (assuming the regular loss of *p*), Gr. *πέλεια*, Lat. *palumba*, and Pruss. *poalis* "taube."
- (67) *snathæ* (gl. *uitta*), better *snáthe* (gl. *filum*) Sg. 54^a, dat. *snáthiu* Sg. 54^a, Welsh *y-snoden*, Corn. *snod* (gl. *uitta*). Windisch connects *νήμα* and other words in Curtius G.E.⁴, No. 436.
- (68) *englem* (gl. *licia*) = *englemen* (gl. *licia*) infra (120), is the acc. pl. of **englaim* = O'Clery's *eanglaim* i. inneach "woof." The compound *mór-englaim* occurs in Dallán's address to Cerball's sword, LL. 47^a 51, where *englaim* seems used metaphorically to signify the woof of war. Its etymology is obscure to me.
- (69) *immonaise* (gl. *necte*), imperat. sg. 2 of the verb *nascim* compounded with the preps. *imm-fo* (GC.² 883). *Nascim* from **nadh-skó*, cognate with the Skr. *√nah* (Idg. *nedh*), umbr. *nesime* "proxime," Ir. *nessam*, W. *nesaf*, Corn. *nessa*, etc. Brugmann, Umbr. u. Osk. 236, Idg. Forschungen I. 176. See also Thurneysen, Kelto-romanisches 38.

- (70) *bonat* (gl. *bocula*), leg. *bónat* (gl. *bucula*), a diminutive of *bó* "cow," like *siurnat* (gl. *sororecula*), *clethnat* (gl. *tigillum*), *columnnat* (gl. *columella*). The same ending occurs in the double diminutives *fracnatan* i. *caillín*, and the proper names *Banbnatan*, *Becnatan*, *Corcnatan*. *Bó* (= Welsh *baw*, O. Bret. *bou*) occurs in composition infra in *con-bo-chuil*, *boo-bethin* and *bo-milge*. Cognate with Gr. *βοῦς*, Umbr. *bu-m* "bovem," Skr. *gāus*, etc.
- (71) *etmaill* (gl. *serae*) seems miscopied for *etermaill* dat. sg. fem. of **etermall* "valde lentus, tardus." From the intensive prefix *eter-* (also in *etercian*, *etarmolad*, *ettorsonde*, *etariarad*) and *mall* from **marlo-s* cognate with Ir. *maraim*, Lat. *mora*, *moror*.
- (72) *inda fodb* (gl. *exuias*), leg. *inda fodb* "ends of vestures." Here *inda* is the pl. acc. of *ind* N. 'end,' 'head,' gen. dat. *ind*, and *fodb* is the gen. pl. of *fodb* N. "vesture," "something stript off," "the spoils of a vanquished foe," pl. acc. *fodba* (gl. *manubeas*) Ml. 92^d 2. This gloss is (as Prof. Strachan has pointed out) a close parallel to the Greek original of Ecl. VIII. 91, viz. *Τούτ' ἀπὸ τὰς χλαίνας τὸ κράσπεδον ὤλεσε Δέλφης*, Theocr. II. 53. As it is improbable that the Irish glossator had read Theocritus, we may perhaps conjecture that the ancient Irish, as well as the Sicilian Greeks, believed that a lost love might be recovered by burning only the ends or hem of the beloved's dress. Italian magic, if we may trust Vergil (Ecl. viii. 91, Aen. IV. 492-497, 507), required the whole of his or her raiment.
- (73) *adreth* (gl. *corripuit*)=*adrech*, P., for *ad-raith* perf. sg. 3 of a verb compounded of *ad-* and *-rath* "cum variis praeifixis, prehendere, comprehendere, continere, includere," Ascoli, Lex. pal. hib. p. clxxxix.
- (74) *conbochuil* (gl. Hylax, "Barker") "a watch-dog," *conbocail* infra (124)=*conbuachaill*, Laws 1, p. 126, l. 8, a compound of the stem of *cú* "hound"=*κύων*, and *bó-chail* (=Welsh *bugail*, Corn., Bret. *bugel*) a compound of *bó* "cow" (73) and *cail* cognate with the *-κολος* of *βουκόλος*, the *πόλος* of *αἰπόλος*. The triple compound *con-bó-chail* reminds one of *ἵππο-βου-κόλος*.
