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# The Foundation of Grammar 

# An edition of the first section of Óláfr pórðarson's grammatical treatise 

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Sydney, 200I

## Preface

Málfreðinnar grundvollr, the first of two parts of the Old Icelandic Third Grammatical Treatise, is the earliest extant work of runology. It has been studied ever since the earliest modern scholarship into medieval Icelandic language and literature at the turn of the seventeenth century. However, since Björn M. Ólsen's edition of 1884 there has been little interest in the text, and, although two editions have been published since then, they have both been based on Ólsen's.

The research project which led to the following dissertation was the result of the convergence of a number of interests: Old Icelandic grammatical literature; the history and philosophy of writing; and the reception of Old Icelandic literature in the modern period. It quickly became apparent that a new edition and study of Málfreðinnar grundvollr was required, based on new readings of the four medieval manuscripts and with an English translation.

This edition aims to make a small contribution to the history of ideas. The discursive parts place the text in question in the context of the history of the disciplines of linguistics, the philosophy of language and runology. Of interest here are not only the sources and influences identifiable in Málfraðinnar grundvollr, but also the texts which follow it and were influenced by it - these will shed some light on the interpretation of the text, most particularly in relation to the history of runology.

While there has been much recent work on the early reception of medieval Scandinavian literature, there has been very little scholarly activity concerning early studies in runes, nor in the broader history of runology. The significance of Málfreððinnar grundvollr as the earliest extant runology has similarly failed to generate interest, with very little published about the runological section of the text since 1900. It is for this reason that much of this edition will deal with Málfreðinnar grundvollr as a work of runology and in the context of the history of runology.

The present edition has been produced in an electronic form according to the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative. The electronic text forms the basis of both a web-based interactive edition and the printed thesis for examination. Unfortunately, the currently-available software for printing the electronic text is limited, and the presentation of the print edition has occasionally suffered as a
result. Some abbreviation marks in the transcriptions in Appendix 4 do not appear in the print version.

This thesis would not have been possible without the excellent supervision of Judy Quinn and Margaret Clunies Ross. Their advice and support, not only for my research project, but also for my activities in the university and scholarly community more generally, has been invaluable and has made my experience as a postgraduate particularly fulfilling and enjoyable.

Also of great help to this project were the staff of the Arnamagnxan institutes in Reykjavík and Copenhagen, in particular, Matthew Driscoll. Two (former) nonacademic staff members of the Faculty of Arts, Simon French and John Couani, also deserve thanks for their assistance in administrative and IT matters. Numerous others have provided support and ideas for various aspects of this project, including Karl-Gunnar Johansson, Alex Jones and Guorrún Nordal.

I could not have completed this project without the personal support of my family and friends. Kim Selling and Melissa McMahon deserve special mention for their patience, help and support on the home front in the final year of my candidature.

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## Summary

The thesis presents an edition of Málfreðinnar grundvollr ('The Foundation of Grammar'), the first section of the thirteenth-century Icelandic work known as The Third Grammatical Treatise. The edition is based on new readings of the four manuscripts and is presented with facsimiles and diplomatic transcriptions of those manuscripts; an English translation; textual apparatus and putative sources. The Introduction gives the intellectual, literary and historical context for the tract and its later reception, as well as re-examining the accepted theories regarding the dating of the text and its manuscript transmission. It also presents evidence for the considerable influence of the text in early (seventeenth-century) scholarship on Old Icelandic language and runology, principally relating to the work of the Danish scholar, Ole Worm. Malfraðinnar grundvollr, it is demonstrated, is strongly associated with two common (and mistaken) themes in the history of runological scholarship, namely, that runes are extremely ancient and/or derive from Hebrew; and that runes were used very widely for writing all forms of literature in medieval Iceland and Scandinavia more generally.

The commentary looks closely at each chapter of the tract. Its first chapter is examined in relation to thirteenth-century logical treatises, and it is argued that Málfreðinnar grundvollr is strongly influenced by that tradition. Also evidenced in this chapter is a particularly Icelandic conception of the letter and its relationship to speech and sound, centring on the concept of distinction and divisibility. It is argued that the second chapter of the treatise attempts to reconcile the thirteenthcentury logical theories of the letter with earlier theories such as those found in Priscian. The two chapters ( 3 and 4 ) dealing with runes are examined closely and it is argued that they show some signs of the theories of the ubiquity and antiquity of runes. In concluding, it is argued that, contrary to earlier opinions, Málfreðinnar grundvollr is a fairly coherent text. It can also be seen in the context of the history of runology, and shows that from the very beginning of, and at many points in the study of runes, scholars held to the theories of ubiquity and antiquity, despite any sound evidence in support of them.

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Abbreviations

| rGT | The First Grammatical Treatise (in W) |
| :---: | :---: |
| ${ }_{2} \mathrm{GT}$ | The Second Grammatical Treatise (in W) |
| ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ | The Third Grammatical Treatise (in W) |
| ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GTb}$ | Málskrü̆sfraori |
| ${ }_{4} \mathrm{GT}$ | The Fourth Grammatical Treatise (in W) |
| ${ }_{5} \mathrm{GT}$ | The 'Fifth' Grammatical Treatise (in A) |
| A | AM 748 Ib 4 to , Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík |
| B | AM 757 4 4to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík |
| b | AM 744 4to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík |
| E | The present edition |
| JS | Jón Sigurosson's edition (1852) |
| JSB | Jón Sigurosson's diplomatic text of B |
| MG | Málfraðinnar grundvollr |
| O | Björn M. Ólsen's edition (r884) |
| R | Codex Regius of Snorra Edda (GKS 2367 4to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavik) |
| S | Sveinbjörn Egilsson's edition (1848) |
| U | Uppsala Edda (DG in, University library of Uppsala) |
| W | Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol., Det Arnamagneanske Institut, Copenhagen) |
| w | AM 757 b 4to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík |
| Other conventions used in the edition |  |
| §1. 2 | Chapter and section number of MG |
| [number] | manuscript line number |
| [number] | manuscript page number |
| [number] | section identifier (electronic version only) |
| 'text ${ }^{\prime}$ | text added above line |
| text, | text added below line |
| eest | erased text |
| \|text| | deleted text |
| ${ }^{\text {text }}$, | text supplied from another manuscript |
| 〈text> | text supplied by the present editor |
| [text] | text supplied by other editors |
| (text) | unclear text |
| ok | expansion of abbreviated text |
| ${ }_{\text {'text }}{ }^{\text { }}$ | variant reading |
| 1 | line break in manuscript |
| \|| | page break in manuscript |
|  | page break in edition. |

## Introduction

## 1. The text

Málfreð̌innar grundvollr ('The foundation of grammar', here abbreviated as 'MG') is the first and smaller of two parts of the work known as the Third Grammatical Treatise ( 3 GT ). MG is primarily a summary of the theoretical foundations of the study of grammar. It is largely an abridged adaptation of parts of the Institutiones Grammaticae of the Latin grammarian, Priscian (fl. c. AD soo), but with other Latin and Norse material incorporated into it. MG is one of a group of texts from twelfth- to fourteenth-century Iceland which deal with language subjects: grammar, rhetoric, orthography and poetics. As a great many texts survive, it would be fair to assume that there was a great deal of interest in this period in the study of such subjects.

It must be admitted that the treatment of MG as a separate text is by no means a self-evident approach. It is clear that the text of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ was written throughout by the same author, Oláfr Dóroarson: this will be discussed below. It is also clear that the two sections were considered part of a single text in the Middle Ages: in the three major medieval witnesses of the text, both parts are always found together. I have, however, chosen to undertake the present study and edition of the first section alone. This is for a number of reasons.

The sources and consequently the subject matter of MG are very different from that of the second section. The first section is largely an adaptation of books I and II of Priscian's Institutiones Grammaticae, but only loosely so. It also has a great deal of other material incorporated, including a section on sound and two lengthy sections on runes. The second section (Málskrúðsfreði, here abbreviated as 3GTb), in contrast, is generally based quite closely on Donatus' Ars Maior book III, with material supplemented from various commentaries. The interest in ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GTb}$ is in the citation of a great many skaldic verses ( I 2 I in total), which are used to exemplify the subjects dealt with, and in its contribution to poetics, even though it is dependent somewhat on Latin sources. There is thus quite a different approach in the two sections to their adaptation of Latin sources. A closer examination of the sources for MG has been lacking - a lack which the present edition attempts to address.

The material in the second section relies to some extent on the material in the first. The discussion of barbarisms, for example, refers to the features of the syllable (length, accent and aspiration) to explain the concept, and in doing so refers back to the section on the syllable in MG. However, MG can be taken independently of

Málskrúdsfraði. The manuscript AM 757a 4to, for example, includes only one chapter from the second section, but almost all of MG.

While some of the material in MG serves as a foundation for the second section, the other subjects are of interest in their own right, in particular, the discussion of sound in the first chapter and the runological chapters. These parts of MG have not received much scholarly attention, which, again, the present study attempts to rectify.

## 1.I. Title

The name Málfreðinnar grundvollr is not found in any medieval manuscript of the text. The name is possibly modelled on the title of its principal source, Priscian's Institutiones Grammaticae. The conventional titles of both the first and second (Málskrúðsfreði "The lore of rhetoric') sections are at least as old as the earliest edition of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, that of R. Rask ( 1818 ) and are used in all editions except that of Finnur Jónnson (1927). While the name, Málfreðinnar grundvollr, is a modern invention, it is a fairly apt description of the contents of the work and has thus also been retained in the present edition.

None of the five grammatical treatises have names which survive from the Middle Ages, although parts of Snorra Edda do have known names (such as Skáldskaparmál and Háttatal). The works known as the First, Second, Third and Fourth Grammatical Treatises are so called because of their position in the Codex Wormianus. Many scholars have also held that their order in that manuscript parallels their chronological age, although this has been questioned (see section 5.1. 3 below).

### 1.2. Contents

The principal subject of $M G$ is the basis upon which grammar can be studied. The contents of the treatise are summarised below:

## Table 1: Contents of MG

1 categories of sound and voice
I.I definition of sound
1.2-II non-vocal sound
1.12-2I categories of voice

2 the division of letters
2.1 definition of the letter
2.2-5 theoretical issues concerning letters
2.6-15 the characteristics of the syllable

3 names and categories of letters
3.1 the characteristics of the letter
3.2-5 multiple sounds of the letter
3.6-15 vowels
3.16-19 consonants

4 shape and value of letters
4.1-4 characteristics of the letter
4.5 Valdemar rune-phrase
4.6-1I about the first 3 runes in the phrase
4.12-18 diphthongs and ligatures
4.19-22 the other runes in the phrase

5 syllables
5.1 definition
5.2-4 number of letters in the syllable
5.5-10 rhymes
5.11-17 length of the syllable

5:18-23 aspiration
5.24-31 accent

6 words
6.1-2 definition \& c .
6.2-13 parts of speech

MG starts by examining the relationship between sound and speech, that is to say, language. It also looks at the physical production of sounds. It then theorises the relationship between the letter and speech or voice, and follows this with a discussion of the various letters (runes) and their characteristics. It then looks at higher-level divisions of language: the syllable and how it relates to versification, and finally the word. This provides the basis for the study in the second part. The structure of the text and some of the content follow fairly closely the well-known grammatical work of Priscian, Institutiones Grammaticae.

The standard numbering of the chapters in MG dates from at least as far back as Sveinbjörn Egilsson's edition (1852). Ólsen also uses these divisions, but, as we will see, they are often quite arbitrary.

If we look at Table 5 (section 4.3 below), we see the way in which the medieval MSS of MG format the chapters which Ólsen orders as $1-9$. However, there are only five points in the text where all MSS coincide in their chapter
divisions (if we exclude A's missing leaves). These are Ólsen's chapters $\mathrm{I}, 2,3,5$ and 9. These divisions also make sense of the structure of the text: the first categorises sound down to writeable or literate sound (that which can be divided into letters); the second deals with the theory and nature of the letter; the third deals with the features or 'accidents' of the letter (in particular, the values and names of runes); the fourth deals with the syllable; the fifth deals with words. I will now discuss all the chapter divisions marked in $\mathrm{A}, \mathrm{B}$ and W in order to determine how the edited text of MG will be divided.

Manuscript A has the most marked divisions. However, because of a missing leaf, we cannot get an overall impression of how the text is visually divided. Manuscript A clearly marks the beginnings of new sections with red, dark red and green inks, and unlike the other manuscripts, includes headings consistently. Where the text in A is still extant, there are no chapter divisions in the other manuscripts which are not in A .

The divisions are evident at the end of Ólsen's chapters one and two. A's division at Ólsen's chapter $3 / 5$ does not occur in the other two manuscripts. However, the division at chapter $3 / 17$ occurs in W, and B at this point does not include the text. This chapter starts with the discussion of consonants. This is in some ways analogous to some of the later chapter divisions - there is great variation when the chapter begins with a subdivision of the subject of the previous chapter. In most cases, a chapter might begin in one manuscript with something along the lines of 'the second feature....' The division for consonants can be seen in the same light - the section on consonants is the second part of a subdivision of letters (after vowels). It is on this basis that I have not included what would be a very small chapter here as separate.

Ólsen's chapter four starts with the words 'The second feature of the letter'. It is not marked as distinct in B, and on the basis of what I have argued for the previous division in A and W, I have not included it as a separate chapter. Ólsen's chapter 5 , on the other hand, is marked clearly in B and W ; A is missing a leaf here. As this is also a change in focus from the letter to the syllable, I have put a chapter division here in the edition.

Of the next three chapter divisions in Ólsen's edition, none occur in both B and W (A here is missing pages). Ólsen's chapter seven is not marked in any of the manuscripts. I have therefore not marked these as separate: they all form part of the chapter on syllables. The beginning of the last chapter in Ólsen's edition, which initiates the discussion of the word, is marked as a new chapter in the manuscripts which have it, and I have accordingly included it as a separate chapter. On this basis, I have separated MG into six chapters.

The three chapters that Ólsen distinguishes, but which are not distinguished here, all follow on quite clearly from the chapters preceding them: they all begin with the second, third or fourth part of a list of features or properties of the syllable. Ólsen's chapter seven is not marked as distinct in any of the extant manuscripts.

### 1.3. Author

It is in manuscript A that we find the authorship of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ attributed to Óláfr pórðarson. This occurs in a passage in red ink at the end of the treatise, on fol. i4v, line 6 ff :

> Hær ær lykt beim lvt bokar ær Olafr porðarson hæfir samansett ok vpphefr skalldskaparmal ok kænningar æptir pvi sem fyri fvndið var i kvæðvm hofvtskallda ok Snorri hæfir sipan samanfæra latit. (G. Nordal 20or, 59-60)
> This is the end of that part of the book which Ólafr porroarson has put together and [here] begins Skáldskaparmál and kennings, according to that which is found in the poems of the chief poets and which Snorri has since caused to be brought together. (from G. Nordal 2001, 59-60 and Wessén 1945, 13)

There is no reason to doubt this attribution of authorship to Óláfr. Although the two sections of the treatise are very different in terms of their sources and subject matter, the work is clearly by the same author, as evidenced by both the style and terminology, as well as other features dealt with by Sveinbjörn Egilsson ( 8848,62 ) and Björn M. Ólsen ( $1883,62-64$ ).

Óláfr was of the family of the Sturlungar, a very prominent family in thirteenth-century Iceland, both in politics and literature. Its most famous member was Snorri Sturluson, author of the prose Edda. Björn M. Ólsen has given a detailed account of Óláfr's life (Ólsen 1884 , xxxii-xxxvii). Óláfr seems to have been a fairly minor figure in the political intrigues of the time and consequently there has not been much biographical work on him. Of interest to the present study are the following events in his life. Ólafr's father was Dórorr Sturluson, elder brother of Snorri. Ólálr was probably born at Staðr on Snafellsness shortly before his brother, Sturla, who was born in 1214 according to Sturlunga saga (Ólsen 1884, xxxiii). In ${ }^{1} 236$ he went to live with Snorri, and the following year he travelled to Norway. Óláfr also visited the Swedish court before returning to Norway. In 1240 he travelled to Denmark and stayed at the court of Valdemar II, where he probably learnt Danish and German. Óláfr claims ( $\$ 4.5$ ) to have learnt a runic phrase from Valdemar. Some time after Valdemar's death in 1241 he returned to Iceland, where many in his family had been killed or exiled. Óláfr appears to have withdrawn somewhat from the political intrigues of the time and established a clerical school at Stafaholt, for which Ólsen ( 1884, xxxvi) thinks he composed his treatise. Óláfr was also law-speaker from 1248 - 50 and again in 1252 (he stood down for his brother Sturla in I2sı). In that year, Óláfr aligned himself with his nephew, porgils, who had returned to Iceland with Gizurr Dorvaldsson to bring the country under the rule of Hákon. Óláfr taught at his school in Stafaholt until his death in 1259. The Icelandic annals record together with the date of his death that he was a subdeacon.

We thus know that Óláfr was a cleric and teacher, and was clearly very knowledgeable in the areas of law, poetry, languages, grammar and runology.

### 1.4. Date

Ólsen deals at length with the date of the text ( 1884 , xxxv-xxxvii), which is comparatively easy to determine because of our knowledge of the authorship of the work. The work must have been written after Ólafr had returned to Iceland from the court of Valdemar, as MG attributes a runic phrase to that king (\$4.5). The terminus post quem must therefore be around 1242, although Ólsen proposes that Óláfr may have returned later, in 1245 .

Ólsen argues that a comment in Málskrúrffraði gives a likely terminus ante quem. Óláfr cites a verse by Snorri about Hákon, and follows with the comment: her er oiginlig liking milli Orins ok nokcurs illgiarns manz (Ólsen 1884, 117) 'here there is an improper comparison between Odin and a certain malevolent man' (Collings 1967, i12). Ólsen ( 1884, xxxvii) argues that Óláfr would not have included such an unflattering epithet for Hákon after he had aligned himself with those promoting his rule in 1252 (Óláfr had apparently fallen out with Hákon prior to this). Ólsen's terminus ante quem is thus I2s2.

However, Ólsen's presumption that Óláfr's school had already been established before 1252 seems to be an attempt to fit the evidence to the conclusion. The first time the school is mentioned is in fact in the year 1253. Even though he had supported his nephew in bringing Iceland under the Norwegian monarchy, it does not mean that he would refrain from insulting the king. Hákon was, after all, indirectly responsible for the death of his uncle, Snorri. It is understandable that Ólafr would recognise the irony of a verse in praise of the king by Snorri, even if doing so could have been seen to conflict with the allegiances of some of his kinsmen.

The terminus ante quem would be, conservatively, the time of Ólafr's death in 1259.

## 2. Theories of writing

This edition aims to understand MG and its reception in the context of various theories of writing. In order to contextualise it in this way, I present here a very brief survey of the history of theories of grammar and writing which are relevant to the present study.

## 2.I. Antiquity

The theory of language, and in particular, the theory of the letter found in MG finds its ultimate origin in the works of the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle. The philosophical origin of this subject is something that remained in the background throughout the history of grammar until fairly recently, even when it was preoccupied with mainly practical questions. Aristotle in particular examines the relationship between sound - including the physics of sound - and language. This was seen as the foundation not only for the study of language, but also for the study of logic.

Slightly later, the Stoics were also interested in the philosophical foundations of language. Peter Matthews conveniently summarises some of the main points relevant to the present treatise:

For the rest we can begin where ancient writers themselves began, with vocal sound (phönē, vox) in general. This is defined either physically, as air that is struck or set in motion, or as perceived by the hearer: a formulation in these terms is cited from the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon (c.240-152 BC), and the properties are similarly combined in the definition given by the Latin grammarians Charisius and Diomedes (fourth century AS), the latter mentioning the Stoics as his source. Democritus had earlier defined it as a stream of atoms. Vocal sound in man differs from that of animals. According to Diogenes of Babylon, the latter is air set in motion 'under an impulse'; the former is articulate (literally 'jointed' or 'having distinct members') and is set in motion by thought. The grammarians generally define 'articulate' as 'representable by letters'; a sound that cannot be written down is non-discrete or 'inarticulate'. Priscian has a more elaborate classification in which, for example, a human whistle is at once articulate, since it signifies something in the mind of the whistler, but not representable by writing. (Matthews in Lepschy 1994, II)

From this period onwards, the letter is thought of as a representation of a certain type of voice. While voice is sometimes defined physically, it is not often discussed
in relation to sound more generally, at least by grammarians. There is some recognition among later grammarians that letters can represent things other than thought, and also that some signifying things cannot be represented by letters.

The most significant and comprehensive work in linguistics was started towards the end of the Roman Empire. The grammatical works of Donatus (the Ars major and Ars minor from the mid-fourth century in particular) and Priscian brought together and expanded the earlier linguistic work of philosophers. As the Christian Church expanded, these texts were used to train clerics in the language it used, that is, Latin grammar and rhetoric.

### 2.2. The Early Middle Ages

There is not a great deal of material from the early Middle Ages of relevance to MG - most of the grammatical writing at that time was not of a theoretical nature. In England, the Latin alphabet was adapted for writing the vernacular by the addition of two runic characters ( $P$ ' $t \mathrm{~h}$ ' and $P$ ' $w$ ') and two modified Latin letters ( $\partial$ and $x$ ), but there is no account from the period of the rationale for this adaptation of the Latin alphabet.

Elfric's vernacular grammar, Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice (ed. Zupitza 1880), is of particular interest to the present study, as it is, like MG, a vernacular adaptation of Priscian. This work, written in England probably between the years 992-1002 (Law 1997, 203), is an abridged adaptation of some works of Priscian. It is largely in Old English but with some (usually translated) Latin examples and terms.

The immediate source of Elfric's grammar is the anonymous Excerptiones de Prisciano (Law 1997, 203). Besides drawing from a great deal of Priscian's Institutiones, the Excerptiones also include material adapted from some of Priscian's other works, from Donatus and from other early grammars. The Excerptiones, according to Law, is 'an attempt to bring Priscian into line with the Late Latin tradition' (1997, 204).

Ælfric's grammar is mainly concerned with instruction in Latin - it consists primarily of material on Latin accidence. It treats only very briefly letters, syllables and diphthongs. The examples are mostly in Latin, all of which indicates that the interest was in providing a text for instructing Anglo-Saxon students of Latin. The text was translated into the vernacular in order to facilitate this aim.

While Ælfric's grammar is of interest as a vernacular adaptation of Priscian, of more relevance to the present study are the intellectual movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In this period, there were significant changes in the way language was conceived in medieval Europe which have some bearing on our reading of MG.

### 2.3. The High Middle Ages

Apart from the grammarians of late Antiquity, MG finds most of its sources in works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There was also a considerable rise in the status of vernacular languages in this period. This not only meant that vernacular literature was more accepted, but also that grammatical description of vernacular languages started to emerge (Lepschy 1994, 186 and 280 ff ).

The twelfth century represents a period of considerably increased interest in grammar, particularly speculative grammars. These speculative grammars had a broader aim than simply instruction in the use and structure of Latin: they aimed to give a more theoretical basis to the study of language for more advanced students. Priscian's Institutiones became much more widely read in the later Middle Ages, and the difficulties that it presented to the student were addressed by numerous commentaries.

Part of the interest in the period was in the theory of writing itself, and this centred on the theory of the letter. For example, John of Salisbury in the twelfth century writes:

> Littere autem, id est figure, primo vocum indices sunt; deinde rerum, quas anime per oculorum fenestras opponunt, et frequenter absentium dicta sine voce loquuntur. (Metalogicon i:I3, from Hall 1991,32 )
> Fundamentally, letters are shapes indicating voices. Hence they represent things which they bing to the mind through the windows of the eyes. Frequently they speak voicelessly the utterances of the absent. (Clanchy 1993, 253)

This account of the letter is very similar to later ones, such as that of Condillac in the eighteenth century (see section 2.5 below). Writing is here characterised as representing voice and, in so doing, representing thoughts. Writing has the ability to represent speech and thought in the absence of the author.

Absent from the works of the twelfth-century grammarians is a systematic discussion of sound. The thirteenth century introduced sound as a topic of linguistic study. The discussions of sound find their origin in Aristotle and other philosophers. Priscian and his adapters and commentators were content to start the discussion of language with voice. Logicians, who often used the introductory material in Priscian as the starting point for their treatises on dialectic, did likewise. Thirteenth-century logicians, however, such as Petrus Hispanus and Roger Bacon preceded the discussion of voice with a discussion of sound in general, of which voice was seen as a species.

This approach was a departure from some of the earlier traditions which promoted speech and thought. Voice or speech was treated by twelfth-century theorists as a point of departure because of its relationship to thought. Sound as the point of departure puts less emphasis on the status of thought in the foundation of the study of language.

From the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth century, there was considerable debate about the notion of a perfect language. Dante in particular is notable for his search for a perfect vernacular language in De vulgari eloquentia (c. 1303-5 - Eco 1995, 34). Also of note is the 'language' devised by Ramon Llull, an attempt at a system of elucidating universal truths. Llull's work will be discussed further in relation to The Second Grammatical Treatise below. From the end of the fourteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is little of relevance to the present study. Works from this period neither influenced nor were influenced by the linguistic theories in MG. The interest in writing during the this period was largely restricted to issues related to the new technology of printing. There was consequently not a great deal of interest in the relationship between speech and writing; nor was there much interest in writing systems for their own sake. It was, however, a period of considerable interest in poetics and other aspects of vernacular literature.

One example of the mention of runes in the sixteenth century, however, occurs in Olaus Magnus's 1555 work, Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus (trans. Foote 1996 'A Description of the Northern Peoples'). This text has a chapter on runes, including a diagram of a runic fupark (Foote 1996, I:77). The accompanying text, however, contains little concerning the letters themselves. Rather, it concentrates on the materials used for recording the letters, such as stone and wood and various substitutes. In contrast, in the seventeenth century there was renewed interest in the study of writing and writing systems for their own sake, and it was in that century that MG was 'rediscovered'. The seventeenth century saw the beginnings of modern runology along with the study of medieval Scandinavian literature. The following sections comprise a survey of some major movements in the theory of language from the seventeenth century to the present. Changes in attitudes to language and writing coincided with the varying popularity of runology and accompanying theories. These changes are of importance to the present study, not only because they help to explain the modern reception of MG, but also, as I will argue in the Commentary, because the runological material in MG is better understood in the light of recurrent themes in the broader history of runology. The survey begins in the seventeenth century because in the period of the Renaissance, there was little interest in writing systems, and consequently runes, or in the relationship between writing and speech.

### 2.4. The seventeenth century

The seventeenth century saw a great deal of scholarly attention given to various alphabets and scripts. An enormous number of works were published in the period which looked at a range of issues to do with writing and language. These works dealt with writing systems such as Heiroglyphics and Chinese characters; with
magic languages, such as the secret language of the Rosicrucians; and they presented a range of theories about the concept of a perfect language and the origins of language itself: usually that they all derived from an original language, that which Adam spoke, which was Hebrew (cf. Eco 1995, chapters 5, 6 and 8). Such theories were related and often influenced by medieval scholarship on language and writing, particularly that of the thirteenth century.

In this period, writing and letters were not viewed simply as arbitrary representations of elements of speech. They had a greater significance as potentially magical symbols and had often quite concrete relationships with spoken language. For example, in the 1667 work by Mercurius van Helmont, Alphabeti veri naturalis Hebraici brevissima delineatio, he argues that Hebrew is the original perfect language of Adam and that the shape of each of the letters of Hebrew is a visual representation of the way in which the vocal organs form that sound.

Writing in this period was the focus of such speculative theories. It was valorised because it made language survive beyond the point of its articulation or composition, both in time and in space. The seventeenth century is of particular interest to the present study because it was in that period that MG was rediscovered and with it modern runology began.

### 2.5. The eighteenth century

The eighteenth century saw significant changes to the conception of writing and language. While the dominant conception differed considerably from the widelyheld views of the seventeenth century, it was in many cases no less extreme.

William Warburton's discussion of the origins of writing in The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated (in Works 1788, II:387ff) is indicative of the transition in the treatment of writing and writing systems that was occurring in this period. Warburton's work, which at one point discusses the origin and development of writing, shows an affinity with seventeenth-century works on writing systems - it outlines a number of different writing systems. In particular, Warburton discusses the ideographic and pictographic writing systems of the Mexicans, Egyptian heiroglyphics and Chinese writing as representative of three stages in the development of writing representing images or ideas (II:402). These systems are fundamentally different, he argued, from systems which use writing to represent sounds or words. The Divine Legation introduces an interest in the theory of writing and the importance of the relationship between writing and speech. He describes the process of the development of writing:

[^0]This distinction indicates a fundamentally different interest in writing from the seventeenth-century scholars: here, writing is a way of representing conceptions, and is thus secondary to thought. Warburton also put forward a theory that the type of literature composed in a given language at a given time is related to the written form in which it was recorded. He states that in primitive times, when the only visual form (and the most natural way) of representing language was with pictures, the dominant form of literature was one of action, that is, stories were illustrated with gestures and so on. As hieroglyphic writing developed, the dominant form was the fable or 'Apologue', and finally with alphabetic writing, simile and metaphor (Warburton 1788, II:390-402). According to this theory, a more 'primitive' written form would lead to a more primitive and natural literature.

Warburton also discusses the uses of writing for magical purposes - once again, in a way very different from the seventeenth-century scholars. His approach is more of an ethnological one:

Here then we see the first begininnings of Hieroglyphics amongst the Mexicans, and the end of them amongst the Chinese; yet we never find them employed in either of these places for mystery or concealment: what there was of this practice, therefore, in the middle stage of their cultivation amongst the Egyptians, we must needs conclude had some private or peculiar cause, unrelated to their general nature. (Warburton 1788 , II:404)

Again this view differs from seventeenth-century writers, who did in fact see something in the nature of writing that was magical or supernatural. Such a view is indicative of one aspect of the change in attitudes to writing, that is, the attitude to the qualities writing possessed beyond simply representing thought. Thirteenthand seventeenth-century authors were more interested in the more abstract and manipulable qualities of writing systems.

In the philosophical tradition, Abbé Étienne Bonnot de Condillac extended Warburton's theory of writing in his 1746 Essai sur l'origine des connaissances bumaines (in Condillac 1821, vol. I), moving further still away from the interest in writing systems as such. Jacques Derrida has made famous his account of the origin of writing:

> Les hommes en état de se communiquer leurs pensées par des sons sentirent la nécessité d'imaginer de nouveaux signes propres à les perpétuer et à les faire connaitre à des personnes absentes. (Condillac 1821, 310-II)

> Men capable of communicating their thoughts to each other by sounds felt the necessity of imagining new signs apt to perpetuate them and to make them known to absent persons.

This shows writing to have the essential purpose of representing thought. Like John of Salisbury, Condillac includes the principle that writing had the purpose of representing thought in the absence of the person who created the text. This quality of writing, that it allows the text to be removed from the author in both
time and space, caused considerable anxiety in the late eighteenth century. JeanJacques Rousseau, in his Essay on the Origin of Languages, contributed greatly to the view that writing was inferior to speech. Writing, according to Rousseau, was only an imperfect representation of speech, which represented the thoughts and intentions far better. Writing allowed utterances to be removed in time and space from the author, and thus could destroy the immediacy of spoken communication. This is a reversal of the seventeenth-century view of writing, which saw the abilities of writing to survive beyond the immediate presence of the author as a good rather than a bad thing.

Rousseau was an important part of the movement in the eighteenth century away from interest in writing towards oral communication, although this certainly was not the only view of language at the time. Arising from this, literatures which were thought to be oral were also of interest, and were often seen in contrast to cultivated and 'artificial' literatures. The importance of these eighteenth-century views to the present study is because they provide one reason why MG and runology more generally was not a popular topic in this period: because it was concerned with writing and the written preservation of texts. These views are also closely related to some contemporary theories about speech and writing.

### 2.6. Recent approaches to writing

Already by the thirteenth century, two approaches to the theory of writing can be seen. Jacques Derrida has represented these two approaches in some of his earlier works dealing with language (Of Grammatology (1976) in particular). His philosophy is strongly influenced by Husserlian phenomenology, and, for our purposes, can be seen as a way of representing the relationship between sound (phenomena) and signs, language, writing and so on. Derrida addresses what he sees as an underlying philosophy of language in a great many philosophers and linguists from Plato through to the twentieth century: the tendency to see writing as merely a representation of speech.

The difference can be seen in a contrast between speech and sound. The theorists who see writing as the representation of speech or voice imply a relationship between speech and thought: speech represents thought, and writing represents speech. The function of writing, then, is to represent the ideas of the author - something that it can only do imperfectly as it is two removes from thought. The theorists who are not so interested in speech tend to see writing as something more independent, that is, representing more than just speech and consequently thought.

Alternatively, the difference can be seen in the way the functions of writing are viewed. Writing, as we have seen, has the ability to transform the utterances of an author into a form which can survive beyond the presence of the author. It is, on
the one hand, an imperfect account of the author's intentions; it does not preserve the author's thoughts fully, nor even the intonations or gestures that would accompany them if they were spoken. On the other hand, it can survive through time and space (be 'lasting and extensive' to use Warburton's words); it can be copied; and it can be manipulated independently. All of this takes a written text further from the presence of the author. Whether this is seen to be a good or a bad thing is the discriminant in the two traditions.

Derrida shows that the separation of the text from the author (the so-called 'death of the author') is an essential possibility of all writing (Bergen 1999, 2r). He also identifies a great many theorists who denigrate writing because it separates texts from their authors. However, Derrida's thesis that this view of writing is characteristic of an epoch in which this is the only way of treating writing is not historically accurate. Derrida simply ignores those periods, such as the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, when writing was not denigrated but was rather the object of a great deal of interest.

Derrida's theories in fact have many similarities with theories from those periods he ignores. For example, he sees the possibility of the survival of the text as basically a good thing. He posits an originary writing (archi-écriture) as the basis for all languages and writing systems, which has similarities with a common attitude to Hebrew in the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. For Derrida, the spoken and written instances of a language both stem from this originary writing. Likewise, the written form of a language in the ignored periods is rarely viewed simply as a way of representing speech, but rather is treated as an integral part of the language, that is, both derive historically from the original language.

Derrida attempts to represent his view as radical, that is, in opposition to an entire epoch of thought; however, it can be situated within a tradition, albeit interrupted, which privileges writing over speech.

Theoretical issues related to writing have also been dealt with recently in the English-speaking world, including the field of medieval studies. Studies in this area mostly focus on the issue of literacy and the corresponding issue of orality. This area of research has arisen more or less contemporaneously with Derrida's work and consequent debates, but there has been almost no dialogue between the two fields until very recently. ${ }^{1}$ The orality and literacy work deals with the effects of the introduction of literacy and how this changed the societies in which it was introduced, as well as the nature of oral societies and literatures.

Much of the research into medieval orality and literacy has been informed by theorists such as Marshall McLuhan and Walter J. Ong, although not always directly. The following critique is based principally on Ong's overview of research in this field in Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word (1982). There are two principal problems with this approach to language. The first is that Ong and others put orality and literacy (hence speech and writing) at opposite poles. Human languages, Ong states, are fundamentally oral, and writing is a 'technologizing' of
speech:

> Writing is in a way the most drastic of the three technologies [writing, print and computers]. It initiated what print and computers only continue, the reduction of dynamic sound to quiescent space, the separation of the word from the living present, where alone spoken words can exist. By contrast with natural, oral speech, writing is completely artificial. ... Writing or script differs as such from speech in that it does not inevitably well up out of the unconscious. The process of putting spoken language into writing is governed by consciously contrived, articulable rules ... (Ong 1982, 82)

This account of writing has problems. Firstly, it places orality and speech as natural and writing as entirely artificial. This is an extreme view. Ong works with a conception of writing which is usually restricted to an alphabetic representation of speech - again, this is extreme, as writing can always do more than represent speech. To Ong, speech is living, dynamic, natural and present; writing is static and artificial. Print and computers, it should be noted, do not only continue 'the reduction of dynamic sound to quiescent space' and so on. There are also examples of 'primary oral' cultures where speech is 'governed by consciously contrived, articulable rules' - most notably in verse.

These views of writing are closely related to those of eighteenth-century philosophers, as Timothy Clark (1999) has shown. The parallels include the conception of speech as natural and close to thought, and writing as an imperfect representation thereof which takes humans further from their natural state. It is also the case that Ong, like the eighteenth-century philosophers, sees alphabetic (i.e. phonetic) writing as the best and most advanced form (see Ong 1982, 85 and 87). Ong does not see writing, however, as all bad - he recognises that it enables new ways of thinking. Like Derrida, Ong suffers from a selective view of history. His account of orality and literacy is very similar to that of eighteenth-century scholars, but he makes no reference to such views.

It is difficult to examine the conception of language in medieval Iceland according to orality/literacy theories such as Ong's. Such an examination would perhaps only uncover the extent to which literacy was affecting the thought of the Icelanders. Ong, however, does recognise that writing is a very powerful technology which creates new possibilities for thought. Where this theory is weak is in its premise that before writing, no such possibilities existed. This weakness is associated with Ong's working definition of writing - that it is the visual representation of speech.

Derrida's view of writing provides a way of understanding some aspects of medieval Icelandic thought. What writing and at least some forms of speech have in common is that they both aim to be repeatable beyond the presence of their first utterance. Writing can reproduce a text beyond the presence of the author, and in so far as it is memorisable, so can speech. Derrida thus concentrates on the similarities between speech and writing.

In the context of medieval Iceland, this can be seen in the similarities between
writing and verse. Writing, as we have seen, has the function of making a text 'lasting and extensive': writing can record and copy texts so that they will survive beyond the presence of the author. It transforms texts into a combination of a fixed number of signs, which are thus reproduceable. In doing so, it reduces the amount needed to be memorised: only the relationship between the visual signs and the language (as well as the language itself, of course) need to be remembered. Verse has some of the same functions as writing and achieves them in similar ways, but by aural means. It transforms texts into fixed structures of metre, phonic equivalences and formulae so that, once the structures are learnt, a smaller amount of additional information needs to be remembered to reconstruct a text. Verse is designed to be 'lasting and extensive'. Even in 'primary oral' cultures, verse is a technologising of the word.

Skaldic verses by Icelanders, in particular, verses praising a lord, serve a similar function to a great many written (runic) inscriptions on stone: they serve to preserve the name and reputation of prominent figures in mainland Scandinavia beyond the death of those individuals. Understanding the relationship between verse and runes (and writing more generally) is important to understanding the place of the runological material in MG. It is, after all, part of a treatise ultimately designed to treat the topic of poetics.

It is evident from the foregoing survey, that the history of the study of writing is characterised by repetitions of two different and (usually) opposed views of writing, namely, one which sees writing as simply an imperfect representation of speech, and another which sees it as having scholarly or theoretic interest independent of spoken language. These theories often arise without any apparent reference to previous periods when such views have been widely held. MG and its later reception is characterised in particular by one of these views, as I will show in the following section and in the Commentary.

## 3. The influence of MG

MG was the first of the Old Icelandic works on grammar, rhetoric or poetics to be referred to extensively in the post-medieval period. Most of the interest since the early seventeenth century has been in the information on runes contained in it. What follows in this section is something of a select history of Scandinavian runology, because, as we will see, MG has played a very important and recurrent part in the history of the post-medieval study of runes.

Two (erroneous) themes continually recur in the history of runology concerning the status of runes in medieval Scandinavia: one, that of ubiquity, that is, that runes were used extensively to record all forms of literature, even those which we now think of as oral; the other, that of antiquity, that is, that runes are very old, indeed a great deal older than the Latin alphabet and other scripts, and that runes are closely related to the oldest writing system, usually thought to be Hebrew. These two themes are related to the two functions of writing that were valued in the periods where runes were studied: writing made language 'lasting and extensive' (Warburton 1788, II:388).

As we will see, these theories of the ubiquity and antiquity of runes are closely associated in many instances with readings of MG. The persistence of the association of these two themes with MG must influence our interpretation of the text - the commentary which follows would be lacking if it did not take into account three centuries of scholarship.

The next two sections (3.1 and 3.2) of the introduction contain an analysis of the scholarship and correspondence of Ole Worm and Arngrímur Jónsson. These two scholars played a very large part in generating interest outside Iceland in Icelandic language and literature during the seventeenth century and beyond. Both scholars, too, drew upon MG in their works. After 1636 (the year Ole Worm's Literatura Runica was first published), other scholars, including many outside Scandinavia, took up a number of the issues in Worm's and Arngrímur's scholarship. I will deal with these subjects to some extent in section 3.3, although the focus of this chapter on the influence of MG is basically upon the direct influence of the text.

Not a great deal of research has been carried out on the medieval sources of Worm's and Arngrímur's scholarship on Old Norse language and runology. What does exist often lacks precision in the identification of both the sources and their
relationship to the work of these two scholars. Likewise, Ólsen's work on MG has not been examined closely largely because of the controversial nature of the theory he was trying to support. While I do not agree with his theory, it is based on some interesting readings of MG. I will take as my principal starting point for the examination of Worm and Arngrímur's work two publications by Jakob Benediktsson (1948 and 1951), which are by a long way the most extensive and accurate by twentieth-century scholars, although I will be proposing certain modifications to Benediktsson's observations.

## 3.r. Arngrímur Jónsson

### 3.1.1. The grammatical treatises

The Codex Wormianus (W - the only manuscript containing the complete text of MG) had been in the possession of Arngrimur Jónsson's family at least since the time of his great-grandfather, Jon Sigmundsson ( $\mathrm{I} 450-\mathrm{I} 520$ ), whose name appears in the margin of page II7. Jon's daughter, Helga, passed it down to her son, Bishop Guǒbrandur Porláksson (I542-1627). Arngrímur's paternal grandmother was another of Jón Sigmundsson's daughters, and thus was a relative of Gurbrandur, under whom Arngrimur worked at Hollar. It is most likely that it was through the bishop that Arngrímur gained access to W and was able to use it in what was the most influential of his works, Crymogea. ${ }^{2}$ Peter Springborg (1977, 59) has a detailed family tree of Arngrimur and his ancestors.

Crymogea contains a history of Iceland and an account of its culture. It played a large part in generating and satisfying the interest of European scholars in medieval Iceland and Scandinavia more generally. As Jakob Benediktsson puts it, '[Arngrimur's] works were the first buds of a new branch of scholarship which was to spread over the whole of Scandinavia and yet further afield' (Jakob Benediktsson 1991, 4:71). An early chapter of Crymogea is devoted to the language and writing of the Icelanders ('De lingua gentis') and this is followed by a chapter discussing the origins of the language. The chapter on language draws much of its information from the Grammatical Treatises in W, including Málfreðinnar grundvollr.

Jakob Benediktsson is one of very few scholars who have made explicit mention of Arngrimur's use of the grammatical treatises. ${ }^{3}$ One instance occurs within a survey of Arngrimur's manuscript sources (Jakob Benediktsson 1991, 4:102), and refers in particular to a section in Crymogea, part of which is as follows:

Circa annum Domini 1216 scripsit quidam nostratium de literis lingva vernacula sermone patrio, ubi veteres istos characteres huic lingve proprios affirmat, utrosque tam veteres quam novos legitima tractatione persequitur per suas definitiones et divisiones literarum in vocales et consonantes, facitque ex quinque vocalibus latinis octodecim sux lingve sono et pronunciatione distinctas. (Jakob Benediktsson 1991, 27)

Samuel Purchas included a translation of a selection of Crymogra in Purchas his Pilgrimes ( 1625 ) in which the passage above is translated as follows:

About the yeere of the Lord i216. one of our Countrymen wrote in his Countrey language, concerning the letters of the proper, or mother tongue: where hee affirmeth these ancient Characters to be peculiar to this language, and handleth them both, as well as new as old after a legitimate and due manner of tractation, by his definitions and divisions of the letters into Vowels and Consonants, and of the five Latine Vowels, maketh eighteene of his language, distinguished in sound and pronunciation ... (Purchas 1626, 532-3)

Jakob Benediktsson quite rightly states that the section in Crymogea that deals with the Icelandic language contains a reference to the First Grammatical Treatise ( IGT ) and ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$.

However, in the section immediately following the one just quoted Jakob Benediktsson attributes Arngrímur's discussion of the consonants ('Consonantes naturaliter dividit in semivocales et mutas, et illas in liquidas et firmas, has in apertas vel clausas' (Jakob Benediktsson 1951, 2:27)) to a 'misleading account of the grouping of the consonants in the First Grammatical Treatise' (Jakob Benediktsson 1951, 4:286). It is plausible to suggest, however, that the section to which he refers is at least partially based on MG:

> Samhljóðendr eru ellifu í rúna máli, fimm peir er nálagir eru raddarstofum, eru kalladir hálfraddarstafir af $̣$ Ørum monnum ... Í pessu stafrofi eru ok fimm stafir er vér kqllum dumba stafi; pat eru $Y P Y 1$ B. $(3 / 16-19)^{4}$
> There are eleven consonants in the runic alphabet; the five which are similar to vowels are called semivowels by other men ... In this alphabet there are also five letters which we call mute letters: $Y P Y 1 B$.

The influence of MG here accounts for the disparity between Arngrímur's text and iGT. Jakob Benediktsson points out that Arngrimur assigns to the same author what are now thought of as the two separate treatises, but sometimes identifies sections of Crymogea as influenced by IGT when the influence from MG is more apparent.

Other examples of the influence of MG on Arngrimur's chapter on the Icelandic language occur in the section on runes and include the discussion of the runes for $\mathrm{k}, \mathrm{g}, \mathrm{z}$ ('knés $\delta \mathrm{l}$ ') and p . Arngrímur's explanation of the rune for ' p ' uses Óláfr's metaphoric description of the rune from MG: Arngrímur states, 'plastur vero refert B , ventre utroque supernè et infernè aperto' (Jakob Benediktsson 195ı, 2:25) ['Plastur resembleth B. with both the bellies open above and beneath' (Purchas 1906, $13: 531$ )]. MG reads 'puí eru belger opner giozfer a biarkani'' ('the bellows are made open in bjarkan' or possibly 'the bellies are clearly open in bjarkan'; W 97:9, §4.10). The account of the origins of the runes in Crymogea is also possibly from MG and this will be discussed further on. It is evident from the two examples cited above, and from others I examine later to do with Arngrímur's
information about runes, that MG, along with the other grammatical treatises in W, provided a great deal of the information in Arngrímur's chapter on language.

This chapter contains a section dealing with runes and it is reproduced in Purchas, an indication of the perceived importance of this kind of information. Through Purchas's translation, Crymogea became known to English audiences. However, in the early stages, its influence is most noticeable in Danish scholarship, particularly that of Stephanus J. Stephanius and Ole Worm.

### 3.1.2. Arngrímur's runes

Crymogea presents a list of runes (Jakob Benediktsson 1951, 4:26) together with their names and phonetic values as represented in the Latin alphabet. The two most likely sources for this information are MG and the Old Icelandic Rune Poem (cf. Page 1998, 1 and Wimmer 1887, 275-88). The evidence the two texts present on the names and phonetic values of runes largely coincides. Arngrímur knew of the Icelandic Rune Poem: he cites a section of it in a letter to Worm in 1627 (Jakob Benediktsson 1948, 5 ). It is not clear whether Arngrímur had access to a text of the Rune Poem at the time of writing Crymogea, but the evidence presented here will show that if he did know of it, his preference was for MG as a source.

There are a few runes in Crymogea that are not named in MG ('Fe', 'Hagall', 'Kaun', 'Laugur', 'Madur', 'Nand', 'Plastur', and 'Duss' ('Purs' or ' ${ }^{\prime}$ orn')), but all the names used by Arngrímur are those of MG, where available. All these names (except the curious 'plastur') also occur in the Old Icelandic Rune Poem. However, the Rune Poem is unlikely to be the major source for the list of runes, partly because Arngrímur includes the 'dotted' runes, which do not appear in it. In addition to this, Arngrímur must have considered the Rune Poem a less reliable source, as indicated in the shapes of the runes printed in Crymogra. The Rune Poem has $I$ for y, whereas Crymogea and MG (and only in W) have $h$, which does not appear in any manuscripts of the Rune Poem (Jakob Benediktsson 1948, 367-8) and is not common generally in Icelandic sources. $h$ ('yr'), however, came to represent ' $y$ ' in Denmark (Gordon (rev. Taylor) 1957, 182) and Óláfr Dórðarson seems to have acquired at least some of his information about runes from Denmark. $\lambda$ appears in W in a sentence attributed to Valdemar II of Denmark. This sentence will be discussed below (section 3.2.2 of Commentary).

The contribution of the Rune Poem and particularly MG to Arngrímur's discussion of runes has largely gone unnoticed in scholarship on Arngrimur. This lacuna is indicative of the often inaccurate recognition of the medieval works used in early modern scholarship about medieval Scandinavia. Seaton, for example, has inaccurate information about this section of Crymogea. In discussing the description of the runes, she states:

Arngrimur explains the 'pointed' letters, stunginntýr and so on, but he has not extricated $p$ from confusion with $p$, 'the last new consonant of the old Alphabet
changed in name but not in shape. ... In times past it had the name of Puss: at this day it is called Porn, or Thorn, if you put p for th.' He then proceeds to quote from the treatise of the thirteenth-century Icelandic grammarian ... (Seaton 1935, 225)

Seaton adds more information about the reference to the grammarian in a footnote: 'The grammarian is presumably the anonymous writer on whose work Ólaf Thordsson [sic] Hvítaskáld ( $\dagger$ 1259) based his Málfraðinnar Grundvollr' (Seaton 1935, 225 n ). However, this information is misleading as it is clearly MG itself that is used in the passage of Crymogea she refers to. In addition to this, the mistake attributed to Arngrímur is in fact a mistake of his translator and printer. The errata attached to Crymogea list all of the above printings of ' p ' for ' p ' and many others. Purchas may have either not consulted the errata in producing his translation or had a similar problem with printing the character. The phonetic value of $p$ and its rune were obviously clear to Arngrímur, and a discussion of its value appears in Crymogea.

### 3.1.3. Arngrímur and Worm

For a time after the publication of Crymogrea, the version of MG in W did not seem to have received much direct attention, although the material based on it in Crymogea did. Arngrímur lent W to Magnús Ólafsson in 1608-9 to compile Laufás Edda, but this work only uses the skaldic material in 3 GT. However, at some point during this period Crymogea seems to have sparked Worm's interest in Icelandic sources. This book, and in particular the chapter on language, was for a long time his main source of information on medieval Iceland, and with it, early Icelandic language and writing. Worm's first letter to an Icelander (to Dorlákur Skúlason in 1623 ) refers to the chapter in Crymogra on the language and runes of the Icelanders (Schepelern 1965, 75). It is apparent both that the work had great interest for Worm and that his knowledge of the subject was limited to its contents (see Jakob Benediktsson 1948, xvi and 1951, 4:72).

Worm was put in contact with Arngrímur through Dorlákur Skúlason, who studied in Copenhagen in 1616-19 and 1620-21, where he was introduced to Worm. Porlákur was a distant relative of Arngrímur's (through Guðbrandur Dorláksson), and the former encouraged Arngrímur to initiate correspondence with Worm. While the content of their letters does not suggest that a great deal of information passed between them, there are other indications in the correspondence of the extent to which Worm used information provided by Arngrímur. The information came mainly in the form of manuscripts sent by Arngrimur (W in particular) and other texts written by Arngrimur that are no longer extant.

Jakob Benediktsson writes:
After Porlákur Skúlason's return to Iceland in 1626, A[rngrímur]] wrote at his instigation his first letter to Worm, and so began a correspondence which was to continue uninterrupted until AJ's death. The connection was however a
disappointment for Worm as far as his runic studies were concerned. There had never been any noteworthy use of runes in Iceland and the information that AJ and other Icelanders could provide had in reality only the slightest significance for Worm (Jakob Benediktsson 1951, 4:73).

Noteworthy or not, Arngrimur must have made Worm aware of the information in MG, and its significance for Worm in the absence of other sources on runes was considerable. Arngrímur's discussion of runes in Crymogrea, which, as we will see, is largely based on MG, was one of the main inspirations for Worm's study of Icelandic language and literature. Worm and Arngrímur corresponded regularly and Worm sought information from Arngrímur for his works on runes.

In Chapter 17 of Literatura Runica (1636), 'De literarum Runicarum divisionibus', Worm quotes from a letter from Arngrímur. The passage cited does not appear in any extant correspondence between them. It may have been part of an account of runes sent by Arngrímur to Worm in 1629, although the latter gives the date of the letter as 1626 (Jakob Benediktsson 1951, 2:16 and note). The section he chose, again, is clearly based on the runic chapters of MG, including a discussion of semivowels, the runes 'Knesol' (4) and 'Stungin Tyr' (1) and so on. The following passage is an example:

> Habemus ... decem consonantes, quibus adduntur $\mid \& \cap$ hoc est is $\&$ ur quoties fiunt consonantes ut in aliis lingvis, cujus hic expressa est mentio, \& quasi praceprum. Monet quoque Scalda Bid est Biarekan pro P usurpari; sed utroque ventre aperto, sic $B$. Hac igitur erit decima tertia consonans. Sed omissa est ex semivocalibus d id est Sol vel S , \& ex mutis Z , siquidem peculiarum habet figuram in Runicis, nempe 4 , \& nomen videlicet Knesol. (Worm 1636, 100-1)

> We have ten consonants, to which are added $\mid$ and $\cap$, that is, is and úr, which occur as often as consonants, as in other languages, of which mention is made here by way of advance notice as it were. The Skalda also instructs that Bid is used as Bjarkan in place of P , but with each 'belly' open, thus: B. This, then, will be the thirteenth consonant. But d, that is Sol or S, is omitted from the semivowels and Z from the mute (letters), since it has in runes a certain special shape, namely 4 , and name, that is knésol.

This compares to the following in MG:
Slikt hio fama ma ok greí-|na aठ̀ ıa radðar ftapíi ok u. hafa puí flerrí greíner at perr eru
 latinu ftaf, ok hefer fa runa ftafr .1. Dumba ftapi 1 ser pa er pat $\mid$ hloðar fyrer. en $n$ af
 pyrer.f. latínu ftaf ok z grozkan ftap ok kollum uer pat knefol ok sua er gost | ५. (W $96: 7-8$ ( $\$ 3.5), 97: 7-9(\$ 4 \cdot 9), 97: 3-5(\$ 4.6))$

Likewise, one can also distinguish other vowels, but $i$ and $v$ have further distinctions in that they are sometimes consonants ... There next stands B, and bjarkan is written in this way if it stands for the Latin letter $b$, and the runic letter has two mute letters itself when it is pronounced. And thus the bellows are made open in bjarkan when it is sounded as $p \ldots$ Here sól is placed first for the Latin letter s and the Greek letter $z$ and we call it 'knésol' when it is made like this: 4 .

Arngrímur's information is here clearly based on MG.

### 3.2. Ole Worm

### 3.2.I. MG and Literatura Runica

Worm received the Codex Wormianus from Arngrímur accompanied by a letter dated 4 September, 1628 (only the third letter he had sent to Worm), containing the words, 'Eddam et conjunctam Skalldam, qvia meus codex est, D. Wormio libenter concedo quamcunqve volet diu' (Jakob Benediktsson 1948, io) ['I grant this Edda and connected Skalda, since it is my book, willingly to Dr Wormius [to use] in whatever way he wants for a long time']. Worm never returned the manuscript, and must have taken Arngrimur's words to mean that the manuscript was then his. Regardless of Arngrímur's real intention in sending Worm the manuscript, Worm retained possession of the manuscript, and it is on that basis that it now bears his name. It was passed down in his family until his grandson presented it to Árni Magnússon in 170s and it has since formed part of the Arnamagnæan collection in Copenhagen (for more information, see section 4.2 below).

Ole Worm's Literatura Runica is one of the most significant texts of the early period of scholarship on medieval Scandinavia. Its influence was far-reaching and it was used by scholars well into the eighteenth century, among them, Paul-Henri Mallet and Thomas Percy. The work is divided into the main body (pp. 1-174) and its appendix ( $\mathrm{pp} .175-249$, 'Literarum Runicarum in Poesi usum uberius declarans'). Recent studies of Literatura Runica tend to concentrate on its appendix, which reproduces some significant works of Icelandic poetry. Scholars have not yet examined the main part of the work for its relation to its medieval sources, probably due to a relative lack of contemporary interest in early runology as compared to early literary studies. This lack of interest has meant that the contribution of MG to Literatura Runica has not been recognised in recent scholarship. The most recent discussion I have been able to find of the use of MG in Literatura Runica was in 1877, where Thorsen (1877, 32-3) discusses the citation of the Valdemar rune-phrase (see below) on page 74 of Literatura Runica. It is this phrase that is also the most frequently cited part of MG in the seventeenth century. I have yet to find a scholar since Thorsen who has identified more than the smallest extent of the contribution of MG to Literatura Runica.

MG is not used in the appendix to Literatura Runica, but it is one of the principal sources for the main part. Chapters II-I5, I7 and 24 of Literatura Runica are largely based on information from MG, particularly (and not surprisingly) its two chapters on runes. The chapters based on MG deal with the value, order, names, shape, pronunciation and ligatures of runes. The use of MG involves quotation (almost always transliterated into Worm's version of the runic alphabet or fupark), translation and paraphrase.

I will quote one example of Worm's text, taken from the third chapter of MG. The following section discusses vowels:

> IBRFIMY $\cap$ YH1 $I$ I. Id est: in Norvagico alphabeto ... quinque funt vocales, ut ur $\cap$, oss $\{$, is I , aar 1 , is vero quandoque pofitum eft pro E, quemadmodum Aleph \& Jod pro vocali in lingva Hebraica. (Worm 1636, 97-8)
> [Transliteration of runes: 'in noraenu stafrofi eru fim hliodstafir, suo ur $\cap$. oss 1 , is 1 , ar 1 , ok er stundum settir fyrir E , og er [ b$]$ a stundum suo sem ale[p]h e[סa] ioth settiar fyr [y] raddarstafrem i ebreisku madi.']

