

The Middle Irish glosses of Marianus Scottus alias Muiredach mac Robartaig in the Vienna Cod. 1247<sup>1</sup>

Manuscript 1247 of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library) in Vienna is a parchment codex of 160 folios which contains the epistles of St Paul in beautifully executed letters. The codex is an autograph of Marianus Scottus *alias* Muiredach mac Robartaig who wrote it in the course of the year 1079, as the colophon at the end of the manuscript reveals (gloss 5). Marianus Scottus, hailing from the area of modern Donegal, was the founder of the Benedictine Schottenkloster in Regensburg/Ratisbon (Bavaria, Germany); he is even credited with the initiation of the South-German tradition of Schottenklöster as a whole (Ó Clabaigh 2005: 405). Marianus died in 1081, not long after the completion of the manuscript that is the subject of the present article. A vita written around a century after his death contains information about his life (Dilworth 1965; Weber 2010). The Marianus Scottus from Regensburg must not be confused with his Latin namesake, the exactly contemporary chronicler Marianus Scottus alias Máel Brigte from Mainz, originally also from the north of Ireland, who died in 1082.

Apart from a large number of Latin glosses, which are outside of the focus of this squib, Marianus Scottus added five short notes in the Irish language to the manuscript of St Paul's epistles, scattered over the entire manuscript. As will be seen from their contents, they are usually connected with particularly important occasions, either in the festive calendar, or in the production of the manuscript. Marianus changes the script, depending on whether he writes Latin or Irish. The difference is evident in the case of *g*, *r*, *s*, which appear in their typical insular shapes in the Irish sections, whereas the remainder of the manuscript uses continental glyphs.

Marianus' glosses were first edited by Zimmer (1881: XLIII–XLV, 283–284 and *Addenda et Corrigenda* 15). Since the latter contains several (admittedly minor) misreadings and is no longer in common use, it feels apposite to produce a new edition. In the edited text, expansions of abbreviations and compendia are indicated by italics.

1. 10<sup>r</sup> lower margin:

satharn casc *innocht for .x. kl. april anno domini .m.lxxviii. mariani miseri domine miserére.*,

'Tonight (is) Saturday of Easter (Easter Eve), on the 10<sup>th</sup> day before the Kalends of April (= 23<sup>rd</sup> of March) in the year of the Lord 1079. Have pity, Lord, on wretched Marianus.'

2. 41<sup>r</sup> lower margin, above a Latin marginal note:

*proterui .i. imresnaig*

'*proterui*, that is, quarrelsome (ones)'

3. 87<sup>r</sup> lower margin:

feil comgaill *indiv for aín diden. a impede for dia im dílgud do muiredach tróg*

'Today on Friday is the Feast of Comgall. His intercession with God for forgiving wretched Muiredach.'

4. 141<sup>r</sup> lower margin:

feil bréainn *innocht for dardáin. [above this: anno. domini mlxxviii.] a impede for dia im dílgvd do muredach tróg*

'Tonight on Thursday is the Feast of Brendan. In the year of the Lord 1079. His intercession with God for forgiving wretched Muiredach.'

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5. 160<sup>v</sup> bottom half, as a gloss above *Marianus Scottus scripsit hunc librum*:

i. muiredach trog macc robartaig

‘d.h. Muiredach the wretched, Mac Robartaig’

Notes:

Except for the last one, Marianus’ glosses are always found on the lower margins of the pages. According to Blom’s typology of glosses (Blom 2017: 29–35), the glosses are commentary glosses (COM4), except for gloss 2 which is an interlingual substitution gloss (SUB1).

The last gloss adds an Irish identification to the Latin name adopted by the author for his life on the Continent. Since Marianus is not the son of a father Robartach, but belongs to the ecclesiastical family of the Maic Robartaig, coarbs of St Colum Cille and hereditary keepers of the Cathach of Colum Cille, a book held sacred by the ruling family of the Uí Domnaill, I have treated this part of his name in gloss 5 as a surname, anglicised Roarty or Groarty.

Only a single gloss serves the purpose that is most commonly associated with glossing, i.e. to explain a Latin word that Marianus apparently found difficult, namely *proteruus* ‘forward, bold, pert, wanton, shameless, impudent’, for which he uses Ir. *imresnach* ‘contentious, quarrelsome, stubborn’, an adjective derived from the verb *imm-fresna* ‘to contend, dispute, disagree, gainsay’.

Whereas glosses 2–5 are entirely in Irish, Marianus switches to Latin midway through gloss 1. The trigger is probably the dating formula in the middle. The calendaric statement is, in a sense, in a mathematical and therefore language-neutral notation, but consisting ultimately of Latin elements, it can serve as a cue for a switch to that language. In gloss 4, the date has been added afterwards above the line, so it could not provide a trigger for code switching within the gloss.