- (75) *toceth* (gl. *fors*)=*tochet* P. *tocad*, Ml. 35^d 22, Welsh *tyngned*.
- (76) *athi* (gl. *examinas*), leg. *sathi* (gl. *examina*). See above (49).

- (77) *i. fer* (gl. *taxos*). Here the gloss is meant for "*citiso*" (*i.e.* *cythiso*) in the next following line of the eclogue. *Fer*, leg. *fēr*, gen. *feuir*, Sg. 68^b is= Welsh *gwair*.
- (78) *gigren* (gl. *anser*)=*gigrem* P., *giugrann* (gl. *anser*) Sg. 64^b, a masc. *o-* stem, pl. nom. *giugraind*, LL. 297^b 45, gen. *elta giugrand*, LL. 265^a cognate with Welsh *gŵyrain* "*chynelops, chenalopec, vulpanser, anas scotica*." Seems to be a reduplicated subst., **gi-gur-anno-s*.
- (79) *iter nelu. luin cen chu* (gl. *inter argutos olores*)=*iter nelu luincecu*, P. Here *iter* is=Lat. *inter*: *nelu* is a scribal error for *helu* acc. pl. of *hela* 'swan' (66); and *luincechu* is acc. pl. m. of an adj. derived from *luinniuc* "song," still living in the Highlands as *luinneag*.
- (80) *propir fedo* (gl. *populus*) "the proper name of a tree." See above (6).
- (81) *clithi* (gl. *apricis*), *clit thi*, P. the pl. nom. of a participle pret. pass. from *√kl*, cognate with Lat. *caleo*, Lith. *szylu, szilti*? Strachan suggests that *clithugud* 'cherishing,' LL. 160^b 42, may be compared. The 'ab' which follows this gloss stands for ablativus: "apricis in collibus," Ecl. ix. 49.
- (82) *follo. incl. fedid* (gl. *omnia fert*). Read *folloine* l. *fedid*. Here *folloine* is for *folloing* 3 sg. pres. ind. act. of *folangim* with an assimilated infix pron. *fedid* is the same tense and person of *fedaim* "fero," *no-feidtis* (gl. *efferebantur*) Ml. 54^d 12; and l. is the common sign for Lat. *vel* and Ir. *nó*.
- (83) *muir* (gl. *equor*), Welsh *mor*, Gaul. *mori*, Lat. *mare*, with which Hirt has recently connected Gr. *βρύξ* acc. *βρυχά* from **mrogh*.
- (84) *milberach* (gl. *simae* "flat-nosed") should probably be **máil-beracha* "blunt-pointed": *mail*=Welsh *moel* *calvus, glaber*, and *beracha* pl. nom. fem. of **berach* a derivative of *bir*=Welsh, Corn., Bret. *ber*, Lat. (*g*)*veru*, Umbr. *beru* "spit," and see Bezz. Beitr. XVI. 239.
- (85) *fin tad birtihd* (gl. *pinifer*) = *finit adbir thio*, P., should obviously be *pintadbirithid*, where *pin* (*pin crann*, O'R.) is borrowed from Lat. *pinus* (so Welsh *pinwydd*, Corn. *pinbren*), and *tadbirithid* is cognate with the verb *taidbrim* *exhibeo*, the enclitic form of **do-aith-berim*.
- (86) *mucibi* (gl. *subulci*), leg. *mucidi* (or *muccaidi*, LU. 93^a), pl. nom. of *mucid*, *muccaid* "swine-herd," derived from *mucco* "pig"=Welsh, Bret. *moch*. A compound, *rig-muccaid*, occurs

- in LL. 169^b 8. *Mucc*, Welsh *moch*, from **mukku*, **muknú*, cognate with *μυκτήρ*, etc.