Worm himself is most likely not responsible either for the text or its translation: it appears that he had a very poor knowledge of the Icelandic language, and instead relied on visiting Icelanders for texts and translations (Jakob Benediktsson 1948, xvii), which is probably the case here. The text in W reads almost identically to the transliterated text quoted above:

I nozanu ftafrofí eru .u. hloox ftafer fua .ur. П off. $\ddagger \mid$ iss $\mid$. ar $\downarrow$ ok er iss ftundum fettr fyrer e ok er pa ftundum fua fem aleph e $\partial a$ 1oth, fetraz fyirer .1. radoar \| ftofum í ebrelku mall. (W 96:9-II; §3.6)

In the Norse alphaber there are five vowels called: úr $\cap$, óss $\{$, iss $I$, ár 1 and 'iss' is sometimes used for ' $c$ ', just as aleph or ioth are used for two vowels in the Hebrew language.

This follows the pattern of all quotations of MG with translation: an ofteninaccurate transcription of the text in $W$, transliterated into runes with a Latin translation. While the transcriber has correctly expanded the abbreviation for 'fyrir', he has not recognised the abbreviation of 'eða' ( $£$. .), and the translation bears the same error.

In the body of Literatura Runica, MG is the most extensively quoted of Worm's Old Norse sources. In fact, in the course of the work, Worm uses almost all the material dealing with runes in MG. All lengthy quotations in the body of Literatura Runica in Old Icelandic (always in runes) are indisputably taken from MG. The contribution of MG, however, was not limited to these citations.

### 3.2.2. MG in W and 'Runic' literature

The very title of Worm's book, Literatura Runica, indicates an assumption that the literature of medieval Scandinavia was written in runes and could, or should, therefore be referred to as 'runic'. There appears to be an assumption in Worm's scholarship that all Old Icelandic texts were originally written in runes, or at least that runes were the standard way of recording Old Icelandic. This assumption is evident throughout Literatura Runica and other texts influenced by it, and it is what motivated the transliteration of all Old Norse material into runes in Literatura Runica.

This theory about the use of runes in medieval writing may be based on a misconception about the usage of the word 'rune-' in compounds (here, as in the seventeenth century, usually translated as the adjective 'runic') as employed by medieval Scandinavians. Worm argued that 'runic' could apply more generally to the Old Norse language. MG appears to at least contribute to this misconception in Worm's interpretation of it. One example of this use of the word 'runic' in Literatura Runica occurs in a translation of a passage of MG: '... in Norvagico alphabeto (Norvagicum, Danicum, Runicum autori funt fynonima) ...' (Worm $1636,98) .5$ The text of MG here discusses the 'Danish' ('Norwegian' in A) language, and Worm is at pains to identify the subject as actually being Old Norse in general, hence including Danish. Further supporting material for this usage of the word 'runic' can be found earlier in Literatura Runica:

Hoc neutiquam praetereundum videtur, quod ab hifce Runis Lingva Danica antiquitus RПH $\Psi$ 世11ll Runa Maali, appellata fuerit, ut ex non uno loco Eddae \& Scaldae M:SS. ex Islandia ad nos delatorum, ad oculum demonftrari poteft. (Worm 1636, 32)

It seems an inescapable conclusion that the Danish language has, from ancient times, been called RnH- $\Psi 1|\Gamma|$ Runa Maali from these runes, as can be clearly seen from more than one place in the manuscripts of the Edda and Skalda that have been brought to us from Iceland. ${ }^{6}$

By 'Danish', Worm is referring to Old Norse in general, but his choice of this word is significant: it promotes the idea of the great antiquity of the Danish language, a concept that obviously appealed to a Danish scholar. Worm's claim that the term 'Runa Maali' ('rúnamál') occurs frequently in the manuscripts of Snorra Edda is somewhat exaggerated. MG is in fact the only text in the manuscripts of the Edda in which the term appears: once in AM 748 Ib 4 to and AM 757a 4to and twice in W. ${ }^{7}$

This reading of MG - that it is using runamál to refer to the Norse language - is questionable. It seems more likely that it is referring to the runic fupark:
[S]amhlioðendr eru .xij. íruna maxlí (W 96:19; $3 / 16$ )
There are twelve consonants in the runic alphabet.
 ok $z \mid$ rtaž 1 runa malí eða 1 poınu latınu ftaprofí. (W 97:5-6; $4 / 7)^{8}$

But $z$ has by nature the sound of two letters in itself, $d$ and sor $t$ and $s$ just as $x$ has the sound of two letters, $c$ and sor $g s$, and neither of these letters, $x$ or $z$, is written in runes or in the old Latin alphabet.

It is quite possible that Worm could have known about the occurrence of the term in A or a related manuscript, ${ }^{9}$ but it is W that he uses in the examples above, and this is evident from the rendering of long 'a' as the ligature ' $\mathfrak{a}$ ' in 'máli', which only occurs in W. Worm could not have been ignorant of the context in which the term rúnamál is used in MG: he quotes the first of the immediately preceding passages
(Worm 1636,85 ). However, the idea that 'runic' could refer to not just the early Germanic form of writing, but to the Norse language and its literature (and particularly its poetry), was highly influential. It is most likely that Worm was the originator of this more general usage of the word, and his inspiration, or at least justification, was probably MG, as we have seen above. MG is the only medieval text he refers to in attempting to explain his generalised usage of the word.

Worm first used 'runic' to apply to Old Norse literature before he acquired W. The term 'runic literature' ('literatura runica') seems to be used first in two letters of 1627, to Magnús Ólafsson and Dorlákur Skúlason (Jakob Benediktsson 1948, 3 and 282). However, it is quite possible that he had already seen $W$ before Arngrímur sent it to him. Arngrímur sent some manuscripts to Chancellor Friis at the same time as his first letter to Worm (in 1626), and W was probably among them (Jakob Benediktsson 1948, 1, 10 and 280). The two occurrences of rúnamál would have been easily identifiable to a scholar interested in material on runes, even without much knowledge of Old Icelandic. They occur within easily identifiable passages citing runes; they are not abbreviated; and each word in the compound rúnamál has Danish cognates. It is quite likely, then, that it was the wording of MG that led Worm to start using 'runic' in a more generalised way, or perhaps provided some justification or motivation for it.

### 3.2.3. Worm's fupark

As with Crymogea, there has not been an examination of what medieval texts may have contributed to the runic alphabet used ${ }^{10}$ in Literatura Runica. Also as in Crymogea, the fupark seems to be based on a combination of MG and the Rune Poem, but in this case, the Old Norwegian version.

The runes in Literatura Runica correspond to those in MG in W, with four exceptions, and these are at least in part due to deficiencies in W. The exceptions are Worm's use of ' $P$ ' for ' $d$ '; ' $h$ ' for ' $R$ ' (not in W - this rune is used for ' $y$ '); ' $B$ ' (' $K$ ' in W) for ' $p$ '; and ' 4 ' ('d' in $W$ and the Rune Poems) for 's'. All of these, apart from the last, can be explained at least in part by reference to the version of MG in W.

Crymogea represents the value of ' $p$ ' as ' $d$ ' and 'th', the latter occurring before a vowel (Jakob Benediktsson 1951, 2:27). However, Worm uses only the former value (except when transcribing $p$ ) to represent the rune. This decision was probably due to a deficiency in the version of MG in W (probably the only form that Worm had access to), that is, the only equivalent value given for the rune $P$ is б. This occurs in a sentence attributed to Valdemar II:

While ' $d$ ' is transcribed as 1 , in the absence of other information about the rune in question, Worm must have taken $P$ to have the value ' $d$ ' (by substituting ' $d$ ' for $\gamma$ ' in 'flyði'). This sentence may well have appeared to Worm to be a more accurate
source for a Latin equivalent for the letter than Arngrimur's work. Worm uses the unusual form A to represent ' $y$ ' in Literatura Runica, whereas both MG and the Old Norwegian Rune Poem have $h$. As discussed above, Worm eventually settled on the value of R for the latter rune, but this may have been partly due to the fact that the text of MG in W is not always clear about the rune for ' $y$ '. ' $h$ ' for ' $y$ ' only appears at one point in W (in the Valdemar sentence), having been omitted at various other locations where its presence is implied, and so Worm may have sought an alternative value. ${ }^{12}$

The use of ' $B$ ' for ' $p$ ' seems to arise from some confusion about the text of $M G$ in W, which discusses the form of 'bjarkan' for ' P ' ( $K$ ') without actually writing the rune ' $K$ ' in that context, as can be seen in the quotation above of a letter from Arngrímur in Literatura Runica (section 3.1.3). It is only the rune for ' $s$ ' which cannot be explained at least in part by reference to the text of $W$, and it seems to derive in Literatura Runica from the late Danish fupark. All other runes are either the same as those in W or seem to be a result of confusion over the text in W .

The fupark used in Literatura Runica is significant in that it is taken by later authors (with varying amounts of credulity) to be the way in which Old Norse texts were originally written. Percy, for example, reproduces a section of the Hofuðlausn of Egill Skallagrímsson on the title page of Five Pieces of Runic Poetry. The text of the poem is that of the Appendix to Literatura Runica, as are the runes that Percy uses to print it.

### 3.2.4. Seventeenth-century scholarship

While Worm's theories about runes as well as the overall project of Literatura Runica seem somewhat strange to the modern reader, they are very much part of a broader intellectual movement which was happening in the seventeenth century. The study of runes coincided with an increase in scholarly attention towards nonLatin scripts.

This tendency can be seen in the seventeenth-century works on runes and other texts which mention them. Worm's Literatura Runica is very much part of this scholarly tradition. Worm discusses at length the possible origins of Runes in Hebrew letters (an argument for which he finds support in MG - see section 3.1.5 of the Commentary); Resén, to take another example, in the introduction to his edition of Snorra Edda, discusses the various writing systems of Greek, Hebrew, Latin, hieroglyphics, and so on (pp. d iv-3v). Runes were seen as an example of another non-Latin script, which scholars were keen to link closely with the original and perfect language, usually thought to be Hebrew.

MG's influence on the scholarship of the eighteenth century is much less direct than on that of the seventeenth century. However, its indirect influence is considerable, particularly in relation to the theory that all Icelandic literature was orginally written in runes. The generalised usage of the word 'runic' - which was associated with this theory - became widespread and continued into the eighteenth and even the nineteenth centuries. It was taken up in England with some enthusiasm, as Seaton describes:

> Naturally the English writers on runes shared all the errors of their authorities, especially that strange notion of Wormius that all early medieval records and sagas had been originally written in runes, and should therefore be transliterated back again into runes for publication. ... Wormius's mistake also led to the application of the word 'runic' to the language as well as to the script ... (Seaton 1935, 229-30)

The Oxford English Dictionary (which attributes the origin of the generalised use of 'runic' to Worm) has citations in English from 1665 (although this is unlikely to be the earliest) to 185 I of 'runic' applying to the language and literature of medieval Scandinavia (Simpson and Weiner 1989, 14:269-70). ${ }^{13}$

William Warburton mentions runes in passing in his discussion of the origins of writing. He only deals with their supposed magical qualities, an aspect of runes which was of great interest in the previous century. The use of runes for magic, Warburton notes, had to be combated by those converting the Northern peoples to Christianity, and so the Latin alphabet was introduced (Warburton 1788, II:437-8). ${ }^{14}$ However, this shows an underlying assumption of the ubiquity of runes, that is, the runic alphabet had the same uses as the Latin alphabet had after its introduction. In fact, the introduction of the Latin alphabet considerably expanded the ways in which writing could be used.

Warburton's argument, that the use of writing for magic and concealment was incidental to the origin of writing (Warburton 1788, II:404 - see 2.5 above) does not apply well to runes. The meaning of the word 'rune' had already been established as having its origin in the sense of 'secret' or 'mystery'. The use of runes for this purpose was likely to have been fundamental to their origin, even if their later use was generally not for these purposes.

As we have seen (section 2.5 above), there was a significant shift in attitudes towards writing between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This intellectual shift had a fundamental effect on the way that MG was interpreted and the status of runes and runology. One aspect of this was that claims about the ubiquity and antiquity of runes became less important, and there was a greater emphasis on the literature rather than the writing systems of the medieval world. This did not mean that the claims for the ubiquity of runes were abandoned. Rather, there was less emphasis (although with some exceptions) on runes as providing a legitimate written tradition. Runic writing was in a way something closer to an oral literature - the belief that the Scandinavian literatures were
recorded in runes meant that the literature was independent of Latin learning and free from the cultivation and artifice that was, in this period, often associated with it.

The tension between writing as giving legitimacy as concrete record, and writing as artificial and unoriginal can be seen in the writings of a great many of the early historians of medieval literature. The English scholar Thomas Warton attempts to reconcile the two. In his History of English Poetry (1774), he associates the loss of runic writing in England in the Anglo-Saxon period with the loss of a native literature:

> But the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, which happened before the seventh century, entirely banished the common use of those characters [runes], which were esteemed unhallowed and necromantic; and with their antient superstitions, which yet prevailed for some time in the popular belief, abolished in some measure their native and original vein of poetic fabling ... the poems they have left us are chiefly moral rhapsodies, scriptural histories, or religious invocations. (Warton 1774, xli)

Runes are here associated with the 'native and original' literature before conversion. Other forms of writing, particularly Latin script, were associated with the opposite: artificiality. Thomas Percy, in his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765), separates literate 'poets' from 'minstrels' in the Anglo-Saxon period, the latter of whom produced oral compositions ( $\mathrm{p} . \mathrm{xv}$-xvi). By attributing the poems of his publication to the minstrels, he showed a clear preference for that group of authors over the 'poets'. Percy links the minstrels with the Norse skalds, who, in Five Pieces of Runic Poetry ( 1763 ), he assumes to have been literate in runes.

Provided with a 'runic' language and a 'runic' literature, the medieval Scandinavians could be seen to have had an ancient and written cultural tradition independent of Latin learning. By contrast, the idea that early Icelandic works were written in the Latin alphabet would have suggested that early Norse literature was in some way dependent on Latin learning. Having a unique written form meant not only that the literature was independent of Latin learning but also that there was 'hard' evidence for the written literature of medieval Scandinavia, that is, manuscript records of the literature, not just oral traditions. The antiquarian interest in Icelandic and other Scandinavian literatures was thus able to be supported by written evidence. In the eighteenth century, the value accorded to 'ancient' poetry came with an anxiety about the authenticity of such poetry, as witnessed by the controversy surrounding James Macpherson's Ossian poems. Thomas Percy's Five Pieces of Runic Poetry ( I 763 , iii and v ), for example, was in part a counter to the Ossian poems (Clunies Ross 1998, 70). While Percy does not dispute Worm's idea that 'runic' applied to the language, he does distance himself from it (Clunies Ross 1998, 67-8): 'The word Runic was at first applied to the letters only; tho' later writers have extended it to the verses written in them' (Percy ${ }_{1763}$, v-vi). The idea that the poems contained in Percy's edition were originally written in runes gave them some authenticity:

Though he spends little time on runes in the Preface, his reference to 'runic poetry' in the title of his work and the reproduction of several lines taken from Ole Worm's runic texts, draw attention to yet another claim to Icelandic poetry's authentic antiquity. (Clunies Ross 1998, 68)

It should be noted that not everyone in the eighteenth century held to extreme views about the nature of oral literature and runic writing. Eventually, in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the theory of runic ubiquity had to be abandoned, but its tenacity in the face of all sorts of cultural and intellectual changes is remarkable.

An increase in knowledge about the manuscript sources for Old Norse texts led to the demise of the 'runic literature' theory, although it still took some time for it to disappear altogether.

### 3.4. Nineteenth-century theories of runes

### 3.4.1. Björn Magnússon Ólsen

Björn Magnússon Ólsen, in Runerne i den oldislandske literatur (1883), presented again the Worm theory that Icelandic literature was originally recorded in runes. This was probably the last attempt by a reputable scholar to defend this theory.

In his introduction, Ólsen places himself within a long tradition of scholars who adhered to the theory of the ubiquitous use of runes, including Ole Worm and Jón Dorkelsson from scholarship before the nineteenth century, and from the nineteenth century, Engelstoft (I808), Gísli Brynjúlfsson (1823), Finn Magnusen, Konráx Gíslason ${ }^{15}$ and P G Thorsen (1877). I will be making reference to the last of these only, as Ólsen seems to have been particularly impressed with Thorsen's Om Runernes Brug til Skrift (1877). Concerning this work and his own, Ólsen states:

Jeg kan $\mathrm{på}$ forhånd i det vasentlige enklare mig for enig med Thorsen. Men da jeg til dels ad en anden vej er kommen til det samme resultat og spörsmalet desuden er af så stor vigtighed for den islandske literaturhistorie, så vil man vel nxppe finde det overflødigt, at jeg fremdrager det på ny og søger at belyse det fra flere sider (Ólsen 1883, 2).

I can from the outset declare myself essentially in agreement with Thorsen. But since I have come to the same conclusion in part in another way, and [since] the issue is of such great importance for Icelandic literary history, one will scarcely find it superfluous that I bring it to light anew and attempt to illuminate it from more angles.

Ólsen's main problem in trying to prove this thesis is the lack of Icelandic manuscripts written in runes, which he admits himself ( 1883,2 ). However, rather than seeing this problem as an obstacle, Ólsen considers the lack of any Icelandic manuscripts from before about iI5O as opening up the question to the discussion of other sources which might shed light on what alphabet these early manuscripts (if
there were that many) might have been written in.
The texts in the Codex Wormianus give the bulk of the foundation for the thesis, in particular, the Prologue to the grammatical treatises (which mentions one Dóroddr rúnameistari) and ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, in particular the rune-section of MG. The use of MG may in part derive from Thorsen's frequent reference to this text in Om Runernes Brug til Skrift. In spite of the obvious problems with the thrust of Ólsen's thesis in Runerne, his study of MG therein remains the most comprehensive and insightful to date. Many of these insights have been either ignored or never recognised, probably because of the spurious nature of the overall thesis. In this section I shall examine more closely Ólsen's arguments in relation to MG, with a view to further understanding the relationship between MG and this persistent but erroneous theory.

Ólsen argues that the Dóroddr rúnameistari mentioned in the Prologue to the grammatical treatises is the same as the Dóroddr Gamlason mentioned in Jóns saga ins belga (Ólsen 1883, 45).

The relevant section of the Prologue to the grammatical treatises is as follows:
Skal yorr sýna hinn fyrsta letrs hátt svá ritinn eptir sextán stafa stafrofi í danskri tungu, eptir pví sem póroddr rúnameistari ok Ari prestr hinn fróði hafa sett í móti látínumanna stafrófi, er meistari Priscianus hefir sett. (Ólsen 1884, 154 (normalised))

I will show you the first method of writing, written according to the sixteen-letter alphabet in the 'Danish' tongue, as Dóroddr rune-master and the priest Ari the learned have established in place of the alphabet of Latin men, which the scholar Priscian established.

Ólsen's argument is elaborate, but I shall summarise the main parts. He argues firstly that the section of the Prologue in which the sentence above is found was originally an introduction to ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, but was inserted in a more general prologue to all the grammatical treatises. It therefore refers to 3 GT and not to any other of the treatises in W (Ólsen $\left.1883, \varsigma_{1}\right) .{ }^{16} \mathrm{He}$ argues further that the following section in MG refers to the same two scholars mentioned in the above sentence of the Prologue:

> ok hafa pví hvárirtveggju meistarar vel ok náttúrliga skipat stọfunum í sínu máli. (§3.14)
> and thus both [Latin and Norse] scholars have distinguished well and in a natural way the letters in their language.

I have translated the above sentence as refering to two kinds of scholars (Latin and Norse) rather than two individuals. Given the context in which it occurs following a comparison of how Latin and Norse speakers order the vowels - the former interpretation seems more natural than to consider it as a reference to a text which is found in a separate place and in only one of the manuscripts of MG. It is still possible that there is some fairly close relationship between the middle section of the Prologue and MG. If this is the case, however, it is much more likely that the Prologue was written later as an introductory summary of the treatises which
follow, and the reference to the two twelfth-century scholars in the Prologue may be an interpolation of the above sentence in MG.

Ólsen does not discount Óláfr Pórðarson's authorship of MG. Instead, he thinks Óláfr is the author, but also that Óláfr drew upon an earlier work by Póroddr rúnameistari and perhaps also Ari porgilsson for the section on runes in MG. Ólsen believes the words 'hinn fyrsti letrs háttr' refer to runic writing, as evidenced by the reference to a sixteen-letter alphabet. This may well be the case, and it may well also be likely that the author of the Prologue is refering to some work of póroddr's which outlines a runic alphabet. The relationship with the rune-sections of MG, however, is much more a matter of conjecture - Ólsen's argument relies very much on his theory that this part of the Prologue was originally an introduction to MG.

Ólsen uses the reference to 'hinn fyrsta letrs hátt' in the Prologue as evidence, as it refers to the runic fupark, that runes were originally used for writing ( 1883,59 ). This is a fairly uncontentious claim: there is literary evidence (such as in Egils saga) to suggest that runes were used in Iceland before the Latin alphabet was introduced. However, Ólsen tries to extend this reading to suggest that the use of runes was ubiquitous, although he does admit that it does not necessarily suggest runes were used for writing manuscripts. ${ }^{17}$

Ólsen's reading of the runic chapters of MG is also used to support his theory of runic ubiquity. He firstly refutes the claim that the text originally did not contain the runic chapters (Ólsen 1883, 67-69), an argument which is outlined in more detail in the section below on the manuscripts (4.3). He then goes on to make further additions to back up his theory that the runic sections of MG are based on an earlier work by pobroddr rúnameistari.

To this end, he argues that some parts of the runological section are based on Óláfr's own knowledge of runes, particularly from Denmark, but that other parts are based on a twelfth-century source, namely that of Dóroddr. This, he argues, explains some inconsistencies in the text: that the additional runes ( K P 14 ) are not mentioned at all in the earlier section. The section on diphthongs ( $\$ 4.12-17$ ), he argues, is also twelfth-century, backed up by a lengthy phonological argument.

However, Ólsen is simply exploiting apparent inconsistencies in the text which could easily have a simpler explanation. The four additional runic consonants were seen as simply derivatives of the runes from which they were formed ( $B Y 1$ d, respectively) and their names reflect this conception - $K$ does not have a separate name, and the names for the others are all based on the name for the basic rune. Likewise, his arguments concerning the diphthongs are based on particular readings of what the runic diphthongs actually represent, when this is not clear: some seem to be digraphs and others diphthongs (see Commentary sections 3.2.5-7).

What is contentious here is not so much the varyingly dubious arguments that Ólsen proposes to back up the theory that MG's runic chapters have a twelfth-
century Icelandic source, but that this is somehow evidence that in the early stages of Icelandic writing runes were used for writing in manuscripts. Even if there were some twelfth-century text which outlined an alternative orthography for Icelandic based on the runic alphabet, it does not follow that it was used or even intended for widespread use. After all, we have an extant twelfth-century text - namely, iGT - which outlines an alternative orthography, for which, however, there is no evidence that it was ever adopted. If there is no evidence to show that the orthographical reforms of IGT, a text of whose existence we are certain and whose reforms were comparatively conservative, were not adopted, why should we consider that Dóroddr's reforms, the existence of which is somewhat dubious and whose reforms would have been far more radical, would have been adopted?

Ólsen's theory, while the same as that of many who came before him, was based on the very different evidence of the text of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$. Thorsen, for example, draws heavily on Worm for his observations on 3 GT (Thorsen 1877, 30-33). Both authors note that MG seems to conflate the adjectives Danish, Norwegian and 'runic' when referring to the Icelandic language and runic alphabet. Thorsen, like Worm, seems to assume runic ubiquity from the outset. Such usages in MG, then, appear to make sense - these words are synonymous because runes were the way in which the language was written. Such observations do not constitute arguments for the ubiquity of runes; they are based already on this assumption.

Ólsen, to his credit, attempted to argue for the ubiquity of runes with a more open mind. However, he does still fall prey to relying a priori on the assumption of ubiquity, and gathering evidence around such an assumption.

### 3.4.2. Conclusions

There was obviously considerable interest in the theory of runic ubiquity from the early seventeenth century right through to the end of the nineteenth century. This was, however, often outside mainstream scholarship, particularly in the later period. While Ólsen was a respected authority on grammatical literature, his theories concerning the use of runes had little currency. The ubiquity theory was accepted throughout the period by many scholars, but interest in supporting the theory itself occurs mainly in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The eighteenth century seems to have had other interests in the purpose of such writing.

Ólsen's (and Thorsen's) attempts to show that the texts of all early Icelandic authors were originally written in runes represents a preoccupation fundamentally different from that of the eighteenth century - in that period, it did not matter so much how the texts were transmitted from their authorship to the surviving manuscripts, but rather that the texts themselves represented the original views of the medieval Icelanders and were authentically old. In many ways, a textual tradition represented something artificial and learned, although being written in
runes did not necessarily cast the texts in this sort of light. But overall, in the eighteenth century, scholars were willing to accept that the texts either survived through an oral tradition or were preserved in a native written form (such as in runes), and to just get on with dealing with the texts themselves rather than their manuscript traditions (closer examination of which would have led more scholars to abandon Worm's theory).

Scholarly interest in runes and attempts to argue for the ubiquitous use of runes tend to occur outside the periods which are characterised by an interest in writing in general, namely the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. Consequently, interest in MG also wanes in these periods. MG itself could perhaps be seen as part of a similar movement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the twelfth century, there was less interest in writing, and it was seen as secondary to voice or speech, as shown by the quotation from John of Salisbury above, but in the thirteenth century, writing and systems and patterns of writing became more interesting to scholars. On the continent, we can see this in works such as those by Ramon Llull and others, where writing becomes something of interest in itself. Likewise, in Denmark, runes were gaining a great deal of interest, as shown by the runic formula of Valdemar II which Óláfr quotes (§4.5). In Iceland, discussions of language in the twelfth century are most characterised by the First Grammatical Treatise, which attempts to make the writing of Icelandic a closer representation of speech. In contrast, Ólsen's work, like that of Worm, belongs to a period where writing was highly valued as a topic of study for its own sake. The functions of writing - that it makes utterances lasting and extensive - were applied to medieval runes, arguing that they had far greater antiquity and ubiquity than any evidence suggests.

### 3.5. Other modern scholarship

There has been a certain amount of scholarship since the nineteenth century on MG and 3 GT - much of this is not related to runology and thus has not been discussed above. A great deal of the scholarly activity focusing on MG and ${ }_{3} G T$ is found in the editions of the nineteenth century. As these studies of the text are generally early, they will be discussed first.

### 3.5.I. Editions

There have been six editions of MG prior to the present one. These are (in chronological order): Rask 18ı8; Sveinbjörn Egilsson 1848; Jón Sigurðsson et. al. 1852; Björn M. Ólsen r884; Finnur Jónsson 1927 and Krömmelbein 1998.

Rask's edition (1818) of Snorra Edda includes the text of 3 GT and 4 GT (1818, 297-353), but does not distinguish the two works. His text is based on a copy of W only, and is consequently inferior (Ólsen 1884, lxiii).

Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1848) similarly includes the text of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ as material appended to his edition of Snorra Edda. He identified A as the best ms. of the treatise, and used it as the basis of his edition. For the material missing in A, Sveinbjörn Egilsson's edition tends to favour B over W, and consequently it sometimes reads better than Ólsen's edition. While this edition is the best prior to Ólsen's, it has some deficiencies. The text is generally quite good, but lacks textual or critical apparatus. Manuscript readings are often selected somewhat arbitrarily, or with a tendency towards shorter readings. Occasionally the edition reorders or omits words or phrases without explanation or makes other unnecessary emendations (such as in §r.4). Sveinbjörn Eglisson's readings are included here in the textual apparatus (siglum ' $S$ ') when they differ from $A$; or in the section missing in $A$, they are included when they differ from the present Edition's text.

The Arnamagnæan edition of Snorra Edda includes, in the second volume, all the related grammatical material found in Snorra Edda mss. The edition of ${ }_{3}$ GT by Jón Sigurðsson ( 1852 ) is based on W; there are also transcriptions of the treatise in mss $A$ and $B$, although the abbreviations are not indicated. The transcription of A is quite accurate, but that of B contains a number of errors, as will be discussed below (section 4.3). The edited text contains some Latin source material, mostly from Priscian, Donatus and Isidore. There is also a parallel Latin translation of the treatise. The Arnamagnæan edition, however, suffers from its use of $W$ as the base manuscript - surprising, perhaps, given that Sveinbjörn Egilsson had already established that A contains the best text. The textual apparatus is also somewhat limited.

Ólsen's edition of 3 GT and ${ }_{4} G T$ (1884) was the first to be published independently of Snorra Edda. Ólsen also included a detailed introduction which treated the topics of Icelandic grammatical literature, the manuscripts and other matters in great detail. The edition is a diplomatic text based on $A$, and there is also a diplomatic text of the version of the treatise in W. Ólsen also identified many sources and analogues to the text in addition to Priscian and Donatus, and was greatly assisted in this project by the publication of Thurot's Notices et extraits ( 869 ). His edition generally is very good, but there are still some problems. While Ólsen was not a particularly intrusive editor by the standards of his time, many of his readings show the influence of the earlier editions which used $W$ as their base text. He also relies on Jón Sigurठsson's reading of B, which is frequently incorrect.

Ólsen's edition is very good, and has consequently been used as the basis of two editions since. However, it is not without problems. Ólsen did not make an original transcription of $B$, instead relying on the inaccurate transcription of Jon Sigurosson. Although Ólsen did claim to have checked parts of that transcription, he failed to detect the extent of its inaccuracy (see 4.3 below). This has several consequences. Because of the inaccurate nature of the transcription of $B$, it has led to some variant readings being included in the apparatus, which are not in fact variants. Consequently, Ólsen's stemma for ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ has B in a separate branch of
transmission from A and W, whereas, as I argue in section 4.5 below, B is fairly closely related to A. On the basis of his stemma, Ólsen often uses readings from W rather than B, even when the latter makes as much or more sense. Thus, in the parts of the text where A is missing, Ólsen's text is often deficient. The present edition makes reference to Ólsen's text (siglum ' $O$ ') where it reads differently from the edited text.

Despite the otherwise unnormalised text, curiously, when readings are used from B and W, Ólsen alters the text so that it has the same orthography as A. This includes using ' $x$ ' for ' e ' in some words such as ' $x$ ' (er), but not in words such as sem which have ' $x$ ' in A but not in B and W. A normalised edition would avoid the inconsistencies that arise from taking an approach to spelling such as that of Ólsen.

Finnur Jónsson 1927 is such a normalised edition of 3 GT. The edition and apparatus are basically those of Ólsen's edition, but normalised and simplified. The sources and analogues, likewise, are mostly taken from Ólsen, although an occasional additional text is identified. Finnur Jónsson chooses some different readings from Ólsen's, but these tend to be more intrusive, using B and W more readily when A's text is as good. The short introduction, too, is heavily dependent on Ólsen's work. In short, Finnur Jónsson's edition adds little to the scholarship, textual or otherwise, on MG and creates some problems of its own. There is, therefore, some scope for a new normalised edition of 3 GT .

Krömmelbein's 1998 edition is also based on Ólsen's. It presents in parallel Ólsen's edited text and the text in W, together with a German translation. Krömmelbein has added some additional analogous material, particularly from Donatus, some of which is reproduced here. However, many of the adduced sources or analogues are somewhat remote or unlikely, or are themselves the basis of identifiable closer sources (as is the case with some of the material from Donatus, much of which was adapted by Priscian). Like Finnur Jónsson, Krömmelbein preserves the erroneous readings of B which date back to the Arnamagnxan edition of Snorra Edda. The dependence of this edition on Ólsen's textual scholarship make it subject to the same problems I have identified with Ólsen's edition.

Krömmelbein's introduction contains a discussion of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ in the context of medieval Scandinavian poetics, particularly that found in Snorra Edda. It also discusses the material in the first chapter on the categorisation of sound, which had previously been the subject of almost no scholarly work. However, there is no mention of the Summulae logicales of Petrus Hispanus as the likely source for this material, the identification of which was first made by Raschellà ( 1982 , inon).

No edition since Jón Sigurठsson's has utilised a new and accurate reading of B. The present edition provides a normalised text of MG based on A and new readings of all the medieval manuscripts of 3 GT. While there is an unpublished English translation of Málskrữofrraði (in Collings 1967), prior to the present edition there have been no translations of MG into English.

### 3.5.2. Commentaries

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, most attention to The Third Grammatical Treatise has focused on the second part. The Foundation of Grammar has largely been seen as based fairly uncritically on its Latin sources and providing little original material. On the other hand, the material on poetics and the citations of skaldic verse in Málskrúøsfraði have generated a fair amount of interest for modern scholars, particularly in recent years.

I do not wish to discuss at length scholarship dealing specifically with Málskrúðsfreði. Rather, the following is restricted to material dealing specifically with MG or which has some bearing on the reading of MG, although I will make some mention of recent scholarship on Málskrúðsfreðzi.

There has been something of a resurgence of interest in ${ }_{3} G T$ in the last ten to fifteen years, resulting in a number of articles dealing exclusively with the text, one edition and frequent treatment of 3 GT in a number of books and articles. Much of the recent work on ${ }_{3} G T$ has been done by Italian scholars, mostly on the Latin traditions and the second part of the treatise.

Fabrizio D Raschellà's edition of ${ }_{2}$ GT (1982) discusses a few issues relating to MG. He reassesses the relative chronology of 2 GT and ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, coming to the conclusion that ${ }_{3} G T$ was written before 2 GT (130). This is based on a phonological argument concerning diphthongs mentioned in the fourth chapter of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$. He examines this section of MG ( $\$_{4.17}$ ) further in the recent article, 'Vowel change in thirteenth-century Icelandic: A first-hand witness' (2000). In his edition of 2 GT , Raschellà also notes that Finnur Jónsson believed 2 GT and ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ to be virtually contemporaneous. Important, too, to the present study, is that Raschelld suggests the thirteenth-century authors Petrus Hispanus and Roger Bacon as possible sources for the first chapter of MG (1982, inon). He also examines at length the technical terminology of 2 GT and how it relates to that of IGT and ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ ( $1982,114-12 \mathrm{I}$ ). This examination of the terminology is one of the few instances where MG is discussed in terms of its indigenous elements.

Raschellà's article, 'Rune e alfabeto latino nel trattato grammaticale di Óláfr porðarson' (1994) is perhaps the only article this century which deals at length with the runological material in MG. I discuss this article at length in section 3 of the commentary.

Valeria Micillo's 'La terminologia tecnica nel Terzo trattato grammaticale islandese' deals principally with MG. She argues that the audience of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ must have been fairly well-educated and knowledgeable, in contrast to the intended audience of Ælfric's grammar ( $\mathbf{1 2 6 - 7}$ ). Micillo goes on to discuss the relationship between the terms used in MG and the Latin terms upon which they are based.

Gísli Sigurbsson is one of the few scholars who have looked at $3 G T$ for the evidence it might provide about the oral literary culture of thirteenth-century

Iceland. His article 'Ólafur pórðarson hvítaskáld og munnleg kvxðahefó á vesturlandi um miðja 13 . öld: Vitnisburður vísnadxmanna í 3 . málfrxðiritgerðinni' (1993 and 2000) looks at the citations of skaldic verse in the second part of the treatise to show that oral knowledge of sagas and poetry may have been more localised than previously thought. This article, again, is concerned only with the second part of the treatise.

There has thus been some scholarship in the last decade which deals specifically with MG, although the major part of recent work has been on Málskrúððfraði. Ólsen's studies of MG (in 1883 and 1884 ) still remain the most comprehensive to date, in spite of his theory concerning the use of runes.

### 3.6. Conclusions

MG was one of the earliest medieval texts to be the subject of scholarship outside Iceland in the modern era. It generated interest largely because of the section on runes contained in it, which is unique in medieval Scandinavian literature for its comparison with the Latin alphabet and its provision of other information on runes.

The theories of the antiquity and ubiquity of runes are strongly associated with scholarship of MG. The two most notable proponents of the theory of ubiquity, Ole Worm and Björn M. Ólsen, are both heavily reliant on 'evidence' in MG to support their claims that medieval Icelandic manuscripts were written in runes. Although those two scholars approach the issue from very different perspectives, and their readings of MG focus on different aspects, they come to the same conclusion: MG provides good evidence that the Icelanders used runes extensively to record their literature.

Such theories, however, have little to do with the known uses of runes; nor do they have much to do with reasonable readings of the text of MG. They simply represent a desire to promote runes as having a greater age and significance in medieval Iceland than they appear to have had in reality. This had patriotic significance - by giving the Icelandic language and literature a native written form, it promoted further its independence from Latin and its antiquity. Although Arngrímur Jónsson does not appear to have subscribed to the same theories as Worm, his use of the text of MG in Crymogea was no doubt to this same end.

Also of note is the absence of scholarship on MG apart from these works promoting the antiquity and ubiquity of runes (although there are a couple of recent exceptions). This is in many ways parallel with the lack of research into the runological material in Worm's Literatura Runica - both represent a lack of interest in the history of runology, despite interest in both runes and the history of linguistics.

Lack of interest in the history of runology can probably be ascribed to the often spurious nature of the scholarship, which is evidenced in the material
presented above. However, runology was for a very long time a central part of medieval Scandinavian studies. Further, the early theories concerning runology, dubious as they were, influenced the early study of Icelandic literature to a great extent and contributed to its popularity.

## 4. Manuscripts

There are four medieval manuscripts, $\mathrm{AM}_{748} \mathrm{Ib} 4$ to (A), AM 242 fol. (W), AM 757 a 4 to (B) and AM 757 b 4 to (w), containing all or part of 3 GT . For comparison, ${ }_{2}$ GT survives in two manuscripts (Codex Wormianus and Codex Upsaliensis) and the other Icelandic grammatical works (excluding Snorra Edda) survive only in the Codex Wormianus, except for $\varsigma G T$, of which only a fragment survives in A. This perhaps indicates that ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ was the most popular of the grammatical treatises in medieval Iceland. There are also some early modern paper manuscripts containing MG, but none of these are independent witnesses to the text. The medieval manuscripts will be discussed in chronological order. I will then discuss the transmission of the text of MG in these manuscripts.

## 4.I. $\mathrm{AM}_{748 \mathrm{Ib}}$ 4to (A)

748 Ib 4 to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík
Physical description: 205 x 152 mm ; 22 leaves
Date: 1300-1325
Provenance: unknown
Kålund ( $1889, \mathrm{II}: 174$ ) gives the date c. 1300 ; Wessén ( 1945,14 ) argues that on paleographic evidence, the manuscript was probably written between 1300 and 1325 . A facsimile was published in 1945 , with an introduction by Wessén. AM 748 Ib 4to has also been described in detail by Ólsen ( (1884, xlvii-lii), Faulkes (1998, I:xliv-xlv) and Guðrún Nordal (2001, $57-64$ ). Jón Sigurðsson ( $1852,397 \mathrm{ff}$ ) has a transcription of the text in A .

The manuscripts now known as AM 748 Ia , Ib and II 4 to were given to Árni Magnússon in 169I by the Rev. Halldórr Torfason. Torfi Jónsson, father of Halldór, was nephew and heir to Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson at Skálholt, and it is possible that the manuscripts belonged to the bishop, who also owned the Codex Regius of the Elder Edda, and the R and U manuscripts of Snorra Edda (Wessén 1945, II). Wessén, however, raises doubts as to whether the whole manuscript belonged to Bishop Brynjolfur - on fol. ısr, there is a list of people and farms in Borgafjörður in the seventeenth century, suggesting the manuscript was in that area at the time (Wessén 1945, II).

These manuscripts were originally bound together in the one volume. It was separated into two parts by Árni Magnússon to form AM 748 I and II 4to. These two parts are quite clearly separate manuscripts - they both contain a version of Skáldskaparmál and the Pulur. More recently, AM 748 I 4to was divided into two manuscripts - Ia containing the first quire and Ib forming the second quire. Both parts are internally consistent, but the relationship between them is not so clear. While it appears that Ia and Ib are written in the same hand, the script in the former is larger and the layout of the page different (Wessén 1945, 14). AM 748 Ia 4 to contains mythological poems, some of which are also found in the Codex Regius of the Elder Edda: this fragment remains in the Arnamagnæan collection in Copenhagen.

The following is a list of the contents of the three gatherings in manuscript $A$.

Table 2: Contents of MS A

| Quire | Folios | Contents | Preservation of quire |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I (1-8) | Ir/1-8 | 5 GT (end) | 2 leaves lost after fols 2 \& 6 |
|  | Ir/9-8v/5 | 3GT |  |
|  | 8v/6-8 | Passage attributing authorship of 3 GT to Óláfr |  |
| 2 (9-16) | 8v/9-9v/23 | Litla Skálda | fully preserved |
|  | 9v/24-34 | Fenrisúlfr |  |
| $\sqrt{3(17)^{-}}$ | 9v/34-17r/19 | Skáldskaparmál | last 2 leaves are lost |
|  | 177/20-22r/9 | pulur |  |
|  | 225/10-11 | a Latin sentence |  |
|  | 225/12-22V | Íslendingadrápa (end missing) |  |

Like most manuscripts of Snorra Edda, A also contains various grammatical texts. The fragmentary work known as the Fifth Grammatical Treatise, immediately before ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, is not found elsewhere. Litla Skálda is a short treatise containing a list of kennings; this and Fenrisúlfr are also found in B. The version of Skáldskaparmál following these texts is considerably reduced and reorganised compared with that found in other manuscripts of Snorra Edda. The three gatherings, setting aside the missing leaves in the first gathering, were clearly written consecutively and are connected (Wessén 1945, 14).

A uses coloured inks extensively for headings and initials, including red, a dark red and green - these are shown in the electronic version of the edition. Verses are marked in the margin. The text also contains headings for some of the chapters all of the chapter headings in the present edition are taken from A. Guorún Nordal suggests that these features may indicate that the manuscript was used as a reference book (2001, 62). Nordal also lists in detail the places where green ink is used (2001, 62-63).

The present edition uses A as its base manuscript, as does Ólsen and the other editors who have used his edition as the basis of their own.

### 4.2. Codex Wormianus (W)

242 fol., Det Arnamagnæanske Institut, Copenhagen
Physical description: $280 \times 202 \mathrm{~mm} ; 63$ parchment and 22 paper leaves
Date: 1350-70 (S. Nordal 1931, 5 \& 15)
Provenance: Dingeyrar, northern Iceland (Johansson 1997, 16)
Of all the manuscripts of MG, W has received the most scholarly attention. It has been published in facsimile (S. Nordal 1931) and is described in detail there; also by Ólsen (1884), Finnur Jónsson (1924 - a diplomatic editon of Snorra Edda in W), Hreinn Benediktsson (1972, 16-19) and Johansson (1997 - a detailed study of the composition of the manuscript).

The history of the ownership of W up to the time of Árni Magnússon has been given above at the beginning of sections 3.1 and 3.2 , and is also covered in other editions of the texts it contains (Finnur Jónsson 1924, i; S. Nordal 1931, 1720; Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 17; Raschellà 1982, 15-16). To recapitulate, Jón Sigmundsson ( $1450-1520$ ), whose name appears as 'Jon Sigm' in the margin of page in7, is probably the earliest known owner of the manuscript. It passed through his daughter, Helga, to her son, Bishop Gurbbandur Dorláksson ( $1542-1627$ ), who then left it to the scholar Arngrimur Jónsson. However, Hreinn Benediktsson (1972, 17) has questioned the reading of Jon Sigmundsson's name. Ole Worm took possession of the manuscript after Arngrimur sent it to him, based on a dubious interpretation of a letter from Arngrímur (see section 3.2.I above). Ole Worm's grandson, Christian, gave the manuscript to Árni Magnússon in 1706. W is the only medieval manuscript of MG (or indeed Snorra Edda) to remain in the Arnamagnean collection in Copenhagen following the return of manuscripts to Iceland between 1973 and 1997.

W was the first manuscript of MG to be referred to extensively after the Middle Ages. We know a lot more about its history before the time of its eponymous owner, Ole Worm, than we do about the other MG manuscripts. There has also been much work done on this manuscript, including an edition of the version of Snorra Edda in it (Finnur Jónsson 1924), a facsimile edition (S. Nordal 1931) and Karl G. Johansson's detailed study of the manuscript (1997). As we have seen above, $W$ was also referred to extensively by scholars in the early stages of the study of Old Icelandic language and literature, especially in the seventeenth century.

W is the only medieval manuscript of Snorra Edda of folio size. It is written in the same large, tidy hand throughout and the scribe is responsible for a number of
other manuscripts (cf. Johansson 1997, 66ff). The legibility of the text probably contributed to its popularity in early Old Icelandic scholarship. W preserves a few texts not found elsewhere, including expanded sections of Snorra Edda (although these are not generally considered to belong to the main MS tradition), the prologue to the grammatical treatises, IGT, 4GT and Rigsbula. Where a text in W is also found in another manuscript, most editors have not preferred the version in W - in many instances the compiler or author of W has added what are considered interpolations to the accepted text. This is not the case with ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, except in one or two minor instances. Although $A$ is now considered to have the best version of MG, all editors prior to Ólsen (I884) based their texts on W.

The contents of W are as follows (see also Johansson 1997, 29 and G. Nordal 2001, 55-56).

Table 3: Contents of MS W

| Quire | Folios | Contents | Preservation of quire |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I ( $\mathrm{I}-8$ ) | Ir | empty | complete |
|  | Iv-4v/19 | Prologue to Snorra Edda |  |
| 2 (9-16) | 48/20-20r | Gylfaginning | complete |
| 3 (17-24) | $2 \mathrm{v}-3 \mathrm{~V}$ | Skáldskaparmál | complete |
| 4(25-32) |  |  | complete |
| 5 (33-40) | 36r | Prologue to the grammatical treatises | complete |
|  | $36 \mathrm{v}-39 \mathrm{v}$ | IGT |  |
| 6 (41-47) | 40r-4iv/7 | 2 GT | complete |
| 7 7 48 -54) | 4v/8-50r/17 | 3GT | complete |
|  | 50r/18-54r | 4GT |  |
|  | 54 V | originally empty |  |
| 8 (55-60) | 5sr-6ov | Hátatal | originally 8: first and last leaves missing |
| 9(6) | 61 | Ríspula | a single leaf |
| $\begin{aligned} & 10(62- \\ & 63) \text { ( } \end{aligned}$ | 62-63r | Okennd beiti | 2 leaves |
|  | 63 v | originally empty |  |

There are some decorated capitals used to mark new chapters and texts, including a large ' $h$ ' at the beginning of $M G$ and ' $s$ ' at the beginning of chapter 2 . The other capitals in MG have been left blank.

The grammatical material in $W$ has a large number of glosses, particularly in ${ }_{2} \mathrm{GT}$ and ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$. They are perhaps most concentrated on the pages containing MG. Árni Magnússon's hand is identifiable on p. 99 (44r), line 22, where he has corrected the text. The vast majority of the marginalia are in the hand of Jón

Ólafsson frá Grunnavík (I705-I779), a scholar who played an important role in the history of runology. His marginalia include chapter headings, some of which are taken from A (the headings for chapters 2 and 4); minor headings, usually Latin translations of the Icelandic; marginal notes in Icelandic and Latin summarising or otherwise pointing to the contents; Latin glosses for grammatical terms, especially in the last chapter; glosses for runes; cross-references to other parts of the manuscript and to other manuscripts; and punctuation, particularly in the form of commas (his commas are included in the diplomatic text below).

### 4.3. AM 757 a 4to (B)

757 4to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík
Physical description: $210 \times 150 \mathrm{~mm}$; 14 leaves
Date: c. 1400 (Kålund 1889, II:179)
Provenance: unknown - northern Iceland?
No facsimile of $B$ has been published, and there has been little work done on the text. Jón Sigurðsson 1852 and Björn M. Ólsen ( 1883 and 1884) discuss the composition of the manuscript. More recently, Faulkes (1998, I:xlv-1) and Guðrún Nordal (2001, 64-66) have discussed the manuscript in detail.

The manuscript was in very poor condition when it came into Árni Magnússon's possession. He received it from Ásgrímur Magnússon at Höfठi, according to a note by Árni in AM 739 4to (Kålund 1889, II:I79). It is very dark and contains many holes and other damage. The hand is tiny (about 50 lines per small quarto page) and quite unusual - for example, the shape of ' $e$ ' appearing several times in the image below. ${ }^{18}$ The manuscript is a palimpsest, with the original script near impossible to decipher. All of these factors make it a very difficult manuscript to read.

The first published text of the version of MG in B is in Jón Sigurðsson's edition of 1852 . Ólsen used this edition for his text of B in his own edition, stating that he had not enough time to make his own transcription of the manuscript while in Copenhagen, but that he had made comparison of Jon Sigurosson's text with a small passage from the manuscript and found it to be correct (Ólsen 1884, lv). There are however, numerous minor errors in Jón Sigurठsson's edition, and at least one major one in the first section: the following word which is on the fifth line of the first page of $B$ :

... hlutum en annat af ...
[hr]ėrilegum fkepnum en ...
Granted, this is a very badly damaged manuscript and a difficult script. Even so, Jón Sigurosson and all subsequent editors have recorded this as a variant reading from the other manuscripts, which have 'skepnum', and transcribed it as 'hlutum'. I have taken the above to read (filling in the holes) 'skepn ${ }^{\text {m' }}$ (skepnum). There is clearly a descender on the fourth character and there is no indication of a ' $u$ ' in the manuscript. It is thus highly unlikely to be 'hlutum'. Ólsen reproduces this error and many others, as do subsequent editors following him (that is, Finnur Jónsson 1927, 20 and Krömmelbein 1998, 38). While no emendation is made on the basis of major errors such as the one above, the misreadings in Jón Sigurðsson's edition tend to give the impression that the text of B is not very closely related to that of A. This influenced how Ólsen established the stemma (the stemma will be discussed in detail in the next section) and thus indirectly affected his edited text based on such a stemma. I have therefore found it necessary to make my own transcription of B , on which the readings in the edition are based.

The contents of B are similar to those of A (G. Nordal 2001, 64; Faulkes 1998, I:xlvii):

Table 4: Contents of MS B

| Quire | Folios | Contents | Preservation of quire |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I (1-9) | 1-3r/4 | 3GT | I leaf missing after 5 |
|  | 3r/5-3v/18 | Litla Skálda |  |
|  | 3v/18-25 | Fenrisulifr |  |
|  | $3 \mathrm{v} / 25-8 \mathrm{r} / 2$ | Skáldskaparmál |  |
|  | 8r/3-9v | pulur (end missing) |  |
| 2 (10-11) | 1or/r-38 | Heilagsandavíur | complete |
|  | 100/39-1ir/38 | Leirarusian |  |
| 3 (12) | Iri/39-12r/42 | Liknarbraut | complete |
| 4 (13) | 122/43-13v/18 | Harmsól | complete |
|  | 13v/r8-end | Mariudrápa and Gyðingsvísur |  |

The text of Skáldskaparmál in B is similar to that of A: reordered selections of the full text. Guðrún Nordal argues that A and B show that Skáldskaparmál is not necessarily a consistent part of the Edda as it is transmitted in R, W and U, but a text defined in the context of other writings on skaldic diction, the ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, Litla Skálda and the Dulur' (G. Nordal 2001, 65; see also Faulkes 1998, I:xlvii-xlviii).

The manuscript is also interesting for what it omits from ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}, \mathrm{MG}$ in particular, as compared with the text in $A, W$ and $w$. The following list of omissions from MG is based on the list of omissions in Ólsen (1884, lvi):

- §r.9: a small reference to Plato regarding the stars;
- §3.2: the number of letters in the 'Norse tongue' (i.e. the runic fupark) and a comparison with Greek;
- §3.5: gives the name for the rune for consonantal ' $u$ ' (venð);
- §3.6-19: the first part of the section on runes;
- §4.r: makes sense only with reference to the above passage which has been omitted;
- $\S 4.5^{-22}$ : the last part of the section on runes;
- $\S 5.14$ : a defective sentence which only occurs in W;
- §5.31: a remark that some features of the syllable will not be discussed at length because they are not very relevant to skaldic poetry.

And from 3 GTb , the following is omitted (Ólsen's numbering):

- ch. io (first chapter): introduction to the second part, with a short euhemerist argument based on Snorri;
- ch. II (2-4): explanation and derivation of the word barbarismus;
- ch. I2-16 (the rest of the treatise).

The principal omissions are the runological material and most of Málskrúðsfraði. Jón Sigurðsson in the Arnamagnæan edition of Snorra Edda put forward the argument that B provides a more coherent and original text of the treatise and that the parts not found in $B$ (the material on runes and parts of Málskrúdsfreठ̊i) were later additions incorporated into the other manuscripts. Ólsen, in both Runerne $i$ den oldislandske literatur ( 1883,67 ) and again in his edition ( 1884, lvi-lviii) argues that this is not the case - the structure in $B$ is in fact further from the original than that in $A$ and $W$, evidenced by the coherent nature of the text of MG as it is found in the other manuscripts and the consistent use of Priscian throughout the longer redaction in $A$ and $W$ ( 1883,68 ). Ólsen's account has been generally accepted.

Ólsen's interpretation of the omissions from ${ }_{3} G T$ is thus:
Ser man på udeladelserne i denne forste del, falder det straks i öjnene, at de systematisk går ud over alt det, som har en national karakter og som giver også denne del af afhandlingen dens islandske sarprag. (Ólsen 1884, lvii)

> If one considers the omissions in the first part, it is immediately apparent that they systematically omit everything which has a national character and which also gives this part of the treatise its distinctive Icelandic stamp.

While I agree that the abridgement of the text is systematic, I disagree with this assessment of the nature of the omissions as simply material which gives a 'distinctive Icelandic stamp'. Firstly, there are a few things that escape the redactor's scalpel which give a very Icelandic character to the text. One example is in §5.2-4, which discusses the number of letters in the syllable:
> ... pvíat hver samstafa hefir stafa-tọlu, einn staf eða fleiri, ok hefir engi samstafa í látínu fleiri en vi., en í nórænu megu eigi standa fleiri í einni samstǫfu en viii. eठa ix. sem hér, spønnskr ok strennzkr. Í látínu standa ii., samhljóóendr hit flesta fyrir raddar-staf, en iii. eptir. En í nóranu megu standa prír samhljóðendr fyrir raddar-staf, en v. eptir, sem skilja má í peim nofnum, er fyrr váru ritao.

... because each syllable has a number of letters, one letter or more, and no syllable in Latin has more than six, but in Norse, there cannot be more than eight or nine in one syllable, like 'spønnskr' or 'strennzkr'. In Latin two consonants at most come before a vowel and three after. But in Norse three consonants can come before a vowel and five after, as can be discerned in those words that were previously written.

Ólsen himself admits inconsistencies in what he sees as B's attempt to remove material of a particular national character, namely, a discussion and comparison of Icelandic metrics in the second section (Ólsen 1884, lvii).

Secondly, we can disregard the first and last two of B's omissions from MG as insignificant. The second last occurs only in $W$ and is defective - it must be seen as expedient editing, a point which Ólsen concedes.

The last omission perhaps best supports Ólsen's contention that B systematically omits everything which has a distinctive national (especially Icelandic) character. Taken on its own, the removed text is more or less redundant - it adds nothing substantial to the treatise, but simply states what will not be dealt with in the manuscript.

The first omission, a reference to Plato, adds little to the treatise. However, it may have been removed for the same reason as the runic material: both have associations with paganism.

Of the three omissions which I have just discussed, two (§5.14 and §§.3I) may well have been made out of editorial expediency. What we are left with is a set of omissions which all relate to a discussion of runes, and which comprise the whole of the treatise's discussion of runes. It is only these runic omissions which show a systematic process of omission in this version.

Ólsen does not discuss at what point in the transmission of the text the above omissions were made. Establishing when the text was removed will help us to identify possible reasons for the systematic editing. There is some evidence which suggests that the omissions were made by the scribe of $B$. The process of omitting material relating to runes seems to have happened at the point of copying the manuscript, which can be seen from the way in which the chapters in B are visually
structured. The following is a list of how the beginning of each chapter in MG is represented visually in $A, W$ and $B$ :

Table $\varsigma$ : Chapter divisions in MSS of MG

| $\mathrm{Ch} / \mathrm{sec}$ | A | W | B |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{I} \\ & (\mathrm{I}) \end{aligned}$ | Ir/9 <br> - new line; large red capital; heading | 94/8 <br> - new line; large decorated capital | Ir/I <br> - new line; large gap for capital |
| $\begin{aligned} & 2 \\ & (2) \end{aligned}$ | iv/s - new line; large red capital; heading | 95/4 - new line; large decorated capital; heading in a postmedieval hand | Ir/28 <br> - new line; small gap for capital; text for previous chapter ends on same line after gap |
| $\begin{aligned} & 3 \\ & (3) \end{aligned}$ | 2r/5 <br> - gap before; largish red capital | 96/1 <br> - new page and line; gap for capital | Iv/12 <br> - new line; small gap for capital; text for previous chapter ends on same line after gap |
| $\begin{aligned} & 3.4 \\ & (3 / 5) \end{aligned}$ | 2r/I4 <br> - new line; space and largish red capital; heading | no chapter division | no chapter division |
| $\begin{aligned} & 3.16 \\ & (3 / 17) \end{aligned}$ | $2 r / 30$ <br> - gap before; largish red capital; heading | 96/19 <br> - new line; gap for capital | (omitted) |
| $\left(\begin{array}{l} 4 \\ (4) \end{array}\right.$ | 2v/8 <br> - gap before; largish red capital; heading | 96/29 <br> - new line; space for large capital; text for previous chapter ends on same line after gap (for heading?) | no chapter division |
| $5(s)$ | (leaf missing) | 97/32 - new line; gap for capital; gap for heading | Iv/26 <br> - new line; space for capital; text continues onto previous line after a gap where previous chapter ends |
| $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 9.11 \\ (6) \end{array}$ | (leaf missing) | 98/29 <br> - new line; gap for large capital; text for previous chapter ends on same line after gap (for heading?) | no chapter division |
| $\begin{aligned} & \overline{5.18} \\ & (7) \end{aligned}$ | (leaf missing) | no chapter division | no chapter division |
| $\begin{aligned} & 5 \cdot 24 \\ & (8) \end{aligned}$ | (leaf missing) | no chapter division | 2r/12 new line; largish capital; previous chapter ends on previous line |
| $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 6 \\ (9) \end{array}$ | (leaf missing) | 99/16 <br> - new line; gap for large capital (in later hand); text for previous chapter ends on same line after gap (for heading?) | 2r/21 <br> - new line; gap for capital; text for previous chapter ends on same line after gap |


| TGTb <br> (⿺夂) | 3r/ı <br> new line; largish red <br> capital; text for <br> previous chapter ends <br> on same line after gap <br> for heading | loo/i <br> new page and line; gap for <br> large capital; gap at end of <br> line (for heading? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

The table shows how the beginning of each chapter is visually marked in the text in order to represent how each manuscript divides the text. AM 757a 4to has chapter divisions at similar points to those in W.

