

Language and Scribal Practice in Fourteenth Century Northern Iceland

A Study of AM 573 4to and Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to

Patrick Aaron Farrugia

Thesis for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor (PhD)
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Abstract

English:

The medieval Icelandic manuscripts AM 573 4to and Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to have strong ties to one another with regard to several parameters: the texts that they contain, the likely date and place of their production, as well as the scribes that produced them. These scribes seemed to have been active in Northern Iceland, particularly at known sites of book production within the Hólar bishopric during the latter half of the fourteenth century. These codices and the scribes that produced them have been discussed in previous scholarship, often because the two manuscripts seem to share at least one scribe and are tied to similar scribal milieus.

This project re-examines the scribal hands in these manuscripts through an analysis of selected features of the language, orthography, and script, with reference to the EMROON database. Through this examination, this study delineates the scribal hands and re-assesses the dating and localisation of these manuscripts. With regard to patterns that emerge in the language, orthography, and script of the scribes, it is argued that while the scribes of Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to and the first scribe of AM 573 4to belonged to a scribal milieu that was likely active around the Benedictine nunnery at Reynistaður on Skagafjörður, the second scribe of AM 573 4to was more closely associated with another milieu, that which produced the saga manuscript Möðruvallabók AM 132 fol., likely active at Möðruvellir at Hörgárdalur.

Norsk:

De islandske middelaldermanuskriptene AM 573 4to og Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to er nært sammenknyttede gjennom flere faktorer: tekstene hvert manuskript inneholder, den antatte tid- og stedfestingen for manuskriptproduksjonen, og skriverne som deltok i denne. Skriverne ser ut til å ha virket på Nord-Island, mer spesifikt ved velkjente bokproduksjonssteder innenfor Hólar bispedømme, i løpet av siste halvdel av trettenhundretallet. Manuskriptene, så vel som skriverne som produserte dem, har vært tema for tidligere undersøkelser, da man har antatt at manuskriptene deler minst én skriver og har vært tilknyttet lignende skrivermiljø.

Gjennom en analyse av utvalgte trekk ved språk, ortografi, og skrift i disse to manuskriptene med referanse til EMROON-databasen, revurderer dette prosjektet skriverhendene. Som et resultat av undersøkelsen presenterer studien en presis gjennomgang av skriverhendene og legger frem en ny tid- og stedfesting for de to

manuskriptene. På bakgrunn av tendensene i skriernes språk, ortografi og skrift argumenteres det for at skriverne vi finner i Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to, samt den første skriveren i AM 573 4o, hørte til et skrivermiljø som sannsynligvis fungerte aktivt rundt benediktinernonneklosteret ved Reynistaður i Skagafjörður, mens den andre skriveren i AM 573 4to var nærmere tilknyttet et annet miljø – nemlig det som produserte sagamanskriptet Möðruvallabók AM 132 fol – og hadde sannsynligvis sitt virke ved Möðruvellir i Hörgárdalur.

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1 - Introduction

1 - Introduction

1.1 Context

1.1.1 Overview

This study will deal with a pair of fourteenth-century Icelandic manuscripts, Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to, that are connected through scribal hands, the milieu to which these scribes may have belonged, as well as their textual content. This is to say that these manuscripts may represent the work of a milieu of scribes that, at times, directly collaborated, and may have been active in the same areas around the same time. High resolution images of both of these manuscripts are available on handrit.is, which the reader may wish to consult themselves in conjunction with this study. All of the data that is used in this study is available on emroon.no.

1.1.2 State of the Art and Previous Research

Several scholars have contributed to identifying a multifaceted link between Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to.¹ The literature surrounding these manuscripts will be discussed in detail in the second chapter, situating this project in the existing body of research on these manuscripts. Additionally, my M.A. thesis, *A Study in Scribal Identification in Fourteenth Century Iceland*,² submitted successfully at the University of Iceland in 2016, focused on one of the scribal hands identified in these manuscripts, and also employed a quantitative approach. These manuscripts are primarily linked by shared scribal hands, and may also stem from a common scribal milieu. Several scholars, such as Peter Foote,³ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir,⁴ Jonna Louis-Jensen, Stefán Karlsson, and Claire Johnstone,⁵ have referenced schools of writing and / or milieus involved in book production in the northern part of Iceland during the fourteenth

¹ Some salient pieces of scholarship that have discussed this link and the manner in which it has been established include: Kristian Kålund, ed., *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, Bind 4: Laxdæla Saga* (Halle: Max Niemayer, 1896); Jonna Louis-Jensen, ed., *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*, Editiones Arnarnagænar, Series A. Vol. 9, (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Boghandel A/S, 1981); Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History in Fourteenth-Century Iceland: Studies in AM 764 4to," (PhD diss., University of London, 2000); Stefán Karlsson, "The Localization and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts," *Saga Book XXV* (1999): 138-58; Stefán Karlsson, ed., *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops: Fragments of Eight Manuscripts* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1967), 26-8.

² Patrick Aaron Farrugia, "A Study in Scribal Identification in Fourteenth Century Iceland: A Comparative Philological Analysis of Selected Sections of Holm. Perg. 8vo nr. 10 IX, AM 573 4to, and Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to," (Master's thesis, University of Iceland, 2016).

³ Peter Foote, ed., *A Saga of St Peter the Apostle - Perg. 4:o nr 19 in The Royal Library, Stockholm* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1990).

⁴ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 52.

⁵ Claire Christina Johnstone, "Linguistic Variation and Scribal Practice in Medieval Iceland: A Study of Five 14th Century Manuscripts," (Master's thesis, University of Iceland, 2010).

1 - Introduction

century. This provides a foundation for bolstering the link between these manuscripts based on shared features in the realms of orthography, language, and script. These manuscripts can then potentially be traced to the same, albeit conjectured, site(s) of manuscript production, and a norm that informed the orthography, language, and script of the scribal milieu(s) there can be inferred.

In terms of studying these manuscripts together as a group because of potentially shared associations with a scribal milieu, it can be noted that several other manuscripts could have been included, as, for example, this group of scribes may also have been responsible for producing *Möðruvallabók AM 132 fol.*, as at least one of the scribes associated with it seems to have also worked on *AM 573 4to*.⁶ However, work on *Möðruvallabók AM 132 fol.* lies outside of the scope of this project, and extensive data production and analysis have already been undertaken on the manuscript by Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen.⁷ As such, some of the trends in this data will be referenced as a point of comparison, but this manuscript will not be considered one of the main objects of study here.

Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to and *AM 573 4to* likely belonged to a significantly broader network of fourteenth century Icelandic manuscripts, many of which will be mentioned in the second chapter, though it is the scribal hands found in these two manuscripts that will be the focus of this study. These manuscripts seem to have a common thread running through them with respect to traits such as, but not limited to: scribal hands, representation of linguistic features and developments as well as purely orthographic conventions, the symbol inventories and script, the shared texts, and of course, likely similar provenance. As the manuscripts in this study have some overlap in terms of the texts and genres, there is a strong possibility that we have an instance of the same scribe having worked on multiple versions of the same text in two different manuscripts; the most salient connection between the manuscripts is that at least one scribal hand appears in both of them. It can be noted here, that this study will adopt an approach that is materially rather than textually oriented, and as such, will fall into the realm of New Philology, as will be outlined in the subsequent chapters. The tasks of identifying the scribal hands, dating the manuscripts, and attempting to discern a scribal milieu affiliation will primarily be based on the orthography, language, and script of the manuscripts, as the texts themselves are not the primary concern of this project; *AM 573 4to* contains *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*, while *AM 764 4to* contains at least truncated versions of these same texts, in

⁶ Jonna Louis-Jensen, ed., *Trójumanna saga*, Editiones Arnarnagænar, Series A, Vol. 8 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), xxxi.

⁷ Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen, *A Grammar of Möðruvallabók* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2000); *Möðruvallabók, AM 132 fol.: I. Index and Concordance* (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1987).

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addition to what can be called an early attempt at cataloguing the history of the world.⁸ *Trójumanna saga* on the one hand, along with several other texts in AM 764 4to, belong to the *matière de Rome* category of Medieval Literature, while *Breta sögur* are part of the *matière de Bretagne*,⁹ as the latter are a translation and adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannia*.¹⁰ Thus, many of these texts may have been crucial in the development of indigenous Old Norse-Icelandic literature and the establishment of what Torfi Tulinius has dubbed "The Matter of the North",¹¹ situating medieval Iceland in a broader context of history, literature, and culture, and aiding in the establishment of a cohesive learned Icelandic world view in the later Medieval period.¹²

1.1.3 Motivation and Goals

The primary aim of this study is to chart the orthography, language, and script found in the manuscripts AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to. In so doing, the relationship between these manuscripts in the contexts of scribal practice, language history, and transmission can be mapped, and the issue of whether they may have been produced by a relatively small group of scribes that belonged to a particular school or milieu may be addressed. Fundamentally then, this study will be an investigation into scribal practice and the development of language, orthography, script, and symbol inventory as represented in two medieval Icelandic manuscripts, the scribes that produced them, and the milieu(s) to which they may have belonged.

As noted, these two manuscripts have a layered link, which will be outlined in both this chapter and the next. Though they belong to a much larger web of related manuscripts, both of the manuscripts can likely be linked to two distinct main nodes of this web, which may have only directly intersected with one of these manuscripts. On the one hand, AM 764 4to is strongly linked to the Benedictine convent at Reynistaður, as well as more generally with the

⁸ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 228-38.

⁹ Notable discussions of the Matters of Rome and Britain in the context of Old Norse Literature can be found in, among others: Héléne Tétrel, *La Saga des Bretons* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021); Héléne Tétrel, "Trojan Origins and the Use of the Æneid and Related Sources in the Old Icelandic Brut," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 109/4 (2010): 490-514; *The Arthur of the North: The Arthurian Legend in the Norse and Rus' Realms*, ed. Marianne Kalinke (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011).

¹⁰ Marianne Kalinke, "The Introduction of the Arthurian Legend in Scandinavia," in *The Arthur of the North: The Arthurian Legend in the Norse and Rus' Realms*, ed. Marianne Kalinke (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 5-21.

¹¹ Torfi Tulinius, *The Matter of the North: The Rise of Literary Fiction in Thirteenth-Century Iceland*. trans. Randi C. Eldevik. (Odense: Odense University Press, 2002).

¹² Sverrir Jakobsson, "Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View," *Saga Book XXXI* (2007): 22-38.

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charters produced at Akrar and the layman Brynjólfur Bjarnason, also around Skagafjörður, and has ties to several other manuscripts and scribal hands, both of clerics and laypeople, that were active in the area during the latter-half of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, only the first portion, and likely the first hand, of AM 573 4to is associated with this Skagafjörður-based milieu, while the latter portion of the manuscript, completed by a later hand, has ties to a milieu likely active at Möðruvellir at Hörgárdalur. Thus, AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to may not only exemplify, but also link, the work and scribal practice of both of these respective scribal milieu, tentatively linked to Skagafjörður / Reynistaður and Möðruvellir at Hörgárdalur.

As a study that is materially oriented, this project will fundamentally take the form of an orthographic, linguistic, and paleographic analysis, which seeks to not only outline and catalog the various scribal hands witnessed within the manuscripts, but also suggest a relative timeline for the careers of these scribes and attempt to date the manuscripts more precisely. While some previous work on these manuscripts has noted that several of the scribes share idiosyncrasies,¹³ and perhaps even preserve at least one extinct dialect feature,¹⁴ this study will take these notions further, and attempt to infer some of the rules of the norm¹⁵ that these scribes may have been following. The possibility that the scribes who seemed to co-operate in the production of these manuscripts may have spoken distinct varieties of Old Icelandic that was at least partially reflected in their written norm, and which may also bear remaining traces of influence from Old Norwegian, will be investigated. Though, the texts contained in these manuscripts, which will be outlined in the second chapter, will also feature in the discussion undertaken in this thesis, particularly regarding how some of these learned texts concerning, from a medieval Icelandic perspective, ancient history, may have circulated among and been practically treated by the scribes copying them.

While these manuscripts, perhaps especially AM 764 4to, owing to the work of Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir¹⁶ in particular, have been studied at a fairly high level of detail individually in previous scholarship, this study will seek to provide quantitative and

¹³ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 11-52.

¹⁴ Janez Orešnik, “An Old Icelandic Dialect Feature: *ia* for *æ*,” *Gripla* 5 (1982): 183-96.

¹⁵ The concept of a norm, from both a linguistic and scribal perspective, will be addressed further in various subsections across chapters two through four.

¹⁶ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has published extensively and thoroughly on AM 764 4to; these publications include but are not limited to: “Arctic Gardens of Delights: The Purpose of the Book of Reynistaður,” in *Romance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iceland: Essays in Honor of Marianne Kalinke*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Library, 2008); “The Resourceful Scribe: Some Aspects of the Development of Reynistaðarbók (AM 764 4to),” in *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages*, eds. Ingvil Brugger Büdal, Slavica Rankovic, Aidan Conti, Leidulf Melve, Else Mundal (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2012); “Universal History in Fourteenth-Century Iceland: Studies in AM 764 4to.”

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comparative analysis regarding defined orthographic, linguistic, and palaeographic features. Svanhildur's work on AM 764 4to has predominantly been focused on the contents of the manuscript, its peculiar construction, and its function as a compendium of universal history in the vernacular, as well as the notion that it was quite plausibly produced by and for a community of women. Though Svanhildur's work on the manuscript also falls under the umbrella of New / Material / Artifactual Philology,¹⁷ this work was not primarily concerned with the language, orthography, and script of the manuscript, but rather the content of the codex, though a conception of the various scribal hands was offered, with reference to the transcription of folia 1-23 included in her doctoral dissertation.¹⁸

AM 573 4to has been studied somewhat less than AM 764 4to, though these manuscripts have consistently been treated as close relatives in the scholarship. Earlier work on AM 573 4to has largely been the effort of Jonna Louis-Jensen, and was primarily done in the context of studying the various redactions of *Breta sögur* and *Trójumanna saga* rather than as an investigation of the manuscript on its own terms. This work, largely in a Lachmannian and Helgasonian vein,¹⁹ featured in the Arnarnagæan editions of *Trójumanna saga*, and the forthcoming edition of *Breta sögur*, taken up by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, to which the author of this present study is also a contributor, also includes transcribed portions of the manuscript. Like Svanhildur's transcription of AM 764 4to, Louis-Jensen's transcription of AM 573 4to has been instrumental to this project, though as will be discussed later in this section as well as in the third chapter, the transcriptions employed in the present study are both digital and heavily annotated.

While some previous scholarship of the manuscripts has discussed the various potential scribal hands found in these manuscripts, a more complete quantitative comparative analysis has yet to be undertaken, and one of the explicit goals of this study is to chart the links between these manuscripts through this lens. As will be discussed more in the second chapter, the notion of scribal schools facilitating the education and co-operation of scribes, and perhaps also the development, but perhaps not enforcement, of particular rules regarding orthography and script has, to some extent, been explored in the study of Medieval Icelandic scribal culture. Subsequent to the analysis of both of the individual manuscripts, trends in the language, orthography, and script — the parameters primarily discussed in chapters five through seven —

¹⁷ The meaning of these terms, as well as the contextualisation of this study relative to them, will be taken up in greater detail in the third chapter.

¹⁸ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 242-305.

¹⁹ The meaning of these terms, as well as the contextualisation of this study relative to them, will be taken up in greater detail in the third chapter.

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will be explored so as to chart the relationship between these manuscripts on quantifiable grounds, and see if a norm that these scribes were beholden to can be inferred.

As such, this study will contribute to the existing body of scholarship on these manuscripts, which has often been focused on one of them in particular rather than considering them as a pair,²⁰ while also representing a departure from the existing body of research that has been done on each of the respective manuscripts, in that it will involve studying these manuscripts both on their own terms, as well as in the effort of bolstering the strong link that they share. With this in mind, this study will follow some of the precepts of New Philology as practiced in Old Norse philology,²¹ meeting each manuscript on its own terms, while also attempting to situate the manuscripts within a larger group of codices, drawing upon *überlieferungsgeschichte*, that may stem from a relatively small group of scribes who may have received similar training, worked at the same site of book production, or even spoke a particular variety of Old West Norse. As such, this study will not only further knowledge on these codices as individual cultural artefacts, but also elucidate the relations between them.

Additionally, this project avails itself of some new technologies that were unavailable and / or under development while much of the previous scholarship was authored. The analysis of the orthography, language, and script of the manuscripts undertaken on this study will involve the use of a digital dataset created by Robert Kristof Paulsen, developer and manager of the EMROON (Etymologically and Morphologically defined Reference Orthography for Old Norse) database, available on emroon.no. This dataset is derived from a morphological annotation of TEI-XML transcriptions of selected manuscript leaves.²² The morphological annotation and subsequently derived dataset are the work of Paulsen, while the basic transcriptions and analysis were done by the author of this study. While advances in TEI-XML have allowed for multi-level encoding of medieval Norse texts since shortly after

²⁰ Some works of scholarship that discuss at least one of the manuscripts: Kålund, *Altnordische Saga-Bibliotek, Bind 4: Laxdæla Saga*; Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History.”

²¹ For further reading on New Philology as practiced in Old Norse studies, see: Matthew Driscoll, “The Words on the Page - Thoughts on Philology, Old and New,” in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, ed. Judy Quinn & Emily Lethbridge (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010); Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “To the Letter - Philology as a Core Component of Old Norse Studies,” *Scripta Islandica Ársbok 60 / 2009* (2009).

²² A more thorough discussion of the TEI-XML transcriptions used on this project, as well as the dataset derived from their morphological annotation, will take in place in the third chapter.

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the turn of the millennium,²³ the annotation system, and subsequently constructed database developed, constructed, and maintained by Paulsen, allows for one to not only search within a manuscript based on morphological, etymological, graphematic, or even lexical criteria, but also enables one to transparently provide the data that informed their observations. Issues within the realm of orthography, paleography, language history, and identifying scribal hands can now be approached with the aid of multi-level transcriptions and publicly-available data on the manuscripts themselves in a more streamlined manner and format. Though large portions of AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to have been transcribed in past scholarship, namely by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir as part of her doctoral dissertation²⁴ and by Jonna Louis-Jensen in an as of yet unpublished and incomplete transcription (access provided by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir at the University of Copenhagen),²⁵ these transcriptions do not lend themselves to a digital database well, and at least with regard to Svanhildur's work, were undertaken before there was an established standard for transcribing medieval Norse texts. These previous transcriptions and conceptions of the scribal hands of these manuscripts were consulted during the transcription phase of this project, and were an invaluable resource in producing annotated digital transcriptions, since one of the aims of this project was to contribute to the growing corpus of digitally transcribed and annotated Old Norse texts *per se*, in addition to the research goals.

Further to this, an investigation of a potential link to a scribal school within a manuscript or grouping of scribal hands can *only* take place when multiple manuscripts are referenced, as an individual manuscript, even when approached on its own terms according with the precepts of New Philology, naturally cannot elucidate broader trends and norms in a vacuum.²⁶

To some extent, this project must operate on a meta level, as it is somewhat precariously situated in a landscape that includes both previous scholarship on these manuscripts (which, when touching on the particular issues discussed in this project, generally drew on more traditional and qualitative methods) as well as more novel digital and quantitative methods, especially the EMROON software, which has hitherto never been used

²³ For a more thorough outlining of the incorporation of TEI-XML in the transcription of Old Norse texts, see: Matthew Driscoll, "Levels of Transcription," in *Levels of Transcription*, ed. John Unsworth et al. (New York: Electronic Textual Editing, 2006); Odd Einar Haugen, "Parallel Views: Multi-Level Encoding of Medieval Nordic Primary Sources," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 19, no. 1 (2004): 86-89.

²⁴ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 242-305.

²⁵ Jonna Louis-Jensen and Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, eds., *Breta Saga*, Editiones Arnarnagnænae, Series A, vol. 10 (Copenhagen: Unpublished draft, version 6 / Museum Tusulanum Press, 2019).

²⁶ Karl G. Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus - skriftradition och avskriftverksamhet vid ett isländskt skriptorium under 1300-talet*, Nordistica Gothoburgensia (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1997), 249.

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on a project released to the public. Thus, as will be discussed in the next section, as well as in later chapters (particularly in the third), this project finds itself in a situation where not only familiar routes of inquiry into the language, orthography, script, dating, and localisation of the manuscripts are being addressed, but also that more abstract issues regarding theory and methodology, focused on in the second and third chapters, must be discussed, owing to both the novelty of the methodologies and technologies themselves, as well as the lack of consensus regarding the use of quantitative, often digital methods in the study of Old Norse manuscripts.

1.2 Research Questions

1.2.1 Context and Primary Research Question

As outlined in the previous section, this project is fundamentally a fairly traditional investigation of orthographic, linguistic, and paleographic features in a group of Medieval Icelandic manuscripts in terms of its motivations, framing, and lines of inquiry, with the aim of identifying scribal hands, elucidating scribal practice, dating the codices, and to some extent, charting the relationships between the texts that they contain. Thus, the first layer of research questions will consist of fairly traditional points of inquiry regarding the script, symbol inventories, language, and orthography of these medieval Icelandic manuscripts, and will investigate the distribution of variant representations of various features and developments across the samples taken from both AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to. This process will involve supplementing traditional qualitative methods with some more novel quantitative ones, namely the production and reference to annotated transcriptions and a dataset derived therefrom. As there is precise data concerning these manuscripts available on emroon.no, statistics will be referenced where appropriate, generally in chapters five through seven in which the analysis is undertaken and presented.

The research questions of this study are split into three categories, and comprise two layers. Each of the three categories, organised as 1.2.2 through 1.2.4, feature research questions on both of the two layers. On the first level of inquiry, on which scribal practice and the development of language and script are paramount, the research questions will be more concrete, dealing with particular issues and features relating to language, orthography, script, scribal practice, localisation, and dating. As alluded to previously, the second level of inquiry will involve more abstract issues that one could say are on the meta level, as they generally involve scrutinising the very methods and processes used on this project. As these secondary questions often arise directly and precisely because of the more concrete questions on the primary level, the research questions on this study will not be presented in a manner that divides them along these lines, but rather in a thematic way, i.e the tripartite division, such that all the research questions regarding to one of the major topics on this study — scribal hands, a

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scribal milieu and their co-operation, the dating, localisation, and relationship of the codices, and the development of language, orthography, script, and scribal practice in medieval Iceland more generally — are placed under their respective heading rather than according to whether they are deemed concrete or abstract.

However, the research questions posed in the following sections all stem from one primary research question: How many scribes worked on these manuscripts and under what circumstances?

1.2.2 Identifying Scribes and a Scribal Milieu

Regarding the linguistic, orthographic, palaeographic, and graphemic criteria defined and discussed in chapters four through seven, and with reference to the dataset in the EMROON database, what trends in the data emerge that elucidate how many scribes worked on these codices and how one can differentiate them? How do these trends in the data align with previous scholars' identification and differentiation of shared scribal hands? Are there more subtle trends that emerge that may have been previously overlooked owing to a more traditional and qualitative approach i.e not using a dataset? Though the practice of defining scribes along statistical lines has been heavily criticised,²⁷ how does the use and presentation of statistics aid or perhaps detract from the conceptions of scribal hands offered in other scholarship, perhaps arrived at through more qualitative and traditional means?

Are there congruencies in these areas that suggest that the same individuals or group of individuals produced these codices?

Regarding congruencies, or lack thereof, in the data concerning language, orthography, and script, in the dataset, does the data corroborate or rather problematise the number of scribes and locations of shifts in scribal hands identified in previous scholarship?

To what extent do these scribal hands share enough features to suggest that many, perhaps all, of the scribes belonged to a particular scribal school or milieu? If the practice of the scribal milieu and their norm is defined through inference regarding particular features rather than the mere fact that particular hands occur in the same manuscript, are there any scribal hands identified in AM 764 4to or AM 573 4to that seem to belong to scribes *outside* of the milieu, perhaps reflecting a different education, working at a different time, and even in a different milieu?

²⁷ The practice of defining scribes with the aid of statistics, with somewhat arbitrarily drawn rules governing such conceptions, has been explicitly criticised and consequently defended in the context of Old Norse manuscripts in: Andrea van Arkel, "Scribes and Statistics. An Evaluation of the Statistical Methods Used to Determine the Number of Scribes of the Stockholm Homily Book," *Scripta Islandica* 30 (1979): 25-45; Börje Westlund, "Skrivare och statistik. Ett genmäle," *Scripta Islandica* 30 (1979): 51-62.

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Given that the hands of AM 764 4to and one of the hands of AM 573 4to have been linked to multiple sites of manuscript production in Skagafjörður, namely the Benedictine convent at Reynistaður, as well as Akrar and the charters produced there, can the other, younger and later hand of AM 573 4to potentially be used to forge a link between two webs of manuscripts: the Skagafjörður / Reynistaður manuscripts and those associated with Möðruvallabók AM 132 fol. and related manuscripts?

If AM 573 4to exemplifies a scribe of the Skagafjörður milieu having worked on the same manuscript as another scribe associated with Möðruvellir at Hörgárdalur, why, when, and how might this loose collaboration may have happened?

Beyond the language, orthography, and script, are there any codicological indications, to do with factors such as format and layout, that indicate that a later scribe may have finished the already-begun work of another, perhaps at a different time and location?

What level of quantifiable variance with regard to language and script can we allow for during the career of a singular scribe, and to what extent might we attribute this variance to the exemplar?

Regarding the the three factors defined by Karl G. Johansson that may influence the work of a scribe: the exemplar, the practice of the scribe, and the practice of the scriptorium at which they are active,²⁸ to what extent are these *knowable* and definable, other than the actual practice of the scribe, which is embodied in a particular manuscript?

Once a scribal norm has been defined through inference, to what extent can we say that each scribe followed this norm, and how much deviation from this norm can be permitted while a scribe is still deemed to have been part of this milieu and active at roughly the same time and place as the others? How can particular deviations from this inferred scribal norm, whether they be linguistic or purely orthographic, provide a window into the language of the scribe in question or the exemplar that they were using?

To what extent would the practice of the scribes identified on the study, and indeed medieval Icelandic scribes in general, develop over their career, and to what extent would their original scribal education or school affiliation still be discernible later in their career?

Is there evidence of conflict between the school's norm, the exemplar, and the spoken language or preferred norm of some scribes? Are there any patterns, such as a scribe favouring one variant initially and another later, that might reflect such a conflict?

²⁸ Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 129.

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1.2.3 Manuscript Dating and Localisation — Charting a Milieu and its Activities

With reference to orthographic, linguistic, and paleographic criteria, can the manuscripts be dated more precisely than they have been previously? Relative to our models of the development of script, language, and orthography in Medieval Iceland, are there any problematic or contradictory employments of language and script that make precisely dating the manuscripts more difficult?²⁹

Provided that there are common scribal hands across the manuscripts, to what extent can the manuscripts and the sections within them be dated relative to each other? In terms of the common scribal hand(s) that may be identified in the two manuscripts, and intrinsically tied to the pursuit of dating these manuscripts accurately, what might be inferred about the career stage of the scribe(s) — were they young, inexperienced, and more beholden to their exemplar in one manuscript, and older and more confident and developed in their practice in another?

Regarding the scribal norm defined through inference, which the first section of research questions was concerned with, does this norm aid in the localisation of these manuscripts and perhaps the scribes themselves and their dialect? Does the scribal norm include any features that have previously been linked to particular regions or groups of scribes in Medieval Iceland? While these manuscripts were likely produced after the height of Norwegianisms³⁰ being used in medieval Icelandic manuscripts, do any remain, and in such a distribution that could indicate a lasting influence from Old Norwegian on the language and practice of the scribes that produced these manuscripts?

1.2.4 Relationships between the Texts and Manuscripts

What can we infer about the exemplars of *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur* through a relative dating of AM 573 4to and AM 764 4to?

If there are common scribes, what stage of their careers did they seem to be at when each manuscript was produced?

Do these redactions of *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur* share a common ancestor, or may one redaction of the text(s) have been copied from the other? Given the heavily truncated

²⁹ As in Flateyjarbók, GKS 1005 fol., the orthography and script employed by medieval Icelandic scribes may have suggested contradicting dates of production when collated with the general models of the development of script, orthography, and language. For a further discussion of this, see: Roberto Pagani, “The Scribes of Flateyjarbók, GKS 1005 Fol. - A Study in Scribal Practice in 14th Century Iceland,” (Master’s thesis, University of Iceland, 2015); Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók: Iceland and the Norwegian Dynastic Crisis of 1389*, (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2005).

³⁰ A thorough discussion and problematisation of this term will take place in chapter four, and will also figure in the subsequent analysis.

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nature of *Breta sögur* in AM 764 4to, it may be exceptionally difficult to glean whether the AM 573 4to redaction was derived from it, or even vice-versa, but do the redactions of these texts in the respective manuscripts, as well as their dating relative to one another, suggest that portions of one manuscript may have been copied or adapted from the other?

If it can be inferred that the same scribal milieu produced these codices, then what might be said regarding the role of this milieu and their site of manuscript production regarding the preservation and dissemination of learned literature in medieval Iceland? How can the dating of these codices, arrived at using orthographic, linguistic, and palaeographic criteria that do not have to do with the texts *per se*, aid in the tracing of the spread of particular texts and genres among learned, likely clerical, circles?

1.3 Hypothesis

The basic hypothesis of this study is that the manuscripts AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to have a multi-faceted connection that encompasses: the scribes who produced them, the texts contained therein and the learned environments in which they were adapted, produced, and introduced in medieval Iceland, as well as the language, orthography, and script and the manner in which they reflect the practice of particular scribal milieus³¹ and / or a regionally specific variety of Old Icelandic. However, the primary part of the hypothesis is that these manuscripts are directly linked by the scribal hands they contain and the scribal milieu(s) to which they may have belonged.

This study also hypothesizes that two different scribal milieus, likely based and / or trained in the Northern bishopric of Hólar, and active during the latter part of the fourteenth century, in the intervening period after the Black Death initially reached Norway in 1349 but before it reached Iceland around the turn of the fifteenth century, can be linked to the two manuscripts on this study. *Reynistaðarbók* AM 764 4to was likely the work of one scribal milieu, while the two milieus, tentatively linked to Skagafjörður / Reynistaðr and Möðruvellir at Hörgárdalur, respectively, both contributed, under uncertain circumstances, to AM 573 4to. Complementing the more general notion that a small group of scribes produced these manuscripts, it is also hypothesized that AM 764 4to represents the collaboration of fewer than the roughly ten scribes that have previously been identified by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir.³²

These groups of scribes, who are hypothesized to have produced both AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to in different configurations, may have only been a small subset of individuals that had some association with a scribal milieu and were familiar with its norm, which will be

³¹ Refer to section 2.2 for a more thorough discussion and definition of the notion of scribal schools and milieu.

³² For accounts of Svanhildur's identification of scribal hands in AM 764 4to, see: Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 11-52; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "The Resourceful Scribe," 331.

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inferred using a dataset and discussed in chapters five through seven. This notion of the scribes who produced these manuscripts being a smaller group within a larger milieu(s) is based on the relative wealth of manuscripts and charters with some connection to this area of Iceland, and the large number of scribal hands therein compared to the relatively low number that have been identified in the manuscripts on this study. Without necessarily having a scribal hand in common with either of the manuscripts on this study, the scribal milieus of fourteenth-century Hólar, which were potentially connected by exchanges of personnel and / or codices, and encompassed several sites of book production, must have been much broader than the relatively low number of scribes identified in AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to both in this study and in previous scholarship.

The notion of this relatively small group of scribes being particularly interested in preserving and transmitting learned literature, often of the pseudo-historic, heraldic nature, based on the contents of AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to, will also be explored; common scribal hands across the two manuscripts might suggest that some scribes specialised in this type of material. Several of the texts that are preserved in these manuscripts belong to the *matière de Rome* or *matière de Bretagne* genres, and appear alongside adaptations of biblical and apocryphal materials, many of which are linked with the *Stjórn* collection,³³ suggesting that these scribes, or at least those that employed them in these instances, were particularly interested in these genres, perhaps for further dissemination in Iceland / Norway, or simply to provide the relevant monastic libraries with copies of these works. As outlined in section 1.2, the identification of scribal hands across multiple related manuscripts will be used to aid in the discussion of whether one of the preoccupations of this particular milieu was the preservation and dissemination of learned literature among clerical circles and at monastic sites. In previous scholarship on the manuscripts, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has referred to Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to as a medieval Icelandic attempt at compiling world history,³⁴ reflecting what may have been this scribal milieu's interest in compiling and cataloguing learned and pseudo-historical material. Both of the texts in AM 573 4to deal with the heraldic origins of peoples, which while these texts still belong to the category of learned literature, reflect a more secular worldview in terms of the migrations of peoples and the establishment and origin of the Northern European kingdoms; taken together, the manuscripts that can be traced to this milieu could represent a collation of both secular and clerical worldviews in Medieval Iceland.