- (87) *flesca* (gl. *ferulas*), pl. acc. of *flesc* "rod." *Flesc* (Gaul. **vliskā*, Fr. *flèche*) has been deduced from **vlkad* cognate with Skr. *vrkshā* "tree," but seems more probably from **vlt-skā*, cognate with Ir. *folt* "hair," Welsh *gwallt*, Gr. *ἄλλος*, Ags. *weald*, NHG. *wald*.
- (88) *propir fedo* (gl. *ebuli*) "the proper name of a tree." See above (6) and (24).
- (89) *cariaib* (gl. *bacis*), *ciraib*, Paris MS. leg. *cáiraib* (gl. *baccis*). Here *cáiraib* is the pl. dat. of *cáir* or *cáer* (gl. *bacca*) Sg. 22^b, Welsh *cair*: compounded in *caer-thann* mountain-ash, rowan.
- (90) *finbondid* (gl. *uiniator*) = *finbondio*, P. leg. *finbondid* (gl. *uinitor*), a compound of *fin* "vine" and *bondid* for **bongid*, nomen agentis to the verb *bung* or *bongim* "I break, reap," cognate with Skr. *bhañj*, *bhanajmi*. The verbal noun of *bung*, *bongim* is *buain*, whence the denominative *buanaigim* in *fin-buanaigim* (gl. *uindimiant*) Ml. 102^a 12. For the change in *bongid* of *ng* to *nd*, compare *cindis*, LL. 86^b 8, 13, for *cingis*, *cindsiu*, LL. 82^b 44 = *cingsiu* LU. 63^a 12, *gland* and *glang*, Corm., and see Zimmer, KZ. 30, 63.
- (91) *cohera* (gl. *serta*) = *coerta*, P. See above No. (29).
- (92) *auch* (gl. *a*), leg. *uch*, *wehe!* vae, Z.² 750.
- (93) *sibrase* (gl. *modulabor*) is a redupl. fut. sg. 1 from *V sver*. The *-se* is the pronominal suffix of sg. 1. The *sibra* (formed like *gegna*) is from **svi-sverdm*, just as *ar-beittet*, carm. S. Paul, is from **are-sveizdionti* (Thurneysen, KZ. 32, 570). Cognate are Skr. *svar*, *svárati* "rauschen, besingen," Ch. Slav. *svirati* pfeifen, AS. *svarian* "to speak."
- (94) *ma acubrimse* (gl. *malle*). The gloss, if it be wholly Irish, means "if I desire." But I suspect that the *ma* is a relic of the Latin *malo*, written by the original scribe over *malle* to show the source of this infinitive. If so, *a[d]cubrim-se* is a gloss on *malo*, and = *adcobrain* (gl. *uolo*) Sg. 146^b, pl. 3 *adcobrat* Ml. 89^d, 16, pret. sg. 1 *nicon ru accobrus*, Ml. 136^b 7, sg. 3 *ad-ro-chabair*, Trip. Life 202.
- (95) *adcichlus* (gl. *uenabor*), the redupl. *s*-future, sg. 1 of **adcladim* whence *an adcladat* (gl. *aucupantes*) Ml. 112^b, 2, *s*-fut. sg. 2 *adclaiss*, Trip. Life, p. 88, l. 28. The verbal noun is *aclaid*, *ibid.* l. 25. A cognate verb, *ar-claid*, occurs in LU. 122^b, 36 (i tig fir arclaid iasc im-muir ethiar in the house

- of a man who catches fish in a sea of ether). The Greek κλαδάσσομαι "I rush violently" may perhaps be cognate.
- (96) *ondidbuoc* (gl. cornu), *ondiobuoc*, P., leg. *ónd fidbucc*. Here *ónd* is a compound of the prep. *ó, ua* (=Skr. *áva*), see infra (122) and the article, and *fidbucc* (the *f* being regularly inflected after *ónd*) is the dat. sg. of *fidboce* (gl. arcus) Sg. 107^b 2. The word literally means "arcus ligneus," being compounded of *fid* supra No. (24), and *boce* from an Old-Celtic **bukko-*, pre-Celtic **bhug-nó-*, Skr. *bhugná-*, cognate with AS. *boga*, OHG. *bogo*, NHG. *Bogen*.