The usual practice of formatting the text in B is shown between (Ólsen's) chapters 1 and $2 ; 2$ and $3 ; 7$ and $8 ; 8$ and 9 ; and 9 and the second section (Ólsen's numbers are in brackets). If the previous chapter fills up a whole line, the new chapter simply begins on a new line. In most cases, however, the previous chapter occupies part of a line, which is not commenced at the left margin but is rather justified to the right. The next chapter begins on the same line at the left margin and then leaves a gap before continuing onto the next line. This requires, on the scribe's part, identifying the end of the chapter and planning the length of the final line so that it fits correctly. There are two instances, however, where the end of a chapter in AW is omitted in B: the ends of chapters 3 and 4. In both these cases, there are indications that the scribe of $B$ is copying from a witness which contains the text which the scribe omits.

The point where chapter 3 ends and 4 begins is not distinct, although it is marked quite clearly in AW - B simply begins a new sentence. This also happens at the start of chapter 6 , where $W$ has the new chapter clearly indicated. Ólsen's chapter 7 is not separated in any of the extant MSS, and in all three cases (chapters 3, 6 and 7), the chapter begins either with 'Annat' (another/the second) or 'Prixja' (the third). The scribe may well not have considered a sentence such as this a new chapter - it clearly follows directly from what precedes it (although chapter 8 begins this way).

The end of chapter 4 in B, on the other hand, follows the same principle as the other chapter formats, except that its execution is different. Chapter 4 ends prematurely, if we take AW as the full text - most of it (including its end) is omitted. Unlike the other chapters, its final line in B begins on the left margin and ends a short part of the way along the line (1.25). Chapter $\varsigma$ then starts on the next line (1.26) and continues onto the previous (unfinished) line (1.25), leaving a gap, and then ending at the right margin of that line (1.25). The text then continues two lines below (1.27). This suggests that when the scribe wrote the last part of chapter 4 which was to be included (i.e. containing no reference to runes), he did not realise that it was the end of the chapter and so began the final line of the chapter at the left margin. The scribe looked ahead to find the next section, and as it was clearly a new chapter (whereas chapter 4 does not start so clearly as a new chapter), he began writing on the left margin, and so had to start a new line. He then filled up the previous line. In other words, it is quite likely that he was
copying from a text which had the rune sections, but was editing them out as he went along.

Ólsen argues that omissions from B were made because the text was designed as an aid for teaching in a clerical school. B's redaction includes everything that is necessary for teaching the elementary and fundamental concepts of grammar, and omits everything else. That there are four extant medieval versions of 3 GT perhaps indicates that it was used for this purpose (Ólsen 1884, lviii). However, it does not follow that simply because the text was used for teaching, that material relating specifically to Icelandic was not considered useful. In fact, the opposite case would seem more likely. Besides, the other texts in B frequently deal with very specifically Icelandic material, Skáldskaparmál in particular. A, too, appears much more appropriate than B as a textbook, and it makes no such omissions: it contains clear headings represented with coloured inks, as well as marginal marks to indicate verses. B would be a very difficult text to use for the purpose of teaching or reference.

It should also be noted that a significant portion of Skáldskaparmál (chapters 10-40 in Finnur Jónsson's 193r edition) is omitted from B (for a full description of the text of Skáldskaparmál in B, see Faulkes 1998, i:xlv-xlvi), but, as Finnur Jonsson argues, the scribe of B must have known or had a manuscript which contained the omitted material (1931, xvi). Like the omission of the first chapter of Málskrúðffreði, there is also an omission of a section which refers to the Euhemerist explanation of the Norse gods. Otherwise, the omissions and reordering of Skáldskaparmál appear fairly arbitrary compared to the omission of the runic material from MG. The omitted parts of Skáldskaparmál have a significantly greater proportion of verse - again, this is similar to the last part of ${ }_{3}$ GT (Ólsen's chapters 12-16) which also contain a high proportion of verse, but seem otherwise to have been left out arbitrarily. Of those parts of Skáldskaparmál which are included in B , a considerable amount of verse was removed.

It is perhaps significant, then, that the runic material was edited out in such a systematic way, that is, sentence by sentence. It is the only example in any witness of ${ }_{3}$ GT where material is omitted in this detailed and systematic fashion. The reason for the omissions from MG, and perhaps also the other texts found in $B$, may be attributable to a certain religious leaning of the compiler. After Skáldskaparmál are a number of skaldic poems on Christian subjects, dating mostly from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (cf. Paasche 1914). These are Heilagsandavísur, Leiðarvísan, Liknarbraut, Harmsól, Maríudrápa and Gyðingsvisur. 3GT and the other texts on skaldic poetics before these poems would have provided a theoretical and literary background to the verse.

It is likely that the compilation of the manuscript was made in a systematic way and that the compiler intended the manuscript as a whole to have a coherent purpose. Although the religious material is in separate quires from the material containing ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, there was at some stage intervening material on the missing
leaves. This probably created a complete text - the consistency in the size of the vellum and the hand suggest that all the material currently in the manuscript was intended to form the one codex (G. Nordal 2001, 64).

Given the relationship between the theoretical and verse texts, it is quite possible that the runic material was removed in B's version of ${ }_{3} G T$ with a view to making it more in keeping with the Christian material found later in the manuscript. Runes may have had pagan connotations, but in any case they would have seemed old-fashioned to the compiler of a manuscript at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The runic material in MG may not have seemed to the compiler suitable for a codex with relatively modern Christian verse, either because they were seen as archaic or as pagan.

A copy was made of B at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the manuscript catalogued as AM 7444 to (Kalund 1889, 1:172). This manuscript is a fairly accurate and faithful reproduction of the text, although it does contain a few errors. It reproduces all the abbreviations and even reproduces instances where holes have removed part of a letter. I have referred to AM 744 tto where the text of $B$ is illegible or very unclear. Any text marked as unclear in the transcription should be assumed to be taken from AM 744 4to, unless otherwise indicated.

## 4.4. $\mathrm{AM}_{757 \mathrm{~b}}$ 4to (w)

757 b 4 to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík.
Physical description: $120 \times 97 \mathrm{~mm}$; 2 leaves
Date: 1450-1500 (Ólsen 1884, liv)
Provenance: unknown
According to a note by Árni Magnússon, he got the fragment in 1724 from Jón Árnason, who in turn received it from Guðrún Qgmundardóttir in Flatey. It contains no text other than MG and is missing two leaves which originally came between the two which survive. The text ends mid-word in $\S 4.4$. The text is very similar to that in W, and must be considered a direct copy of it (Ólsen 1884, liv).

### 4.5. Stemma

What I intend to do in this section is to reexamine the transmission of the three manuscripts containing independent witnesses of MG (A, B and W). I will firstly look at the transmission of the other texts in those manuscripts and then reexamine Ólsen's stemma for ${ }_{3}$ GT.

While the texts found in both $A$ and $B$ occur in the same order, W has quite a different structure. The distribution of the texts in the manuscripts is represented
by the following table, which aligns the contents of the three manuscripts at ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ :

Table 6: Structure of MSS A, B and W

| A | B | W |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| - | - | Prologue to Snorra Edda and Gylfaginning |
| ... |  | Skáldskaparmál |
| 'Fifth GT" | - | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Prologue to the } \\ & \text { GTs, } 1 \text { GT } \& 2 \mathrm{GT} \end{aligned}$ |
| 3GT | 3GT | 3GT |
| Litla skálda | Litla skálda | 4GT |
| Skáldskaparmál | Skáldskaparmál | Hátatal |
| pulur | Heilagandavisur, | Rígspula |
| İslendingadrápa | Leidarvisan, <br> Liknarbraut, <br> Harmsól, <br> Maríudrápa, <br> Gyðingsvisur | Okennd beiti |

One might infer that the compilers of A and B (or their common predecessor) had a slightly different conception of the place of 3 GT . These two manuscripts begin with the theoretical and rhetorical ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, followed by the more specific Icelandic poetics of Skáldskaparmál. These are followed by poems which are explained by or perhaps illustrate the poetological material. In contrast, W begins with the largely mythological material of the Prologue to Snorra Edda and Gylfaginning, and follows it with the material on poetics in Skáldskaparmál. The grammatical treatises are placed after this, but before Háttatal and Rígspula. A and B begin with grammatical material, whereas $W$ begins with mythological information.

As can be seen above, the three manuscripts all contain one other text in common - Skáldskaparmál. Indeed, all manuscripts which have independent witnesses of Old Icelandic grammatical literature also have independent witnesses of Skáldskaparmál. It is not inconceivable that the original text of MG or an early version of it was included in a manuscript which also had Skáldskaparmál: however, in examining the two different texts, Björn M. Ólsen (r884, lxii) and Finnur Jónsson (1931, xxxviii) establish stemmata which place these three manuscripts in a different relation to each other for either ${ }_{3} G T$ or Snorra Edda. I will take Ólsen's argument first.

Ólsen argues that $A$ is most obviously the best text of ${ }_{3} G T$. There is no reason to disagree with this assessment: A is the earliest witness, and its text generally reads better and has fewer mistakes or obvious scribal interventions than the other manuscripts. Ólsen argues that A and W have both been indirectly copied from the same text and that B is from a different branch in the transmission. While
the text of B appears closer to A than W , this is probably due to W (or a version from which it is derived) being copied inaccurately. In Ólsen's edited text, at only one point do A and B have a common mistake, where W has the correct text. These features of the text lead Ólsen to suggest the following stemma:

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Skaldskaparmal
Finnur Jónsson


Ólsen's stemma is here compared to Finnur Jonsson's stemma for the text of Skáldskaparmál in these three manuscripts (I have not included the other Snorra Edda manuscripts in Finnur Jónsson's stemma). His stemma is generally accepted as an accurate representation of the transmission of Snorra Edda in these three manuscripts. The common (indirect) exemplar and generally close relationship between A and B has been noted by others, most recently Faulkes (1998, I:xlv).

Ólsen's stemma above, on the other hand, is based specifically on the evidence of the text of ${ }_{3}$ GT. However, his argument for it is dependent on what he considers correct readings in the manuscripts in contrast to incorrect ones. Ólsen concedes that A agrees in most places more with B than with W and that the text in B is less 'corrupt' in most places than the text in W. His main evidence, however, is based on the presence of a few instances where B has a more correct text and A and W have the same, apparently incorrect text. However, this does not necessarily mean that A and W are derived from a text which has an inaccurate copy of the correct original - such an assertion presumes that the original must have been correct and that the process of copying a manuscript can only lead to corruption and not correction. In many instances where Ólsen chooses a reading from B, A's text reads just as well as the variant. It is worth reexamining the variants in the three manuscripts without reference to such an arbitrary notion of correctness.

A difficulty in determining a stemma is that two of the three principal manuscripts contain large omissions from their presumed exemplars: A because of missing pages and B because of deliberate abridgement. The following comparison
of the texts in the three manuscripts is therefore based on readings of the texts where all three manuscripts bear witness.

We have the basic problem that the manuscripts of A and B are quite a bit closer to each other than to $W$ in both their texts of Skáldskaparmál and in the overall contents of the manuscripts, but with regard to the text of MG, A in some ways appears closer to W than to B . There are two factors contributing to this appearance which can be disregarded. The first is the structure of the text of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ in B, which is very different to that of A and W. As I have argued, this was probably the result of editing at the point at which the manuscript was copied, or at least was done with a view to removing pagan and Euhemerist material from that particular manuscript. The second is the presence of a few readings of B in Ólsen's edition which show it to differ from A. Many of these are incorrect, taken without verification from Jón Sigurosson's transcription. For example, the variants in §r. $\varsigma$ (A B W: skepnum; Ólsen B: hlutum), §3.2 (A B: tíu; Ólsen B: priu) and §6.ıi (A B W: at; Ólsen B: á). All of these contributed to the view that B was not as closely related to $A$, but are in fact misreadings of the text in $B$.

Close examination of the text of MG reveals that the relationship between the three manuscripts varies according to what part of MG we look at. In the first and second chapters, A generally reads closer to $W$ than to $B$. Instances where either $B$ or W differ from A are frequent, but overall W reads closer to A slightly more often than B does. This is the case, too, in the final chapter. In the third and fourth chapters, however, (those containing information on runes), the reverse is the case. B generally reads quite close to A and W diverges far more than B . This disparity is not because W's text is more corrupt, but rather because B's text in this location is much closer to A's than in chapters $\mathrm{I}, 2$ and 6.

This leaves us with an unusual situation in trying to determine the stemma for the manuscripts. B's text differs from A's in the first and last part of the text in quite a different way from how it differs in the rune chapters. In the former part of the text, variation tends to occur at the level of words and word order; in the latter, it is at the level of the inclusion and omission of sentences. It is likely that the scribe of B actively and systematically removed material from his exemplar, and consequently it is also possible that he took an active approach to editing the material he was copying, perhaps with a view to improving the text. This means that $A$ and $B$ are probably more closely related than they might appear, but the scribe of A's approach to copying from the exemplar was more conservative and B's more intrusive. For example, in $3 / 3$ both A and W have a lacuna. The text states that there are six distinctions of a long ' $a$ ' sound, outlines them, and then introduces examples with the usual 'sem hér ...', but gives no examples. B, however, omits the 'sem hér', thus removing the reference to the missing examples. Ólsen argues that this indicates a closer relationship between $A$ and $W$, which both have 'sem hér', than between A and B. However, the text at this point more likely suggests that the exemplar never had the example, and that $B$ altered the text more
radically by removing 'sem hér' so as to cover over the lacuna. If there were a version with a correct text, B should rather include the example than omit any reference to it. There is a similar instance of a lacuna in $\S 5.14$ : in B the text before a missing example is removed in order to hide the lacuna.

I would suggest something close to a reversal of Ólsen's theory that W differs from A only because it was an inaccurate copy, not because they are less closely related. W, it seems, differs from A because it comes from a different branch of transmission (but it is also not a very accurate copy). B, however, differs from A because of fairly intrusive editing and correction, but otherwise is more closely related to A .

This assesment of the relationship between the three manuscripts gives us a stemma more similar to Finnur Jónsson's stemma for Skáldskaparmál. There are many shortcomings to the above account: we have to speculate on whether variants are deliberate or simply mistakes. However, the above stemma is based on no more speculation than that of Ólsen, and it brings the transmission of MG into line with the transmission of both the structure of the manuscripts and the common text (Skáldskaparmál) found in them.

## 5. Related texts

Most of the grammatical literature in Old Icelandic is found in the Codex Wormianus, and it is from the ordering of four of these texts in that manuscript that we get the names 'First Grammatical Treatise', 'Second Grammatical Treatise' and so on. Two of these treatises are found in other manuscripts of Snorra Edda, namely 2 GT in U and ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ in A and B . In addition, there is the work known as Litla Skálda found in A and B and a fragment of another grammatical treatise known as the Fifth Grammatical Treatise immediately before MG in A. MG is thus found in manuscripts together with other grammatical treatises and with Snorra Edda, in particular, Skáldskaparmál. In all cases, its immediate neighbours in the manuscripts are the other grammatical works. The relationship between MG and these works on language and poetics is close, not only on account of their manuscript transmission, but also with regard to their subject matter and purpose. It will thus be helpful in reading MG to examine the related vernacular literature.

Although many of these texts are referred to as grammatical treatises, only MG fits neatly within that category in the modern sense of that word. In the medieval understanding of grammatica, however, most of the material in these treatises would have been classified as grammar. The treatises apart from MG deal primarily with orthography, rhetoric, poetics or metrics. One can separate two groups of treatises. The first, which I will argue is the group to which MG most clearly belongs, is the group of texts dealing with Icelandic orthography: IGT and ${ }_{2} \mathrm{GT}$. The other group comprises the two rhetorical treatises: ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GTb}$ and 4 GT ; parts of Snorra Edda: Skáldskaparmál, Háttatal; and Litla Skálda.

What I wish to do in this section is to examine these related texts in terms of certain themes that can be found in MG, and which will be examined in more detail in the commentary. These themes have to do with the conception of language in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iceland. They include: the status of writing and its relationship to language; the status of runes; the treatment of orthography; and the status of the West Norse language, particularly in relation to Latin.

## 5.I. The orthographical treatises

The orthographical treatises present either a description of Icelandic orthography or
prescribe a reformed orthography. While it is clear from the treatises that the subject of orthography was controversial, reformed orthographical systems in particular bear little resemblance to actual writing practice in medieval Iceland. It appears that the earliest Icelandic script and orthography was based on the Caroline miniscule in use on the European continent, but combined with some features of English script (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 35). Hreinn Benediktsson summarises the development of Icelandic script:

> The process of introducing Latin writing into Iceland may then be described, very briefly, as follows: Icelandic clerics of the eleventh century acquired a knowledge of Latin, written and spoken, abroad - on the continent or in England - and at home, in schools and through contact with missionaries. The material of instruction must have been Latin texts written in the script current for this purpose in most of Western Europe, in England as well as on the continent, the Caroline miniscule. The next step was the transfer and gradual adaptation of the Latin writing to the vernacular, the basis being the rules of Latin orthography with the value of each symbol as determined by the Latin pronunciation current in most of eleventh-century Western Europe - as far as these were applicable to the phonemic structure of the vernacular. Where the Latin alphabet and Latin orthography did not suffice, expedients of different kinds had to be resorted to. Since the introduction of Latin writing into Iceland, and well as the other Nordic countries, came after its spread among the other Germanic nations, the orthographic patterns developed among these peoples were available as models in the north. In Iceland, the principal model was vernacular English orthography. The reasons for the choice of English as a model are not hard to perceive or appreciate: only the English had encountered similar orthographic problems, and been able to cope with them; the dental spirant, for instance, was no longer part of the German phonemic system in the eleventh century, and German orthography had by then not found any consistent way of symbolizing the front round vowels.

My interest here is not in the practice of writing but its theory, in particular, how the orthographical treatises reflect an intellectual concern with writing at that period. There is, however, a relationship between the theory and practice of writing.

The designation of 'orthography' is sometimes less appropriate in these treatises - their discussion focusses simply on letters. That is, the subject of these works is often script as much as orthography, but essentially their purpose is to describe or prescribe a set of letters which can be used to represent the sounds of the Icelandic language.

### 5.1.1. A treatise by Dóroddr rúnameistari

The Prologue to the grammatical treatises in W dates from the fourteenth century, and is probably by the same author as 4 GT : either the scribe of W or someone involved in the compilation of the manuscript. It serves as an introduction to the treatises which follow it, discussing the main topics dealt with in the four treatises: skaldic poetics, orthography and the accidents of the letter and syllable. The reason why it is included here in my discussion of the orthographical treatises is because it contains some hints as to the treatment of orthography in twelfth-century Iceland.

As we have seen in section 3.4.1 above, Björn M. Ólsen, on the basis of his reading of the prologue to the grammatical treatises and of Málfraðinnar grundvollr, believed that runes were the original orthography for recording Old Icelandic texts in manuscripts. While that conclusion is doubtless incorrect, as part of his argument he makes some observations which show a possible connection between MG and the following sentence in the Prologue:

> Skal yðr sýna hinn fyrsta letrs hátt sváá ritinn eptir sextán stafa stafroffi í danskri tungu, eptir bví sem Dóroddr rúnameistari ok Ari prestr hinn fróxi hafa sett í móti látínumanna stafroff, er meistari Priscianus hefir sett. (Ólsen 1884, I54 (normalised))

> I will show you the first method of writing, written according to the sixteen-letter alphabet in the 'Danish' tongue, as Dóroddr rune-master and the priest Ari the learned have established in place of the alphabet of Latin men, which the scholar Priscian established.

It is fairly clear from this passage that the author of the Prologue believed there to have been some sort of orthographical system proposed by these two scholars. The runic fupark was widely known as comprising exactly sixteen runes, although the precise composition occasionally varied. No other alphabet which could be referred to as $\tilde{i}$ danskri tungu could have been this short: all versions of the Latin alphabet were longer. Likewise, the fact that Dóroddr's nickname 'rúnameistari' is mentioned also points to the runic alphabet as the referent here. Sigurठur Nordal also clearly considers this reading of the sentence in the Prologue to be valid, even though he is very critical of Ólsen's overall thesis:
It is, however, interesting to note that during the period from 1120 to 130 an attempt
was made to reform the runic alphabet. This reform, which started with Thobroddr
Runemaster (probably the joiner Thbroddr Gamlason), is mentioned in the prologue to
the grammatical treatises in Codex Wormianus, and B. M. Ólsen thinks that he has
found traces of an "essay" on this subject in the III. Grammatical Treatise. We cannot
here go into this intricate problem, but the fact itself, that orthographical reform was
already thought of in Iceland at this early date, cannot be disputed. (S. Nordal 1931, 8)

The Prologue, then, seems to be referring to a proposed reform of the runic alphabet, designed to replace the Latin alphabet, for writing Icelandic. In contrast, the Prologue could here be read as referring to an attempt to supplement the Latin alphabet with runes, such as was the case in Old English orthography and adopted to a certain extent in early Icelandic manuscripts (see Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 21-35). However, I think that the possibility that this sentence simply refers to the development of the Icelandic orthography actually practiced in manuscripts can be disregarded. Firstly, only two runes found their way into either Old English or Icelandic orthography (excluding the occasional runes used to abbreviate words): P ( $p$ ) and $P$ ( $p$ - the insular ' $w$ ' or ' $v$ ' in Icel.). The phrases 'eptir sextán stafa stafroff' and 'í móti látínumanna stafroff' suggest that the reforms were based on the runic alphabet and were designed to replace the Latin, and not that the reforms were based on the Latin alphabet and supplemented with runes. Although it is peculiar
that to Ari is attributed collaboration on developing a runic orthography, it would be as strange to attribute to him and Póroddr the sole development of Icelandic orthography as it was practiced in early Icelandic writing.

There is, of course, no evidence to suggest that such a proposal was in fact adopted in Iceland, but this would not have been the only case where an orthographic reform was not taken up in practice in twelfth-century Iceland (see iGT below).

It is not at all surprising that the issue of how to record Icelandic in writing would have been prominent in this period. It was during Ari's lifetime that the first Icelandic texts were recorded in manuscripts, according to Íslendingabók. In chapter io, it tells how at the mir Alping, it was decided that Icelandic laws should be written down in a book at Hafliði Másson's farm (cf. Hreinn Benediktsson 196s, 13). While the book in question does not survive, this is the earliest reference to texts being written down in Iceland.

The beginning of manuscript writing in Iceland occurred only shortly after the establishment of Latin literacy. Latin orthography would not have been fully entrenched as the standard way of writing vernacular texts. Manuscript writing also coincided with a rise in the status of vernacular languages in Europe, and also the study of the grammar of those languages independently of Latin (see section 2.3 above). Thus there was not only the opportunity but also the motivation for developing a vernacular orthography independent of the Latin alphabet. The author of the Prologue is likely to be referring to such an attempt.

That such a proposal was never adopted is probably due to practical considerations. Scribes and readers, who would have been trained in ecclesiastical schools, would have already learnt the Latin alphabet and there was no practical need to use another system - only nationalist motivations. The sixteen-letter runic alphabet was also not at all well adapted for recording the sound system of the Icelandic language.

The relationship between the above sentence in the Prologue and MG itself will be discussed further in the Commentary (section 3). Our concern here is in the intellectual interest in orthographical reform in the twelfth century. While the Prologue only refers to a twelfth-century text dealing with orthography, W preserves an actual text from this period: IGT.

## s.1.2. First Grammatical Treatise

The First Grammatical Treatise is generally considered the most original and significant work of the four Icelandic grammatical treatises. It dates from the early period of Icelandic literature (between $112 \varsigma$ and 1175 according to Benediktsson 1972, 3I). IGT prescribes a systematic orthography for writing Icelandic based on a careful analysis of the Icelandic sound system. These reforms were probably motivated by the need to write Icelandic in manuscripts.
iGT was written only fairly shortly after Icelandic texts were for the first time being written on parchment. IGT situates itself within a debate about how to record the Icelandic language. At one stage, iGT gives the argument of an imaginary opponent, who states that Icelandic can be read fairly well with Latin orthography, even if it does not represent all the distinctions of sound. In response to this argument, the author of IGT states:

Eigi er pat rvnanna koftr po at pv lefer vel eða raðir vel að likindvm | par fem rvnar vifa - fkyrt. helldr er pað pinn koftr ... (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 214)

It is not the virtue of letters (runes) if you can read well or make a good guess where the letters (runes) are unclear, but rather it is your virtue ...

In other words, the author is arguing that the writing system should not depend so much on the ability of the reader to interpret the letters as representing particular sounds, but rather the letters should themselves indicate these distinctions.

The problem, as the author seems to have seen it, was that Latin letters, which were designed to write Latin, were adapted only to a very limited extent to Icelandic, which contained a great many more sounds, particularly vowels, than Latin. This problem is already introduced near the beginning of the treatise:

> Enn af pvi at tvngven[ar] | erv [v]likar hverr annarni. pxr pegar er or xinni ok hinni fomv tungv hafa gengiðz ęða grxinz pa | parf vlika ftafí íat hafa enn xigi ena fọmv alla i gllvm Sem xigi rita grikkir latinv frofum | girzkvna ok xigi latinv menn girzkvm ftofvm latínv ne enn h[e]lldr [e]brefkir menn ebrefkvna hvar-|kí girzkvm frofvm ne latínv helldr ritar fínvm frofvm hverr pioठ fina tv[n]gv. (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 206)

> But because languages differ from each other - which previously parted or branched off from one and the same tongue - different letters are needed in each, and not the same in all, just as the Greeks do not write Greek with Latin letters, and Latin-speakers (do) not (write) Latin with Greek letters, nor (do) the Hebrews (write) Hebrew with Greek or Latin letters, but each nation writes its language with letters of its own. (Hrcinn Benediktsson 1972, 207)

The author argues that different languages need different letters to write them. Although we would tend to see the language as independent of the letters used to write it, this was not so in the period when IGT was written. Thus, the author does not present the above argument as controversial. IGT differs from other works of the time, not in arguing that Icelandic needed a set of letters of its own, but in arguing that these letters should be chosen on phonological principles. The languages referred to above have alphabets which reflect the sounds of those languages, but the main difference in why they differ so much from each other is because of historical considerations. There was in fact a set of letters which was historically used for writing the Scandinavian languages: runes. Although they were little used in Iceland, runes must have been known to the Icelanders as the way in which the language was written before Christianity.

The passage above, in which the author responds to his imaginary opponent, gives some evidence that the author of IGT was also addressing a potential
historical argument regarding letters: that is, that runes should be used as the native writing system. Although the imaginary opponent refers specifically to 'Latin letters', in his response, the author uses only the word rún to refer to the letters he thinks inadequate. Hreinn Benediktsson translated rín here as 'letter', stating that it is 'a mere stylistic variant' of stafr ( 1972,42 ). However, nowhere else does the author use rún as such a variant. It is quite rare for rún to be used for Latin letters, and even when it is, it is often quite ambiguous as to whether this is what it in fact refers to (see Cleasby and Vigfússon, 504). I think that in fact the author of IGT here is pointing his argument against the use of runes for writing Icelandic, although the criticism applies to any alphabet which does not cover the phonological distinctions of Icelandic.

Björn M. Ólsen also argues that rún is used pointedly here:

> Dog synes ordet på dette sted at vare valgt med flid for at fremhave det uklare og usikre i den lydbetegnelse, som forfatteren der polemiserer imod, og som i virkeligheden står pà runealfabetets standpunkt, således som det var för Torods reform. (Ólsen I883, 103-4)

However the word seems in that place to be used deliberately to stress the unclear and uncertain (practice) in the designation of sound against which the author directs his polemic there, and which in reality is presented from the perspective of the runic alphabet as it was before Dóroddr's reform.

Ólsen's interpretation, however, is biased towards his overall thesis. He clearly believes that the comments by the author of IGT must not be directed against póroddr's supposed reformed runic alphabet. This view is due to Ólsen's thesis that póroddr's reform was the basis for the orthography of the earliest Icelandic manuscripts and therefore must have been fairly suitable for recording the language. Consequently, it would not be subject to criticisms such as the author of IGT put forward. A more balanced view would perhaps see the response to the imaginary opponent as a reference to a more general debate about the suitability of runes, which may well have included a reformed runic alphabet proposed by póroddr.

The other occurrence of the word 'rún' in IGT is in an example of a phonological distinction. The word is contrasted with the word for 'boar':

Runar heita gelltir enn núnar malftafir. (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 222)

## Male pigs are called boars (runar), but letters (are called) runes (rínar). (Hreinn Benediktsson

 1972, 223)I do not wish to make too much of this example. Nevertheless, it does indicate further that the author of IGT at least did not wish to avoid an unfavourable juxtaposition for 'rún'. Whether this example is further evidence of his dislike for runes is not certain. ${ }^{19}$ It is fairly obvious that for one reason or other, the author did not consider runes suitable for recording the language.

The set of letters for Icelandic proposed by iGT follows the principles outlined in the opening section. This saw the alphabet used by the English as a model for the
project of IGT :
Hverega | tvngv er maðr ikal ri[t]a annarrar tvngv ftoffum pa verðr fumra ftafa vant ${ }^{20}$ af
pi at xig[i] | finnz pat hlioठ i tungunn[i] fem ftafirnir hafa peir er af ganga. Enn po rita
enkir menn enfkv|na latinv ftoffom ollvm peim er rettraðir verठa i enfkvnni. en par er
peir vinnaz xigi til pa hafa | peir viò aðra ftaff fva marga ok peffkonar fem parf en hina
taka peir or er xigi erv | rett reðir í malí peira. / Nv eptir peira dxmvm ... pa hefir ek ok
ritao off iflendíngvm | ftaf rof ... (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 206 and 208).
Whatever language one intends to write with the letters of another language, some letters will
be lacking because the sound of the surplus letters does not exist in the language. Thus,
Englishmen write English with all those Latin letters that can be rightly pronounced in
English, but where these do not suffice, they apply other letters, as many and of such a kind as
are needed; but they put aside those that cannot be rightly pronounced in their language. /
Now, following their example ... I have composed an alphabet for us Icelanders as well ...
(Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 207 and 209).

Thus the author wishes to base his alphabet on the same principles as that of the English, who used the Latin alphabet supplemented with two runes, to write the language. This was in fact the basic approach of the Icelandic script that was used in early manuscripts. The author of IGT, however, wished to take this to its full phonological extent.

IGT shows evidence of the presence of three approaches to determining a set of letters in which to record Icelandic, of which its own proposal represents one. One approach is a historical one, that is, to use the native alphabet (runes) which was known throughout Scandinavia but not used in manuscripts. The author is probably arguing against such an approach when he responds to his imaginary opponent. Another approach is to construct an alphabet founded purely on the phonology of Icelandic. This is the rather unique approach taken by the author, who analyses the sound system of Icelandic, and represents as many distinctions as possible with letters from Latin script and from English, which had some similarities to Icelandic. The third approach, that of the imaginary opponent, is simply to use an alphabet based on Latin, with only a limited number of extra characters to represent some sounds not found in Latin. The last approach was the most practical and the only one adopted in practice by the Icelanders.

The approach of IGT, while very insightful and unique, was in the end not adopted in practice. The only principle really notable in the development of Icelandic script is probably the desire for greater abbreviation than was used in vernacular English MSS. iGT's proposal for representing geminate consonants with a single small capital was the only reform taken up with any enthusiasm, mostly because it conserved some space in manuscripts.

Another feature of IGT which, as we will see in the commentary, is shared with MG, is that it shows a certain degree of nationalist enthusiasm in its account of the Icelandic language, particularly its sound system. This centres on the discussion and status of vowels in comparison with consonants. The author firstly points out that extra vowels need to be added to the Latin alphabet for Icelandic. This is
because Icelandic has so many vowel sounds:
Or xrv teknir famhlioðendr nokkvrir or latinv ftaf-|rofi enn nokkvrir i giorfir raddar ftafir e[rv] ongvir or teknir enn i giorfir miög margir pviat vär | tvnga hefir flefta alla hlioðf ęða raddar. (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 208)

A few consonants are left out of the Latin alphabet, and some put in; no vowels are left out, but a good many put in, because our language has almost all sonants or vowels. (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 209)

It is thus established that Icelandic is characterised particularly by its vowels, to the extent that it is 'mostly' made up of vowel sounds. Having established this, the author then describes the status of the two classes of letters or phonemes:

> Nv af pi at famhlíoðendr megv ekkí | máál ¢̧̌a atkveðí giora xnir vî̀ fik xigi fva at peir megi nafn hafa a an raddar ftaff Enn \| aठ raddar ftafnvm xinvm fier herivm ma kveða fem hann heitir ok að honvm kveठr í| hveriv maalí ok peir bera fva tign af famhlioðondvm fem almaxttí af half matti. pa helfi ek af pví fyrí fetta pa bxði í ftaf rofi ok i vmræðv her nv: (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 10)

Now since the consonants can make no (piece of) discourse or pronounceable sequence alone by themselves - not even so (much) that they can have a name without a vowel (in it) while each vowel can be pronounced in each (piece of) discourse, and (since) they thus outrank the consonants as the almighty (outranks) the halfmighty, I have placed them first both in the alphabet and in the present discussion. (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, II)

The grammarian thus associates Icelandic with the higher-ranking class of letters - vowels - and in doing so elevates the status of the language itself. To reinforce the distinctiveness of Icelandic, his alphabet places the vowels first in the alphabet, all eighteen (thirty-six vowels sounds in total) of them. When he puts forward the criticisms of the imaginary opponent above, the examples he uses are of vowels. Again, when he addresses the criticisms, he only makes reference to the vowel sounds which are needed to correctly interpret written Icelandic, arguing that nine vowels and thirty-six distinctions are needed.

IGT is notable for its application of phonological analysis to producing a set of letters for writing Icelandic. It seems in part to have been motivated by a desire to promote the vernacular language, in particular, its notable vowel system. I think there is some evidence that it forms part of an intellectual debate about what alphabet should be used for writing Icelandic - among the suggestions, perhaps, a proposal that runes should be used. In the case of a proposal to use runes, the motivation was probably also to promote the vernacular, which had used (although in a comparatively limited way) runes for writing before Latin was introduced.

The orthographical material in 2 GT and MG shows a very different approach to the prescriptive reforms represented by IGT. However, orthography continued to be a subject of interest in the thirteenth century and was to some extent influenced by the twelfth-century material.

### 5.1.3. Second Grammatical Treatise

${ }_{2}$ GT is in three parts. The first part is an account of different types of sound and their relationship to voice and speech - it is probably the closest Icelandic analogue to any of the material in MG (see section I of the commentary below). It is followed by a circular figure (in U ) with a description of the ways in which letters can combine to make words. The last part is introduced by a square figure which uses a musical analogy to extend the account of how letters can combine.

It was widely held up to fairly recently that the order of the grammatical treatises in the Codex Wormianus was also the chronological order of their composition, and consequently it was believed that 2 GT was older than ${ }_{3}$ GT. ${ }^{2 r}$ Raschellà, however, in his edition of 2 GT put forward convincing phonological and orthographical arguments to show that 2 GT was most likely written after ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, probably around $1270-1300$ (Raschellà 1982, 130). For example, in MG (4.17) there is a distinction made between the vowel sounds represented by the letters ' $x$ ' and ' $\varnothing$ ', a distinction which was slowly disappearing from the Icelandic sound system (see Raschellà 2000). 2GT, however, does not recognise the distinction and so is probably from a later date. It is quite likely that the grammatical treatises were ordered as they are in the Codex Wormianus because of the nature of their contents rather than their chronology. As we will see in the commentary, ${ }_{2} \mathrm{GT}$ shows some influence from MG.
${ }_{2}$ GT's project is less concerned with a prescriptive orthography than with a description of the orthographic system already in use at the time the treatise was written. The conception that 2 GT had a prescriptive approach was in part the cause of some early datings. For instance, Sveinbjörn Egilsson and Jón Sigurðsson both held that it must have been written around 1200 , because it would have introduced the letter ' $\gamma$ ' into the Icelandic orthographical system (cf. Ólsen 1884 , 130). However, the approach of 2 GT is more descriptive than that of 1 GT , indicating perhaps a more entrenched version of the Latin alphabet than was current at the time IGT was written.

The first section of 2 GT discusses sound. It includes examples of sounds caused by various natural phenomena and other causes according to the type of sound. This section will be discussed in more detail in the first section of the commentary: it is quite similar to the opening part of MG.

The orthographic project of the second section is quite unusual. It bears no similarities to other works of Icelandic literature, but it shares with the material in ${ }_{3} G T$ dealing with letters a descriptive approach, in contrast to the prescriptive approach of IGT. The circular figure is reminiscent of any such circular figures in medieval manuscripts. A possible source or analogue to the figure in 2 GT can be found in the Ars Demonstrativa (ed. Bonner 1985) of Ramón Llull (1232-1316). The figure in 2 GT is probably a representation of a design meant to be mounted as independently movable concentric rings, which could be turned to make different
combinations of the letters appearing on it, with the initial letters coming first and so on. It appears only in $U$ thus:


U (MS DG ir, University Library of Uppsala), p. 89
Llull's figure is represented in the following form:


Bonner 1985, 319 (plate XIII)
The purpose of Llull's Ars Demonstrativa was to use the alphabet to create a perfect language or universal system to represent combinations of universal ideas. It used
the alphabet as the key to these combinations, and while it had no orthographic purpose, the diagrams and systems by which letters could be combined in the ars could be adapted for this purpose. In Llull's work, the letters represent concepts and their combinations universal truths; in 2GT they represent sounds and their combinations are language.

The circular figure represents a shift in interest in the study of letters in Iceland. Like the descriptive nature of the treatise (in contrast to IGT's prescriptive approach), both show a move away from simply using letters to represent the phonemic system of the language. The interest here is in letters themselves as a combinatory system. The way letters combined was not of interest to the author of IGT. 2GT's approach can be seen in the context of intellectual changes in Europe. The focus of language in the thirteenth century was more on abstract systems and the alphabet for its own sake, rather than on the phonological basis for language. This can be seen in the popularity of Llull's work - it attempted nothing approximating a 'real' language, but rather attempted to communicate universal ideas through an abstract system.

There are many parallels between the orthographic approach of 2 GT and that of the runological sections of MG. It is also interesting to note that Llull's Ars Demonstrativa generated a great deal of interest around the same time that MG's runological material was also widely influential - the seventeenth century. ${ }^{22}$ Both MG and 2 GT deal with the letters twice, approaching them in different ways. In MG, the letters are discussed first in categories (vowels, semivowels and consonants) and are later discussed in terms of their shape and value (see Commentary 3.3). In 2 GT , they are first discussed according to the round figure, and then according to a square figure, which represents the combinations of letters by analogy with a musical instrument.

The musical analogue again shows a departure from the earlier Icelandic orthographic work - it does little to explain how the letters are used in the actual language. The source for such a description of the language is unknown - it may well be an invention of the author. The first chapter of MG also implies certain links between literate vocal sound (sound that can be represented in writing) and music. This will be examined in more detail in the commentary to the first chapter.

2GT's interest in letters is not simply as phonemes. It is interested in their categories and combinations, together with ways in which the letters can be organised visually. 2 GT presumes some knowledge of the letters as phonemes of Icelandic, and as such relies and expands upon the work in IGT, while focusing less on phonological concerns. Given the changes taking place in European thought, it is quite likely that 2 GT was produced as a reexamination of earlier theories of the orthographic system with a view to bringing it up to date with those changes.

### 5.1.4. Conclusions

The orthographical treatises and the evidence from the prologue show that there was considerable interest in the issue of how to write Icelandic in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For the twelfth-century works, this focused on the reform of existing alphabets on the basis of phonological or (one presumes) historical principles. 2GT draws on that tradition, but brings the question of the alphabet up to date with contemporary Continental thought, which at the time was using the alphabet to represent systems of thought. 2GT took the combinatory methods of the work of late thirteenth-century scholars and applied it to the phonological description of language.

Our interest in these texts is because, as we will see, MG takes a similar approach of drawing on the Icelandic orthographic tradition and updating it with contemporary European thought.

### 5.2. Treatises on rhetoric and poetics

MG in W is located between the two orthographical treatises and some treatises dealing with rhetoric and Icelandic poetics. These treatises are $3 \mathrm{GTb}, 4 \mathrm{GT}$ and Háttatal. ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GTb}$ and ${ }_{4} \mathrm{GT}$ use skaldic verses to exemplify rhetorical concepts from Latin grammars. In A and B, MG is located before Skáldskaparmál, which deals, like the other treatises, with indigenous poetics. There is a large body of scholarship on these works, including their relationship with MG. It is for this reason that they are not dealt with at length in the present study.

### 5.2.1. Málskrúðsfreði and 4GT

${ }_{3}$ GT's two parts reflect the two broad concerns of Icelandic grammatical literature: orthography and with it a theory of writing, and rhetoric exclusively as it applies to verse. MG in many ways follows on from 1 GT and 2 GT , and Málskrúorsfreð̊ ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GTb}$ ) and ${ }_{4} \mathrm{GT}$ constitute the study of poetic diction more generally.

Both ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GTb}$ and 4 GT examine equivalences between Icelandic and classsical rhetorical figures and tropes. Latin rhetoric is thus seen as applicable to Icelandic verse. Some justification for this approach can be found in the first chapter of Málskrúðsfreði. It is interesting in that it outlines the purpose of the second section of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, as well as the origins of skaldic verse. It is quoted here in full:

Jpæssi bok ma gerla skilia, at oll ær xin listin \| skalld skapr sa, ær romverskir spxkingar namv iathænis borg a griklandi ok | snerv sipan i latinv mal, ok sa lioð háttr æða skalldskapr, ær oठinn ok aठrir asia | menn flvttv norðr higat i norðr halfv heimsins, ok kendv monnum a sina tvngv | pæsskonar list, sva sæm peir hoffov skipat ok nvmit isialfv asia landi, par sæm mæst | var freǧ ok rikdomr ok froðlæikr veralldarinnar. (Ólsen 1884,

> 59-60)
> It may be clearly understood from this book that the art of speech which the Roman orators learnt in Athens in Greece and then transferred into the Latin language is the same as the metre or poetry which Odin and other men of Asia brought northwards when they settled the northern hemisphere, and which they taught to men in their own language, as though they had studied and devised it in Asia itself, where beauty and wealth and knowledge were the greatest in all the world. (Collings 1967,74)

A similar argument occurs in the Prologue to Snorra Edda (Faulkes 1988, 4-6) and again in Skáldskaparmál (Faulkes 1998, 5-6). The account in Skáldskaparmál in particular is used to justify the study of skaldic verse. However, the emphasis in this section of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ seems less directly aimed at justifying the study of verse which has a pagan mythological background, as is the emphasis in Snorra Edda. Rather, ${ }_{3}$ GT here gives a pseudo-historical context for the origin of Norse verse so that it could be studied according to Latin models (Clunies Ross 1987, 27-28). Part of the reason for such an argument was thus to justify the use of Priscian and Latin poetics for discussing Norse verse - Latin verse has the same origins as Norse, and so the study of Latin verse can be applied to Norse. His theory also lends the vernacular verse a certain status, as it, too, finds its origin in that place where knowledge was the greatest. Consequently, Norse verse would have had the status of classical verse.

The relationship between native and Latin poetics in Málskrúosfreői is not simply that of applying the latter to the former. Ólafr's argument regarding the common origin of Latin and Norse poetry in Greece gives a reason for the study of Latin poetics in relation to Norse. Where Norse poetics departs from Latin, such as in the use of barbarisms, Óláfr defends the Norse usage (Tranter 2000, 146). The assumption in Málskrúrsfreði is that vernacular poetry and poetics has the same status as that of Latin: '... Óláfr hvítaskáld establishes the principle that the native poetic tradition need not be judged as inferior to the models of Antiquity although it does not always comply with antique principles' (Tranter 2000, 146-7). Óláfr's treatment of grammatical subjects in MG is, as we will see, similar to his treatment of poetics.

The opening chapter is followed by chapters on the faults of speech: barbarismus and soloecismus and other faults which come under those categories. The first two of these chapters refer, respectively, to material covered in the fifth and sixth chapters of MG: syllables and parts of speech. All these concepts are illustrated with citations from skaldic verse. The lengthy final chapter deals with comparisons between Latin rhetorical figures and Norse poetics, which is further expanded in 4 GT .

Björn M . Ólsen raises an interesting question regarding the structure of the treatise as a whole: why did the author use two different sources - namely Donatus' Ars Maior and Priscian's Institutiones Grammaticae - for the two sections of the treatise? After all, Donatus also covers the material found in MG. The structure of the treatise as a whole, Ólsen argues, comes from the example in Donatus, which offers the same connection between the grammatical and rhetorical
material (Ólsen 1883, 60). The reason for this (which Ólsen also gives, but only secondarily to a speculation about Óláfr's exemplar) is simply that Priscian provided a more theoretical account of the foundation of grammar, and it is the theory of grammar which most interested the author. This will be discussed in particular in relation to the first chapter in the commentary.

The other rhetorical treatises are of less relevance to the present study: they represent an interest in the study of rhetoric in relation to skaldic verse in the fourteenth century. 4GT is largely a continuation of Óláfr's work in $3 \mathrm{GT} .{ }_{5} \mathrm{GT}$ only survives in a fragment immediately preceding MG in A. It contains some information on versification.

### 5.2.2. Snorra Edda

The corpus of Icelandic literature contains other texts that deal with poetics, rhetoric and the theory of writing. The most notable of these is Snorra Edda, and in particular, the third and fourth parts of that work, Skáldskaparmál (The Language of Poetry) and Háttatal (List of verse-forms).

Skáldskaparmál deals primarily with poetic diction. It provides examples of kenningar (periphrastic descriptions) and beiti (terms or names) used in skaldic diction. There is mythological material included which explains some of the kenningar. Among this material is an extended account of the origin of the mead of poetry and its acquisition by Óðinn. There are some points of contact both in content and terminology between Skáldskaparmál and Málskrúơsfreði. This is not surprising, given the close family relationship between Óláfr Dorðarson and Snorri Sturluson. Margaret Clunies Ross's 1987 study of Skáldskaparmál includes detailed examinations of some of these points of contact.

Skáldskaparmál contains poetic lists or pulur of beiti. Further such lists are included after the text in various Snorra Edda MSS, including A and B. Like Skáldskaparmál as a whole, the function of the pulur is to aid in the oral instruction and transmission of skaldic diction.

Snorri's approach in Skáldskaparmál is more independent of Latin learning than that of Óláfr in ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, but was based to a certain extent on the intellectual premises of twelfth-century philosophy and linguistics (Clunies Ross 1987, 174). In contrast, ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ - or at least MG - is situated intellectually more in thirteenthcentury thought, as we will see.

In so far as Skáldskaparmál treats the subject of poetic diction, it differs from the more formal descriptions of ${ }_{3}$ GT. Háttatal, in contrast, deals with the formal and quantifiable features of poetry. However, Háttatals approach to Norse poetics is different from that of Málskrúððfraði. There is some classical influence in Háttatal in the way in which the material is presented and in its structure (Faulkes 1999, xiv-xv; Tranter 2000, 147). However, the content of the tract, including almost all
of the categories expounded, does not derive from the Latin tradition.
Both Skáldskaparmál and Háttatal at points use categorisations to elucidate the concepts of poetic diction and versification. These tend to be in question-andanswer form, with two or three categories in each division. In Skáldskaparmál, such categorisations immediately follow the myth of the mead of poetry.

### 5.3. Other associated material

We have seen that Skáldskaparmál contains an account of the origin of poetry. Also of interest is that there exists a mythological account of the origin of runes in the eddic poem Hávamál: this myth is of some importance to understanding the status of runes, and hence the cultural background to the runological material in MG. However, it is not quoted in any of the grammatical treatises, including Snorra Edda. In this passage of Hávamál ( $138 f f$ ), Ő́inn describes how he hanged himself for nine nights on a tree (most likely the world-ash, Yggdrasill), wounded by a spear and without food or drink. The imagery here is quite reminiscent of the crucifixion of Christ and many scholars have argued for some Christian influence on this passage. However, Evans (1986, 29-33) argues against these claims, pointing to evidence from kennings and other pagan religions to show that the origin is more likely to be independent of Christian mythology.

After this ordeal, Órinn 'takes up' the runes. In the next stanza, he describes how he learnt some spells and also alludes to his acquisition of the mead of poetry. The acquisition of knowledge of runes, magic and poetry are all treated as analogous both here and elsewhere in the mythology. All have the following in common: the power of concealment; magic; acquired by Óxinn; and all are linguistic phenomena.

The poem then lists eighteen spells (one per stanza) which can be invoked in various circumstances. A similar list occurs in another eddic poem, Sigrdrífumál.

In all cases, the status of runes in Christian theology is highly problematic. The Euhemerist argument of Snorra Edda justifies the study of native poetics, but it does not necessarily justify the use of runes or magic.

## Notes

I. Most notably, an issue of the Oxford Literary Review (Vol. 2I, 1999) is devoted to the topic of 'Technologies of the Sign'. The articles are principally from a Derridean perspective. Ong, in Orality and Literacy (1982, 165-170) discusses Derrida's theories, although very inadequately. English translations of Derrida, however, were limited at the time of the publication of Ong's study.
2. Reprinted in Jakob Benediktsson 1951, vol. 2. Page references are to Jakob Benediktsson's edition.
3. The only other scholars I have identified are Ethel Seaton, whose work I will discuss below, and Sigurður Nordal. Nordal states that Arngrímur used W in Crymogea, 'evidenced by the epitome of the grammatical treatises contained therein' (1931, 19), but this is the extent of Nordal's identification of the use of MG.
4. 'vfroðvm' is W's reading, which Ólsen chooses for his edited text. AM 748 Ib 4 to has ' $q$ 万rum'.
5. '... In the Norwegian alphabet (Norwegian, Danish, Runic are synonyms for the author [of the Grammatical Treatises]) ...'. Worm, like Arngrimur, did not distinguish between what we now identify as four separate grammatical treatises in the Codex Wormianus. Reference to the 'Danish' language in MG only occurs in W.
6. More literally: 'This seems by no means to be escaped, that the Danish language will from ancient times have been called Runa Maali from these runes, as can be demonstrated to the eye from not one place in the manuscripts of Edda and Skalda brought to us from Iceland.'
7. Again, the scribe has omitted the text in AM 757a 4to. The Arnamagnean Dictionary Project cites a further occurrence of the term, in the riddarasaga, Dínus saga drambláta (Jónas Kristjánsson 1960, 12 - see Commentary 3.3.4). The citations for the word in Fritzner and Cleasby-Vigfússon are only from MG.
8. The use of 'rúna mál' at this point only occurs in W, whereas the previous citation occurs in the same form in W, A and B. In both cases of the use of this term in MG, it is in the dative case. This is the reason for Worm's particular spelling of the term, further evidence that he had no other witnesses for the term outside MG in W.
9. Magnús Ólafsson used a manuscript of Snorra Edda related to A and B for Laufás Edda, although this is no longer extant (Faulkes 1979, 156). He may have sent the manuscript or communicated its contents to Worm in their regular correpondence.
ro. I am drawing the distinction here between the runes used in Literatura Runica to print the Old Norse texts and those that appear in the texts Worm cites, which, of course, must belong to the Rune Porm and MG respectively.
ir. The meaning of this sentence is somewhat obscure. Raschella, however, explains most of the words, apart from 'ruui' (1994, 684n). I have attempted to explain the sentence in section 3.2.2 of the commentary.
12. The discussion of this rune occupies a large part of the earliest correspondence between Arngrímur and Worm (Jakob Benediktsson 1951, 2:3-8 and notes). Because the sound R only occurs in inflexions, it had the name 'yr'. This must have caused some confusion for early runologists, as all the other rune names have the phonetic value represented in the initial letter.
${ }_{13}$. The first citations are from John Webb, A vindication of Stone-Heng restored, 1665 , including 'The Teutonick and Runick were one and the same Language.' (85). The last is from Sir Daniel Wilson, The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, 1851: 'In Iceland where the language
of their runic literature is still a living tongue ...' (Vol. I, p. 330 (entry for 'runic')).
14. 'But now alphabetic letters (which henceforth could only be used amongst the Hebrews) being taken by the Egyptians from their hieroglyphic figures, retained, as was natural, much of the shapes of those characters: to cut off therefore all occasion of danger from symbolic images, Moses, as I suppose, altered the shapes of the Egyptian letters, and reduced them into something like those simple forms in which we now find them. Those who in much later ages converted the northern Pagans to the Christian Faith observed the same caution. For the characters of the northern alphabet, called Runic, having been abused to magical superstition, were then changed to the Roman.' (Warburton 1788, II:437-8).
15. Ólsen does not give these references in any sort of detail.
16. On pages $52-54$, Ólsen gives a close comparison of this part of the Prologue with the text in MG, which indeed is quite similar in many ways. It does not follow, however, that the former was originally intended as an introduction to the latter.
17. Section 5.I.I below deals at length with the Prologue to the grammatical treatises, including the evidence it may provide for orthographical reform in the twelfth century.
18. Owing perhaps to the late date of this manuscript, this form of ' $e$ ' is not discussed by Hreinn Benediktsson in Early Icelandic Script, nor does it appear in any of the manuscripts included in that work.
19. The example uses the word málstafr as the gloss to rún. Ólsen argues that the former word was used to refer to runic letters in particular, as opposed to bókstafr, which was used for letters of the Latin alphabet (Ólsen 1883, 12-13; see also Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 52 n ). Málstafr is also used in $2 G T$, but for 'consonant'.
20. Hreinn Benediktsson adds to fill in a section presumed missing from the text: 'af pi at hverr tviga hefir hlior pav er xigi finnaz i annarri. fva ganga ok fvmir fafir of ("because each language has sounds that are not to be found in the other language; and likewise some letters are superfluous') (1972, 208-209).
21. The only notable exception, as pointed out by Raschellà, is Finnur Jónsson. Although he did not argue for a late-thirteenth century dating for ${ }_{2} G T$, he implies it when he notes that the opening section of ${ }_{2} G T$ was an 'echo' of the corresponding section of 3 GT (Raschella 1982, 130; cf. Finnur Jónsson 1933, 4).
22. Drucker ( 1995,125 ) notes the influence of Llull on the writers Giordano Bruno ( 1548 -1600), Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680) and Gottfried Leibnitz (1646-1716). Eco also discusses at length early modern works influenced by Llull (1995, 128-143).

## Sigla and Abbreviations

Sigla<br>A AM 748 Ib 4 to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík<br>B AM 7572 4to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík<br>b AM 744 4to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík<br>E The present edition<br>JS Jón Sigurðsson's edition (1852)<br>JSB Jón Sigurðsson's diplomatic text of B<br>O Björn M. Ólsen's edition ( $\mathbf{1 8 8 4}$ )<br>S Sveinbjörn Egilsson's edition (1848)<br>W Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol., Det Arnamagnxanske Institur, Copenhagen)<br>Wb Jón Ólafsson's marginalia in W<br>w AM 757b 4to, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík<br>\section*{Abbreviations}<br>om. text omitted in ms. or edition<br>〈text〉 emendation<br>${ }^{\text {text }}{ }^{7}$ variant reading

All chapter and section numbers are supplied by the present editor. For comparison with Björn M. Ólsen's numbering, see the appendices.