³³ C.R. Unger, ed., *Stjorn - Gammelnorsk bibelhistorie - Fra verdens skabelse til det babiloniske fangenskab*. (Christiania: Feilberg and Landmarks Forlag, 1862); Jakob Benediktsson, "Some Observations on Stjórn and the Manuscript AM 227 fol," *Gripla* XV (2004): 7-42.

³⁴ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 228-38.

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Supporting the notion that the two manuscripts on this study were both contributed to by a particular scribal milieu or school, it is further hypothesized that particular linguistic, orthographic, and paleographic features, manifested in the manuscripts reflect this. Further to this, it is hypothesised that one of the scribes of AM 573 4to may have been working at a different time and as part of a different milieu than the other(s). Some of the features that can be used to profile the scribes have been identified in previous scholarship, though a more thorough quantitative account of these features and their distribution has yet to be undertaken, and will thus comprise a major portion of this current study. Bearing some of the orthographic and linguistic peculiarities in mind, it will also be explored as to where these features may have originated, and whether the fluctuating presence of Norwegian administrative personnel owing to the Black Death may have influenced, and ultimately left a lasting impression on, the language and scribal practice of the learned institutions of Hólar during the fourteenth century.

This study will also involve the use of digital transcriptions and a dataset derived from the annotation of said transcriptions, as will be discussed in 1.4. While the consultation of said data will largely comprise chapters five and six, and the resultant conclusions will be drawn in chapters seven and eight, some of the issues that may arise surrounding such data can be hypothesised here, insofar as how using quantitative criteria and a dataset may or may not shape the manner in which some of the research questions in section 1.2 can be answered. As will be discussed in section 1.4, as well as in much greater detail in chapter three, the primary issue with the data on this project, and indeed all projects of this kind that reference quantifiable criteria and a dataset, is that the use of data does not necessarily simplify the process of drawing conclusions. While the use of quantitative data and digital transcriptions may add an air of transparency and objectivity, these technologies create a new layer of issues, and it is hypothesized here that the results yielded through such methods will ultimately not be entirely conclusive given the unquantifiable confluence of factors that shaped a scribe's work and the production of a medieval codex. While this project will feature cited numbers and ratios when it comes to the distribution of particular features, a new problem of interpreting these figures arises instead of providing answers; even when quantitative, highly-transparent methods are employed, particular philological arguments and analyses are still guided and ultimately decided by qualitative means and are matters of interpretation. With statistics being referenced and made available, it may perhaps reveal that more vague qualitative terms are in some sense preferable to precise ratios and percentages, as numerical precision can obscure the fact that even when data has been referenced, the interpretation of said data does not necessarily involve looking for strict distributions and correlations.

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1.4 Dataset and Corpus

1.4.1 *The Dataset, Transcriptions, and the EMROON³⁵ Transcription Standard and Database*

Digital transcriptions of manuscript leaves that were subsequently annotated comprise the primary pool of evidence that will be analysed in chapters five and six, and inform the conclusions drawn in chapters seven and eight. This project involved creating digital transcriptions of manuscript leaves, as, despite the fact that large portions of AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to have been transcribed in previous scholarship, neither of these transcriptions were digital *per se*, nor TEI-based, likely owing to the fact that even while a consensus regarding the transcription of Old Norse texts in TEI-XML has yet to be reached, transcription of Old Norse texts was, at one point, a wholly new frontier, with discussions surrounding TEI-derived or compliant schemes in an Old Norse context being only in their infancy at the turn of the millennium. The companion dataset, as alluded to previously, is derived from the morphological annotation, done by the creator and manager of the EMROON database, Robert Kristof Paulsen, of said leaves. These transcriptions, to which the layer of morphological annotation is added and data is subsequently derived, comply with a TEI scheme that is specific to the EMROON database, though the basic transcription files are not the same as full “EMROON-XML”. Using a single level, or “basic”, facsimile / diplomatic hybrid transcription of a text, EMROON-XML can be yielded, allowing for the relevant annotation, and a tentatively normalized transcription can also be generated from this. While the MENOTA standard requires some portions of words to be encoded multiple times according to how many of the <facs>, <dipl>, and <norm> levels one is including in a transcription, the EMROON standard only requires that those portions of a word that can be read and represented in multiple ways, such as an abbreviation marking and its expansion, to be encoded separately.³⁶ Should this basic transcription be morphologically annotated, one can also derive data regarding the orthography, linguistic forms, and variant letter forms that appear in the text, as is the case on this project.

This streamlining of the transcription process contrasts the MENOTA standard, under which one of the basic rules of coding, namely that redundancies are to be avoided and the same information should not be encoded multiple times, is broken. It has been conceded that the MENOTA standard is not fully compliant with the broader TEI framework,³⁷ though

³⁵ EMROON is the work of Robert Kristof Paulsen, currently (in Summer 2023) a software engineer at the University of Bergen’s Library for the Humanities.

³⁶ The expansion of the symbols commonly referred to as abbreviations in Old Norse texts will be discussed further in the third chapter. cf. Driscoll, Matthew, “The Words on the Page - Thoughts on Philology, Old and New.”

³⁷ Haugen, “Parallel Views,” 86-89.

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redundancies in MENOTA coding have been excused by the oxymoronic premise that a MENOTA transcription is “single multi-level”,³⁸ though such a premise is akin to claiming that a multi-level dwelling was in fact single level, simply because all of the levels happened to be under the same outer roof, or in our case, file. In previous years, the MENOTA standard of encoding texts has been brought closer in line with the more streamlined EMROON standard via the MenotaBlitz html transcription tool,³⁹ which is also the work of Robert Kristof Paulsen. The encoding of the same information i.e portions of words, all of which fall under the same <word> tag in XML anyway, is not strictly necessary, even when one wants to derive multiple representations, such as a <fac> representation in which letters such as the insular “þ” or uncial “ð” appear as entities that more closely resemble the historically variant letter forms, or a <norm> representation, in which readability is paramount, and as such, “þ” and “ð” appear merely as their modern typeface variants, “f” and “d”, as the allographs of these letter forms do not have variant meanings that would have ramifications for understanding the text itself.

As the transcriptions and data relevant to this project are also publicly available, this allows for an unprecedented level of transparency, as all of the data that informs the claims made in the text are freely available; however, quantitative digital technologies are certainly not without their own issues, as will be discussed in greater detail in the third chapter.

As alluded to in section 1.1, some data from the manuscript *Möðruvallabók* AM 132 fol., will also be discussed, primarily in chapter seven, as it is likely that this manuscript shares at least one scribal hand with the main manuscripts on this project, and has associations with scribal schools of Northern Iceland. Extensive data production and analysis have already been undertaken on this manuscript by Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen,⁴⁰ and thus it will figure more as a point of comparison that is somewhat external to the primary comparison between AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to. As quantitative data has already been harvested from this manuscript and discussed, it will not be treated with the same level of detail as the main manuscripts on this study, and quite simply lies outside of the scope of this project, though further opportunities for studying these related manuscripts in such a quantitative and comparative way will be discussed in the final chapter.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

³⁹ <http://www.emroon.no/MenotaBlitz.html>

⁴⁰ de Leeuw van Weenen, *A Grammar of Möðruvallabók*.

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1.4.2 *Selecting Leaves for Transcription and Annotation*

As with any project involving quantitative criteria and a dataset, the creation of the dataset involved a confluence of factors, that as a whole, prevent the dataset and any subsequent interpretation, as will done on this project, from being considered objective or authoritative in any sense, thus maintaining the human in the humanities. As such, this section will entail a discussion of the major factors shaping the selection of manuscript leaves that were subsequently transcribed and annotated for the purposes of this project, but also the dataset as a whole. While this project features neither all potential data, nor all of its potential segmentations and interpretations, the data that has been included has been done so in a targeted and strategic manner, and as mentioned, some of the issues with the transcriptions and dataset will be taken up in chapter three in greater detail.

Various criteria informed the selection of leaves. Both individual leaves and groupings of sequential leaves were chosen in a targeted manner. As this study focuses on the scribal hands of the manuscripts rather than the texts themselves, transcribing and annotating along the divisions of texts was not prioritized. Thus, the selection of leaves represents an attempt to represent various sections of the manuscripts rather than to digitize texts in their entirety. All of the leaves that were transcribed and annotated are included in the appendices as facsimile transcriptions, while relevant data is presented in the analysis chapter(s).

One of the primary criteria was that the leaf was representative of an area of the manuscript in which there either appeared to be a shift in scribal hand and / or there had been one identified in previous scholarship. While evaluating the claims made about these manuscripts in previous scholarship is not the aim of this study *per se*, areas of the manuscripts that have had attention drawn to them in previous scholarship were deemed obvious candidates for inclusion in the pool of leaves that were transcribed and annotated. More practical concerns, such as the legibility and condition of the leaves, were also taken into consideration when selecting the portions of the manuscript to be transcribed and annotated. Additionally, it was taken into account that earlier transcriptions of portions of AM 764 4to and AM 573 were available, done by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (and included in her doctoral dissertation)⁴¹ and Jonna Louis-Jensen,⁴² respectively. Leaves that had previously been transcribed by these scholars were also favoured in terms of inclusion in the data pool of this project, as this enabled a higher level of accuracy in my transcriptions, and the arguments made in previous scholarship in conjunction with these earlier transcriptions were an impetus for this current project.

⁴¹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 242-305.

⁴² Louis-Jensen and Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, *Breta Saga*.

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Potential shifts in scribal hands are taken as entrance points for quantitative inquiry, and were informed by the previous qualitative observations of other scholars⁴³ and the author of this study. Despite the employment of digital and quantitative methods that may add an air of objectivity,⁴⁴ it is still very much subjective and qualitative observations that determines one's point of inquiry as well as where and how to investigate. For example, the data concerning a hypothetical manuscript gathering of ten leaves could simply be looked at as a cohesive unit with one unified list of data for the entire ten leaves; or, it could be broken down into smaller sections depending on where one believes the shifts in scribal hands may have occurred. The software used on this project, primarily the EMROON database, allows for manuscripts to be sectioned off according to where shifts in scribal hands are suspected to have occurred. It could be the case that the ten leaves were split equally by two scribes, say scribe U and V, or perhaps among three scribes, Q, R, and S. The system can yield data tables for the hypothetical scribes U and V, or conversely for hypothetical scribes Q, R, and S; then, it is up to the individual scholar to argue that the levels of similarity or difference represented by the data further the notion that these passages do or do not represent the work of different individuals, or perhaps that the division of scribal hands does not occur along the lines of the pre-segmentation. While segmenting the data before it has been analysed as a whole can be problematic in that it could lead to a scholar simply reading the data in such a way that reinforces their suspicions about the scribal hands, reflected in the manner they pre-segmented the data, the EMROON database allows for the dataset to be viewed as a whole, without the preconceived name, or rather letter, associated with any hypothetical scribe visible in the window. As such, this segmentation option seems to be a help rather than a hindrance in identifying and differentiating scribes, and does not obfuscate or assume anything about the scribes anymore than the segmentation tools of other related softwares.

During the transcription process and over the course of this project, digital facsimiles, as well as the physical manuscripts, AM 764 4to in Reykjavík and AM 573 4to in Copenhagen, have been consulted, thus limiting the potentiality of a shift in scribal hand being overlooked. Note that a discussion of the validity and problems that accompany a partial dataset of a manuscript will be taken up in 3.2. However, even considering that employing an exhaustive dataset would of course be the most thorough approach, there is no particular reason to suggest that the conclusions relevant to the questions posed on this study would change

⁴³ Salient mentions of AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to and the scribes they may share in previous scholarship include: Kålund, *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, Bind 4: Laxdæla Saga*; Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*; Orešnik, "An Old Icelandic Dialect Feature: iæ for æ," 183-196; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History."; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "The Resourceful Scribe."

⁴⁴ Peter Stokes, "Computer-Aided Paleography, Present and Future," in *Codicology and Paleography in the Digital Age*, eds. Patrick Sahle, Malte Rehbein, Torsten Schassan (Norderstedt: BoD, 2009), 309-15.

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significantly, if at all. While the software and point of inquiry are different, Nicole Dalia Cilia's work on the Avila Bible suggests that as little as 15% of a potential data set of a manuscript is required to accurately distinguish between scribes;⁴⁵ however, as outlined already in the previous sections, one of the aims of this study is to chart all of the scribes that worked on these manuscripts, not simply quantitatively differentiate between alleged scribal hands that have already been concluded to have been different according to some other criteria. While it *can be* the case that exhaustive data is not required to positively identify a scribal hand,⁴⁶ over-generalizing this principle is problematic, especially in a case such as AM 764 4to, in which several scribes may have taken turns copying relatively short sections,⁴⁷ yielding shifts in scribal hands in places that one may not typically expect. Thus, as noted previously, sections in which a change of scribal hand is suspected have, as a rule, been included in the transcriptions and dataset.

The selection of material from AM 764 4to is thus somewhat eclectic, as the manuscript contains a multitude of texts, and several scribes working in close and calculated collaboration has been suggested.⁴⁸ Given that many hands, up to ten, have been identified in the first portion of AM 764 4to, circa folia 1-23, this portion has been transcribed and annotated in its entirety, while the latter portion of the manuscript has only been sampled. The latter portion of the manuscript that contains annals and scribal hands frequently shifting, reflecting the annals being written at disparate times, are mostly considered to be outside of the scope of this project. As such, the scribes previously identified by Svanhildur have been labelled on EMROON with the same letters as those attributed to them in her work, while my own preliminary analysis of the scribes were labelled using Greek letters. The hypothetical scribes referenced in some of the analytical chapters are not necessarily the same as the scribes named in the final two chapters, in which conclusions are drawn, and the scribes discussed in the final two chapters take precedence over any of the purely hypothetical and the preliminary segmentation of the data referenced before this.

As some of the texts and sections are exceedingly short, some texts were transcribed in their entirety, as they often constituted less than a few leaves. Though, as stated, transcribing and analysing particular texts in their entirety is not one of the goals of this study. Also, the switching of scribal hands does not seem to necessarily align with the division of texts in this manuscript, nor does the work seem to have been divided up even remotely equally. In the

⁴⁵ Nicole Dalia Cilia et al. "An End to End Deep Learning System for Medieval Writer Identification," *Pattern Recognition Letters* 129 (2019): 1-2.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 11-52; "The Resourceful Scribe," 331.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

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conceptions of the scribal hands suggested by Svanhildur, some of the identified scribes copied out less than one leaf, while others were responsible for the majority of a gathering.⁴⁹ In the case of some of the scribal hands identified in Svanhildur's work,⁵⁰ the couple of hundred words that is associated with them represents *all* of the available material. As will be discussed more explicitly in the third chapter, this also presents some interpretive issues, as there can be a temptation to interpret minor deviations from a broader norm within a short passage as overly significant if this passage has previously been attributed to a unique scribe, even if such a hypothetical scribe is otherwise mostly in line with the broader norm or the norm of another scribe within the same manuscript. This is of course a similar problem to that which arises when one is dealing with a fragment of what may have once been a much longer work, and this puts an obvious limit on the amount of data that is available, as more leaves cannot be scoured for instances of a particular orthographic or paleographic, leaving us with what is perhaps a sample that may not have been representative of the way the scribe, or hypothetical scribe, if we are trying to differentiate them from another, usually spelled and wrote. Additionally, it seems that what could roughly be called the third quarter of the manuscript (about ff. 21-33), which primarily consists of saints' lives and catalogue-like material outlining the lives and reigns of clergy and noblemen, was primarily the work of only two or three scribes, though a multitude of scribes, or perhaps the same few scribes working at different times, contributed to the final section of annals. The major scribes of the latter portion of the manuscript seemed to have also worked on the first gathering, and the first gathering may have represented the intensive collaborative efforts of up to nine individuals,⁵¹ though it is already hypothesised that congruencies in the data will support the notion that it was fewer. In its own way, this made the selection of material to transcribe and annotate from this portion of the manuscript somewhat straight-forward, as the potential multitude of scribes responsible for the annals lie outside the scope of this project, and the other sections seem to feature less direct co-operation and thus less potential information regarding the careers and collaborative habits of a milieu of scribes. This may also reflect the fact that Árni Magnússon collected latter portions of the manuscript at a later stage than he did the main body of the manuscript,⁵² containing the *Ages of the World* material, and as such, the original construction of the codex is unknown; as will be discussed later, lost pages of this manuscript have already been found outside of the

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 13-4.

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Arnarnagæan collection.⁵³ Thus the bulk of the data for that manuscript is taken from the first gathering, while also still covering work from all of the scribes that have been identified in previous scholarship.

AM 573 4to is somewhat less problematic in this context, as the manuscript contains only two texts, *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*, and likely only two scribes, from here on called A and B, but perhaps also a third, called Z. However, the probable shift in scribal hand looks to occur partway through the second text, not neatly yielding a situation in which one scribe copied out a text in its entirety each. In this manuscript, *Trójumanna saga* is significantly longer *Breta sögur*, and also features work from two scribes, as there is an apparent shift in scribal hand only after one scribe had already copied a significant portion of *Breta sögur*. As such, the sample from AM 573 4to features more of *Trójumanna saga*, representing an attempt to transcribe and annotate work from all of the hypothetical scribes without necessarily targeting equally sized samples from both texts.

1.5 Structure of this Study

This study is comprised of eight chapters; the first four chapters will be dedicated to providing a foundation upon which the analytical chapters, chapters five through seven, as well as the concluding remarks, the eighth and final chapter, can be set. This first chapter has laid a basic framework and provided an overview of the context, motivations, and goals of this study; the issues and discussions that have been outlined and alluded to over the course of this chapter will be taken up in more detail in the subsequent chapters.

The second chapter will provide more information about the manuscripts and texts covered on this project. In the first half of the chapter, 2.1, codicological descriptions of the manuscripts will be provided, the texts contained therein will be discussed, and the manuscripts as cultural artefacts will be contextualized within the scribal and literary cultures of medieval Iceland. The second half of this chapter, section 2.2, will review the literature that is relevant to these manuscripts and the scribal and literary cultures that produced them, and will also provide some further context for this project within the existing body of scholarship. Given that scribal hands, as well as the concepts of a scribal milieu, school, and norm are central to this project, chapter two will also provide some discussion and definition of these terms with regard to how they will feature in this project and how they have been used in relevant previous scholarship, namely in section 2.3.

The third chapter will take up some relevant issues in theory, method, and methodology, while also discussing the process that will be used on this study, and the

⁵³ Bjarni Gunnar Ásgeirsson, "Anecdotes of Several Bishops of Canterbury: A Lost Bifolium from Reynistaðarbók Discovered in the British Library," *Gripla XXXII* (2021): 7-56.

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motivations and caveats relevant to the hermeneutic process of the latter chapters that are concerned with analysis and drawing conclusions. This chapter will serve to not only discuss the methods and methodologies used to draw conclusions in the final chapters, and the theories and schools behind them, but also to reflect on some of the problems associated with the lack of a standardized discourse in studies of this nature, and what the ramifications of that are for this study and the conclusions that it may present.

As a major priority of this study is to localise and date the manuscripts through the lens of the work of the scribes who produced them, the fourth chapter will be focused on delineating the two main varieties of Old West Norse, Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, and the manners and degree to which these main forms of the language interacted with and helped shape each other, and how these factors surfaced in scribal practice. This chapter will provide a framework for the conceptualisation of a predominantly written, perhaps also spoken variety of Old Icelandic that, while distinctly Icelandic, may have retained some influence and features of Old Norwegian that transcended the more superficial level associated with ‘Norwegianisms’, a term that will also be problematised.

Chapters five and six will deal with the respective orthographic, linguistic, and paleographic data. These chapters will outline the historical developments of each feature, adapting a diachronic perspective that is also precipitated by the fact that one of the explicit aims of this study is to date the manuscripts more precisely. These outlines of each feature will also have some discussion of why each feature was deemed worthy of inclusion and salient in the pursuit of delineating the scribes and dating their work. Subsequent to these diachronic discussions, the data on these features from the EMROON database will be drawn upon, and some interpretations of the data in terms of what each feature suggests regarding dating, localisation, and scribal hands will be offered.

Once the data has been outlined and discussed in a more neutral way, the seventh chapter will be occupied with identifying trends within the data, under the guidance of previous scholarship, that elucidate where the shifts in scribal hands occur and the manner in which the scribes may have collaborated. The seventh chapter will focus on the scribes that are identified, delineating them, and discussing scribal hands, and the similarities and difference between them. Building upon the discussion of a scribal norm in the second chapter, an inferred norm of the scribes will also be presented in the seventh chapter, which of course touches upon the earlier notion that many of the scribal hands encountered in these manuscripts may have shared an affiliation with a particular scribal milieu in fourteenth century Hólar.

The eighth and final chapter will offer some concluding remarks regarding the scribes of AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to, their language, script, and orthography, and the approximate

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date, order, and circumstances that these manuscripts were produced under. Additionally, some avenues of further research into the questions raised in this study will be presented.

2 - About the Manuscripts

2.1 The Manuscripts

2.1.1 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to is kept in the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen, though the manuscript was on loan at the sister institution in Reykjavík, where it was consulted, during the project period of this study. The manuscript consists of forty-three leaves, with five of these being smaller ones, with the largest leaves measuring about 26 cm x 16.5 cm, and the number of lines per page ranging from 36 to 48, but with 41 being most common.⁵⁴ The manuscript has five slips: 2bis, 3bis, 4bis, 9bis, and 18bis, which were added later.⁵⁵ The manuscript is essentially comprised of two makeshift gatherings, followed by an arrangement of bifolia and singletons, though, as will be discussed, several folia and leaves bearing other shelf marks have been convincingly argued to have been part of the original codex. As the codex currently exists, folia 1+16 and 2+15 hold together the first gathering, while folia 18+31, 19+30, and 20+29 are the main supports of the second gathering.

A survey of the contents is provided below:

1. *Aetates Mundi* 1-5
2. *The Book of Judith*
3. *Alexanders saga*
4. Deeds of the Prophets
5. *Breta sögur*
6. *Aetates Mundi* 6
7. The Life of Christ
8. Assumption
9. Josephus
10. Lists of Popes and Emperors
11. Lists of Bishops
12. *Aetates Mundi* 7-8
13. *Remigius saga*
14. Exempla
15. *Malcus saga*
16. Exempla
17. Chronicle

⁵⁴ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 13.

⁵⁵ Kristian Kålund, ed., *Katalog over Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske Legat, 1889), 185.

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The manuscript has been associated with Northern Iceland, and has previously been linked with scribal hands belonging to a broader network of codices linked to the Hólar diocese and Skagafjörður in particular,⁵⁶ which were active during the latter portion of the fourteenth century. The manuscript has generally been dated to the latter half of the fourteenth century, c. 1360-1380,⁵⁷ though dating this manuscript precisely is problematised by the notion of it being completed in multiple, perhaps disparate phases. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has made a case for the codex having been produced at the Benedictine nunnery in Reynistaður on Skagafjörður, by women and for women,⁵⁸ and the emphasis on the Old Testament apocryphal figure of Judith supports the notion that the codex was intended specifically for a religious community of women.⁵⁹ The manuscript may represent a highly organized effort of scribal co-operation, as multiple scribal hands have previously been identified, despite the peculiar construction of the manuscript, which superficially suggests that the manuscript was nothing but a haphazard miscellany. Instead, this manuscript may represent the work of a scribal milieu that was not only accustomed to directly co-operating with each other, but were also quite familiar with the learned material contained in the manuscript, which both encompasses and goes beyond the Matter of Britain and Matter of Rome material that is also present in AM 573 4to. As has already been argued by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, work on the manuscript likely involved at least two distinct phases.⁶⁰

Árni Magnússon had collected AM 764 4to by about 1700, with the majority of the manuscript coming from Skálholt, though additional bifolia came from Gaulverjabær and another bifolium was found in another manuscript.⁶¹ The manuscript also includes a list of contents put together by Árni.⁶² Árni wrote that he did not acquire all of the pieces of the manuscript at once or in the same place,⁶³ though the scribal hands, continuity of content, and layout of the manuscript would have indicated that these leaves belonged together. Folia 41-43 are annals of the years 1328-1372, which, if these leaves were part of the original collation of the

⁵⁶ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*; Orešnik, “An Old Icelandic Dialect Feature: iæ for æ,” 183-196; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History.”; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe.”; Foote, *A Saga of St. Peter the Apostle*, 55-60; Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-8.

⁵⁷ Dictionary of Old Norse Prose: <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?m199>

⁵⁸ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Arctic Gardens of Delights,” 281.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 285.

⁶⁰ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe,” 330-9.

⁶¹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Arctic Gardens of Delights,” 279; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 13.

⁶² Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 13.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

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manuscript, would provide a *terminus post quem* for when the codex was produced. It is of course highly probable that portions of the manuscript were indeed produced after 1372, during the final quarter of the fourteenth century, but this is generally on grounds relating to the practice and habit of the scribes rather than the dates of the chronicles contained in the manuscript.

As the portions of the manuscript were neither collected together nor assembled until the eighteenth century, we cannot be sure whether certain portions of what now constitutes the manuscript were in the precise position that they are now. The manuscript in its present state does not cover all of the texts in the above-mentioned list of contents,⁶⁴ suggesting that truncated portions of the manuscript have been given other shelf marks and have yet to be directly linked to AM 764 4to, or that they have been lost altogether. Folia and groups of leaves with other shelf marks have already been linked to AM 764 4to, with the leaves of AM 162 m fol.⁶⁵ and a bifolium portion of Stowe MS 980⁶⁶ already having been convincingly argued to have originally been a portion of AM 764 4to. As mentioned, Árni Magnússon put at least the Life of St. Malcus in an incorrect position, so it may well be that some of the chronicle material in the latter half of the manuscript was also incorrectly added or put in the wrong position during the reconstitution of the manuscript during the eighteenth century, perhaps owing to the similarity of many the scribal hands. Like many other manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan collection, the leaves of Reynistaðarbók, AM 764 4to have been paginated in a nineteenth-century hand.⁶⁷ There seems to have also been two other smaller leaves that were once attached to ff. 11 and 15, which would have constituted 11bis and 15bis, though these have been lost.

As Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has observed, it is impossible to know how many leaves were lost or what the original construction of the manuscript was like, as it is not made up of normal gatherings.⁶⁸ Despite the peculiar construction and organisation of the manuscript, which may be due to the reconstruction of the codex by Árni Magnússon as much as it is due to the somewhat unusually intense level of co-operation carried out during at least the first half of the manuscript, the codex as it exists now still seems to be organised around the similar scribal hands it contains, as well as the types of texts therein and their organisation around

⁶⁴ These notes are now kept in AM 764 4to itself: <https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/en/AM04-0764/0?iabr=on#mode/2up>

⁶⁵ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 11.

⁶⁶ Bjarni Gunnar Ásgeirsson, "Anecdotes of Several Bishops of Canterbury: A Lost Bifolium from Reynistaðarbók Discovered in the British Library," 7-56.

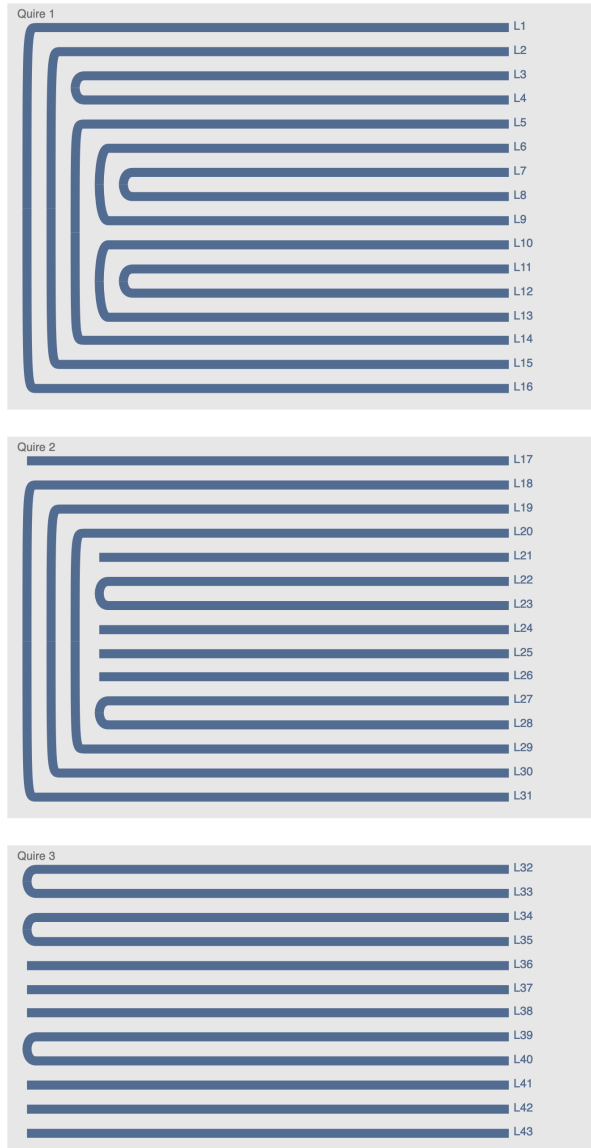
⁶⁷ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 11.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

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particular generic themes. Please note that the diagram below accounts for the full leaves that now constitute the codex, and neither added slips nor lacunae are included:

FIGURE II - 1: THE QUIRE STRUCTURE OF AM⁷⁶⁴4TO:



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Texts

As suggested by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, AM 764 4to represents an attempt of an account of universal history in Icelandic,⁶⁹ and by and large, is comprised of a reorganisation of materials that were likely already available to the scribes.⁷⁰ The first twenty-three leaves feature a chronicle of world history from a Christian perspective, divided into eight *Aetates Mundi*, reflecting a conception of the chronology of the universe that can be traced to Saint Augustine,⁷¹ and include biblical, apocryphal, as well as Matter of Rome and Britain materials. Kålund has labelled these materials “annála bæklingr”,⁷² although to be more specific, these first twenty-three folia of the manuscript contain excerpted biblical and apocryphal material, reworked chronicles, as well as Matter of Rome and Britain materials. These materials collected together, and arranged in a pseudo-chronological order, provide not only an account of secular and ecclesiastical history from the perspective of medieval Iceland, but also reveal the worldview of this, and likely other clerical communities of medieval Iceland, in much the same way that one of the Icelandic officials for the Norwegian crown, Haukr Erlendsson, and his project Hauksbók, encompassing AM 371 4to, AM 544 4to, and AM 675 4to, can be taken as emblematic of the worldview of those who held secular power.⁷³

As such, the manuscript contains: various materials corresponding to the *Aetates Mundi*s, the apocryphal *Book of Judith*, *Alexanders saga*, *Breta sögur*, *Rómverja saga*, the chronicle of Josephus, catalogues of Popes and Emperors, and concludes with *Remigius saga*, *Malcus saga*, various exempla, and chronicle material. It has been suggested that the brief summary of the Trojan war, as well as the heavily truncated redaction of *Breta sögur* contained in Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to were directly based or even copied from those in AM 573 4to.⁷⁴ The first twenty-three leaves are structured around the eight ages of the world, with the biblical and classical materials spliced in where appropriate according to the pseudo-chronology. The remaining folia of the codex, circa 24-33, contain saints' lives, miracles, exempla, as well as annals and chronicles of Norwegian and English kings,⁷⁵ with *Remigius saga*

⁶⁹ Ibid., 11-4.

⁷⁰ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe,” 328.

⁷¹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Arctic Gardens of Delights,” 282.

⁷² “booklets of annals” (translation is the author’s); Kålund, *Katalog over Den Arnemagneanske Håndskriftsamling*, vol. 2, 184.

⁷³ Sverrir Jakobsson, “Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View,” 22-38.

⁷⁴ Würth, *Der “Antikenroman” in der Isländischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Eine Untersuchung zur Übersetzung und Rezeption Lateinischer Literatur im Norden*,” *Nordischen Philologie* 26 (Helbing und Lichtenhahn: Basel und Frankfurt am Main, 1998), 18; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 160-1.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 15.

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(23v-25v) and *Malcus saga* (27r-30r) being the most significant texts in this latter portion of the manuscript.⁷⁶ As alluded to previously, this collation of secular, ecclesiastical, and even scriptural material combines to provide an account of history of much of the known world and Christendom from an Icelandic perspective, and covers both the secular and ecclesiastical realms to varying depths, though the codex itself was almost certainly the product of a clerical community.