- (97) *fogau* l. *gaau* (gl. spicula). Here *gaau* is the acc. pl. of *gae* Sg. 37^b (*gae gona éisc* gl. fuscina), which seems cognate with Gaul. *gaeson*, Gr. *χαῖος* or *χαῖον* "a shepherd's staff," and Skr. *heshas* "geschoss." *Fogau* is the acc. pl. of *fogae* compounded of *gae* and the diminutival prefix *fo-*=*ππο-*. So in Old-Breton *guu-goïou* (gl. spiculis i. telis), Bezz. Beitr. XVII. 139.
- (98) *insnob* (gl. liber). Here *in* is the masc. article and *snob* (corruptly *sinob* infra, No. 124) means the inner bark or rind of a tree. It glosses *suber* "cork" in Sg. 64^a 10. The etymology is obscure. Perhaps it is cognate with Skr. *sná*, *snáyati* *umwinden*, *bekleiden*. The OHG. *snuaba* "vitta," has also been compared.
- (99) *cethor* (gl. palus) = *cetor*, P., leg. *cechor*, a sister-form of O'Clery's *ceachair* i. lathach "a slough." See *Metrical Glossaries*, Bezz. Beitr. XIX. p. 54. Cognate perhaps with Gr. *κόπος* and Skr. *gákan*.
- (100) *amal* (gl. susurro) is = *amar* in *én-amar*, LU. 128^a 19, *amhar* i. ceol "music" O'Cl. *amor* LL. 19^a 1 (ba binnithir tēta menderott guth 7 amor cach duine inna flaith *sweet as lute-strings were the voice and song of every one in his reign*). Another instance of final *l* for *r* is *Macculugil*, Bk. of Armagh 4^b 2 = *macculugir*, *ibid.* 4^b 1.
- (101) *subi* vel certe *derce ruich* (gl. uaccinia). As to *subi* v. supra at (8). *Derce* [*f*] *ruich* is = inna *dærcæ fróich* (gl. uaccinia) Sg. 49^a 10; where *fróich* is the gen. sg. of *fróech*, *urkelt. vroiko*¹), cognate with Welsh *grug*, M. Corn. *grig*, Gr. *ἐρείκη* from *ἐ-Φρείκη*, and *derce* is the nom. pl. of *dere* "berry," a neuter stem in *s*, now fem., possibly cognate

¹ As to Ir. *bru* and Bret. *bruk*, *brug*, see Thurneysen, *Kelto-romanisches* 94.

- with Skr. *drākshā* "vine," "grape," an *erweiterung* of **derkes*, as *drakshyāmi* from *√derk* to see. The inflection of the *f* of *fruich* is due to the fact that in Irish, as in Greek (*μέγεα* from *μεγεσα*), and Latin (*genera* from *genesā*), the nom. pl. of neuter stems in *s* originally ended in a vowel.
- (102) *oeth alca ib* (gl. calathis) = *oethalcaib*, P., is certainly = *cathalcaib* (gl. calathis) (116). Perhaps the word meant is *cothhalcaib* nom. sg. **cothale* from **kutalkā*. Etym. obscure. It might be cognate with Gr. *κοτύλη*, or with Lat. *scutula*, *scutella*. For the suffix cf. Gaulish *Bodalca*, etc., G.C.² 808, and Welsh *madalch* fungus.
- (103) *airni draigin* (gl. pruna). Here *airni* is the acc. pl. of *airne* (*airnne* gl. glandula, Sg. 49^b) = Welsh *eirin-en* "prunum," M. Bret. *irin-enn* "prunellum, prunellus," Cath., and *draigin* is the gen. sg. of *draigen* "sloetree," blackthorn = Welsh *draen* spinus, spina, sentis, Bret. *dren* "épine," which Ebel connected with *τέρχνος*, *τρέχνος* "a twig." Cf. *sméra* is *áirne* dubdroigin, Silva G. 102.
- (104) *maiccini disse uerecunde* (gl. transuersa tuentibus hircis) = *maiccinudis se verecunde et*, P. An Irish *maice* (or *maiccini*, a diminutive of *macc* "filius," "puer" ?) and a Latin *cinaedis* may perhaps be elicited from this corrupt gloss.