## Edition and Translation

## 1．At greina hljóð

（1．1）Allt er hljóð pat er kvikvendis eyru má skilja．（1．2）Hljóð hefir margar kynkvíslir，ok verðr hljóð pat，sem náttúrliga megu eyru greina，af samkvámu tveggja líkama．（r．3）En ǫnnur hljoðsgrein er sú，er heilọg ritning segir 「andliga hluti hljóða？．（r．4）Líkamligt hljóð verðr annat af lífligum hlutum，en annat af líflausum hlutum．${ }^{1}$（r．s）Hljóð pat，er heyriz af líflausum hlutum verðr annat ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{af}$ hræriligum skepnum ${ }^{2}$ ，en annat af óhræriligum，annat af samkvámu hræriligra hluta ok óhræriligra．（r．6）Af hræriligum hlutum verðr hljóð sem af họfuðskepnum：「eldi’， vindum ok vqtnum．（1．7）Af óhræriligum hlutum verðr hljóð sem steinum eða málmi eठa strengjum，ok verðr pó pess kyns hljoð jafnan af hræring nokkurs líkama lífligs eða ólífligs．（r．8）Af samkvámu hræriligra hluta ok óhræriligra verðr hljóð sem pá er vindr eða vọtn eða elldr slær sínu afli við jorð eða aðra óhræriliga hluti．（r．9） Hljóð pat er verðr af líflausum hlutum er sumt ógreiniligt 「sem vinda gnýr eða vatna bytr eða reiðar prumur，en sumt hljóð er greiniligt ${ }^{`}$ eptir náttúruligri samhljóðon，peiri er philosophi kelluðu músikám；ok verðr pat hljóð hit efsta ok hit æzta af hræring hringa peira sjau er sól ok tungl ok fimm merkistjornur ganga í pær er planetae eru kallaðar，ok heitir pat caelestis harmonia eठa himnesk hljó $\begin{aligned} & \text { agrein．}\end{aligned}$ Dessar stjornur sagði Plato hafa líf ok skyn ok vera ódauoligar．（i．io）Greiniligt hljoð verðr í íliflausum hlutum，pat sem vér kollum listuligt hljóð sem í málmi ok strengjum ok pípum ok allz kyns ṣ̨ngfærum．（r．II）Í lífligum hlutum ok vitlausum verðr hljő sem viðum eða grosum ok pó af tenging nokkurs hræriligs líkama． （r．12）Af lifandi hlutum，peim er sen hafa，verðr annat hljóð，pat er rodd heitir，en annat pat er eigi er rọdd sem fótastapp eða handaklapp ok annat slíkt．（I．13）Rodd er hljő framfært af kvikvendis munni，formerat af níu náttúrligum tólum：lungum ok barka，tungu ok tveim vq̧rrum ok fjórum tọnnum．（1．14）Enn Priscianus kallar rǫdd vera hit 「grann＇ligsta loptsins h甲gg ok eiginliga eyrum skiljanligt．（r．is）Rp̣dd greiniz á marga vega：ǫnnur rọdd ritanlig en ̣̂nnur óritanlig．（r．16）「Óritanlig rọdd er sú，er eigi má stǫfum greina．${ }^{\urcorner}$（I．17）「Ritanlig rǫdd er q̧nnur merkilig en oqnur ómerkilig．＇（r．18）Ómerkilig rǫdd er sú，er til engrar merkingar er prengd，sem＇bu＇， ＇ba＇，＇blictrix＇．（1．19）Merkilig rọdd er ǫnnur af náttúru，qnnur af setning eða sjálfvilja．（r．20）Merkilig rǫdd af náttúru er barna grátr eða sjúkra manna stynr ok annat slíkt．（r．2ı）Merkilig rọdd af setning er sú，er framfæriz＇af＇sjálfvilja manns， sem petta ${ }^{〔}$ nám：maðr merkir kvikendi skynsamligt ok dauoligt．

I．At greina bljór A，om．B W；
（1．1）Allt er bljồ A B，Hljô er allt W；kvikvendis A w，um kvikvendis B W O；skilja A B，heyra W；（r．2）ok A W，nú B；pat A W，allt pat B；náttúrliga megu eyru A W， megu eyru náttúrliga B ；（1．3）En A，om．B W；er A W，sem B；‘andliga bluti bljô ${ }^{7}$ ㄱ B W，bljỗa andliga bluti A S O；（1．4）lifligum MSS，líflausum S；líflausum MSS， lífligum S；（I．s）Hljồ pat A W，pat bljôr B；er A，sem B，om．W；líflausum A W，

## 1. Categorising Sound

(I.I) Sound is everything which the ears of a living being can discern. (r.2) There are many varieties of sound, and that sound which the ears may naturally distinguish arises from the coming together of two bodies. (r.3) But a second type of sound is that which scripture says spiritual things produce. (1.4) Physical sound is caused either by living entities or by non-living entities. (1.5) The sound which is heard from non-living entities arises either from movable things or from immovable things, or from the coming together of movable and immovable things. (r.6) Sound arises from movable things such as the chief elements: fire, winds and waters. (1.7) Sound arises from immovable things such as from stones or metal or strings, although this kind of sound can arise equally from the movement of a living body or a non-living body. ( I .8 ) Sound arises from the coming together of movable and immovable things, such as when wind or waters or fire strikes the earth or other immovable things with its force. (r.9) Some sound which occurs from non-living things is indistinct like the howling of winds or the roaring of waters or the rumble of thunder, but some sound is divisible (distinguishable) according to natural consonance, which philosophers called music; and the most sublime and noble sound arises from the movement of those seven rings in which the sun and moon and five 'marking' stars - which are called planets - travel, and that is called caelestis harmonia or heavenly type of sounds. Plato said that these stars have life and reason and are immortal. (r.1o) Divisible sound occurs in non-living entities, which we call artistic sound, such as in metal, strings, pipes and musical instruments of all kinds. (I.II) In living things without consciousness, such as trees and grasses, sound arises, but this is still from the meeting of a particular moving body. (r.12) From living things which have consciousness one sound arises which is called voice, and another sound which is not voice, such as the stamping of feet or the clapping of hands and other such sounds. (1.13) Voice is sound pronounced from the mouth of a living entity, formed from nine natural tools: the lungs and windpipe, tongue and two lips and the four [upper front] teeth. (I.14) But Priscian declares voice to be the finest striking of the air and intelligible to one's own ears. (r.15) Voice is distinguished in many ways: one type of voice is writeable and another unwriteable. (I.16) Unwriteable voice is that which cannot be divided into letters. (1.17) Writable voice is either significative or non-significative. (1.18) Non-significative voice is that which is not pressed into any meaning, such as 'bu', 'ba', 'blictrix'. (r.19) Significative voice is either from nature, or from planning or intention. (1.20) Significative voice from nature is the weeping of children or the groaning of sick people and other such things. (r.21) Significative voice arising from planning is that which is the articulation of a person's intention, as in this definition: man is a rational and mortal animal.
 B S；（1．7）verðr A W，om．B；sem A W，sem af B；eða A B，ok W；（I．8）votn eða ．．． slar A W，elldr eða votn slar B ；sinu afli vıð A B，með afli W；（1．9）ógreiniligt A W， ógreiniligt svá B ；‘sem vinda ．．．greiniligt B W ，om．A S；er A W ，sem B ；bringa peira sjau A ，bringa sjau peira B ，bringa peira W ；ganga íper A W ，reika um B ；er A ， sem W，om．B；eru kallaðar A，beita B W；pat A W，pat bljô B；eða bimnesk bljôðagrein A ，svá sem bimnesk bljơðagrein B ，om．W；Dessar stjornur ．．．ódauðligar A W，om．B；（1．ıo）pat A W，peim B；listuligt bljód A W，skemtanar tól B；í málmi ．．． sqngferum A ，í málmi ok strengjum ok allz kyns sqng ok pípum W ，er í strengjum ok pípum ok allz kyns sqngferum，íklukkum ok í pðrum málmi B ；（1．II）ok vitlausum A B，om．W；bloô A B w，om．W；viðum A，íviðum B W O；eəa A，ok í B，ok W； tenging A ，brering B W O；（I．I2）lifandi A B，lifligum W ；sen A ，skyn B O，líkama W；er A，sem B W；ok A W，eða B；slikt A，pvilikt B W O S；（I．ı3）fjorum tonnum A B，tonnum fórum W ；（1．14）kallar A W，segir $\mathrm{B} ;{ }^{〔}$ grann ${ }^{\top} \mathrm{B} \mathrm{O}$ ，greini W ，grand A S；eiginliga A W，einkannliga B；eyrum A B，om．W；（ז．1ヶ）om．A，er B O；Redd greiniz ．．．ritanlig A B，om．W；（r．16）Óritanlig reqdd ．．．sú W，Sú er óritanlig B；er W，sem B；「Óritanlig rodd ．．．greina．B W O S，om．A；（I．17）「Ritanlig rqdd ．．． ómerkilig．？B W O S，om．A；（1．18）Ómerkilig rodd ．．．er A W，Sú er ómerkilig sem B；merkingar A W，nytsamligrar merkingar B ；prengd A ，sett B ，hofo W；＇bu＇，＇ba＇， ＇blictrix＇A，＇bu＇，＇ab＇，＇bligstrix＇W，＇bumba＇，＇lictrix＇B，bumbo biccrix JSB；（1．19） onnur A W，en ønnur B；（ I .20 ）ok A B，eøa W O；slikt A，puilikt B W O；（ I .2 I ） setning A W，setningu B；「af B W O，með A S；「nám W O S，ná A B；ligt A B，lig W；ligt A B，lig W；

## Notes

1．This phrase（verðr ．．．blutum）is repeated and deleted in W due to dittography．
2．B is erroneously recorded as a variant in all editions．See the note to this word in the transcription of B for more information．

## 2. Frá stafa skipti ok tíma

(2.I) Stafr er hinn minzti hlutr raddar samansettrar, sem rita má, ok er stafr kallaðr hinn minzti hlutr eða óskiptiligr í pví, sem heyrir allri samsetning stafligrar raddar, pvíat vér skiptum bœekr í kapitula, en kapitula í klausur eða vers, en klausur í málsgreinir, málsgreinir í sagnir, sagnir í samstofur, samstơfur í stafi. (2.2) En pó eru eigi stafir náttúrliga óskiptiligir, pvíat stafr er rọdd, en rọdd er lopt eða af lopti formerat. (2.3) En hvárt sem rọdd er lopt eða lopts formeran, pá er hon samansett meठ sínum portum sem loptit með pví at pat er líkamligt ok allir líkamir eru samansettir, en jafn hlutr verðr af jofnu efni at ‘geraz’ sem hold af holdi. (2.4) En svá sem í náttúrligum líkomum eru nọkkurir beir hlutir er einfaldir kallaz sem fjórir hǫfuoskepnur: eldr ok vatn, lopt ok jorro, ok kallaz pessir hlutir eigi af pví einfaldir, at peir sé óskiptiligir, heldr af pví, at hverr peira hlutr er jafn sínu ollu, svá sem lítill gneisti hefir jafna náttúru hinu mesta báli, svá eru ok stafir óskiptiligir í misjofnu efni, eða í pá hluti sem ólíkir eru, bvíat 'a' eða aðrir raddarstafir hafa stundum skamt hljóð en stundum langt, ok ef peir hafa langt hljóð pá hafa peir tvá tíma. (2.5) Philosophi kq̣lluðu stafi elementa, id est hǫfuðskepnur pvíat svá sem allir líkamir eru skapaðir af fórum hofuðskepnum, svá gera ok stafir saman settir alla stafliga rọdd svá sem nǫkkurs konar líkam, pvíat rọdd tekr eyru ok hefir prenna mæling sem allt pat, er líkamligt er, pat er hæð upp ok ofan, breidd til vinstri handar ok hægri ok lengd fyrir ok eptir, pvíat rọdd má cllumegin heyraz. (2.6) Samstọfur hafa hæð í hljóðsgrein, en breidd í anda, lengd í tíma, pvíat hver samstafa er annat hvárt hvoss eða pung eða umbeygilig. (2.7) Hvọss hljóðsgrein er sú er skjótliga er framfoerð með upphǫldnu hljóði, sem pessi samstafa: hvat. (2.8) pung hljősgrein er sú, er af lítilátu hljóði hefz ok dregz nior í enn lægra hljóð, sem hin fyrsta samstafa í pessu namni: háreysti. (2.9) Umbeygilig hljóðsgrein er sú, er hefz af lítillátu hljơoi ok penz upp sem hvo̧s hljóosgrein, en fellr niðr at lyktum sem pung svá, sem petta nafn: hraustr. (2.1o) Hver samstafa hefir ok framflutning annathvárt lina eða snarpa ok er sá andi hér kallaðr hræring framflutningar samstǫfu. (2.II) Meठ snọrpum anda verðr samstafa framforð sem hin fyrri samstafa pessa nafns: purrum. (2.12) Með linum anda flytjaz samstofur sem pessar: langan tíma. (2.13) Hver samstafa er annat hvárt lọng eða skø̨mm, ok er skọmm samstafa skjótt fram flutt ok hefir eina stund sem fyrri samstafa í pessu nafni: ari. (2.14) Lǫng samstafa er sú, er seinliga er framflutt ok hefir tvær stundir sem hin fyrri samstafa i pessu nafni: hati. (2.15) Ok er tími eða stund kallaðr dvoll mælandi ${ }^{〔}$ framflutning ${ }^{7}$ raddar.
2. Frá stafa ... tíma A Wb, om. B W;
(2.1) raddar samansettrar A , samansettrar raddar W , samsettrar raddar B ; sem A , sá sem B W; binn minzti blutr A B, om. W; eða óskiptiligr A, om. B W; beyrir A W, tilheyrir B ; (2.2) eigi A , ergi W , om. B ; lopti A W , loptz B ; (2.3) lopts formeran A B , af lopti formerat W; mer A, af B W; sem A W, svá sem B; ok A B, om. W;

## 2. The division and length of letters

(2.1) The letter is the smallest part of connected vocal sound which can be written, and the letter is called either the smallest unit, or not divisible into that which can be heard in all composition of writeable ${ }^{1}$ voice, because we divide books into chapters, and chapters into paragraphs or verses, and paragraphs into sentences, sentences into words, words into syllables, syllables into letters. ${ }^{2}$ (2.2) However, letters are not naturally indivisible, because the letter is voice and voice is air or formed from air. (2.3) But whether voice is air or the forming of air, nevertheless it is composed of its own parts like the air because it is physical and all bodies are composite, and an equivalent part must be made from an equivalent substance, like flesh from flesh. (2.4) And just as in natural bodies there are certain things which are called elementary - like the four elements: fire and water, air and earth; and these things are not called elementary because they are indivisible, but rather because each part of them is the same as its whole, just as a small spark has the same nature as the largest blaze - so too letters are indivisible into different matter or into things which are unlike, because $a$ or other vowels sometimes have a short sound and sometimes long, and if they have a long sound then they have two temporal units. (2.5) Philosophers called letters elementa, that is, elements because just as all bodies are created out of four elements, so too letters combined make all writeable speech, just like a body of some kind, because voice strikes the ears and has three dimensions, like everything that is corporeal, that is, height up and down, breadth to left and right, and length forward and behind, because voice can be heard from all sides. (2.6) Syllables have height in their accent ${ }^{3}$ and breadth in their aspiration, length in their quantity because each syllable is either acute or grave or circumflex. (2.7) An acute accent is that which is pronounced quickly with a lifting sound, as in this syllable: 'hvat' (what). (2.8) A grave accent is that which begins from a low ${ }^{4}$ sound and is pulled down to an even lower sound, like the first syllable in this word: 'háreysti' (noise). (2.9) A circumflex accent is that which starts from a low sound and is stretched up like an acute accent, but falls down at the end like a grave accent, like this word: 'hraustr' (strong, brave). (2.10) Each syllable also has either smooth or rough pronunciation and that breathing is defined here as the movement of the pronunciation of the syllable. (2.II) A syllable is pronounced with rough breath like the first syllable of this word: 'purrum' (dry). (2.12) Syllables like these are produced with a smooth breath: 'langan tíma' (long time). (2.13) Each syllable is either long or short, and a short syllable is pronounced quickly and has one measure of time like the first syllable in this word: 'ari' (eagle). (2.14) A long syllable is that which is pronounced slowly and has two measures of time like the first syllable in this word: 'hati' (hater). (2.15) And quantity or length is defined as the duration in speaking of the articulation of voice.

Edition
samansettir A W, samansettir af sinum portum $\mathrm{B} ;{ }^{「}{ }^{\prime} \operatorname{geraz}{ }^{\top} \mathrm{B} \mathrm{W} \mathrm{OS}$, getaz $\mathrm{A} ; \operatorname{sem} \mathrm{A}$ W, svá sem B ; (2.4) er einfaldir kallaz A, sem einfaldir kallaz B , er kallaz einfaldir W; sem A W, svá sem B; vatn, lopt ... jgro A, jerð, vatn ok lopt B W; af pví einfaldir A B, einfaldir af pvíW; svá sem A B, sem W S; misjofnu MSS S, misjofn O; tíma A B, tíma jamlanga W; (2.5) stafi A W, stafina B; id est A, pat eru W S O, pat pyðiz B; pvíat A B, af puíat W; allir A B, om. W; er A W, sem B; upp ok ... eptir A W, ok lengð ok breidd; beð er upp ok ofan, en lengd fyrir ok eftir, en breidd er til bagri bandar ok vinstri B ; pllumegin A O , ollum megin B W S ; (2.6) bljốsgrein A B , bljöəa grein W ; lengd A W , en lengd $\mathrm{B} ;(2.7)$ er A B , om. W; er A W , sem B ; skjótliga er framforr A , skjótliga ferð fram B , framm ferð W ; sem A W, suá sem B ; (2.8) sú, er ... befz A, sú, sem befz af lágu bljơoi B, lítilátu bljơori befz W; enn A B, bio W; í pessu namni A W, pessa nafns B ; (2.9) sem pung A , í punga B ; er A W , sem B ; ok penz ... bupss A W, ok befr sik upp paðan í bvassa B; en fellr ... svá A B, om. W; (2.10) ok framflutning ... snarpa A W, annatbvárt í framflutning linan anda eða snarpan B, ok í framflutning annat bvárt linan anda eða snarpan $\mathrm{O}{ }^{1}{ }^{1}(2.11)$ samstafa A B , sú samstafa W; sem A W, svá sem B ; purrum A W , purvir B ; (2.12) sem A , svá sem B , om. W; (2.13) er A B, om. W; ok befir ... sem A, ok befir eina [.........] W, svá sem bin B; ${ }^{2}$ (2.14) sú, er ... er A, seinliga B W; sem A W, svá sem B; bati A S, hari B O, om. W; ${ }^{3}$ (2.15) Ok er ... stund A W, Stund eða tími er B; ‘framflutning' B W O, framfluttrar A S;

## Notes

I. Ólsen ( $\mathbf{1 8 8 4}, 39 n$ ) argues: 'B, hvis tekst her er at foretrakke, efter som den både i sig selv er mere korrekt en teksten i AW, og tillige støttes ved det følgende sa andi', but the text in A is quite sensible and correct.
2. W has a gap for 'stund sem', but this was filled in by Jón Ólafsson according to Ólsen ( 1884,4 ). 3. There is no reason why B's reading should be taken ahead of A's here.

## Notes

I. 'staflig' rather than the previous chapter's 'ritanlig' - see Commentary 2.I.I for further discussion of the terminological change here.
2. That is, the letter cannot be divided further into some other unit or part of writeable vocal sound.
3. There are two distinct uses of the Icelandic word bljorsgrein in MG (listed separately in the Glossary). The first is the fairly literal, general sense of 'distinction of sound'; the other (the case here) is of the specific technical sense of 'accent' (i.e. acute, grave or circumflex). The origin of the latter usage is not clear. In $\S_{3.2}$, the two senses appear to be used in the one sentence.
4. This appears to be the only instance (along with the following sentence) of a linguistic usage of litilatr 'humble, condescending'. The context suggests 'low (pitch)'; litlu 'small' is used in the same context in $\S 5.26-28$.

## 3．〈Untitled〉

（3．1）Stafr hefir prjú tilfelli：nafn ok figúru ok veldi eða mátt．（3．2）Stafaņ̣fn eru sextán í nórænni tungu í pá líking sem Girkir hơfou forðum daga，en pó eru merkingar peira miklu fleiri，pvíat Priscianus segir at hverr 「raddarstafr＇＇hafi tíu hljó e eða fleiri，svá sem $a$ ef pat er skamt hefir fjórar hljóosgreinir：hvassa hljóðsgrein fyrir útan áblásning $b$ sem hér，＇ari＇；punga hljóðsgrein enn fyrir útan $b$ sem hér，「â；hvassa hljóðsgrein með áblásning $b$ sem hér，＇hafi＇；ok punga

 sem hér，［．．．］．（3．4）＇Slíkt hior sama，ef pat hefir eigi áblásning hljơoar pat prjár leiðir，sem pessi nọfn，＇ari＇，＇aranna＇，＇ara＇．（3．5）Slíkt hio sama má ok aðra raddarstafi greina，en $i$ ok $v$ hafa pví fleiri hljóðsgreinir at peir eru stundum samhljóðendr sem í pessum nọfnum，＇iarl vitr＇ok er pá $v$ venð kallat í nórænu máli．
（3．6）${ }^{2}$ Í nórænu stafrófi eru fimm hljóðstafir svá kallaðr：úr $\cap$ ，óss $\ddagger$ ，íss l，ár $\uparrow$ ，ýr $\mathbb{I}$ ， ok er íss stundum settr fyrir $e$ ，pá er hann er stunginn，svá sem aleph eða ioth setjaz fyrir tveim raddarstọfum í ebresku máli．（3．7）$\cap$ er pví fyrst sett，at pat hljóðar í framanverðum vorrum．（3．8）$\ddagger$ er par næst；hann hljóðar í munni．（3．9） $\mid$ stendr par næst，pvíat hann hljoðar í ofanverðum barka，en í neðanverðum barka，ef hann er punktaðr，ok hljóððar pá sem e．（3．10）Dar næst er 1 ＇skipat＇，pvíat pat hljóðar í brjósti． （3．11）I er tekit af 「ebreskum stọfum．（3．12）En látínumenn skipuðu stọfum gagnstaðliga pessu，sem hér er greint．（3．13）Deir settu a fyrst，pvíat pat hljbðar næst hinu nezta tóli raddarinnar，${ }^{3}$ er vér kollum lungu，ok pat má fyrst skilja í bernsligri raust．（3．14）Enn $\cap$ er pví fremst skipat，at pat er fremst ok næst sjálfu efni raddarinnar 「er’ vér hyggjum at loptit megi kalla，ok hafa pví hvárirtveggiu meistarar ${ }^{4}$ vel ok náttúrliga skipat stǫfunum í sínu máli．（3．15）Raddarstafir pessir hefjaz allir af sínu hljóði ok leggjaz í samhljóðendr $R$（reið）ok d（sól）＇．
（3．16）${ }^{6}$ Samhljóðendr eru ellifu í rúnamáli，fimm peir er nálægir eru raddarstǫfum， eru kallaðir hálfraddarstafir af ¢ðrum monnum，pvíat peir hafa meiri líking raddarstafa ok merkiligri hljóð en aðrir samhljóðendr；pat er：Rトd $\Psi$ 「．（3．17）$₹$ er af sumum monnum með pessum stọfum taliðr í látínu stafrófi，bvíat hann hefr sitt hljő af raddarstaf sem aðrir pesskyns samhljóðendr．（3．18）En Priscianus segir eigi mega ráoa stafsins merking，hvárt hans nafn hefz af raddarstaf eða eiginligu hljóði， sem marka má í pessu stafrófi ok męrgum ¢ðrum，er náliga hefjaz allir stafir af sínu hljóði，bxði raddarstafir ok samhljóðendr，ok halda pó fullkomliga sínum merkingum．（3．19）Í pessu stafrófi eru ok fimm stafir er vér kollum dumba stafi；pat eru $\mathcal{Y} p \nmid 1 B$ ，ok eru stafir pessir eigi pví dumbar kallaðir at peir＇hafi ekki hljóð； heldr pví，at peir hafa lítit hljóð hjá raddarstơfum，í pá líking sem sá maðr er lítils「kallaðr ${ }^{\top}$ verðr eða einskis af góðri ætt，er lítt er mannaðr hjá sínum gofgum

## 3. [Untitled]

(3.1) The letter has three characteristics (accidents): name and shape and power or value. (3.2) There are sixteen letter-names in the Norse language, just as the Greeks had in former days, but still there are many more phonetic values for them, because Priscian says that each vowel has ten or more sounds, just as $a$ if it is short has four distinctions of sound: an acute accent without an aspirated $b$, as here, 'ari' (eagle); a grave accent without aspirated $b$, as here: 'á' (river); an acute accent with aspirated $b$, as here: 'hafi' (have); and a grave accent with $b$ as here: 'hafandi' (having). (3.3) Long $a$ has six sounds: if it has an aspirated $b$, then it has either an acute accent or grave or circumflex, as here [...]. (3.4) Likewise, if it does not have aspiration, it is sounded in three ways, as in these words: 'ari', 'aranna', 'ara'. (3.5) Likewise, one can also make distinctions in other vowels, but $i$ and $v$ have further distinctions of sound, in that they are sometimes consonants, as in these words: 'iarl vitr' (wise earl), and then $v$ is called 'venð' in the Norse language. ${ }^{1}$
(3.6) In the Norse alphabet there are five vowels ${ }^{2}$ called: úr $\cap$, óss $\ddagger$, íss I, ár 1 , ýr $I$, and íss is sometimes used for $e$, when it is 'dotted', just as aleph or ioth are used for two vowels in the Hebrew language. (3.7) $\cap$ is placed first, because it is sounded on the front of the lips. (3.8) $\ddagger$ is next; it is sounded in the mouth. (3.9) | stands next because it is sounded in the upper windpipe, but in the lower windpipe if it is dotted, and it then sounds like $e$. (3.10) 1 is placed next, because it is sounded in the chest. (3.11) $I$ is taken from hebrew letters. (3.12) But Latin speakers arranged the letters in the opposite order to that expounded here. (3.13) They placed a first because it is sounded closest to the lowest organ of speech, which we call the lungs, and it can be distinguished first in a child's voice. (3.14) But $\cap$ is placed in front because it is the most forward and the closest to the substance of voice itself, which we think may be called air; and thus both (Latin and Norse) scholars ${ }^{3}$ have ordered the letters in their language well and in a natural way. (3.15) These [names of] vowels all begin with their own sound and end in the consonants $R$ (reir) and $d$ (sol).
(3.16) There are eleven consonants in the runic alphabet; those five which are similar to vowels are called semivowels by other men because they have greater similarity to vowels and more perceptible sound than other consonants; these are: $R$ $ト d \psi \Gamma$. (3.17) $F$ is counted among these letters in the Latin alphabet by some men, because its name begins with a vowel like other consonants of this kind. (3.18) But Priscian says one cannot determine the value of the letter - whether its name begins with a vowel or its own sound - as can be observed in this alphabet and many others, where nearly all letters begin with their own sound, both vowels and consonants, and yet fully retain their value. (3.19) In this alphabet there are also five letters which we call mute letters; these are: $\mathcal{F P} \mu 1 B$, and these letters are not called mute because they do not have sound; rather because they have little sound
frændum．

3．$\langle$ Untitled $\rangle \mathrm{E}$, Cap．um áblafníng Wb，om．W B；
（3．1）prjú B，iii．A，prenn W S；ok A，om．B W；ok A B，om．W；（3．2）nórenni A， danskri W；＇forðum A，om．W；Stafanofn eru ．．．daga，A W，om．B；en pó ．．．fleiri， A W，om．B；pvíat Priscianus segir A，Priscianus segir W，Svá segir Priscianus B；「raddarstafr＇B W O，peira raddarstafr A；${ }^{8}$ 「bafi＇B W O，bafa A S；tíu A B，ii．W， priu JSB；bljồ eða fleiri A B，eðr fleiri bljór W；fjórar A B，fernar W；punga bljöơsgrein ．．．bér，A B，om．W；「ă B O，［．．．］A；${ }^{9}$ bljơơsgrein A B，om．W；ok A B， en W S；「með $b$ B O，om．A W S；sem hér，A B，om．W S；（3．3）berr A B，befir W；「hljồsgrein B W ，bljơogrein A ；sem bér，［．．．］A W，om．B；（3．4）pat prjár leìðir，A， pat á prjá vega，B，om．W S；sem A，svá sem B，par sem W；nofn A B，om．W；（3．5） Slikt bið sama A W，Með pessum betti B；aðra raddarstafi greina A B，greina aðra raddar stafi W S；en A B，om．W S；bljôósgreinir A B，greinir W S O；${ }^{\circ}$ peir A W， pau B ；sem A W ，svá sem B ；ok er ．．．máli A ，ok beitir $v \mathrm{~W}$ ，ok beitir ú pá vend $i$ norrenu máli S，om．B；（3．6）kallaðr：A，om．W S；ýr I，A，om．W；pá er ．．． stunginn A，er pá stundum W；（3．7）pví A，af pvíW S；framanverðum A，om．W S； （3．8）er A，om．W；（3．9）puíat bann A，ok W S；，en ．．．e A，sem e ef bann er ponta⿱亠 r W S；（3．10）1A，a W；「skipat W，skipaðr A；pat A，bann W S；（3．1I）「ebreskum ${ }^{\urcorner}$W S O，ebresku A；（3．12）stofum A，stofunum W S；pessu A，pessum W；（3．13）peir settu A， Settu peir W S；bljơoar A，er W S；tóli raddarinnar A，raddartóli W S；pat má A， má pat W ；raust A W ，rodd w ；（3．14）pví A ，af pvíW S；fremst A ，fyrst $\mathrm{W} \mathrm{S} ; n a s t \mathrm{~A}$ w ，mest W；「er W S O，at put er A；（3．15）ok A，en W S；（3．16）ellifu A，．xii．W； erи A，om．W；øðrит A，бfroðит W O；d A，om．W S；（3．17）er af ．．．monnum A， kalla sumir menn W；talior A，teljandi W；befr A，befir W；（3．18）En A，om．W； eiginligu bljời A ，af eiginligum W ；beði A ，bvártveggja W ；po A ，om．W；（3．19）「kallað ${ }^{\prime}$ W O，kallaz A；stafrófi A，om．W；ok A，om．W；stafir pessir A，pessir stafir W S；pví A，af pvíW；「bafi＇W S O，bafA；pví A，af pví W；lítils 「kallaðr｀．．．einskis A ，kallaðr eingis háttar W ；mannaðr A ，mentr W ；

## Notes

1．A begins a new chapter here with the title＇Um áblásning hljóðs＇．
2．B omits the rest of chapter 3
3． MS w recommences at this point．
4．Ólsen＇s Runerne claims this refers to Ari the learned and Pbroddr rúnameistari，whereas others consider this to refer to both Latin and Norse meistarar．See the commentary．
5 ．MS A has the names of the runes written above each runic symbol here．
6．A has a new chapter heading here．
7．Ólsen takes W＇s reading，and refers to Ólsen 1883，80－81 for support．
8．A has＇raddarstaff＇added above＇peira＇as a correction．
9．A has a large gap for this example．
10．＇hljobosgrein＇has the sense here，as in the first chapter，of＇type of sound＇．
compared with vowels, in the same way that a man is said to be of little value, even if he is from a good family, if he is accomplished in little compared with his noble kinsmen.

## Notes

r. Raschellà notes of this rune-name: 'Presumibile adattamento dell'ingl. ant. wenn (wynn) "gioia, estasi", nome della runa denotante il valore fonemico /w/'. (Raschellà 1994, 680n).
2. bljobstafir, rather than the usual raddarstafir. This term for vowels seems to refer in particular to the runic letters - see Commentary 3.1.3.
3. Ólsen ( 1883,58 ) argues that this is a reference to the same two scholars (Ari and Doroddr) mentioned in the Prologue to the grammatical treatises. The present translation is considerably less speculative, however. See Introduction 3.4.2 and 5.1.I for more detail.

## 4．Um tilfelli stafs

（4．r）＇Annat tilfelli stafs er figúra，pat er mynd eða voxtr stafanna gerr，sem nú er ritat．（4．2）Driðja tilfelli stafa er máttr ok er pat sjálf framflutning stafa ok merking peira．（4．3）Fyrir pann sama mátt stafanna eru bæði fundin nọfn ok figúrur．（4．4） Sumir meistarar kalla skipan hit fjóroa tilfelli stafs，en pat kallar Prisci²anus einn part，pann er mætti stafsins heyrir．（4．5）${ }^{3}$ Dessa stafi ok peira merkingar compileraði minn herra Valdimarr konungr með skjótu orðtaki á pessa lund：Sprangd mannz
 skipat ok bæð̀i sett fyrir $s$ látínustaf ok $z$ girzkan staf，ok kọllum vér pat knésól，ef hon er svá gor 4．（4．7）En $z$ hefir nátrúruliga í sér tveggja stafa hljó，d ok s，eða t ok s，svá sem $x$ hefir tveggja stafa hljóo，cok s，eða g s，ok er pví hvárgi peira stafa ritaðr í rúnum eða í fornu látínustafrófi．（4．8）Nú eru peir stafir pví í stafrófi settir at skjótara pykkir at rita einn staf en tvá．（4．9）Dar næst stendr K，ok er bjarkan á pá leið ritat，ef pat stendr fyrir $p$ látínustaf，ok hefir sá rúnastafr tvá dumba stafi í sér pá er ólíkir eru í hljóői．（4．io）En pví eru opnir belgir gorvir á K pá er pat hljóðar fyrir $p$ ，at pat skal meir sundr loknum vęrum nefna en b．（4．II）par næst stendr $R$ fyrir $r$ látínustaf，ok er hann af peim stǫfum er hálfraddarstafir eru kallaðir．（4．12）par næst stendr $\dagger$ ，pat hljóðar fyrir tveim raddarstǫfum $\rangle$ ，ok $\dagger$ ，ok kalla Girkir pann staf diptongon，pat er tvíljoôr á nóræna tungu，ok eru fjórir diptongi í látínustafrófi en fimm í rúnum．（4．13）Diptongus er samanlíming tveggja raddarstafa í einni samstọfu peira er báơir halda afli sínu．（4．14）pessir eru límingarstafir í rúnum：$\nmid$ fyrir ae； 11 fyrir au； $\mid 1$ fyrir ei，ok er sá diptongus ekki í látínu；$\phi$ fyrir ey；$\neq$ fyrir eo （ $¢$ ），〈oe〉 er hinn fjórði diptongus í látínu，ok er hann ekki í rúnum．（4．15）Sumir raddarstafir eru fyrir skipaðir í samanlímingu sem a ok e，en sumir eptir ‘skipaðir｀ sem e ok i ，o ${ }^{「} \mathrm{ok}^{\top} \mathrm{u}$ ，ok eru peir raddarstafir náttúruliga fyrir skipaðir í samanlímingum，er nálægra hafa hljóð hinu inzta raddartóli mannsins，en hinir eptir skipaðir，er nærri standa í hljoðsgrein efni raddarinnar，sem a fyrir e ok u，「en e fyrir ${ }^{\top}\langle i\rangle$ 「ok o ok $u^{`}$ ，pvíat pat hljő er grannara，er nær stendr brjóstinu ok fyrr tekz， en hitt digrara er framarr skapaz ok meira hefir rúm，er ok hœegra pat hljob fyrri at setja í samanlímingu er fyrri skapaz en ${ }^{4}$ hitt eptir er sîðar formeraz．（4．16）Á látínu er diptongus fyrir prennar sakir fundinn：fyrir hljóðfegrð ok sundrgrein ok samansetning，en í nórænu fyrir tvennar sakir：fyrir grein ok hljóðfegrð．（4．17）Fyrir greinar sakir er diptongus fundinn í nórænu sem í pessum nofnum：〈mær ok sær〉，at greina pau frá fornọfnum sér ok mér ok ¢ððrum pvílíkum，en fyrir hljóðsfegro er diptongus fundinn sem hér：løkr，øgr，pvíat fegra pykkir hljóסa heldr en lækr，ægr． （4．18）par næst stendrt，ok er hon af peim er hálfraddarstafir heita．（4．19）par næst stendr $Y$ ，ok er pat fyrir tvá samhljóðendr，k ok g．（4．20）Dar næst er 1 stunginn ok stendr fyrir d látínustaf．（4．2r）At slíkum hætti eru allir rúnastafir settir í pessum orðskviðum，ok munum vér pat eigi framarr greina，pvíat eigi er nauðsynligt．（4．22） pví eru pessir fjórir rúnastafir settir fyrir tvá samhljóðendr，at peir samhljóðendr

## 4. The characteristics of the letter

(4.1) The second characteristic of the letter is shape (figura), that is the form or shaping of letters, made as is now written. (4.2) The third characteristic of the letter is value (potestas) and that is the actual pronunciation of letters and their signification. (4.3) The characteristics of name and figura are both found before the value of letters. (4.4) Some scholars call order the fourth characteristic of the letter, but Priscian calls it only a part, which belongs to the characteristic of value of the letter. ${ }^{1}$ (4.5) These letters and their significations my lord King Valdemar compiled with a short word-formula in this manner: 'Sprængd mannz hok flyði tovi boll';
 ball). ${ }^{2}$ (4.6) Here soll ( $(\mathrm{d})$ is placed first and stands for both the Latin letter $s$ and the Greek letter $z$, and we call it knésól if it is made in this way: 4. (4.7) But $z$ has by nature the sound of two letters in itself, $d$ and $s$ or $t$ and $s$ just as $x$ has the sound of two letters, $c$ and $s$ or $g s$, and neither of these letters, $x$ or $z$, is written in runes or in the old Latin alphabet. (4.8) Nowadays these letters are included in the alphabet because it is quicker to write one letter than two. (4.9) There next stands $K$, and bjarkan is written in this way if it stands for the Latin letter $p$, and the runic letter represents two mute letters that are dissimilar in sound. (4.10) And thus the bellows are made open in $K$ when it is sounded as $p$, so that it will (be) pronounced with pursed lips, further apart than with the pronunciation of $b$. (4.1I) Next stands $R$ for the Latin letter $r$, and it is one of the letters called semivowels. (4.12) $\downarrow$ is next; it sounds for two vowels: 1 and $\ell$, and the Greeks call that type of letter diptongon, which is tuibliorr in the Norse language, and there are four diphthongs in the Latin alphabet but five in runes. (4.13) The diphthong is the conglutination ${ }^{3}$ of two vowels in one syllable, both of which retain their value. (4.14) These are the diphthongs ${ }^{4}$ in runes: $\nmid$ for ae; $\cap$ for au; $\mathcal{I}$ for ei, and that diphthong is not in Latin; $\phi$ for ey; $\ddagger$ for eo (o); oe is the fourth diphthong in Latin, and it does not occur in runes. (4.15) Some vowels come first in conglutination like $a$ and $e$, and some come second like $e$ and $i, o$ and $u$, and those vowels which have a sound closest to the innermost of human speech organs naturally come first in conglutination, and those which are closest in sound to the substance of voice come second, like $a$ before $e$ and $u$, and $e$ before $i$ and $o$ and $u$, because that sound is finer, which is close to the breast and occurs first, than the thicker sound which is created further forward in the mouth and has more space; it is also easier to place the sound which is created first at the start of the conglutination and that one following, which is formed later. (4.16) The diphthong is found in Latin for three reasons: for euphony and distinction and composition, but in Norse for two reasons: for distinction and euphony. (4.17) It is for the sake of distinction that the diphthong is found in Norse, as in these words: 'mær' (maiden) and 'sær' (sea), to distinguish them from the pronouns 'sér' (reflex. pron.) and 'mér' (to me) and other such words, and for

Edition
hafa líkara hljoð en aorrir，svá sem gok $k, \operatorname{sok} z, b$ ok $p, d$ ok $t$ ．
4．Um tilfelli stafs A Wb，om．W B；
（4．I）pat er A B，ok er pat W；stafanna A B，stafanna svá W O S；gerr，sem ．．．ritat A，gjorr sem bér er ritað W，om．B；（4．2）stafa A B，stafs W；ok er A W，，B； framflutning stafa A W ，framfering stafanna B ；（4．3）beðði A B ，om．W；nofn A B ， nqfn peira W；（4．4）skipan bit fjórða A B，bið fjórða skipanar W；kallar A B，kallaði W ；er A W ，sem B ；heyrir A W ，til heyrir B ；（4．5）konungr A ，Dana konungr W S；
 W O S；（4．6）（d）A，om．W S；ok beð̌i sett A，om．W；ef bon ．．．ger A，ok svá er gort W；（4．7）d ok ．．．s A，tok s，eða d ok s W；svá sem ．．．s，A，om．W；er A，af W； peira stafa A ，stafr $x$ ok $z \mathrm{~W}$ ；rúnum A ，rúnamáli W S ；（4．8）pví A ，af pví W ；rita A ，rita eptir，beldr W ；（4．9）K A，BW；á pá ．．．ritat A ，om．W；ef A，svá at W；$p \mathrm{~A}$ ， $b \mathrm{~W}$ ；ólikir eru ．．．bljỡi A，pat bljồar fyrir W；（4．10）pví A，pví af W ；opnir belgir A ， belgir opnir W；K A，bjarkani W，B S；（4．II）bann A，einn W；stofum A，om．W； （4．12）$\dagger \mathrm{A}, e \mathrm{~W} ;$ pat A, ok $\mathrm{W} ;\langle \rangle \mathrm{O}, \nmid \mathrm{A} \mathrm{W}, / \mathrm{S} ; \mid \mathrm{A}, / \mathrm{W} \mathrm{S} ;$ nórena tungu A ， nórrenu W；fimm í rúnum A ，í rúnum fimm W S；（4．14）$\cap \mathrm{A}, ~ \cap \mathrm{~W} ; \nmid \mathrm{A}, \nmid \mathrm{W} ;$ ei A ， e ok $i$ W；$\phi$ fyrir A，om．W；eo（q）A，e ok o W；〈oe〉S O，ok A W；${ }^{6}$ ekki A，eigi W； （4．15）samanlímingu A，samlímingu W；sumir A，sumir eru W S；${ }^{\text {skipaðir }}{ }^{\mathrm{T}} \mathrm{W}$ ， skipaðar A；「ok W S O，om．A；nálegra bafa bljô A，nálagt bljô bafa W；skipaðir A，settir W；efni A，om．W；e A，a W；${ }_{\text {en }}$ e fyrir ${ }^{\top} \mathrm{W}$ ，om．A S；$\langle i\rangle \mathrm{O}, e \mathrm{~W}$ ，om．A S；「ok o ．．．u’ W，om．A S；pvíat A，af pví at W；stendr brjóstinu A，brjóstinu stendr W； tekz A，stendr W；${ }^{\ulcorner } \mathrm{W}$ S O，，en bitt er eptir，er sîdar formeraz，A；${ }^{7}$ fyrri A，fyrir W； fyrri A，fyrr W S；sîar A O S，om．W；${ }^{8}$（4．17）〈mar ok sar〉 O S，mer ok ser W； （4．20） 1 W ，týr O ；

## Notes

1．B recommences at this point．
2．MS w ends at this point．
3．B omits the rest of chapter four．
4．There is a lacuna here in $A$ due to a missing leaf．The remainder of this chapter is extant only in W．
5．Neither reading here makes any sense：see the Commentary for more on this phrase．I have chosen A＇s reading in keeping with the stemma．
6．I have maintained Sveinbjörn Egilsson＇s emendation here：it is fairly clear that oe is meant here as the fourth diphthong in Latin．The reading ok in AW does not make sense：there is no subject for er；or，if the previous diphthong is meant as the subject，it would be self－contradictory． The error probably arises from an earlier scribe skipping over $\propto e$ after $e o$（and possibly ok or $\alpha$ ）． 7．A seems to suffer here from dittography，＇idet skriverens öje her et öjeblik har forvildet sig fra det forste til det sidste skapaz＇（Ólsen 1884，49n）．
8．Ólsen takes＇sîorr＇from A，which includes it as part of some earlier dittography．
the sake of euphony the diphthong is found, as here: 'løkr' (brook), 'øgr' (terrible), because the sound seems more agreeable than 'lxkr' or 'xgr'. (4.18) Next there stands $\vdash$, and it is one of the letters called semi-vowels. (4.19) $Y$ is next, and it represents two consonants, $k$ and $g$. (4.20) Dotted 1 is next, and it stands for the Latin letter $d$. (4.21) In such a manner all the runic letters are placed in these phrases, and we will not distinguish that further, because it is not necessary. (4.22) And so these four runes are used for two consonants, because those consonants have a more similar sound than others, that is, $g$ and $k, s$ and $z, b$ and $p, d$ and $t$.

## Notes

r. That is, Priscian says that the characteristic of order or distribution comes under the characteristic of value.
2. On the translation of this sentence, see the Commentary 3.2.2.
3. 'conglutination' is Cleasby and Vigfússon's translation of samanlíming (lit. 'gluing together'). In an analogous passage by Joannes of Genoa (see this section in Appendix 2), the word coniunctio is used, but this does carry the sense of 'gluing' in Ólafr's word.
4. There are three words used in MG for 'diphthong': diptongus, tuibljorrr and límingarstafr (used only here). The last probably refers to runic diphthongs or digraphs (see Raschellà 1982, i88).

## 5．〈Untitled〉

（5．I）Samstafa er samfyllilig stafasetning með einum anda ok einni hljóðsgrein ósundrgreiniliga samansett ok framfæro．（5．2）Samstafa hefir fjggur tilfelli：〈stafatǫlu〉，tío，anda ok hljóðsgrein，pvíat hver samstafa hefir stafatọlu，einn staf eða fleiri，ok hefir eingi samstafa í látínu fleiri en sex，en í nórænu megu eigi standa fleiri í einni stamstọfu en átta eða níu，sem spænnzkr ok strennzkr．（5．3）Í látínu standa tveir samhljơðendr hiò flesta fyrir raddarstaf en prír eptir．（5．4）En í nórænu megu standa prír samhljóðendr fyrir raddarstaf，en fimm eptir，sem skilja má í peim nọfnum，sem fyrr váru rituð．（5．5）Dessar samstọfur gera mesta fegro í skáldskap，ef einn raddarstafr er í tveim samstọfum ok hinir sq̣mu stafir eptirsettir，sem hér： snarpr，garpr，ok kollum vér pat aðalhending．（5．6）En ef sinn raddarstafr er í hvárri samstọfu，en allir einir samhljóðendr eptir sem hér：rǫskr，vaskr；pat kǫllum vér skothending．（5．7）Dessar hendingar pykkja pá bezt falla，ef tvær samstofur eru í hvárri segn ok hinn sami sé raddarstafr í fyrri samstọfu hverrar sagnar ok svá samhljőðendr，peir sem fylgja，en oll ein hin síðari samstafa sem hér：allir，snjallir， ok eru pessar hendingar vî́o settar í látínuskáldskap sem petta：

Ante chaos 〈jurgium〉 indigestae molis
adhuc yle gravida fetu magnae prolis．
（5．8）Dessar sǫmu hendingar eru ok settar í nórænuskáldskap í peim hætti，er vér kqilum runhendu，sem Snorri kvað：${ }^{1}$

Orms er glatt galla með gumna spjalla．
（5．9）Látínu klerkar hafa ok pá hending í versum er peir kalla consonantia，ok skal hinn sami raddarstafr vera í efstu samstǫfu hvárrartveggju sagnar，sem hér：aestas， terras．（ 5.10 ）Dessar hendingar er lítt geymt í nórænum skáldskap，pegar fleiri eru samstọfur í einni sęgn en ein．
（ 5.11 ）Annat tilfelli samstọfu er tío，pvíat hver samstafa hefir annat hvárt eina tí̌ eða tvær，eða svá sem Priscianus segir，at sumar samstǫfur hafa hálfa aðra stund eða hálfa priðju，en sumar prjár stundir．（5．12）Skamma stund hefir sú samstafa，er raddarstafr hennar er náttúruliga skammr ok komi eigi tveir samhljoðendr eptir， sem pessi nọfn：ari，api．（ 5.13 ）Hálfa aðra stund hefir sú samstafa，er vera má hvárt er vill lọng eða skǫmm，sem fyrri samstafa í pessum orðum：hvatra，spakra．（5．14）Tvær stundir hefir sú samstafa［．．．］（5．15）Hálfa prioju stund hefir sú samstafa，er einn samhljóðandi stendr eptir raddarstaf náttúrliga langan，sem hér：hjól，sól．（5．16） Drjár stundir hefir sú samstafa，er tveir samhljóðendr standa eptir langan raddarstaf， sem hér：bjórs，stórs．（5．17）En pó setja nú nýverandi klerkar í versagjoro allar samstọfur annathvárt einnar stundar eठa tveggja．

## s. [Untitled]

(5.1) The syllable is a complete arrangement of letters with one breathing and one accent, combined and pronounced without interruption. (5.2) The syllable has four characteristics: number of letters, quantity (length), aspiration and accent, ${ }^{1}$ that is, each syllable has a certain number of letters - one letter or more - and no syllable in Latin has more than six letters; but in Norse there cannot be more than eight or nine in one syllable, like 'spønnzkr' (Spanish) or 'strennzkr' (most sided?2). (5.3) In Latin two consonants at most come before a vowel and three after. (5.4) But in Norse three consonants can come before a vowel and five after, as can be discerned in those words that were previously written. ( $\varsigma . \rho$ ) Syllables create the most beautiful effect in poetry if the same vowel is in two syllables and the same letters follow it, as here: 'snarpr' (sharp), 'garpr' (warrior); and we call that full rhyme. ( 5.6 ) But if each syllable has a different vowel, but all the consonants after it are the same - as here: 'roskr' (brave), 'vaskr' (manly) - then we call that half-rhyme. (5.7) These rhymes seem to suit best if there are two syllables in each word and the same vowel is in the first syllable of each word as well as the consonants which follow it, and everything is the same in the second syllable, as here: 'allir' (all), 'snjallir' (excellent); and these rhymes are widely found in Latin poetry, like this:

Ante chaos jurgium indigestae molis
adhuc yle gravida fetu magnae prolis. ${ }^{3}$
(5.8) These same rhymes are also put in Norse verse, in that verse-form which we call runbenda, as Snorri said:

Orms er glatt galla
með gumna spjalla. ${ }^{4}$
(5.9) Latin scholars' also have that rhyme in verses which they call consonantia; and the same vowel must be in the last syllable of both words, as here: 'aestas', 'terras'. (5.10) These rhymes are little observed in Norse poetry once there is more than one syllable in the word.
(5.1I) The second characteristic of the syllable is quantity (time), because each syllable has either one measure of time (quantity) or two, or as Priscian says, some syllables have one and a half measures or two and a half measures, and some three measures. ( 5.12 ) A syllable is short (has a short length) in which the vowel is naturally short and there are not two consonants after the vowel, as in these nouns: 'ari' (eagle), 'api' (ape). (5.13) That syllable has a length of one and a half, which may be either long or short as desired, ${ }^{6}$ like the first syllable in these words: 'hvatra' (quick), 'spakra' (quiet, wise). (5.14) That syllable has a length of two [...] (5.15) That syllable has a length of two and a half, in which one consonant stands after a naturally long vowel, as here: 'hjól' (wheel), 'sól' (sun). (5.16) That syllable has a

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（ 5.18 ）Driòja tilfelli samstơfu er andi，pvíat hver samstafa hefir annat hvárt linan anda eða snarpan．（5．19）Andi er hér kallaðr hræring framflutningar samstǫfu．（5．20） Snarpan anda hefir sú samstafa er meठ digrum anda er framflutt sem pessar sagnir， hraustr，horskr，ok pær aðrar，er áblásningarnóti er í upphafi skipaðr．（5．2I）b er kallaðr merking eða nóti áblásningar，pvíat hann er engi stafr fullkominn fyrir sik， hvárki samhljóðandi né raddarstafr．（5．22）Linan anda hafa pær samstǫfur，er engi áblásningarnóti er í upphafi settr，sem hér：jgro ok armr．（5．23）En pó pykkir betr sama í nórænuskáldskap，at annathvárt hafi áblásning hơfuơstafir ok svá stuðlar peira eठa engi peira．
（5．24）Fjórða tilfelli samstọfu er hljóðsgrein，ok er hljóðsgrein hér kọlluð rœkilig hljóman raddarinnar í merkiligri frammforing．（ 5.25 ）Hver samstafa hefir annat hvárt hvassa hljóðsgrein eða punga eða umbeygiliga．（5．26）Sú samstafa hefir hvassa hljóosgrein，er hefz af litlu hljóði ok endiz í hvassara hljóð，sem pessar samstoffur：var，par，ok er hon svá merkt＇．（5．27）Dunga hljóðsgrein hefir sú samstafa，er hefz af litlu hljóoi ok endiz í lægra hljóð，sem hin fyrri samstafa í pessum nǫfnum：hára，sára，ok er sú hljóðsgrein svá merkt：＇．（5．28）Umbeygiliga hljơðsgrein hefir sú samstafa，er hefz af lítlu hljóði ok dregz upp í hvassara hljóð en niðrr at lyktum í lágt hljóð，sem pessar samstǫfur：árs，sárs，ok er sú hljóðsgrein svá nóteruð＾．（ 5.29 ）Hljóðsgrein merkir hæð samstafligrar raddar，en andi digrleik hennar，sem skilja má，at hvern raddarstaf verðr at nefna meir með sundrloknum munni，ef áblásning fylgir．（5．30）Tíðar tilfelli merkir sem fyrr er sagt，lengð samstafligrar raddar．（5．31）En með pví at pess konar greinir heyra lítt nórænuskáldskap at flestra manna ætlan，pá tala ek par um ekki fleira aó sinni．
s．（Untitled）E，De Syllablis Wb，om．W B；
（5．1）ósundrgreiniliga samansett ok W ，ok sundrgreiniliga B ，ósundrgreiniliga S ；（5．2） niu B ，tólf W S；〈stafatolu〉 O ，staf eða tolu $\mathrm{B} \mathrm{W} \mathrm{S} ;{ }^{3}$ tio，anda B ，andi ok tió W O ； puíat W，om．B S；stafatolu B，skamma tolu W；ok befir ．．．sex W，Eingi samstafa befir fleiri stafi en sex í látínu mali B S；megu eigi ．．．strennzkr W ，máli mega standa sjau eða níu í einni samstøfu，sem bér：spenskr，strenndzkr B S；（5．3）raddarstaf W， raddarstafi $\mathrm{B} ;(5.4)$ sem B ，er W S ；（ 5.5 ）stafir B ，om．W；settir W，om．B S； aðalhending W ，aðalbendingar B ；（5．6）raddarstafr B ，raddarstafu W ；bvárri W ， bverri B；en W，ok B S；roskr，vaskr B，vaskr，roskr W O；${ }^{4}$ skothending W ， skothendingar B ；（ 5.7 ）bvárri W ，bverri B ；sqgn B ，sqgu W ；sé W ，om．B S；bverrar sagnar B O，om．W FJ；sem W，er B S；pll ein ．．．samstafa W，bin sî́arri samstafa bverrar sagnir sé pll jofn við sik，svá B S；pessar hendingar ．．．settar B FJ，bendingum diktuð ritin W ，hendingum diktuð vers ritin $\mathrm{O} ;{ }^{5}$ 〈jurgium〉 O ，virginum $\mathrm{W} \mathrm{B} \mathrm{S} ;(5.8)$ sяmu bendingar W ，sambendingar B S ；er W ，sem B S ；með W ，vıð B S ；（5．9）pá B O，pessa W FJ；í versum W，om．B；er W，sem B S；binn sami ．．．efstu W，par vera binn sami raddarstafr binnar efri B S；（5．10）fleiri eru samstofur B ，er fleiri samstofur eru W O；（ $5 . \mathrm{n})$ samstøfu W，stafa B ；eða B O ，om．W；priðju B ，th；rıðju stund W O ； prjár stundir B，prjár W O；（5．12）er W，sem B；pessi nofn B O，om．W；（5．13）er W，
length of three, in which two consonants come after a long vowel, as here: 'bjors' (beer), 'stórs' (great). (5.17) Nevertheless, contemporary scholars use all syllables in composing verse, whether they are of one measure or two.
(5.18) The third accident of the syllable is breathing, because each syllable has either a smooth breathing or rough. (5.19) Breathing is defined here as the motion of the pronunciation of the syllable. ( 5.20 ) That syllable, which is pronounced with a deep breath, has a rough breathing as in these words: 'hraustr' (strong), 'horskr' (wise), and others in which an aspiration-mark is placed at the beginning. ( 5.2 I ) $b$ is called an aspiration-mark or -sign because it is not an independent letter by itself, neither consonant nor vowel. (5.22) Those syllables in which no aspiration-mark is placed at the start have a smooth breathing, as here: 'jprð' (earth) and 'armr' (arm). ( 5.23 ) Nevertheless, it seems to suit Norse poetry better that either the head-staves and the props (in alliteration) should have aspiration, or neither of them. ${ }^{7}$
(5.24) The fourth characteristic of the syllable is accent, and accent is defined here as the precise sound of the vowel in distinguishable pronunciation. (5.25) Each syllable has, as Priscian says, either an acute accent or grave or circumflex. (5.26) That syllable, which begins from a soft ${ }^{8}$ sound and ends in a sharper sound, has an acute accent, like these syllables: 'var' (was), 'bar' (there), and it is written like this: ${ }^{\prime}$. ( 5.27 ) That syllable, which begins from a soft sound and ends in a lower sound, has a grave accent, like the first syllables in these words: 'hára' (hair) and 'sára' (wound), and this accent is written like this: '. (5.28) That syllable, which begins with a soft sound and moves up to a sharper sound and down to a low sound at the end, has a circumflex accent, like these syllables: 'árs' (year), 'sárs' (wound), and this accent is written like this: ${ }^{\wedge}$. ( 5.29 ) Accent marks the height of syllabic voice and aspiration its depth, as can be discerned because each vowel becomes pronounced more with an open mouth if it follows aspiration. (5.30) The characteristic of time represents, as was previously said, the length of syllabic voice. (5.31) But in as much as these kinds of distinction belong little to Norse poetry in most people's opinion, I will talk no more about it for the present.