2.1.2 AM 573 4to

AM 573 4to is a sixty-three leaf manuscript containing *Trójumanna saga* (1r-23v) and *Breta sögur* (24r-63v). The manuscript has eluded conclusive dating, as the manuscript as a whole has been dated to c. 1350-1375,⁷⁷ while the latter portion, folia 46-63, has alternatively been dated to 1330-1370.⁷⁸ However, it must be noted that these approximate dates are close enough to both broadly belong to the mid-fourteenth century. The quire structure of the manuscript is: 1², 2-3⁸, 4², 5¹, 6², 7⁸ wants leaves after folia 25 and 27, respectively, 8-9⁸ wants a flyleaf after folio 38, 10⁸ wants a bifolia between folia 48-9, 11⁸, 12⁶ wants a bifolia that should fall between leaves 60 + 63. The leaves that are conjoined are: 1+2 (wants one leaf), 3+10, 11+18, 19+20, 21 (singleton), 22+23, 24+29 (wants two leaves), 30+37, 38+45 (wants one leaf), 46+51 (wants two leaves), 52+59, 60+62 (wants one leaf). See the diagram of the structure of the manuscript on the following page.

AM 573 4to has consistently been dated to the fourteenth century, though it has been speculated that the scribes that worked on this manuscript may have been removed from each other by as much as several decades.⁷⁹ The manuscript is now housed in the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen, and has been linked to Northern Iceland, with several monasteries, Möðruvellir in Hörgárdalur, Þingeyrar, and Munkaþverá all having been speculated as possible places of origin.⁸⁰ Though, as stated in the first chapter, this project will investigate the ties this manuscript may have with the Benedictine convent at Reynistaður, as the first portion of the manuscript, ff. 1-45, is more closely associated with the hands of Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to and a broader Skagafjörður milieu, while the latter portion, ff. 46-63, is more closely associated with another milieu, possibly based in Möðruvellir at Hörgárdalur, owing to the ties

⁷⁶ Kälund, *Katalog over Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, vol.2, 184.

⁷⁷ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*, xxxi.

⁷⁸ Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-8.

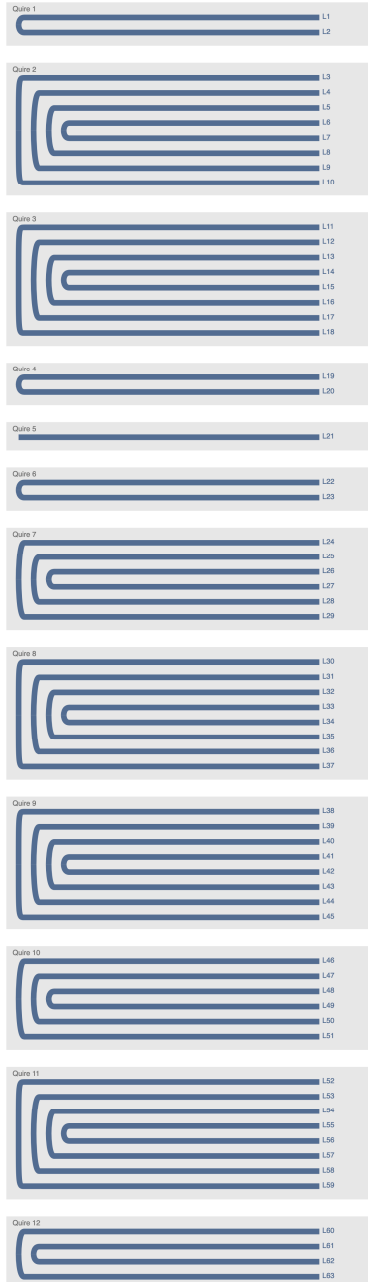
⁷⁹ The two distinct portions of the manuscript received different datings, albeit in the work of two different scholars. See: Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*, xxxi; Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-8.

⁸⁰ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*, xii.

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to Möðruvallabók AM 132 fol. The diagram below illustrates the structure of the codex as it exists today, and does not include missing leaves / lacunae:

FIGURE II - 2: THE QUIRE STRUCTURE OF AM 573 4TO:



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In the edited catalogue of Arnamagnæan manuscripts, Kristian Kålund dated AM 573 4to to the fourteenth century,⁸¹ as did Jonna Louis-Jensen in both of her Arnamagnæan editions of *Trójumanna saga*.⁸² Aligning with these two disparate datings of the two major sections of the manuscript, the manuscript contains two significant texts and at least two scribal hands, with a clear shift in the scribal hands occurring partway through the second text on 46v, *Breta sögur*, rather than at the end of the first text, *Trójumanna saga*, on folio 24.⁸³ The manuscript also contains the beginning of what can be called a third text, *Valvens þátr*, the story of the knight Gawain, though this portion of the text comes right at the end of the manuscript, on 63rv, and only constitutes one leaf.

Folia 46-63, which comprise the latter portion of the manuscript, were once marked Thott 1763 4to,⁸⁴ though these folia were rebound with folia 1-45 during the eighteenth century. As will also be discussed later, the similarity in format and the continuity of the text, in conjunction with the quire structure, indicate that these portions of the manuscript already belonged together in the medieval period. Additionally, the first portion of the manuscript was also once in two, with the shelf markings AM 573a 4to and AM 573b 4to being previously assigned to ff. 1-29 and 30-45, respectively. When *Breta sögur* begins on folio 24, a new gathering also begins, and 24r was left mostly blank other than a title, which Louis-Jensen suggests indicates that the two texts were not necessarily intended to be in the same codex.⁸⁵ The gatherings are typically of eight leaves, though this is not uniform, and there are gatherings of six, two, and even a singleton, though the lacunae after folia 2, 18, 20, 25, 27, 38, 48, 62 must be taken into account. On 144r of AM 435 a 4to, part of his paper catalogue, Árni Magnússon wrote that AM 573 4to had “kominn fra Biarne Biarnasyne i Arnarbæle nockurn part 1699. og nockud sidan 1703”.⁸⁶ In the later catalogue edited by Kålund, it is stated that it was leaves 1-2 and 19-23 that were received from Bjarni Bjarnason, with the bulk of the codex being received from Jacob Lofberg some years previously (presumably in 1699), who in turn had gotten it from Bjarni Bjarnason,⁸⁷ the latter of whom was a literate and well-connected layman who had strong ties to the scribal culture of fourteenth century Hólar, and will be

⁸¹ Kristian Kålund, *Katalog over Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske Legat, 1888-1894), 735.

⁸² Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*, xii; Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*, xxxi.

⁸³ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*, xxxi; Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-8.

⁸⁴ <https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/da/AM04-0573>

⁸⁵ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*, xxxi.

⁸⁶ <https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/da/AM04-0435-a/212?iabr=on#page/144v/mode/2up>

⁸⁷ Kålund, *Katalog over Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, vol. 1, 735.

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discussed further in section 2.3. In his ownership of this and several other manuscripts, he had a multi-faceted tie to book production in the area.

Dating and localising this manuscript more precisely provides some particular challenges, as it has been suggested that the portion completed by the second scribe, 46r-63v, was removed in time by as much as several decades from the work of the first scribe; Jonna Louis-Jensen dates the manuscript to the third quarter of the fourteenth century,⁸⁸ while the second portion was dated by Stefán Karlsson to between 1330 and 1370.⁸⁹ This notion that the latter portion of the manuscript could have been produced *before* the first portion, thus being the older portion of manuscript, will be explored in later chapters, as it is not at all clear that the scribe(s) that completed the latter portion of the manuscript belonged to the same milieu as the scribe who completed the preceding portion of AM 573 4to and likely also the corresponding section of AM 764 4to. In this context, it is also somewhat odd that the scribe(s) that copied out *Trójumanna saga* (1r-23v) and the first portion of *Breta sögur* (the entire text spans from 24r-63v) may have abruptly stopped after 45v. As alluded to in the first chapter, one of the potentialities explored on this project will be that the latter scribe of AM 573 4to completed their work somewhat later than the first scribe, potentially also in a different location, and more succinctly, working as part of a different scribal milieu than the aforementioned Reynistaður milieu; elements of their scribal practice may have just been archaisms if they worked *after* the other scribes. As such, AM 573 4to could represent the combined work of two scribal milieus, that through circumstances that can only be conjectured, both had scribes work on this manuscript, perhaps removed from each other both chronologically and geographically. As will be investigated further in later chapters, the first hand(s) of AM 573 4to seem to have been part of the same milieu as the scribes that produced Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to, while the latter scribe, in addition to potentially being the main hand of Möðruvallabók, AM 132 fol., may have also worked on, or come from the same milieu as the hands that produced the following manuscripts:⁹⁰ AM 642 a Ið 4to, AM 325 XI 2b 4to, AM 240 V fol., AM 220 I fol., and AM 173 c 4to, among others.

Texts

This manuscript contains two major texts, *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*, the former belonging to the Matter of Rome, and the latter belonging to the Matter of Britain, as well as a brief third text on the final leaf of the manuscript, *Valvens þáttr*, a brief telling of the story of

⁸⁸ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*, xxxi.

⁸⁹ Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-8.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

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the knight Gawain, which is of course primarily known through Middle English rather than Old Norse literature. Although this third text may be of a different origin to the other two in the manuscript, it is very much thematically linked to at least *Breta sögur*, as it is concerned with the deeds and pseudo-historical tales of a fictionalised medieval English aristocracy, and as such, could be called part of the Matter of Britain. As the other main manuscript on this project, Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to contains at least truncated versions of the two major texts of AM 573 4to (the brief summary of *Breta sögur* in 764 is only constituted of a few manuscript pages), these manuscripts are strongly linked, among other factors, by their shared contents. As outlined previously, this project is not particularly concerned with the texts as literary artefacts, though these generic links between Matter of Rome and Matter of Britain across multiple manuscripts can aid in the elucidation of some of the priorities and activities of the scribal milieu(s) that likely produced them.

The redaction of *Trójumanna saga* found in AM 573 4to, is, like the other medieval vernacular versions of the Trojan war story, such as Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato* and Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, based on a Latin original text, the *De Excidio Troiæ Historia* of Dares Phrygius.⁹¹ Somewhat reminiscent of the matter-of-fact style characteristic of the *Íslendingasögur*, *De Excidio Troiæ Historia* may have been intended to be a much more realistic telling of the Trojan war story, as by the time it was written in late antiquity, the mythological references and fantastic elements that characterize Homer and Virgil's accounts of the Trojan war, in the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*, respectively, had largely fallen out of favour with the intended audience.⁹² Old Norse literature has two main variants of this saga: α , which corresponds more closely with the supposed Darius Phrygius original, and is only preserved in post-medieval manuscripts initially thought to be devoid of stemmatological value (AM 176a fol., AM 176b fol., and ÍB 184 4to), and β , which was augmented with material from *Ilias Latina*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Ovid's *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses*; it is this β version that is contained in the redactions of the text preserved in medieval manuscripts, including AM 573 4to, Hauksbók AM 344 4to, Holm. papp. 58 fol. (an early copy of the lost Ormsbók), and likely also served as the basis for the heavily truncated text in AM 764 4to.⁹³ In later chapters, this notion that the version of *Trójumanna saga* found in AM 573 4to served as the template for that found in Reynistaðarbók, AM 764 4to, will be explored further.

⁹¹ Randi Claire Eldevik, "The Dares Phrygius Version of "Trójumanna Saga: A Case Study in the Cross-Cultural Mutation of Narrative," (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 1987), 2.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹³ Würth, *Der "Antikenroman" in Der Isländischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 180; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 160-1; Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*, xi-xii.

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The second text of AM 573 4to is *Breta sögur*, the Old Icelandic translation and adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, with the original Latin text dating to circa 1136. The relationship between the Old Norse *Breta sögur* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's original is not entirely clear;⁹⁴ however, contrasting *Trójumanna saga*, which does not contain material from the *Aeneid*, this redaction of *Breta sögur*, along with those found in both Hauksbók AM 371 4to, AM 544 4to, and AM 675 4to and Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to, begins with a brief enumeration of some materials from Virgil's *Aeneid*, identifying Brutus as a descendant of Aeneas, though the source of the material from the *Aeneid* attested in these Old Norse texts is unknown,⁹⁵ and it is curious then that *Trójumanna saga* would not also draw on Virgil's material. However, this incorporation of material from the *Aeneid* serves to forge a direct link, even segue, between the two narratives of *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*, and connects more explicitly with the heraldic narrative that the English and Norwegian dynasties could ultimately trace their roots to the Trojans, reflecting a medieval Icelandic and Norwegian conception of history that involved the migration of peoples essentially from the East, encompassing the the lands around the Mediterranean and the Aegean, to West, including Britain, Scandinavia, and the various Western areas including Iceland — that were settled and explored by Norwegians in the medieval period.⁹⁶ These notions, that history involved migration from East to West, and that the rulers and ruling classes of Iceland and Norway could trace their lineage, albeit dubiously, to the elite of Troy, are of course also drawn upon by Snorri Sturluson in his *Edda*. This has led to discussion of the notion that Snorri's use of the heraldic motif of the Trojans in the *Edda* has ties to the use of this same thematic material elsewhere in Old Icelandic literature, namely in *Breta sögur*. The original translation of Geoffrey Monmouth's work into Norse, what would become *Breta sögur*, may have been done through the court of the Norwegian king Hákon Hákonarson (r. 1217-63),⁹⁷ and thus the saga would have made it into Icelandic literary circles by way of Norway. While more proper assessments of the language and orthography of AM 573 4to will be the subject of a later chapter, the sporadic presence of some typically Old Norwegian features in such Icelandic redactions of *Breta sögur* from the fourteenth century, could be partially explained by some more concrete link to Norway, namely if the first renderer of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*

⁹⁴ Some pieces of scholarship that address this particular issue include:

Kalinke, *The Arthur of the North*; Russell C. Black, "*Breta Sögur* from AM 544 4to: An Edition and Translation," (PhD Diss., University of Washington, 2014); A.G van Hamel, "The Old Norse Version of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* and the Text of Geoffrey of Monmouth," *Études celtiques* 1 (1936): 197-247.

⁹⁵ Black, "*Breta Sögur* from AM 544 4to: An Edition and Translation," xxvi.

⁹⁶ Sverrir Jakobsson, "Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View," 22-38.

⁹⁷ Kalinke, "The Introduction of the Arthurian Legend in Scandinavia," 6; Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen, *The Norse Version of the Chanson de Roland*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagæana XIX (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1959), 22-3.

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into *Breta sögur* was undertaking this work at the behest of Hákon Hákonarson. This lost original translation of Monmouth's work into Norse has been attributed to a thirteenth-century monk of Þingeyrar, Gunnlaugr Leifsson (d. 1219), who may have also written the lost Latin vitae of the first bishop of Hólar, Jón Ögmundsson (which supposedly provided the template for *Jóns saga ins helga*).⁹⁸ If this attribution to Gunnlaugr Leifsson is correct, then it is unlikely that Gunnlaugr and Snorri worked with direct knowledge of each other, as Gunnlaugr seemingly would have been too occupied with his scribal work in Iceland to have been working directly under the orders of a Norwegian king that had not yet annexed Iceland, as Gunnlaugr was dead by 1219, two years into the reign of Hákon Hákonarson. Working on an early *Jóns saga ins helga* in Þingeyrar is technically not mutually exclusive with having some ties to the literary activities of the thirteenth century Norwegian court, but it is highly implausible. Rather, when Snorri drafted his *Edda* during the mid-thirteenth century, some decades after Gunnlaugr Leifsson had already adapted some early version of *Breta sögur*, he may have been inspired to draw on this motif of the Trojans; while Snorri's uses and abuses of the Trojans have more to do with the euhemerism of the Norse gods than heraldry *per se*, both the *Edda* and *Breta sögur* can be read as legitimisations of Norwegian kingship during the thirteenth century, and by extension, the annexation of Iceland; thus, the ties to the court of Hákon Hákonarson are not insignificant.

This link to the court of Hákon Hákonarson is bolstered by the presence of some material from *Valvens þáttr* in AM 573 4to, as this text can be classified as a *riddarasaga*, which is derived from the works of Chrétien de Troye, and likely made its way into Old Norse literature through the court of Hákon Hákonarson and his efforts to Europeanise the Norwegian royal court during the thirteenth century. As Iceland came under Norwegian rule during the thirteenth century and the reign of Hákon Hákonarson, it is not entirely surprising that echoes of his translation and Europeanisation project would still be present in Old Icelandic literature and codices over a century later. This Europeanisation project included the importation, translation, and adaptation of European literature, with the most prominent example likely being the *strengleikar* collection, a group of translated Romances of Marie de France. However, the commonly used term *riddarasaga* is incredibly flexible, and as such, the Matter of Britain material, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, that was likely also translated at this time and through the same court, and also made its way into AM 573 4to, may very well have been considered generically similar in Icelandic-Norwegian literary circles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, it has already been noted that the Icelanders had previously

⁹⁸ Stefanie Gropper, "Breta Sögur and Merlínússpá," in *The Arthur of the North: The Arthurian Legend in the Norse and Rus' Realms*, ed. Marianne Kalinke (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 48.

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shown an interest in the Trojan war story in *Veraldar saga*, likely dating to the twelfth century, and thus it is not necessarily the case that the matter of Troy made it to Iceland via Norway.⁹⁹

2.2 Scribal Hands Identified in Previous Scholarship

As outlined, several scholars, namely Stefán Karlsson,¹⁰⁰ Jonna Louis-Jensen,¹⁰¹ and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir¹⁰² have identified similar, and at least one common scribal hand(s), across the manuscripts on this study, providing much of the impetus for studying these manuscripts in tandem. In this section, the scribal hands previously identified in AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to will be outlined, as this issue will be prominent in later chapters.

However, as outlined in the first chapter, and as will be taken further in section 2.3, the most salient link between the scribes of these manuscripts is that they may well have come from two separate yet closely related scribal milieus, and in the case of AM 573 4to, may have had occasion to contribute to a single codex, forging a suspected yet elusive link between two significant groups of scribes and manuscripts of medieval Iceland. The vital link between these manuscripts is thus not that they seem to share at least one scribe per se, but rather that they represent an overlap of two larger webs of scribes and codices perhaps conceived of as a Skagafjörður / Reynistaður milieu on one hand, and a Möðruvellir at Hörgardálr (or Þingeyrar or Munkaþverá) milieu on the other — that were both responsible for significant book production in Northern Iceland during the fourteenth century, but seldom had occasion to overlap, as they may very well have done in AM 573 4to.

Regarding AM 764 4to, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has identified up to eight hands within just the first gathering, and organised in such a way, as can be seen in the facing diagram, taken from *Writing History in Fourteenth Century Iceland*, that suggests that the scribes were working in close proximity and in direct collaboration with each other. Svanhildur argues that the manuscript represents organised, seemingly intense, co-operation between many scribes,¹⁰³ with seven main scribes, and three lesser ones, for a total of ten:¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Lars Lönnroth, “Det litterära porträttet i latinsk historiografi och isländsk sagaskrivning - en komparativ studie,” *APS* 27 (1965): 83-4.

¹⁰⁰ Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-7.

¹⁰¹ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*.

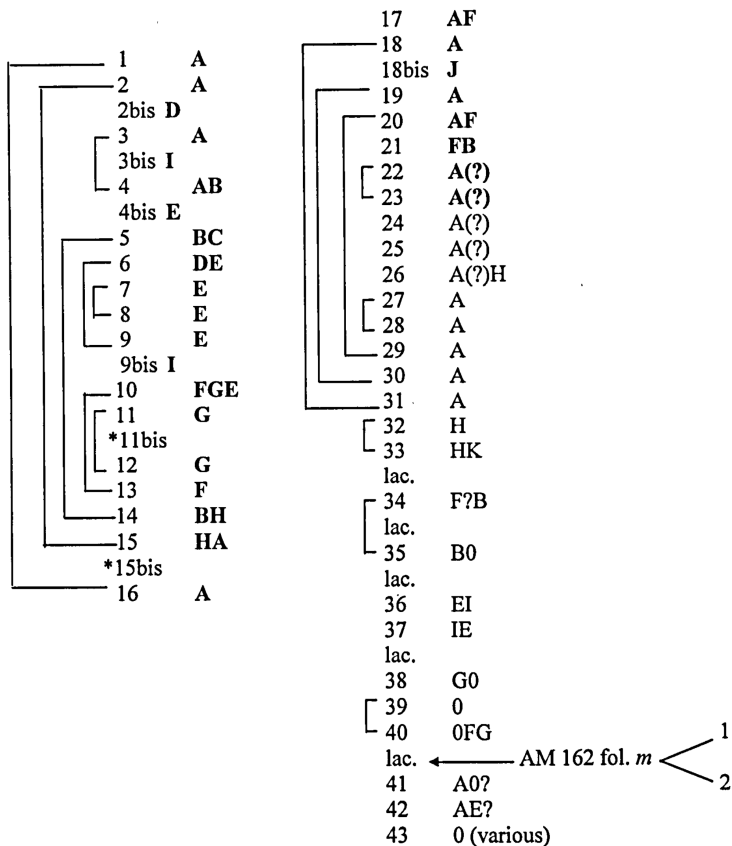
¹⁰² Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 11-52, 160-61.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

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FIGURE II-3: SVANHILDUR ÓSKARSDÓTTIR'S INITIAL CONCEPTION OF THE SCRIBES OF AM 764.4TO:

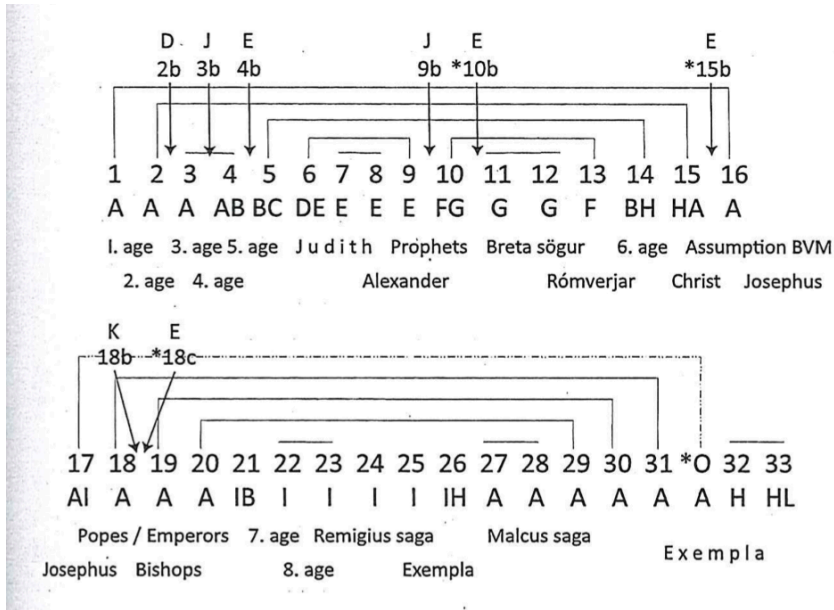


Svanhildur's conception of the scribal hands has developed over time, regarding for example, the scribes A, F, and I in the second gathering, but has not fundamentally changed; the following diagram, excerpted from her article *The Resourceful Scribe: Some Aspects of the Book of Reynistaður*,¹⁰⁵ outlines her evolved delineation of scribal hands:

¹⁰⁵ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "The Resourceful Scribe," 331.

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FIGURE II - 4: SVANHILDUR ÓSKARSDÓTTIR'S LATER CONCEPTION OF THE SCRIBES OF AM 764 4TO:



According to this conception, the scribes *must have* co-operated in a highly organized manner, and perhaps assigned certain texts or sections of text to various scribes depending on area of expertise or perhaps familiarity with the text in question. This would for example, explain why Svanhildur's scribe G, responsible for this manuscript's truncated version of *Breta sögur*, may have been assigned it in the first place, as they are also likely the first scribe of AM 573 4to,¹⁰⁶ who copied out a significant portion of *Breta sögur*.

Svanhildur suggests that the differences between the scribal hands she identified were often minute in terms of paleographic and orthographic criteria, and as such, these various scribal hands often shared the same idiosyncratic or unusual features.¹⁰⁷ Excessive similarity between supposedly different scribal hands can be interpreted as undermining the notion that said scribes were actually different people, or the same people working at different times, as will be argued later, as it has also been argued that different scribes were unlikely to display the same idiosyncrasies.¹⁰⁸ Conversely however, similarities between scribal hands, provided they

¹⁰⁶ This notion has previously been suggested in the scholarship, and was one of the primary concerns of my master's thesis. See: Farrugia, "A Study in Scribal Identification."

¹⁰⁷ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 11-52.

¹⁰⁸ Stefán Karlsson, "Localization and Dating," 144.

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can still be shown to be distinct from one another using other criteria, can also strengthen the case for these scribes having the same scribal milieu affiliation.

Only two scribes have ever been identified in published works on AM 573 4to, and thus the task of delineating the hands is considerably less complicated, though Svanhildur has mentioned the possibility of another hand between folia 24 and 46.¹⁰⁹ The shift in scribal hands in AM 573 4to seems to occur midway through the second text of the manuscript, *Breta sögur*, on 46v, rather than when the second text begins, on 24r. Folio 46 constitutes the beginning of a new gathering, so it seems a logical place for a shift in scribal hand to occur, as would also be the case on folio 24; there is not a significant change in format in either of these locations. In the introduction to the Arnamagnæan edition of *Trójumanna saga*, Jonna Louis-Jensen asserts that Holm. perg. 8vo nr. 10 IX has a scribal hand in common with AM 573 4to, and that the second hand of AM 573 4to, the hand that takes over partway through *Breta sögur*, is almost certainly also found in *Möðruvallabók*, AM 132 fol.¹¹⁰ As alluded to in 2.1.2, the marked difference in these scribal hands, as well as their respective links to other manuscripts, has led to speculation that the work of the second scribe may have been removed in time from the first scribe by as much as a few decades.¹¹¹ Louis-Jensen is not the only scholar to have noted the similarity in scribal hands across these manuscripts, as Stefán Karlsson has also suggested that AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to share very similar, but not necessarily the same, scribal hands.¹¹² The notion that the first hand of AM 573 4to is more similar to those of AM 764 4to than the hand found in the latter portion of AM 573 4to strongly suggests that these scribes belonged to a common scribal milieu, a term which will be the subject of the next section.

2.3 Scribal Milieu Associations and the Basis of a Scribal Norm

The links between AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to are multi-faceted, as they are connected by not only the texts they preserve, but also by scribal hands that share several orthographic and linguistic features. This in turn suggests that these manuscripts share a similar provenance, as these commonalities could be attributed to the scribes who worked on them having belonged to the same scribal milieu or school. In having an affiliation with a scribal milieu, scribes likely would have been beholden to rules, perhaps better framed as guidelines, in the execution of

¹⁰⁹ This notion was mentioned in email correspondence with Svanhildur, and to my knowledge, is not a published opinion. Any failures to represent it properly are my own.

¹¹⁰ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*, xxxi.

¹¹¹ Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-8.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

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script, as well as in some principles of orthography and language. In a more general sense, evidence of a scribal milieu could take several forms, as the concept simply alludes to some kind of shared practice in the art of medieval book production, that likely also stemmed from a centre or group of institutions that made manuscripts. In addition to orthographic and paleographic features, which will be the context in which the concept of a scribal milieu or school is relevant in this study, more general features such as facets of craftsmanship, design, decoration, and layout can also serve as criteria that could be used to identify whether a manuscript belonged to a particular scribal milieu. However, as will be discussed in this section section, as well as subsequent chapters, the facet of a scribal milieu that is most salient to this study is the concept of a scribal or linguistic norm, and as established in earlier scholarship, studies of language based on written materials will necessarily be linked to investigating the milieu in which these materials were likely produced.¹¹³

The scribal milieus that these scribes may have belonged to likely encompassed several sites of manuscript production in Medieval Iceland's second and Northern bishopric, Hólar, as there were several monastic sites at which books were produced in the Hólar bishopric during the fourteenth century:¹¹⁴ Þingeyrar, Möðruvellir (including two sites of the same name at Eyjafjörður and Hörgárdalur), Munkaþverá, and Reynistaður were all seats of monastic and / or cultural importance; while each of these sites may have had a scribal milieu of its own, each of these may have also belonged, in a broader sense, to a larger Hólar milieu. The Benedictine nunnery at Reynistaður would seem to be a likely candidate for a central hub of scribal activities in the region during the fourteenth century,¹¹⁵ as it would have been one of the relatively few institutions in Northern Iceland during this period that could have hosted and / or facilitated the production of numerous codices within the relatively brief timespan of about half a century.

The hands of the Skagafjörður milieu, that likely produced Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to, have been linked to a small group of laymen in the Skagafjörður region, namely the hands of Brynjólfur Bjarnarson of Akrrar and his sons, Benedikt and Björn. These hands have been

¹¹³ Per Nyquist Grøtvedt, *Skriftspråkttradisjon ved hallvardskirken og mariakirken i Oslo 1350-1450* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1954), 9.

¹¹⁴ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*; Orešnik, "An Old Icelandic Dialect Feature: iæ for æ," 183-196; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History in Fourteenth-Century Iceland.," Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "The Resourceful Scribe.," Foote, *A Saga of St. Peter the Apostle*, 55-60; Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-8.

¹¹⁵ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 55; Lars Lönnroth, "Tesen om de två kulturerna: kritiska studier i den isländska sagaskrivningens sociala förutsättningar," *Scripta Islandica* 15 (1964): 71-2; Stefán Karlsson, "Ritun Reykjavíjarðarbók. Excursus: Bókagerð bænda," *Opuscula* IV (Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana XXX), 131-140; Foote, *A Saga of St. Peter the Apostle*, 59.

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linked to an Akkrar school or milieu,¹¹⁶ and these hands are *solely* found in charters, though it cannot be ruled out that Brynjólfur worked directly on codices, and his position as steward might allow for this despite his lay status.¹¹⁷ While they are not a focus of this study, the corpus of charters is an invaluable external dating tool, as unlike most manuscripts of literary texts, a charter typically contains explicit information regarding where and when it was produced, as well as to by whom it was witnessed and to whom it was pertinent. Scribal schools in the north, notably that at Akkrar, are closely associated with a group of charters,¹¹⁸ and charters and manuscripts associated with this school exhibit features that suggest that the scribes who wrote them had a similar education and were active during the same period,¹¹⁹ as many of these works were likely produced in the Hólar bishopric during the fourteenth century. While charters can be a valuable source¹²⁰ on studies of this or a similar nature,¹²¹ and northern Iceland has the bulk of localised charters up until the fifteenth century,¹²² the sheer number of available charters, as well as the fact that the scribal hands of these charters have been noted as *similar* rather than the same as those found in related codices, has meant that these charters lie outside the scope of this current project. The hands of these Akkrar charters *resemble* the scribal hand found in a number of manuscripts, and may have been part of or taught by the milieu that produced the following manuscripts, among others:¹²³

1. AM 122 b fol.
2. AM 62 fol.
3. Holm. Perg. 19 4to.
4. AM 344 fol.
5. AM 48 8vo
6. AM 651 I 4to.

¹¹⁶ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Genbrug i Skagafjörður: arbeidsmetoder hos skrivere i klostret på Reynistaður,” in *I: Reykholt som makt og lærdomssenter. I den islandske og nordiske kontekst*, ed. Else Mundal (Reykholt: Snorrastofa, 2006), 142-4.

¹¹⁷ Foote, *A Saga of St. Peter the Apostle*, 55-60.

¹¹⁸ Lars Lönnroth, “Tesen om de två kulturerna,” 70-77; Peter Foote, *A Saga of St. Peter the Apostle*, 55-60.

¹¹⁹ Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-7.

¹²⁰ Finn Hødnebo, “Om diplomer som kilde for norsk språkhistorie,” in *Mål og namn, studiar i Nordisk mål og namnegransking*, eds. Hallvard Magerøy, Kjell Venås (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1971), 145.

¹²¹ Per Nyquist Grøtvedt, *Skrift og tale i mellomnorske diplomer fra Folden-området. 1. Nordre og Østre Folden (med Båhuslen)* (Oslo: Børsum Forlag og Antikvariat A/S, 1969), 1-4; Ivar Berg, “Eit seinmellomalderleg skrivemiljø: Nidaros erkesete 1458-1537,” (PhD diss., Noregs teknisk-naturvitskapelege universitet (NTNU), 2013), 49-51.

¹²² Stefán Karlsson, “Localization and Dating,” 139.

¹²³ Foote, *A Saga of St. Peter the Apostle*, 38-56; Johnstone, “Linguistic Variation and Scribal Practice in Medieval Iceland.”

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7. AM 385 II 4to.
8. AM 385 I 4to.
9. AM 651 II 4to.
10. AM 658 4to.
11. AM 658 II 4to.