- (105) *cuislen* (gl. stipula), should be *cuislén*, a diminutive of *cuisle* "vein, pipe," anglicised *cushla* in the phrase *acushla* or *cuislenn* (Mid. Ind. Mod. Ir. *cuisle*), whence *cuislennach* 'piper.' Etym. obscure.
- (106) *brutus* (gl. corymbos) is probably a scribal error for Gr. *βότρυς*, just as the gloss *glaus* (gl. sandix) L. 18^v 39, which Hagen and Zimmer¹ supposed to be Irish, is a scribal error for Gr. *γλαύξ*.
- (107) *cabanrag* (gl. *mālo me petit*). This should perhaps be *co ban-rag* "that I may come with a woman." Here *co* is a conjunction meaning "ut," "donec," and **ban-rag* a compound of *ban*=Aeol. *βανά*, and *-rag*, a conjunctive sg. 1 of the verb whence *raga-t*, *do-rega* "veniam."
- (108) *subi* (gl. fraga). See above, No. (8).
- (109) *fond orbeman* (gl. in ervo). Ad v. "fundus haeredis": *fond* borrowed from Lat. *fundus*, and *orbeman* gen. sg. of *orbem*, pl. n. *horpamin*, Wb. 2^c 14.

¹ Glossarum Hibernicarum Supplementum, p. 5.

- (110) *bin* (gl. *bacchare*). (117) *boethin* (gl. *bachare*). These glosses are respectively *bo ob ethin* and *boethin* in the Paris MS. They seem compounded of *bó* "cow," and *bethin* (*bethiu*?) which may be cognate with Lat. *bēta*, whence NHG. *Beete*, Eng. *beet*.
- (111) *cirice* (gl. *quid*?) = *ciirice*, P., read *irice*, and compare *ar cirio* (gl. *quid enim*?), *ciarice*, *cerice* (gl. *quid ergo*?), G. C.² 355.
- (112) *adas* (gl. *si*) is = *adas*, *adaas* "although," G. C.² 489, *adas cia da-gnéo* (gl. *si autem quod nolo illud facio*) Wb. 3^d.
- (113) See (16).
- (114) *fobuirge* (gl. *uiola*). See (17).
- (115) See (18).
- (116) See (102).
- (117) See (110).
- (118) *bomilge* .i. *genus uasis* (gl. *sinum lactis*). The Irish gloss seems only on "lactis" and to mean "of cow's milk," *bó-melg*, gen. *bómilge*, a compound of *bó* supra, No. (70) and *melg* .i. as "milk," Corm. Tr. p. 107, and s.v. *ói*, p. 127, just as *bómlacht*, Corm. Tr. 20, is = *bó* + *mlicht*. As *melg* is neuter (*cuirm* .i. *melg n-etha*, Egerton 1782, cited in Corm. Tr. 107), and its gen. sg. is *milge*, it must be a stem in *s*, to be added to those in KZ. 27, 292 and 29, 379. Add also *dere* (101).
- (119) See (18).
- (120) See (68).
- (121) *horcæ*, *milchu* uel *conbocail* (gl. *Hylax*). Here we have three words for "dog": *horcæ* = *orce* "lap-dog," Corm. s.v. *Mugéime*. *Orce co nemib 7 ephthib fonóiset for beraib cairthind* "a dog with poisons and charms which they cooked (?) on spits of rowan," LL. 120^a 12. In *milchu* (not *milchu*!) "greyhound," "hunting-dog," the *míl* is = the *mil* of *milrad* "hunting," dat. *milruth*, LL. 272^a 23. As to *conbocail* (leg. *conbóchuil*) v. supra (77).
- (122) *ua fordinn* (gl. *minio*). Here *ua* is = *ó* supra (54), (96), and *fordinn* is a compound of the intensive prefix *for-*, and *dinn* dat. sg. of *denn* "colour," O'Clery's *deann* .i. *lí* no dath. See the compounds *glé-denn*, Féilire, Feb. 1 and 13 and *dend-gorm*, LL. 277^a 32.
- (123) See (97).
- (124) See (98).