## Notes

1. In order, perhaps, to highlight the distinctiveness of Icelandic in having so many letters in one syllable, the feature of number of letters is placed first, where Priscian has it last.
2. Krömmelbein has: '["strandisch"; lat. Übers. "Strandensis"]', but cf. -strendr compounds, meaning '-sided'.
3. This verse is the opening of a poem about Thomas a Beckett (in E. du Méril, Poésies populaires Latines $d u$ moyen âge, Paris, 1847, p. 70; cf. Ólsen 1884, $5 \mathrm{In}-\varsigma 2 n$ ). The ultimate source is Ovid's Metamorpboses I: 5 -10 (Krömmelbein 1998, 77).
4. Háttatál verse 83, Il. 5-6 (Faulkes 1999, 34). 'It is a joy to be in the company of the friend of men during the snake's harm [winter]' (Faulkes 1987, 213).
5. I have translated klerkar 'clerics' here (and in $£ 5.17$ ) as 'scholars'. The context in both cases is
sem B S; sem W, svá sem B S; í pessum orðum B O, om. W; (5.14) Tvar stundir ... [...] W, om. B S; (5.15) stund W, samstøfu B; stendr B O, kemr W; ${ }^{6}$ raddarstaf náttúrliga langan B W, langan raddarstaf S; sem bér: B O, om. W; (5.16) er W , sem B ;, sem ... stórs W , om. B ; ( 5.17 ) nú nýverandi B , núverandi $\mathrm{W} \mathrm{O} \mathrm{S}^{7}$ versagjerð W , versagerðir B S ; allar samstøfur W , om. B ; ( 5.18 ) samstøfu B O , om. W; andi W B, rodd JSB; ${ }^{8}$ (5.19) hér kallaðr B, kallat W; (5.20) er W, sem B S; ok W, eəa B S; er W, sem B S; (5.21) fullkominn fyrir sik B, fyrir sik fullkominn W O; (5.22) er W, sem B S; sem bér: ... armr W, om. B; (5.23) nórenuskáldskap B, nóranum skáldskap W S; bofuðstafir ok ... stuðlar B, báðir stafir ok bljồstafr W; ${ }^{9}$ (5.24) ok er bljórsgrein W, Hljồsgrein er B S; rokilig O, rokilig W, reglulig B S; í merkiligri W, ok merkilig B; (5.25) om. B, , sem Priscianus segir, W O; (5.26) Sú samstafa ... er W, Hveqs bljờsgrein B S; sem pessar samstofur B O, svá sem bér W S; ' B O, э W; ( 5.27 ) bin fyrri ... nofnum B , pessar samstøfur enar fyrri W O ; sú B , sjá W O; merkt B, nóteruð W O; ' B, c W; (5.28) Umbeygiliga W, Umbeygilig B S; befir W, er B S; er W, sem B S; bvassara W, bvast B S; lágt bljồ B, lagra W; sem W, suá sem B S; sárs W, fárs B S; ^ B, $a$ W; ( 5.29 ) samstafligrar B O, stafligrar W; sem W, svá sem B S; með W FJ, om. B O; (5.30) Tî̀ar W, En tı̂̃ar B S; sem fyrr ... raddar B , lengð samstafligrar raddar, sem fyrr var sagt W ; (5.31) En með ... $\operatorname{sinni}$. W, om. B;

## Notes

1. The verse is from Snorri Sturluson's Háttatal, verse 83, lines 5-6.
2. This clearly is a lacuna in $W ; B$ omits the incomplete sentence altogether, and so $W$ and $B$ probably have a common source with the sentence in an incomplete form. Olsen ( $1884,53 n$ ) supplies the following Icelandic text, based on Priscian: 'er raddarstafr hennar er langr af nátrúru eða setningu, sem hér: ...'.
3. Ólsen's emendation is a bit tenuous: it is based partly on B's reading of the next clause, containing the text 'stafa tọlu' (W has 'skamma tolu').
4 The ' 1 ' in the scribe's 'valskr' has been deleted by a later hand.
5 . B's reading here is slightly more sensible.
4. Olsen and the two subsequent editors have not noted that B's reading, which they use, is different from W's.
5. Both the words 'núverand' and 'nýverandi' are not elsewhere attested. B's reading would seem more likely because of the rarity of compounds based on nú-. Ólsen, Finnur Jónsson and Krömmelbein do not note $B$ as a variant.
6. Jón Sigurठsson's reading of this damaged section of B is incorrect - the text is the same as that in W.
7. B's reading makes more sense here. It refers to the terminology of alliterative versification.
the application of poetics to the composition of both vernacular and Latin verse, activities not restricted to the religious orders.
8. This observation seems to be directed at poets; that in the cases outlined, the syllable could be either short or long depending on the requirements of metre or rhyme.
9. In other words, it is better to have aspiration in both syllables that are to alliterate or neither. The text here refers to the vernacular theorisation of alliteration, where the word which alliterates on the first letter in the alliterative sequence is referred to as a stuzill (prop). In classical poetics, ' h ' is a vowel quality and therefore does not affect alliteration. However, in Germanic languages, it has a the value of a consonant and therefore a vowel with aspiration (h) cannot alliterate with other vowels.
10. 'Litill' here could be referring to pitch (i.e. 'low'). See note to §z. 8 above.

## 6．〈Untitled〉

（6．I）Sogn er hinn minsti hlutr samsetts máls ok hon er kọllut einn hlutr af pví máli， er fullkomið sen hefir．（6．2）En sú sqgn eða sá hlutr er af albýðu kallaðr orðð．（6．3） Aristotiles hinn spaki kallar tvá parta málsgreinar nafn ok orð，pvíat peir gera meðal sín samtengðir fullkomna málsgrein，sem hér：＇maðr（renn）＇．（6．4）En meistari Priscianus telr átta parta málsgreinar pessa：nafn ok fornafn，orð ok við̊rorð， hluttekning，samtenging，fyrirsetning ok meðalorpning，ok greinir gleggliga náttúru hvers peira．（6．5）Nafn er hlutr málsgreinar sá er veitir eiginligan eða sameiginligan hvíligleik hverjum hlut eða líkama．（6．6）Nafn er xzt allra sagna，pvíat pat er svá sem efni eða grundvollr＇alls máls．（6．7）${ }^{2}$ Fornafn er sett í stað nafnsins sem hleytismaðr fyrir meistara，ok merkir prjár persónur，en nafn merkir eina．（6．8）$p_{\mathrm{ví}}$ nest er orð，er skry̌̌ðir ok formerar nafnit svá sem mynd efni，pvíat pat skýrir tilfelli nafns ok merkir gerð eða píning．（6．9）Viðrorð fegrir ok endimarkar orðit í pá líking sem viơrleggjanlig nọfn gera viơ undirstaðlig nofn svá sem hér：＇sterkr maðr berz hraustliga＇．（6．1o）Hluttekning er frá skilið orði pvíat hon merkir fqll ok kyn sem nafn，en í pví skilz hon frá nafni at hon merkir gerð eða píning ok hefir ýmsar stundir sem orð．（6．II）Samtenging knýtir saman nọfn eða aðra parta eða sjálfar málsgreinir， sem hér：

## Hringr ok Dagr at pingi．${ }^{3}$

（6．12）Fyrirsetning er eiginlig til at pjóna follum nafnsins，sem hér：＇til borgar＇，＇af skipi＇．（6．13）Meðalorpning sýnir hugpokka manns，ok er hon jafnan fráskilið qðrum portum，sem hér：＇vei＇，＇hai＇．

6．〈Untitled $\rangle \mathrm{E}$, Um orðinn Wb ，om．W B；
（6．1）samsetts B ，samanblaðins W ；ok W ，om．B S；bon er ．．．blutr B ，er bon blutr kallaðr einn W ；er W，sem B；（6．2）En sú W，Dessi B；eøa sá blutr W，om．B S； alpyððu B S，albŷðu rúmliga W ；（6．3）samtengðir B ，samtengðar W；kallar tvá ．．． samtengðir W ，segir nafn ok orơ vera tvá bluti málsgreinar，pvíat nafn ok orð sín í millum samtengðir gera B S；〈renn〉 O，reinn W，rennr B S；（6．4）átta W ，átta vera B S；pessa W S，om．B；ok W，om．B S；ok W，om．B S；samtenging W，samsetning B S；ok W， om．B S；ok W，bann B S；（6．5）Nafn B，bann W；${ }^{4}$ er W，sem B S；blut eða B O，om． W；（6．6）Nafn B O，Hann W；azt B，aztr W；（6．7）Fornafn er A W，par nerst er fornafn svá sem B；nafnsins A B，nafns W；om．A W，pat B；（6．8）pví A O，par B W FJ；mynd efni，puíat A B, mynder．W；nafns A W ，nafnsins B ；ok merkir $\mathrm{A}, i \mathrm{~B}$, om． W；píning A B，punkt W；（6．9）endimarkar orðit A B，endir orð W；við A W，om．B； suá A W，om．B；（6．10）puíat A B，í puí，at W O；（6．ı1）eøa A B，ok W S；at A B W， á JSB；（6．12）at A W ，pat at B ，pess at JSB；follum A W ，ollum follum B ；sem A W ， svá sem B ；（6．13）manns A W ，mannsins B ；

## 6. [Untitled]

(6.1) The word (dictio) is the smallest part of connected speech, and it is called the only part of that speech which has complete meaning. (6.2) But that word or that thing is called or $\delta$ by the common people. (6.3) Aristotle the wise says the two parts of speech are the noun and the verb, because they make between them when joined together a complete, independent sentence, like here: 'maor renn' (a man runs). (6.4) But master Priscian enumerates these eight parts of speech: noun and pronoun, verb and adverb, participle, conjunction, preposition and interjection, and he distinguishes clearly the nature of each of them. (6.5) The noun is that part of speech which gives a proper or common quality to every thing or body. (6.6) The noun is the foremost of all words because it is like the material or foundation of all language. (6.7) The pronoun is used in the place of the noun like a disciple for a master, and it can denote three persons, whereas the noun can denote only one. (6.8) Next is the verb which embellishes and shapes the noun just as shape [does] matter, because it clarifies the properties of the noun and it can denote active or passive voice. (6.9) The adverb embellishes and delimits the verb in the same way as attributive nouns (adjective) act upon substantive nouns, just like here: 'sterkr maðr berz hraustliga' (the strong man fights courageously). (6.10) The participle is distinct from the verb because it has case and gender like the noun, but it is distinct from the noun in that it denotes active or passive and it has various tenses like a verb. (6.II) The conjunction joins together nouns or other parts (of speech) or sentences themselves, like here:

Hringr and Dagr at pingi.
(Hringr and Dagr at the meeting). (6.12) The preposition is specifically to attend the case of the noun, like here: 'til borgar' (to town), 'af skipi' (from the ship). (6.r13) Interjection shows the disposition of a person, and it is always distinct from other parts of speech, like here: 'vei' (woe!), 'hai' (alas!).

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## Notes

r. The text in A resumes at this point.
2. This sentence and the following are in reverse order in $A$ and $W$
3. Fóstbreðra saga verse 37; see this section in Appendix 2.
4. 'Nafn' written in gap in W by Árni Magnússon

## Glossary of terms

The following is a list of the technical terms in MG, based in part on the glossary in Olsen's edition (1884, 301-28). The types of translation shown in the third column are abbreviated thus:

- T: normal translation of the Latin term;
- C: calque on Latin compound;
- L: direct loan word from Latin;
- V: vernacular cognate of the Latin term;
- I: Icelandic word.

|  | Latin | Type | English | Instances |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a ${ }^{\text {alhending }} f$. |  | I | lit. full-rhyme | 5.5 |
| andi $m$. | spiritus | T | breathing, aspiration | $\begin{aligned} & 2.10-12,5.1-2,5.18- \\ & 20,5.22 \end{aligned}$ |
| áblásning $f$. | aspiratio | C | aspiration, aspirated | 3.2-4, 5.21, 5.23, 5.29 |
| áblásningarnóti $m$. | nota aspirationis | C | aspiration-mark | 5.20, 5.22 |
| consonancia indecl. | consonantia | L | consonance | $5 \cdot 9$ |
| digr $a$. | crassus | T | deep (breath) | 4.15, 5.20 |
| digrleikr $m$. | crassitudo | T | thickness, depth | 5.29 |
| diptongus indecl. | diphthongus | L | diphthong | 4.12-14, 4.16-17 |
| dumbr $a$. | mutus | T | mute (letter) | 3.19, 4.9 |
| dvgl $f$. | mora | T | quantity | 2.15 |
| einfaldr $a$. | singularis | T | singular | 2.4 |
| fall $n$. | casus | T | case | 6.10, 6.12 |
| figúra $f$. | figura | L | shape | 3.1, 4.1, 4.3 |
| flyga $v$. | proferre | T | pronounce | 2.12 |
| fornafn $n$. | pronomen | C | pronoun | 4.17, 6.4, 6.7 |
| framflutning $f$. | pronunciatio | C | pronunciation, breathing | 2.10, 2.15, 4.2, 5.19 |
| framfora $v$. | proferre | C | pronounce | 2.7, 2.II, 5.1 |
| framforing $f$. | pronunciatio | C | pronunciation | 5.24 |


| fyrirsetning $f$. | praepositio | C | preposition | 6.4, 6.12 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ger $f$. | actio | T | active (voice) | 9.8, 9.10 |
| grannligr $a$. | tenuis | T | precise, exact | 1.14 |
| greiniligr $a$. |  | I | divisible (sound, voice) | 1.9-10 |
| hálfraddarstafr $m$. | semivocalis | C | semivowel | 3.16, 4.11, 4.18 |
| hending $f$. |  | I | rhyme | 5.7-10 |
| hljó $n$. | sonus | T | sound | $\begin{aligned} & \text { I.1-12, 2.4, 2.7-9, } \\ & 3.2-3,3.15-19,4.7 \text {, } \\ & 4.9,4.15,4.22,5.26- \\ & 28 \end{aligned}$ |
| hljóða $\nu$. | sonare | T | sound, be sounded, be pronounced | $\begin{aligned} & 3.3,3.7-10,3.11,4.10, \\ & 4.12,4.17 \end{aligned}$ |
| hljöðfegro $f$. |  |  | euphony | 4.16 |
| hljơǒgrein ( I ) $f$. | accentus, tenor | I | accent | $\begin{aligned} & 2.6-9,3.2-3,5 \cdot \mathrm{I}-2, \\ & 5.24-29 \end{aligned}$ |
| hljorsgrein (2) $f$. | soni differentia | C | (type of) sound | 1.2, 3.2, 3.5, 4.15 |
| hljóostafr $m$. | vocalis | I | vowel (in runes) | 3.6 |
| hljóman $f$. |  | ? | sound | 5.24 |
| hlutr $m$. | pars | T | part (of speech) | 6.1, 6.5 |
| hluttekning $f$. | participium | C | participle | 6.4, 6.10 |
| hrariligr $a$. | mobilis | T | mobile, moving | 1.5-6, 1.8 |
| hvass $a$. | acutus | T | acute | $\begin{aligned} & 2.6-7,2.9,3.2-3, \\ & 5.25-26,5.28 \end{aligned}$ |
| Һ̌ð $f$. | altitudo | T | height | 2.5-6, 5.29 |
| hqfurskepna $f$. | elementum | T | element | 2.5 |
| hofurstafr $m$. |  | I | 'head-stave' (in alliteration) | 5.23 |
| kapituli $m$. | capitulum | L | chapter | 2.1 |
| klausa $f$. | clausula | L | paragraph, passage, clause | 2.1 |
| kyn $n$. | genus | V | gender | 6.10 |
| latína $f$. |  | L | Latin (language) | 3.17, 4.14, 4.16, 5.2-4 |
| látínuklerkr $m$. |  | L, C | Latin scholar | 5.9 |
| látínuskáldskapr $m$. |  | L-I | Latin poetry | 5.7 |
| látínustafr $m$. |  | L-I | letter of the Latin alphabet | 4.7, 4.9 |
| látínustafróf $n$. |  | L-I | the Latin alphabet | 4.8, 4.12 |
| leng $f$. | longitudo | V | length | 2.5-6, 5.20 |
| linr $a$. | lenis | V | smooth (breathing) | 5.18, 5.22 |
| limingarstafr $m$. | diphthongus | I | (runic) diphthong, ?ligature | 4.14 |
| litilátr $a$. |  | ? | low (pitch); lit. | 2.8,2.9 |


|  |  |  | humble, condescending |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mál $f$. | oratio, lingua | I | speech, language | 3.5, 3.6, 3.14 |
| málsgrein $f$. | sententia | I | sentence | 2.1, 9.3-5 |
| máttr $m$. | potestas | T | power, (phonetic) value | 3.I, 4.2, 4.4 |
| merkiligr (r) $a$. | significativus; articulatus (BMÓ) | T | significative | 1.17, 1.19-21, 5.24 |
| merkiligr (2) $a$. |  |  | distinct, perceptible (?) | 3.16 |
| merking (r) $f$. | significatio, sensus | T | signification, meaning | I. 18 |
| merking (2) $f$. | potestas | - | value | 3.18, 4.2, 4.5 |
| maling $f$. | dimensio | I | dimension | 2.5 |
| nafn (1) $n$. | nomen | V | noun | $\begin{aligned} & 2.8-9,2.11,2.13-14, \\ & 3.4-5,4.17,5.3,6.3-12 \end{aligned}$ |
| nafn (2) $n$. | nomen | V | name (characteristic of letters) | 3.1-2, 3.18, 4.3, 5.12 |
| nám $n$. | definitio | I | definition | I. 21 |
| nótera $v$. |  | - | written, represented | 5.27-28 |
| nóti $m$. | nota | L | character | 5.21 |
| oro (1) $n$. |  | I | word | 5.13, 6.1 |
| ord (2) $n$. | verbum | - | verb | 6.3-4, 6.8-ı0 |
| orðtoeki $n$. |  | I | phrase | 4.5 |
| ógreiniligr $a$. |  |  | indistinct, indivisible | 1.9 |
| óhreriligr $a$. | immobilis | C | immovable, immobile | 1.5, 1.7-8 |
| ómerkiligr $a$. | non <br> significativus; inarticulatus | T | non-significative | 1.17, 1.18 |
| óritanligr $a$. | illiteratus | T | illiterate, unwriteable | 1.15, 1.16 |
| oskiptiligr $a$. | individuus | C | indivisible | 2.1-2, 2.4 |
| partr m. | pars | L | part | 6.3-4, 6.11, 6.13 |
| partr málsgreinar | pars orationis | L | part of speech | 6.3-4 |
| persóna $f$. | persona | L | person (grammatical) | 6.7 |
| píning $f$. | passio | T | passive (voice) | 6.8,6.10 |
| raddarstafr $m$. | vocalis | T | vowel | $\begin{aligned} & 2.4,3.2,3.5-6,3.15- \\ & 19,4.12-13,4.15,5.3- \\ & 7,5.9,5.12,5.15-16, \\ & 5.21,5.29 \end{aligned}$ |
| raddartól $n$. |  |  | organs of speech | 4.15 |
| raust $f$. | vox | T | voice | 3.13 |
| ritanligr $a$. | litteratus | T | literate, writeable (cf. | 1.15, 1.17 |


|  |  |  | stafligr) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| runhenda $f$. |  | I | end-rhyme | 5.8 |
| rún $f$. |  | I | rune | 4.12, 4.14 |
| rúnamál $n$. |  | I | runic alphabet | 3.16, W:4.7 |
| rodd $f$. | vox | T | voice, speech | 1.12-21, 2.1-5, etc. |
| roekiligr $a$. | accuratus (?) | T | precise, accurate | 5.24 |
| samanlíming $f$. | conjunctio | C | conglutination, joining | 4.13, 4.15 |
| samansetning $f$. | compositio | C | composition? | 4.16 |
| sameiginligr $a$. | communis, appellativus (BMÓ) | - | common (noun) | 6.5 |
| samhljóðan $f$. |  | C | consonance, harmony (Cleasby \& Vigfússon) | 1.9 |
| samhljóðandi part. | consonans | C | consonant | $\begin{aligned} & 3.5,3.15-18,4.19 \\ & 4.22,5.3-4,5.6-7 \\ & 5.12,5.15-16,5.27 \end{aligned}$ |
| samstafa $f$. | syllaba | T | syllable | $\begin{aligned} & 2.1,2.6-8,2.10^{-14} \\ & 4.13,5.1-7,5.9-20, \\ & 5.22,5.24^{-28} \end{aligned}$ |
| samstafligr $a$. | syllabicus | T | syllabic | 5.29-30 |
| samtenging $f$. | conjunctio | C | conjunction | 6.4, 6.11 |
| sen $n$. | sensus | L | meaning | 9.1 |
| skipan $f$. | ordo | T | order | 4.4 |
| skothending $f$. |  | I | lit. half-rhyme | 5.6 |
| snarpr a. | asper | T | aspirated, rough (breathing) | 5.18, 5.20 |
| stafligr $a$. | literatus | T | literate, transcribable (voice) | 2.1, 2.5 |
| stafatala $f$. |  |  | number of letters | 5.2 |
| stafr $m$. | litera | T | letter | $\begin{aligned} & 1.16,2.1-5,3.1-2, \\ & 3.11-14,3.17-19,4.1- \\ & 12,5.2,5.5,5.21 \end{aligned}$ |
| stafrof $\boldsymbol{n}$. |  | I | alphabet, fubark | 3.6, 3.17-19, 4.8 |
| sturill $m$. |  | I | 'supporter': an alliterating letter (see bøfuðstafr | 5.23 |
| stund (r) $f$. | mora | T | length of time (quantity) | 2.13-15, 5.11-17 |
| stund (2) $f$. | tempus verbi | T | tense | 6.10 |
| stunginn part. |  | I | dotted | 3.6,4.20 |
| sundrgrein $f$. |  | ? | interruption | 4.16 |

$\left.\begin{array}{lllll}\text { sqgn } f . & \text { dictio } & \text { T } & \text { word } & 2.1,5.7,5.9-10,5.20, \\ & & & & 6.1-2,6.6\end{array}\right)$

## Commentary

## 1. The theory of sound

## I.I. Commentary

## I.I.I. Section I.I

${ }_{3}$ GT begins with a definition of sound:
Allt er hljóo pat er kvikvendis eyru má skilja.
Sound is everything which the ears of a living being can discern.
This starting point sets MG apart from most of the Latin grammatical tradition almost all grammatical texts, even those of a theoretical nature ('speculative grammars') begin with voice ( $v o x$ ) as the foundation of the study of grammar. MG's point of departure seems to be closer to treatises on logic and dialectic. A parallel can be found in a number of twelfth-century treatises on logic:

Sonus est quicquid aure percipitur. ${ }^{1}$
Sound is whatever is perceived by the ear.
The particular form of the definition in MG, with its specific mention of a living being ( $k v i k v e n d i$ ), is slightly unusual. Most definitions follow the one above.

## I.1.2. Sections I.2-II

MG departs further from both the grammatical tradition and the standard logical tradition in the section which follows. Whereas treatises on logic immediately follow the definition of sound with the categorisation of sound into voice and not voice ('Sonus alius vox, alius non vox'), MG gives, firstly, an account of how sound is formed ('af samkvámu tveggja likama'; 'from the coming together of two bodies'), and secondly, numerous categorisations of sound before arriving at the voice/not voice categories.

The first category is an implicit one, differentiating 'physical' (likamligt) from 'spiritual' (andliga bluti bljooba) sounds. The category of physical sounds is divided into sounds arising from living beings and sounds arising from non-living entities. The subcategory of sounds arising from non-living entities is, unusually, divided into three sub-categories, that is, sounds arising from: movable things; immovable things; and the meeting of movable and immovable things. At this point, the text bears little similarity to Latin logical treatises, which usually give some examples of non-vocal sound,
normally one or more of these three: 'collisio lapidum, strepitus pedum, fragor arborum' ('striking of rocks, stamping of feet, crashing of trees'). However, MG offers a great many more sub-categories than the logical tracts, and gives examples of all three of the ways in which sound can arise.

The primary difference between MG and the Latin texts I have found is that the former explores in more detail the branches of sound which do not lead to the subject of the treatise, that is, it explores the branch dealing with sound from non-living things as well as the branch which leads to articulate and meaningful vocal sound. Apart from the three physical categories of sound - that is, the three ways in which sound can be produced - two logical sub-categories are distinguished: divisible (greiniligt) and indivisible (ógreiniligt) sound. The translation of greiniligr is difficult: Cleasby and Vigfússon have 'distinct, articulate' for its use in grammatical contexts. It derives from the verb greina 'to divide (into branches)'. I have chosen to translate the word as 'divisible', although 'distinguishable' could also be used. This word and related ones, however, are generally used in the context of a particular sort of distinction: the discernment of letters, sub-categories or (musical) notes. That is, the concepts in question are subject to a kind of division.

I have been unable to find a medieval source for the account of sound as a physical phenomenon which follows the definition: it finds its origin in neither the logical tradition nor the grammatical tradition. The ultimate source, however, is probably Aristotle's tract 'On things heard'2 or a similar text. 'On things heard' describes how sounds are formed, and further how the general principles of the formation of sound apply to vocal and musical sounds.

Aristotle's tract deals at length with the concept of clarity or distinctness of sounds. This applies in particular to vocal sound and music: he describes why some instruments and some voices have greater clarity than others according to the sort of physical mechanism (vocal organs, etc.) by which the sound is made. There are echoes of Aristotle's discussion of sound in this early section of MG:

Hljǒ pat er verðr af liflausum hlutum er sumt ogreiniligt sem vinda gnýr eða vatna pytr eða reiôar prumur, en sumt hljóo er greiniligt eptir nátrúruligri samhljøðan, peiri er philosophi kọluðu músikám; (§ı.9)

Some sound which occurs from non-living things is indistinct like the roaring of winds or the whistling of waters or the rumble of thunder, but some sound is distinguishable according to natural consonance, which philosophers call music;

Divisible sound (greiniligt bliof) from non-living things thus is primarily exemplified by music. The musical example occurs again in the treatise in §r.10:

Greiniligt hljôð verðr í lifflausum hlutum, pat sem vér kọllum listuligt hljơ sem í málmi ok strengjum ok pípum ok allz kyns songfarum.

Divisible sound occurs in non-living entities, which we call artistic sound, such as in metal, strings, pipes and musical instruments of all kinds.

These sections have certain similarities with the section on voice later on: that is, the concept of distinction or divisibility (the grein- root) is the discriminant for the categories of music and literate or writeable voice, as we will see later. The concept of
greiniligt sound as it applies here is likely to have originated ultimately in the Aristotelean description of the production of sound. But the term comes up repeatedly in other contexts, as will be seen.

2GT also uses the grein- root frequently, particularly in its first chapter. In general, the first chapter of 2 GT is probably the closest analogue to the first chapter of MG. The relationship between the two texts is difficult to establish, particularly as ${ }_{2} \mathrm{GT}$ has been variously dated, both as older and as younger than ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ (cf. Introduction 5.I). Raschella's dating of ${ }_{2} \mathrm{GT}$ as younger than 3 GT seems more plausible, as ${ }_{2} \mathrm{GT}$ shows some influence from 3 GT (see section I.2.I below).

2GT's categorisation of sound, like MG's, involves a description of sound as a physical phenomenon. Unlike MG, there are few definitions - the different categories are distinguished primarily by exemplification. It is likely that both texts are influenced by the encyclopedic tradition, which ultimately derives from Aristotelian physics. There are numerous translations, although fragmentary, of a certain type of natural encyclopedia in Old Icelandic, and it is likely that these were very popular. These encyclopedias deal with various natural phenomena in order to describe the physical world (see Clunies Ross and Simek 1993 on encyclopedic literature). The numerous phenomena used to exemplify sounds in 2 GT and MG are probably influenced by the encyclopedic descriptions.

## I.I.3. Sections I.12-II

The account of sound in the previous part is primarily a physical one. What follows in this section of the first chapter does not have its source in the tradition of physics. Rather, it derives quite clearly from the tradition of dialectic, with a very close source (or analogue) in the Summulae Logicales of Petrus Hispanus (Peter of Spain). ${ }^{3}$ Summulae logicales was probably written around 1245 or earlier and is concerned primarily with logic and dialectic. It differs from Priscian and his commentators, the interests of whom are primarily grammatical, in that the grammarians all start with a discussion of voice. The purpose of including a discussion of sound, however, is necessitated by the study of dialectic, according to Petrus Hispanus. His treatise starts with the following:

Dialectica est ars artium er scientia scientiarum ad omnium merhodorum principia viam habens. ... Dicitur autem 'dialectica' a 'dya' quod est 'duo', et 'logos' quod est 'sermo', vel 'lexis' quod est 'ratio', quasi duorum sermo vel ratio, scilicet opponentis et arguentis in disputando. Sed quia disputatio non potest haberi nisi mediante sermone, nec sermo nisi mediante voce, omnis autem vox est sonus - ideo a sono tamquam a priori est inchoandum. (Bochenski 1947, I (§1.01)s)

Dialectic is the art among arts and the science among sciences which provides a path to the basic foundation of all methods. ... This art is called 'dialectic' from 'dia' which means two and 'logos' which means discourse (sermo), or from 'lexis', which means reasoning (ratio), suggesting the discoursing or reasoning of a pair, an opponent and a respondent in disputing. But since disputation cannot be held without discourse, nor discourse without vocal expressions, since every expression (vox) is a sound, we must therefore start with sound as from what is prior. (based on Dineen 1990, I)

But the discussion of sound in the logical tradition is merely to lead the study quickly
to voice. Most of the twelfth-century logical tracts (see de Rijk 1967, vol. II) simply categorise sound as being in the form of either voice or not voice. Summulae Logicales, however, does give a very brief physical account of how voice is produced. Again, this differs from the grammatical tradition, which is not interested for the most part in accounting for the physical production of voice.

Once voice has been introduced in §1.12-13, we find our first indication of the influence of Priscian in the text:

En Prisciánús kallar rẹdd vera hit grannligsta loptsins hegg ok eiginliga eyrum skiljanligt. (§I.14)

But Priscian declares voice to be the finest striking of the air and intelligible to one's own ears.
Philosophi definiunt, vocem esse aerem tenuissimum ictum vel suum sensibile aurium (Priscian in Keil 1855, I:5)

Priscian's Institutiones begins with this definition of voice, and the text of MG generally follows Priscian in the same order. Everything which precedes this section of MG must derive from other sources. From the point at which voice is introduced to the end of this chapter, too, the text is only loosely based on Priscian: it in fact finds a more immediate source in Petrus Hispanus.

The next distinction, the first of voice, has some parallels in the discussion of sound from inanimate things. Again, the word greina plays an important part in making the distinction:

> Rọdd greiniz á marga vega: ¢nnur reqdd er ritanlig en qnnur oritanlig. Óritanlig rodd er sú, er eigi má steffum greina. (§r.15-16)
> Voice is distinguished in many ways: one type of voice is writeable and another unwriteable. Unwriteable voice is that which cannot be divided into letters.

This has a parallel in Priscian, who distinguishes 'literate' (literata) from 'illiterate' (illiterata) voice: literate voice can be written ('quæ scribi potest' - Keil 1855, I:5) the same definition occurs in Summulae Logicales. The difference between the two accounts is the concept of divisibility (grein) and the explicit nature of the relationship between 'writeable' sound and the letter. It is a similar distinction to that which defines music and 'caelestis harmonia'. This is very significant, too, in that it departs from all the Latin sources. The Latin grammarians, as a rule, use the simple definition of 'illiterate' voice based on Priscian ('quæ scribi non potest').

So, writeable voice is voice which can be divided into letters. This conceptualisation of the division of sound becomes important in the second chapter, which deals with the letter, and can thus be seen as a sort of foundation for that chapter. However, more significant are the links this concept makes with the chapters on runes, which will be discussed in section 3 below.
'Writeable' voice is then further subdivided into what is meaningful and what is 'confused'; of voice that is meaningful, it is further divided into meaningful voice which is natural (examples are weeping or groaning) and meaningful voice which is intentional. It is this last category which forms the basis of the study of rhetoric which
follows: it is the study of meaningful and intentional voice or speech. Intentional voice is, firstly, a subcategory of meaningful voice and so both form subcategories of writeable voice - a categorisation ultimately taken from Priscian.

These last few categorisations come originally from the grammatical tradition, specifically, from Priscian, who distinguishes articulate (articulata) and literate (literata) vocal sound. However, the more immediate source is likely to be a logical treatise such as Petrus Hispanus' Summulae Logicales. I have not, however, found any external evidence that such works were known in this period in Iceland. The text of the two treatises is very similar, as can be seen from the text appended to the present edition. The fact that Priscian is explicitly mentioned suggests that the author of MG was not actually using Priscian as his main source at this point, but was supplementing another source (most likely Summulae Logicales) with material from Priscian and other sources. At this point, the grammarian's definition of voice is included even though the surrounding text is taken from a logical treatise. Thus the author, while using the logical tradition as his source, clearly had in mind that this section was part of a primarily grammatical work and so also made reference to the grammatical tradition.

### 1.2. Conclusions

### 1.2.1.

The following table compares the main points in MG chapter I where it is closely based on Summulae Logicales.

Table 7: Sources for MG i

| § | Edited text | Translation | Petrus Hispanus: Summulae logicales | Translation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.12 | Af lifandi hlutum, peim er sxn hafa, verðr annat hljóor, pat er rodd heitir, enn annat pat er eigi er rodd sem fóta stapp eða handa klapp ok annat slikt. | From living things which have consciousness one sound arises which is called voice, and another sound which is not voice, such as the stamping of feet or the clapping of hands and other such sounds. | Sonorum alius vox, alius non vox. | Sounds are either voice or not voice. |
| I.13 | Rqdd er hlj 60 framfert af kvikvendis munni, formerat af níu náttúrligum tolum: <br> lungum ok barka, tungu ok tveim | Voice is sound pronounced from the mouth of a living entity, formed from nine natural tools: the lungs and windpipe, tongue and two lips and the four [upper front] teeth. | Unde vox est sonus ab ore animalis prolatus, naturalibus <br> instrumentis <br> formatus. Naturalia instrumenta quibus formatur sunt haec: labia, dentes, lingua, guttur et pulmones. Sonus non vox est ille qui generatur ex | Voice is sound produced from the mouth of an animal, formed by natural instruments. Those are called natural instruments by which vocal expression is formed: the lips, teeth, tongue, throat and lungs. A sound is not voice which is generated |


|  | vorrum ok fjorum tennum. |  | colisione corporum inanimatorum, ut fragor arborum vel strepitus pedum. | from the coming together of inanimate bodies, as in trees cracking or the sound of footsteps. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.IS | Rodd greiniz á marga vega: onnur rodd er ritanlig en onnur óritanlig. | Voice is distinguished in many ways: one type of voice is writeable and another unwriteable. | Vocum alia litterata, alia non litterata. | Expressions are either literate or illiterate. |
| 1.16 | Óritanlig rodd er sú, er eigi má stọfum greina. | Unwriteable voice is that which cannot be divided into letters. | Vox litterata est, quae scribi potest, ut 'homo'; vox non litterata est quae scribi non potest. | Literate expression is that which can be written, like 'man'; illiterate expression is what cannot be written. |
| I.17 | Ritanlig rodd er onnur merkilig en onnur ómerkilig. | Writable voice is either significative or non-significative. | Vocum litterarum alia est significativa, alia non signicativa. | Literate expression is either significative or non-significative. |
| I.I8 | Ómerkilig rodd er su, er til engrar merkingar er prongd, sem 'bu', 'ba', 'blictrix'. | Non-significative voice is that which is not pressed into any meaning, such as 'bu', 'ba,' 'blictrix'. | Vox significativa est illa, quae auditu aliquid repraesentat, ut 'homo' vel gemitus infirmorum, qui dolorem significat. Vox non significativa est illa, quae nihil auditui repraesentat, ut 'bu', 'ba'. | Significative expression is that which represents something when heard, like 'man' or the groans of the sick, which signify pain. Non-significative expression is that which represents nothing when heard, like 'bu', 'ba'. |
| 1.19 | Merkilig ropdd er qnnur af náttúru, onnur af setning eठa sjálfvilja. | Significative voice is either from nature, or from planning or intention. | Vocum significativarum alia significat naturaliter, alia significat ad placitum. | Significative expression is either significative naturally or significative by convention. |
| 1.20 | Merkilig rodd af náttúru er barna grátr eða sjúkra manna stynr ok annat slíkt. | Significative voice from nature is the weeping of children or the groaning of sick people and other such things. | Vox significativa naturaliter est illa, quae idem repraesentat apud omnes, ut gemitus infirmorum, latratus canum. | Naturally significative expression is that which represents the same thing to everyone, like the groans of the sick or a dog's barking. |
| I. 21 | Merkilig rǫdd af setning er sú, er framfariz af sjálfvilja manns, sem petta nám: maðr merkir kvikendi skynsamligt ok daurligt. | Significative voice arising from planning is that which is the articulation of a person's intention, as in this definition: man is a rational and mortal animal. | Vox significativa ad placitum est, quae aliquid repraesentat ad voluntatem instituentis, ut 'homo'. | A conventionally significative expression is one that represents something, depending on the choice of its inventor, like 'man'. |

As we can see, the text of MG, where it is categorising sound and describing the sub-
categories, follows the text of Summulae Logicales quite closely. There are some differences, but these are mostly minor. Most startling are the examples, many of which seem to be taken directly from Summulae Logicales. Summulae Logicales goes on to make a further sub-division of significative voice from convention or intention: either simple (the example is noun or verb) or complex, like a word group. MG does not discuss word groups specifically. It stops its analysis at the level of the word, describing the parts of speech, in the final chapter. Thus the final distinction in Petrus Hispanus's text would have been fairly irrelevant had it been included, and so it was omitted by the author.

The classification system, including the physical distinctions of sound can be rendered as follows:


2GT also categorises sound in various ways, but the approach is slightly different from that of MG. In U, it starts with the words: 'Hvat er hljóðsgrein? Prenn.' ('How is sound divided? Into three kinds' Raschella 1982, 50-I). Unlike MG, the divisions of sound which it outlines are not single categories of sound. The binary schema of MG seems to have been adapted in 2 GT to take the reader more quickly to the main point of what is to be discussed. There is an assumed binary categorisation system, but of each binary pair, only one part - the one which is of significance for the treatise - is
discussed at any length. MG on the other hand, spends much of its time describing categories of sound which are less relevant to the later chapters.

The three categories of sound that are discussed are: sound in general; voice (which applies to the sounds made by the mouths or mouth-like organs of certain animals); and speech. Clearly we are not dealing here with the same sense of grein as in MG: these three categories are not all subcategories of the same thing. The first 'category' includes most of those things mentioned in MG up to the discussion of voice. The category of voice in 2 GT is not quite the same as that of MG: it includes many sounds made by living things like birds and animals (living things with intelligence, according to MG's categorisation, although 2GT does not specify such a category). In the category of voice, 2 GT does not specifically rule out those sounds which, in contrast, MG categorises as not voice.

A number of similarities exist between the first chapter of 2 GT and MG , particularly in their examples and terminology. While 2 GT does not categorise sounds in such a structured way as MG, like MG it does include examples of sound from natural phenomena as well as some human-produced sounds. In both cases, examples are given of vitlaus bljô ('irrational sounds': Raschellà 1982, 50-51). Vitlauss also occurs as a category in a similar context in MG. Music in 2 GT is also used as an example of a more distinct form of non-vocal sound. There are also certain similarities between the two treatises in the description of voice, but 2 GT focuses less on the categories of voice than on the actual process or production of speech.

The structure of the first chapter in 2GT has created some confusion, particularly over the third 'category'. This final category reads as follows:

En priơja hljờsgrein er sú, sem menninir hafa; pat heitir hljő ok rödd ok mál.
The third kind of sound is that belonging to men: this is called sound, voice and speech. (Raschella 1982 52-3)

There are three names given here for the final category. The one of significance is mál ('speech', 'language'), ${ }^{4}$ which is a sub-category of rödd ('voice') which in turn is a category of bljoó ('sound'). There is quite a clear parallel between MG and 2 GT here: MG starts with a discussion of sound which is then categorised in various ways, with the next main sub-category being voice. Finally there is a category of voice which clearly corresponds to mál: meaningful and literate voice. If we read 2 GT in light of the more detailed description of sound in MG, we can then understand why three names are given for 2 GT's final category: as voice is a type of sound, and speech or language (mál) is a type of voice, then mál is all three: it is sound and voice and speech. This explains why the last category is 'the only one on which the author concentrates his attention' (Raschellà 1982, 79).

It is for this reason that it is more likely that MG is the source for this material in 2GT than the reverse. MG's approach is more complete and can be understood independently. The first section of 2 GT, on the other hand, is difficult to understand without reference to the categorisations of MG.

2GT bears other similarities to MG in this section, in particular, in the terminology employed. The description of the category of sound from intelligent beings
has some terminological similarities to similar material in 2 GT. Certain noises are described as irrational ('vitlauss') in 2GT - the same term employed to describe sound from things without intelligence in MG ('af vitlausum hlutum' §r.in). Likewise the 'senseless' ('skynlauss') sounds made by sea-animals: the term used in opposition to vitlauss in MG in one manuscript is 'skyn'. These particular uses show further the connection between the two treatises.
I.2.2.

This first chapter of MG is quite unusual even in relation to its traceable sources. While it aims to provide a foundation to the study of grammar and poetics, it departs from the grammatical tradition by starting with an account of sound, not voice. As a point of departure, this owes much to the logical tradition, but again, MG differs by examining the physical aspects of sound- and voice-production, before returning to categorising voice according to the logical tradition.

All of this is not to suggest that the project is confused or ill-conceived: in fact, quite the reverse is the case. The logical tradition provided a more detailed account of the relationship between language and sound than the grammatical tradition. While the former owed much of its structure to the latter, grammarians, on the other hand, did not incorporate the logical account of voice that had emerged in treatises on dialectic. MG, by doing this, provides a sound philosophical basis for the study of language.

Likewise well-conceived is the incorporation of the physical account of soundproduction. Aristotle's account of the physical production of sound is the basis for establishing why some sounds and voices are more distinct than others. While the concept of distinction in voice is important in one way or another to both the logical and grammatical traditions (as distinct voice is what is studied in both cases), it is not linked to a physical account in either tradition. Again, by starting with a physical account of sound, MG provides a very solid foundation for the later study of distinct vocal sound, that is, language.

### 1.2.3.

I have shown, firstly, that the first chapter uses very different sources from the subsequent chapters, which are largely based on Priscian. The first chapter is based largely on the traditions of physics and logic whereas the subsequent chapters are based largely on the grammatical tradition. The closest traceable source for the first chapter (Summulae Logicales) was most likely written around the same time as 3 GT. This raises the issue of how such a text might have been known so far from and soon after its composition. Óláfr might have come in contact with it while he was in Denmark. It is unlikely that the first chapter is not the work of Óláfr Dórðarson, despite the disparity between it and the subsequent chapters in its sources.

While Summulae Logicales does seem to provide the closest parallel to the latter half of the first chapter, it is quite possible that both texts were based on an earlier work
which is now lost (or unedited). Summulae Logicales is not such an original work in the logical tradition that this is not a distinct possibility: it shares many similarities with twelfth-century works on dialectic.' Secondly, while the sources for the first chapter are from different traditions from those of the subsequent chapters, I have shown that they form a very well-conceived whole. Even though different vocabulary is sometimes used for apparently the same concept, there is a deal of coherence in the use in particular of words based on the grein- root. Also, while there is some repetition of subject matter within the second and subsequent chapters of the treatise (particularly the account of accent), there is no such repetition of the material in the first chapter, nor any conflict with accounts in subsequent chapters.

## 1.2 .4

So why did Óláfr choose such a beginning for his treatise when there seem to be no Latin models for such a structure, and why did he draw upon physics and logic for the foundational chapter of a treatise on grammar? The answer to this probably has to do with the status of writing following the introduction of Latin literacy in Icelandic society.

Before Latin literacy was brought to Scandinavia, runes had a fairly limited use in pre-Christian Iceland and Scandinavia more generally. They were usually in the form of short inscriptions on stone, wood and bone. There are some surviving short poetic inscriptions in runes, but they were not used for the most part for recording longer poems, and certainly not for longer prose literature. The introduction of the Latin alphabet for writing Icelandic would have shaken up many notions of the relationship between writing, sound and language. The orthographical treatises, IGT and 2GT, both deal with the problem of writing Icelandic in Latin letters. IGT does this by reexamining the basis of the orthography in a fairly fundamental way. Similarly, ${ }_{3}$ GT, whose interest is in grammar, also reexamines the relationship between sound, language and writing. In order to discuss letters or runes, it has to determine what in fact a letter is; for the Latin grammarians writing was more ubiquitous and entrenched, so that this did not require much explanation. For the Icelanders, however, this would have been a bigger issue, and it is not surprising that Óláfr drew upon, firstly, a physical description of sound and secondly, the categorisations offered by treatises on dialectics. Taken as a whole, the first chapter gives a fairly consistent account of what sound is, in a physical sense and how that relates to language and letters - that which is examined later.

### 1.2.5.

Words based on the grein- root are used extensively in this section of the treatise. The words are used in basically two ways: grein- words, on the one hand, describe the process of categorising and distinguishing concepts; on the other hand, they also form the discriminant within some of those categories. In particular, the concept of greiniligt bljó as opposed to ógreiniligt bljó is clearly based on the distinction between what is
distinguishable or not. Likewise, ritanlig rodd is defined by its ability to be distinguished into letters.

This theme of distinction or division must have been very important to the medieval Icelandic conception of language and writing. It occurs frequently in both the orthographical treatises, IGT and 2 GT, and in similar ways. I have already shown the parallels in the categories of sound in 2GT and MG. IGT is also similar in some ways to MG in its use of words based on the grein- root: again, it is used in two ways:

The term grein may best be translated by 'distinction' (i.e., in the sense, current in modern technique, of a functionally significant distinction or opposition). However, this term is used in two slightly different ways. One is to designate the reLation between two units (or groups of units) which are contrasted with one another to show their significant difference. The other is to denote the end-points of these relationships or, in other words, the distinctive units themselves; this use occurs in contexts where, in modern terminology, we would simply use the term phonems; in these cases grein is, for all practical purposes at least, a synonym of stafr. (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 68-69)

While the second usage is not exactly the same as in MG, there are certain similarities between IGT and MG. As we have seen, in MG the concept of divisibility is the discriminant in distinguishing writeable voice (hence writing) from unwriteable voice. The letter is the entity into which writing can be divided. Since it is voice being divided or distinguished, we could take a phonological approach and call the letter a phoneme, although MG certainly does not have the phonological slant of iGT. In both IGT and MG, however, the letter is a unit of distinction or division of language.

It is this concept that gives IGT its modern flavour: its analysis of the sound system into what could be called significant distinctions is fairly unique at its point in history. While MG's use of the term is probably influenced by IGT or other twelfthcentury works, Óláfr does incorporate the concept of distinction fairly well into this introductory section of the treatise. The main difference between IGT and MG concerning this concept is that IGT's approach is primarily empirical, whereas the approach of MG is basically logical. MG treats logical concepts with a view to establishing the logical relationship between sound, writing and letters, whereas iGT establishes the empirical relationship between sound and letters.

The concept of distinction is found throughout Ólffr's adaptation of his various sources and it is what gives this section both its distinctiveness and cohesion. It shows, moreover, that although the material was being taken from a variety of sources, it was being incorporated to some extent with a view to explicating this concept. Distinction is prominent in all the grammatical literature dealing with letters and so was probably fairly central to the Icelandic conception of writing at the time. In adapting his Latin sources, Óláfr would have sought to incorporate the concept into his treatise.

## 2. The letter

The second chapter is more closely based on Priscian's Institutiones than the first. There are, however, large parts which do not have an identifiable source. The interest in the physics of sound continues here from the first chapter. The structure of the two chapters, however, departs from that of logical treatises - works on logic tend to follow the categorisation of sound immediately with a discussion of the noun, whereas chapter two continues with a discussion of the letter.

## 2.I. The theory of the letter

### 2.1.I. Section 2.1

The opening section of chapter 2 is taken mostly from Priscian, book I:3. This gives a definition and description of the letter. The definition centres on the letter as a division of vocal sound. It is not, according to Priscian, itself divisible because it is the smallest division of 'literate' (stafligr) voice.

A minor departure from Priscian occurs in this section and provides a division/ classification system to classify the letter that differs from that in the first chapter:

> vér skiptum bxkr í capitula, en capitula í clausur eða vers, en clausur í málsgreinir, málsgreinir í sagnir, sagnir í samstofur, samstofur í stafi.
> we divide books into chapters, and chapters into paragraphs or verses, and paragraphs into sentences, sentences into words, words into syllables, syllables into letters.

This has a parallel in Ælfric (Ólsen 1884, 37n), and they probably both find their source in Isidore XIII, 2 (Finnur Jónsson 1927, 22n) or a related text. So we have two mechanisms for determining letters as 'elements': one by a classification and division of sound and another by the division of written works. Both are basically the same: the letter is a unit of (connected) vocal sound, that is, a division like syllables and words. This account of the letter is something of a departure in approach from the first chapter. Vocal speech can be in a sense 'pulled apart' into smaller parts, the smallest of which is the letter.

We see already in the heading to this chapter, and in the opening sentence, that there is a notable shift in terminology from the first chapter. The first term to change is that division is not represented by terms based on the grein- root but rather the skiptroot (such as skipta, 'divide, share'). Words based on the grein- root are important in establishing the dominant theme of the first chapter. The second significant shift in
terminology is the translation of the Latin vox literata. In the first chapter, ritanlig rodd is used, but in this chapter, staflig redd is used instead. The terminology is maintained throughout the chapter.

### 2.1.2. Sections 2.2-4

The next section in some ways represents a return to an approach similar to that of the first chapter. §2.2 comments on the description of the letter found in the previous sentence:

> En pó eru eigi stafir náttúrliga óskiptiligir, pvíat stafr er rọdd; en rọdd er lopt eða af lopti formerab.

> However, letters are not indivisible by nature, because the letter is voice and voice is air or formed from air.

This description is based on the classification of the letter as being a component of writeable voice rather than as a component of the syllable, word and so on. It also shows a physically-based conception of the relationship between letters and sound.

The subsequent sentences continue with this account of the physical nature of letters and voice. This basically describes the nature of letters as divisible: they can be divided into smaller parts (the example given is that 'a' can be divided into units of time (§2.4)) but they cannot be divided into other letters, and hence are elementary.

This argument is partly based on Priscian, but these arguments in general are influenced by the Aristotelean account of sound and voice. This saw voice as a physical entity analogous to inanimate objects which can be used to produce sound. These sentences are a considerable expansion of the corresponding arguments in Priscian. They go into some detail to explain the notion of the letter as an element. This approach seems to be an attempt to reconcile the account of the letter in the first section with Priscian's approach. The account given in MG, compared to Priscian, stresses that the letter is physical - not simply analogous with physical things. Letters can therefore be divided as physical entities, an account which is more compatible with the account of the first chapter, which saw letters as divisions of literate vocal sound.

Ólafr, having stressed this aspect of the letter, in contrast to Priscian, was then obliged to reconcile this with the main emphasis of the source: the letter as element. The section following the account of the letter as a physical entity is not from Priscian. It gives an expanded account of the nature of letters as elementary, which is perhaps loosely based on Priscian or a Priscian commentary. This account of letters is basically a repetition of some of the surrounding material, reconciling the composite nature of letters and the elementary nature of letters.

### 2.1.3. Sections 2.5-15

§2.5 again is based on Priscian and covers some of the arguments in the previous sentence. The analogy made between voice and the body is extended into the next sentence. Voice is said to have three dimensions, like bodies. The analogy is applied to
syllables: accent determines the height of a syllable, aspiration determines breadth and quantity determines length.

The subsequent sentences illustrate this point by describing the features of accent, aspiration and length. It is unclear why there is such an extended illustration of the 'dimensions' of the syllable. This chapter should properly be restricted to the letter: the next two chapters continue with a discussion of the letter and the chapter following them ( $\varsigma$ ) continues with the syllable. What is more, chapter $s$ covers most of the material dealt with here, which is not found in the context of the theory of the letter in Priscian.

### 2.2. Conclusions

The second chapter of MG seems to sit somewhat uncomfortably in its overall structure, with different terminology and material which is repeated elsewhere. For comparison, the arrangement of the first chapters of MG is similar to the first sections of 2 GT. In both cases a classification of sound is followed by a categorisation of letters. However, in MG, there is a chapter on the theory of the letter between the material on sound and the material on letters themselves.

The change in terminology which occurs in the second chapter does not continue into the third and fourth chapters. Those chapters have more similarity in this regard to the first, particularly in their use of the grein- root. There are also some stylistic differences between this section and the surrounding material, in particular, long, complicated sentences making logical arguments. This is not simply due to the nature of the material: the first chapter is more dependent on logical works; the second chapter considerably expands on the conceptual arguments of Priscian.

This is unlikely to indicate a separate author for this section. Rather, it seems to be an attempt on the part of Óláfr to make sense of the grammatical theorisation of the letter, when it is clear that he is more comfortable with the logician's account of the relationship between sound and writing, which is seen in the first chapter. The relationship in the first chapter between the two is that literate voice is a type of sound which can be 'divided' (greina) into letters. This definition, which is not taken from the thirteenth-century logicians, is clearly influenced by it. It is also at odds to a certain extent with the approach found in Priscian, upon which this chapter is based. It is probably for this reason that the fairly central concepts of divisibility/distinction and literate voice go under different terminology in this chapter from the first.

The lengthy interpolations of Priscian's arguments are part of this attempt to make sense of this conception of language. In particular, they emphasise more the physical analogies of letters and literate voice. Ultimately, however, these are analogies, whereas the first chapter treats voice and letters as physical entities. The shift in terminology also coincides with a shift in both approach and sources from the first chapter. The first chapter was interested in the categorisation of sound and voice, and 'literate voice' (vox literata), hence the letter, as voice divided or distinguished. Because the concept of literatus has to do with the ability of this kind of voice to be written,

Óláfr uses the adjective ritanligr. The second chapter, however, is more interested in the letter as an element of literate voice. In both cases, the letter is characterised by division, but in the sources for this chapter, that division is a division of the semantic units of speech - syllables, words and so on. The difference is thus: letters as a division of sound (a physical entity) as opposed to letters as a division of speech (a linguistic entity, having higher-level divisions such as words and syllables, but analogous to physical things). The terminological changes, in this chapter, particularly in the translation of literatus are thus a result of the different Latin source in chapter 2 and the corresponding concept of the letter and writing.

This chapter, then, was probably included by Óláfr in deference to his source, but it does not fit within the overall conception of sound, language and writing of the surrounding chapters. It expands on the account of letters and explains in detail the 'dimensions' of voice, but without fitting these well into the overall thesis. Ólaff's attempt to reconcile the two approaches was not particularly successful. The rest of the treatise, however, does not suffer so much from their incompatibility.

## 3. The rune chapters

The rune chapters in MG are unique in medieval Germanic literature for their comparison of the runic fupark and the Latin alphabet, according to Fabrizio Raschella (1994, 679), and they are in many ways the most original part of the treatise. Nevertheless, there has been very little scholarly work done on this part of MG since Olsen's edition and his Runerne i den oldislandske literatur (1883). The only notable exception is the previously mentioned article by Raschellà. There are further issues not dealt with in those studies.

As we have seen above, in discussing the section on runes, we are only dealing with MSS A and W (and consequently w) - B omits any material which mentions runes. However, it does include the material at the start of the two chapters which do not deal specifically with runes.

The rune chapters correspond to a section in Priscian's Institutiones Grammaticae which deals with the values and other characteristics or 'accidents' of the letter. As can be seen by comparison with its sources, MG draws heavily on Priscian in this section. In the second part of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$, the project of adaptation involves taking the structure and categories of Latin rhetorical theory and applying them, with more or less success, to skaldic poetry. In this way, the adaptation of the section on letters is analogous - it involves using the framework of Priscian's work but using indigenous material for the examples of the principles at work.

By means of a close reading of the two runic chapters, I hope to establish how the following issues were conceived of in thirteenth-century Iceland: the relationship between the vernacular language and the ways in which it was written (Latin and Runic alphabets); the relationship between runes and classical writing systems (Greek, Hebrew and Latin); the relationship between the sixteen-rune fubark and later expanded forms. In addition, I will also look at the relationship between the rune chapters and various Latin texts; and the relationship between the rune chapters and other Norse-Icelandic texts.

I will discuss the two chapters, 3 and 4, separately, as they differ somewhat in their approach.

### 3.1. Chapter 3

## 3.I.I. Sections 3.I-2

The chapter opens with a conventional enumeration of the features or accidents of the
letter: name, shape and value. A similar opening is also found in Ælfric's grammar (Zupitza $1880,4^{-5}$ ) but unlike Ælfric, this does not lead into a discussion of the Latin alphabet. Rather, the runic fupark is clearly the subject of this section, as is shown at the beginning of the next sentence ( $\$ 3.2$ ): 'Stafanơfn eru sextán í nórænni tungu' ('There are sixteen letter-names in the Norse language'). Ælfric enumerates twentythree, as does Priscian. There is, however, a distinction: Priscian counts figurae literarum, 'shapes of letters', whereas Óláfr counts names of letters. This distinction is important, as there are more shapes of runes than names. The additional forms are dealt with in chapter 4.

It is this opening sentence which is perhaps in the mind of the author of the Prologue to the grammatical treatises when he refers to a discussion of the sixteenletter alphabet. As discussed in the Introduction (3.4), Björn M. Ólsen uses this reference to support his argument that chapter three of MG is based on a twelfthcentury treatise by póroddr rúnameistari. This, he argues, explains the discrepancy between the enumeration of the letters in chapter 3 (16) and chapter 4 ( 20 , including the additional runes: $\mathcal{Y}, 1, K$ and 4) (Ólsen 1883, 76-77). ${ }^{6}$ The modification can be explained because the adaptation of Priscian at this point basically deals with the first feature of the letter, name, and not shape - Chapter 4 deals with the features of shape and value of the letter introduced in the opening sentence of that chapter. Because Óláfr had in mind a runic fubark with more shapes than names of letters (cf. Raschellà 1994, 689-690), he had to change Priscian's text so that there would be no discrepancy between the number at the beginning of the chapter and the names discussed. For Priscian, there was no difference between the number of names and the number of shapes of letters.

The sentence continues, 'Stafanọfn eru sextán í nórænni tungu í pa líking sem Girkir hoffu forठum daga' ('There are sixteen letter-names in the Norse language, just like the Greeks had in the old days'). This introduces another recurrent theme in this material: comparison with the classical languages, Greek and Hebrew. Such comparisons will be dealt with below. The comparison with Greek does not occur in Óláfr's source.

### 3.1.2. Sections 3.3-5

The text goes on to enumerate the sounds for each vowel. Unlike iGT, the distinctions include accent and aspiration - these concepts are taken from Priscian, which MG follows quite closely at this point, to the extent that very similar examples are used for the different accents in §3.4. Óláfr modifies the Latin examples into Norse words: Priscian has 'árae àrarum âra' and MG has 'ari aranna ara' (forms of a poetic word for 'eagle'). In the previous section, there is a lacuna in all MSS where Priscian has examples for the three accents in aspirated syllables. It is quite likely that Ólafr was unsure how to apply the concept of accent to Norse, but included such sections nevertheless as they were in his exemplar. Óláfr has a more detailed discussion of accent in chapter 5 , which will be examined later in the commentary.

In the discussion of the consonantal values of ' i ' and ' u ', ( $\$ 3.5$ ) the latter is given
the name venð. Raschellà speculates that this originates in the name for the English letter $P$ ('wynn') (Raschellà 1994, 680n). This letter was taken from the runic fupark and was used for ' $w$ ' in Old English orthography, but was soon superseded by 'w' following the Norman conquest (Denholm-Young 1954, 18-19). While 'wynn' did not exist in the Norse fupark at this time, it is quite possible that the author, who was clearly well-versed in runology, knew of the rune.