Despite having lived on the Continent for many years, Marianus closely observes his national saints. He mentions St Comgall, the founder of Bangor, and St Brénainn, both of whom he asks for intercession on his behalf with God. Comgall, whose traditional feastday is 10 May (Ó Riain 2011: 217–219), may have been of personal interest to Marianus because of his northern origin. Brénainn is St Brendan of Clonfert, the famous Navigator. His feast falls shortly after Comgall’s, on 16 May (Ó Riain 2011: 115–117). As somebody in self-imposed exile, Marianus may have held special sympathies for St Brendan.<sup>2</sup> Marianus’ dates are correct, the feastdays he mentions did indeed fall on the indicated weekdays in 1079.

Orthography:

Marianus adheres to the principles of Old and Middle Irish spelling. There is no sign yet of Modern Irish spelling conventions such as indicating the lenition of voiced consonants by *h* or a *punctum delens*, or using non-palatal glide vowels.

Occasionally, even palatal glide vowels are missing, *muredach* (4). *Impede* (3, 4) is twice written with a middle *e*, against its usual spelling with *i*.

Initial lenition is nowhere indicated: while in most instances it would not be orthographically represented anyway, it is clearly lacking in the case of *tróg* after the dative *Muiredach* (3, 4), and in *Comgall* after the feminine *feil* (3). A similar phenomenon is visible in *innocht* (4) as against *innocht* (1).

The preposition *for* is regularly spelt with initial *f*, the loss or lenition of the sound is not indicated.

The use of *fadas* is haphazard; it is missing over *casc* (1), *feil* (3, 4), *indiv* (3), *diden* (3), *dilgud* (4), *trog* (5), but written in all other instances where the vowel is long. Length (or stress) is also indicated on the penultimate vowel of Latin *miserére* (1).

St. Brendan occurs in his younger form as *Brénainn*, not in the Old Irish variant *Brendan* (Uhlich 1997).

Grammar:

*Cásc* (1) is plural. While *Cásc* ‘Easter’ is usually a feminine *ā*-stem in Old Irish, in the genitive it frequently behaves like a plural (cf. eDIL [dil.ie/8309](http://dil.ie/8309)). The plural treatment of *Pascha* is common in

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<sup>2</sup> The *Nauigatio St Brendani Abbatis* enjoyed popularity in Southern Germany, but, to judge from the extant manuscripts (Orlandi 2014: cxxxiii–cxliu), only in the centuries after Marianus Scottus lived.

other languages, too, cf. Fr. *Pâques*, Durch *Paschen*. The word for ‘fast’, *oín* in earliest Old Irish, appears here in its usual younger form *aín*. In Old Irish, ‘Friday’ was *dia oíne dídine* (cf. Ml. 113c1) where *dídine* is the genitive of the *ā*-stem noun *díden* ‘end’. In Middle Irish, it was reinterpreted as an adjective, but, as shown by the unpalatalised ending of *diden* (3) after the dative/accusative *aín* (3), it had become an indeclinable element by the time of Marianus Scottus. *Dardaín* ‘Thursday’, which goes back to *etar da oín* ‘(day) between two fasts’, shows aphaeresis of the initial unstressed vowel. In all its three occurrences, *tróg*, the equivalent of *miser* in gloss 1, is spelt with a monophthong, not with the diphthong *úa*. This could conceivably be a dialectal feature.

#### Dating:

Marianus Scottus’ glosses are exceptional in that unlike most texts in Early Irish literature they are dated precisely to the day. Of the five Irish glosses, three are concerned with dating, and four, including the three on dating, with authorship. Dates are also mentioned in two exclusively Latin marginal notes: *ascensio domini hodie .ui. n. maii. anno domini mlxxiiii. mariani miseri domine miserere* (f. 17r) ‘Today is the Ascension of the Lord, the sixth day before the Nones of May (= 2 May) in the year of the Lord 1079. Have pity, Lord, on wretched Marianus’ and *.xvi. kal. iunii hodie feria .ui. anno domini mlxxiiii* ‘Today is the 16<sup>th</sup> day before the Kalends of June (= 17 May), the sixth feria (= Friday), in the year of the Lord 1079’ at the very end of the manuscript.

A concern emerges, perhaps, over recording the progress of his work over time. The period that is explicitly mentioned covers 58 days, from 23 March on f. 10<sup>r</sup> (gloss 1) via 10 May on f. 87<sup>r</sup> (gloss 3), to 16 May on f. 140<sup>r</sup> (gloss 4) and 17 May at the very end. The progress of his work is uneven over the periods. After a very slow start in the 40 days from 23 March to 2 May, when Marianus produced only 14 pages, or one every three days, he then increased his output considerably. In the eight-day-period from 3–10 May he produced 140 pages, or 17.5 pages per day, and in the six days from 11–16 May his output was 108 pages, i.e. 18 per day. On the last day, 17 May 1079, he still kept up his impressive rate of 18 pages.<sup>3</sup>

On account of their precise dates, Marianus Scottus’ glosses could offer an ideal testing ground for linguistic dating, but, unfortunately, they are too short and formulaic for any wide-reaching conclusions.

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<sup>3</sup> These are, of course, Julian dates. To convert them into Gregorian dates, 6 days have to be added (cf. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conversion\\_between\\_Julian\\_and\\_Gregorian\\_calendars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conversion_between_Julian_and_Gregorian_calendars); visited 4.1.2018).

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