Scholars have typically stopped short of claiming that these hands of the aforementioned Akrar milieu are also found in manuscripts, citing a *resemblance* instead, though Ólafur Halldórsson once claimed the hand of one of these Akrar laymen was in AM 764 4to, but later abandoned that view.¹²⁴ Indeed, the notion that the scribal hands of these charters merely resemble and are not necessarily the same as those witnessed in codices produced by the milieu, was another factor that informed the omission of charters from this project's corpus. While it may very well have been the case that Brynjólfur Bjarnarson of Akrar and his sons, Benedikt and Björn, did *not* aid in the production of codices, perhaps left to the more expert scribes of the monastic institutions in this particular case, it is plausible, perhaps even likely, that Brynjólfur became literate through one of the institutions around Akrar in the Skagafjörður region, in turn passing literacy on to his sons, thus the resemblance to more learned clerical hands of the area.

Thus, referring to an Akrar school or milieu may be actually be somewhat misleading in the context of this thesis, in which codices rather than charters are at the forefront, and referring to a Reynistaður or even just Skagafjörður milieu may be more appropriate. This distinction of terms of course speaks to the fact that the scribes of Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to, among other manuscripts, are not the same scribes responsible for the charters that can be traced to Akrar, as, despite the noted *similarity* between the script and orthography of Brynjólfur Bjarnarson of Akrar and his sons, Benedikt and Björn, their link to the broader network of Skagafjörður only goes so far as these noted similarities in practice, as the hands of Brynjólfur, Benedikt and Björn are not encountered in actual codices. As such, if Brynjólfur learned the art of scribing from one of the ecclesiastical institutions in Skagafjörður, then the Akrar milieu and the charters attributed to it would better be conceptualised as a specific sub-milieu of the broader Skagafjörður milieu, and thus outside the scope of this project. While it cannot be proven explicitly, the Benedictine convent at Reynistaður may have been the primary hub of book production in the area, and thus the Akrar and Reynistaður milieus can co-exist, with the former perhaps being something of a restricted offshoot of the other.

While AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to likely stem from related scribal milieus, with both manuscripts likely being contributed to by the Reynistaður milieu, defining and delineating

¹²⁴ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 55; Ólafur Halldórsson, "Ur sögu skinnbóka," *Skírnir* CXXXVII (1963): 99.

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the practice of a scribal milieu in the context of medieval Iceland poses several difficulties, not least that the medieval Icelandic populace, not excluding scribes, was exceptionally mobile, and thus a scribe was often active at various sites of manuscript production, and did not necessarily spend a large portion of their career at the site at which they were trained.¹²⁵ Indeed, a high degree of mobility has also been noted with regard to Norwegian scribes.¹²⁶

As will be discussed further in section 3.3, with the concept of a norm being discussed even further in sections 4.2 and 4.3, a scribe could have multiple milieu affiliations, as their personal *norm* would actually be a unique amalgam of their spoken language, the manner and place in which they were taught *to scribe*, their exemplar, and the ‘house rules’ of the institution at which they were active.¹²⁷ As will also be taken up in the relevant sections in the next two chapters, written and spoken norms are often not differentiated sufficiently (though there is also a danger of divorcing a written norm from the hypothetical spoken language),¹²⁸ nor is it clear how much the perceived written norm of a medieval manuscript may have been reflective of spoken language.¹²⁹ The scribal school at which a scribe was active was not necessarily the same as the milieu under which they received their formative education in the art of scribing, and a scribe’s script and orthography likely reflected a blend of their training (i.e their first school or milieu affiliation), their exemplar, as well as the norm of the environment in which they were working, which may have also had its own school affiliation that was not necessarily the same as that which the scribe was trained under.¹³⁰ While a scribe’s work may have been particularly reflective of their school association, personal norm, or even dialect, they may have been active across several areas of the country during their career,¹³¹ and thus a scribe being affiliated with a northern scribal school would not necessarily mean that they were active in book production in solely this region. These issues are among several that will be taken up in

¹²⁵ Stefán Karlsson, “Localization and Dating,” 139-40.

¹²⁶ Jan Ragnar Hagland, *Rikstying og språknorm. Spørsmålet om kongskanselliets rolle i Norsk språkhistorie på 1200- og første halvdel av 1300-talet* (Oslo: Novus, 1986), 195-8, 228.

¹²⁷ Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Copying Njáls Saga into One’s Own Dialect - Linguistic Variation in Six Fourteenth-Century Manuscripts,” in *New Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of Njáls Saga - The Historia Mutilla of Njála*, eds. Emily Lethbridge, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications - Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2018), 115-7; Johansson. *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 249-52.

¹²⁸ Jan Ragnar Hagland, “Bruken av termene ‘norm’ og ‘skriftradisjon’ i Norsk språkhistorieskriving - begrepsinnhold og konsekvensar for framstillinga av norsk språkhistorie i perioden 1200-1350,” *Norsk lingvistisk tidsskrift* 1 (1984): 1-3.

¹²⁹ Jan Ragnar Hagland, “Review: Renate Bartsch: Norms of Language. Theoretical and Practical Aspects. London and New York: Longman. 1987. 348 pp. ISBN 0582 00419 5,” *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 11 (1988): 202.

¹³⁰ Didrik Arup Seip, *Norsk Språkhistorie: til omkring 1370* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & co., 1955), 102.

¹³¹ Stefán Karlsson, “Localization and Dating,” 139-40.

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the next chapter, while, as noted above, some issues more specific to the concept of a norm will be taken up in greater detail in the third and fourth chapters.

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3.1 Theory and Methods

3.1.1 Introduction

Within the last few decades, the methods, media, and approaches available to philologists have developed significantly, owing to both New Philology, which will be the subject of 3.1.2, and subsequent developments in the digital humanities¹³² and quantitative philology, which will be introduced in 3.1.4. With the context and backdrop provided by the more general discussion of relevant methods and methodologies in 3.1, section 3.2 will discuss some of the specific theoretical and methodological issues relevant to this project, tying into the research questions posed in chapter one and set within the framework of the manuscripts and previous scholarship on them introduced in chapter two. While section 3.2 is not dedicated to digital methods *per se*, discussion of them will necessarily take up much of this section, as digital TEI-XML transcriptions and a corresponding dataset derived from their annotation are among the main tools used on this project, in terms of the fundamental goal of charting and differentiating the scribes of Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to and the broader inference of their general scribal practice and the milieu to which they may have belonged.

Section 3.2 will focus on technologies and theoretical issues that are directly relevant to this project, and discuss how these will be engaged with and dealt with during the subsequent data analysis taken up in chapters five through seven, and the conclusions that will be drawn in the final two chapters. As there is not yet a scholarly consensus regarding which digital and quantitative methods should be used in Old Norse Philology and in what contexts, the method used in this project will, to a large extent, be defined through contextualising them within the methods used and theoretical issues discussed in previous projects in a similar vein, and engaging with the discussions of frameworks and paradigms defined by other scholars, adopting a policy of maximum transparency in the interpretive process.

While the aforementioned advancements in method and methodology have been in areas that are both specific to Old Norse Philology, with projects such as the EMROON database, or the catalogue of manuscript facsimiles on handrit.is, or the digitisation of the Dictionary of Old Norse Prose (ONP), these developments have also occurred in the broader context of philology in general, with advancements in character segmentation and recognition

¹³² The coincidence of the rise of digital editing and the turn of the millennium has already been observed in scholarship in the field; see, among others: Odd Einar Haugen, "The Spirit of Lachmann, the Spirit of Bédier: Old Norse Textual Editing in the Electronic Age," (Annual Meeting of The Viking Society, University College, London, 2003), 12-3.

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on the DigiPal project¹³³ or the System for Palaeographic Inspections,¹³⁴ and within the even broader context of the digital or data revolution that arrived around the turn of the millennium. What many of these developments have in common is that these methods, methodologies, and technologies allow for an increased focus on data and quantitative methodology, and studies dealing with matters of language, orthography, and paleography, have, in general, become increasingly quantitative, and thereby often digital in nature. With that in mind, the next sections will be dedicated to outlining some of the developments in philology that have informed this project.

3.1.2 New Philology

In keeping with many other recent dissertations in the field,¹³⁵ as well as a general tendency in the scholarship of Old Norse Philology,¹³⁶ this project follows some of the precepts of, and takes inspiration from, New Philology, primarily in the sense that both of the manuscripts are met on their own terms as individual objects of independent value and interest. The circumstances, time and place in which they were created are considered inalienably important and influential on the artefacts themselves; in fact, this project is explicitly concerned with these parameters. The texts that the manuscripts contain are not necessarily considered to exist abstractly or ideally in some manner divorced from their actual material manifestations, at least in practical terms. The texts and manuscripts, or more succinctly, the artefacts, are not studied exclusively in the context of their potential relation to each other or other texts and manuscripts, as was often the case in philological scholarship of decades, or perhaps at this point, centuries past, but rather as objects that each have independent value.

The term New Philology was first associated with Stephen Nichols' introduction to the 1990 edition of *Speculum*, in which he incites philologists to approach medieval texts in a manner informed by the way the codices themselves were treated: constantly adapted, renewed, and changed according to a multitude of factors, both incidental and deliberate.¹³⁷

¹³³ DigiPal: Digital Resource and Database of Manuscripts, Palaeography and Diplomatic. London, 2011–14. Available at <http://www.digipal.eu/>

¹³⁴ SPI (System for Paleographic Inspections), outlined in: Fabio Aioli and Arianna Ciula, "A Case Study on the System for Paleographic Inspections (SPI): Challenges and New Developments."

¹³⁵ Some examples of recent dissertations that take inspiration from New Philology include: Maja Bäckvall, *Skriva fel och läsa rätt? Eddiska dikter i Uppsalaeddan ur ett avsändar- och mottagarperspektiv. Nordiskatexter och undersökningar* (Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk, 2013); Katarzyna Kapitan, "Studies in the Transmission History of Hrómundar Saga Greipssonar," (PhD Diss., University of Copenhagen, 2018).

¹³⁶ Driscoll, "The Words on the Page," 87-104; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "To the Letter," 7-22.

¹³⁷ Stephen Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 2-3.

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While this movement has assumed various names since its inception,¹³⁸ such as “descriptive philology”¹³⁹ or “artifactual philology”,¹⁴⁰ arguably the primary tenet of New Philology is that it is a development, perhaps renewal of philology, which contrasts some of the precepts of ‘old’, or traditional philology, in which producing a stemma relating to a hypothetical archetype and placing manuscript witnesses in a hierarchy was often paramount.¹⁴¹

Whereas traditional approaches in Norse philology, based on tenets of classical philology, often sought to create a fixed or ideal text from the extant variants, New Philology assumes the approach that all redactions of a text are worth studying and are unique manifestations that reflect the context in which they were produced. As such, a fixed version of a text becomes undesirable in the sense that it does not reflect medieval book culture, and the manner in which the abstract notion of an idealized, fixed, and sterilized version of a text may be divorced from actual preserved redactions of said text, is consequently exposed. This project adopts this approach to the manuscripts and the texts that they contain; the focus is not on the texts per se, nor is it on looking for the ‘best’ version of a text, but rather it is on meeting the manuscripts on their own terms and as they are.

As such, the transcriptions of manuscript leaves and particular texts prepared for this project can be considered monotypic editions of sorts, as they only take one redaction of a particular text into account. A monotypic edition does not provide the more complete and contextualised view of a text that a synoptic edition, or even a stemma without any accompanying edited text, may provide, but rather it serves as a detailed account of one particular version of a text. Looking at the rise of monotypic digital editions in the context of the body of scholarship, they can, to some extent be looked at as the logical next step; as stemmas have already been made for a large body of texts and manuscripts, the next step in the scholarship would seem to be the thorough editing of each of the said texts and manuscripts. As such, individual texts and manuscripts in the Old Norse corpus will slowly but surely be edited, and one redaction need not necessarily be privileged as more or less valuable or interesting than the next. However, given that many texts exist in a multitude of manuscripts (though some, such as many Eddic poems, only exist in one), an editor may choose to prepare a monotypic edition of the codex that they deem contains the best preserved redaction of a text, which may be called the *Codex Optimus*,¹⁴² a practice that combines the New Philological

¹³⁸ Kapitan, “Studies in the Transmission History of Hrómundar Saga Greipssonar,” 12.

¹³⁹ Bäckvall, *Skriva fel och läsa rätt?*, 48-50.

¹⁴⁰ Driscoll, “The Words on the Page,” 87-104.

¹⁴¹ Sverrir Tómasson, “Er nýja textafræðin ny? Þankar um gamla fræðigrein,” *Gripla* 13 (2002): 199-216.

¹⁴² Haugen, “The Spirit of Lachmann, the Spirit of Bédiet,” 16.

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favouring of monotypic editions with the somewhat outmoded notion of a ‘best’ version of a text.

This adoption of monotypic editions is not only in the spirit of New Philology, but it also represents something of a pragmatic circumvention of some of the major issues in the editing of Old Norse texts, or perhaps any text that did not have one set or ‘best’ version; as noted by Matthew Driscoll, the notion of a work having one best or set version is a relatively recent, with the works of Shakespeare suffering, or perhaps blessed, by the same editorial problems as much more ancient works.¹⁴³ Monotypic editions are not concerned *per se* with more traditional means of editing and presenting a text, such as the stemmatological method of Karl Lachmann or the pragmatic and prominent criticisms of it by Joseph Bédier (namely that stemma often ended up with two main branches, resulting in a situation in which the editor could essentially choose between two options when faced with problematic textual variance), which have combined to produce the Helgasonian or Arnamagnæan school of editing,¹⁴⁴ that reigned supreme in Old Norse studies, particularly during the mid-twentieth century. Foreshadowing a problem that still looms almost a century later, Jón Helgason was hesitant to explicitly theorise about his method,¹⁴⁵ despite it being an approach to editorial practice that was both understood and practiced within the field.

The term New Philology, or rather, simply the explicit theorising of newer philological methodologies that are derived from older ones, has been met with criticism in the three decades since Nichols’ original article in *Speculum*. New Philology has been subject to the criticism that *new* is actually a misnomer, in that much of what is done under this guise is, in terms of the treatments of codices and the texts they contain, identical to what philologists have been doing all along,¹⁴⁶ and that any novel aspects of it actually have much older roots.¹⁴⁷ However, the fundamental difference between ‘old’ and New Philology lies not so much in the practical methods, but rather in the underlying philosophy and attitude guiding the approach to a codex or text. The distinction between ‘old’ and New Philology thus then has more to do with motivation than pure method, and more to do with approach than execution; while individual manuscripts have indeed been studied in all philologies related to the Classical tradition, this process was often a means to an end – to construct a stemma and elucidate the

¹⁴³ Driscoll, “The Words on the Page,” 93.

¹⁴⁴ Haugen, “The Spirit of Lachmann, the Spirit of Bédier,” 8-12; Driscoll, “The Words on the Page,” 95-102.

¹⁴⁵ Driscoll, “The Words on the Page,” 97; cf. Helle Jensen, “Profilering og standardisering af udgivelsepraksis,” in *Tekstkritisk teori og praktisk: nordisk symposium i tekstkritikk, Gødøysund 19.-22. mai 1987*. eds. Bjarne Fidjestøl, Odd Einar Haugen, Magnus Rindal. (Oslo: Novus, 1988), 101-15.

¹⁴⁶ Driscoll, “The Words on the Page,” 91.

¹⁴⁷ Sverrir Tómasson, “Er nýja textafræðin ny?” 202.

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relationship between the various manuscript redactions of a text and to a hypothetical archetype. This was often done instead of investigating the idiosyncrocies and unique facets of the codex and the texts *per se*, which depending on their place on the stemma that was under construction, may have simply been viewed as corruptions — a view that circularly reinforced itself with the notion that older manuscripts were better, or closer to some, often hypothetical, original. While early criticisms of New Philology as practiced in Old Norse Philology tended to be based on the premise that there is nothing actually novel, or rather, *new*, about it,¹⁴⁸ these criticisms overlook the fact that New Philology represents more of a difference in approach and aims when dealing with a codex rather than a radical departure in method. New Philology is not a reinvention of the wheel then, but rather a new application.

While more traditional philological practices i.e. stemmatology involved investigating manuscript variance, this was generally done in the overarching pursuit of determining which of the multitude of variants was most befitting of a fixed, typically print, version of the text. In this sense, both “old” and “new” philologists investigate variables such as textual variance or manuscript provenance, rather it is the context and ultimate goal of the exercise that crucially differ. New Philology is characterized by a focus on, or even “praise of the variant” within manuscripts; the investigation and celebration of variance is viewed as an end in itself, and as such, Bernard Cerquiglini’s 1989 eponymous treatise¹⁴⁹ laid out many of the principles and precepts that would be further codified in the following year by Nichols.¹⁵⁰

While Nichols’ original 1990 essay defining New Philology can be interpreted as placing equal emphasis on textual variance and the materiality of a medieval manuscript,¹⁵¹ Nichols clarified and redacted this view in a 1994 paper, this time focusing on the material aspects of New Philology, and advocating for the new term of Material Philology.¹⁵² This development reflected Nichols’ attitude that a medieval manuscript’s role as a cultural artefact embodying a confluence of issues and variables superseded its role as a vehicle for a text; as such, the materiality of the manuscript was of greater importance than the text(s) contained therein, and it is indeed this stance that is contextually adopted in this project.

This project, while it meets the manuscripts on their own terms, provides a level of detail on each manuscript that enables one to study, if one so chooses, their relationship with

¹⁴⁸ Haugen, “The Spirit of Lachmann, the Spirit of Bédier,” 19; Sverrir Tómasson, “Er nýja textafræðin ný?,” 202.

¹⁴⁹ Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la Variante - Histoire Critique de la Philologie* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1989).

¹⁵⁰ Nichols, “Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture,” 1-10.

¹⁵¹ Kapitan, “Studies in the Transmission History of Hrómundar Saga Greipssonar,” 13.

¹⁵² Stephen Nichols, “Philology and its Discontents,” in *The Future of the Middle Ages: Medieval Literature in the 1990s*, ed. William D. Paden (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994), 114.

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an unprecedented level of detail. Somewhat oxymoronically, studying manuscripts and textual redactions as unique objects to a high level of detail allows for one to infer the relationships between them along various parameters, including the norm of the scribal milieu who may have produced them,¹⁵³ and the process through which they were transmitted; the next section will outline a key development that has informed the approach to the transmission of texts and a potential relationship of the manuscripts analysed on this project.

3.1.3 *Überlieferungsgeschichte*

While this project embraces New Philological approaches to individual manuscripts, as advocated by Cerquiglini in 1989¹⁵⁴ or Nichols' original paper in 1990,¹⁵⁵ the lack of focus on the texts themselves implied by Nichols' redacted views, and turn to Material Philology in 1994,¹⁵⁶ do not provide a sufficient framework for the aspects of this project that involve the *comparison* of texts and scribal practice across manuscripts. The original manifestos of New Philology also do not provide a framework for subsequently comparing and relating texts and manuscripts, even if, as in this project, the texts and manuscripts are approached on their own terms, as it were, and the interpretive process used in this project does not hinge on there necessarily being any relation between the manuscripts. While the language, orthography, and script of both Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to could very well have been investigated individually as projects unto themselves, this current study, very much in the vein of material philology, nonetheless involves some elements of comparison and transmission history, most of which will be discussed in chapter seven. In some ways, this is a paradox, as it seems almost disingenuous to meet a manuscript on its own terms, in the spirit of New Philology, only to turn to more comparative and traditional modes of philology, where a manuscript can become a node on a tree, and whether implicitly or explicitly, is assigned value that is either more or less than others. In this context, another development within philology, namely *überlieferungsgeschichte*, or the history of textual transmission, will be drawn upon.

The codified notion of *überlieferungsgeschichte* can be traced to scholarship of the 60s and 70s from the German-speaking world,¹⁵⁷ and the basic precepts of it were codified by

¹⁵³ Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 249.

¹⁵⁴ Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la Variante*.

¹⁵⁵ Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," 1-10.

¹⁵⁶ Nichols, "Philology and its Discontents," 113-41.

¹⁵⁷ Kapitan, "Studies in the Transmission History of Hrómundar Saga Greipssonar," 11.

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Klaus Grubmüller in the proceedings from a research group seminar in 1973,¹⁵⁸ though the tracking of the transmission of a text or the relationship between two of the “same” texts can also be framed as more of a goal than a process. The musings of Grubmüller et al. were not revolutionary, rather, the concept of *überlieferungsgeschichte* can be viewed as an attitude towards textual variance rather than a prescribed set of practices, in much the same way that New Philology can be considered more of an approach than a particular process. A multitude of practices can of course be placed under the umbrella term of the *history of textual transmission*, but what they share is a deliberate focus on the variance of a text, which is, again, complementary to New Philology. This view was articulated more clearly by Kurt Ruh in the decade after Grubmüller’s use of the new term on behalf of the German-speaking scholarly community, as he suggested that all variants and emendations to a text are worthy of study, whether a text underwent scribal intervention, truncation, prosification, versification, or any other process of alteration and reconstitution.¹⁵⁹ This is particularly relevant in the redactions of *Breta sögur* contained in the two manuscripts looked at in this study, for instance, as despite the heavily truncated and even fragmentary version of the text in Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to, there are clear signs of a direct relation with that found in AM 573 4to.¹⁶⁰

As noted above, the concept of *überlieferungsgeschichte* is, in many ways complementary to the precepts of New Philology. Used together, one may investigate the relationship between some particular texts or codices on their own terms, rather than in the contexts of attempting to link them to an often tenuous hypothetical archetype. While philological studies rooted in stemmatology and the Classical tradition may link manuscripts and redactions of a text to an often hypothetical anchor, viewing the texts in the context of transmission history prizes the relationship of actual, extant, redactions of texts to each other, as will be done in the context of this study of two extant manuscripts with overlap of not only specific texts, but also genre and theme. Though, *überlieferungsgeschichte* implicitly furthers the stemmatological notion that multiple versions of the same ‘text’ are related, at the very least, in so far as they are the ‘same’ text or work, or in some sense, have some shared origin or archetype (assuming said shared origin was written or otherwise transmitted at some point), New Philology does not necessarily assume that radically different versions of the same text must be situated relative to a hypothetical archetype, nor is this issue at the forefront given New Philology’s focus on

¹⁵⁸ Klaus Grubmüller, “Spätmittelalterliche Prosaforschung,” in *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* 5, eds. Klaus Grubmüller et al. (1973), 156-76.

¹⁵⁹ Kurt Ruh, “Überlieferungsgeschichte mittelalterlicher Texte als methodischer Ansatz zu einer erweiterten Konzeption von Literaturgeschichte,” in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Prosaforschung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1985), 268-9.

¹⁶⁰ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 160-1.

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individual artefacts. While New Philology focuses on the materiality of a manuscript, and the intrinsic uniqueness of each individual codex or redaction, some of the practices and theoretical notions associated with *überlieferungsgeschichte* can be viewed and used as frameworks for establishing links between each individual manuscript or redaction of a text, and as such, these two frameworks can go hand in hand.

3.1.4 Digital Philology and the Digital Humanities

As noted previously, this project makes use of some fairly novel digital media and technologies, which, though discussed on a more practical level in section 3.2, must have some theoretical issues outlined here. The TEI-XML transcriptions of manuscript leaves that were created and subsequently annotated in order to yield a dataset on EMROON, fit within a broader trend in philological scholarship of methods, media, and technologies becoming increasingly digital, which not coincidentally, also encompasses the digital or data revolution and increasing turn toward digital editing around the turn of the millennium,¹⁶¹ all of which can be placed under the umbrella term *digital humanities*. It has already been argued that the practices of New Philology, specifically its avoidance of “fixed” texts, are much more well-suited to the digital medium, as the implicit need for there to be a set printed edition of a text has been circumvented.¹⁶² In this sense, New Philology and digital philology work well in tandem, as a digital edition allows for the various levels of textual representation, annotation, and critical apparatus that the principles of New Philology might warrant. However, digital philology does not preclude that one subscribes to either “new” or “old” philological practices and attitudes, as digital technologies can of course be used in a plethora of ways, such that defining the field is difficult.

The field of the digital humanities has had a loose definition since its unofficial inception shortly after the turn of the millennium, and it has not even always been called such, as the field was formerly referred to as ‘Humanities Computing’, but with the latter eventually being “definitely but not definitively” replaced by the former as the name of the field.¹⁶³ This development reflected the explicit goals of the editors *A Companion to Digital Humanities*,¹⁶⁴ to define and distinguish the developing field which had hitherto evaded anything resembling

¹⁶¹ Haugen, “The Spirit of Lachmann, the Spirit of Bédier,” 16.

¹⁶² Tara L. Andrews, “The Third Way: Philology and Critical Edition in the Digital Age,” in *Variants*, eds. Alexandre Fachard and Wim van Mierlo (The Journal of the European Society for Textual Scholarship, 2013).

¹⁶³ Edward Vanhoutte, “The Gates of Hell: History and Definition of Digital / Humanities / Computing,” in *Defining Digital Humanities - A Reader*, eds. Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan, Edward Vanhoutte (Farnham: Routledge, 2013) 144.

¹⁶⁴ *A Companion to Digital Humanities* Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture. eds. Ray Siemens, Susan Schreibman, John Unsworth (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2004).

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satisfactory definition. Taking these difficulties of defining the field to the extreme, it has been argued that the field of Digital Humanities may not be a field at all, but rather a social category borne more out of tactical convenience than a genuine reflection of a shared set of problems or methodology.¹⁶⁵

Contrary to this cynicism, though, the digital humanities represent a blend of the traditional hermeneutical and interpretive elements of the humanities with technologies and innovations in digital media and computing that have been developed in the last several decades. While the word *digital* in the term digital humanities may suggest a certain kinship with computing, the digital humanities are unique in that they generally involve encoding *and* hermeneutics, with the latter crucially not being shared with computing generally or any other science or branch of computing.¹⁶⁶ Previous scholars have observed a tension between the elements of computing and hermeneutical interpretation, leading to a discussion of whether there is a paradox and perhaps incompatibility that is fundamental in the digital humanities. This tension has been characterized as a “productive unease” that lies at the heart of the digital humanities,¹⁶⁷ as the traditionally interpretive, and often purely qualitative processes of the humanities can be viewed as incongruous with models of thinking that imply cumulative and linear progress which are associated with the computational aspects of the digital humanities. While the manner in which digital humanities scholarship has developed in the last several decades does not necessarily warrant an alarmist stance, it has also been argued that the rise of digital humanities may have “obsoleted the slow interpretive scholarship” that has traditionally characterized the humanities, and might be “antithetical to humanities ideals.”¹⁶⁸

A specific area within the digital humanities will be drawn upon for this project, namely digital philology, which represents an approach to text editing that embraces various digital media and technologies. As one of the primary pursuits of philology remains the editing of text, the technologies employed in digital philology are often of the type that allow for representation and annotation of a text, as is the case in this project. In this sense, digital philology accords with a general tendency within the digital humanities, in that a significant role of the digital humanist remains the generation of the digitised text and / or data.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Vanhoutte, “The Gates of Hell,” 146.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹⁶⁷ Julia Flanders, “The Productive Unease of 21st-Century Digital Scholarship,” in *Defining Digital Humanities - A Reader*, eds. Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan, Edward Vanhoutte (Farnham: Routledge, 2013), 206.

¹⁶⁸ James E. Dobson, *Critical Digital Humanities: The Search for a Methodology* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2019), 17.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

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However, we must also be cognisant of the inherent problems and imperfections with our digital representations of texts, in this case, transcriptions of manuscript leaves; it is worth pointing out that digitized versions of texts, or digital transcriptions, cannot be considered representations of original manuscripts that are devoid of traces of human intervention. Transcriptions, however accurate, can be considered merely “representational technologies”, in that, since they were produced through human intervention, they can only serve as a type of translation of the original.¹⁷⁰

Though various technologies and digital methods have developed rapidly over the course of the last few decades, the conclusions drawn through the use of such methods are not radically different. Digital media and methods are often used in a manner that increases the transparency of method and data to other scholars, and as such, analyses that employ digital methods do not necessarily yield *different* results than those done with more traditional methods. While some digital methods are increasingly automated,¹⁷¹ digital philology remains an essentially humanistic discipline as long as there is human intervention at various stages of the data’s generation and interpretation, and the analytic process is not yet fully automated. Peter Stokes, co-developer of the Digital paleographic segmentation software, has conceded that it is probably unrealistic to expect philologists to have knowledge of software development and coding in addition to their philological training, and rather that they should aspire to learn how to manipulate these technologies, enabling the production of data that can be both shown and interrogated.¹⁷² As such, the next section will be dedicated to a discussion of what the digital media and technologies used on this project are, and how they will not only inform the hermeneutic process but also pose issues of their own.

3.2 Transcriptions and Dataset

3.2.1 Annotated Transcriptions

This project makes use of digital transcriptions of manuscript leaves prepared using TEI XML. XML, extensible mark-up language, has reigned supreme in the text encoding world from about 1999 onward,¹⁷³ and as the name implies, XML allows one to “mark-up” a text, and encode features that could not necessarily be included in a static printed version of a text,

¹⁷⁰ Flanders, “The Productive Unease of 21st-Century Digital Scholarship,” 210.

¹⁷¹ For a study in medieval philology that involves automated interpretation, see: Nicole Dalia Cilia et al., “What is the Minimum Training Data Size to Reliably Identify Writers in Medieval Manuscripts?” *Pattern Recognition Letters* 129 (2019): 198-204.

¹⁷² Peter Stokes, “Computer-Aided Paleography, Present and Future,” in *Codicology and Paleography in the Digital Age*, eds. Patrick Sahle, Malte Rehbein, Torsten Schassan (Norderstedt: BoD, 2009), 322-3.

¹⁷³ Vanhoutte, “The Gates of Hell,” 133.

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ranging from but not restricted to: provenance, layout, interpretations of ambiguities in the text, editorial emendations, or relationships to other versions of the same text. One can encode texts according to various specialised schemes that are compliant with the Text Encoding Initiative's (TEI) broader standard. The TEI guidelines have been employed by various fields in the encoding of texts ranging in age from the antique, medieval, and modern, as well as ranging in genre, including scientific, historic, and literary texts, and represent the closest thing to a shared set of guidelines that users and creators of digitized texts have. Just within Old Norse studies, two major forms of TEI-XML, MENOTA and EMROON, are used. However, instead of a move toward a homogenisation of various TEI schemes that would allow for the development of a standard for digital editions and representations of texts, the trend within digital philology has been for increased customisation,¹⁷⁴ which at a certain point, runs counter to one of the early aspirations that the Digital Humanities inherited from Humanities Computing, namely that a shared standard for encoding texts should be established, and has subsequently been sought, at least indirectly, since at least the 1960s.¹⁷⁵

Just within the realm of the digitization of Old Norse texts, for example, one can make their TEI XML compliant with either the respective EMROON or MENOTA schemes. These standards, which can, in theory, be employed in complete isolation from one another, have moved closer to mutual compatibility and a shared standard with the MenotaBlitz tool, developed by Robert Kristof Paulsen, the creator of EMROON,¹⁷⁶ which allows one to generate templates for both types of TEI XML from a single basic transcription, similar in style to the basic transcriptions prepared on this project. This represents a great increase in efficiency in the transcription process, as traditionally, the MENOTA TEI XML guidelines have demanded repeated coding of particular word elements, depending on how many of the three focal levels — facsimile, diplomatic, and normalized — that the scholar would like to include in their transcription. This embedded redundancy in the system has been called a “single multi-level” scheme, as multiple levels of transcription can co-exist under the roof of a single file,¹⁷⁷ though, the need for encoding the same information multiple times in this classic MENOTA style of manual transcription remains. As such, the EMROON and MenotaBlitz technologies bring the transcription of medieval Norse texts closer in line with the broader TEI general guidelines.

¹⁷⁴ Andrews, “The Third Way.”

¹⁷⁵ Vanhoutte, “The Gates of Hell,” 133.

¹⁷⁶ <http://www.emroon.no/MenotaBlitz.html>

¹⁷⁷ Haugen, “Parallel Views,” 73.

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For the purposes of this project, the texts have been transcribed using the basic transcription scheme of EMROON, which allows for conversion to the corresponding EMROON scheme for TEI XML, as the basic transcriptions, done by the author of this study, were transformed into EMROON XML and subsequently edited and morphologically annotated by the creator and manager of the EMROON database, Robert Kristof Paulsen.