### 3.1.3. Section 3.6

Up to this point in MG, the only word used for 'vowel' has been raddarstafr, which is also the word most commonly used in IGT. At this point, however, the terminology changes. Both A and W say here that there are five vowels in the Norse language, and the word used for vowel is bljờstafr. For comparison, bljốstafr alone is used for 'vowel' in Háttatal and 2GT (probably further indicating the influence of Háttatal on 2GT); it is also found in two places in IGT. Raschellà argues that bljöstafr and the corresponding málstafr for 'consonant' found in 2GT are remnants of pre-Latin (hence runic) terminology:
> ... the situation of málstafr in FGT is singularly analogous to that of bljoostafr in TGT: both occur in contexts where reference is explicitly made to runic letters. ... bljoosstafr in TGT and málstafr in FGT, together with límingarstafr in TGT (corresponding to limingr in SGT), occur precisely and exclusively in those contexts which have something to do with runic letters. If we discount pure coincidence, it may be reasonably inferred that these terms already existed in Icelandic before the adoption of the Latin alphabet, in other words in runic tradition, and thar, before being definitively replaced, they went on being used for some time alongside the terms fashioned upon Latin models. (Raschelld 1982, 118 and I 21 )

Hljorstafr is used at this point in MG, despite it being fairly faithful to Priscian as a source. Later in this sentence, raddarstafr is used again in the context of Hebrew letters.

A and W differ in what vowels are included: A has the runes representing $u, o, i$, a and $y$, but $W$ omits the rune for $y$. While this appears to be an error, it may not be: the text goes on to say that 'íss [i] is sometimes used for $e^{\prime}$. It is possible that the text in W reflects a reading which recognised ' $e$ ' as one of the five vowels in the runic alphabet.

Once again there is a comparison with a classical language - Hebrew in this instance. The use of iss for two vowels is compared to a similar practice of using one letter for two vowels in Hebrew. This is an interpretation independent of Priscian, but no possible source has yet been identified.

### 3.1.4. Sections 3.7-10

The two manuscripts outline the pronunciation of four of the vowels, described according to the speech-organs which are used to make the sound. This description is reliant to some extent on §t.13, where the nine speech-organs are described. The order of the vowels in the runic alphabet, it is argued, is according to the place where the
vowel is pronounced: $\cap$ is first because it is pronounced in the lips and the subsequent vowels are pronounced progressively in the lower speech-organs.

Ólsen ( $1884,47 \mathrm{n}$ ) found (in Thurot 1869) a twelfth-century grammatical manuscript which is a source or possible analogue for this section of MG.

### 3.1.5. Section 3.II

Here the two texts differ: W (which did not include $I$ as one of the vowels), says ' $h$ ' is from Hebrew letters. While $W$ is still internally consistent, it is clear that A's reading is better: this sentence is found in the middle of the discussion of vowels, and a nonvowel such as ' $h$ ' would be out of place.

In both manuscripts, a letter of the Norse alphabet is attributed in origin to the Hebrew language. Its inclusion can be seen in the context of the other comparisons with classical languages and alphabets in this chapter. The text makes comparisons between Norse/runic and Greek and Hebrew, here attributing the origin of a rune to Hebrew. This has the effect of suggesting that runes have at least part of their origin in that language. It would have considerably boosted the prestige of runes to be associated with Hebrew in this way - Hebrew had a very high status as it was widely considered the original, pre-Babel language, spoken by Adam.

Ole Worm, as discussed in section 3.2 of the Introduction, also believed runes originated in Hebrew. He does not make reference to this sentence of MG in the chapter dealing with the Hebrew origin of runes. This was because he only had access to $W$, which attributes the origin of ' $h$ ', not $I$, to Hebrew. However, he does quote the passage when dealing with this section of MG (Worm 1636,99 ), transliterating it into runes (with $*$ for ' $h$ '). He does not believe $*$ to come from Hebrew,' but this is probably because he considered the text at this point less reliable - after all, it has a Latin letter and not the rune. It is nevertheless likely that Worm was influenced by the numerous comparisons with Greek and Hebrew in the rune sections of MG (see 3.3.4 below).

### 3.1.6. Section 3.15

The text points out that the names for runic vowels all end in the letters reio or sol. This is an independent observation which does not derive from Priscian or any other identifiable source.

### 3.1.7. Sections 3.16-19

The remainder of the chapter, which concerns consonants, follows Priscian fairly closely again. The consonants are categorised as semivowels (L. 'semivocales', Icel. 'hálfraddarstafir') and mutes (L. 'mutæ', Icel. 'dumba stafir'). However, there are some differences in what is included in each category. In Priscian's listing of the two groups, the mute letters are all plosive consonants, except for ' h ', and there are no plosives among the semivowels. The categories, however, are only loosely based on this
distinction.
$F(f)$ is not included in MG with the semivowels, even though it is in the initial listing of semivowels in Priscian. Priscian, however, argues that ' f more properly belongs to the category of mutes when he discusses the letters individually (Priscian $\mathrm{I}: 46$ : ' F multis modis muta magis ostenditur ...'). The text thus does not simply copy Priscian's list of letters, but uses a list based on a more complete knowledge of Priscian's first book. $Y$ is therefore included with the mutes. Also included with the mutes, but again not a plosive consonant, is $P$ (' b '). The reason for this probably has to do with the name of the consonant: apart from ' f , consonants whose names started with a vowel were categorised as semivowels, and consonants whose names ended with a vowel were mutes. The letter ' p ' corresponding to P had the runic name purs (born in English), and IGT gives it the name 'pe' on the same basis as Latin letter-names are formed (rGT 88:27-29). In all cases, the name starts with the sound of the letter it refers to. Thus ' p ' appears to be a mute consonant rather than a semivowel, if one uses the position of the vowel to discriminate between the two groups. ${ }^{8}$

It should be pointed out that the runes are always presented in the order that they appear in the fubark, not in the order of the Latin alphabet. The order of the letters was considered a sub-feature of the characteristic of value (\$4.4). The order of the runes was thus a characteristic inherent in runes, if taken according to Priscian's model. The importance of ordering the letters is seen in IGT, which re-orders the alphabet so that vowels appear at the beginning.

### 3.1.8.

There is an apparent inconsistency in the text of chapter 3: while $\$ 3.2$ counts sixteen letters in the Norse (i.e. runic) alphabet, only fifteen are discussed: five vowels, five semivowels and five mutes. Both Raschella and Ólsen dealt with this problem and independently conclude that it is the rune for ' $h$ ' ( $*$ ) which makes the sixteenth letter (Raschellà 1994, 689; Ólsen 1883, 74). This is doubtless correct: its omission is because it is not considered a conventional letter in Priscian. Including it as one of the sixteen letters is consistent with the conventional composition of the fupark at that point in history (a fact which neither Ólsen nor Raschellà mention, despite dealing with the problem at length).

Óláfr, by not discussing $*$, is unable to reconcile his exemplar's discussion of Latin with the discussion of runes. However, the letter ' h ' is discussed specifically in a later chapter ( $\$ 5.2 \mathrm{I}$ and $\$ 5.23$ ), including a description of how it is used in Icelandic alliterative verse.

### 3.2. Chapter 4

### 3.2.I. Sections 4.1-4

The fourth chapter begins with a brief explanation of the characteristics of shape and
value of letters. This establishes part of the content of this chapter, but the approach is quite different from the third. Rather than using Priscian as a model, the discussion uses as its starting point a phrase exemplifying all the shapes and values of the runes.

### 3.2.2. Section 4.5

Section 4.5 of MG has probably been the most commonly quoted part of the text from the seventeenth century to only a few decades ago. It contains a phrase which Óláfr attributes to Valdemar II of Denmark. Óláfr was at the court of Valdemar from 1240 to 1241 after staying in Norway for some time (Ólsen 1884, xxxiv-xxxv).

The phrase is designed to use all the letters of the runic fupark, in the same way as the English sentence 'the quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog' contains all the letters of the alphabet. It reads thus:

The meaning of the phrase is somewhat obscure and there are some differences between the manuscripts. Raschellà ( $1994,684 \mathrm{n}$ ) explains most of the words in the phrase: sprengd, 'tired, mistreated' (sprengja); mannz, genitive of maðr 'man'; hok, 'hawk' (baukr); flyði from flýja 'flee'; boll is perhaps a form of ballr 'hard, stubborn; dangerous'; Raschella does not explain tuui or tovi. For the last two words, Cleasby and Vigfússon have tviböllr 'a double ball' (645). They do not explain this further, but it is quite possible that their interpretation is correct. Tovi or twvi could be a form of tvi, with an additional vowel inserted. The referent is probably some device used in falconry, perhaps to catch a reluctant bird. ${ }^{9}$ The phrase then reads 'The man's tired hawk flies (or flees) from the double ball'. Bæksted has instead interpreted this sentence as a magical formula ( 1942,216 ), but the more mundane interpretation of a falconry scene offered here is probably more likely.

### 3.2.3. Section 4.8

The text then goes through the letters of the phrase, discussing each in turn. The first is $d(s 61)$ : it is said to represent both $s$ and $z$. The text also states that it has another form, 4 , which is called knésol 'knee-sun'. 4 is used in the second word of the phrase. It is not explicit that the 4 form represents ' $z$ '; also, in the next sentence, it states that ' $z$ ' is not in the runic alphabet. It notes that the letters $z$ and ' $x$ ' are combinations of two letters and that 'neither ... is written in runes or in the old Latin alphabet'. However, the transcription of the runes in both $A$ and $W$ have ' $z$ ' as the value of 4 .

The reason given for the inclusion of ' $z$ ' and ' $x$ ' is economy: the ability to write two letters with one. This is a issue which is also discussed in IGT, but the author there wishes to leave ' $z$ ' out of the alphabet and include ' $x$ '. The latter represented a more common combination than the former; in addition, the author of IGT was concerned not to make his alphabet too big (IGT 89:14-15; see also Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 97-98 and 99).

The second rune in the phrase is discussed next. Again, there are two forms of the rune called bjarkan. The name probably derives from the word bjork ('birch'; Raschellà $1994,685 \mathrm{n}$ ). The two forms represent the voiced and voiceless forms of ' b ' and ' p '. The open shape of the ' p '-version is due to the way it is pronounced:

En pví eru opnir belgir gervir á $K$ pá er pat hljóð̌ar fyrir $p$, at pat skal meir sundr loknum vorrum nefna enn $b$.

And thus the bellows are clearly open in $K$ when it is sounded as $p$, so that it will (be) pronounced more with pursed lips, further apart than with the pronunciation of $b$.

Once again there is particular emphasis on relating the characteristics of the letter to their articulation. Here, the shape of this rune is explained by analogy with the way it is pronounced.

### 3.2.5. Sections 4.12-14

After briefly mentioning $R$ in $\S_{4.11}$, the text discusses the fourth letter of the phrase, $\nrightarrow$. This, Óláfr states, is a diphthong - he uses the Greek word and gives an Icelandic gloss, tvibliörr. In this section, diphthongs and ligatures are treated mostly as the same phenomenon.

The numerical supremacy of Norse-Icelandic is pointed out: there are five runic diphthongs but only four in Latin. This is a very common theme both in MG (see $\S 5.6$ ) and IGT.

There is some slippage here between referring to the Norse (i.e. Icelandic) language and to runes. It is not apparent that the diphthongs were thought of as independent of their written form. In §4.12, the number of diphthongs in Latin is compared to the number in runes, not Norse, and again in §4.14, the Latin diphthong 'oe' is said not to occur in runes.

### 3.2.6. Section 4.15

The next sentence discusses the ordering of vowels within diphthongs.
Ólsen identified an analogue in a commentary on Alexander de Villa Dei's Doctrinale (Ólsen 1884, 48n; Thurot 1869, 138). This section depends somewhat on a knowledge of the order of speech-organs established in the first chapter and the explanation of the order of vowels in the third chapter. In all three cases, a corresponding passage is not found in Priscian or Donatus, but there is a more contemporary Latin source or possibly analogue. Each, however, has an apparently different source: for the ordering of the speech-organs, it is either Petrus Hispanus or another logical tract (with the order modified); for the order of the vowels according to the speech organs, it is a twelfth-century manuscript found in Thurot (1869, 133-34); for the order of vowels in diphthongs, it is this commentary on Alexander de Villa Dei.

Óláfr thus compiled this material from at least two sources apart from Priscian
and included them in a consistent manner. He therefore probably had a fairly good grasp of contemporary grammatical theory and was able to connect different concepts in order to explain some of the characteristics of letters.

### 3.2.7. Sections 4.16-17

It is also clear from these sections that Óláfr had a good critical and theoretical knowledge of his own language. In the next section, he discusses the reasons for diphthongs in Latin and which of those apply to Norse. However, in both cases, the account of the reasons for the existence of diphthongs is a bit obscure. The first reason for diphthongs is distinction (grein). It is unclear how this might differ from any other distinction of sound which differentiates words. Of note, however, is that once again a word based on the grein- root is used. The other reason that diphthongs are used, according to Ólafr, is for 'euphony', that is, a diphthong is used when it sounds nicer than would a simple vowel. The example given is lokr, which Óláfr states sounds better than lekr. However, it is not clear what is distinguished here: the latter, not as attractive sounding word clearly has a diphthong, and the former has the letter ' $\varnothing$ ' (W is the only manuscript which preserves this section).

A Latin source for this material has not been identified.
While this section is introduced as dealing with diphthongs, digraphs or ligatures (as we would call them) are also discussed. Thus, of the five Norse 'diphthongs', three are true diphthongs (au, ei and ey) and two are digraphs (ae ( $x$ ) and oe ( 0 or $\varnothing$ )) representing a monophthong. The confusion arose because Icelandic orthography adopted some ligatures (such as $\ell / a, x / \varepsilon$ and $\emptyset$ ) to represent the additional vowel sounds not found in Latin. While a ligature of 'av' was often used to represent the $u$ mutation of 'a' in Icelandic, the ligature usually represented a diphthong in Latin, and the same was the case with the ligature of 'ae'.

The section in fact deals with digraphs, some of which represent diphthongs, and some of which represent monophthongs which do not occur in Latin. Fabrizio D. Raschella (2000) examines this passage in great detail as well as a passage referring to it in 4 GT . In particular, he discusses the comparison of the two diphthongs $\varnothing$ and $\propto$ in the context of changes in Icelandic phonology in the middle of the thirteenth century.

### 3.2.8. Sections 4.19-20, 22

The next part deals with the runes $Y$ and 1, which appear in 'dotted' form in the passage ( $\psi$ and 1 respectively). They appear in their undotted form to represent the voiceless plosives ' $k$ ' and ' $t$ ' and in the dotted form to represent their voiced counterparts. The two forms of $Y$, however, are not discussed: the rune is simply said to represent the two consonants; dotted 1 , in contrast, is referred to specifically as representing ' $d$ '. There is some slippage in the text between seeing these later forms as separate characters or just modifications of the one rune. This is likely to be an inconsistent attempt to keep the later, expanded fubark consistent with the sixteen-
rune fupark of the previous chapter.
In the final section of the chapter, it is noted that the reason for the dual signification of these consonants is that the pairs they represent are quite close in sound: in all but one case, they are simply voiced/voiceless pairs of plosive consonants. The distinction, therefore, was less significant than between other consonants.

### 3.2.9. Section 4.2I

The chapter ends without discussing the rest of the runes in the phrase attributed to Valdemar (§4.). This is because there are no more runes requiring more than a simple comparison with their Latin equivalent, and so the chapter ends. The first word, 'sprængd', is therefore quite a useful one for discussing the runes: it contains all four consonants with two forms ( $\mathrm{s} / \mathrm{z}, \mathrm{p} / \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{g} / \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{d} / \mathrm{t}$ ) and a diphthong. Thus Óláfr can discuss all these concepts using this word as a starting point. It is possible, then, that the sentence was designed with this in mind: the first word was selected in order to demonstrate these concepts and the rest of the phrase to simply represent the significations of the letters. As a mnemonic device, the phrase was probably very effective.

### 3.3. Conclusions

### 3.3.I. Relationship with chapter 1 and 2GT

As discussed in the Introduction ( $5.1 .2-3$ ), the first chapter of MG has many points of contact with ${ }_{2}$ GT. There is also some evidence of points of contact between both those tracts and the rune chapters of MG.

Olsen ( 1883,72 ) argues that the rune section of MG has a link with the first chapter of MG and with ${ }_{2}$ GT. However, Ólsen presumes that the source for MG's first chapter and 2 GT are both older than they probably are in fact: I have already shown that the source for MG chapter I is probably thirteenth century and Raschella argues that 2 GT is likely to have been written after 3 GT (1982, 126-32). While the link between MG chapter I and 2 GT is fairly certain, a strong link between the first chapter and the rune chapters of MG is less so. It is probably indicative of the difficulty of showing it that Ólsen resorts to a rhetorical question to make his conclusion:

Skulde dette ikke tyde på en indre sammenhxng mellem runeafsnittet, den tredje afhandlings begyndelse og Afh. II? (Ólsen 1883,72 )

Must that not indicate an inner connection between the rune section, the beginning of ${ }_{3} G T$ and 2GT?

However, Ólsen is basically right in seeing the connection between the first chapter and the rune chapters. Olsen points out that the ordering of the runic vowels is different from that of Priscian, and the explanation of the order does not seem to derive from Priscian. ${ }^{10}$ The ordering of the runic vowels, according to MG, is because of the place in which they are articulated - thus $\Pi$ is ordered first because it is pronounced in
the lips, and so on ( $£ 3.7$ ). The order of the organs of speech in which the vowels are articulated follows roughly the order of the organs of speech in the first chapter (§I.13), although in reverse. Ólsen also discusses the relationship between this part of MG and a sentence in 2 GT which describes the way speech is articulated by humans and outlines some of the speech organs (Raschellà 1982, 52 and 53 ; Ólsen 1883, 72).

It is possible that there is some link between the explanation of the ordering of the vowels in the third chapter and the ordering of the organs of speech in the first. The section on diphthongs in the fourth chapter also depends to some extent on the description of the speech-organs in the first. §4.15 demonstrates that the vowels in diphthongs are ordered according to the position where they are pronounced. Thus $a$ comes before $e$ in that diphthong, $e$ before $i$ and so on.

Another piece of evidence for a link between chapters 1,3 and 4 is the use of words based on the grein- root. This occurs in both the runic chapters a few times, in verb, noun and compound forms. Grein-based words tend to occur in only two forms outside of chapters 1,3 and 4 : in the compounds málsgrein ('sentence') and bljơosgrein. The latter is used to refer to accent (L. accentus, tenor) in chapters 2,5 and 6, but in the chapters we are dealing with here, it usually refers to simply a type or category of sound ( L . soni differentia). These two meanings of bljồsgrein - 'accent' and simply 'type of sound' - are quite distinct. Ólsen also notes that the word is used in the same way in ${ }_{2} \mathrm{GT}$ as in the first and rune chapters of MG, that is, to mean 'type of sound'.

The return of the use of grein- marks an increased interest in the process of distinction. It is this theme of distinction that marks the parts of MG which are not dependent on Priscian. This theme points to a preoccupation in this period of Icelandic scholarship with theorising the relationship between sound and writing. It differs from other periods, such as represented by Priscian and to a certain extent, IGT, where sound is not so much the focus as speech or voice. The distinction is important to the theorisation of writing. The relationship between writing and sound is one of division or differentiation: sound is divided into letters ( $£ 1.16$ ). The relationship between writing and speech is one of representation: we speak essentially in phonemes, and these are given symbols. The latter approach tends to be the one taken by IGT and other texts from the twelfth century.

### 3.3.2. Relationship with IGT

The material in the rune chapters differs in a few ways from IGT. Rather than seeing the properties of name, order and shape of the letters as arbitrary, MG seeks to make connections between the pronunciation of the letter and the other attributes. Hence the order of the vowels is explained by the position of the vocal organs which are used to articulate them ( $\$ 3.7-10$ ); the shapes of the runes for ' p ' and ' b ' are explained by the way in which they are pronounced ( $\$ 4.9-\mathrm{IO}$ ); the order of the vowels in diphthongs is explained also by the way in which they are articulated by the organs of speech ( $\$ 4.15$ ).

In contrast, IGT is interested in the phonology alone: the shapes and ordering of the letters are arbitrary, except for patriotic considerations (thus vowels are placed first in the alphabet because there are so many).

The project of IGT is to attempt to create a phonetic orthography which can represent as closely as possible all the sounds of Icelandic speech. For the author of IGT, the purpose of writing is clearly purely (or at least primarily) to represent speech. ${ }_{\mathrm{I}} \mathrm{GT}$ represents an interest in particular in the relationship between letters and meaning, that is, that letters should preserve the true meaning of the speech it records.

The approach to writing in the rune chapters is essentially in agreement with the theory of sound outlined in the first chapter. The emphasis in the first chapter is on the relationship between letters and sound as a physical entity: letters can represent sound which has no meaning. Letters are treated as if they are not merely there to represent sounds: they have a history; they have different forms; and they have a visual relationship to sounds.

### 3.3.3. Purpose

It is not immediately evident whether the purpose of the runic chapters of MG was primarily pedagogical. It is evident, however, that orthographical material was of interest to Icelanders in this period: there are three orthographical treatises which survive (including the runic chapters of MG).

The section on the letter in Priscian's Institutiones which corresponds to the runic chapters is a fairly advanced text - it gives the origins of letters and other detailed information. It was intended for advanced scholars, not to instruct novices in the Latin alphabet. Óláfr seems in part motivated by a need to give a more basic instruction in runes. It is probably for this reason that Ólafr departs more from Priscian in these chapters than in the other chapters (apart from the first).

There are a few differences between the two runic chapters. Chapter 3 is characterised by comparisons between runes and the Greek and Hebrew alphabets, and contrasts with the Latin alphabet and language. Chapter 4 is much more concerned with the similarities between runes and Latin. The third chapter relies more on Priscian as a source, whereas the fourth chapter, while drawing on Priscian, uses the Valdemar rune-phrase as the model for the discussion. The purpose of each of the two runic chapters, then, is slightly different.

The material in the third chapter is designed to place the runic alphabet in a historical context in a similar way to Priscian's material. This is the reason why the older, sixteen-rune fubark is used rather than the expanded form: the additional forms of runes in the fourth chapter were recent additions and are simply modifications of the historical forms. The historical contextualising of runes also explains the frequent comparisons of runes with Greek and Hebrew writing in this section. Here, Óláfr avoids making comparisons with Latin which would show a close relationship between runes and Latin letters. Instead, he makes contrastive observations (such as with the ordering of vowels in runes and Latin) and comparisons with Greek and Hebrew. The effect of these measures is to give runes a historical status independent of the Latin alphabet, but favourable associated with other classical languages, in particular, Hebrew, which was privileged as the first human language.

In contrast, the material in the fourth chapter is much better suited to instructing
in the use of runes. It gives a convenient way if remembering all the runic characters, including additional shapes used for different sounds. It also explains all variant shapes, something the historical emphasis of the third chapter does not permit.

### 3.3.4. The text and readings of the text

In the introduction, I discussed various instances where, in the history of studies of MG, it has been read in such a way as to support the fairly dubious theories of the antiquity and ubiquity of runes. What I wish to do at this point is to look again at these readings of the runic section of MG to see whether in fact MG suggests an assumption of ubiquity or antiquity on the part of the author.

In 3.1.I above, I briefly discussed one of Ólsen's arguments attempting to demonstrate that parts of the third chapter originate in a text by póroddr. Ólsen's main point is to link the third chapter to the reference to pobroddr and Ari in the Prologue to the grammatical treatises (cf Introduction 3.4 and 3.1.I above). Ólsen also argues that this could explain some of the inconsistencies between the two chapters. Ólsen's argument is therefore that chapter 3 shows evidence of a twelfth-century treatise on the reform of the runic alphabet. This implies, he argues, that the use of runes was widespread at this time, hence the reform of the runic alphabet was a useful endeavour. Thus his reading of chapter three is designed to support his theory of the ubiquity of runes.

While there may have been some work on runology and runic orthography done by pbroddr in the twelfth century (the Prologue certainly implies this), there is little evidence to show its influence on Ólafr's treatise. The Prologue's identification of póroddr as author was most likely to have been speculation. A's evidence of Ólaff's exclusive authorship is earlier and more reliable. Moreover, even if OOlsen were correct, the presence of traces of a treatise by poroddr does not in fact support a theory of the exclusive use of runes in Icelandic manuscripts.

Worm's theory of runic ubiquity is based considerably on the occurrence of the term rúnamál in MG. It occurs twice in W, the manuscript Worm had access to, but only once in the other mansucripts. While it is clear in the context that rínamál meant 'runic alphabet/ fupark', it is not so clear why the element -mál was used, particularly given its connotations of spoken language.

It is possible that there may be a relationship or analogue in the word málstafr. Raschelld suggests that this word (meaning 'consonant' in 2GT), along with bljofostafr in MG and 2GT, are remnants of pre-Latin runic terminology (cf. 3.1. 3 above). In FGT, however, málstafr is used once in an illustrative sentence to gloss rúnar. It has been suggested that this word, in contrast with bobkstafr, could refer to runes. In either case, the element mál is used in the context likely to be related to runic terminology.

It is possible, although somewhat remotely, that the term rúnamál in MG arose from an assumption of the ubiquitous use of runes. This assumption is not explicit in MG, nor is there any other evidence to suggest that Óláfr held such a theory.

Rúnamál also occurs in Dínus saga drambláta (Jónas Kristjánsson 1960, i2), probably the only other extant medieval use of the term. It is, along with fitónsandalist
'the art of magic', one of the skills of Princess Philotemia. The context, like ${ }_{3} G T$, does not suggest that the referent is a language as such, but rather is confined to knowledge of the magical uses of runes.

Worm asserted that 'Runic', 'Norse/Norwegian' and 'Danish' were synonymous to the author of MG (Worm 1636,98 ) - this was one of the justifications for using 'runic' to refer to the language and literature of medieval Scandinavia.

This is true to a certain extent: the runic letters are called variously nórena stafrof (§3.6), rúnamál ( $\S 3.16, \S 4.7$ in W), rúnir ( $\$ 4.7$ in A, §4.12), rúnastafir (§4.21, §4.22). It could therefore be argued that the runic alphabet could also be called the Norse alphabet. However, this only works in one direction - there is no evidence to show that the word 'runic' could be used for all the things that 'Norse' could apply to, such as language and verse.

The runic chapters do imply to some extent that runes were the standard way of writing Norse. This is primarily due to the slippage between referring to the Norse language and runes - the language and the written form are not systematically distinguished in the text. This can be seen in the section on diphthongs, where, on the one hand, they are discussed as a written phenomenon only belonging to runes (\$4.12 and 14), and on the other, a linguistic phenomenon belonging to the Norse language ( $\S 4.16-17$ ). The implication, then, is that runes were originally the standard way of representing diphthongs in the Norse language.

The purpose of treating runes in this way may have much to do with the patriotic implications of suggesting that the standard writing system was not dependent on Latin. This is not to say, as both Worm and Ólsen argued, that the rune chapters of MG contain evidence that runes were used widely, if not exclusively, for writing in manuscripts at some point in medieval Iceland. Nor is this to say even that the author held such a theory, but only that this would have been a favourable assumption to make in composing a tract on runes and how they are used.

As we have seen, Worm believed most of the runes find their origin in Hebrew and Greek letters. This was related to his theory of the antiquity of runes. There are some indications in MG that Óláfr also held something akin to the theory of the antiquity of runes, and that it was because of this that Worm may have made his assertions about the age and origins of runes. These indications are found primarily in: i. the comparison of runes with Greek and Hebrew writing; and 2. the attribution of the origin of (some) runes to Hebrew and Greek. In the fourth chapter, runes are treated as having equal standing with Latin letters.

In these places where runes are given an implicit origin in Greek and Hebrew, and in the places where they are compared with Latin letters as analogous, it is possible that there is an underlying Euhemerist argument. This argument is found in the Prologue to Snorra Edda (Faulkes 1988, 4-6); in Skáldskaparmál (Faulkes 1998, I:5-6) and in Ynglinga saga (Bjarni Aðalbjarnason 1941, 13) to justify the study of skaldic verse. The argument states (roughly) the following: the gods of the pagan Scandinavians were actually people who had travelled to the North from Turkey after the fall of Troy and had convinced the local people that they were gods. The name Æsir given to the main
group of gods is said to derive from the fact that they were from Asia（Minor）．The stories about them，which are referred to in skaldic verse，therefore have little to do with the worship of pagan gods but rather are manifestations of the trickery of these historical figures．This argument is elaborated by Ólafr in the second section of 3 GT ：

> Jpassi bok ma gerla skilia，at oll $x r x$ in listin｜skalld skapr sa，$x r$ romverskir spakingar namv iathxnis borg a griklandi ok｜snerv sipan i latinv mal，ok sa lioð háttr æðða skalldskapr，xr orinn ok abrir asia｜menn flvtev noror higat i norðr halfv heimsins，ok kendv monnum a sina tvngv｜besskonar list，sva sem peir hoffov skipat ok nvmit isialfv asia landi，par sxm mast｜ var fregð ok rikdomr ok frơlzikr veralldarinnar．（Ólsen 1884,60 ）

> It may be clearly understood from this book that the art of speech which the Roman orators learnt in Athens in Grecea and then transferred into the Latin language is the same as the metre or pootry which Odin and other men of Asia brought northwards when they setted the northern hemisphere, and which they taught to men in their own language, as though they had studied and devised in in Asia iself, where [fame] and wealth and knowledge were the greatest in all the world. (Collings 1967, 47)

There are certain parallels between runes and skaldic verse which support the extension of Euhemerism to justifying the use of runes，not least of which is that they both concern skills of language．In Scandinavian mythology，the original knowledge of runes was attributed，like skaldic poetry，to ÓXinn．Óðinn＇s acquisition of knowledge of runes is treated in Havamál，the latter in Skáldskaparmál．Both were obtained by Óðinn through ordeals．MS B of MG omits both the material on runes as well as the chapter of Málskrǔrsfraði from which the above quotation is taken．

There is some evidence to show a conceptual link between runes and poetry in the thirteenth century．The following is from Skáldskaparmál，where Ægir and Bragi are discussing Skaldic poetry：
［Bragi：］＇En pat họfum vér orðtak nú með oss at kalla gullit munntal pessa jotna，en vér felum í rúnum eða í skáldskap sváat vér kqllum pat mál eða orðta〈k〉，tal pessa jọtna．＇
pá maxir $\not$ Egir：＇pat pykki mér vera vel fólgit í rúnum．＇（Skáldskaparmál，3）
［Bragi：］＇And we now have this expression among us，to call gold the mouth－tale of these giants， and we conceal it in secret language［runes］or in poetry by calling it speech or words or talk of these giants．＇
Then spoke Ægir：＇This seems to me a very good way to conceal it in secret language［runes］．＇ （Snorra Edda，6I）

It is not clear that runes are what is meant here；Faulkes thus has translated $\mathfrak{i}$ rínum as ＇in secret language＇．However，such a use of rún is not used elsewhere in Skáldskaparmál．Both runes and poetry can be（and often were）a means of concealment．In Háttatal，there is a specific comparison between verse and runes：

Detta er drórtkvxðr hátrr．Með peima haxti er flest ort pat er vandat er．Dessi er upphaf allira hátta sem málrúnar eru fyrir $甲$ Ørum rúnum

This is drottkuatt form．This is the form most often used for elaborate poetry．This is the foundation of all verse－forms just as speech－runes are the principal sort of runes．

The above uses of rún in Snorra Edda suggest a close relationship between the ＇technologies＇of verse and runic writing．

It is possible that underlying the treatment of runes and verse in ${ }_{3}$ GT is a view that not only was poetry brought North by Óxinn and the other Æsir, but also knowledge of runes. This would similarly remove the problem that Skaldic verse posed for Christians: the magical uses of runes would have been part of the trickery of Óðinn, but their use was otherwise legitimate.

This would explain the implied antiquity of runes found in the third chapter, and also that they might originate at least in part in Hebrew and possibly Greek. If runes were brought from Asia in the way described above, they would be very old, and they would derive or at least be closely related to the classical languages of the area: Greek (which was probably considered the same as or closely related to the language of Troy) and Hebrew. Runes would have originated in parallel with Latin letters, in the same way as verse, which Óláfr argues above. This also explains the mode of comparison with Latin found in the fourth chapter.

The theories of runic antiquity and ubiquity are prevalent throughout the history of runology. While MG is often used to attempt to support these theories, it provides no real evidence that runes were as ubiquitous or ancient as scholars such as Worm and Ólsen thought. MG's own theories of runes can be seen in the context of the history of runology: there are some slight indications that the treatise either assumes or is trying to support theories of ubiquity and antiquity. However, these themes of runology, even appearing as early they do in MG, have little to do with the actual evidence of the origin and use of runes.

## 4. Syllables

The lengthy section on syllables is included in this edition as a single chapter ( $\varsigma$ ), although previous editions have presented it as four short chapters. Parts are heavily dependent on Priscian; other parts are dependent on other (unidentified) Latin sources; still others are probably Óláfr's own work. The sources have been adapted considerably for the Icelandic audience.

## 4.I. Commentary

4.I.I. Section 5.I

The definition of the syllable is based very closely on that in Priscian (II:I), except that reference to vox literata is removed.
4.1.2. Sections 5.2-4

Sections 5.2-4 contain an account of the maximum number of letters in a syllable: in total; and before and after a vowel. This passage contains two interesting comparisons between Latin and Old Norse regarding the number of letters which can occur in a syllable. It is noted (taken from Priscian) that Latin can have up to six letters in a syllable, but Norse can have eight or nine letters in its syllables (two examples are given). This comparison in a sense places Old Icelandic ahead of Latin in what might seem a minor regard, but which nevertheless has significance. It is comparable to the enumeration of distinctions of vowels in IGT, which, as I argued in the Introduction ( 5.1 .2 ), implied a degree of patriotic significance in the numerical supremacy of Icelandic over Latin.

The chapter goes further and discusses the number of letters which can come before and after the vowel in a Latin syllable as compared to an Icelandic syllable. At this point, however, the text mistranslates Priscian and states that in Latin, there can be a maximum of two consonants before the vowel (whereas there can be three, as Priscian states) and three after. Norse, on the other hand, is said to have a maximum of three before and five after; this mistranslation means that Icelandic, according to the manuscripts which have this section, is able to have more letters both before and after the vowel in a syllable than Latin. Whether this mistranslation was deliberate or not cannot be known, but Óláfr must have been familiar with Latin and the large number of words which begin with the combination of consonants 'str-'.

While the number of letters in a syllable would seem a fairly insignificant point of comparison between Latin and Icelandic, the possibility that the comparison was made in order to place Icelandic in a more significant light as compared to Latin is more likely given the significance of such letter combinations: they create the rhymes in poetry. Like IGT's account of vowels, the point made here suggests that Norse verse has a greater range of phonological distinctions than Latin verse.

### 4.1.3. Sections 5.5-10

This part of the chapter, which deals with rhyme, does not have an identifiable Latin source or analogue. The closest analogue in Old Icelandic is probably the so-called Fifth Grammatical Treatise, a fragment of which survives immediately before MG in A.

This material is basically a description of rhyme in skaldic verse, but it also contains information about rhymes in Latin versification, but this is included in a secondary way. The first two types of rhyme discussed are aðalbending 'full rhyme' and skothending 'half-rhyme'. These are illustrated with a pair of rhyming words in both cases. $\S 5.8$ discusses how rhymes are included in the Norse verse-form known as runbenda, which employs extensive end-rhyme. The lines of verse used to illustrate the form are by Snorri Sturluson and are from Háttatal. Most of this material, and also similar material in Málskrúósfreðði derives from the work of Snorri, particularly Háttatal. The terms for rhymes are from that work, which Óláfr refers to specifically in chapter is of Málskrúrðsfreði (Ólsen $1884,96-7$ ) when aðalbending is mentioned again.

Towards the end of this part, there is a discussion of consonantia. This applies to Latin verse, but as Óláfr notes, is only observed in Icelandic if there is a single syllable in the rhyming words. Thus, on the whole, this section is designed to explain how syllables create rhyme in Icelandic verse, with some reference for comparison to Latin verse. Óláfr most likely used Háttatal or information direct from Snorri to compose this section.

### 4.1.4. Sections 5.11-17

The part dealing with quantity (length) of the syllable is taken almost exclusively from Priscian. The examples given, however, are from Norse, but there are no examples given for syllables containing a longer vowel.

### 4.1.5. Sections 5.18-23

MG goes on to discuss aspiration as a feature of the syllable. The definition of aspiration is the same as that found in $\S 2.10$, but no editor has identified a source for this definition. Nor do the subsequent sections seem to come from Priscian - this is probably because aspiration was more relevant to Icelandic verse than to Latin.

The discussion of this particular feature of the syllable ends, as do the discussions of the other features, with a sentence which relates the feature specifically to Norse poetry. In this case, it is to show the significance of aspiration for alliteration:

En pó pykkir betr sama í nórænum skáldskap, at annat hvárt hafi áblásning hơfưstafir ok svá stuðlar peira eða engi peira.

Nevertheless, it seems to suit Norse poetry better, to have either aspirated "head-staves' (in alliteration) and so (too) their 'props', or none of them.

Óláfr again points out the importance of this feature of the syllable for Icelandic versification. Aspiration plays a part in poetry, essentially that alliteration can be on an ' $h$ '. The terminology used is that of the native Icelandic theorisation of alliteration. Such terminology is used extensively in Háttatal (the section which explains the terminology is in Faulkes 1999, 4). This is the first point in the treatise where alliteration is discussed - only rhyme in Norse verse is discussed prior to this. The other features of the syllable affect only rhyme in verse, whereas aspiration only really affects alliteration.

### 4.1.6. Sections 5.24-3I

The section on accent is very similar to that found in the second chapter ( $\$ 2.6-9$ ). The description of each type of accent (acute, grave and circumflex) is slightly different; different examples are given; and the accent mark is given.

The section does not occur in Priscian. Instead, Ólsen (1884, 55 ) identified a similar section in the work of the twelfth-century grammarian, Petrus Helias, but it is considerably shorter than Óláfr's text. It is unlikely that Óláfr was acquainted with the work of Petrus Helias (see Clunies Ross 1987, 72), although Petrus and Óláfr may have had a common source. The section ends with the following sentence ( $\$ 5.31$ ).

En með pví at pess konar greinir heyra lítt nórranu-skáldskap at flestra manna æetlan, pá tala ek par um ekki fleiri at sinni.

But inasmuch as these kinds of distinction are heard little in Norse poetry in most men's opinion, I will talk no more about it for the present.

Óláfr thus acknowledges that accent is not relevant to Norse verse. It is unclear as to why Óláfr included this section - the discussion of accent does not apply well to Norse, in spite of the examples he provides.

### 4.2. Conclusions

Two of the characteristics of the syllable (aspiration and accent) are discussed at length in MG, but are not discussed in nearly as much detail in Priscian. Furthermore, Óláfr acknowledges (in §5.31) that accent at least is not relevant to Norse verse, and he is not very successful in applying the concept to the Norse language. But chapter 5 is the second time that both concepts are discussed in the treatise: they had already been covered in chapter 2. This raises the issue of why this material was included at all.

It is possible that Óláfr had a source which contained material on accent and aspiration, and he did what he could to find Icelandic examples of these distinctions. The concepts of aspiration and accent derive ultimately from Greek grammar. It is also
possible that Óláfr was aware of this and applied the concepts to Norse in an attempt to further show the relationship between the Norse language and Greek. As we have previously seen, it is likely that thirteenth-century Icelanders considered their language to be derived from Greek, following the fall of Troy.

Óláfr may simply not have understood the distinctions, but still attempted to apply his sources to the vernacular. Confusion over such material may also explain why Óláfr goes over the concepts of accent and aspiration twice in his treatise. While Óláfr was certainly a knowledgable grammarian, successfully applying or relating the concept of accent to Norse may simply have been beyond his abilities.

## 5. Words

The final chapter of MG deals briefly with the word, mostly in terms of the parts of speech. Sggn is the word used to refer to the subject of the chapter, here translated simply as 'word'. It is a translation of the Latin term dictio found in Oláfr's source. However, this is not the usual word used for 'word' in Old Icelandic: usually it is orð, which is acknowledged here ( $\$ 6.2$ ). 'Sggn' is now used in modern Icelandic to refer to the verb; 'orð' (used for 'verb' in MG) forms the compounds for the modern Icelandic 'noun' and 'adjective', among other parts of speech.

This chapter is the most closely based on Priscian (Institutiones II:14-22); parts are also similar to sections of Donatus (Ars major II:I; see Krömmelbein 1998, 89-91) and Isidore (Origines I:vi). All examples, however, are from Icelandic and are not translations of any identifiable source. In one regard, however, there is a notable departure from Priscian - when the parts of speech are listed. The order given is that found in Donatus (Ars minor, Keil IV:355). Priscian's order is this (apparently derived from Greek sources): noun, verb, participle, pronoun, preposition, adverb, interjection, conjunction; whereas that of Donatus (and MG) is: noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, conjunction, preposition, interjection.

## 6. Conclusions

## 6.r. MG and its sources

A detailed listing of sources and analogues for MG can be found in Appendix 2. The following table represents a summary of the apparent sources or analogues for MG , listed in order of their apparent proximity to the text.

Table 8: Sources for MG

| I.I | Adapted from Priscian or Perrus Hispanus (?) |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1.2-10 | (Aristotle) |
| 1.11-12 | Petrus Hispanus, Summulae Logicales |
| 1.13 | Priscian Inst. |
| 1.14-20 | Petrus Hispanus |
| 2.1 | Priscian (and $\not \ldots l$ fric? ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| 2.2-4 | ? |
| 2.5-6 | Priscian |
| 2.7-15 | Priscian (abridged) |
| 3.1 | Priscian |
| 3.2 | Priscian \& original material |
| 3.3-5 | Prisican (mainly) |
| 3.6 | Priscian \& original material on runes |
| 3.7-10, 12-14 | 12th c. Latin material |
| 3.11 | original |
| 3.16-19 | Priscian \& original material on runes |
| 4.1-4 | Priscian (adapted) |
| 4.5-22 | original (Valdemar phrase) \& some adapted Priscian |
| 5.1-3 | Priscian |
| 5.4-10 | Háttatal and original material |
| 5.11-18 | Priscian |
| 5.19-26 | Priscian and possibly adaptations |
| 6.1-13 | Priscian |

MG, or whatever direct source was used to form MG (if there was one), thus draws upon a very large range of material, mostly from Latin sources. It brings together material from the entire grammatical tradition since late antiquity, as well as philosophical material. Some parts, particularly some using Priscian as a source, are little more than translations of the Latin material. Other parts adapt and comment on the sources so as to increase their relevance to Icelandic language and verse.

We know that the first chapter has a Latin source, and parts of the runic chapters are not original. However, these parts are significant in that they are the sections that depart most from the dependence on Priscian, and thus show most the introduction of original material. The first chapter in particular shows an attempt to bring the treatise in line with thirteenth-century ideas about sound and language, while still maintaining the format of Priscian's work. It is very unusual for a medieval grammatical work to begin with such a comprehensive discussion of sound and its relationship to language.

The most original section is probably the fourth chapter. It departs in both structure and contents from Priscian by using a phrase containing all the runes as the basis of discussion.

Ólsen criticised MG for lack of coherence in comparison to the second part of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$ :
> ... Men han [Óláfr] har ikke haft så grundige grammatiske kundskaber, at han har forstået at have sig over sin kilder og magte dem. Utvivlsomt er bearbejdelsen af Priscian Olafs eget verk. ... Hvor han fjarner sig fra sit latinske forbillede, kan man for det meste påvise, at han uselvstandig optager eller benytter aldre kilder, som han ikke rigtig forstår at sammensmelte med sin bearbejdelse af Priscian. Følgen heraf er, at fremstillingens gang forstyrres og forfatteren kommer til at skade afhandlingens helhed. (Ólsen $1883,66-67$ )

... But he [Ólafr] did not possess such a thorough knowledge of grammar that he had the ability to rise above his sources and manage them. The adaptation of Priscian is undoubtedly Ólafr's own work. ... Where he departs from the Latin exemplar, one can for the most part demonstrate that he, in a derivative way, adopts older sources, which he does understand how to fuse correctly with his adaptation of Priscian. The consequence of this is that the progress of the exposition is disturbed and the author damages the integrity of the whole of the treatise.

MG, I would argue on the other hand, presents a fairly coherent text, given that what it is trying to achieve both relies very heavily upon the Latin grammatical tradition and attempts to provide a theoretical foundation for the study of poetry. While Málskrúrsfrað̌i has basically only one source (probably an updated version of Donatus), MG attempts to provide a foundation for Málskrúrsfreð̌i from a whole range of authors and periods of grammatical thought.

In many ways, MG is a highly sophisticated and coherent adaptation of its various sources. In its overall structure, it extends the thirteenth-century sources on logic as a foundation for the study of grammar. The discussion of sound and voice leads directly into a discussion of the parts of speech in Petrus Hispanus. MG, after making further distinctions in sound after 'literate' voice, returns to the concept of the letter implied in 'literate voice', and then uses this as the basis of the discussion of diphthongs and conglutinations, then syllables, then words. MG, then, is an attempt to bring together two traditions, grammar and logic, into one theoretical schema. Given that this is probably an original project on the part of Óláfr, he has done a reasonably good job of
bringing the two approaches together.
Óláfr also includes material necessary for the discussion of verse in the second section of ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GT}$. In particular, ${ }_{3} \mathrm{GTb}$ refers to concepts in the final two chapters of MG, on syllables and parts of speech.

The text of MG in B could be seen to be an attempt to rationalise the multiplicity of sources for MG, by simply leaving out the ones that depart more obviously from the Latin grammatical tradition. This applies to both the runic material and other minor references to non-grammarian authors. However it is quite likely that this material occurred in the original (see Introduction 4.3). B's text, too, is no more coherent than that in $A$ or $W$ - as we have seen, the editing of $B$ is more likely due to an attempt to make MG more suitable for the religious material in the other parts of $B$.

MG can be seen to have the following attitude to its sources: it takes the structure of the grammatical works of late antiquity as the basis for its own structure, translating and adapting material from Priscian's Institutiones. It inserts an introduction from thirteenth-century material on dialectic as the theoretical foundation for the study of the letter - in particular, it incorporates the concept of distinction as a central notion in the study of the letter and poetics. It replaces some material from Priscian which applies to Icelandic with vernacular examples (including runes for Latin letters and skaldic verses for Latin ones). It also inserts a large section on the values and shapes of runes which is mostly original. Much of the adaptation of Priscian is supplemented with additional material from twelfth- and thirteenth-century Latin sources.

### 6.2. MG and runology

We have seen that throughout the history of MG, it has been associated with particular theories about the use of runes. MG provides little actual evidence that runes were of great antiquity or extensively used, particularly for writing on parchment. Such theories are recurrent in the history of the study of runes, as we have seen. Theories about the antiquity and ubiquity of runes boost their status and significance, and consequently it is in the interest of scholars who study runes to promote such theories.

While MG does not support these theories, the reason why it has been a very popular text for those who do is probably associated with the assumptions of the text itself. There are indications that Óláfr may also have wished to promote runes in a similar way to later runologists. In other words, MG should be read in the context of the history of the study of runes: these theories of runic ubiquity and antiquity were already present in the earliest work of runology, despite their spurious nature.

In general, however, Icelandic runology is more cautious in its claims than its mainland counterparts - again, MG can be seen in this context. While there are some small indications that the author may have been promoting the theories of ubiquity and antiquity (such as saying that $I$ is from Hebrew letters), it does not make any such claims explicit.

### 6.3. The theory of writing

The most significant and recurrent notion in the theorisation of writing is that of distinction or division - grein. This concept is present in logical material which MG draws upon, and to a lesser extent in its grammatical sources. However, MG takes it further than even the logical tracts - in MG, distinction or division is not just the method of categorising the subject matter, but the concepts find there way into the categories themselves. That is, divisibility or distinction is itself the discriminant in certain categories, such as 'meaningful voice'. It is the concept associated with grein which determines the relationship between sound and writing. It is also a fairly central concept to iGT, although it has there to do with the phonological approach of that work (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972, 38-39). Its use in MG may well be influenced by IGT. In contrast to IGT, MG is situated intellectually in the philosophy of thirteenthcentury Europe. It finds the notion of grein fits well in the context of dialectic.

MG departs from the radical phonological approach of IGT, but it is by no means dependent on Priscian for its representation of the relationship between letters and language. While Priscian concentrates on the letter as an element of speech, MG views it as a division of sound. It draws upon sources which to an extent reconcile the indigenous tradition, which concentrates on division and distinction, with the Latin grammatical tradition.

## Notes

1. de Rijk 1967, II-2:II (Introductiones Montane Minores). This definition is also found in a similar form in a great many of the treatises in De Rijk's study (1967, 78, 149, 357, etc.).
2. In Barnes 1984, 1229-36 (trans. T. Loveday and E. S. Forster). Similar material to that in MG's first chapter can also be found in the Metaphysics.
3. Petrus Hispanus was born between 1210 and 1220 in Lisbon. He studied at the Cathedral school in Lisbon before studying logic, medicine and theology at the University of Paris. Petrus taught at Paris up to 1245 and was professor of medicine at the University of Sienna to 1250 . He then held various church positions before becoming physician to Pope Gregory X. He was elected Pope John XXI in 1276, but died only a few months later. A twelfth-century namesake was responsible for a commentary on Priscian, but it is clear that the two were different authors. Our Petrus was responsible for a medical text (Thesaurus Pauperum) and some logical treatises (Summulae Logicales, Tractatus maiorem fallaciorum and Syncategoremata). Some commentaries on Aristotle and Pseudo-Dyonisius have also been attributed to him. (Mullally 1964, 3-4).
4 mál is a term not included in MG's initial classification. 2GT here perhaps represents an advancement in the general theory of sound and its relationship to language.
4. The dating of Summulae Logicales is dependent on details about the life of Petrus Hispanus. It is possible that the work was an earlier creation but was later attributed to him - not inconceivable when one considers his later position and status (as Pope).
5. The number of runes in the fourth chapter, Ólsen argues, is based on Ólaffr's own knowledge of runes from his time in Denmark. (Ólsen 1883, 76). The modification of Priscian's 'shapes of letters' to 'letter-names' may well support this. Ólafr knew of more than sixteen shapes of letters, but if he had counted the shapes, he would have more runes than the presumed treatise by póroddr. Surprisingly, Ólsen does not use this modification of Priscian to support his argument. Perhaps he did not notice this discrepancy. In any case, it is more simply explained by the account given here.
 fcilicet, non vero quo ad figuram.' (Worm 1636,99 ).
6. There may also be a conventional explanation for the inclusion of $F$ and $P$ among the mute letters: it creates three sets of the same number of letters. It was conventional to divide the sixteen-rune fupark into three groups of five or six runes - this was the basis of most runic cryptography. However, if the mutes were restricted to plosive consonants as in Priscian, there would be two very uneven groups of runic letters.
7. cf. Gautreks saga: 'Mér er sagt, at konungr sé oft á haugi drottningar ok beitir paðan hauki sínum, ok oftliga, er á liôrr daginn, pá lezt haukrinn. pá latr konungr sveipa höndina hjá stólnum, ef hann finnr nokkut at kasta til hans. Nú er svá ferr, ef konungr far ekki at kasta til hauksins, pá stikk pú brýninu í hönd honum, en tak við, ef hann rétrir nokkut pér í hönd ok far pá aftr til mín. ... Refr settist hjá stólinum at baki konungi. Sîoan sér hann, hvar komit var. Konungr réttir höndina á bak sér aftr. Refr stingr brýninu íhönd honum, en konungr kastar pegar á bak haukinum, ok flýgr hann upp snart, er heinin kom við hann.' (Guðni Jonsson 1999, IV:39-40). (T've been told that the king often sits on the queen's burial mound, and flies his hawk from there. But as the day wears on, the hawk gets tired and then the king gropes round the chair for something to throw at the bird. Now if it happens that the king can't find anything to throw, you're to put the whetstone into his hand. ... [later] The king threw all the objects he could lay his hands on at the hawk. Ref sat down behind the king's chair. Then he realized his chance had come. When the king stretched his hand back, Ref put the whetstone into it, and the king hurled the stone at the hawk. The bird flew up as soon as the stone hit it.' (Hermann Pálsson 1985, 163)).
8. Later, in his edition, Ólsen finds an analogous passage in a twelfth-century manuscript cited in Thuror (1869, 133-134; OIsen 1884, 42).

# Appendices 

## Björn M. Ólsen's numbering scheme

Compared with the chapter and section numbers in the present edition. Page numbers for Ólsen's edition are also given.


## Appendix 2

Parallel text and sources

Misc. sources (2)
Misc. sources (2)
[2GT] Hvat er hljóxsgrein?
Drenn. ${ }^{33}$

[Aristotle, 'On Things
Heard'] All sounds, whether
articulate or inarticulate, are
produced by the meeting of
bodies or of the air with
bodies, not because the air
assumes certain shapes, as
some people think, but
because it is set in motion
in the way in which, in
other cases, bodies are
moved ...

Misc. sources (i)
Roger Bacon: Summule
dialectices $^{31}$
Sonus vero sic discribitur:
sonus est sensibile aurium, id
est proprie et per se ab aure
perceptibile, non ex
consequenti sicut campana
vel homo, quia non per se
set per sonum suum
percipietur.
Petrus Hispanus:
Summulae logicales'9
Sonus est quidquid proprie
auditu percipitur; quia
licet homo vel campana
audiatur, hoc non est nisi
per sonum. ${ }^{20}$

Priscian, Institutiones grammaticae ${ }^{18}$
[I] De voce

Af hræriligum hlutum verðr hljóð sem
af hofurskepnum: 'eldi, vindum ok
vptnum.
Af óhræriligum hlutum verðr hljoð
sem steinum eða málmi eð́a strengjum,
ok verðr pó pess kyns hljó jafnan af
hraring nokkurs líkama lífligs eða
ólíligs.
Af samkvámu hræriligra hluta ok
óhreriligra verðr hljóð sem pá er vindr
eða vǫtn eða elldr slær sínu afli við jorð
eða aðra óhræriliga hluti.
$\stackrel{\infty}{\infty}$

Hljóð pat er verðr af líflausum hlutum er sumt ógreiniligt ${ }^{「}$ sem vinda gnýr eða vatna pytr eठa reiðar prumur, en sumt hljoð er greiniligt' eptir náttúruligri samhljóðan, peiri er philosophi kplluðu músikám; ok verðr pat hljóð hit efsta ok hit æzta af hræring hringa beira sjau er sól ok tungl ok fimm merkistjgrnur ganga í pxr er planetae eru kallaðar, ok heitir pat caelestis barmonia eða himnesk hljóð סagrein. Dessar stjornur sagði Plato hafa líf ok skyn ok vera ódaưligar.

9
 hljómr. ${ }^{34}$
[2GT] Svá pat ok, er viðir brotna eठa vápnin mxtast; petta heita brak eða brestir, eða enn, sem áðr er ritað. 'Q9!Iप 'Qofiy red ia ureyum rap ug er stafi eina skortir til máls: pat gera hörpurnar ok enn
 pat heitir söngr. ${ }^{35}$
 hljǒ sem viðum eठa grosum ok po af tenging nokkurs hræriligs líkama. hlutum, pat sem vér kollum listuligt hljóo sem í málmi ok strengjum ok
pípum ok allz kyns sengfærum.
Í lífligum hlutum ok vitlausum verðr
1.12 Af lifandi hlutum, peim er sen hafa,

|  | verơr annat hljóor, pat er rǫdd heitir, en annat pat er eigi er rọdd sem fótastapp eða handaklapp ok annat slíkt. |  | non vox. ${ }^{21}$ | vox; |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1.13 | Rpdd er hljóo framfart af kvikvendis munni, formerat af níu náttúrligum tolum: lungum ok barka, tungu ok tveim vǫrum ok fórum tọnnum. |  | Unde vox est sonus ab ore animalis prolatus, naturalibus instrumentis formatus. Naturalia instrumenta quibus formatur sunt haec: labia, dentes, lingua, guttur et pulmones. Sonus non vox est ille qui generatur ex colisione corporum inanimatorum, ut fragor arborum vel strepitus pedum. ${ }^{22}$ | Alio modo dicitur vox sonus prolatus ab ore animalis, et discribitur sic, vox est percussio aeris respirati ab anima in partibus que sunt ad vocalem arteriam, id est ad guttur; vel sic, vox est sonus ab ore animalis prolatus naturalibus instrumentis formatus, que sunt hec, pulmo, guttur, dentes, lingua, palatum, labia. |
| ¢ | Enn Priscianus kallar rǫdd vera hit「grann ligsta loptsins hogg ok eiginliga eyrum skiljanligt. | [I:I] Philosophi definiunt, vocem esse aerem tenuissimum ictum vel suum sensibile aurium, id est quod proprie auribus accidit. |  |  |
| I.15 | Rodd greiniz á marga vega: ¢̨nnur rọdd ritanlig en ǫnnur óritanlig. | Vocis autem differentiae sunt quattor: articulata, inarticulata, literata, illiterata. articulata est, quae coartata, hoc est copulata cum aliquo sensu mentis eius, qui loquitur, profertur. inarticulata est contraria, quae a nullo affectu proficiscitur mentis. | Vocum alia litterata, alia non litterata. ${ }^{23}$ |  |
| 1.16 | 「Óritanlig rọdd er sú, er eigi má stọfum greina. | literata est, quae scribi potest, illiterata, quae scribi non potest. | Vox litterata est, quae scribi potest, ut 'homo'; vox non litterata est quae scribi non potest. ${ }^{24}$ |  |
| 1.17 | 'Ritanlig rọdd er ọnnur merkilig en panur ómerkilig. |  | Vocum litterarum alia est significativa, alia non signicativa. ${ }^{25}$ | Vocum alia significativa, alia non-significativa. |
| I.18 | Ómerkilig rędd er sú, er til engrar merkingar er prengd, sem 'bu', 'ba', 'blictrix. | [ $I: 2]$ aliae autem sunt, quae, quamvis scribantur, tamen inarticulatae dicuntur, cum nihil significent, ut | Vox significativa est illa, quae auditu aliquid repraesentat, ut 'homo' vel | Non-significativa est per quam nichil auditui representatur, ut 'bubo' etc.; |

Vocum significativarum alia
significativa ad placitum，alia
naturaliter．
Vox significativa naturaliter
est que ordinatur ad
significandum，ut gemitus
infirmorum et omnis vox
ferarum vel sonus． Vox significativa ad placitum〈est〉 que ex institucione humana aliquid significat， Elfric Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice ${ }^{32}$ ：De Littera Littera is staf on englisc and is se lasta d $\bar{x} l$ on bōcum and
 bōc tō cwydym and syððan $\quad$ бā cwydas tō dālum，eft $\chi \bar{a}$ dxlas tō stxefgefêgum and syðððan pā stafgefêgu tō
 Vocum significativarum alia significat naturaliter， alia significat ad placitum． naturaliter est illa，quae idem repraesentat apud omnes，ut gemitus infirmorum，latratus
Vox significativa ad placitum est，quae aliquid repraesentat ad voluntatem instituentis，ut＇homo＇．${ }^{29}$
＇coax＇，＇cra＇．aliae vero sunt inarticulatae
et illiteratae，quae nec scribi possunt
nec intelligi，ut crepitus，mugitus et
similia．

| r．19 | Merkilig redd er qnnur af náttúru， <br> Qnnur af setning eð̃a sjálfvilja． |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1．20 | Merkilig rọdd af nátúru er barna grátr <br> eða sjúkra manna stynr ok annat slíkt． | ［XI：ıo］homo est animal rationale， <br> mortale，disciplinae capax． |


|  | eða sjúkra manna stynr ok annat slíkt． |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1．21 | Merkilig rodd af setning er sú，er <br> framfariz＇af＇sjálfilja manns，sem petta <br> 「nám＇：maðr merkir kvikendi |
| skynsamligt ok daưligt． |  |

> 2．I Stafr er hinn minzti hlutr raddar
> ［I：3］Litera est pars minima vocis
compositae，hoc est quae constat
compositione literarum，minima
autem，quantam ad totam
comprehensionem vocis literatae－ad
hanc enim etiam productae vocales
brevissimae partes inveniuntur－vel
quod omnium est brevissimum eorum，
quae dividi possunt，id quod dividi
non potest．possumus et sic definire：
litera est vox，quae scribi potest
individua．

| 2.3 | En hvárt sem rọdd er lopt eða lopts formeran, pá er hon samansett með sínum pertum sem loptit með pví at pat er líkamligt ok allir líkamir eru samansettir, en jafn hlutr verorr af jgfnu efni at 'geraz' sem hold af holdi. |
| :---: | :---: |
| 2.4 | En svá sem í náttúrligum líkǫmum eru nǫkkurir peir hlutir er einfaldir kallaz sem fjorir hofuð̌skepnur: eldr ok vatn, lopt ok jerð, ok kallaz pessir hlutir eigi af pví einfaldir, at peir sé óskiptiligir, heldr af pví, at hverr peira hlutr er jafn sinu ollu, svá sem lítill gneisti hefir jafna náttúru hinu mesta báli, svá eru ok stafir óskiptiligir í misjgfnu efni, eða í pá hluti sem olíkir eru, pvíat 'a' eða aðrir raddarstafir hafa stundum skamt hljor en stundum langt, ok ef peir hafa langt hljór pá hafa peir tvá tíma. |
| 2.5 | Philosophi kplluðu stafi elementa, 'pat eru' họfuoskepnur pvíat svá sem allir líkamir eru skapaozir af fjorum họfưoskepnum, svá gera ok stafir saman settir alla stafliga rọdd svá sem nokkurs konar líkam, pvíat rodd tekr eyru ok hefir prenna maling sem allt pat, er líkamligt er, pat er hað upp ok ofan, breidd til vinstri handar ok hagri ok lengd fyrir ok eptir, pvíat rọdd má pllumegin heyraz. |
| 2.6 | Samstọfur hafa hað í hljorsgrein, en breidd í anda, lengd í tíma, pvíat hver samstafa er annat hvárt hvqss eða pung eða umbeygilig. |
|  | Hvoss hljoborsgrein er sú er skjótliga er |

[ $\mathrm{I}: 4]$ literas autem etiam elementorum
vocabulo nuncupaverunt ad
similitudinem mundi elementorum: sicut enim illa coeuntia omne
perficiunt corpus, sic etiam haec coniuncta literalem vocem quasi
corpus aliquod componunt vel magis vere corpus. nam si aer corpus est, et vox, quae ex aere icto constat, corpus esse ostenditur, quippe cum et tangit aurem et tripertito dividitur, quod est suum corporis, hoc est in altitudinem, latitudinem, longitudinem, unde ex latitudinem, longitudinem, unde ex
omni quoque parte potest audiri. praeterea tamen singulae syllabae altitudinem quidem habent in tenore, crassitudinem vero vel latitudinem in spiritu, longitudinem in tempore.

## En hvárt sem rodd er lopt eða lopts

inum pertur
pat er líkamligt ok allir líkamir eru
samansettir, en jafn hutr veror
efni at geraz sem hold af holdi
En svá sem í nattúrligum likomum eru
sem fjórir hoffuorskepnur: eldr ok vatn,
lopt ok jorð, ok kallaz pessir hlutir eig
af pví einfaldir, at peir sé óskiptiligir,
,
jafna náttúru hinu mesta báli, svá eru
ok stafir óskiptiligir í misjofnu efni, eठa
pa hluti sem olikir eru, pviat a' eóa aorir raddarstafir hafa stundum skamt
 Philosophi kolluðu stafi elementa, 'pat eru ${ }^{7}$ hp̧fuoskepnur bvíat svá sem allir hofuoskepnum, svá gera ok stafir saman settir alla stafliga rọdd svá sem nokkurs konar líkam, pvíat ropdd tekr eyru ok hefir prenna mxling sem allt pat, er líkamligt er, pat er hæð upp ok ofan, breidd til vinstri handar ok hægri ok lengd fyrir ok eptir, pvíat rodd má Samstofur hafa hæð í hljoxsgrein, en
breidd í anda, lengd í tíma, pvíat hver samstafa er annat hvárt hvǫss eða pung
Hvǫss hljóósgrein er sú er skjótliga er
framfoerð með upph̨ldnu hljőði, sem pessi samstafa: hvat.

## Pung hljóðsgrein er sú, er af lítilátu <br> $\stackrel{\infty}{\boldsymbol{i}}$

hljơó hefz ok dregz niơr í enn lægra hljob, sem hin fyrsta samstafa í pessu namni: háreysti.
$\quad \underset{i}{a}$ 2.9 Umbeygilig hljóơsgrein er sú, er hefz af lítillátu hljơi ok penz upp sem hvọss hljóðsgrein, en fellr nior at lyktum sem pung svá, sem petta nafn: hraustr. 2.10 Hver samstafa hefir ok framflutning annathvárt lina eð̃ snarpa ok er sá andi hér kallaðr hraring framflutningar samstofu.
2.11 Meठ snorpum anda verðr samstafa framforð sem hin fyrri samstafa pessa nafns: purrum.

Meठ linum anda flytjaz samstofur sem pessar: langan tíma.

Hver samstafa er annat hvárt long eða skomm, ok er skomm samstafa skjótt fram flutt ok hefir eina stund sem fyrri samstafa í pessu nafni: ari.
2.14 Leqng samstafa er sú, er seinliga er
framflutt ok hefir tver stundir sem hin fyrri samstafa i pessu nafni: hati. 2.15 Ok er tími eठa stund kallaðr dvęl
mxlandi 'framflutning' raddar.〈Untitled〉


Accidit igitur literae nomen, figura, potestas
[I:5] Sunt igitur figurae literarum quibus nos utimur viginti tres, ipsae vero pronuntiationes earum multo ampliores, quippe cum singulae vocales

Stafanofn eru sextán í nórænni tungu í
pá líking sem Girkir ḩfou forðum
daga, en pó eru merkingar peira miklu
fleiri, pvíat Priscianus segir at hverr
$\stackrel{N}{\mathrm{~N}}$

「raddarstaff＇hafi tíu hljó eða fleiri，svá denos inveniantur sonos habentes vel plures，ut puta a litera brevis quattor habet soni differentias，cum habet aspirationem et acuitur vel gravatur，et rersus cum sine aspiratione acuitur vel gravatur，ut＇hábeo hàbemus＇，＇ábeo abimus＇．
longa vero eadem sex modis sonat： cum habet aspirationem et acuitur vel gravatur vel circumflectitur et rursus mis gravatur vel circumflectitur，ut＇hámis hàmorum hâmus＇，
＇árae àrarum âra＇．similiter aliae vocales possunt proferri．
［I：6］Praeterea tamen i et u vocales， quando mediae sunt，alternos inter se sonos videntur confundere，teste Donato，ut＇vir＇，＇optumus＇，＇quis＇．

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Langt } a \text { hefir sex hljóð: ef pat hefir } \\
& \text { ablásning } b \text {, pá berr pat annat hvárt } \\
& \text { hvassa hljósgrein eða punga eð́a } \\
& \text { umbeygiliga sem hér, [...]. }
\end{aligned}
$$ útan áblásning $b$ sem hér，＇ari＇；punga hljóósgrein enn fyrir útan $b$ sem hér，「á；hvassa hljós sgrein með áblásning $b$ sem hér，＇hafi＇；ok punga hljórosgrein ${ }^{\circ}$ mér $b$＇sem hér，＇hafandi＇． ${ }^{3}$ Slíkt hir sama，ef pat hefir eigi áblásning hljóror pat prjár leiờir，sem pessi nọfn，＇ari＇，＇aranna＇，＇ara＇． Slíkt hio sama má ok að̛ra raddarstafi greina，en $i$ ok $v$ hafa pví fleiri hloborsgreinir at peir eru stundum samhljórendr sem í pessum nọfnum， ＇iarl vitr＇ok er pá $\nu$ venð kallat í nórrnu máli．

ต่
［I：8］Ex his vocales dicuntur，quae per
se voces perficiunt vel sine quibus vox
literalis proferri non potest，unde et
nomen hoc praecipue sibi defendunt；
ceterae enim，quae cum his
proferuntur，consonantes appellantur．
sunt igitur vocales numero quinque：a
eiou．
IÍ nórænu stafrófi eru fimm hljóðstafir svá kallaðr：úr $\cap$ ，óss $才$ ，íss I，ár 1，ýr $\mathcal{I}$ ok er íss stundum settr fyrir $e$ ，pá er hann er stunginn，svá sem alepb cða ioth setjaz fyrir tveim raddarstǫfum í ebresku máli．
[12th c. MS] $u$ in labiorum
summulo.
[r2th c. MS] $o$ reboat in
palato,
[12th c. MS] e perstrepit in
gutture, $i$ substringitur in
faucibus,
[r2th c. MS] $A$ sonat in
pectore,

[12th c. MS] Primam
omnium vocalium a natura
constuit, quoniam illa vox
infantium vagientium sola
est; unde illud: a a a nescio
loqui, quia puer ego sum. ${ }^{38}$

| 3.7 | ก er pví fyrst sett, at pat hljóozar í framanverðum vǫrum. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3.8 | $\ddagger$ er par næst; hann hljóðar í munni. |  |
| 3.9 | I stendr par næst, pvíat hann hljoðar í ofanverðum barka, en í neðanverðum barka, ef hann er punktaठr, ok hljóסar pá sem $e$. |  |
| 3.10 | par nast er 1 skipat, pvíat pat hljózarí brjósti. |  |
| 3.11 | I er tekit af ${ }^{\text {「 ebreskum}}{ }^{\text { }}$ stofum. | utimur etiam y Graecorum causa nominum. |
| 3.12 | En látínumenn skipuru stơfum gagnstaðliga pessu, sem hér er greint. |  |
| 3.13 | Deir settu a fyrst, pvíat pat hljóððar næst hinu nezta tóli raddarinnar, ${ }^{5}$ er vér kǫlum lungu, ok pat má fyrst skilja í bernsligri raust. |  |
| 3.14 | Enn $\cap$ er pví fremst skipat, at pat er fremst ok nest sjálfu efni raddarinnar 'er' vér hyggjum at loptit megi kalla, ok hafa pví hvárirtveggju meistarar ${ }^{6}$ vel ok náttúrliga skipat stơfunum í sínu máli. |  |
| 3.15 | Raddarstafir pessir hefjaz allir af sínu hljóó ok leggjaz í samhljóðendr R (reī) ok d (sól) ${ }^{7}$. |  |
| 3.16 | ${ }^{8}$ Samhljóðendr eru ellifu í rúnamáli, fimm peir er nálægir eru raddarstọfum, eru kallaðir hálfraddarstafir af ¢ððrum m@nnum, pvíat peir hafa meiri líking raddarstafa ok merkiligri hljoð en aðrir samhljóðendr; pat er: R $卜$ d $\Psi$. | [I:9] Consonantium autem aliae sunt semivocales, aliae mutae: Semivocales sunt, ut plerisque Latinorum placuit, septem: flmnrsx; |
| 3.17 | $F$ er af sumum monnum með pessum stọfum talioor í látínu stafrófi, pvíat | sed f multis modis ostenditur muta magis, de qua post docebimus. [...] |

hann hefr sitt hljóo af raddarstaf sem aðrir pesskyns samhljobendr.
[I:7] Vocales igitur, ut dictum est, per
se polatae nomen suum ostendunt,
semivocales vero ab e incipientes, et in se terminantes,
[I:ro] Reliquae sunt mutae, ut quibusdam videtur, numero novem: $b$ cdghkpqt. et sunt qui non bene hoc nomen putant eas accepisse, cum hae quoque pars sint vocis. qui nesciunt, quod ad comparationem bene sonantium ita sint nominatae, velut 'informis' dicitur mulier, non quae caret forma, sed quae male est formata, et 'frigidum' dicimus eum, qui non penitus expers est caloris, sed qui minimo hoc utitur: sic igitur etiam 'mutas', non quae omnino voce carent, sed quae exiguam partem vocis habent.
[ $\mathrm{r}: 8$ ] Figurae accidunt quas videmus
in singulis literis.
Potestas autem ipsa pronuntiatio, propter quam et figurae et nomina facta sunt. quidam addunt etiam ordinem, sed pars est potestatis literarum. stafsins merking, hvárt hans nafn hefz af raddarstaf eठa eiginligu hljóði, sem marka má í pessu staftófi ok m̧̧rgum oðrum, er náliga hefjaz allir stafir af sínu hljobxi, bæði raddarstafir ok samhljóðendr, ok halda pó fullkomliga sínum merkingum.
3.19 I bessu stafrófi eru ok fimm stafir er vér kollum dumba stafi; pat eru F p $P 1$ B, ok eru stafir pessir eigi pví dumbar kallaðir at peir hafi ekki hljobð; heldr raddarstoffum, í pá líking sem sá maðr er lítils kallaðr verðr eða einskis af góðri xtt, er lítt er mannaðr hjá sínum gofgum frandum.

## Um tilfelli stafs

4.I ${ }^{9}$ Annat tilfelli stafs er figúra, pat er mynd eठa vpxtr stafanna gerr, sem nú er ritat.
4.2 Priðja tilfelli stafa er máttr ok er pat sjálf framflutning stafa ok merking
4.3 Fyrir pann sama mátt stafanna eru peira. bxori fundin nọfn ok figúrur.
4.4 Sumir meistarar kalla skipan hit fjórða 4.4 tilfelli stafs, en pat kallar Prisci ${ }^{\text {io }}$ anus einn part, pann er matti stafsins heyrir. 4.5 "Dessa stafi ok peira merkingar compileraði minn herra Valdimarr konungr með skjótu orǒtaki á pessa lund: Sprengd mannz hok flyði tovi
 BIIT.
[ $\mathrm{I}: \varsigma \mathrm{o}]$ Sunt igitur diphthongi, quibus
4.6 Hér er sól (d) fyrst skipat ok bax̌i sett fyrir s látínustaf ok $z$ girzkan staf, ok kǫllum vér pat knésol, ef hon er svá gor



stafa hljő, dok s, eða t ok s, svá sem $x$ hefir tveggja stafa hljob, cok s, eða g s, ok er pví hvárgi peira stafa ritaðr í 4.8 $\begin{aligned} & \text { ok er } \begin{array}{l}\text { Nú eru edeir stafir pví í stafroffi settir at } \\ \text { skjótara pykkir at rita einn staf en tvá. }\end{array} .\end{aligned}$ 4.8 $\begin{aligned} & \text { ok er } \begin{array}{l}\text { Nú eru edeir stafir pví í stafroffi settir at } \\ \text { skjótara pykkir at rita einn staf en tvá. }\end{array} .\end{aligned}$ 4.8 $\begin{aligned} & \text { rúnum eðo í fornu látínustafrófi. } \\ & \text { Núru peir stafir pví í stafroffi settir at } \\ & \text { skjótara pykkir at rita einn staf en tvá. }\end{aligned}$
4.9 Dar nast stendr K, ok er bjarkan á pá
leir ritat, ef pat stendr fyrir plátínustaf,
ok hefir sá rúnastafr tvá dumba stafi í sér pá er ólíkir eru í hljóoi.
4.10 En pví eru opnir belgir gorvir á K pá er pat hljoठar fyrir $p$, at pat skal meir ? hálfraddarstafir eru kallaðir.

个 4.8 $\begin{aligned} & \text { ok er } \begin{array}{l}\text { Nú eru edeir stafir pví í stafroffi settir at } \\ \text { skjótara pykkir at rita einn staf en tvá. }\end{array} .\end{aligned}$
$\underset{j}{\dot{j}}$

## ;

$\stackrel{\mathrm{g}}{\mathrm{j}}$

4.12

['Admirantes'] Omnis
dyptongus aut incipit a
prima vocali habente plus de
sono et terminatur ad
secundam, et sic est ae; aut
incipit ab eadem et
terminatur in ultimam, et
sic est au; aut est dyptongus
que incipit a secunda vocali
et terminatur in ultimam, et
sic est $e u$; aut incipit a
quarta vocali et terminatur
in secundam, et sic est $\alpha e$
... ${ }^{40}$
tveim raddarstofum $\rangle$ ok t , ok kalla nunc utimur, quattor. diphthongi autem dicuntur, quod binos phthongos, hoc est voces, comprehendunt.
[I:so] Sunt igitur vocales praepositivae aliis vocalibus subsequentibus in eisdem syllabis a e 0 , subiunctivae $\mathrm{e} u$, ut ae au eu oe. [r: 54$]$ Ei diphthongo nunc non utimur, sed loco eius in Graecis nominibus e vel i productas ponimus.

nóranu fyrir tvennar sakir: fyrir grein ok hljöð́fegro.
4.17 Fyrir greinar sakir er diptongus
fundinn í nóranu sem í pessum nofnum: <mar ok serr〉, at greina pau frá fornọfnum sér ok mér ok ̣ðrum pvilíkum, en fyrir hljóosfegrð er diptongus fundinn sem hér: løkr, øgr, pvíat fegra pykkir hljőða heldr en lakr, xgr.
4. 88 Par nast stendr $卜$, ok er hon af peim er
hálfraddarstafir heita. halfraddarstafir heita.
4.19 par nast stendr $\mu$, ok er pat fyrir tvá samhljóðendr, k ok g.
4.20 par nast er 1 stunginn ok stendr fyrir $d$

## At slíkum hartii eru allir rúnastafir

 settir í pessum orठskviðum, ok munum vér pat eigi framarr greina, pvíat eigi er nauðsynligt.
tvá samhljóðendr, at peir samhljóðendr hafa líkara hljór en aðrrir, svá sem g ok k, s ok z, b ok p, d ok t. (Untitled) Samstafa er samfyllilig stafasetning meठ osundrgreiniliga samansett ok framfaro. [II:I2] Accidit unicuique syllabae tenor, spiritus, tempus, numerus literarum. [II::3] Numerus literarum

nórænuskáldskap í peim hærti, er vér kollum runhendu, sem Snorri kvao: ${ }^{13}$ Orms er glatt galla með gumna spjalla.
Látínu klerkar hafa ok pá hending í versum er peir kalla consonantia, ok skal hinn sami raddarstafr vera í efstu samstọfu hvárrartveggiu sagnar, sem hér: aestas, terras.
s.ro Dessar hendingar er lítt geymtí
Tempus unum vel duo vel etiam, ut
quibisdam placet, unum semis vel duo semis et tria;
unum, si vocalis est brevis per se, ut 'amo', vel si eam una consonans simplex consequitur, ut 'capur',
unum semis in communibus syllabis, unum semis in communibus syllabis,
de quibus multi docuerunt, ut de quibus multi docuerunt, ut
'lacrimae'. [...]
[II: 13 ] in longis natura vel positione duo sunt tempora, ut 'dō’, ‘ârs', duo semis, quando post vocalem natura longam una sequitur
tria, quando post vocalem natura longam duae consonantes sequuntur vel una duplex, ut 'mōns', 'rēx'. tamen in metro necesse est
samstafa hefir annat hvárt eina tî́ eða tvar, eoa svá sem Priscianus segir sumar samstefur hafa hálfa aðra stund eða hálfa priőju, en sumar prjàr stundir. 5.12 Skamma stund hefir sú samstafa, er raddarstafr hennar er náttúruliga skammr ok komi eigi tveir samhljóóendr eptir, sem pessi nofn: ari, api.

Hálfa aorra stund hefir sú samstafa, er vera má hvárt er vill lọng eða skọmm, sem fyrri samstafa í pessum orðum: hvatra, spakra.

Tvar stundir hefir sú samstafa [...] $]^{14}$
5.15 Hálfa brizju stund hefir sú samstafa, er einn samhlioo andi stendr eptir hér: hiól, sól.
priár stundir hefir sú samstafa, er tveir samhljóðendr standa eptir langan

En pb setja nú nýverandi klerkar í
5.16 raddarstaf, sem hér: bjórs, stórs.
$\stackrel{5}{5}$
[Petrus Helias] Aut enim a gravi voce incipimus et in acutum tendentes ibidem desinimus, et accentus hic dicitur acutus. Aut ab acuto incipimus et in gravem
perseveramus, et est gravis tendentes ibidem

accentus. Aut a gravi in
acutum tendentes ad gravem
revertimur, et accentus hic
circumflexus dicitur. ${ }^{42}$
[Isidore] Partes orationis

tradidit, nomen et verbum. ${ }^{43}$
[Aristotle, 'On
Interpretation']

[Isidore] De participı.
Participium dictum, quod
nominis er verbi capiat
partes, quasi particapium. A
nomine enim vindicat sibi
genera et casus, a verbo
tempora et significationes,
ab utrisque numerum et
figuram. ${ }^{+4}$.
[Fóstbraðra saga] par gekk
harora hjorva / Hringr ok
Dagr at pingi45

|  | málsgrein, sem hér: 'maðor renn'. | coniunctae plenam faciunt orationem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6.4 | En meistari Priscianus telr átta parta málsgreinar pessa: nafn ok fornafn, orð ok viðrorð, hluttekning, samtenging, fyrirsetning ok meðalorpning, ok greinir gloggliga nátrúru hvers peira. | [II:I6] Secundum stoicos vero quinque sunt eius partes: nomen, appellatio, verbum, pronomen sive articulus, coniuncto. |
| 6.5 | Nafn er hlutr málsgreinar sá er veitir eiginligan eða sameiginligan hvíligleik hverjum hlut eða líkama. | [II:22] Nomen est pars orationis, quae unicuique subiectorum corporum seu rerum communem vel propriam qualitatem distribuit. |
| 6.6 | Nafn er æzt allra sagna, pvíat pat er svá sem efni eða grundvǫllr ${ }^{1 /}$ alls máls. |  |
| 6.7 | ${ }^{16}$ Fornafn er sett í stað nafnsins sem hleytismaðr fyrir meistara, ok merkir prjár persónur, en nafn merkir eina. | [II: $: 8$ ] Proprium est pronominis pro aliquo nomine proprio poni et certas significare personas. |
| ${ }_{\text {¢ }}{ }^{6.8}$ | pví næst er orð, er skrýðir ok formerar nafnit svá sem mynd efni, pvíat pat skýrir tilfelli nafns ok merkir gerठ eठa píning. | Proprium est verbi actionem sive passionem sive utrumque cum modis et formis et temporibus sine casu significare. |
| 6.9 | Vi̛rrorð fegrir ok endimarkar orðit í pá líking sem viðrleggjanlig nopfn gera vio undirstaठlig nọfn svá sem hér: 'sterkr maðr berz hraustliga'. | [II:2o] Proprium est adverbii cum verbo poni nec sine eo perfectam significationem posse habere, ut 'bene facio', 'docte lego'. |
| 6.10 | Hluttekning er frá skiliò orð̌i pvíat hon merkir foll ok kyn sem nafn, en í pví skilz hon frá nafni at hon merkir gerð eða píning ok hefir ýmsar stundir sem orర. | [II: $: 8$ ] participium autem iure separatur a verbo, quod et casus habet, quibus caret verbum, et genera ad similitudinem nominum, nec modos habet, quos continet verbum. |
| 6.11 | Samtenging knýtir saman nofn eða aðra parta eða sjálfar málsgreinir, sem hér: <br> Hringr ok Dagr at pingi. ${ }^{17}$ | [II:21] Proprium est coniunctionis diversa nomina vel quascumque dictiones casuales vel diversa verba vel adverbia coniungere, ut 'et Terentius |

> et Cicero', ...
[II:2o] Praepositionis autem
proprium est separatim quidem per
appositionem casualibus praeponi, ut
'de rege', ...
6.12 Fyrirsetning er eiginlig til at pjóna

```
follum nafnsins, sem hér: 'til borgar', 'af skipi'.
```



```
ok er hon jafnan fráskilið qððrum
portum, sem hér: 'vei', 'hai'.
```


## Notes

x. This phrase (veror ... blutum) is repeated and deleted in W due to dittography.
2. B is erroneously recorded as a variant in all editions. See the note to this word in the transcription of B for more information.
3. A begins a new chapter here with the title 'Um áblásning hljórs'.
4. B omits the rest of chapter 3
5. MS wrecommences at this point.
6. Olsen's Runerne claims this refers to Ari the learned and Dóroddr rúnameistari, whereas others consider this to refer to both Latin and Norse meistarar. See the commentary. 7. MS A has the names of the runes written above each runic symbol here.
8. A has a new chapter heading here.
9. B recommences at this point.
ter four.
12. There is a lacuna here in A due to a missing leaf. The remainder of this chapter is extant only in W. 4. This clearly is a lacuna in W ; B omits the incomplete sentence altogether, and so W and B probably have a common source with the sentence in an incomplete form. Olsen (1884, 53 n ) supplies the following Icelandic text, based on Priscian: 'er raddarstafr hennar er langr af náttúru eða setningu, sem hér: ...'.
15. The text in A resumes at this point.
16. This sentence and the following are in reverse order in $A$ and $W$.
17. Fóstbrcoðra saga verse 37; see this section in Appendix 2.
18. ed. Keil r855, vol. I.
20. 'Sound is whatever is peculiarly perceived by the sense of hearing. I say 2I. 'Sounds are either voice or not voice.'
22. 'Voice is sound produced from the mouth of an animal, formed by natural instruments. Those are called natural instruments by which vocal expression is formed: the lips, teeth, tongue, throat and lungs. A sound is not voice which is generated from the coming together of inanimate bodies, as in trees cracking or the sound of footsteps. 23. 'Expressions are either literate or illiterate.'
24. 'Literate expression is that which can be written, like "man"; illiterate expression is what cannot be written.' 25. 'Literate expression is either significative or non-significative.'
26. 'Significative expression is that which represents something when heard, like "man" or the groans of the sick, which signify pain. Non-significative expression is that which represents nothing when heard, like "bu", "ba".
27. 'Significative expression is either significative naturally or significative by convention.'
28. 'Naturally significative expression is that which represents the same thing to everyone, like the groans of the sick or a dog's barking.'
29. 'A conventionally significative expression is one that represents something, depending on the choice of its inventor, like "man".' (This sentence comes before the previous in Bochenski's edition, but like this in de Rijk's.)
30. 'Some conventionally significative expressions are either simple or uncomplex, like noun and verb; or constructed or complex, like a word-group (oratio).'
31. ed. Steele 1940, 232-234.
33. 'How is sound divided? Into three kinds.' (Raschellà 1982, $50-5 \mathrm{x}$ ).
34. 'What (are they)? One kind of sound is that of the wind whistling, or of water, sea(-waves), cliffs, earth or stones falling down; this sound is called crash, roar, din, and rumble. Likewise that sound which metals make, or the uproar of the crowd; this is also called din, clash, and noise.' (Raschelld 1982, 50- 1 ).
35. Likewise that of trees breaking or of weapons clashing; this is called creak or clash or, again, as written above. These are all irrational sounds. In addition, there is that sound for which letters alone are not sufficient to (make a) discourse: this is (the sound) made by harps and, still more (distinctly), by the major musical instruments; it is called music.' (Raschelid 1982, 50-51).
36. Barnes 1984, 1229-36.
37. 'All meaning is distinguished by spelling, but sound is distinguished by having syllables long or short, hard or soff' (Faulkes 1991, 3; 1987, 16; cf. Krömmelbein 1998, 53n).
39. Ólsen 1884 , 47n. Ólsen also notes: 'Da Catholicon utvivlsomt er yngre end Olafs afhandling, viser bagge tilbage til en $x$ ldre kilde. Jfr. Ch. Thurot: Notices et extraits, s. 56 (efter et skrift fra 15 . arh.): Diphthonous est duarum vocalium vim suam servantium in eadem syllaba complexio'
40. 'Admirantes' R 128 . This text is a commentary on Alexander de Villa Dei's Doctrinale (cf. Thurot 1869, 138, Ólsen 1884, 48n). 41. 'Admirantes' cont. (Thurot 1869, 138,).
42. Thurot 1869,393 ; cf. Ólsen 1884,55 .
43. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum I. vi. I (Ólsen 1884, 56).
44. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum I. xi.
45. IF 6, p. 271, verse $37^{3-4}$ 'There Hringr and Dagr went to the meeting of hard swords [battle]' 46. Donatus, Ars minor (Keil IV, 366, from Krömmelbein 1998, 93).

## Appendix 3

## Parallel text and transcriptions

| 1 | Edited text <br> At greina hljóб | AM 748 Ib 4to（A） at greina hlıoठ | Codex Wormianus（W） | AM 757 a 4to（B） | AM 757 b 4to（w） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I．I | Allt er hljóð pat er kvikvendis eyru má skilja． | Allt ær hlıoठ pat ar kulkvanoıf xẏv ma fkılia． | Tlioð er allt pat er um kukendıf æyru ma hæẏa． | A」llt er hloo pat er um kuikendıff eẏzu ma fklía． | H，إـ10o؛ er allt pat er kuikendis eyru ma heyza． |
| 1.2 | Hljó hefir margar kynkvíslir， ok verðr hljóð pat，sem náttúrliga megu eyru greina，af samkvámu tveggal líkama． | hlıoठ hæpar margar kẏnkviller $\boldsymbol{\propto}$ veror hlıo pat fxm nattvrliga： megv æyirv grenna af famkvamv tvegga likama． | hhoð hefer margar kynnkuullr，ok uerðz hlıo欠 pat fem natturulga megu xjru greına．af fam－kuamu tueggra likama． | hlíoठ heguer margar kẏnquiller， nu verðı hlıơ allt pat fem eýzu megu natturliga gzeína．af famkuómu tueggıa likama． | hlío hepar margar kẏ nkuiflır ok vers pat hlíox fem nat（turu）liga mega eyru grema af famkuomu tvegga lí－kama－ |
| 1.3 | En ǫnnur hljóossgrein er sú，er heilog ritning segir ${ }^{〔}$ andliga hluti hljóó？ |  hæellag ritning fxgir hlooza andliga hlut． | Ønnur hlıoof graín er fu er hellug ritning feger anoliga luti Һıðа． | Aunnur hlood grein er fu fem heulogh ntning feger annoliga hlute hlíoða． | Aunnur hliod greín er fu er heilug rí tníng feígır andlíga hlutí hlíoda． |
| 1.4 | Líkamligt hljó veror annat af lifligum hlutum，en annat af liflausum hlutum．${ }^{\text {＇}}$ | lukamlikt hloo verós annat af lupligvm hlvtvm æn $n$ annat af liflafvm hlutvm | lekamligt hlıoठ uerð：annat af lifligum lutum en annat af liflau－fum lutum．पerर्ठ annat af tylaufum lutum．erin anrat ap turgum lutum． | Likamlikt hlío veror annat af liflegum hlutum en annat af liflaufum hlutum | Likam ligt liod veros annat af líplggum hlutum en $n$ an $n$ at af liflaufum lutum． |
| 1.5 | Hlj ox pat，er heyriz af líflausum hlutum verðr annat ${ }^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{f}$＇hreriligum skepnum ${ }^{2}$ ，en annat af óhræriligum，annat af samkvámu hreriligra hluta ok óhreriligra． | Hhor pat ær hayinz af liplafvim hlutvm verðz verðz annat af ．1j． reriligvm fkxpnvm ænn annat af ${ }^{2}$ recrillgvm annat af famkvamv rerıligra lvta $\alpha$ oreriligra． | hloo pat hxyinz ap liplaufum lutum．uer $\delta$ annat af rerrilgum fkepnum，enn annat af u hrerilgum．annat af famkuamu reriligra luta ok ureriligra． | pat hlío fem heýzuz af liflegum hlutum verðz annat af <br>  annat af o hiẻnlegum．Annat af famkuomu hzêrilggra（hluta）ok óhięrilegra． | Hhod pat heyriz af liflafum hlutum verds annat af hrarligv $m$ ikepnum enn annad uhreriligvm． |
| 1.6 | Af hreriligum hlutum verðr hljoð sem af hǫfuðskepnum：「eldi＇，vindum ok votnum． | Af rørilígvm lvtvm verðz hoo fxm af hofuofkxpnvm vindvm oc vøtnvm． | Af rexíligum lutum ueror hlıoб， fern af hofű fkepnum ellor uínou $m$ uqtnu $m$ ． | af htênlegum hlutum verðz hlíoð fem af vínoum ok vỏtnum． | Af hræn lígum lut $\langle u m\rangle$ veròz hod fem af höfud fk epnum ellฎı vinðvm ok vठ̉tnum． |
| I． 7 | Af óhræriligum hlutum verðr hljóð sem steinum eða málmi eða strengjum，ok veror pó pess kyns hljóð jafnan af hræring nokkurs líkama lífligs eða ólífligs． | Af vrérilgvom hlvtvm verðz hox fæm fræınvm æða malmı æða ftrengivm oc verð：po paff kynf hoo afnan af ręring nølcur lukama lifligf $x \partial a$ vlifligf． | Afuhræriligum lutum ueroz hlıơ fem ftamum ok malmí ça ftrengrum ok ueroz peffkẏnf hloo rafnan ar hræríng nokkurf likama． lifligf e $a$ u ulinligf． | Af o hezrnlıgum hlutum hlıoठ fem af fteinum．eðд malme eða ftrengium．ok verðz pó perfikýnf hlíoð ıapnan af hiêrıng nockurf lukama líflegf ẻða ó líflegf． | Af uhræer lígvm lutum ueroz hò fem fremum ok malmí edr ftreíngium ok veroz pess kyns liod apnan af hræring nőckurs lukama lifligs edz olíf ligs． |


| I. 8 | Af samkvámu hræriligra hluta ok óhreriligra veror hljóð sem pá er vindr eðるa v̧̧tn eð̌a elldr slær sínu afli við jorð eða aðra óhreriliga hluti. | Af famkvamv reriligra lvta $\propto$ vrerillgra verðr hoð fæm pa ær <br>  aflı vıठ $1 ø \imath \delta æ \partial a$ aðra vrerılıga lutı. | Af famquamu rerílígra luta ok u reríligra ueros hlioo fem pa er <br>  með afh 102 ęða aðza u rarilgga lutí. | Af farnkvomu hiênlegra hluta ok o hięnlegza verô hlıoб. fem <br>  flẻr fínu afle vıð iỏz heęrilega hlute | Af famkvomv hreriligs lutar ok vhroriligv verda lood fem pa víndz edz vôtn èдs (elloz f)ler med aph $10 \_\partial$ eда aдra vrelıga hlutr. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1.9 | Hljǒ pat er verðr af liflausum hlutum er sumt ógreiniligt ${ }^{\text {sem }}$ sem vinda gnýr eठa vatna pytr eða reǐðar prumur, en sumt hljoб er greiniligt' eptir náttúruligri samhljóðan, peiri er philosophi kqlluðu músikám; ok verðr pat hljóð hit efsta ok hit æzta af hræring hringa peira sjau er sól ok tungl ok fimm merkistjornur ganga í pxer er planetae eru kallaðar, ok heitir pat caelestis barmonia eðа himnesk hljóóagrein. pessar stjgrnur sagði Plato hafa líf ok skyn ok vera ódauơligar. | hoo pat ær veroz af liflafvim lvtvm xr fvmt ogreínílikt ${ }^{18}$ xptır naturligr famlooठan pern æer philofophi kellvov mvficam oc veror pat hoo hit xffta oc hit xzta af ${ }^{\text {t9 }}$ rering ranga perra .vij. $x r$ fol $\propto$ tvngl $\propto$.v. merkuftionn $v r$ ganga 1 bęr xr planæte $x r v$ kallaðar oc hæıtur pat celeftuf armonia æða himnæk lıoðagræun. peffar ftioznvr fagoı plató hafa lif oc 1kẏn oc vera odaroligar. | hloo pat er ueroz af liplau- fum lutum er fumt u graníligt fem <br>  reıðar pzumur, en fumt hloo er graemuligt epter natturligr famloðan pers er philofophı kolluðu muficam. ok uerðz pat hlıo hıठ xffta ok hıठ æzta af rarng ringa perra er fol ok tungl ok.u. merkí ${ }^{29}$ ftroznur ganga í par fem planete heita. ok heiter pat celeftuf armonía. peffar ftroznur fagor plato hafa lif ok fkẏn ok vera u dauólıgar. | hloo pat er veros af liflaufum hlutum er fumt ógreínelekt fuo fem vínòa gnýzr eð $\begin{aligned} \\ \text { vatna pýtr }\end{aligned}$ èð $a$ Reřar pzumur. En fumt hlíoð er geeínulekt efter natturlegra famhlíoðan pene fem philofophı kaulluou mufikam. ok veroz pat hlıơ ed efzta ok eठ èzta af hzẻríng peira .vij. hzínga er fol ok tunngl ok fimm merke ftıỏ̀nur reika vm pẻr er planête heíta ok heiter pat hlíoठ celeftif armonía fuo fem hımnefk hlíoda greín. | Hlíod pat er veroz af líplōfv $m$ hlutum er fumt ugzeíníligt. Sem vínòa gn ỳrr edz vatna bẏtur edz reıдar prumur Enn fumt hlíod er fúlgreínilígt eptır natturlígrí famhlío ðan pern er philofophı <br> kölluдu muficam $\bigcirc_{k \text { uerठz }}$ pat hliod hít efzta ok hít æzta af hræring hringa perra er fol ok tungl ok pmm mer kt ftíoznur ganga $J$ pær er planete heita ok hei ter pat celeftrs armonía - peffar fuíozınur fagoí plato hapa lif ok Nkyn ok uera odauol igar . |
| I.IO | Greiniligt hljbð verðr í líflausum hlutum, pat sem vér kollum listuligt hljóð sem í málmi ok strengjum ok pípum ok allz kyns songfærum. | Gremulukt lood veror iluflafvm lvtvm pat fæm ver kollvm liftvikt lıo fem malmı oc ftrengivm $o c$ pupvon oc allz kyinf fongrarvm. | Grainillgt hloo ueroz 1 liplaufum lutum. pat fem uer kollum liftulugt hlíoo. Cem 1 malmí ok ftrenguu $m$ ok allz kynf fọng ok pipum. | Gzeínelikt hlíod verdz j líplaufum hlutum perm fem ver kôllum fkemtanar tol (em er J ftreíngrum ok pípum ok allz kẏnf fong- ferrum. j kluckum ok jodrum malme. | Greíníligt hlíod verò j líplôfum lutum bat fem uír kollum liftuligt hlood fem J malmí ok ftremgíum ok allz kyns fong ok pípvm. |
| I.II | Í lífligum hlutum ok vitlausum verðr hljó sem viðum eða grosum ok pó af tenging nokkurs hreriligs líkama. | J lifligvm lvtvm oc vitlafivm veror lıo fæm viðvm æða gravivm oc po af trenging notevr reriligf likama. | J lirlígum lutum ueror, fem 1 uıरum ok grofum ok po af raring nokkurf raxiligf likama. | J líflegum hlutum ok vitlaufum verò hlío fem j vidum ok j́ gızfum. ok pó af hięrıgh nöckurf hrêrlegf likama. | J líplígum lutum uerò líod fem J uiovm ok grőfum ok po af ræring nockurs rerilíg's lutar likama. |
| 1.12 | Af lifandi hlutum, peim er sen hafa, verðr annat hljóo, pat er rọdd heitir, en annat pat er eigi | Af lifandr lvtvm perm xr fxen hafa veror annat lıo pat ær rodд hæitır ænn annat bat ær æıgı ær | Af lifli-gum lutum perm er likama hapa. verðs annat hlıoठ pat er rọdo hetter. enn annat pat fem | Af lifande hlutum perm er lkýn hafa veroz annat hlíoð pat er rödo hetter en annat pat fem | Af lílígvm lvtum berm fem likama hafa veroz annat hlod pat fem rauðd he íter en $n$ |

annat pat fem eigr er robd fem fota $\mathrm{ft}^{39}$


Rodd er hhloð framm fart af
kuiken $n$ dif munnm. Formeraz af ix
natturulgu $m$ tolom. lungun
barka tungu ok tueı vorrum ok
tonnum fíozum.
En $n$ prifcianus kallar roдд vera hrð grxínílígfa loptzinf hogg ok hîo granlegzta lop ${ }^{(t z}$ zenf hỏgg ok eínkannlıga ézzum fkilí(an) likt.
Rỏdд greíníz a marga uega. Aunnur rठдд er rítanleg en aunnur brítanlegh.
Su er oritanlegh fem etgr ma

Ritanleg rob er ounnur omerkulegh.
Su er omerkuleg fem tll Znn ngraz nýtfamlegraz merkíngar er fett. Mem bumba lictrix. Merklegh ras er aunnur (af) natturu en aunnur af letning
eəða fíalfullia.
$\mathrm{Me}(\mathrm{rk})$ í- ligh röəd af natturu er barna gratr $\mathfrak{e} ð a$ fiukra manna ftýnr ok annat puilikt.
$\mathrm{M}(\mathrm{rk}) \mathrm{l}$ legh $\mathrm{R} \partial \partial \partial$ af fetningu er fu er fzamm ferrz af fíalfulía mannzenf fuo fem (bett)a. naz madz merker kuikennдe fkýnf(am)legt ok ( dau ) dhkt.
te wrex und goif $\angle x$ pQOY
kvikvendrf mvnnu formarat af .ix.
k $u$ kvenorf mvnnu formarat af . IX. naturlgv $m$ to ${ }^{20} \mathrm{lv} m$ lvngv $m ~ o c$ barka tvngv $o c$ tverm vgRvm oc. .ull. tonnvm.
ænn prifcianus kallar roд̀ vera hit grandligfta lopzunf hagg oc xign-liga fkilanilig.
en onnmur uritanlig.
 klapp oc annat flukt. Rqdd er hljóð framfrert af
kvikvendis munni, formerat af
níu náttúrligum tólum:
lungum ok barka, tungu ok
tveim vǫrum ok fjórum
tęnnum.
er rọdd sem fótastapp eða
handaklapp ok annat slíkt. 1.14 Enn Priscianus kallar rọdd vera hit ${ }^{\top}$ grann ${ }^{\prime}$ ligsta loptsins hogg ok eiginliga eyrum skiljanligt. r.15 Rodd greiniz á marga vega: gnnur rọdd ritanlig en ọnnur oritanlig.
「Óritanlig rọdd er sú, er eigi má stơfum greina. ${ }^{\text {. }}$
'Ritanlig rodd er ọnnur $น^{\wedge} \mathrm{B}!$ !! Ómerkilig rọdd er sú, er til engrar merkingar er prengd, sem 'bu', 'ba', 'blictrix'.
Merkilig rodd er pnnur af
náttúru, q̧nnur af setning eðða sjálfvilja.
1.20 Merkilig rǫdd af náttúru er barna grátr eða sjúkra manna stynr ok annat slíkt.
1.21 Merkilig rọdd af setning er sú, Merkilig rocdd af setning er su,
er framfæriz ${ }^{\text {'af }}$ sjálfvilja manns, sem petta 「nám’: maðr merkir kvikendi skynsamligt ok dauoligt.
Frá stafa skipti ok tíma
$S_{S}$ tafi e hin $\mathrm{m}_{1} \mathrm{n}_{\mathrm{J}}$ zte hlutr
famfettrar radoar fa fem ríta ma ok er（ $)_{\text {taft }}{ }^{2}$ kallaðz hinn
minnzte hlutr J puí fem tll
heyzer allre famfetning
ftaflig raz radoar puat ver \｛kpptum bekkr j kapitula．en
 klaufur j malfgzener．
malfgeener j＇fagner fagner J famftor fur．famftor $u r \mathrm{~J}$ ftafe．

En po eru ftaper natturliga o

 pomerat．

En $n$ po eru ergı ftafer natturuliga
u ikuptiliger．punat ftapr er rodo．
en rpod er lopt ç⿵a $^{\text {ar }}$ loptí formerat．

Enn huart fem roдð er lopt çða af loptí formerat．pa er hon
faman fett af finum postum fem loptír，me厄 pui at pat er
likamligt．aller likamer eru faman fetter．Enn iafn lutr ueror af

18̈rnu efní at geraz，fem hollo af
holldí．
 Enn fua fem 1 natturulgu $m$ lika－ mu $m$ eru nokkurer perr luter er kallaz xín fallder fem ．ıu．hofux fkepnur．elldz ok 1orð uptn ok lopt，ok kallaza peffer luter xigz xín fallier ar pur at perr fe u ikiptulger．helloz af pt at huer $r$ perra hlutr er Jafn finu ollu．fem litill gneiff́́ heper rafna natturu hinu mefta ball．sua eru ok ftaper ufkptiliger 1 mufigrnu erní
 a ok adzer radoar ftafer hafa afn finv gilv．Sva fam ltull gnxifu hapır lapna naturv hunv mafta bálı．

 ftafar hafa ftundvm fkamt loo

Stafr er hinn minzti hlutr
 má，ok er stafr kallaðr hinn minzti hlutr eð̌a óskiptiligr í pví，sem heyrir allri samsetning stafligrar raddar，pvíat vér skiptum boekr 1 í kapitula，en kapitula í klausur eða vers，en klausur í málsgreinir，
málsgreinir í sagnir，sagnir í samstǫfur，samstǫfur í stafi．

En pó eru eigi stafir náttúrliga En pó eru eigi stafir náttúrliga
oskiptiligir，pvíat stafr er rẹdd， en rodd er lopt eða af lopti formerat． En hvárt sem rodd er lopt eða
lopts formeran，pá er hon lopts formeran，pá er hon
samansett me夭́ sínum por
 sem loptit meer pví at pat er
líkamligt ok allir líkamir eru samansettir，en jafn hlutr verðr af jofnu efni at ${ }^{`}$ geraz＇sem hold af holdi．


xun ftvndvm langt. Oc xf perr
hapa langt loo pa hafa perr .y.
tıma


fcamt hefuer pozar hlíod
greiner．huaffa hlíod greín pyrir utan ablafningh $h$ ．fuo fem her． are．punnga hlíodgzeín enn rynr utan h．fem her．á．huaffa hlíodf greín me厄 ablafningh h．
fem her．hare．ok bunnga fem her．hare．ok punnga
hlíodgreín mè h．fem her． hafandí．
 merkıngar perra miklv plairn purat
prifcianvf fagir at hverr perra radoar ftaprr ${ }^{22}$ hafa ．x．hloo $x$ ð ${ }^{2}$ flerri．Sva fxm a xp pat xr fkamt flarrı．Sva fom a xef pat ær likamt grem fyirr vcan ablafnung $h$ fam her arı pvnga loơgrein xan $n$ fyrır vtan h fxm her［．．．．．．．．］hvaffa hoogreun mè ablafning $h$ fxm
her hap oc pvnga looff grem fixm her hafand．
merkingar peira miklu fleiri， pvíat Priscianus segir at hverr raddarstaff＇hafi tíu hljoб eða fleiri，svá sem $a$ ef pat er skamt hefir fjórar hljóosgreinir：hvassa hljóosgrein fyrir útan áblásning $b$ sem hér，＇ari＇；punga hljöósgrein enn fyrir útan $b$ sem hér，「ã；hvassa hljóorsgrein
með áblásning $b$ sem hér， ＇haff＇；ok punga hljóơsgrein ＇mex $b$ sem hér，＇hafandi＇． Langt $a$ hefir sex hljóo：ef pat hefir áblásning $h$ ，pá berr pat annat hvárt hvassa hljóosgrein eða punga eða umbeygiliga sem hér，$[. .$.$] ．$ ${ }^{3}$ sem hér，［．．．］．
${ }^{3}$ Slíkt hior sama，ef pat hefir eigi ‘́allásning hljóơar pat prijár leiðir，sem pessi nofn，＇arri＇， ＇aranna＇，＇ara＇． hoorar pat ．y．kerorrr fxm pxeffi
neqn．árı aranna ara．
Med peffum hêttí ma ok adıa rad－dar ftape gzeína．En j ok v
hafa pu fleíre hlíodfgreıner at
pau eru ftundum famhlíode＜n〉
dz．fuo fem j́ pefum nofnum．
jarl．vitr． Slikt hiơ fama ma ok greí－na aðza radoar ftapíi ok u．hapa puí plerrí greíner at perr eru ftundum famhlıơends fem í peffum
nopnum．arl uitr ok heiter u．
Slikt hit fama ma $\propto$ aðıa radðar ftafı greina．ænn $1 \propto 0$ vhafa pon flam looff gremir at pert xrv fivnovm famlooxnðr fxm 1
peffivm nofnvm arl vitr $o c$ er pa v venð kallat inózęnv málı
I nozenu ftaprofí eru ．u．hloơf ftafer fua ．ur．П off．$\ddagger$ iss l．ar 1 ok er iss ftundum fettr fyrer e ok er pa ftundum fua fem aleph ę $\begin{array}{r}\text { a }\end{array}$
toth，fetiaz fyrer ．1．radoar ftofu $m$ í ebzefku mali．
n er af puí fẏft fett å pat hooar langt a hapur ．vi．hoo xp pat hxarur ablafning $h$ pa berr pat annat hvart hvaffa lioðgreın xða pvnga $x ð a \mathrm{v} m$ bxẏgliga f $x m \mathrm{her}$
 fama xe pat hxyr eigz ablafnıng
hơoar bat ．uy．leioror fxom pxffi
Slukt hio fama ef pat hefer elg 2 ablafnngh hlíodar pat a pıza uega．fuo fem peffe nöfn．are． áranna．ara．
ablafning hooar par fem peffi are aranna ara．
Lanngt á hefuer fex hliod ef pat hefuer ablafning ．h．pa ber pat annat huart huaffa hlío－of geen $\mathfrak{c} \not \partial a$ punnga ¿ða vmbeýgulza． langt a̋．hefer．ul．hioo er pat
hefer ablafning h pa hefer pat annat huart huaffa hlood graín £øa bunga ęða umbxyggliga fem her．
Vm ablafning hlood $S_{\text {likt hit }}$
fama xef pat hxer cigt ablafning bat．j．． Sikt hit fama ma $\propto$ adta rad
ftap grenna．æn $n 1 \propto c \mathrm{v}$ hafa p
J＿nozenv ftarrofi xrv ．v．Loofftafir． sva kallaðır ór $\cap$ off $才$ iff．I ár 1 g yr I oc xr Iff ftvnovm fectr fyrir $x$ pa xr hann er fuvngunn sva fxm
 raддar ftpqum rebre／ku malı． Ner pur fÿrft fett at pat liooar
er vier kollum lungu ok pat