Through a Perl script, transcriptions prepared according to the EMROON TEI XML guidelines can generate two focal levels, facsimile and diplomatic, yielded from one basic transcription in which abbreviation marks and special characters, necessary for the facsimile level, are placed alongside and within the same set of brackets as the expansion of the abbreviation, which in turn appears on the diplomatic level. It has notably been questioned whether expanding abbreviations should even be something we do at all considering their integral part of Medieval Norse orthographies,¹⁷⁸ and as such, an EMROON TEI XML transcription, is on a fundamental level, a type of facsimile transcription, with solutions to abbreviation marks being suggested in parentheses.

While large portions of *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to* and *AM 573 4to* have been transcribed in past scholarship, namely by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir as part of her doctoral dissertation¹⁷⁹ and by Jonna Louis-Jensen in an as of yet unpublished edition of *Breta sögur* (access provided by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir at the University of Copenhagen),¹⁸⁰ these transcriptions do not lend themselves to a digital database well, and at least with regard to Svanhildur's work, were undertaken before there was any kind of established standard for transcribing Medieval Norse texts. The transcriptions made for this study were informed by these respective transcriptions by Louis-Jensen and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, though the creation of digital transcriptions of these manuscripts was a necessary step in the process of studying them through the lens of recently developed digital technologies, and crucially for this study, allow for the derivation of a dataset of linguistic, orthographic, palaeographic, and graphemic criteria, which will be the subject of the next sections.

3.2.2 Data

The data, which will be presented and interpreted in chapters five through seven, is derived from the annotated transcriptions described in the previous section, and will concern two main parameters: on one hand, the orthographic and linguistic criteria, which will primarily be

¹⁷⁸ Driscoll, "The Words on the Page," 103.

¹⁷⁹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 242-305.

¹⁸⁰ Jonna Louis-Jensen and Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, eds., *Breta Saga*, Editiones Arnarnagnænae, Series A, vol. 10 (Copenhagen: Unpublished draft, version 6 / Museum Tusulanum Press, 2019).

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approached through the lens of sound positions and a reference orthography (in this case, EMROON), and on the other hand, palaeographic criteria and the symbol inventories of various scribes, viewed through the lens of graphematics, which looks at individual letters in a hierarchical scheme derived from and reflecting the individual *actual* letters on the page, the graphs, to their abstractions, or graphemes. The orthographic and linguistic criteria form the subject of the fifth chapter, while the palaeographic criteria are the subject of the sixth; when applicable, any time a linguistic, orthographic, or palaeographic is discussed, the technical manner with this feature is defined and thus searched for on EMROON will be provided, such that the reader can replicate the search, if desired.

As mentioned, the annotated transcriptions allow for particular features to be searched for in the EMROON database, and queried using the criteria of sound positions (including the specific environment in which they occur), which will comprise the subject of section 3.2.3, and graph types, which will be the subject of 3.2.4. In addition to this, particular lemmata can also be searched for, which often streamlines the search process when one is querying for a particular linguistic, orthographic, or palaeographic criterion, as for example, would be the case when searching for the lemma *mʝok* in the context of its peculiar role in the fricativization of unstressed *k > g*, which will be the subject of section 5.9. These various search options and parameters allow one to efficiently retrieve data regarding the orthographic, linguistic, and paleographic criteria outlined and discussed in chapters four through seven. More crucially, the online nature of the EMROON page, as well as its search functions, allows for a degree of transparency in this study; though the data informing the conclusions drawn in this study are typically presented as an in-text chart, the same dataset can be consulted independently online by any interested party. While the use of quantitative data can add an air of scientific legitimacy, there is no such thing as contextless quantitative data, and there always remains some criteria and human decision-making informing the selection; data is never free of subjective intent, leading James Dobson to suggest that “situated subjectivity haunts computation”¹⁸¹ and thus also the dataset of this project. As such, the data can be checked against the facsimile transcriptions provided in an appendix, transcriptions done by other scholars, or against the manuscripts themselves.

While not perfect, the EMROON parameters allow for some analysis of linguistic and orthographic criteria divorced from palaeographic and graphemic criteria; though these criteria are both referenced to inform the conclusions that are later drawn, their initial separation limits circular reasoning, or inferring a particular dating or localisation based on one type of feature, as linguistic and orthographic criteria may not tell the same story as the script or symbol inventory. Studies that do not sufficiently separate graphemic analysis from

¹⁸¹ Dobson, *Critical Digital Humanities*, 46.

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orthographic study are often rejected on the grounds that a particular underlying phonology and morphology cannot be assumed during the process of studying a particular writing system while simultaneously trying to discern precisely what the underlying morphological and phonological rules governing the writing system may have been. Thus, the ideal approach is to study paleographic criteria separately from orthographic and linguistic criteria, as is done in chapters five and six, and only combine the two approaches afterward. Some initial discussion of the distribution of each variant representation of each feature and what this might indicate from a diachronic perspective, will be offered in chapters five and six, though the collation of all of this data, in the pursuit of delineating the scribes and dating and localising the manuscripts more precisely, will wait until the seventh and eighth chapters. In allowing targeted searches for graphematic, morphological, and phonological criteria, the EMROON system enables one to study the graphemic system of a manuscript divorced from an underlying assumed phonological system, as the system of sound positions that the graphematic criteria are juxtaposed with is abstract from any *actual* phonological system per se, and instead is designed to feature the maximum number of morphological and phonological distinctions such that the assumptions about said morphological and phonological system, such as it may have existed, are minimized. Such an approach, namely one that employs an underlying system that features the maximal amount of hypothetical distinctions, has been advocated before,¹⁸² and previous studies that have primarily been focused on paleographic and graphematic criteria in the pursuit of charting scribal hands and textual transmission have noted the potentiality of a graphemic analysis being used to study the graphemic system per se, without referring to or suggesting any underlying phonological system.¹⁸³ As will be discussed in the following sections, 3.2.3 and 3.2.4, this project will involve both phonology and graphematics being charted in a hierarchical structure in which any of the actual letters that appear in the manuscripts — which is ultimately all that we have as representations of the scribal hands and the language and morphology that may have shaped them in the absence of recordings of the speech of the scribes, or accounts of their own language and scribal practice, let alone lists of rules of their scribal milieu and informing their norm — and the sounds they may have represented can be described both in terms of their material manifestation on the page as well as abstracted out and related out to a more hypothetical system. These hierarchical systems and the relationships between them, as will be discussed in the following sections, will allow us to chart language, orthography, and graphematics in terms of both the concrete and the abstract, and will provide us with a thorough account of the practice of these scribes.

¹⁸² Helge Dyvik, “Terje Spurkland: En fonografematisk analyse av runematerialet fra Bryggen i Bergen,” *Maal og Minne* (1996): 3-21.

¹⁸³ Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 251.

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3.2.3 *Phonemes, Sound Positions, and Reference Orthographies*¹⁸⁴

Given that this study involves investigating phonemes, phonological developments, and various linguistic features in their representation in the orthography of various medieval scribes, a reference orthography has been used, namely that of EMROON, which allows for each individual word that appears in a manuscript to be cross-referenced with morphological and phonological criteria, as well as with the corresponding lemma in the Dictionary of Old Norse Prose (ONP).¹⁸⁵ In addition to this, a tentative normalisation, somewhat different to that found in the *Íslenzk fornrit* series and its favouring of the thirteenth-century Icelandic of Snorri Sturluson, can be generated. In working with Old West Norse texts, one is likely to have encountered reference orthographies and dictionaries, namely the Dictionary of Old Norse Prose (ONP), and another orthography that can be used to normalise the often highly variable orthography encountered in manuscripts, *Íslenzk fornrit* (ÍF). Similarly to EMROON, the ONP reference orthography allows for one to collate the orthography that they may find in an individual manuscript with the ONP's referential phonemes, as well as the corresponding normalized orthography of the ONP; EMROON differs in that it employs sound positions rather than referential phonemes. Similarly to other normalized orthographies (that do not necessarily have a thoroughly charted system of referential morphology or phonology behind them), that of the ONP typically normalizes any given Old West Norse to reflect Icelandic of the thirteenth century. Contrasting this, the ÍF orthography is not concerned with morphology and phonology *per se*, but rather is aimed at increasing the readability of texts and presenting them in a standard orthography, though it can also be argued that this orthography favours thirteenth-century orthographic tendencies (rather than conventions, as none existed), and obscures the rich orthographic and linguistic variation that is so often the topic of study for philologists.

As such, the EMROON system is ambitious, as it draws on not only some of the principles of morphological and phonological reference that are embedded in the ONP system, but also suggests rules for tentative normalisation, though they are based on the norm of the scribe rather than an externally imposed norm à la the *Íslenzk fornrit* system. While the EMROON system also allows for querying for graphematic information, as will be discussed in the next section, the linguistic and orthographic criteria are organized according to a system

¹⁸⁴ While this section involves the definition of some concepts and items of terminology that are vital to this study, this section also serves as a brief summary of how these concepts are employed and defined within the EMROON framework, as created by Robert Kristof Paulsen and outlined in: Robert Kristof Paulsen, "The EMROON Referential System - Excerpted Preliminary Chapter 4 of an Old Norwegian Orthography and Phonology," <http://www.emroon.no/info/the-emroon-referential-system.pdf> (Unpublished chapter: Bergen, 2017).

¹⁸⁵ <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?>

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of defined sound positions. The concept of sound position is a further abstraction on the notion of a referential phoneme, such as that of the Dictionary of Old Norse Prose (ONP), in that sound positions represent a maximal abstraction of phonemes according to their etymological origin, and as such, involving codifying phonemes in Old West Norse according to a “maximal Proto-Norse (PN) phonological system”,¹⁸⁶ namely one that takes into account all of the potential roots of OWN phonemes in Proto-Norse, Proto-Germanic (PGmc), or even Proto-Indo-European reconstructed phonology.¹⁸⁷ While the sound positions of EMROON serve a similar function to the referential phonemes of ONP, in that they both allow for one to collate the orthography of an actual text with a referential phonological and morphological system that exists in abstract form outside of the text itself and as a whole, the system is *not* posited to have governed the language and orthography of any actual manuscript or the language itself at any given moment, and EMROON includes several distinctions that ONP does not, as it includes the maximal number of distinctions. Any minimisation of distinctions that may govern a reference orthography imply a certain kind of normalisation, as a standard from a certain period of time is being tacitly imposed, and certain distinctions that may have existed in the language or within the mental conception of it by its speakers may erroneously be assumed not to have existed. Certain sounds that may appear the same orthographically in the work of a scribe may have had different origins (that the EMROON system might elucidate) or may have even been thought of as different in the language of the scribe. This allows for one to, as far as it is possible, separate an orthographic description of a manuscript from any interpretations of the underlying phonology that may have governed, or at least influenced, the orthographic conventions that were employed by the scribes that produced it. One of the ramifications of this is that what is considered a singular referential phoneme in Old West Norse, for example /e/, often expressed orthographically with “e” or “æ”, may be abstracted to two sound positions, namely the *e of PGmc, or PGmc *a when affected by palatal umlaut.¹⁸⁸ As Paulsen writes, it cannot be taken for granted that these would be considered different phonemes in OWN, but rather environmentally conditioned allophones;¹⁸⁹ a morphologically refined reference orthography would aid in elucidating this. Employing the maximal number of distinctions in the reference orthography circumvents the problem of other referential or normalized orthographies not making a distinction between

¹⁸⁶ Paulsen, “The EMROON Referential System,” 4.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 3

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

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phonemes that may be distinguished in some manuscripts, as might be inferred from the orthographic norm of the scribe.

This principle of organization governing a reference orthography for Old Norse can be traced to the comments of Helge Dyvik¹⁹⁰ on Terje Spurkland's doctoral thesis,¹⁹¹ in which Dyvik advocated the maximal number of distinctions,¹⁹² so as to eliminate, in so far as it is possible when referencing reconstructed historical phonologies, any assumptions regarding the morphology and phonology that the orthography of any given Old West Norse text in original, may represent. Ideally, such a referential orthography with the maximal number of historical phonological and morphological distinctions allows one to infer how the principles of morphological and phonological spelling¹⁹³ may have governed the orthography of various scribes. Such an approach is necessarily premised on the notion that the phonology of the scribe's personal language, as well as their understanding of morphology, affected the manner in which they orthographically manifested i.e spelled their own language. This premise is in keeping with the underlying principles employed in similar studies, namely that scribes did not slavishly copy their exemplar,¹⁹⁴ nor did they do so letter by letter,¹⁹⁵ except perhaps in some instances, of perhaps a name or exceedingly common word, in which the scribe employed a conventional spelling of a word that mirrored their exemplar.¹⁹⁶

As the EMROON referential orthography is designed to account for "any and all morphemes that are combined to form a single word",¹⁹⁷ the resultant rendering of a token found in a manuscript may initially appear somewhat unwieldy, as its purpose is not readability per se, but rather to show the separate morphological components of each word. For example, the supinum *beizk* of the reflexive verb *beiðask* would be rendered {beip-þ-t-sk} in the EMROON system,¹⁹⁸ reflecting all of the known morphemes that *could have* influenced

¹⁹⁰ Dyvik, "runematerialet fra Bryggen," 3-21; cf. Paulsen, "The EMROON Referential System."

¹⁹¹ Terje Spurkland, "runematerialet fra Bryggen," (PhD Diss., University of Oslo, 1991).

¹⁹² Dyvik, "runematerialet fra Bryggen," 3-21; cf. Paulsen, "The EMROON Referential System."

¹⁹³ For a longer discussion of the terms *morphological spelling* and *phonological spelling* in the context of Old West Norse manuscripts, see: Lasse Mårtensson, *Skrivaren och förlagen - Norm och normbrott i Codex Upsaliensis av Snorra Edda*. Bibliotheca Nordica Vol. 6 (Oslo: Novus Forlag, 2013).

¹⁹⁴ Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 60.

¹⁹⁵ Odd Einar Haugen, "Between Graphonomy and Phonology. Deciding on Scribes in AM 645 4to," (The Tenth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics, Bergen, University of Bergen, 1988), 255; Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 90.

¹⁹⁶ Mårtensson, *Skrivaren och förlagen*, 42.

¹⁹⁷ Paulsen, "The EMROON Referential System," 5.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

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the orthographic representation of this word from the perspective of historical phonology, and represents the word being broken down into morphologically and etymologically defined units. As stated by the creator of EMROON, the somewhat anachronistic and ahistoric character of the EMROON orthography is by design, as it is intended to be elucidating in the context of the role of etymology and morphology in shaping historical orthographies rather than indicative of how Old West Norse may or may not have sounded or have been represented orthographically at any given historical moment.¹⁹⁹

Following Paulsen's suggested convention,²⁰⁰ curled brackets {} will be used when referring to lexical items or sound positions contained in the referential orthography, while passing references to lemmata will be made with the standard italics. As such, the lemma *borð* would be rendered {borð} when discussed specifically within the context of that word appearing in the EMROON system. Any of the sounds discussed in the following chapters will also include a reference to how these sounds are represented in the EMROON referential orthography. These sound positions can also be bridged with the graphematic elements of the system, which will be the topic of the next section.

3.2.4 Graphematics - Graphemes, Graphypes, Allographs, and Graphs

Just as the language and orthography of a given manuscript can be referenced against a system of sound positions and phonemes, the palaeographic and graphematic criteria can be related to a hierarchical system of graphemes, graph types, and graphs. This system could be taken even further to include idiographs, though this generally involves fairly intensive use of some kind of character segmentation software, and lies outside of the scope of this current study. As will be outlined in this section, a graph, which in this study is the smallest tangible unit of representing a letter or morphological, phonological, or etymological unit in an actual manuscript, can be linked and extrapolated all the way out to the abstract sound positions discussed in the previous section. It must be noted here that the system presented in this study is one among several, though an implicit consensus often emerges; regarding the definition of the terms grapheme and graph type, notable recent contributors to this area of scholarship, Lasse Mårtensson²⁰¹ and Karl Johansson,²⁰² who, though working on different materials and having studies of different natures, can agree on many minutiae, for example that \ð\ and \p\ are graph types of the same grapheme <ð>, which cannot necessarily be taken for granted.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 6.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 4.

²⁰¹ Mårtensson, *Skrivaren och förlagen*, 89-94.

²⁰² Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 267-9.

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A *graph* is the smallest unit through which a morphological or phonological system or reality can be expressed and manifested, and is a physical instance of a letter, the actual ink on the page. While the term graph can be conceptualized as being nearly synonymous with the term *letter*, as both are a means of conceptualizing and conveying a *sign*, the terms crucially differ in that *letter* can be used to refer to a sign in the abstract, i.e. discussing the letter *r* in some particular context, whereas the graph “r” would refer to a particular form of a particular *sign* that appears in the text. The manner in which a particular graph is idiosyncratically executed by an individual, can be called an *idiograph*, though focusing on idiographs as a manner of identifying scribes virtually demands the use of digital segmentation tools such as the DigiPal / Archive²⁰³ or SPI²⁰⁴ technologies.

Any individual graph naturally belongs to a graph type, which is a class of related signs that typically express a particular grapheme, and need not necessarily have multiple graph types, as would be the case, for example with the graph type `\c\`, which for our purposes, only has one graph, “c”.

If a grapheme has multiple graph types, then these graph types can be said to be allographs of the same grapheme — they are not linguistically distinct, though they may appear in a complementary distribution that is environmentally or perhaps simply historically conditioned, such as in the graph types `\ð\` and `\d\`, represented by the graphs “d”, “ð”, “δ”, or “ö”, which can all represent the grapheme `<ð>`, which corresponds to the phoneme /ð/ and the sound position {ð}. While the link between graphemes and phonemes is crucial in our ability to link phonology and abstract sound positions to graph types and the tangible letters on the page i.e. graphs, each grapheme does not have a *unique* phonemic correspondence, just as each graph does not necessarily have a unique correspondence to a grapheme, though some do, as with the graph “c” essentially always standing for the graph type `\c\` and the grapheme `<c>`. As for the tenuous link between graphemes and phonemes, both the graphemes `<c>` and `<k>` can stand for the phoneme /k/, though the graphs that can stand for these graphemes will be mutually exclusive.

While graphemes were often linguistically distinct units in Old Norse,²⁰⁵ this is certainly not always the case, as for instance, when `\p\` represents /ð/, as in this case, the graph type `\p\`, which most often refers to the phoneme /p/ and the sound position {p}, is instead used to represent the phoneme /ð/ and sound position {ð}.

²⁰³ DigiPal: Digital Resource and Database of Manuscripts, Palaeography and Diplomatic (London, 2011–14). Available at <http://www.digipal.eu/>

²⁰⁴ SPI (System for Paleographic Inspections), outlined in: Fabio Aiolfi and Arianna Ciula, “A Case Study on the System for Paleographic Inspections (SPI): Challenges and New Developments.”

²⁰⁵ Mårtensson, *Skrivaren och förlagen*, 29.

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As such, the hierarchy of graphs, individual letters that actually appear in manuscripts, can be linked all the way to the abstract sound positions, with the top node of the tree being either a sound position, which then branches between graphemes and graphtypes, or vice versa. This first chart shows the hierarchical relationship between a sound position and a graph, with only one example on each level:

sound position:	{p}
phoneme:	/p/
grapheme:	<p>
graph type:	\p\
graph:	“p”

The next chart displays the relationship between the sound position {ð}, a particularly rich example given the development and representation of dental fricatives in Old Norse, may be represented by several graphs, with all of the intervening theoretical levels in between:

Sound position:	{ð}			
related phonemes:	/d/	/ð/	/p/	/t/
graphemes:	<ð>	<d>	<p>	<t>
graph types:	\ð\	\d\	\p\	\t\
graphs:	“ð” “d” “ð” “ð”		“p”	“t” “c”

The next chart shows how two graphs, “t” “c”, both allographs of \t\, can be traced to multiple sound positions:

graphs:	“t”		“c”	
graph type:	\t\			
grapheme:	<t>			
phonemes:	/t/	/ð/	/p/	/d/
sound positions:	{t}	{ð}	{p}	{d}

The relationship between all of these elements is complicated, and while a manner of placing them on a hierarchical scheme has been presented, such diagrams could be constructed, with either each unique sound position or each unique graph as the basic element. Some of these diagrams would be relatively simple, as there is often a straight-forward link between a sound position and its graphic embodiment, as with the sound position {t} and the graph “t”, though, as displayed in the previous diagrams, divergences often occur at the level between

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phonemes and graphemes. However, a simple inversion of the hierarchy complicates things, as the graph “t” can also variously represent the sound positions {t}, {ð}, {b} or {d}. Nevertheless, such a manner of organizing these elements allows one to chart relationships between an individual *sign*, manifested as a *graph*, and an abstract system that allows for the maximal amount of information regarding the morphological and phonological origin and value, i.e the *sound position*, of said graph.

3.3 Principles of and Problems with the Interpretation of Orthographic and Palaeographic Data

3.3.1 Introduction

While this project makes use of a dataset that incorporates lemmatisation, morphological annotation, sound positions, and graphematics, the task of interpreting said data is far from straight forward. As Peter Stokes has suggested, the employment of digital methods can involve scholars succumbing to the “lure of objectivity” and simply veiling their personal judgement with tables and graphs,²⁰⁶ as the interpretive process that necessarily accompanies working with such technologies is far from codified. Despite digital and quantitative methods becoming increasingly prevalent in philology, it is still thought to be the case that digital and quantitative methods in philology, or more specifically paleography in particular, are still viewed somewhat skeptically; this is perhaps due to the fields traditionally having more to do with aesthetic appreciation and judgments than an agreed upon methodology that involved quantities and systematic interrogation,²⁰⁷ as one might associate with the natural sciences. Palaeography in particular is a field that has, historically, mostly been viewed as an art imparted through subjective analyses rather than some kind of science that could be objectified,²⁰⁸ and studies in medieval digital philology as recent as 2019 have lamented the lack of studies discussing the establishment of standard methods or guidelines for interpreting palaeographic among other types of philological data, particularly from digital media.²⁰⁹ In order to mitigate this, this section will, following the discussion of digital media in 3.2, attempt to outline the factors shaping the interpretation of the digital transcriptions and dataset, and shed as much light as possible on the interpretive process of this project. In so doing, sections

²⁰⁶ Peter Stokes, “Digital Approaches to Paleography and Book History: Some Challenges, Present and Future,” in *Frontiers in Digital Humanities* 2, (2015): 2.

²⁰⁷ Vinodh Rajan Sampath, “Quantifying Scribal Behaviour: A Novel Approach to Digital Paleography,” (PhD diss., University of St Andrews, 2016), 2, <http://hdl.handle.net/10023/9429>.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 12

²⁰⁹ Nicole Dalia Cilia et al., “Minimum Training Data Size.”

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3.2 and 3.3, taken together, fall in line with a tenet of the digital humanities, namely that as much of the background code, data, and method such be revealed as possible, and that such a state is in fact essential for the conversation surrounding interpreting and using such methods.²¹⁰ As will be outlined in the following two sections, the interpretive process used on this project will be oriented more around identifying trends in the data and suggesting explanations for these rather than attempting to make authoritative pronouncements regarding the scribes, localisation, or dating of the manuscripts in this study, or attempting to define precise percentages, ratios, or deviations that could be set as standards for interpretive processes like the ones involved in this project.

As has already been noted in the scholarship, there are some fundamental issues with the notion that data and statistics can even be used to infer shifts in scribal hands,²¹¹ though such a critique seems to overlook the fact that in the absence of contemporary accounts of book production or localised and dated codices, both of which are exceedingly rare in the context of Medieval Iceland and even Europe generally, the manuscripts themselves, and any patterns or congruencies they may reveal, are all that we have in the pursuit of scribal identification, localization, and dating; our criteria are often by definition, solely internal.

In the following sections, the principles underlying and informing the interpretation of orthographic, linguistic, and paleographic data used in this project, as well as some issues therein, will be outlined, such that the process through which observations are made in later chapters, particularly five through seven, can become more transparent. The interpretation of linguistic, orthographic, paleographic, and graphematic data in the context of Old West Norse manuscripts is far from straight forward, as one must attempt to account for the interaction of several factors that shaped the actual manifested letters and words on the page that the scribe produced, not least where they spent their career, their education, their personal norm, and the “house rules” of the institution at which they were active.²¹² Section 3.3.3 will also deal with the concepts of a linguistic and / or scribal norm, what is meant by these terms in this project, as well as providing an outline of the factors that would have shaped them. Disentangling these factors presents some complex issues, as, for instance, the orthographic system of a manuscript is not necessarily derived from its exemplar(s),²¹³ while it can also be claimed that variation in

²¹⁰ Dobson, *Critical Digital Humanities*, 44.

²¹¹ van Arkel, “Scribes and Statistics,” 25-45.

²¹² Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Copying Njáls saga into One’s Own Dialect,” 115-7; Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 249; cf. Vemund Skard, *Norsk språkhistorie. Bind 1 - Til 1523*. 2nd edition (Oslo / Bergen / Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1973), 86-7.

²¹³ Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 60.

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graph types may represent a manuscript being copied from various exemplars.²¹⁴ Depending on context then, the exemplar *or* the scribe themselves will determine the manifestation of a particular linguistic, orthographic, or palaeographic feature in the codex being worked on, a dynamic which is also affected by whether a scribe decides to intervene or not when encountering a variant that is either unfamiliar to them or not within their usual inventory or habit. Depending on the circumstances and factors at play then, a scribe would exhibit more, or less agency and personality in determining what ends up on the page on which they were working, and the scribe themselves and their exemplar oscillate between exerting the primary influence on what ends up on the page in progress.

In the following sections then, some issues, both general to the realm of digital philology, as well as problems specific to Old Norse philology, will be explored, such that the interpretive process followed in this project can be followed.

3.3.2 The Interpretation of Paleographic Data and Graphematic Trends

As outlined in sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.4 respectively, this project makes use of data that allows one to search for graphs, allographs, and graphemes along various parameters in the EMROON database. As such, the paleographic / graphematic data used on this project will be concerning the distribution of various graphs, allographs, and graphemes, and the environments in which they appear. This is in keeping with Karl G. Johansson's suggestion that particular paleographic elements, such as the distribution of letter allographs and their contexts in which they appear, are of fundamental importance in the process of identifying scribes,²¹⁵ though some of his subsequent classifications of certain features as micro- or macro-paleographic, or even purely orthographic, could be criticised. However, regardless of the classification of certain features, the employment of data and tables allows for evidence that can be interrogated and reinterpreted, and is doubtless an improvement on the practice of using vague terms or imprecise assessments. Peter Stokes, one of the developers of the DigiPal and Archive projects in quantitative digital paleography and particularly character segmentation and comparison, concedes that the statements that paleographers make are often "frustratingly vague" and the manner in which they are arrived at could partially be elucidated through quantitative methods and shareable data.²¹⁶ As Stokes also suggests, paleographers

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 167.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 84, 249-52.

²¹⁶ Stokes, "Computer-Aided Paleography," 311.

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have the danger of coming across as overly subjective and closed off to debate,²¹⁷ and a potential antidote for this would be to insist on quantitatively based arguments.

The paleographic data in this project is more concerned with the form (allographs and the context in which they are used) and distribution of various graphs rather than the precise execution or idiographic characteristics of a letter, or potentially using minute measurements of characters to compare scribal hands. The line of paleographic inquiry assumed on this study thus has to do with graphs rather than precisely measured idiographs of any particular scribe. As an alternative, one could seek to measure various portions of the letter and strokes in the developing area of automated analysis; various metrics, ranging from character segmentation, to orientation and curvature,²¹⁸ as well as a confluence of multiple factors,²¹⁹ have been suggested, and despite the insights such studies may provide, none have been conferred with the status of scientific legitimacy.²²⁰ However, while lists of paleographic criteria, many of which can be quantified, such as angle and contrast, have been suggested in scholarly studies since at least the mid-twentieth century, it seems that these criteria and categories were intended as a sort of potentially shareable vocabulary and framework, to be used descriptively rather than as quantified values.²²¹

Scholars such as Arianna Ciula have claimed that the now rapidly developing quantitative and digital methods were hitherto considered unorthodox,²²² reflecting that fields such as paleography have traditionally been arts imparted through subjective analysis, qualitative observations and aesthetic judgments rather than sciences that can be objectified.²²³ However, it can be noted that quantitative methods in palaeography are by no means new nor exclusively digital; the practice of providing and / or referencing manuscript facsimiles goes back to the origins of the field itself; as early as the late nineteenth century, groups such as The New Paleographic Society published facsimiles of manuscripts along with figures²²⁴ in order to

²¹⁷ Ibid., 309.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 313-15; Peter Stokes, "Digital Approaches to Paleography," 1-3.

²¹⁹ Sampath, "Quantifying Scribal Behaviour."

²²⁰ Dalia Cilia et al., "Minimum Training Data Size," 3.

²²¹ Sampath, "Quantifying Scribal Behaviour," 16.

²²² Arianna Ciula, "The Paleographic Method Under the Light of a Digital Approach," in *Kodikologie und Paläographie im digitalen Zeitalter*, eds. Patrick Sahle, Malte Rehbein, Torsten Schassan (Norderstedt: BoD, 2009), 221.

²²³ Sampath, "Quantifying Scribal Behaviour," 12.

²²⁴ Stokes, "Digital Approaches to Paleography," 1.

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try and illustrate paleographic concepts and increase the transparency of the arguments for the reader.

Though the study was of a somewhat different nature than the one here at hand, dealing primarily with digital character segmentation, a recent study carried out by Nicole Dalia Cilia of the *Avila Bible*, an 870 page Latin bible manuscript with no fewer than twelve alleged scribal hands, suggests that even in cases in which entire manuscripts have been digitised, relatively small minorities of the potential data are required in order to make the same conclusions that reference to the entire available data set would yield. While the twelve scribal hands had been identified in previous, more traditional scholarship, the study showed that a mere 9.6% of the data was necessary for the SPI — the System for Paleographic Inspection — to accurately link a new sample of writing to one of the scribal hands witnessed in the manuscript within a 96.48% rate of accuracy.²²⁵

Nicole Dalia Cilia's study, concerning scribal identification via character segmentation and analysis in the *Avila Bible*, suggests that just 15% of the entire available data set (the entire manuscript had been previously subjected to a character analysis) yields the same results as the entire data set within a 2% margin.²²⁶ However, it probably cannot be said that, in spite of Cilia's numbers, that philologists in general should necessarily settle for data from 15% of a manuscript in any given study, but rather this indicates that a targeted study of the script of a given manuscript can be as accurate and elucidating as a hypothetically complete one.

Though scholars such as Karl G. Johansson have argued that the description of a scribal hand should be done primarily on palaeographic grounds,²²⁷ this project, as outlined elsewhere, makes use of both orthographic / linguistic as well as palaeographic / graphematic criteria; palaeography is doubtless an important parameter in scribal identification, localisation, and dating, though it is not clear that a scribe's execution of letter forms and the distribution in which they use them should supersede their often idiosyncratic and at least somewhat unique language and orthography in terms of being defining characteristics. Odd Einar Haugen has previously discussed the limits of such an approach, namely leaning overly heavily on palaeographic criteria, as the rich orthographic variation of Old Norse manuscripts indicate that elements of the scribe's linguistic norm must have surfaced in their work; scribes did not copy from their exemplar word by word, let alone letter by letter.²²⁸ Thus, an approach that does not take orthography into account implicitly assumes that it is either not relevant or not

²²⁵ Nicole Dalia Cilia et al., "An End to End Deep Learning System for Medieval Writer Identification," *Pattern Recognition Letters* 129 (2019), 1-2.

²²⁶ Nicole Dalia Cilia et al., "Minimum Training Data Size," 2.

²²⁷ Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 92.

²²⁸ Haugen, "Deciding on Scribes in AM 645 4to," 255; Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 90.

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helpful in the pursuit of differentiating scribal hands. As will be discussed in the next section, a scribe's orthography was shaped by a confluence of factors, many of which can be inferred from the scribe's work, and are thus integral in the process of scribal identification, localisation, and dating. As it will also feature prominently in the seventh chapter, the concept of a scribal norm will also be discussed in the next section, such that a working definition or contextualisation of the term, in its pertinence to this project, can be arrived upon.