名


| monnum punat per hafa mein <br> lukíng radzarftafa ok merki <br> $\operatorname{lig} r$ hlıod enn adrur <br> famhliodends pat er．R．F．Y．F． |
| :---: |
| $\psi$ ．kalla fumir menn med peffum ftorifum telıanớ j latınu ftafroft pviat hann hepir fitt lood fem adrur pess kynf famhlíodíndr． |
| Prífcianus feigır eigı rada mega ftaffins merkíng huozr hanf nafn hefz af raddar ftaf edt af eigín ligum fe （m m）ark（a ma） J peffu ftarrof ok movgum $3 \delta$ rum er naliga hepraz aller ftafır af fínu hlood hvartuegga radдarftafır ok famhlıoden dz ok halloa fullkomlıga fínvm merkıngum |
| Jpeffu eru $\cdot \mathrm{v} \cdot$ ftafar er uier |
| kollum dvmba ftafı pat eru． Y40．P．Y．1．B．ok eru pessir ftapır eí af per dumbar ka kalladır at perr hap ecku hlíod． hellds af pen at pen hafa htio hlıod hía raddarftafum J baí luking fem fa madz er kalladz enkis hattar af godre xtt er litt er ment ${ }^{2}$ hia fínum gôrgum fr endum． |
|  |


|  | monnum，pvíat peir hafa meiri líking raddarstafa ok merkiligri hljóð en aðrir samhljobrendr； pat er：Rトd $\mathcal{F}$ ． | radðarftafr af ¢dıvm monnum purat per hafa marr likank raððar ftapa oc merkligr loð $x$ nn àrır famloðendr．pat xr．Rトよ $\mathcal{F}$ 「 | ftaper af ufroðum monnum，puac perr hafa meirl liking raðdar ftafa， ok mer－kulgrí hlıð，enn aðzar famhlıoठenot．pat er R $+\Psi \uparrow$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3.17 | $₹$ er af sumum mennum mě pessum stọfum talizr í látínu stafrófi，pvíat hann hefr sitt hljó af raddarstaf sem aðrir pesskyns samhljóóendr． | $Y_{x r}$ af fymvm monnum me厄 paffivm ftofvm talior latinv ftapróp puat hann hapr fiet lioo af raddar ftaf fam aorıur pxomkynf famlıoðznor． | $r$ kalla fumer menn meo peffum ftofum teliande ilatinu ftaprofí， puat hann hefer fitt hlioठ af raðdar ftaf，fem aðzer peflky̆nf fam hlıoðends． |  |
| 3.18 | En Priscianus segir eigi mega ráơa stafsins merking，hvárt hans nafn hefz af raddarstaf eða eiginligu hljoði，sem marka má í pessu stafrofi ok mergum pðrum，er náliga hefjaz allir stafir af sínu hljóri，bxði raddarstafir ok samhljoðendr， ok halda pó fullkomliga sínum merkingum． | ænn prufcianvf fxgur æugı mega raða ftapfinf merking hvart hans nafn hæfz af raddar ftaf $x \partial a$ elginligv lıoðı fæm marka ma ıpeffv ftaprop $o c$ motgv $m$ ¢бrv $m$ $x r$ nalıga hxpaza aller ftafır af finv lıoðı baðı radдar ftafır $\propto$ famhlıoठenor $\alpha$ halloa po fullkomliga finvm merkangv $m$ ． | Prifcianus feger xigr ráxa mega ftaffinf merkng，huart hans napn hefz af radдar ftaf $\mathrm{c}_{\mathrm{y} a}$ af xignnligum，fem marka ma 1 peffu ftaprofí，ok mozgum ofzum，er nallga hepraz aller ftaper af finu looxí，huartueggía raðдar ftafer ok famlıoðend？，ok halloa fullkomliga finum merkngum． |  |
| 3.19 | Í pessu stafrofi eru ok fimm stafir er vér kollum dumba stafi；pat eru $Y$ P $Y$ 1B，ok eru stafir pessir eigi pví dumbar kalladir at peir hafi ekki hljóz； heldr pví，at peir hafa lítit hljó hjá raddarstơfum，í pá líking sem sá maðrr er lítils kallaðr verð̊r eð̌a einskis af górri xatt， er lítt er mannaơr hjá sínum gofgum frendum． | J paffiv ftapropu xrv $\alpha$ ．v．ftapır ar er kollvm dvmba ftap pat xrv ${ }^{\prime}$ P P1B．Oc arv ftapır paffer xigl pur dumbar kallaðır at perr haf alce lior hallor per at perr hafa litet lior hia radzar ftofvm 1 pa likng fxam fa maðr $x r$ litulf kallaz verðo $x \not \partial a x n k k f$ af gob $r i x ́ x t t a r$ lict $x r$ mannadr hia finvm gepgvm frenòvm | J peffu eru ．u．ftafer pear er uer kollum dumba ftafí pat eru．${ }^{331} p$ Y 1 B ok eru peffer ftager xí af pui dumbar kallaðer at perr hap ekkı hloor．hellds af pi，at perr hafa lituס hlioठ hal raðdar ftofu $m$ ， 1 pa liking fem fa maðz ar kallaðz eíngif háttar af goơu xtt，er litt er mentr hia finum gofgum prendum． |  |
| 4 | Um tilfelli stafs | vm til felli ftaps |  |  |
| 4.1 | ${ }^{9}$ Annat tilfelli stafs er figúra， pat er mynd eða vpxtr stafanna gerr，sem nú er ritat． | Annat tilpxllı frafs $x$ figura pat $x r$ myñ $x \not x a$ vextr ftafanna gerr fam nv $x r$ ritat． | $A_{\text {fnnat }}$ t $l$ fellı ftaff er pgura ok er pat mẏnð ęð $ð$ uठxxtr ftafanna | Annat tlfelle ftaff er pgura <br>  ftapanna． |

pgura ok er pat mynd (ed ${ }^{2}$ )
$\operatorname{voxt}(r)$ (ftafanna) fva groat sem hier er ntad
prida ( $\mathrm{t} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{fe}) \|_{1}(\mathrm{ftaf} 1)(\mathrm{er} \mathrm{mat}) \mathrm{t}^{2}$ ok er pat fialf fram plutning

fyrur pan fama mat ftafana eru fundín perza ok qıgur $^{\text {qu }}$ ur ok nofn.
Sumir meiftarar kalla hior frozda fkıp(anar til) fellı ftapf. Enn pat kallaó́ prifá ${ }^{41}$

| alf frammperingh ok merking perna. |
| :---: |
| Fynrr pann fama mátt ftafann eru bezó funnoín nöfn ok pgurur. |
| Sumer meiftarar k(a)lla fkpan hồ fiotóa tulcelle ftaff. en pat kallar prifciánus, enn part pann |



| 4.2 | Prioja tilfelli stafa er mátrr ok er pat sjálf framflutning stafa ok merking peira. | prờra tulpelli ftafa $x$ máctr. Oc $x r$ pat fialf framplvtninng ftafa oc merking pera. | priora tal felli ftapf er mattr ok er pat fialy prammplutning ftapa ok merking perra. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4.3 | Fyrir pann sama mátt stafanna eru bæri fundin nọfn ok figúrur. | fyrrir pann fama matt ftafanna $x r v$ bexif fundin nọmn oc figurv. | fyrer pann fama matt ftafanna eru fundin nofn perra ok pgurur. |
| 4.4 | Sumir meistarar kalla skipan hit fjóroa tilfelli stafs, en pat kallar Prisci ${ }^{10}$ anus einn part, pann er mattri stafsins heyrir. | Svmer mxiftarar kalla lkupan hit porba tulellı ftapf xenn pat kallar prifcianus xinn part pann ær mattı ftaffinf hayirt. | Sumer meiftarar kalla hır proıza fkpanar tal cellí ftapf. en $n$ pat kallaðı prifcianus xinn part pann er mattI ftaffinf hxyirer. |
| 4.5 | "pessa stafi ok peira merkingar compileraði minn herra Valdimarr konungr með skjótu orð́traki á pessa lund: Sprangd mannz hopk flyði tovi boll; <br>  1AnI BITT. | perffa ftap oc perra merkingar compileraxı min $n$ herra valloimarr konungr me厄 fkotv orðtakı a paffa lvnd. Sprengo mannz hop <br>  <br>  | peffa ftap ok perza merkíngar compilerabı $\min n$ herra valldimar dana konungr mer fkıotu oıztakı a peffa lund Sprengo manz hok <br>  <br>  |
| 46 | Hér er sól (d) fyrst skipat ok bǎoi sett fyrir slátínustaf ok $z$ girzkan staf, ok kollum vér pat knésol, ef hon er svá gọr 4 . | her $x$ fol $\downarrow$ f fyrft 1 kepat $\alpha$ bxozı fact fyrrr f latinv ftaf oc z grrikan ftaf oc kollvm ver pat knafól af hon xr fva gar 4 . | her er fol fyrft fkipat pyrer .f. latínu ftaf ok z gurðzkan ftaf ok kollum uer pat knefol ok sua er goit 4 . |
| 4.7 | En $z$ hefir náttúruliga í sér tveggja stafa hljóð, d ok s, eða tok s , svá sem $x$ hefir tveggja stafa hljoz, coks, eठa g s, ok er pví hvárgi peira stafa ritaðr í rúnum eða í fornu látínustafrófi. | $\mathfrak{X}_{\mathrm{n}} n \mathrm{z}$ hafir naturviga ifar twegga ftafa lioo. doc f. xðat oc f sva from $\times$ hafur tveggia fafa loo $t o c$ f $x \times a \mathrm{~g}$. Oc $x r$ per huargı pera ftapa ritaðr 1 rvnvm $x \partial a$ i foznv latinv ftapropr. | en $n z$ hefer natturliga a ser tueggra frafa hloo t . ok f. ęða o ok f. ok af pr huargi ftapr x ok z rtað̌ 1 runa malí eða 1 foınu latinu ftaprofí. |
| 4.8 | Nú eru peir stafir pví í stafrófi settir at skjótara pykkir at rita einn staf en tvá. | Nv xrv perr ftagur per 1 ftafrof facter at fkotara pilcir at rita yennftaf ${ }^{25}$ znn tva. | Nu eru per ftafer af pur . ftapr [of] fetter at fkotara pikker at rita epter, helldz xinn ftaf en $n$ tua. |
| 4.9 | par nast stendr K, ok er | par neft ftenor $K$ oc ar blarkan a | par neft ftends B ok er bra[r] kan |


|  | bjarkan á pá leior ritat, ef pat stendr fyrir p látínustaf, ok hefir sá rúnastafr tvá dumba stafi í ś sér pá er ólíkir eru í hljobi. | pa lexor ritat $x_{\mathrm{F}}$ pat ftexnor fyirtr p latinv ftap $\propto$ hapar fa rvna ftapr eva dvmba ftapa ifar pa $x r$ vilkir $x$ xv iloor. | sua at pat ftenor fyirer b latinu ftaf, ok hefer fa runa ftagr .ij. dumba ftap 1 ser pa er pat hlioðar fyrer. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4.10 | En pví eru opnir belgir gorvir á $K$ pá er pat hljóð $\begin{aligned} \text { ar fyrir } p \text {, at }\end{aligned}$ pat skal meir sundr loknum verrum nefna en $b$. | ænn pur xrv opnir balger garvir a $K$ paxr pat hoxar fýrır p at pat fcal marrr findor loknvm vorrvm nxpna xnn $b$. | en $n$ af puí eru belger opner grozer a biarkaní pa er pat hlootar pyंrer p, at pat ikal meirr fundz loknum uqzrum nefna enn b. |
| 4.II | par nast stendr $R$ fyrir $r$ látínustaf, ok er hann af peim stọfum er hálfraddarstafir eru kallaðir. | par neft ftendr R fỳrr r latunvitaf oc $x r$ hann $n^{26}$ af perm ftofvm $x r$ half radoar ftafir ærv kallaठır. | par naft ftend: $R_{\text {Fyrer } r} \mathrm{r}$ latunu fraf, ok er $\operatorname{xin} n$ af perm er hallfradoar ftaper eru kallaðer. |
| (\%) ${ }_{\text {¢ }}$ | par nest stendr $\not \downarrow$, pat hljóor fyrir tveim raddarstǫfum $\rangle\rangle$ ok I, ok kalla Girkir pann staf diptongon, pat er tuibljờr á nórena tungu, ok eru fjobrir diptongi í látínustafrófi en fimm í rúnum. | par nxft ftandr $\dagger$. pat líoðar yyirr .i. radaar ftopvm. $\dagger$ o $\dagger$ ockalla gurkir pann ftaf diptongon. pat xr tviluorr a norena tevngv oc arv :my. diptongi 1 latinv ftaprop $x n n$.v. urvnvm. | par neft ftendz e ok hlıoxar fyrer tueim radoar ftọfum $\dagger$ ok lok kalla gurker pan $n$ ftaf diptongum. pat er tuu hloorz a noirenu, ok eru pozer deptongí 1 latínu ftaprofí, enn 1 runum .u. |
| 4.13 | Diptongus er samanlíming tvegga raddarstafa í einni samstǫfu peira er báơir halda afli sínu. | drptongvf $x r$ faman liming .נ. radðarftafa 1 xinnı famftofv pera $x r$ baber halloa arls finv. | Diptongus er faman liming tuegga radoar ftafa í xinní famftofu, perra er baaber hallida aplr finu. |
| 4.14 | pessir eru límingarstafir í rúnum: $\dagger$ fyrir ae; $\cap$ fyrir au; $\\|$ fyrir ei, ok er sá diptongus ekki í látínu; $\phi$ fyrir ey; $\ddagger$ fyrir eo ( ()$,\langle$, ee er hinn fjórði diptongus ílátínu, ok er hann ekki í rúnum. | paffer arv limingar ftapir irvnvm <br>  $x r$ fa duptongus elct ilatinv $\phi$ <br>  prozor diptongus latinv oc ær hann xhel 1 rvnvm. | peser eru limíngar ftaper ırú- num <br>  ok 1 ok er fa diptongus ekk í latinu. xy, f fyrer e ok o, ok er hinn frozor diptongus i latínu, ok er hann xegr í rúnum. |
| 4.15 | Sumir raddarstafir eru fyrir skipaðir ${ }^{\text {í samanlímingu sem a }}$ ok e, en sumir eptir skipaoxir sem e ok i, o ok u, ok eru peir raddarstafir nátrúruliga fyrir | Svmır raddar ftafır ærv fÿrır fkipaðır ifamanlimingv from a oc e xenn fivmer epur 位pabar from e oc 1 ov oc ærv pers radдar ftafır natturliga fỳrır fkupaठır 1 | Sumer radoar ftafer eru fẏrer ©kipaðer 1 fam- límíngu fem a ok e. enn fumer eru epter fkupaðer, fem e ok ío ok u, ok eru perr raddar ftafer natturulga fyrer |

famanlımingvem xr nalxgra hafa fkipaðer i faman limíngum, er raд̀ar tolı mannzinf. en $n$ hiner epter fetter, er narri ftanda 1 lıoof greín raddarennar, fem a fyrer a

 nar brioftunu ftends, ok fyikr ftend2, en $n$ hitt digrara er framarr lkapaz, ok merra heper rúm, er |ttok hagra pat hlıơ fyrer at fetia í famluming er fyikr fkapaz. enn hitt epter er formeraz.
A latinu er diptongus. pyrer. .u. faker fundinn. pyrer hhoo. fegrð ok fundz grxín ok faman fetning. enn inozanu fyrer tuenar faker fyirer greín ok hloo fegro. Fyrer grxínar faker er duptongus fundinn ínorranu fem iperfum nopnum. mer ok fer. at greína pau fra poznopnum fer ok mer ok oozım pilikum. en $n$ fyrer hlıơs fegrð er diptongus fundinn fem her. løkr øgr. purat pegra pikker hlooza helloz en lakr xgr.

| par neft ftendat ok er hon ar perm er hallfradoar ftafer heíta. |
| :---: |
| par neft ftends $Y$, ok er pat ryyrer tua famhloodendz k ok g . |
| par naft er 1 ftunginn ok ftenda fyrer ol latinu ftap. |
| Að flikum hattí eru aller runa ftafer fetter 1 peffum orbzkuioum, |


| ok munum uer pat xugr rramar $r$ graína puat xıgı er nauðzynnligt |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| pur eru peser ．lus．runa ftafer fetter pirer tua famhlıor－end：at pert famhloorendz hafa likara hllood enn abzer sua femg ok k．｜f ok z｜bokp．｜d okt． |  |
| 〈S〉amftapa er famfyllig ftafa fetning með łanum anda ok xınnı hluoơ greín o funde greínuligha faman fett ok framm faro． | ${ }^{34}$ S＿amftafa er famfýlleligh ftafa fetningh með eínum annठa ok eínne hlíod ${ }^{\text {greín ok }}{ }^{35}$ fundz geénílega frammpilro． |
| Samftafa hefer ．um． $\mathrm{t} l \mathrm{l}$ felli ftaf ¢̧a toplu ando ok tîo ok hlıơ greín．puac huert famftafa hefer fkamma toqu xinn ftar ¿̧ða flerrí ok hefer aingi famftapa 1 latínu flerr enn ．u．enn． 1 norranu megu xigz ftanda pleirn 1 xim $n i ́$ famftofu en $n$ ．uul．ęða xy．fem fpgnnzkr ok ftrennzkr． | Samftapa hefuer flảgur tilpelle． <br>  hlíodfgeín．huerr famftapa hefer ftafa tolu．einn ftar ěða fleure． elnnge famftafa hefer fleíre ftafe en ．u． j latin， $\mathrm{u}_{\mathrm{J}}$ male en $\mathbf{j}$ noırtẻnu male mega ftanda vij́f． èða ix．j eínne famftzzfu fem her． fpảnfkr．ftrennəzkr． |
|  hiro flefta fyrer radoar ftaf enn．．1y． epter． | J latıno ftanǹ̀a tueír famhlíodendz ed flefta（fẏzer） raddar Ltafese $_{1}$ en priz epter． |
| Enn mozęnu megu ft－［an］da prir famhlıoбendı fyrer radoar ftaf． enn ．u．epter fem fkilia ma 1 perm nofnum er fyikr［var］u rituor． | en ${ }^{j}$ norrẻnu megu ftanða $b r z$ <br>  en ．v．efter．fem fkilía má ${ }^{\text {j p }}$ perm nöf－num fem fyir varo rítuð． |
| peffar famftofur gera mefta fegrð 1 fkallofkap，ef xinn radoar ftaft er itueım famftequm ok híner femu epter fetter，fem her．fnarpr garpr ok kollum uer pat aðalhend－íng． | Derffar famftozur gera mefta <br>  ftafz er j tueım famftobu $m$ ．ok hiner fomu ftafer epter．fem her．fnarpz garpr．ok kozllum |


|  | orðskviðum，ok munum vér pat eigi framarr greina，pvíat eigi er nauðsynligt． |
| :---: | :---: |
| 4.22 | Pví eru pessir fjorir rúnastafir settir fyrir tvá samhljóðendr，at peir samhljóðendr hafa líkara hljóo en aðrir，svá sem g ok k， s ok z，b ok p，d ok t． |
| 5 |  |
| 5 | Samstafa er samfyllilig stafasetning með einum anda ok einni hljóosgrein ósundrgreiniliga samansett ok framfero． |
| 5.2 | Samstafa hefir fjogur tilfelli：〈stafatǫlu〉，tír，anda ok hljóðsgrein，pvíat hver samstafa hefir stafatęlu，einn staf eða fleiri，ok hefir eingi samstafa í látínu fleiri en sex，en í nórænu megu eigi standa fleiri í einni stamstọfu en átta eठa níu，sem spannzkr ok strennzkr． |
| $5 \cdot 3$ | Í látínu standa tveir samhljoðendr hio flesta fyrir raddarstaf en prír eptir． |
| $5 \cdot 4$ | En í nórænu megu standa prír samhljóðendr fyrir raddarstaf， en fimm eptir，sem skilja má í peim nọfnum，sem fyrr váru ritur． |
| 5.5 | Dessar samstǫfur gera mesta fegro í skáldskap，ef einn raddarstafr er í tveim samstęfum ok hinir s甲mu stafir eptirsettir，sem hér： |






Annat tilfelli samsto̧fu er tî́o, pvíat hver samstafa hefir annat hvárt eina tîó eða tvær, eða svá sem Priscianus segir, at sumar samstọfur hafa hálfa aðra stund eða hálfa priðju, en sumar prjár stundir.
5.12 Skamma stund hefir sú
samstafa, er raddarstafr hennar er náttúruliga skammr ok komi eigi tveir samhljóðendr eptir, sem pessi n¢fn: ari, api. ns xyวч punas expe effeH samstafa, er vera má hvárt er vill long eða skomm, sem fyrri samstafa í pessum orðum: hvatra, spakra.

Tvarr stundir hefir sú samstafa
$[. . .]^{14}$ [...] ${ }^{4}$
5.15 Hálfa brioju stund hefir sú samstafa, er einn samhljóðandi stendr eptir raddarstaf
nátrúrliga langan, sem hér: hjól, sól.
prjár stundir hefir sú samstafa, er tveir samhljóóendr standa eptir langan raddarstaf, sem hér: bjórs, stórs.

## En pó setja nú nýverandi

 klerkar í versagjoró allar samstoffur annathvárt einnar stundar eða tveggja.Priója tilfelli samstofu er andi, pvíat hver samstafa hefir annat hvárt linan anda eða snarpan.

Andi er hér kallað̊r hræring
5.19

| Snarpan annò hefer fu <br> famftafa fem mề дıgrom annð̀a er framm flutt．fem pefar fagner hrauftr．hozikr．eza pezr adzar fem $_{\mathrm{L}} \mathrm{a}_{\mathrm{a}}$ ablafningar nó－te er j upphape fkípadz． <br> h．er kalladı merkıng ¿ð⿱㇒㠯 nóte ablafningar．perat hann er einge ftafz fu－llkominn fyrer fik． huarke famhlíodande nẻ raðдar ftaf． <br> Línan anòa hafa，pẻr famftoffur fem eingı ablafnıngar note er（1） uphapí fettr． <br> en po picker betr fama j́ （n）orrenu fkalli－fkap at annat huart hape abláning hôfut ftaper ok fuo frudlar penz（a）zəa enge perra． <br> ${ }^{36}$ Fiorora talfelle famftozfu er hlíodfgren．hlíodigreín er her kollut reglule（g）h hlíoman raddar－ennar ok merkleg framm ferng． <br> huerr famftaja，hefer annat huart huaffa hlíodfgreín èða punnga．è $\neq$ u $m$ beýglega． <br> huöff hlodfgren hefz af lítu hlíode ok ennòíz j huaffara hlíod fuo fem her．var．par．ok er hon fuo merkt．＇． |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  |  |
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|  |  |
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|  |  |
|  |  |


|  | ningar famftofu． |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Snarpan anda hefer fu famftafa er mee digrum anda er framm plutt fem peffar fagner．hrauftr hőzikr．ok pær absar er ablafningar notı er í up hafí fkıpaðz． |
|  | h er kallaठz merkîng ধ̧ða notí ablafningar．puat hann er æingı ftafr fẏrer fik fullkomín $n$ huarkí famhloठandí ne raddar ftafr． |
|  | Linan anða hafa par famftofur er zingi ablafnin－gar nots er 1 uphafí fettr．Cem her 1oz ok armr． |
|  | En $n$ po pikker betr fama ínozznum Akalld fkap at annat huart hapr ablafning baðer ftafer ok hlıoðftapr perra，ę $\partial a x$ xingı pena． |
|  | Fios oa tal fellı famftofu er hlıoxf greín，ok er hlooxf greín her kolluo røkulg hloman raঠda rennar 1 merkulggn framm paríng． |
|  | huerr famftafa hefer，fem prifcianus feger，anat huart huaf fa hlooð graín ęða punga ęるa umbxyglliga． |
|  | Su famftafa heper huaffa hlioofgrem er hefz af litlu hlioxí ok endrz t̂huaffara hlıox．fem peffar famftofur．uar par ok er hon fua merko 0. |
|  | punga hlíoðf greín hefer fu famftafa er hefz af litlu hlıơı，ok |


ok endiz í lxgra hljbr, sem hin fyrri samstafa í pessum nơfnum: hára, sára, ok er sú
hljő̌sgrein svá merkt: '.
Umbeygiliga hljóossgrein hefir
sú samstafa, er hefz af lítlu
hljoboi ok dregz upp í hvassara hljóð en niðr at lyktum í lágt hljő, sem pessar samstoqur: árs, sárs, ok er sú hljơosgrein svá nóteruo ^.
5.29 Hljóósgrein merkir hæð
 digrleik hennar, sem skilja má, at hvern raddarstaf verðr at nefna meir með sundrloknum munni, ef áblásning fylgir.
 sagt, lengð samstafligrar raddar.

## En með pví at pess konar

 greinir heyra líttnórenuskáldskap at flestra manna $x$ tlan, pá tala ek par um ekki fleira að sinni.
 einn hlutr af pví máli, er fullkomiơ sen hefir. En sú sqgn eð̌a sá hlutr er af alpýzu kallaðr oro.
6.3 Aristotiles hinn spaki kallar tvá parta málsgreinar nafn ok orð́, pvíat peir gera meðal sín samtengбir fullkomna málsgrein, sem hér: 'maðr

Saugn er hín $n$ mínnzte hlutr
 hlutr af pu male fem fullkomeo fen heruer.
peesí sògn er af (alpý)du k[allat or] ${ }^{\gamma}$

Arıftotilef hinn fpake feger napn
ok ǒð vera tuo hlute m-
alfgrenar. prat, narn ok oıd
Cín j mull_(um fam)tengoder gera
fullikomna málfgreín. fem her.
(S) egn er hinn minnztu lutr famanlaorinf malf ok er hun lutr
kallaðz $\min n$, af $p_{1}$ malí, er pullkomió fen heper.
 бu rumliga kallaðz orð. Arıftotles en fpakı kallar tua parta mallgremar nafn ok ord. puac pert gooa me $\begin{aligned} \\ \text { al } \\ \text { fin famtengorar }\end{aligned}$ pullkomna malf graín fem her maðı remn

ok endiz $\mathfrak{j}$ legra hlíoo. fem hín
 famftofur enar fyikn. hara fara
ok er fia lioof grain sua noteruor
Umbaẏ glliga hlıơ fgraín hefer fu famfrafa er hefz af litlu hloor ok deegz upp ihuaffara lioð enn fam ftopur. árf farf. ok er fu loơf grain sua noteruox. a
hlıoðfgraín merker hax ftaphgrar raঠðar. en andı dgrlesk hennar fem fklla ma at huern raдðar ftaf ueror at nefna meirer mé fundz loknum munn. ef ablafning fÿlger.

Troar til pellí merker leng $\varnothing$ famftayhgrar raøðar fem fyix uar fagt.

En $n$ meet pur at peffkonar grainer
hajra litt norręnu fkalldikap at
fleftra manna xtlan. pa tala ek
par um ekki flerra að-finnı.
$\qquad$


| 6.11 | Samtenging knýtir saman nọfn eða aððra parta eða sjálfar málsgreinir, sem hér: Hringr ok Dagr at pingi. ${ }^{17}$ | Samtengıng knẏtır faman ņ̨pn x $\partial a$ aðra parta æða fialfar malf greinır frm her. Ringr $\alpha$ dagr at ping1. | Samtenging knẏter faman nôfn ęða aðıa parta ok fralfar malfgrxíner. fem her er kueðıt. hringr ok dagr aठ pingı. | Samteingingh knýter faman <br>  malfgzeíner. fuo fem her. hzingz ok dagz at pínge. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6.12 | Fyrirsetning er eiginlig til at pjóna follum nafnsins, sem hér: 'til borgar', 'af skipi'. | fyrır ${ }^{28}$ fxtnıng ær æıgunlig tul at piona follvm nafnfinf frem her. tul boigar af fkipı | Fyrer fetning er æıgınlig til at prona follum napnfinf fem her $\mathrm{t} l \mathrm{l}$ borgar a fkıpı. |  at p (íona) bllum follum nafnnfenf. fuo fem her. tul bor ${ }^{38}$ gar af fkípe. |
| 6.13 | Meðalorpning sýnir hugbokka manns, ok er hon jafnan fráskilǐ̀ ơorum portum, sem hér: 'vei', 'hai'. | Mæ̌るal ozpnung fynur hvgpolca manz. Oc er hon 1afnan fra fkiltt qor poitvm fam her vaí há | Meðal oıpning fyner hug pokka manz ok er hon iapnan pra \{kilð ¢ðıum poztum fem her. ueí. haí | Medalvozpningh fýner hugbock a mannzenf. ok er hon <br>  fem her. vêí. haí. |

Notes
.

1. This phrase (verðr ... blutum) is repeated and deleted in $W$ due to dittography.
2. B is erroneously recorded as a variant in all editions. See the note to this word
3. A begins a new chapter here with the title 'Um áblásning hljóos'.
4. B omits the rest of chapter 3
5. MS w recommences at this point.
6. Ólsen's Runerne claims this refers to Ari the learned and Dóroddr rúnameistari, whereas others consider this to refer to both Latin and Norse meistarar. See the commentary.
7. MS A has the names of the runes written above each runic symbol here.
8. A has a new chapter heading here.
9. B recommences at this point.
II. B omits the rest of chapter four.
10. There is a lacuna here in A due to a missing leaf. The remainder of this chapter is extant only in W .
11. The verse is from Snorri Sturluson's Hattatal, verse 83, lines $5-6$.
12. This clearly is a lacuna in W; B omits the incomplete sentence altogether, and so W and B probably have a common source with the sentence in an incomplete form. Ólsen ( $8884,53 \mathrm{n}$ ) supplies the following Icelandic text, based on Priscian: 'er raddarstafr hennar er langr af náttúru eða setningu, sem hér: ....'
15 . The text in A resumes at this point.
13. This sentence and the following are in reverse order in $A$ and $W$.
14. Fóstbreørra saga verse 37; see this section in Appendix 2.
15. There is a lacuna here - see W.
16. ' $x f$ ' corrected to 'af by 'a' written above ' $x$ '.
17. ' $o$ ' written above $x$ as correction.
18. This character seems to have been corrected from ' t ' by adding to the lower part a curl for the 's' and by lengthening the top stroke or adding a hyphen.

## 22. 'Text written above "pera hafa'.

23. The following three lines (20-22) are in a different hand: nasal strokes are written like the 'ur' abbreviation. This rune may be a ligature of $\neq$ or $\nexists$ with $Y$.
24. There is a mark after the next word: ${ }_{\wedge}$ and ' $æ n n f$ taf is written above this word.
25. This appears to be ' $h$ ', hence 'hana'.
26. 'f. lopti' written above this line.
27. ' F ', in margin.
28. Following Sigurosson (1852), all editors have had 'hlutum'. This is incorrect. While two holes make some characters hard to read, the present reading is much more likely
particularly as a descender is visible on the fourth character.
29. The next chapter starts on a new line, the text of this line following onto the previous (1.25).
30. Text continues onto previous line.
31. Formatted as if a new chapter.
32. 'orde' has been deleted, although it agrees with the other MSS. AM 7444 to, however, has 'napn', but I cannot see how this reading is possible from 757 a.
The abbreviation here is unclear: it appears to be a curved line above the ' $b$ ' and ' $g$ '.
There is a gap here due to missing pages in the MS.
The rune has three lines off the ascender, rather than two.
4r. The MS ends at this point.

## Appendix 4

Diplomatic texts and facsimiles

## AM 748 I b 4to (A)
























 celertar axmoma. i. bimoeth lietagreem. pertar troen ragti plaxa











${ }_{\text {[9] }}^{[\mathrm{r}]}$ Allt $\mathfrak{x}^{4}$ hlıoठ $\bar{p} x^{4}$ kkvænдıf $x y \dot{r} v$

[ri] megv æẏrv gina af fâkvamv tvæggia likama. (r.3) æn̄ onn ${ }^{2}$ hlıoðfgrei
[12] $x^{4}$ fv $x^{4}$ hxilag ritning fxg hlıoठa anoliga hitt. (I.4) likālikt


[ř] riligv fkæpnv̄ $x \bar{n}$ annat af ${ }^{\prime} w^{\prime}$ ręrilig $\bar{v}$ anñ af fâkvamv rærilı







[23] hoo hit xpfta z hit æzta af ${ }^{2}$ ræring ringa pra .vij. $x^{4}$ fol z tvngl
[24] Z.v. mkiftioin ${ }^{2}$ ganga 1 perr $x^{4}$ planæte $x^{4}$ v kallaðar $\tau$ hæit ${ }^{4} \bar{\beta}$
[25] celeftıf armonia .f. hīnæfk lioðagræin. peffar ftio:n² fagð plató



[29] fiv $z$ po af tænging nolc² f reriligf likama. (r.in) Af lifandı lvtv̄ $p x^{4}$

[31] f $\overline{\mathfrak{x}}$ fota ftapp . $x$. handa klapp $z$ ann̄ flikt. (I.13) Rodd $x^{4}$ lıo füm fært
[32] af kkvændıf mvnnı formærat af .ix. nat ${ }^{2} \operatorname{lng} \bar{v}$ to ${ }^{3} l \bar{v}$ lvngv̄ $\nexists$ bar





## Notes

[^1]

































[rv]

[2] kilig rod̀ af natt ${ }^{2} v x^{4}$ barna g'tr . $x$. fivk $\mathrm{m}^{2}$ ftỳnr $\bar{z}$ ann̄ flikt. (r.2I) $\mathrm{M}^{4}$


2. $\mathrm{F}^{\boldsymbol{4}}$ ftafa k ıptı Z tıma


[7] fætning ftarlıg ${ }^{h} r$ rad $\partial^{r}$ bat $v^{4}$ lkiptv̄ bxkr icapıtvla æn capıtv
[8] la 1 clafvr.$x$. v ${ }^{4}$ f $x$ clafvr 1 malf græin' malf grein 1 fagn'. Sagn' 1
[9] famft $\varphi f^{2}$ famftof ${ }^{2} 1$ ftafı. (2.2) $x \bar{n}$ po $x^{4} v x^{1}$ ftaf $^{4}$ nat $^{2}$ liga ofkıptilig' pat ftafr







[17] $\mathrm{t}^{2} v$ hinv mxfta bálı. ss $x^{2} v z \mathrm{ftaf}^{4}$ ofkiptilig' 1 mifieqfnv xfnı .x. 1

[19] $æ \bar{n}$ ftvndè langt. Oc æf $\overline{\text { Br }}$ hafa langt lıơ pa hafa $\operatorname{\beta r}$.1j. tıma (2.5)

[2i] fkapax af . .11]. hoffkæpnv̄ fva ga z ftaf fam fætt' alla ftafliga
[22] rodd fva f $\bar{x}$ nolevrf korn likā. pat rodd tecr eẏrv $z$ hxf ${ }^{4}$ brenna mę
[23] ling f $\bar{x}$ allt $\bar{p} x^{4}$ likamlikt $e^{4}$. $\bar{\beta} \mathrm{e}^{4}$ hæð vp $z$ of bizidd til vinft han

[25] $\mathrm{F}^{2}$ hafa hæð ilıoðf grein eñ breıдд 1 anda længð 1 tıma pat hv' $f \bar{a}$

[27] $x^{4}$ fkıotliga $\mathrm{e}^{4}$ frm fror m ; vphollınv hoठı $\overline{\mathrm{x}}$ pæfli fâftafa. hvat. (2.8)
[28] pvng lioðfgren $\mathfrak{x}^{4}$ fv $x^{4}$ af litilatv hoठı hæfz $\tau$ dxagz nıor 1 ænn



[32] raftr. (2.10) hv' fâftafa hæf ${ }^{4} z_{\text {fumplintning anñ hvart lina .e. fnarpa }}$


[35] Mæð linv̄ anda flẏtiaz fâftof ${ }^{2}$ f $\bar{x}$ beffar. langā tíma. (2.13) hv' fâftafa

## Notes

1. This character seems to have been corrected from ' $t$ ' by adding to the lower part a curl for the ' $s$ ' and by lengthening the top stroke or adding a hyphen.



 - Tap yax).





























 8
frunsarg
[2r]



[4] fv nafnı. hatı. (2.15) Oc $\mathfrak{x}^{4}$ tımı . $\mathfrak{X}$. ftvnd kallaðr dvol mælandı fu mplvt
[5] trar radd ${ }^{\text {r }}$. [3] (3.1) Stafr hæf .11]. tilpellı. Nafn z fıgv z vælldı. .
[6] mác. (3.2) Stafa nofn $æ^{4} v$.xvı. ınozǽn̄ı tvngv ıpa lıkıng f $\overline{\bar{x}}$ girlk ${ }^{4}$ hofs



[io] pvnga lıoठgreın æn̄ $f^{1}$ vc $h$ f $\overline{\not x} h^{4}$ [........] hvaffa lıoठgreın $m$; a


[13] lıoðgreın .x. pvnga .æ. v̄bæygılıga $\left\lceil\bar{\notin} h^{4}(3.4) \mathrm{Vm}\right.$ ablafning h .

[15] ngfn. árı aranna ara. (3.5) Slikt hit fama ma z aठıa rador ftafı ge ${ }_{1}$







[23] Akipaðr pat $\bar{\beta}$ lıoर́ ibrıftı. (3.1I) I $x^{4}$ tekıc af ebrefkv ftofv̄. (3.12) xn̄ latınv
[24] $\overline{\mathrm{m}}$ fkıpvov ftepfv gagnftaðlıga pæffv fé $\mathrm{h}^{4} x^{4}$ græint. (3.13) pr fættv a
[25] fýrft pat $\bar{\beta}$ lıo ${ }^{r}$ næft hınv næzta tolı raddarınn $x^{4} v^{4}$ kollv̄ lvngv

[27] $\begin{gathered}\text { næft fialfv } x f n ı ~ r a d \partial a r ı n n ~ \\ r\end{gathered}$ at $p^{1} æ r v^{4}$ hvggiv at lope mægı kal
[28] la $z$ hafa $p^{1} h^{2} r^{4}$ tveggiv mæiftar væl $z$ nat ${ }^{2}$ lıga kıp ftepvnve ifinv






[35] p ${ }^{1}$ cıanvf fæg $g^{\prime} \mathfrak{x}^{1}$ mega raða ftaffinf $m^{4}$ king hrt hs nafn hæfz af rado ${ }^{\text {r }}$

## Notes

1. Text written above ' $\beta$ ra hafa'.
2. The following three lines (20-22) are in a different hand: nasal strokes are written like the 'ur' abbreviation.



































[2v]


[3] z hallda po pullkomliga finv̄ mkingv̄. (3.19) J paffiv ftaprofi $x^{\prime} v$ z .v. ftaf' $x \mathrm{r}$




3. $\overline{\mathrm{v}}$ til fellı ftafs
(4.1) Annat tilfexll ftar ${ }^{5}$





[r3] valldımr kgr m; fkotv oxtrakı a pafla lvno. Sprengo mannz hok

















[3i] m̄lıming $x^{4}$ nalxg hafa liox hinv inzta rad̀'tolı manzinf $æ \bar{n}$ hi


[34] rara $x^{4}$ F ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ mar flkapaz $x \bar{n}$ hit $x^{4}$ ept $^{4} x^{4}$ firoar formaraz $z$ merra hef'


## Notes

1. This rune may be a ligature of $\nexists$ or $\exists$ with $P$.
2. There is a mark after the next word: and ' $x \bar{n} f \mathrm{ftaf}$ ' is written above this word.
3. This appears to be ' $h$ ', hence 'hana'.
4. 'f. loptı' written above this line.









 O Onow hem '1:

























## [3r]



[3] narnfinf $\left(\bar{x} \mathbb{Z}\right.$ læytif $\mathrm{m}^{r}{ }^{1}$ mæiftara $z$ merk $^{4}$ par pfon ${ }^{2} æ \bar{n}$ napn mærk ${ }^{4}$ el








## Notes

r. ' F ' ' in margin.

AM 242 fol. (W)



 rmakt bxam 1 Dipurvkr



 suanuu tumga fisama Q






















[94]
 [9] kẏnkuılır, z u'ठ2 hlıoठ $\ddagger$ fem natturuliga megu xẏru greina. af fā[ro] kuamu tueggia likama. (1.3) Øn̄ur hlıoठf graín er fu er heilug ritn̄g feger [in] andliga lutı lıoठa. (r.4) likamlıgt hlıoठ u'ठz añat af liflıgū lutū en añat af hiflau-
 [ ${ }^{2} 3$ ] af liflaufū lutū. u'ठz añat af rarrlıgū fkepnū, eñ añat af u hroriligū. añat af



[r7] ulipligf. (r.8) Af famquamu rarilíg luta z u ræríligra u'ðz hlioठ fem pa er undz
 [ıg] fū lutū er fumt u graníligt fê vinda gnỳr ę vatna pỳtr e. reıðar pzum², en fūt
[20] hlıoठ $\mathrm{e}^{4}$ græiniligt ept' natturlig famlıoठan $\overline{3} 1 \mathrm{e}^{4}$ philofophı kolluðu muficam.





 [27] fem fota ftapp ę. handa klapp. Z añat puílikt. (г.13) Rodd er hlıo frām fært af kuikē-. [28] dif muñı. foım'az af íx natturuligū tolom. lungun barka tungu $z$ tuei vorrū $z$ [29] tọñum fíozū. (1.14) Eñ prifcian̊ kallar rodo v'a hıð græínílígfta loptzınfhỏgg z æıgın[30] liga fkilianligt. (I.15) en
 [32] gar er h甲̧ð. sem bu ab bligftrix. (1.19) Merkilig rodd er oñur af natturu onur af fetn̄g

## Notes

r. 'fann. cod.' written in left margin by Jón Ólafsson.
















 alla ftajleganotro. fua ram notksur











 am blate zlog


[95]
[r] eठa falfuulia. (r.20) Merkilig rodd af natturu er barna gratr, è frukra m² ftẏnr, è an[2] nat puilikt. (I.2r) Merkjilig rodd af fetn̄g er fu, er frām færnz af fialfuilia mañz, fem ptta
[3] nam. maðz $\mathrm{m}^{4}$ kır kvikenó fkýnfamlig z dauðlıg. [2] (2.I)
[4] Stafr é hiñ minztí lutr faman fetťr r raddar, fa fem rita ma, z er ftafr kallað: 1 pí
[5] fem hæẏr' allre famfetn̄g ftaflıg ${ }^{h} r$ raddar. 价 $u^{4}$ fkıptū bækr 1 capítula. en capıtła
[6] 1 klaufur $e$. $u^{4}$ s en klaufur 1 malfgráx $n^{4}$. malfgrein ${ }^{4}$ fagn ${ }^{4}$. fagn ${ }^{4}$ a famftof ${ }^{2}$. famftof ${ }^{2}$

[8] $\xi$ ar loptí form'at. (2.3) Eñ hưt fem rodd er lopt $\varepsilon$. af loptí form'at. pa er hon faman fett [9] af finū pqıtū fem loptıó, m; pui at $\bar{\beta}$ er likamligt. aller likam eru faman fett'. Eñ

 [i2] lopt, $z$ kallaz peffer lut $x^{1} x^{\prime}$ ín palld $^{4}$ af pur at 所fe u fkiptilig'. helloz af pr at hueR

 [rs] ftaf hafa frundū fkamt hlıo eñ fundū langt. z ef $\bar{p} \bar{r}$ hapa langt hlıoठ pa hafa
[16] | Fr tua tıma 1 amlanga. (2.5) Philofophí kolluðu ftafí elem̄ta. $\bar{\beta}$ eru hofuð fkepnur $[17] p_{1}$ at s" fem likam ${ }^{4}$ eru fkapaðer af .inj. hofuð fkepnū. fua giosa $Z$ ftar faman fett".



 [22] ę. umbxẏgilig. (2.7) huöff hlıoð graín fu er frām færð m; hollınu hhooí fem peffi fā [23] ftafa. huat. (2.8) er prung hlıoff graín er litillatu hlıoð hefz z deegz níor 1 hio lxg hlıo [24] fem hin fyrfta famftafa ${ }_{1}$ peflu nafní. haræyifí. (2.9) Umbxẏgilig hlıoठfgræın e" fu er [25] hefz af litillatu hlıoðı, z penz upp fem huoff hlıoðf græín, fem pea nafn. rauft. ${ }^{\text {( }}$ (2.10)
[26] Hu famftafa heff ${ }^{4}$ z prāmflutn̄g añat huart lina ę fnarpa $z$ er fa anəı $h^{4}$ kallaðı ræ[27] rıng framplutn̄gar famfteqfu. (2.11) Með fnozpū anða u'ðı fu famftafa frām færð fē hín [28] fẏRí famftafa peffa nafnf. purrū. (2.12) Meठ linū anda plÿtiaz famftọfur peffar. langan [29] tíma. (2.13) hu'r famftafa er añat hút long ę. fkỏm. Z fkōm famftafa fkıot prām flutt z

 [32] kallat dupl męlanò prammplutnıng radдar. [3]

## Notes

I. Circumflex over 'au' - added later.
tafe low




 rama es 京tiege


加弦 1 chect

















 Bthue émut lia imūgaggo jransô．



［96］
 ［2］tungu i pa likıng fem gkk hofou daga．En̄ po eru m＇kíng pra mỳcklu fleírí．

［4］nar hlıoठf grain＇．huaffa lıoठf grxín $f$ utan ablafng．h．fem $h^{4}$ ．arí．huaffa m；ablafning
［5］h fem h＇．hafí．en punga hloorf graín hafandı（3．3）langt ä．hef＇．un．hhoð ep $\overline{\bar{p}}$ hef＇ablafng

［7］fama ef $\bar{\beta}$ hef $\xi^{4} x^{1}$ ablafñg lıoðar par fem peffí are araña ara．（3．5）Slikt hıơ fama ma z greí－

［9］peffum nopnū．iarl uitr $\begin{gathered}\text { heit＇u．（3．6）I nozænu ftaprofí eru ．u．hlioठf ftaf＇fua ．ur．П off．才 }\end{gathered}$

［ri］ftopfū í ebsefku malı．（3．7）$\cap$ er af puí fẏft fett að $\beta$ hoðar 1 up̨rū．（3．8）才 par næft．h hlıoðar

［r3］er a fkıpat fti h hlıoðar 1 brıoftí．（3．1I）h．er tekıt af ebrefkū ftopū．（3．12）Eñ latínu $\bar{m} n$ fkıpuðu


［16］fkıpat，at $\ddagger$ er fremzt $\begin{aligned} & \text { meft fialfu efní radoaren̄ar，er u＇hẏggiū at loptio megı kal }\end{aligned}$
［r7］la．Z hapa af pui huar＇tueggiu meiftarar uel $\begin{aligned} & \text { natturlega } \mathrm{fkipat} \text { ftofunū ifnu mä }\end{aligned}$

［19］Lamhlıoðend؛ eru ．xıj．íruna malíí ．u．戶r er nalæg＇radдar ftofū eru kallaðer

［2I］kılıgrí hlıoठ，eñ aðır famhlıo




［26］m＇kıngū．（3．19）J peffu eru ．u．ftaf ${ }^{4}$ br er u＇kollū dumba ftafí $\bar{p}$ eru．${ }^{\prime \prime}$＇$P$ Y 1 B z eru peffer

 finū gofgū rrandū．［4］
［29］（4．1）$A_{\text {」nat t }}^{\text {t }}$ fellı ftapf er pıgura




## Notes

I．This character has been altered to ${ }^{\circ}$（Ólsen $1884,44 \mathrm{n}$ ）．














 Buntr antongilatuvze














 amtaka er famjethy itapa fexign misamismia
[97]
[r] ftaff. eñ $\ddagger$ kallaðı p'fcıan' $x ı n ̄$ part pañ er mxttı ftaffinf hxyr'. (4.5) peffa ftafı $\ddagger$ pıa




[6] ritaðz 1 runa malí eða 1 foinu latinu ftaprofí. (4.8) Nu eru 所 fafa' af puis ftapr[of]
[7] fett' at fkıotara pıkk' at rita ept', helldı $x i n ̃$ ftaf eñ tua. (4.9) par naff ftendı $B$ z e' bıa[r]





[ r 3 ] dıptongí 1 latínu ftafrofí, eñ 1 runū .u. (4.r3) Diptong' er faman lī̄g tueggia raddar








[22] famlimg er fỳ̀ fkapaz. eñ hitt ept' er foumeraz. (4.16) A latınu er dıptong. $\mathrm{F}^{\prime}$. .in]. fak'



[26] Fegrð er diptong fundiñ fem h'. lokr øgr. pt fegra pikk hloða helloz en lakr
[27] xgr. (4.18) par naft fendz卜 $\begin{gathered}\text { zer hon af pmer halfraddar ftaf" heíta. (4.19) par neft fendz }\end{gathered}$
































 - ngarlamfưpo S


[98]
[r] Z xın̄ı hloor greín o fundı greínuligha faman fett z prām paror. (5.2) Samftafa hef ${ }^{4}$











[r3] fnaller, $\begin{aligned} & \text { eru hendıngū } \partial \text { iktù ritın } 1 \text { latınu fkallofkap fem pta. Añ chaof uirgí }\end{aligned}$
${ }_{[14]}$ nū in dıgefte molif à huc ÿle grauía fetu magne plís. ( 5.8 ) peffar fomu henòngar
[rs] eru z fettar inozanu fkallfkap 1 pm haxtí er u' kpllū runhendu fem fnorrı quað
[16] Ormfer glatt galla m; gumna fpalla. (5.9) Latinu klerkar hafa $\begin{gathered}\text { beffa henòng } 1 \text { u'fū }\end{gathered}$


fâtof ${ }^{2}$ eru 1 xin̄ı fogn en $x$ ín. ( $\varsigma .11$ ) A A


[22] hefe fu famftafa er raddar ftarr hñar er natturulıga fkāmr $z$ komí $x$ tueír fâlo-
[23] סendz ept fem arí apí. ( 5.13 ) hallfa aðða fund hef fu famftafa er $u^{4}$ a ma hut $e^{4}$ ull long

[25] priớu fuund hef" fu famftafa er xıñ famlooðanò kemr ept' radoar ftaf natturle-
[26] gha langan. hool. fol. ( $\varsigma .16$ ) priar ffund hef' fu famftafa e' tueir famhloodende ftanda


[29] famftafa hef" añat hút linan anòa e frarpan. ( 5.19 ) Andı er kallat rarıng pramplut-

[31] fem peffar fagn'. hrauftr hoıfkr. モ par aðıar e' ablaafnıng notu er í upp hapí fkpaoz: ( 5.21 )


## Notes

r. Diagonal line through '' in a different ink.



























 g)
[99]





[6] fa hlooðf graín e punga .e umbxygiliga. ( 5.26 ) Su famftafa hef" huaffa hloorfgrenn ét hefz
[7] af litlu hlioðíz endzz íhuaffara hloo. fem peflar famftofyur. uar par $z$ er hon fua
[8] mkठ o. ( 5.27 ) punga hlíoðf greín hef'f fu famftafa $\mathrm{e}^{4}$ hefz af litlu hloo 1 , z endiz ilxg hioð,

[ıo] giliga hloðfgraín hef's fu famftafa e" hefz af litlu hlıoðı $z$ deegz up shuaflara loo

[12] hlıoðfgrexín $m^{3} k^{3}$ hað ftaflig ${ }^{\prime \prime} r$ ràdar. en andıı дıgrleık hñar fem fkilia ma at hu'n


[rs] hayra litt nozręnu fkallofkap at fleftra ma-ab; xtlan. pa tala ek par um ekkı flerra ao-|fin̄ı. [6]
[16] (6.I) (S) ogn er hiñ mıñztı lutr famanlaðınf mall $z e$ e hun lutr
[r7] kallaðı $x i \bar{n}$, af pı malí, er fullkomıð fen hefł. (6.2) en fu fegn eq fa lutr er af alpỳ
[18] סu rumliga kallaðı oiz. (6.3) Arıftotiles en fpakı kallar tua parta mallgremar nafn



[22] ru hu's pīa. (6.5) trañ er lutr mallgreínar, fa er uett' xıgínligan eq famæıgínligan huí








[31] Fgi. (6.12) Fy̌r' fetñg er xigınlig til at prona follū nafninffem h't bgar a lkipı. (6.13)


AM 757 a 4to (B)


噱

 uressta











[^2]









[rr]

[2] kýnq fler, nu vờ hlıóð allt pat fē eýzu megu natt ${ }^{2}$ P gieína. af famkuómu







[ro] hlute ( I .9 ) hlıoठ $\bar{p} \mathrm{e}^{4} \mathrm{v}^{4} \mathrm{O}_{2}$ af liflaufū hlm $\mathrm{e}^{4}$ fūt óg éinelekt fuo fē vínda gnýzr



[14] hett' pat hlíoठ celeftuf armonía fuo fē hinefk hlíoda géin. (i.io) Gzeínelikt hlíod v’dz











[26] lígh robdo af natt ${ }^{2} u e^{i} b^{r}$ na gitr e fiukra m ftýnr z añat puilıkt. (1.21) M(rk)ılegh
 ( Dau) olikt. [(2.1)
[28] S, tafs é hun minzte hlutr









[38] (f)é onkíptileg. helloz af pat hu'ff piza (h)lutr er jafn fínu ollu fuo fé hitill gne
[39] ifte hef jafna natt ${ }^{2} u$ hínu mefta báále. Suo éu z faf o fkiptıleg' j mifiófnu efní.
[40] é j́ pa hlute fē o liker e'u. pe á. è aðı raddar ftafư hafa ftuñ̀ū fkāt hlío
[41] en fū̃oū lañgt. $z$ ef $p_{L^{3}}, h^{2}$ lañgt hlıo pa ha ${ }^{4}$ ' tuo tíma. (2.s) Phılofophı kollu-


[44] kurfkon ${ }^{r}$ likā. pe rỏdd tekr eýzu z hefr penna mêlíngh fuo fē allt añat





## Notes

1. Following Sigurosson (1852), all editors have had 'hlutum'. This is incorrect. While two holes make some characters hard to read, the present reading is much more likely particularly as a descender is visible on the fourth character.

[iv]

[2] hlıox gzein é fu fē hefz af lágu hlíode z duegz nídz je en lẻgıa hlíoo fem

[4] ap litullatu hlíode z hefr fik upp pad ${ }^{n} j$ huaffa hliod gieín en fellr níds at
[5] lýktū j́ punga hlíoof gzeín. fuofem puan nafn. $h_{i}$ zauftr. (2.10) hu'r famftafa hef ${ }^{6}$
[6] añat hút j́ fam flutñgh línan añoa é fripan. $z e^{3}$ fa añde $h^{4}$ kalladı heẻrigh

[8] fy̌i fâftafa pa nafnf. puru'. (2.12) Meठ línū añoa flýtiaz fāftōfur fuo fē peffar.


 (3.1)
[12] S,taf: hefe príu tıl-
[r3] felle. Nafn. Fíg ${ }^{2} u$. $z$ vellde é mátt. (3.2) Suo feg' $\mathrm{p}^{1} \mathrm{fc} \mathrm{c}^{9}$ at hu'r raddar ftafı hape



[17] Lañgt à hefu' fex hliod ef $\bar{p}$ hefu' ablaf̄̄g .h. pa $b^{4} \geqslant \ddagger$ añat hưt huaffa hlío-







[25] (ftap) Cinf they's. [ 5 ] (5.I)
 hefu' f lidgur tilpelle.


[29] male mega ftn̄oa .víj. ẻ. ix. j éñe fâftỏfu fề h'. 〔pènkr. ftreñozkr. (5.3) J lat








[38] v fik. fuo fē her. all". fnialler. z éu par hñing vida fett' f latínu fkallofkap.
[39] fem pera. Añ cháof u'ginū ìıgefte molef adhuc ỳle gaauida fetu magnje $p(\not)$ ). ( 5.8 )




[44] heñoíng er lítt geỳmt j nrẻnu fkallòkap. beg fleíre e'u fā-



[48] hef fu famftafa fē rador ftafz har et natt ${ }^{2} P$ fka $\bar{m}_{\perp}$ r. $z$ kōe eig tueir
[49] famhlíodends eft'. fem pí nôfn. Are. Ape. ( $\varsigma .13$ ) halfa aठza ftuñ̀ hef fu

## Notes

1. The next chapter starts on a new line, the text of this line following onto the previous (1. 25).
2. Text continues onto previous line.













 Due a


 कerry















[2r]













[r4] è übeýglega. ( 5.26 ) huzff hlood $\mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{e}}$ in hefz af lítlu hlíode z eñoíz j huaffara hlíod






 radдar. [6] (6.I)
[22] [Jaugn e" hín mínzte hlut ${ }^{〔}$
[23] famfetz malf. $h^{0} e^{4}$ kollut eiñ hlutr af $\dot{\beta}^{\dot{b}}$ malıe e fè fullkom; fen hefu'. (6.2) psí
















## Notes

I. Formatted as if a new chapter.
2. 'otde' has been deleted, although it agrees with the other MSS. AM 7444 to, however, has 'najnl, but I cannot see how this reading is possible from 757 a.
3. The abbreviation here is unclear: it appears to be a curved line above the ' $b$ ' and ' $g$ '.

AM 757b 4to (w)


## [ri] <br> ${ }_{[r]}^{[r]} H_{l_{10} \gamma_{」}} e^{4}$ allt $\bar{p}$ er kuikendis

[2] ey ma heyra- (1.2) hlío hef ${ }^{4}{ }^{\text {r }}$ mar ky
[3] nkuiflir $z$ veıд $\overline{\text { 万 hlíoo fem nat(turu) liga }}$
[4] mega ey $\mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{c} i n a}$ af famkuomu tvegia lí-
[5] kama. (I.3) Aun. hlood géin ef fu et hellug rí
[6] tníng feíg' andlíga hlutí hlíoda• (1.4) Lıkā
[7] ligt lood v"oz anat af lírlgū hlutū eñ añ
[8] at af hylaufum lutū. (I.s) Hiod $\overline{\text { pheyriz }}$

[io] fkepnū en anad uhráhgȳ. ( I .6) $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{F}} \mathrm{hrx}$ '
[in] lígum lut $\langle\bar{u}\rangle$ verda hod fem af häfud fk

[ 13 ] líḡ̄ lutū u'dz hod fem ftennū $z$ malmí ed ${ }^{2}$
[r4] freíngū $z v^{v} \partial s$ pes kyns hod $\operatorname{ar} \mathrm{n}^{\mathrm{n}}$ af
[rs] hra'ng nỏckurs likama liflıgs edz olíf
[16] ligs. (I.8) AF famkvomv hrariligs luf $z$
[r7] vhrariligv verds hod fem pa víndı eds



## [rv]

[r] vræliga hlutı (r.9) Hlíod per v'os af líplo̊fv
[2] hlutum é fumt ugeeíníligt. Sem vínda gn
[3] y yr edz vat ${ }^{2}$ bẏt $^{2}$ edz re1o ${ }^{\text {r }}$ prum $^{2}$. Eñ fumt
[4] hlíod e' fútg ínilígt ept' natturlígrí famhlío
[5] Xan $\ddagger \overline{F r}_{1}$ er philofophı kolludu muficam
[6] Ok uerd̀ $\ddagger$ hlod hít efzta z hít æzta af
[7] hrexng hriga pra e' fol z tungl z fim mer
[8] kı ftíoun ${ }^{2}$ gga $J$ pær er planete heita $z$ hei
[9] ter $\ddagger$ celeftis armonía. Deffar ftíóznur
[1o] fagdí plato hapa lif z fikjn z u'a odauol
[ir] igar - (I.io) Greíníligt hlíod verò j líflofū
[ r 2 ] lutū $\overline{\text { p }}$ fem uî' kozllū líftulígt hloò fem

[r4] pípv̄. (i.II) J líflígū lutū u'ds líod fem J uìv̄
[ry] z grofum z po af ræ̨'ng nockurs rę'lígs'
[16] lutar likama- (I.12) Af líflígv lvt ${ }^{\text {m }} \mathrm{pm} \mathrm{fe}$
[17] likama hafa v'd! anat hlood $\bar{\beta}$ fem raudd he


## Notes

I. There is a gap here due to missing pages in the MS.

[2r]
[r] er vi' kollū lungu $z$ pat ma pyff fkilía


[4] vi' hygiū at loptiò megi kalla. z hafa
[5] af pur huor' tvegiu meíftaz vel $z$ nat ${ }^{2}$
[6] liga fkpp ftöfunū J finv mall • (3.15) Radдar

[8] graz f famhlodendı reid z fol ( 3.16 )

[10] $v$. phe er nalegg ${ }^{4}{ }^{4}$ radd ${ }^{\mathrm{f}} \mathrm{ftz} \mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{e}^{\mathrm{u}} \mathrm{ka}$

$[12]$ 引t pr h ${ }^{2}$ meí likíng radoffafa $z \mathrm{~m}^{4} \mathrm{k}$


[rs] ] lat "ftapı pt h hef" fitt hod fem adr' ps
${ }^{[16]}$ kynf famhlíodínd: (3.18) Prifcian’ feıg' eg
$[r 7]$ rada mega ftaffins m ${ }^{3}$ kíng hroort hnf
[18] naf hefz af radðar ftaf ed ${ }^{2}$ af eigín


## [2v]


[2] rum es naliga heriaz aller ftaf' af finu
[3] hlodı hv́tuegia radд'ftaf' $z$ famhloд̀è
[4] da $z$ halloa fullkomliga finv̄ $\mathrm{m}^{4} \mathrm{kingu} \cdot$ (3.19)
[5] peffu e $e^{u} \cdot v \cdot$ ftaf $^{4} e^{4}$ u' kôllū dūba ftapı $1 \bar{p} e^{u}$.

${ }_{[7]}$ kallad' at pr haft eckı hlíod hellds af $p^{1}$
[8] at pa hafa litiò hlod hía rado ${ }^{\text {fltaf }}{ }^{m} \mathrm{~J}$ baí
[9] likıng fem fa ${ }^{r}{ }^{r}{ }^{4}$ kalladz enkis hattr af
[io] god ${ }^{1} x t t$ er hitt $\mathrm{e}^{4} \mathrm{mt}^{2}$ hia finū $\mathrm{g} \partial \mathrm{fg} \mathrm{u} \mathrm{Fr}$
[ri] endum. (4.I)



[15] flutning ftafa $z \mathrm{~m}^{4} \mathrm{king}$ pra (4.3) $\mathrm{Frr}^{4}$ pan
[16] fama mat ftaf" ${ }^{n} e^{u}$ fundín paz $z f\left(g^{2}\right)$ ur
[r7] z nof- (4.4) Sum merfar kalla hio prozda


## Notes

1. The rune has three lines off the ascender, rather than two.
2. The MS ends at this point.

## Bibliography

The bibliography lists all texts by author or editor. References to primary texts are usually cited with reference to the editor and date of the edition. Exceptions are the present edition, references to which use my own numbering system; Málskrúðsfręði, references to which are Ólsen's (1884) numbering; and the works of Donatus and Priscian, references to which are from the Keil ( $1855-80$ ) edition. Authors are listed by surname. Icelandic authors with a patronymic but no surname are listed by first name. The alphabetical order is that of modern Icelandic.

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[^0]:    Men soon found out two ways of communicating their thoughts to one another; the first by sounds, and the second by FIGURES: for there being frequent occasion to have their conceptions either perpetuated, or communicated at a distance, the way of figures or characters was next thought upon, after sounds (which were momentary and confined), to make their conceptions lasting and extensive. (Warburton $1788, \mathrm{II}: 388$ )

[^1]:    r. There is a lacuna here - see W.
    2. ' $x f$ corrected to 'af by 'a' written above ' $x$ '.
    3. ' $o$ ' written above $a$ as correction.

[^2]:    