3.3.3 Interpreting Orthographic Trends and Scribal Norms

While the author of *The First Grammatical Treatise* sought to define an alphabet that could accommodate the Icelandic language during the mid-twelfth century,²²⁹ the fundamental orthographic reality in Old West Norse is that, while local norms seemed to have existed, and even the potential for such a local norm developing into a local standard was there,²³⁰ orthography could and did vary from scribe to scribe,²³¹ reflecting the confluence of influences that would shape and surface in a scribe's individual work. As there are many factors that could shape a norm, it must be noted that any norm must be limited by region and / or the scribal milieu with which it is associated,²³² though a scribe that may be beholden to such a norm will still exhibit deviations from it. As a major part of this project involves the identification of scribes and the inference of conventions or a norm associated with a scribal milieu that they may have followed to varying degrees, this section will be dedicated to the discussion of scribal and linguistic norms, at the level of both individuals and the milieu to which they may have belonged. However, one of the inherent problems with defining a norm can be noted here: as the written codices are generally our only testaments to any norm, it can be difficult to make a differentiation between the written norm of the scribal milieu and what may have been the spoken norm of the scribe. It should also be noted here that some aspects of the concept of a norm, specifically those that deal more explicitly with spoken language, will be addressed further in chapter four.

In Old West Norse, in which orthographic variation was both rich and routine, unique scribal orthographies were an aggregate of several influences, with the most important being: the norm and language of the scribe, the exemplar, the education of the scribe, and the norm at

²²⁹ Hreinn Benediktsson, ed., *The First Grammatical Treatise*. (Institute of Nordic Linguistics, Reykjavik: University of Iceland Publications in Linguistics, 1972), 115.

²³⁰ Stokes, "Computer-Aided Paleography," 316.

²³¹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 4th draft (Reykjavik, 2014), 102.

²³² Magnus Rindal, "Marius Hægstad's arbeid med gammelnorske dialektar," *Maal og Minne* (1984): 172.

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the institution at which they were active.²³³ As outlined, a plethora of factors combined to shape a scribe's orthography on any given project, and orthographic variance can be interpreted in multiple ways depending on context. If one encounters spellings of a word that are anomalous relative to the way that that word is typically spelt in that manuscript, such instances may be interpreted as indicative of the scribe emending the text that they found in their exemplar, bringing it in line with their own written language and thus deviating from the exemplar. However, a peculiar variant, perhaps more frequent at the beginning, may suggest diminishing influence of the exemplar,²³⁴ and as such should not be taken as a reflection of the scribe's language. Alternatively, in a situation where two variants may both appear frequently, say in a 4:3 ratio, the variant that it is more frequent cannot necessarily be said to be reflective of the scribe's dialect and the other not.²³⁵

Extrapolating these notions to the identification of a group of scribes, distinct linguistic and orthographic features may be collated in an attempt to define a scribal norm that while never followed to the letter, characterized the work of several co-operating scribes. Such a norm that could be inferred from a manuscript produced by a group of co-operating scribes could be considered reflective of the written norm of a relatively small learned and homogenous group, and consequently would not reflect broader linguistic variation even if it had existed in the spoken language of the scribes.²³⁶ In turn, evidence of a relatively stable or uniform norm within the written work of several scribes would not necessarily mean that their spoken language (which could be equated more with a linguistic rather than written norm) was equally homogenous. While the norms and language of each scribe cannot be precisely ascertained, nor their education, exemplars, or career history, a scribal norm, as defined above, would represent an aggregate of the tendencies and conventions employed, perhaps by mandate, by a group of scribes active at a certain time and place. Consequently, somewhat paradoxically and perhaps even inconveniently, orthographic uniformities throughout a manuscript generally weaken notions of there having been multiple scribes involved, in that it is highly improbable that multiple scribes would employ exactly the same combinations of symbols and conventions consistently.²³⁷ Scribes working as part of the same milieu likely had

²³³ Skard, *Norsk språkhistorie. Bind 1*, 86-7.

²³⁴ Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 83; van Arkel, "Scribes and Statistics," 25-45.

²³⁵ Per Nyquist Grøtvedt, "Om dialektundersøkelser på grunnlag av gamle håndskrifter," *Maal og Mimne* (1940): 103.

²³⁶ Haraldur Bernharðsson, "Scribal Culture in Thirteenth-Century Iceland: The Introduction of Anglo-Saxon "F" in Icelandic Script," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* vol. 117, no. 3 (July 2018): 314.

²³⁷ Stefán Karlsson, "Localization and Dating," 144.

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similarities in their work, but excessive similarity would undermine the very notion that the hands belonged to different people.

A scribal norm can be defined as rules, or more aptly, guidelines or principles, that governed the language, orthography, and script of medieval scribes, as manifested in Old West Norse manuscripts; these rules may have been presented orally, from teacher to student, or they may have been supplemented with exempla.²³⁸ In many ways, this project hinges on the notion that the education that a scribe received, as well as the institution at which they were active, would have influenced the orthography of a given scribe, likely in ways that often superseded their personal language or the orthography of their exemplar. It is difficult to define the concept of a scribal norm succinctly, as the concept is often referenced and implicitly understood, yet rarely defined explicitly. Contributing to the difficulty of retrospectively inferring and defining a scribal norm is the reality that any norm that may have been taught or loosely enforced historically likely would have served, in practice, more like general guidelines than set rules, and thus even in cases when congruencies in language and orthography can be identified, we are left pondering whether these are due to the scribes referencing a common norm, or perhaps just reflecting some other combination of influences.

There were a multitude of factors that may have shaped a scribe's writing: their spoken language, the conventions or 'norm' that were taught to them during their training, influence from the local dialect or linguistic norm, set conventions that may have transcended local norms, as well as their exemplar, and any perceived errors or archaisms therein that the scribe may have corrected.²³⁹ It is not at all clear how these factors combined to govern the orthography of any given passage of a manuscript, nor if these factors existed in a hierarchy in which particular scribes could defer to say, their own spoken language or the use of their exemplar in moments of ambiguity. However, as mentioned above, the practice of linking a manuscript or scribe with a particular milieu hinges on the notion that at least to some extent, a scribe's education and / or current milieu association could shine through any other intervention in the copying process that may have been a result of the scribe's own language / perceived linguistic norm or the norm of their exemplar.

However, the tangible process through which a scribe copied can be investigated in order to further elucidate the manner in which abstract factors may have shaped a particular instantiation of a scribe's orthography and script, though the subtleties of the process through which medieval scribes copied texts is not entirely known, and as mentioned above, likely varied by manuscript, scribe, and even the particular day that a scribe was working. While

²³⁸ Kjell Venås, "Jan Ragnar Hagland. Rikstyre og språknorm. Doktordisputas ved Universitetet i Trondheim 28. September 1985," *Maal og Minne* (1986): 4.

²³⁹ Arne Torp and Lars S. Vikør, *Hovuddrag i Norsk språkhistorie* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2016), 131.

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some scribes may have copied a text via dictation, in which the scribe's language and their mental conception of how the text should be spelled would be most influential in shaping the orthography they used, and would arguably be the purest expression of their personal orthography, the most common method was likely through the use of an exemplar,²⁴⁰ which as discussed previously, would have affected the orthography and script that a scribe used, along with the scribe's language, education, and current posting. Scribes likely internalized a phrase rather than proceeding letter by letter or even word by word, and any features that conflicted with the scribe's mental grammar would have presented them with the opportunity, that they did not necessarily always take, to amend the text so that it became more in line with the scribe's preference and / or the perceived tastes of the target audience of the manuscript.²⁴¹

While various schemes have been suggested for understanding the process of scribing, the one that follows, features one step among four, namely the third, that is crucial in the discussion and charting of how various factors shaped the work of the scribes of Old West Norse codices. According to this conception,²⁴² the process of scribing had four key stages:

- 1) *Avkodning*: Skriveren leser noen ord i forelegget og memorerer dem.
- 2) *Tolking*: Skriveren forstår hva han leser.
- 3) *Konvertering*: Skriveren omformer foreleggets former til sine egne representasjoner, altså sine egne paleografiske varianter og ortografi.
- 4) *Nedskrivning*: Skriveren skriver ned ordene med den ortografien og paleografiske utformingen han bestemte ved konverteringen.

In the context of the production of Old West Norse manuscripts, this third step of *conversion* is crucial. This intermediary stage between a scribe reading some words or phrases from their exemplar and setting their pen to the page would have been a complicated process through which the mental orthographic norm of the scribe, i.e the abstract 'scribe's norm', and even their perceived linguistic norms, which were in turn shaped by the norm of the scribal school at which they were trained, the norm of the institution or milieu at which they were active (which may or may not have been the same at which they were initially trained), and broadly speaking, a writing tradition,²⁴³ would interact with the norm of the exemplar in order to determine how particular words were spelled. As such, the language, as represented in any given manuscript, was exposed to intervention whenever a text was copied and a new

²⁴⁰ Haraldur Bernharðsson, "Copying Njáls Saga into One's Own Dialect," 116-17.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Nils Dvesrøp, "Från förlaga till avskrift – om avskrivning av text under medeltiden," *I: Studier i svenska språkets historia* 11, ed. Maj Reinhammar (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2010), 121-3; cf. Mårtensson, *Skrivaren och förlagen*, 26.

²⁴³ Ibid.

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manifestation of it created.²⁴⁴ The *actual* orthography that appears in a passage and can be described, is then, not a *pure* expression of the scribe's norm, in the abstract, as we would have to have a passage of their writing that did *not* have an exemplar, i.e. one that the scribe copied out using dictation, to see what their own tendencies were in the abstract, and what their own mental orthographic rules were. While we generally cannot identify any written works as having been written out via a scribe being dictated a text, it would be these such texts in which a scribe's linguistic norm would be much more clearly on display, as it would be far less influenced by the norm of any exemplar.

Mapping medieval Icelandic scribal milieus presents some unique challenges: the medieval Icelandic populace, not excluding scribes, was exceptionally mobile compared to their continental counterparts, and thus a scribe was often active at various sites of manuscript production, and did not necessarily spend most of their career at the site at which they were trained.²⁴⁵ This precise dilemma led Karl G. Johansson to outline a tripartite conception of the rules and norms associated with scribes and scribal schools, and how they may or may not have manifested themselves in particular manuscripts that had some association with a particular school.²⁴⁶ On the basic level, one can conceptualize the orthographic and paleographic rules and norms of the particular manuscript from which the text and manuscript under study were copied — or rather, the norm of the exemplar. Once these are inferred, these rules can be stated in the abstract, divorced from the way that they may or may not be manifested in any given manuscript associated with the school — Johansson calls this the *use of the exemplar*;²⁴⁷ linking this inferred orthographic norm of an individual manuscript to the concepts of referential and normalized orthographies discussed in 3.2.3, the “use of the exemplar” could be extrapolated to form orthographic rules based on internal criteria of the manuscript, or “the norm of the manuscript”.²⁴⁸ Secondly, one can conceive of how a scribe's orthographic and paleographic tendencies were shaped by the school at which they were educated.²⁴⁹ Thirdly, one can conjecture how the norms of this school or milieu may have influenced and eventually became embodied in the work of a scribe who was active in this milieu but received their initial and formative scribal training elsewhere.

²⁴⁴ Peter Hallberg, “Om språkliga författerkriterier i isländska sagatexter,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 18 (1965), 186.

²⁴⁵ Stefán Karlsson, “Localization and Dating,” 140-1.

²⁴⁶ Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 249-52.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 103.

²⁴⁹ Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, 249.

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Further emphasising the potential disparity between a linguistic norm and a scribal norm, it does not necessarily seem to have been a consistent rule that a younger scribe i.e someone with potentially younger language, would consistently employ younger forms i.e orthography and linguistic forms in their work. It may also be tempting to assume that younger scribes would have, by definition, employed younger linguistic forms, though the somewhat unintuitive reality was such that older scribes likely would have enjoyed a higher degree of hypothetical orthographic freedom, as their experience liberated them from having to slavishly follow their exemplar.²⁵⁰ As such, while an older scribe likely would have had more conservative forms in their spoken language than their junior colleagues, the younger scribes were likely more beholden to their exemplars owing to their inexperience, and thus the work of less experienced, presumably younger, scribes may appear more archaic than the work of their more experienced, elder colleagues. Though an older scribe may have been more accustomed to a scribal norm and could thus apply it without much effort, a younger scribe may still be in the process of learning the norm, and thus would lean more heavily toward directly copying their exemplar;²⁵¹ this represents a disparity in which, depending on the scribe's level of experience, the linguistic norm that they were beholden to, i.e the perceived manner in which they and those around them spoke, superseded the more abstract rules of language and orthography that were passed down to them or generally practiced at the institution at which they were active i.e the scribal norm — or vice-versa. Such a dynamic seems to have characterized the production of Flateyjarbók GKS 1005 fol., in which one of the two scribes²⁵² was the more progressive in terms of his language and orthography, yet more archaic when it came to script.²⁵³ However, as a general principle, a manuscript that contains linguistic or orthographic innovations will be considered younger than one that does not.²⁵⁴

In 1975, Björn Hagström suggested “framför allt är problemet av en mycket spekulativ karaktär. [...] skrifvarproblemet är olösligt i den meningen, att forskningsresultaten inte är verifierbara. Skrivarna är anonyma och kommer att så förbli”.²⁵⁵ While the scribes may well

²⁵⁰ Hreinn Benediktsson, *The Life of St. Gregory and his Dialogues: Fragments of an Icelandic Manuscript from the 13th Century* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), 45-46; Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Scribal Culture in Thirteenth-Century Iceland,” 305.

²⁵¹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Scribal Culture in Thirteenth-Century Iceland,” 304.

²⁵² Flateyjarbók GKS 1005 fol. is one of the rare Old Norse-Icelandic manuscripts in which the names of the scribes explicitly appear in the manuscript.

²⁵³ Pagani, “The Scribes of Flateyjarbók, GKS 1005 Fol. - A Study in Scribal Practice in 14th Century Iceland.”

²⁵⁴ Jan Ragnar Hagland, “Avskrift <<orð ifra orðe>>. Gransking av ein kontrollert avskrivingsprosess frá mellomalderen,” *Maal og Minne* (1976): 6.

²⁵⁵ Björn Hagström, “Att särskilja anonyma skrivare. Några synpunkter på ett paleografisk-ortografisk problem i medeltida isländska handskrifter, särskilt Isländska Homiliboken,” *Scripta Islandica* 26 (1975): 3-24.

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remain anonymous, we can often determine if they were Icelandic or Norwegian, and perhaps come even closer to accurate localisations of scribes and manuscripts, based on the criteria presented in the next chapter.

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4.1 Context

4.1.1 Historical Context

As a significant portion of Iceland's early settlers could trace their roots to Norway, the histories of the two modern nations, along with the other former tributary lands of the Kingdom of Norway, such as the Faroe Islands and the Northern Isles, were closely tied during the medieval period. Despite the premise that many of these early Norwegian emigrants to Iceland were, according to *Íslendingabók*,²⁵⁶ fleeing the tyranny of King Harald *hárfagri*, Iceland maintained close cultural, linguistic, and trade ties with Norway during the Icelandic commonwealth period and through to the fifteenth century. Given that the manuscripts in this study were likely produced during the fourteenth century, a pivotal time in the history of the Kingdom of Norway that saw outbreaks of plague and shifts of power, the exercise of localising these manuscripts and their scribes is a vital one, and the potentiality of lingering Norwegian influence in medieval Hólar will be explored.

In 1262-63, following the civil strife of the *Sturlunga öld*, Iceland was annexed by the Kingdom of Norway. Alongside the monarch, the Church played a prominent role in cultural life of the Norwegian kingdom, and Iceland's two medieval diocese, Skálholt in the south and Hólar in the north, had since 1152 (more than a century before Iceland's annexation), been part of the archdiocese of Niðarós (now Trondheim) in Norway. During the fourteenth century, several Norwegian bishops served at both Skálholt and Hólar, often with other Norwegians serving as their subordinate officials. This presence of Norwegian officials and their entourages in Iceland may have contributed to a dynamic in which Old Norwegian held higher prestige than Old Icelandic in the written register,²⁵⁷ though it has conversely also been argued that the prolific literary activities of the Icelanders may have served as a counterbalance to this effect, and Old Icelandic may have enjoyed its own prestige over Old Norwegian in some limited cultural contexts.²⁵⁸ However, conceptualising either of these two varieties of Old West Norse as having been considered of a higher register than the other has also been problematized, as will be explored later in the chapter. Given the close relationship of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian during the medieval period, later sections of this chapter are

²⁵⁶ Jakob Benediktsson, ed., *Íslendingabók - Landnámabók*, Íslensk Fornrit 1 (Reykjavík, Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 1986), 4-6.

²⁵⁷ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 436.

²⁵⁸ Magnus Rindal, "Norsk eller islandsk: ei drøfting av språkforma i norske og islandske mellomalderhandskrifter," in *Íslensk málsaga og textafræði*, ed. Úlfar Bragason (Reykjavík: Stofnun Sigurðar Nordals, 1997), 119.

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dedicated to discerning the difference between the two in the context of manuscripts, scribes, and language, and the Icelandic scribal trend of adopting Norwegianisms will also be addressed. It is difficult to discern how the differences between Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian were conceptualized during the Medieval period by the speakers and scribes of the language(s), though it has been argued in earlier scholarship that Norwegians may have considered Icelandic something of a peculiar dialect of the provinces of the Norwegian Kingdom during the period in question,²⁵⁹ perhaps on a similar level as the contemporary Old West Norse varieties of the Faroes and Northern Isles, which also developed into languages in their own right.

In Hólar during the fourteenth century, where the manuscripts on this project were likely produced, there were several important monasteries: the Benedictine monasteries at Þingeyrar in the northwest, Þverá (Munkaþverá) in Eyjafjörður in the north, the Benedictine nunnery at Reynistaður in Skagafjörður (from which AM 764 4to *Reynistaðarbók* takes its name), also in the north, and the Augustinian monastery at Möðruvellir in Hörgardalur, as well as another cultural centre, Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður. These monasteries and centres were important sites of culture and learning, and along with the bishops' seats, Norwegians also often occupied the posts of monk or even abbot.²⁶⁰ As such, Old Norwegian may have exerted a certain level of influence on Old Icelandic, likely particularly in the written register given the restricted cultural context. Icelandic scribes may have adopted Norwegian traits for several reasons, though these can all be problematized: Through pressure to do so owing to the export of codices to Norway; the importation of Norwegian law books; a perceived or enforced prestige of Old Norwegian. Old Norwegian may have exerted influence on Old Icelandic scribal practice (though the converse can also be argued, especially in cases of Icelandic scribes working in Norway),²⁶¹ but may well have also affected the spoken language,²⁶² as will be discussed in section 4.2.

The period of intense contact, influence, and exchange between Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic, namely the latter part of the thirteenth century and the entirety of the fourteenth century, was also a time of upheaval and change in the Kingdom of Norway, and this period was marred, and eventually ended, by outbreaks of The Black Death.²⁶³ The

²⁵⁹ Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen, "Opposisjonsinnlegg om Mattias Tveitane: den lærde stil," *Maal og Mimne* 1969 (1969): 6.

²⁶⁰ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 436.

²⁶¹ Rindal, "Norsk eller islandsk," 119.

²⁶² Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 450.

²⁶³ Gunnar Karlsson, "Plague without Rats: The Case of Fifteenth-Century Iceland," *Journal of Medieval History* vol. 22 no. 3 (1996): 263-84.

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bubonic plague reached Norway in circa 1349, and later broke out for the first time in Iceland circa 1400. These plague outbreaks accelerated the divergence between Icelandic and Norwegian, as they served to significantly lessen the amount of contact between the two populations, and perhaps more significantly, the level of Norwegian involvement in Icelandic ecclesiastic and administrative affairs. From a Norwegian perspective, the mid-fourteenth century marks the beginning of the Middle Norwegian period,²⁶⁴ in which Norwegian began to diverge significantly from many of the grammatical elements of Old Norse that Icelandic retained.²⁶⁵ As the manuscripts in this study likely date to the second half of the fourteenth century, this not only bookends them with two bouts of plague in the medieval West Norse world, during which Norwegian-Icelandic relations were strained and in decline, but it also places them during a period in which many independent developments of the Icelandic language were on display in the relatively large body of surviving manuscripts that date to this period.²⁶⁶ Assuming that this dating is relatively accurate, these manuscripts also would have been produced not long before an extended period of stagnation in Icelandic orthography and script, circa 1402-1550.²⁶⁷

The dates of the Black Death striking Norway (1349-50) and eventually Iceland itself (1402-04) have some significant ramifications for what level of influence Norway may have exerted over Icelandic culture, politics, and most relevant here, language and book production during the latter half of the fourteenth century.²⁶⁸ As the manuscripts in this study have previously been dated to the second half of the fourteenth century,²⁶⁹ in the period essentially bookended by bouts of the Black Death, their production seems to have taken place during a period in which Norwegian influence in Iceland was in decline, with decreased trade ties and Norway suffering heavy losses from the plague, while Iceland remained essentially untouched, at least directly, for another five decades.

While the Icelandic and Norwegian languages were mutually intelligible and together were part of one broader literary culture during the middle ages, the two languages, or perhaps rather the two variants of one parent language, had already begun to diverge with regard to several linguistic and orthographic features during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

²⁶⁴ Magnus Rindal, "Norsk språk 1350-1500. Gammalnorsk eller mellomnorsk?" in *Festskrift til Magnus Rindal på 80-årsdagen 7. februar 2022* (Oslo: Novus Forlag, 2022), 139.

²⁶⁵ Agnete Nesse, *Imnføring i norsk språkhistorie* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm AS, 2013), 49.

²⁶⁶ Haraldur Bernharðsson, "Copying Njáls Saga into One's Own Dialect," 116.

²⁶⁷ Stefán Karlsson, "Localization and Dating," 142.

²⁶⁸ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 435-452; Gunnar Karlsson, "Plague without Rats," 263-84.

²⁶⁹ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*; <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?m199>

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preceding both The Black Death and the Kalmar Union. These divergences provide scholars with frameworks with which to determine whether a text was written by an Icelander or a Norwegian, and these divergences will be the subject matter of the next section, 4.1.2. However, these features, and their uses in distinguishing between Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, are not without their problems; as Old Icelandic was influenced by Old Norwegian and Norwegians in Iceland, so too may the reverse have been true, as many Icelandic scribes were active in medieval Norway, and seem to have left their mark on at least written Old Norwegian insofar as many of the scribes contributing to what may have been considered Old Norwegian written norms were in fact Icelandic.²⁷⁰ Many factors shaped the linguistic dynamic between speakers and scribes of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian during the medieval period, and the manner in which these have been approached in previous scholarship, and also approached in this project, will be the subject of the following sections.

4.1.2 Old Icelandic-Old Norwegian Contact in Previous Scholarship

While early philological scholarship in Old West Norse often sought to emphasize and delineate the differences rather than the commonalities between the two main variants, Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, often in the context of crediting manuscripts and literary activities exclusively to one of the two modern nations, more recent scholarship has been less preoccupied with drawing harsh boundaries, and instead concedes that, despite one variant possibly enjoying some prestige over the other,²⁷¹ the relationship between the two was dynamic, and both major varieties ultimately influenced and helped shape the other.

In earlier scholarship, there were oscillations between emphasizing the roles that *either* the Icelanders *or* Norwegians respectively played in shaping the linguistic and literary culture of the Old West Norse world, obfuscating the complexly intertwined history that the two modern nations share, particularly during the later medieval period. The Danish philologist Rasmus Rask (1787-1832) was one of the earliest practitioners and indeed founders of the modern field of Old Norse philology, and he managed to teach himself Icelandic as a young man, and subsequently published his grammar of Icelandic, *Vejledning til det islandske eller gamle nordiske sprog*, in 1811. This grammar, while one of the earliest works of the modern incarnation of the field, failed to distinguish between Old Norse and Icelandic in any meaningful way, which the title of the book betrays in its reference to “the Icelandic *or* old Nordic language”.²⁷² It can be debated whether this ambiguity was deliberate, and reflective of

²⁷⁰ Rindal, “Norsk eller islandsk,” 119.

²⁷¹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 436.

²⁷² Translation and emphasis by the author of this study.

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an effort to spur interest in not only the Icelandic language and its rich literature, but also in Iceland itself as a kind of utopia in which the ‘original’ Nordic language was still in use. However, it must also be noted that Rask himself did not invent the notion that the Icelandic language was eponymous with Old Norse, as he merely touched upon “retrospective linguistic currents already widespread in Iceland.”²⁷³ This implied conflation of modern and Old Icelandic became embedded in early literary activities of the Modern period in Iceland, as Rask himself formed *Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag* (the Icelandic Literature Society) in 1816, just five years after the publication of his grammar. Despite his proclivity for the Icelandic language, however, Rask did not necessarily let this guide his scholarly judgement; as exemplified in a later version of his grammar of Old Norse, *Kortfattet vejledning til det oldnordiske eller gamle islandske sprog* in 1832, he consulted evidence from both Faroese and Norwegian, as well as Icelandic, and did not ascribe any more historical significance to modern Icelandic pronunciation than these other varieties in his discussions of the phonology of Old West Norse.²⁷⁴

Earlier scholarship conducted in Norway that discussed the dynamic between Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic, such as that by Didrik Arup Seip and his students, generally sought to prove that the appearance of Norwegian traits in Icelandic texts betrayed that the Icelandic scribes *must* have been using a Norwegian exemplar,²⁷⁵ rather than to argue that the Norwegian language or the power dynamic between the two nations influenced the Icelandic language *per se*. This line of argumentation was furthered by some of Seip’s pupils, namely Mattias Tveitane²⁷⁶ and Alfred Jakobsen,²⁷⁷ who respectively argued either that an Icelandic manuscript was in fact written by a Norwegian, or was clearly Icelandic in origin but must have been based on a Norwegian exemplar. However, a basic flaw in this line of scholarship was exposed by Stefán Karlsson and Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen, as well as by Hans Kuhn, respectively:²⁷⁸ that it was not necessary or even reasonable to assume a Norwegian exemplar

²⁷³ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 484.

²⁷⁴ Jørgen Rischel “The Contribution of the Nordic Countries to Historical-Comparative Linguistics: Rasmus Rask and His Followers,” in *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook on the History of the North Germanic Languages I*, edited by Oskar Bandle (Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 127.

²⁷⁵ Didrik Arup Seip, “Har nordmenn skrevet opp Edda-diktningen?” *Maal og Minne* 1951 (1951): 3-33; “Om et Norsk skriftlig grunnlag for Edda-Diktningen eller deler av den,” *Maal og Minne* 1957 (1957): 81-207.

²⁷⁶ Mattias Tveitane, “Den lærde stil. Oversetterprosa i den norrøne versjonen av Vitæ Patrum,” (Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1968).

²⁷⁷ Alfred Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus Saga - Til spørsmålet om sagaens Norske proviniers* (Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1964).

²⁷⁸ Hans Kuhn, “Die Norwegischen Spuren in Der Liederreda,” *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* 22 (1952): 65-80.

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or archetype for many of the Icelandic texts under study.²⁷⁹ One could conceptualize of Old Norwegian influence on Old Icelandic, particularly the written language, rather than necessarily think that the the Icelanders were simply slavishly copying from Norwegian originals.²⁸⁰ However, conceiving of Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic in a manner in which one variety must have been more prestigious than the other is problematic on several levels. One must consider, for instance, that the potential influence of Old Norwegian on Old Icelandic language and scribal practice may not have been entirely organic, if it were indeed the case that Norwegian officials mandated orthographic conventions on Icelandic scribes. Also, such a conception is premised on the notion that Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic were perceived as sufficiently distinct by the scribes and speakers of Old West Norse, and subsequently, that Old Norwegian must have enjoyed some kind of de facto prestige because of its associations with the kingdom's centre of power. Additionally, as mentioned above, Old Norwegian scribal norms were likely also influenced by Icelanders employed in Norway and by Icelandic codices that had been imported.

Though it was argued in earlier scholarship that learned medieval Norwegians likely thought of Icelandic as a "provinsdialekt",²⁸¹ such a conception is not necessarily warranted. Such a conception is problematic on many levels; Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian underwent some parallel linguistic developments, and linguistic developments could have spread from Norway to Iceland *or* the other way around.²⁸² More recent scholarship has been less overtly preoccupied with claiming that a particular text or manuscript was *either* Icelandic *or* Norwegian, while still often leaning toward the notion that Old Norwegian exerted a stronger influence on Icelandic than vice-versa.²⁸³ Magnus Rindal concludes that because of our limited knowledge of the manuscript corpus that is not itself derived from the script and language of said manuscripts, we must perhaps content ourselves with working with Icelandic-Norwegian or alternatively Norwegian-Icelandic texts, as the two modern countries ultimately belonged to one linguistic and literary community during the Middle Ages.²⁸⁴ Additionally, it has been observed that even in cases in which the *language* of an Icelandic or Norwegian codex

²⁷⁹ Rindal, "Norsk eller islandsk," 119-20.

²⁸⁰ Halvorsen, "Opposisjonsinnlegg om Mattias Tveitane," 1-18.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁸² Oskar Bandle, "Islandsk dialektgeografi. Problem og resultat," in *Íslensk málsaga og textafræði*. ed. Úlfar Bragason (Reykjavík: Stofnun Sigurðar Nordals, 1997), 12-16.

²⁸³ Halvorsen, "Opposisjonsinnlegg om Mattias Tveitane," 1-18.

²⁸⁴ Rindal, "Norsk eller islandsk," 119.

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is referenced in our primary sources, it is generally done in opposition to Latin rather than to a particular variety of what was essentially the shared language of Iceland and Norway.²⁸⁵

4.2 Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian

4.2.1 *Distinguishing Criteria and Circles of Influence During the Medieval Period*

By the fourteenth century, Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, while still arguably being two main varieties of what was ultimately still one language, had diverged significantly enough for there to be several features, having to do with orthography, linguistic developments, and script, that can be referenced by scholars in the effort to determine whether a particular sample was Old Icelandic or Old Norwegian. There are several linguistic and / or orthographic features that can aid in determining whether a medieval scribe was Icelandic or Norwegian, though this equation is problematized by the fact that Icelanders often incorporated Norwegian features, (cf. section 4.3 on ‘Norwegianisms’ for more discussion) owing to the intended Norwegian consumers of the trade of Icelandic book export,²⁸⁶ while still exhibiting distinctly Icelandic traits. It is this dynamic that could partially explain why the manuscripts in this study exhibit some traits that are perhaps ultimately Norwegian in origin, as it has been argued that the scriptorium at Þingeyrar, for instance, had an eye for exporting codices to Norway.²⁸⁷ As previously discussed, Old Norwegian may have been considered of higher status and register than Old Icelandic, though, it has also been argued, the rich and prolific literary and scribal culture of medieval Iceland may have also led to Old Icelandic enjoying a certain amount of prestige, respect, and novelty in medieval Norwegian scribal culture.²⁸⁸

Icelandic scribes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries often seemed to have adopted Norwegian features, which will be the subject of the next section. The notion of Norwegian scribes taking on Icelandic features is not generally discussed, even though several Norwegian charters dating to the early fifteenth century likely contain Icelandic traits among an otherwise Norwegian script and language.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁵ Stefán Karlsson, “Íslandsk bogeksport til Norge i middelalderen,” *Maal og Minne* (1979): 1.

²⁸⁶ Stefán Karlsson, “Localization and Dating,” 148.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Rindal, “Norsk eller islandsk,” 119.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 116.

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4.2.2 'Norwegianisms' - Historical Context and Relevance

Before discussing some features that may be used to distinguish Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, as will be done in sections 4.2.3, some more context for the relationship of the two main variants of Old West Norse is needed. There was an imbalance of power, with Norway as the centre and Iceland a re-integrated territory, under which Old Norwegian may have held some prestige over Old Icelandic, though, as mentioned in the previous section, this conceptualising the dynamic in this manner is not without its problems. One of the fundamental problems with positing that Old Norwegian scribal norms may have influenced those used in Old Icelandic is that it is not even clear what kind of 'norm' the Norwegian administrators would have been potentially imposing, in whole or in part, on Icelandic scribes, or how they may have done so. Attempts to define localised scribal norms, such as Seip's *Trønder-norm* and *Bergen-norm*,²⁹⁰ have been criticised in subsequent scholarship,²⁹¹ and the difficulty of defining a norm based on written language in medieval manuscripts has already been noted, both in terms of how accurate a representation of spoken language a written document can be, as well as how regular the written language must be in order to constitute some kind of norm.²⁹² This issue for modern scholars does not necessarily mean that norms did not exist historically, though the issue remains, subsequent to the difficulty of defining a historical norm in the first place, that a norm would have to be communicated, perhaps even somewhat indirectly through observable regularities²⁹³ in Old Norwegian practice, if a norm, perhaps better framed as guidelines in this context,²⁹⁴ were in some way impressed upon Icelandic scribes.

In more recent discussions of what the norms of scribes working as subjects of the Norwegian king may have been, it is conceded that a kind of inferred norm in law manuscripts, for instance, must have been influenced by the many Icelandic scribes that worked on them, and at least during much of the thirteenth century, the Norwegian royal chancellery seemed to have more of a practical, ad hoc approach to hiring scribes when and where they were needed rather than having a set scribal milieu,²⁹⁵ thus undermining the notion that a localised written norm was necessarily emblematic of the local spoken language.

²⁹⁰ Seip, *Norsk Språkhistorie: til omkring 1370*, 100-105.

²⁹¹ cf. Hagland, "Bruken av termene 'norm' og 'skriftradisjon' i Norsk språkhistorieskriving," 2.

²⁹² Hagland, "Review: Renate Bartsch: Norms of Language," 202.

²⁹³ Renate Barsch, *Norms of Language: Theoretical and Practical Aspects* (London & New York: Longman, 1987), 178.

²⁹⁴ cf. *Ibid.*, 76-80.

²⁹⁵ Hagland, *Rikstying og språknorm*, 221-5.

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However, it has also been argued that from as early as the latter part of the reign of Magnús the law-mender (roughly the 1270s onward), a move toward a more set scribal milieu was underway in the royal chancellery,²⁹⁶ which could have facilitated the development of more defined and developed scribal norms, which in turn could have influenced the work of scribes in Iceland. Conversely though, it has been argued that a written norm, once it reaches a certain point of development, cannot necessarily influence a spoken dialect, barring particular conditions;²⁹⁷ thus, identifying particular, potentially Norwegian, traits in the work of Icelandic scribes does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that said traits were incorporated into the spoken dialect or any established linguistic norm within the community. As such, the dynamic under which Old Norwegian may have influenced Old Icelandic script and orthography (or vice-versa), while still not necessarily affecting the spoken language itself, will be explored in this section, through the discussion of specific traits and frameworks.

From the second half of the thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth century, the increased level of Norwegian influence on Icelandic political and cultural life may have led to Icelandic manuscripts produced in this period exhibiting Norwegian orthographic and linguistic features, as well as some elements of the script. However, as will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six, Icelandic and Norwegian script have a close yet convoluted relationship, and Icelandic script often adopted novel features via Norway. Many orthographic, linguistic, and paleographic features have, for the last several decades in the scholarship, been classified as Norwegianisms, though it is far from clear whether the presence of such features were a matter of Icelandic scribes simply employing features perceived to be Norwegian in their written language, whether said features genuinely took hold in spoken Icelandic in some contexts, or whether some developments were really Norwegian in origin at all. The close relation of Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic also involved some parallel linguistic developments, and it is not necessarily obvious whether a habit of scribes was Norwegian or Icelandic in origin, especially given the fact that many Icelandic scribes worked in Norway.

Nonetheless, the following list outlines some common features often conceptualised as Norwegianisms:²⁹⁸

- a. The loss of *h* in word-initial position before *r*, *l*, *n*
- b. No orthographic representation of u-umlaut before preserved *u*
- c. Privative prefix *ú-* instead of *ó-*

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 223-5.

²⁹⁷ Grøtvedt, *Skriftspråktradisjon ved hallvardskirken og mariakirken*, 225.

²⁹⁸ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 437.

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- d. Analogical restoration of *v* before *o*, *ó*, *ú* in verbs
- e. The use of third singular forms in the 1st singular present indicative active and middle
- f. The form *þessur* instead of *þessi* of the demonstrative pronoun *sjá*
- g. Absence of u-umlaut before preserved *u*
- h. The pronominal forms *mit* and *mér* for *vit* and *vér*
- i. The adjective *val* for *vel* “well”
- j. The pronoun *báði* for *bæði*
- k. Attempted orthographic distinction between the vowels *é* and *ø*
- l. The conjunction *eðr* and preposition *meðr* instead of *eða* and *með*
- m. The adjective *mykill* for *mikill*
- n. Personal names without *-r* in the nominative
- o. Nominative singular *mann* instead of *maðr*

In order to assess whether some of the linguistic peculiarities may have taken hold in not only the written language of some medieval scribes, the following theoretical framework can be referenced. The following two parameters can be investigated in order to assess the likelihood that an apparently Norwegian feature had gained a foothold in colloquial Old Icelandic:²⁹⁹

- a. Chronology: did the change persist even after notable decline in Norwegian influence, specifically after 1400 or even 1540?
- b. Distributional independence: does the change appear in texts that are otherwise relatively free of Norwegianisms?

As this study deals with manuscripts from the fourteenth century, the first parameter will not play a significant role in determining whether any potentially Norwegian features had remained in the spoken language, as the manuscripts were likely produced during a period that some influence from Norwegian was in play yet in decline. However, the second parameter will be more relevant, as AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to are predominantly free of Norwegianisms. In this context, the consistent appearance of some linguistic peculiarities and Norwegianisms, which will be explored in later chapters, might suggest that they had genuinely taken hold in the language in a limited context, as some of the more typical Norwegianisms are absent.

While the presence of Norwegian traits in Icelandic manuscripts had been identified relatively early in the scholarship, the fundamental explanation for them being there shifted significantly during the mid-twentieth century. While more recent scholarship does not seem to have difficulty with the notion that medieval Icelandic scribes may have adopted Norwegian

²⁹⁹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 451; Stefán Karlsson, “Om norvågismer i islandske håndskrifter,” *Maal og Minne*, no. 1978 (1978): 87-101.

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orthographic traits for various potential reasons — a Norwegian exemplar; work on a codex slated for export to Norway; working in a milieu with and / or under Norwegians — early scholarship on these Norwegian features in Icelandic manuscripts was often preoccupied with arguing for a Norwegian exemplar on the basis of these features alone. Some scholars went as far as to imply that some medieval Icelanders may have been so fickle as to genuinely adopt elements of Norwegian vowel harmony only to ‘switch back’ to the older / Icelandic paradigm,³⁰⁰ rather than simply view the trait as an imitation of Old Norwegian that did not necessarily have roots in or reflect the scribe’s spoken language.

Even though some features can be cited as more typical of Old Icelandic or Old Norwegian, it is difficult to make an entirely clear distinction at this stage, perhaps reflective of the complexly intertwined history that cannot be completely disentangled. However, regarding the level to which Norwegianisms entrenched themselves in Old Icelandic, Haraldur Bernharðsson has suggested a tripartite scheme for conceptualising how Norwegian linguistic traits may have taken root in Old Icelandic:³⁰¹

Level 1: written language only; the traits surfaced in written language but never became part of the colloquial language. This suggests that scribes may have adopted particular conventions in their work, but these were not reflective of the way that the scribes actually spoke.

Level 2: colloquial language in limited circles only; beyond the written language, the traits may have become part of the colloquial language in learned environments such as cultural centres. At this level, certain features that surfaced in writing may have actually been reflected in the speech of a limited number of speakers in a particular environment. It cannot be clearly discerned whether the feature surfacing in speech preceded its presence in written works or vice versa.

Level 3: colloquial language of the majority of speakers; the features became part of the colloquial language of the majority of speakers, eventually spreading around the country. This is the most thorough level of proliferation that an Old Norwegian feature could have achieved in Old Icelandic; there is not clear evidence of any one feature reaching this level, though it cannot be ruled out that certain features may have been in vogue in the spoken language around the island for a time.

For the purposes of this project, levels 1 and 2 are of the most importance; as this project is occupied with a scribal / educated milieu, it will not be argued that the manner in which they spoke or wrote was reflective of nor the progenitor of linguistic changes that affected the entire island. Rather, in accordance with the notion that the Icelandic population

³⁰⁰ Didrik Arup Seip, *Nye studier i norsk språkhistorie* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & co., 1954), 15.

³⁰¹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 450.

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was exceptionally mobile and that linguistic innovations were not necessarily traceable to one specific area, it will be argued that while the manuscripts under study were likely produced in the Hólar bishopric, the linguistic innovations and peculiarities found therein were not necessarily *restricted* to that area; Hólar seems to have been the area in which these scribes were active during the period in question, though, if we are to discuss any linguistic innovations or lack thereof among the language of these scribes, we can only make claims about the speech of a very limited number of speakers in a specific, likely monastic, environment rather than the Hólar bishopric more generally.

4.2.3 Feature-Specific Localisation of Old West Norse

In this section, several frameworks for delineating Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian will be introduced, and when relevant, the manner in which they are defined and searchable on EMROON will also be mentioned, though this will be taken up in greater detail in chapters five and six. Said frameworks outline orthographic and linguistic divergences between Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, although identifying Norwegian or Icelandic scribes does not necessarily require that the scribe under study followed each rule within a particular framework. These frameworks are not meant as a list of binaries, but rather to give an overview of how the issue has been framed in recent scholarship. Framework one and its subheadings delineate several developments that occurred in Old Icelandic and *not* Old Norwegian, while framework two will do the inverse. For the orthographic and linguistic analysis that will largely comprise the subject matter of chapters five and seven, features from the various frameworks, each of which is the established work of another scholar, will be discussed in the context of localising a scribe's language. More succinctly, the criteria of framework one can be used to identify the various scribes under study as Icelandic, while framework two delineates features whose presence more likely suggests a Norwegian scribe or an Icelander having been influenced by Old Norwegian language and scribal practice. Multiple features appear in more than one sub-framework, but will only be defined once in order to avoid the same text repeated verbatim.

Framework 1 (Developments unique to Icelandic during the period in question)

Framework 1 takes the form of two separate, yet partially overlapping frameworks that have been established in the scholarship during recent decades. Both frameworks **1a** and **1b** list linguistic developments that were unique to Old Icelandic, and were defined by Haraldur Bernharðsson and Magnus Rindal, respectively. However, one may note that there is necessarily overlap between the two frameworks, and the features that Rindal labels 2 and 3 correspond to Haraldur's features *a* and *b*. Additionally, at least one of these features, namely

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feature 2 of framework **1b**, is not necessarily a reliable predictor on its own of whether a particular scribe was Icelandic or Norwegian, as the preserved *h-* in Icelandic may have been dropped as a ‘Norwegianism’ (see section 4.2.2). Otherwise, the presence of at least one of these features likely indicates an Icelandic scribe,³⁰² with the likelihood rising significantly should a scribe exhibit several of them.

Framework 1a:

a. The Icelandic merger $\acute{a} + \acute{o} > \text{æ}$

Evidence of the merging of the vowels \acute{a} and \acute{o} to æ began to appear around the mid thirteenth century,³⁰³ and this merger was likely complete at the time of the production of the manuscripts under study.³⁰⁴ However, an attempted distinction between \acute{a} and \acute{o} in certain scribes’ orthography was a feature that persisted into the fourteenth century,³⁰⁵ generally as a sign of approximating Norwegian scribal practice (as discussed in section 4.2), as the two vowels that had merged in Old Icelandic were and are phonemically distinct in Norwegian. These vowels are searchable on EMROON as { \acute{a} } and { \acute{o} }.³⁰⁶

b. The Icelandic diphthongization of \acute{e}

This vowel is searchable in the EMROON database as { \acute{e} }³⁰⁷ and its diphthongisation was manifested in the orthography as “ie” instead of the older orthographic representations of a monophthong, generally with “e”, “é”, “ee” or “éé”.³⁰⁸ As this vowel, along with that discussed in the next point, diphthongized during the course of the fourteenth century, it is uncertain whether this change will have been present in AM 573 4to or Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to. A more thorough discussion of this feature will take place in section 5.3 when the relevant EMROON data is discussed.

c. The orthographic change of “vá” to “vo” (diphthongisation of \acute{a})

³⁰² Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 447-8.

³⁰³ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script - As Illustrated in Vernacular Texts from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Íslenzk Handrit - Icelandic Manuscripts Vol. II (Reykjavík: The Manuscript Institute of Iceland, 1965), 67-9; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 158.

³⁰⁴ The manuscripts AM 573 4to and AM 764 4to have previously been dated to the fourteenth century, with the latter of the two being dated to the final decades of that century. See: Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 53; Foote, *A Saga of St. Peter the Apostle*, 55-60.

³⁰⁵ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 159.

³⁰⁶ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

³⁰⁷ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

³⁰⁸ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 169.

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Along with the vowel *é* discussed above, the *á* vowel was one of the Old Icelandic monophthongs that left orthographic evidence of its diphthongisation,³⁰⁹ and this sound environment is searchable on EMROON as {v} + {ó}.³¹⁰ A more thorough discussion of this feature will take place in section 5.2 when the relevant EMROON data is discussed. Old Norwegian also featured the earlier merging of *ó* and *á* that precipitated this change,³¹¹ though the vowel resulting from the merger did not diphthongise at same time, undergoing quantity and quality shifts, typically yielding a vowel represented by *á* in the modern language, which can either be a diphthong (with some Western dialects featuring an [au] similar to Icelandic) or a round monophthong, sometimes differing in quantity, depending on context and dialect.³¹²

Magnus Rindal previously defined several features with which one could distinguish Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian. According to Rindal, the most important Icelandic features are:³¹³

Framework 1b:

1. Preserved *h* before *l*, *n* or *r*
2. Merging of /*ø*:/ and /*æ*:/ to /*æ*/
3. Diphthongization of /*e*:/ to /*ei*/ and later /*ie*/

This feature corresponds to feature *b* of framework 1a.

4. Merging of /*ɔ*/ and /*ø*/ to /*ö*/

During the early thirteenth century, the vowel *ø*, often arising through i-umlaut of *o* or u-umlaut of *e*, merged with the back, low, and round *ɔ*, which was the result of the rounding or u-umlaut of *a*; together, these vowels converged to *ø* or *ö*, as it is manifested in the modern orthography.³¹⁴ While this change was complete in Old Icelandic by the time that the manuscripts in this project were produced, it nonetheless represents a change that took place

³⁰⁹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 169; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, trans. Rory McTurk (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2004), 14.

³¹⁰ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

³¹¹ Michael Schulte, "The Phonological Systems of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian," in *The Nordic Languages. An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*, eds. Kurt Braunmüller Oskar Bandle, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann, Ulf Teleman (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2002), 882-92.

³¹² Torp and Vikør, *Hovuddrag i Norsk språkhistorie*, 63-8; Seip, *Norsk Språkhistorie: til omkring 1370*, 110-11, 123, 247-8.

³¹³ Rindal, "Norsk eller islandsk," 115.

³¹⁴ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 140-1.

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in only one of the major variants of Old West Norse. These historical vowels can be searched for on EMROON as {ø} and {ǫ}.³¹⁵

Framework 2 (Developments in Norwegian sometimes also found in Icelandic)

Conversely, there are also features that were unique to Norwegian, and while some of them did make it into written Old Icelandic and perhaps some speech communities in limited contexts, they neither gained a foothold in Icelandic nor affected further developments. As with framework 1, framework 2 combines two systems outlined in previous scholarship for discerning whether a scribe may have been Norwegian or Icelandic. Additionally, there is again some overlap between the two, and it seems to be the case that Rindal's 1997 article³¹⁶ formed a template for subsequent frameworks.

According to Rune Kyrkjebø, these features were characteristic of Old Norwegian rather than Old Icelandic:³¹⁷

Framework 2a:

Phonological criteria:

1. Loss of *h* before *l*, *r* and *n* e.g. "lutr" for *hlutr* 'share, thing'
This is simply the inverse of the retention of this *h*, included in Framework 1.
2. Vowel harmony, which is an agreement in tongue height, e.g. a stressed high vowel is followed by a high unstressed vowel: *lande* 'land' vs. *skírði* 'purified', and *genge* 'went' vs. *gærðum* 'did'
3. Reduction of unstressed /a/ e.g. *enda* 'even if' > *ende*
4. u-umlaut is usually reflected in Old Icelandic orthography, (in trisyllabic words, too) though it sometimes also was in Old Norwegian. e.g. *kǫstuðu* 'cast'.
5. In Old Icelandic, the vowel /e/ tended to round into /ø/ in forms of *engi* 'none'. e.g. "øngvan, augvan".
6. In Old Icelandic, the Svarabhakti vowel preceding the -*r* inflectional ending was /u/, whereas it was /e/ or /a/ in Old Norwegian. However, in the Inner South-West dialects of Old Norwegian it was also /u/.
7. The forms with v-inflection, "yðvarr, ongvann, nockvat" for *yðarr, ongan, nockat* were used longer in Icelandic than in Norwegian.
8. The spirantic /g/ was often rendered as "gh" in Old Norwegian, but also occurred in Old Icelandic. e.g. "dagh" for acc. *dag* 'day'.

³¹⁵ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

³¹⁶ Rindal, "Norsk eller islandsk."

³¹⁷ Rune Kyrkjebø, "Norsk eller islandsk skriver i mellomalderhandskrift: ei kritisk vurdering av bruken av språklege kriterium ved heimfesting," *Nordica Bergensia* 29 (2003): 30-3.

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Morphological criteria

1. The second and third person present verbal endings are analogically extended to the first person.
2. Use of the form “mann” for *maðr* ‘man’.
3. Pronouns “mið, mér” for *við, vér* ‘we’.

Lexical criteria:

1. The preposition *of* has been replaced by *um* in Norwegian; in Icelandic it was used longer.
2. Norwegian adverbs: *alþingis* ‘quite’, *hneppiliga* ‘scarcely’.
3. Norwegian substantives: *augist, fantr* ‘servant’, *grimðarmaðr*.

Returning to Rindal’s work, he also previously delineated several features that were more typical of, and in some cases, unique, to Old Norwegian:³¹⁸

Framework 2b:

1. Loss of *h* before *l, n* or *r*
2. Vowel harmony
3. Spelling of older /a/ as “a” before a /u/ vowel
4. Reduction of long /a/

Note that all of the points covered in Rindal’s framework other than point 3 are included by Kyrkjebø as well. However, the criteria that Kyrkjebø lists as morphological criteria³¹⁹ can alternatively be viewed as ‘Norwegianisms’ in Icelandic manuscripts rather than genuinely Norwegian traits.³²⁰

4.3 Issues in Localizing Written and Spoken Norms

4.3.1 Issues with Localizing Old Icelandic

Somewhat uniquely, neither the medieval nor modern forms of the Icelandic language have traditionally been studied as localized dialects in the same manner that many of the other languages of Europe and their medieval varieties are, in which, for example, many of the dialects of the continental European languages have roots that can be traced virtually to the inception of literacy and book culture in Europe. Old Icelandic had a tendency of both relative

³¹⁸ Rindal, “Norsk eller islandsk,” 115.

³¹⁹ Kyrkjebø, “Norsk eller islandsk skrivar i mellomalderhandskrift,” 50-3.

³²⁰ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 437.

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stability compared to the parent language, Old Norwegian, as well as for dialect levelling,³²¹ and it is difficult for scholars to delineate Icelandic ‘dialects’ in the traditional or more technical sense of the word.³²² While Modern Icelandic is characterised by a relative lack of geographic variation, the consensus is that local variants did formerly exist, but such dialectal differences disappeared.³²³ In the case of the medieval period, this situation is rooted in two main factors, both of which severely limit the study of historical dialects of the Icelandic language, and in some case make the study of dialects or linguistic variants inappropriate outside of the limited context of cooperating scribes. Firstly, the development and spread of linguistic innovation in Icelandic was limited by the fact that the Icelandic speech-area was and is circular (as the interior is, to this day, essentially uninhabitable) and thus innovations could either spread as novelties around the island, or conversely, be crushed by linguistic conservatism on either side, in what may have, in effect, been a “pincer”, as Stefán Karlsson suggests,³²⁴ under which linguistic innovations were outcompeted and quashed by a more conservative or older variant on either side. Given the circular nature of the Old Icelandic speech community, linguistic innovations could not spread on all sides and emanate from one community or area, but rather, faced this pincer when spreading laterally. Secondly, linguistic changes and developments in Old Icelandic cannot be mapped accurately because of the scarcity of manuscripts that can be precisely localized.³²⁵ With regard to Icelandic charters, there are none that are localized and dated from before the year 1300,³²⁶ and though Icelandic manuscripts can and do display linguistic and orthographic variation, altogether too few of these manuscripts can be unambiguously linked to a particular place based on criteria that are external to the manuscripts themselves. To summarise, one could say that while local dialects or variants of Icelandic may have existed in the medieval period, their innovative elements were likely *either* crushed *or* adopted by neighbouring areas, though our body of Icelandic manuscripts and charters, as well as the mobile nature of the people that produced them, prevents scholars from drawing up a map of which linguistic innovations may have developed where and when in Iceland.

³²¹ Schulte, “The Phonological Systems of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian,” 886.

³²² Bandle, “Íslandsk dialektgeografi,” 9-12.

³²³ Hreinn Benediktsson, “An Extinct Icelandic Dialect Feature: *y* vs. *i*,” in *Linguistic Studies, Historical and Comparative*, eds. Höskuldur Þráinsson, Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir, Jón G. Friðjónsson, Kjartan Ottoson (Reykjavík: Institute of Linguistics, 2002), 214.

³²⁴ Stefán Karlsson, “Localization and Dating,” 140.

³²⁵ Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Scribal Culture in Thirteenth-Century Iceland,” 279.

³²⁶ Stefán Karlsson, “Localization and Dating,” 140.

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Rather than seek to geographically map variance in Old Icelandic, scholarly practice has often tended to be more involved with tracking the activities of scribal schools or milieus, i.e. linking manuscripts together based on shared and / or similar scribal hands that exhibit similar orthographic, linguistic, and paleographic traits, and subsequently attempting to localise the manuscripts in question once the presence shared or similar hands have been established. As noted by Stefán Karlsson, the potential graphic and orthographic combinations were so numerous that it is unlikely that multiple scribes would write the same way unless they were taught precisely the same way,³²⁷ and as such, the localisation of Icelandic manuscripts and language is typically based more on internal criteria — links between the scribal hands — rather than concrete or explicit ties to a particular location or site of book production. This is not to condemn the practice of localising medieval Icelandic manuscripts, but rather to raise the point that it is essentially secondary to — and can really only happen after — the practice of comparing hands. It *can* be the case that a scribal school has a loose geographic association, typically in the sense that certain scribal hands can be linked to a particular place or manuscript production, or cluster of sites (as the Akkrar and / or Skagafjörður schools / milieus are linked with the sites of book production in the Hólar diocese / the north of Iceland), but this is not necessarily the case. With regard to these milieus, their association with the north of Iceland stems from a group of charters and their named scribes, Brynjólfur Bjarnason, and his sons, Benedikt and Björn (who despite their strong ties to the milieu, do not feature in any codices), as well as strong, albeit circumstantial, links between the texts found within particular manuscripts and the function they may have served for particular institutions.

In the instances in which a manuscript or charter *can* be localized with reasonable certainty, based on both internal and external criteria, there is a danger of assuming that any innovations found therein stem from the area in which the text was written. This is not necessarily the case, as the medieval Icelandic workforce, scribes included, were mobile, especially relative to those on the continent; this characterization of the medieval Icelanders owes to both the demands of seasonal labour, the demand for highly skilled scribes, as well as the necessity of travelling to assemblies.³²⁸ These factors likely prevented the development of distinct dialects of Old Icelandic. Additionally, medieval Iceland lacked large urban centres from which radical linguistic innovations backed by a larger populace could emanate.³²⁹ While one must also be open to the notion that some amount of linguistic variation may have developed in isolated environments within the Icelandic speech community, one cannot

³²⁷ Ibid., 139-144.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

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assume that the appearance of a linguistic innovation attested in a text that can be accurately localized (often a charter that relays when and where it was witnessed) necessarily means that this site is where the linguistic innovation had its roots. As contested by Stefán Karlsson, the often extraordinary mobility of medieval Icelandic scribes, or perhaps simply the demand for their services in multiple institutions spread around the country, is an obstacle to accurately mapping dialects of Old Icelandic geographically.³³⁰ More generally, there is a danger of circular reasoning, as the appearance of a linguistic innovation in several manuscripts can be used to argue multiple mutually exclusive claims, namely that all of said manuscripts were: copied in the same place, written by the same person or milieu, or that the aforementioned linguistic innovation was actually spread throughout the country (which of course precludes that said hypothetical manuscripts were *not* written by the same people or in the same place). To some extent, studying the diffusion and development of paleographic features, in addition to, and where possible, independently of orthographic and linguistic features, allows one to identify scribal hands with a more balanced method than solely focusing on the language would allow for; however, it is not necessarily clear whether linguistic commonalities across multiple Icelandic manuscripts points to a single prolific scribe working in multiple locales, or rather a small group of co-operating scribes, that by nature of their collaboration, would likely be working from a particular location.³³¹

4.3.2 *Providing Context Through Old Norwegian Dialects and Norms*

This section will provide broader context through the discussion of dialects and norms in Old Norwegian, and their interplay with Old Icelandic; unlike the situation in Iceland, Norway had major dialect areas and larger urban centres that facilitated the development of local dialects, and debatably, written and spoken norms, over an extended period. Some context for the localization of Old Icelandic norms will be provided through a discussion of similar issues encountered in Old Norwegian. As such, this study will, to some extent perpetuate a long-standing trend: that Old Norwegian is often studied within the context of Old Icelandic and the umbrella term of Old Norse, and not necessarily as an entirely distinct entity.³³² In the introduction to his first edition of *Norsk språkhistorie - til omkring 1370*, written in 1931, Didrik Arup Seip also laments that the history of the Norwegian language has received little attention in context, and that much of the research does not sufficiently distinguish Old

³³⁰ Ibid., 147.

³³¹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Scribal Culture in Thirteenth-Century Iceland,” 279.

³³² See section 4.1.2 for a discussion of the ways in which Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic have alternatively been highlighted in scholarship on Old West Norse.

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Norwegian from Old Icelandic.³³³ As several of the dialects of Old Norwegian shared features with Old Icelandic, dialects of Old Norwegian are also relevant in the context of this study, as in some instances it will involve assessing the likelihood of a supposedly Norwegian feature appearing in an Icelandic manuscript because of either parallel linguistic developments or genuine and direct Norwegian influence.

Unlike Old Icelandic, discussed in the same context in the previous section, Old Norwegian displayed notable regional variation in the body of manuscripts, and many of the dialectal differences in the modern language have roots in the medieval period. Given the close relationship of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, it also behooves one to provide some context for the exploration of variation in Icelandic through the language's ultimate roots in Norway.³³⁴ Medieval Norway *did* have larger urban centres in which linguistic developments could develop and flourish. This led to Didrik Seip attempting to define the *Trønder-norm* and *Bergen-norm* essentially in opposition to each other, as attested during the period 1150-1300,³³⁵ which, if these norms were stable, would aid in localising the origin of Norwegian features which then surfaced in Icelandic. However, while doing so, Seip himself concedes that attempts to pin down the written varieties of Old Norwegian are problematized by several factors: the shifts of royal power during the civil war period (c. 1130-1240), the influx of inhabitants from around the country to the seat of royal power, which itself was not stable, and of course the varying degree to which a scribe might handle perceived discrepancies between the rules of their scribal milieu, their exemplar, or their own spoken language and personal orthography or written norm.³³⁶ In this sense, the respective *Trønder-norm* and *Bergen-norm* cannot be viewed as stable norms that any scribe followed absolutely, but rather as reflections as some trends in the language. The validity of these norms is also suspect, as Seip's manner of establishing them rests more, perhaps necessarily, on commonalities between certain manuscripts rather than knowledge independent of the manuscripts that betrays their provenance being traceable to the spheres of Bergen or Trondheim.

However, even if these respective norms were more stable and clearly defined, it is still not clear how they may have interacted with Icelandic scribal and spoken norms. While it has been observed that Old Icelandic had many features in common with the dialects of South-

³³³ Seip, *Norsk Språkhistorie: til omkring 1370*, 1-10.

³³⁴ Bandle, "Íslandsk dialektgeografi," 12.

³³⁵ Seip, *Norsk Språkhistorie: til omkring 1370*, 100-105.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

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Western Norway,³³⁷ likely because many settlers were from that area of Norway³³⁸ it had also been suggested in earlier scholarly works that as early Norwegian settlers in Iceland were from different parts of the country, and as such, spoke dialects of Old Norwegian that would have both influenced the developing ‘dialect’ of the Icelanders, the original dialects of the settlers would have been subject to levelling as the speakers of different dialects interacted.³³⁹ While Hægstad placed Old Icelandic within the dialect area of South-Western Norway, this conception was heavily criticised in subsequent scholarship.³⁴⁰

As Bergen and Trondheim would have been among the administrative centres during the mid-fourteenth century, one might expect that Icelandic would take the most from the respective dialects of these cities, though this does not necessarily seem to be the case, even if one grants earlier demarcations of Old Norwegian dialects. Largely based on the respective works of Hægstad and Seip, Hagland has noted some general differences between dialect areas through the lens of some salient linguistic features: For example, the Trøndelag dialect differs from Icelandic across all of the salient features that Hagland has highlighted. U-umlaut is unmarked, vowel harmony has taken hold, the privative prefix is commonly *ú-* rather than the *ó-* that more commonly surfaces in Old Icelandic as well as the eastern and southern Old Norwegian dialects, and the svarabhakti vowel preceding *-r* is /e/ or /æ/ rather than the *u* that is characteristic of Old Icelandic and the Inner South-West dialect of Old Norwegian.

As alluded to in section 4.2.1, some of the Old Norwegian dialects, as mapped by Hagland, have commonalities with Old Icelandic, though it is not clear how much this is due to parallel linguistic development and / or direct influence from written Old Norwegian; as also noted, the validity of the boundaries and stability of any posited norms and dialects in Old West Norse can be scrutinised. In his contribution to *The Nordic Languages* handbook,³⁴¹ Jan Ragnar Hagland has attempted to delineate the dialects of medieval Norway, illustrated on the next page:

³³⁷ Marius Hægstad, *Vestnorske maalføre fyre 1350. II. Sudvestlandsk. 2. Indre sudvestlandsk, færøymaal, islandsk. Tredje Bolken* (Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad, 1917), 143.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 143-4.; Bandle, “Islandsk dialektgeografi,” 12-14.

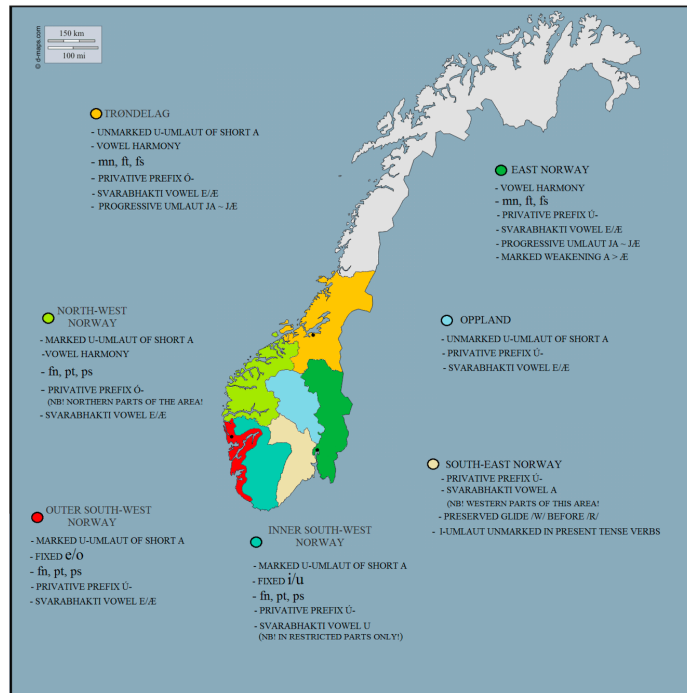
³³⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁰ Rindal, “Marius Hægstads arbeid med gammelnorske dialektar,” 171.

³⁴¹ Jan Ragnar Hagland, “Dialects and Written Language in Old Nordic I: Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic,” in *The Nordic Languages. An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*, eds. Kurt Braunmüller Oskar Bandle, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann, Ulf Teleman (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2002), 1015-18.

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FIGURE IV - 1: JAN RAGNAR HAGLAND'S ILLUSTRATION OF THE BASIC DIALECTAL AREAS OF OLD NORWEGIAN:



As outlined by Rindal,³⁴² Hægstad's work with Old Norwegian dialects,³⁴³ from which Hagland's is primarily based, was both propagated and challenged by subsequent scholars, notably Adolf Noreen³⁴⁴ and Didrik Arup Seip.³⁴⁵ In response to Rindal's review of Hægstad's, as well as subsequent scholars', work on the delineation of Old Norwegian, and by extension, Old Icelandic dialects, a summation vital to the following chapters, in which a scribal norm³⁴⁶ will be inferred, can be formulated: While it is still unclear how much the norm of a scribe or group of scribes was influenced by factors such as their own spoken

³⁴² Rindal, "Marius Hægstads arbeid med gammelnorske dialektar," 168-72.

³⁴³ The dialectal features which Hagland includes in his map generally correspond to those discussed in: Marius Hægstad, *Gamalt trøndermaal. Opplysninger um maalet i Trøndelag fyrr 1350 og ei utgreiding um vokalverket*, (Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad, 1899).

³⁴⁴ Adolf Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I. Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik (Laut- und Flexionslehre) Unter Berücksichtigung des Urnordischen*. Sammlung Kurzer Grammatiken Germanischer Dialekte. Vol. 4 (Halle (Saale): Verlag von Max Niemayer, 1923), 8-9, 16-18.

³⁴⁵ Seip's conceptions of dialects and norms sometimes depart from Hægstad's; see, for instance: Seip, *Norsk Språkhistorie: til omkring 1370*.

³⁴⁶ See section 3.3.3 for a discussion of what is meant by "norm" in this project.

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language, the dialects of those around them, the potential prestige of a norm associated with a seat of power, or the potentiality of something resembling a stricter written norm being mandated upon them, a pragmatic, perhaps even New Philological approach, enables one to approach codices and examine the work of the scribes on multiple levels (linguistic, orthographic, and paleographic, as done in this project). As such, it is not pre-determined whether there *is* a norm among the co-operating scribes, and thus deviations from said (initially hypothetical) norm do not need to be explained away or glossed over. It is this examination of the language, orthography, and script that will be the subject of the ensuing two chapters, while a norm of the scribes of AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to will be discussed in the seventh chapter.

5 - Orthographic and Linguistic Features

5.0 Context

This chapter is structured such that each of the selected orthographic and / or linguistic criteria is given a subsection. These subsections begin with a discussion and description of the feature, which includes some outlining of any developments, and a diachronic overview of relevant variant forms, as well as some information regarding why each feature is salient in the pursuit of delineating the scribal hands and localising and dating the manuscripts more precisely; this will then be followed by a presentation and discussion of the data that is available from Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to, respectively. Some commentary on what the data may indicate will follow the presentation of the data, though the process of collating these data in order to identify scribal hands and date the manuscripts more precisely will largely be the subject of chapter seven. More succinctly, the exercise of explicitly arguing for how many scribes are present and where shifts in scribal hands take place will be reserved for chapters seven and eight, though many of the relevant observations used in the later arguments will be noted in this chapter.

For a discussion of how linguistic, orthographic, and graphemic criteria, including sound positions, denoted within curled brackets, { }, are defined on this project within the framework of the EMROON system, please see section 3.2. The in-text tables are formatted as follows, with vertical bars in the facsimile column representing a line-break in the manuscript:

TABLE V - 1: THE FORMATTING OF IN-TEXT EMROON TABLES:

Location	Facsimile	EMROON sound positions	Normalisation	Parsing	Lemma and ONP link
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The tables presented in-text are generally not entire accounts of the feature under discussion; for fuller data, consult the transcriptions in the appendices, or engage with the dataset directly on emroon.no.

5.1 Diphthongization *e* > *ei* before *-ng* / *-nk*

5.1.1 Description

Signs of etymological short *e* becoming the diphthong [ei] before *-ng* and *-nk* begin to surface in Icelandic orthography around the year 1300, and became increasingly prevalent throughout the fourteenth century,³⁴⁷ paralleling the development of *a* becoming [au] and *ö* becoming [œi] in

³⁴⁷ Adolf Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 95.

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the same environment.³⁴⁸ The most common piece of orthographic evidence for the diphthongization of short [ɛ] to [ei] before *-ng* / *-nk* is spellings with “ei” where previously we would have expected to see merely “e”,³⁴⁹ and this change commonly manifested itself in words such as *lengi* ‘long’ being spelled “leingi”, reflecting a novel diphthongal pronunciation.

Querying the data for this feature will primarily involve looking for whether the developing diphthong is evidenced in the work of the scribes in order to date their practice more precisely.

Searching for this sound development in the EMROON database involves searching for sound position {æ} (etymological short *e*, often represented as *ɛ*) preceding the *-ng* / *-nk* cluster {n(g|k)}, phrased as {æ} + {n(g|k)}.³⁵⁰

5.1.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

There are 83 attestations for {æ} + {n(g|k)} written by all scribes in the sample from AM 764 4to in which the relevant sound position is unabbreviated. Spellings suggesting a diphthongal pronunciation are nearly ubiquitous in AM 764 4to, with only 1 of 83 examples (1.2%) of {æ} preceding {n(g|k)} being spelled with “e”, or any other spelling that would suggest a monophthongal spelling:

TABLE V - 2: MONOPHTHONGAL SPELLING WITH “E” IN AM 764 4TO

17r.13	reñgía bđ	{vræng-j-a+bróð}	<i>rengjabráð</i>	nom.sg	<i>rengjabráð</i> (nc.f) ONP
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In terms of the diphthongal spellings, those with an acute accent above the letter *i* outnumber those with an undotted *i* (44:37), though this difference is purely orthographic and does not convey any phonological information. As such, this distribution of monophthongal to diphthongal spellings of *e* preceding *-ng* and *-nk*, does not indicate any patterns that may indicate shifts in scribal hands; rather, the scribes of AM 764 4to are nearly uniform (98.8%) in their representation of *e* preceding *-ng* and *-nk* as a diphthong, and it seems to have been a part of their typical practice and spoken language.

5.1.3 *AM 573 4to*

There are nineteen instances of {æ} occurring before {n(g|k)} in the sample from the first portion, folia 1-46, of AM 573 4to. Sixteen of nineteen (84%) of these instances employ either “ei” or “ei” to spell the root vowel, indicating a diphthong, while the remaining 16% of instances employ “e”. This proliferation of diphthongal spellings is not as thorough as that

³⁴⁸ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 13-4; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 189; Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld og breytingar þeirra úr fornmdli - með viðauka um nýjungar í orðmyndum á 16. öld og síðar* (Reykjavík: Fjølagsprentsmiðjan, 1925), xii-xiii.

³⁴⁹ Oskar Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblíu: Orthographie und Laute Formen*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagnæana 17 (Kopenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1956), 45-6.

³⁵⁰ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

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encountered in AM 764 4to, though it still strongly suggests that the scribe(s) of this first portion of AM 573 4to pronounced a diphthong in this environment, and usually reflected this in their orthography. In terms of this feature on its own, there are no detectable patterns that indicate that there was more than one scribe responsible for this section of the manuscript.

In the latter portion, folia 46-63, of AM 573 4to, there are eleven instances of {æ} occurring before {n(g|k)} in the sample. This latter portion of the manuscript exhibits a ratio of 5:6 when it comes to monophthongal versus diphthongal spellings (54.5%) in the sample, indicating that the scribe(s) slightly favoured the more novel spellings in this portion of the manuscript, though not to the same extent as in the first portion of the manuscript or in AM 764 4to, as will be re-examined in chapter seven. While this sound environment is not common enough in the latter portion of the sample to make such conjectures conclusive, the scribe may have preferred to spell certain lemmata with a diphthong, such as the *drengr* lemma, while conversely favouring a monophthongal spelling with *lengr* and *lengi*.

Both portions (folia 1-45 and 46-63) of AM 573 4to employ both monophthongal and diphthongal spellings, though the latter spellings are, on the whole, three times as common as the former. This distribution reflects a preference throughout the manuscript for the diphthongal spelling, and also that the scribes likely pronounced {æ}, etymological *e*, as [ei] before *-ng* / *-nk*, an environment expressed as {æ} + {n(g|k)} in the database. The latter portion of the manuscript's distribution of 5 monophthongal spellings and 6 diphthongal spellings suggest a more conservative orthography being employed, or that the scribe may have followed their exemplar more closely than during the work on the first portion of the manuscript, likely carried out by a different scribe. Given that the latter portion of the manuscript picks up where the former portion ends, partway through *Breta sögur*, one might assume that the exemplar that they used was the same, in which case, the more conservative orthographic choices would be accounted for as a matter of personal preference and / or following the exemplar more closely, perhaps reflecting a less experienced scribe.³⁵¹ However, this discussion will be taken up further in chapter seven.

³⁵¹ The notion of a less experienced and / or younger scribe following their exemplar more closely and thus exhibiting more conservative orthographic choices, which in turn appear archaic, is not without precedent. See:

³⁵¹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, "Scribal Culture in Thirteenth-Century Iceland," 305; Pagani, "The Scribes of Flateyjarbók, Gks 1005 fol.."

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5.2 The *vá* > *vo* Orthographic Change and The Diphthongization of *á*

5.2.1 Description

Around 1200, the vowel *á* in Old Icelandic, merged with the vowel *ǫ*,³⁵² a rounded form of *á* that initially arose through u-umlaut; the result of this merger was the long monophthong, [ɔ:], which began to diphthongize during the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century,³⁵³ and subsequently became the diphthong [au],³⁵⁴ as it is found in the modern language. While the later diphthongisation of the vowel that resulted from the merging of *á* + *ǫ* in Old Icelandic was not uniform in Old West Norse, the earlier merging of *á* and its rounded counterpart *ǫ* was a shared development across Old Icelandic, Old Faroese, as well as Old Norwegian.³⁵⁵

It has traditionally been argued that this diphthongisation did not take place after *v* due to the dissimilatory influence of the preceding consonant,³⁵⁶ marking the retention of a low back vowel in this position.³⁵⁷ Since a low back vowel was retained in this position, after *v*, spellings of the *á* vowel with symbols such as “a”, “aa”, or “á”, were no longer appropriate for the long monophthong that had remained after *v*, necessitating a new orthographic differentiation. As such, words with the long *á* vowel following *v* can be consulted as indirect evidence for the diphthongisation of *á*, as this vowel often came to be spelled with “o” or “ó” following *v*.³⁵⁸ The two earliest attestations of this change of “o” or “ó” for etymological *á* following *v* are from the Skagafjörður area, with the spelling “svo” for *svá* appearing in a charter from 1311, and the spelling “hafnarvodum” *hafnarváðum* appearing in a letter written in Hólar in Hjaltadalur in 1341.³⁵⁹ As such, one might expect to find evidence of it in manuscripts that may have been produced in the Skagafjörður area in the latter half of the fourteenth

³⁵² Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen, “Om uttalen av *á* i gammelnorsk,” in *Festskrift til Einar Lundeby*, eds. Bernt Fossetøll & Einar Lundeby (Oslo: Novus, 1984), 239.

³⁵³ Hreinn Benediktsson, “Relational Sound Change: *vá* > *vo* in Icelandic,” in *Linguistic Studies, Historical and Comparative*, eds. Höskuldur Práinsson, Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir, Jón G. Friðjónsson, Kjartan Ottoson (Reykjavík: Institute of Linguistics, 2002), 227-42; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 14; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xi-xii.

³⁵⁴ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 153.

³⁵⁵ Helge Sandøy, “Sprækendingar med eller utan kontakt i vest-norden?” in *Útnorðr: West Nordic Standardisation and Variation*, ed. Kristján Árnason (Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press, 2003), 89.

³⁵⁶ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I*, 184-5.

³⁵⁷ Hreinn Benediktsson, “Relational Sound Change: *vá* > *vo* in Icelandic,” 233.

³⁵⁸ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 153-4.

³⁵⁹ Hreinn Benediktsson, “Relational Sound Change: *vá* > *vo* in Icelandic,” 231; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xi.

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century, and is thus highly relevant to this study. This change only surfaced sporadically in the corpus of charters after 1380,³⁶⁰ despite the earliest orthographic evidence for this phonological change being several decades older. However, this phonological change was only realized indirectly in the orthography, as the referents formerly used to denote [ɔ:] merely came to represent the newly forming diphthong, [ɔu] or [au].³⁶¹ This necessitated a change in the contemporary Icelandic orthography, as the symbols formerly used to denote [ɔ:], a sound which remained unchanged after *v*, were now used to represent the newly formed diphthong; the orthographic change was relational in nature, in that the phonological relations within this particular sound environment shifted, without the phonetic change within the system directly affecting them.³⁶² Thus the vowel [ɔ:] was now denoted with a new inventory of symbols, leading to spellings such as “svo” and “vopn” where previously we would have found “sva” and “vapn”. As outlined in section 4.2, this feature can aid in the localisation of Old West Norse manuscripts, or rather, specifically in the context of determining whether a codex was produced by Icelandic or Norwegian scribes.³⁶³ However, the *á* vowel of Old West Norse is an /au/ diphthong in some dialects of Modern Norwegian, generally in Vestlandet,³⁶⁴ but especially in the dialects of Hardanger-Sogn,³⁶⁵ so a diphthongized *á* vowel in Old Icelandic may have originated as a borrowing from Old Norwegian.³⁶⁶

5.2.2 Evidence from Both Manuscripts

Searching for this sound environment on EMROON is done through the equation {v} + {ó}, which denotes the historical long *á* vowel in contexts in which it became rounded, following the merger of *á* + *ó*, and preceding the consonant *v*.³⁶⁷

There is no evidence of this change in the samples from these manuscripts, even though the phonological change that prompted this orthographic development had begun, at

³⁶⁰ Stefán Karlsson, “Uppruni og ferill Helgastaðabókar,” in *Helgastaðabók — Nikulás saga. Perg. 4to nr. 16, Konungsbókhöfðu í Stokkhólmi*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson, Íslensk miðaldahandrit 2. (Reykjavík: Lögberg and Stofnun Árnagagnússonar á Íslandi, 1982), 55; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 155.

³⁶¹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 153.

³⁶² Hreinn Benediktsson, “Relational Sound Change: *vá* > *vo* in Icelandic,” 228.

³⁶³ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 447-8.

³⁶⁴ Torp and Vikør, *Hovuddrag i norsk språkhistorie*, 65-7.

³⁶⁵ Arne Torp, “Fonologi,” in *Norsk språkhistorie I: Mønster*, ed. Helge Sandøy (Oslo: Novus Forlag, 2016), 163.

³⁶⁶ Kjartan Ottósson, “Heimenorsk innverknad på íslandsk språk i mellomalderen, særleg morfologien,” in *Útmörð: West Nordic Standardisation and Variation*, ed. Kristján Árnason (University of Iceland Press: Reykjavík, 2003), 119-20.

³⁶⁷ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

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least in certain regions, as much as a century before the time period to which these manuscripts have been tentatively dated.

While we do encounter the verbal form “voru”, the preterite plural indicative of *vera* ‘to be’, throughout the manuscripts, these forms are not considered conclusive evidence for the *vá* > *vó* > *vo* orthographic change, as there is an alternative explanation for their presence. Following a change of *váru(-)* > *vǫru(-)* through u-umlaut, the long, low, rounded vowel *ǫ* was raised to the mid *ó* before a *u* that was not syncopated, yielding *vóru(-)*.³⁶⁸ The consonant *v* was regularly lost before a long round vowel in Icelandic, leading to forms such as *óru*.³⁶⁹ The initial *v* was later restored by analogy to other forms of the verb *vera*, while in some contexts, the low vowel was also restored by analogy to verbs of class 5. As this low *ǫ* vowel merged with *á*, spellings of “vóru” with “o” may indicate *vóru* or *váru*.³⁷⁰ The spellings of this form as “voru” that are found consistently through the manuscripts could thus be interpreted as circumstantial evidence for the diphthongisation of *á*, but are not conclusive on their own, and more likely represent *vóru* rather than the underlying relational orthographic change discussed in this section.

Considering the tentative dating of these manuscripts, and the dating that is suggested by the representation of other features in this study, it is somewhat unusual that there is no evidence of the diphthongisation of *á*, or the *vá* > *vo* orthographic change. This may have been part of the usual practice of the milieu(s) that produced these manuscripts, as will be discussed further in chapter seven.

5.3 The Diphthongisation of *é*

5.3.1 Description

As outlined in section 4.2.3, orthographic evidence of the diphthongisation of the vowel *é* can aid in the localisation and dating of Old West Norse manuscripts. Along with *á*, discussed in the previous section, *é* was one of the historically long monophthongs of Old Icelandic that left behind clear orthographic evidence of its diphthongization,³⁷¹ which began to surface more regularly in the orthography during the fourteenth century, though the initial fracturing of [e:]

³⁶⁸ Hreinn Benediktsson, “Relational Sound Change: *vá* > *vo* in Icelandic,” 239-40; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 155-6.

³⁶⁹ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I*, 165.

³⁷⁰ Hreinn Benediktsson, “Relational Sound Change: *vá* > *vo* in Icelandic,” 239-40; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 155-6.

³⁷¹ Schulte, “The Phonological Systems of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian,” 886.

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to [je(:)] likely began in the thirteenth century;³⁷² the process likely involved multiple stages and the development *é > ié > je*.³⁷³ Despite qualitative changes in the vowel system of Norwegian, the /e(:)/, albeit with the length or quantity being conditioned by the environment rather than semantically contrastive, of the Old West Norse vowel system has remained.³⁷⁴ Orthographically, the older spellings of *é*, generally “e”, “é”, “ee” or “ée”, denoting a monophthong, were gradually replaced by “ie” over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³⁷⁵ Examining the data for this feature can thus aid in the dating of the manuscripts, as well as partially elucidate whether this vowel may have been a diphthong in the language of the scribes. This vowel is searchable in the EMROON database as {é},³⁷⁶ and even some orthographic evidence of this change may indicate that this phonological development was underway in the language of the scribes.

5.3.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

There are 402 attestations of {é} being spelled out unabbreviated in the sample from *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*, and the sample is essentially split down the middle in terms of the *é* vowel being spelled as either a monophthong or diphthong. The vowel is spelled out 185 times as a diphthong, 46% of instances in the sample, with either “ie” or “ie”, and 217 times (54%) as a monophthong, typically with some graphic variant of “e”, but once with “ee”, and 4 times with “æ” in the lemmata *vér* or *sér*:

TABLE V - 3: MONOPHTHONGAL SPELLING WITH “EE” IN AM 764 4TO:

32v.22	fee	{fé}	<i>fé</i>	acc.sg	<i>fé</i> (nc.n) ONP
4b.isr.12	vær	{vér}	<i>vér</i>	nom	<i>vér</i> (pe) ONP
5v.23	uær	{vér}	<i>vér</i>	nom	<i>vér</i> (pe) ONP
20v.22	uær	{vér}	<i>vér</i>	nom	<i>vér</i> (pe) ONP
43r.25	sær	{sér}	<i>sér</i>	dat	<i>sik</i> (pe) ONP

³⁷² Schulte, “The Phonological Systems of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian,” 888; Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xiiii-xv; Bandle, *Die Sprache der Gudbrandsbiblia*, 48-9; Aðalsteinn Hákonarson, “Hljóðið *é* í yngri fornislensku: tvíhljóð eða hljóðasamband?” in *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 39 (2017): 37.

³⁷³ Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xiv; Aðalsteinn Hákonarson, “Hljóðið *é* í yngri fornislensku,” 47-8.

³⁷⁴ Torp, “Fonologi,” 164-70; Odd Einar Haugen, “Høgmedalderen (1050-1350),” in *Norsk språkhistorie IV: Tidslinjer*. ed. Agnete Nesse (Oslo: Novus Forlag, 2016), 252-4.

³⁷⁵ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 169-70; Björn Magnússon Ólsen, “Om overgangen *e - je* i islandsk,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 3 (1886): 189-92; Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xiii-xv.

³⁷⁶ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

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These spellings that depart from using either “ie” or “e” to denote *é* are so disparate that they do not aid in the identification of individual scribes in any obvious way, but perhaps can be explained through the use of the exemplar. There are instances in the fourteenth century and later of *vér* rhyming with words such as *mær* with the above-shown “vær” spelling, perhaps suggesting that the *é* vowel was lowered in this environment.³⁷⁷ Though the spellings with “ie” or “ie”, denoting a diphthong are in a minority of 46%, their notable presence suggests that the *é* vowel was a diphthong in the language of the scribes, though spelling it as a monophthong may well have reflected the use of the exemplar or the convention at the site of the book’s production.

Additionally, one can search for an etymologically short *e* vowel in the preterite indicative singular and preterite subjunctive singular and plural in select strong verbs of class 7.3, such as in *fá* and *ganga*, that eventually became [je] analogically, through searching for {é1} and {é2}, respectively.³⁷⁸ There are 15 instances of {é1} appearing unabbreviated in the sample from AM 764 4to, with 7 (46.6%) indicating diphthongisation to *ie*, and 3 instances that feature spellings with “ei”, likely reflecting the change discussed in 5.1:

TABLE V - 4: DIPHTHONGAL SPELLINGS IN AM 764TO:

5r.9	geíngu	{gé ₁ ng-u}	<i>gengu</i>	prt.ind.3pl	<i>ganga</i> (vb.a) ONP
6r.41	feíngu	{fé ₁ ng-i}	<i>fengi</i>	prt.opt.3sg	<i>fá</i> (vb.a) ONP
23r.18	þeíngu	{fé ₁ ng-i}	<i>fengi</i>	prt.opt.3sg	<i>fá</i> (vb.a) ONP
17r.12	þiengu	{fé ₁ ng-u}	<i>fengu</i>	prt.ind.3pl	<i>fá</i> (vb.a) ONP
6r.38	fiengu	{fé ₁ ng-u}	<i>fengu</i>	prt.ind.3pl	<i>fá</i> (vb.a) ONP
6v.4	fiengu	{fé ₁ ng-u}	<i>fengu</i>	prt.ind.3pl	<i>fá</i> (vb.a) ONP
9r.30	fiengu	{fé ₁ ng-u}	<i>fengu</i>	prt.ind.3pl	<i>fá</i> (vb.a) ONP
9r.33	fiengu	{fé ₁ ng-u}	<i>fengu</i>	prt.ind.3pl	<i>fá</i> (vb.a) ONP
11r.1	fiēgu	{fé ₁ ng-u}	<i>fengu</i>	prt.ind.3pl	<i>fá</i> (vb.a) ONP
26v.4	þiengu	{fé ₁ ng-i}	<i>fengi</i>	prt.opt.3sg	<i>fá</i> (vb.a) ONP

These seven forms suggest that the etymologically short *e* in this position had become a diphthong, which by analogy to other preterite forms of strong verb class VII became either a long vowel or a diphthong; though this change was by analogy, it is not clear whether a monophthong, that diphthongized later, was adopted, or whether a diphthong was adopted directly.

³⁷⁷ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 98.

³⁷⁸ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

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Additionally, there are 58 instances of {é2}, the etymologically short *e* in preterite singular forms of strong verbs of class 7.3³⁷⁹ in the sample from AM 764 4to:

This distribution shows that across all scribes, the form *fekk* featured a diphthong (100% of instances), while *gekk* retained a monophthong (100% of instances). Additionally, the forms of *gekk*, typically spelled “geck” show no signs of the initial *g*-palatalising before the short *e* vowel.

Taken as a whole, the 46% minority of diphthongal spellings of all unabbreviated instances of {é} in the sample from AM 764 4to indicates that the process of diphthongisation was well underway, as it is represented orthographically in a strong minority of instances in the work of the scribes in this manuscript. The diphthongisation of the root vowel in *fekk* and not *gekk* also suggests that this change may have been lexically restricted at this point in the diphthongisation process.

5.3.3 AM 573 4to

There are 155 attestations of the etymologically long {é} being spelled out unabbreviated in the entire sample from AM 573 4to, and the manuscript features a relatively conservative manner of spelling the *é* vowel, especially if directly compared with the sample from Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to. The vowel is spelled with either “ie” or “ie” only 43 of the total 155 instances in the sample; this is 28% of the total instances of *é*, compared with the 46% of instances from Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to. Nonetheless, this minority is large enough to indicate that the diphthongisation of *é* was well under way in the language of the scribes, and that the practice of spelling this vowel as a monophthong may have been an archaism passed down by the exemplar. This distribution also indicates that this codex was produced during the fourteenth century, albeit earlier than Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to.

However, a more nuanced picture emerges when the data is split according to the former (folia 1-45) and latter (folia 46-63) portions of the manuscript. In the first portion of the manuscript, diphthongal spellings with either “ie” or “ie” appear in 41% of instances, whereas in the latter portion, diphthongal spellings occur in only 4% of the instances of *é*.

There are also few spellings of *é* with “é” which only occur in the latter portion of the manuscript:

TABLE V - 5: SPELLING OF É WITH “É” IN AM 573 4TO:

49r.21	fér	{sér}	sér	dat	sik (pe) ONP
49r.24	hét	{hét}	hét	prt.ind.3sg	heita (vb.a) ONP
55r.12	fér	{sér}	sér	dat	sik (pe) ONP

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

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Though these spellings with “é” reflect the manner in which the diphthongal *é* is spelled in Modern Icelandic, they likely still represented a monophthong in the medieval period.

As in AM 764 4to, the etymologically short *e* that diphthongized in preterite forms of selected verbs of strong class VII can also be searched for. There are 6 instances of {é1} appearing unabbreviated in the sample from AM 573 4to. One of these spellings indicates a diphthong, with “ie”, and occurs in the first portion of the manuscript, on 18r4:

TABLE V - 6: A DIPHTHONGAL SPELLING IN AM 573 4TO:

18r.4	fiengu	{fé,ng-u}	fengu	prt.ind.3pl	fá (vb.a) ONP
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There are 19 instances of {é2} in the sample from AM 573 4to, with *gekk* retaining a monophthong throughout, and *fekk* often being spelled with a diphthong in the sample from the first portion of the manuscript.

As in AM 764 4to, the minority of diphthongal spellings, 26%, across the entire sample, still indicates that the diphthongisation process was underway in the language of the scribes. However, these diphthongal spellings occur in 41% of instances in the first portion of the manuscript (folia 1-45) but only 4% in the latter portion (folia 46-63), indicating that the practice of the scribe that handled the first portion of the manuscript was much more in line with the scribes of AM 764 4to with regard to this feature.

5.4 The Merging of *é* + *ó* > *æ*

5.4.1 Description

Orthographic evidence of the merging of *é* and *ó* to *æ* in Old Icelandic began to surface during the mid-thirteenth century,³⁸⁰ and thus, this merger was likely complete at the time of the production of the manuscripts under study,³⁸¹ though it is worthy of a place in this study, as an attempted distinction between *é* and *ó* in certain scribe’s orthography was a feature that persisted into the fourteenth century,³⁸² generally as a sign of approximating Norwegian scribal practice (as discussed in chapter four), as the two vowels that had merged in Old

³⁸⁰ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 67-9; Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 107; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 158; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xvii-xviii; Schulte, “The Phonological Systems of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian,” 887.

³⁸¹ The manuscripts AM 573 4to and AM 764 4to have previously been dated to the fourteenth century, with the latter of the two being dated to the final decades of that century. See: Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 53; Foote, *A Saga of St Peter the Apostle*, 55-60.

³⁸² Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 159.

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Icelandic were, and still are, phonemically distinct in Norwegian.³⁸³ Thus, this feature is invaluable in making a broad distinction between Icelandic and Norwegian scribes, as discussed in chapter four. The vowel *æ* was initially a monophthong, though it subsequently underwent the process of diphthongisation during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³⁸⁴ In the orthography of Icelandic scribes for whom *é* and *ø* had merged to *æ*, the symbol “æ” is often used throughout to denote both etymological *é*, formed through i-umlaut from *á*, and etymological *ø*, formed through i-umlaut of *ó*.³⁸⁵ Since this feature involves investigating the manner in which two etymological vowels surface orthographically, both *é*, the {*æ*} sound position, and *ø*, the {*ø*} sound position, will be searched for independently in each of the manuscripts before the discussion. As this feature is a staple in several of the frameworks established in chapter four, discussion of this feature and interpretation of its variant representations will also be taken up in the seventh chapter.

5.4.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

As mentioned above, searching for evidence of this merger requires looking for two etymologically different vowels, and then subsequently examining how each of them surfaces in the orthography of the scribes.

There are 267 attestations for {*ø*} written by all scribes in the sample from AM 764 4to, none of which suggest that this vowel was a round vowel, which would typically manifest with “o”, “ö”, “ø”, or related symbols in the orthography of the scribes; “æ” is by far the most common, appearing in 259 of 267, or 97%, of instances in the sample, indicating that this etymologically round vowel, *ø*, had merged with *é* in the language of the scribes.

In the entire sample from AM 764 4to, there are 590 instances of {*æ*} being written out unabbreviated, and as with {*ø*}, {*æ*} is spelled with “æ” in the vast majority of instances, 548 of 590 (93%) instances in the sample. If the representations of both *ø* (267) are taken together with *é* (590), yielding 857 total instances of the vowel that resulted from these two merging, *æ*, “æ” is used by the scribes 807 of 857 (94%) instances. Note that none of the remaining 6% of instances, in which variants of “e” or “iæ” are most common, suggest a round vowel, i.e. a retained *ø*, in this position.

³⁸³ Torp, “Fonologi,” 157-8.

³⁸⁴ Schulte, “The Phonological Systems of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian,” 888.

³⁸⁵ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 157; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xvii-xviii.

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5.4.3 AM 573 4to

The first portion of the manuscript features sixty-two instances of { \emptyset } being written out, none of which feature a letter that suggests a round vowel. However, as will be discussed in section 5.5, some of these instances suggest a further, although eventually abortive, diphthongisation of \acute{a} that must have post-dated the vowel merger. Sound position { \acute{x} } is written out 136 times in the sample from the first portion of AM 573 4to. This distribution indicates that \acute{a} and \emptyset had fully merged in the language of the scribe(s).

The latter portion of the manuscript has thirty seven instances of { \emptyset }, and seventy-six instances of { \acute{x} } all of which are spelled using “æ”, except one with “e”. Neither of these distributions suggest a round vowel, suggesting that the vowels \acute{a} + \emptyset had completely merged in the language of the scribes, and that there was no attempt to mimic Norwegian orthography. Though the former and latter portions of AM 573 4to differ regarding the representation of many features, this is not among them, and the vowel merger discussed here was uniformly represented by the scribes.

5.5 Diphthongisation of { \acute{x} } Following v and b , and Earlier Palatalization of g and k

5.5.1 Description

In some documents from Northern Iceland, and to some lesser extent, the Breiðafjörður area, some spellings of the vowel \acute{a} as “iæ” or “ie” suggest that this vowel may have been in the process of becoming a diphthong in certain environments.³⁸⁶ As such, examining this feature can aid in the localisation of the manuscripts under study here. As these spellings typically feature “iæ”, they appear similar to the separate development of the palatalisation of g and k preceding \acute{a} , among other front vowels, such as \emptyset ,³⁸⁷ which was already a feature of the earliest Icelandic,³⁸⁸ and was shared among the dialects of Old West Norse.³⁸⁹ This diphthongisation of { \acute{x} } following v and b does not seem to have ever gained a strong foothold in the language, proving abortive; additionally, this development is strictly Icelandic, never being attested in Old Norwegian,³⁹⁰ and seems to have been restricted geographically or to smaller groups of speakers and / or scribes. This feature typically surfaces in word such as *vænn* ‘likely, fair’ and *bæn* ‘prayer’, typically being orthographically rendered “viænn” and “biæn”, respectively, and

³⁸⁶ Orešnik, “An Old Icelandic Dialect Feature: iæ for æ,” 183-5.

³⁸⁷ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 190-1; Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblia*, 127, 141-2.

³⁸⁸ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 17, 45.

³⁸⁹ Torp and Vikør, *Hovuddrag i Norsk språkhistorie*, 79-80.

³⁹⁰ Orešnik, “An Old Icelandic Dialect Feature: iæ for æ,” 183.

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occurs in environments with both etymological *æ* and *ǿ*.³⁹¹ As conceptually outlined by Stefán Karlsson, this phonological change could have been one among potentially many linguistic changes in Old Icelandic that were regionally limited, and unable to gain a foothold in the wider language because of some of the peculiarities of the medieval Icelandic speech community, facilitating the abortion of linguistic innovations.³⁹²

In the process of delineating texts in which this feature is evidenced, Janez Orešnik identifies documents (predominantly charters), as well as manuscripts, in which this feature is found; they include but are not limited to: AM 764 4to, AM 573 4to, AM 132 fol., AM 53 fol., and AM 173 c 4to, all of which have strong ties to the North, often featuring material within the same genres, and likely featuring common scribal hands. This feature has already been observed in AM 764 4to by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir.³⁹³ Some of these documents have been localized in other studies, but Orešnik concludes that the documents in which this feature is present were either from Northern Iceland (Þingeyjar-, Eyjafjarðar-, or Skagafjarðarsýsla), the Breiðafjörður region (often Barðarstrandasýsla and Dalasýsla), or had strong ties to the north, as they detailed land transfers or were kept in the archives of one of the northern ecclesiastical institutions.³⁹⁴ All of the manuscripts that contain this feature have been dated to the middle or latter half of the fourteenth century,³⁹⁵ so examining the data for this feature can also aid in the dating of the manuscripts relevant to this study. The vast majority of “*iæ*” spellings occur in environments where one would expect stem-initial *bæ* and *væ*, though some “*iæ*” spellings occur in environments where one would expect stem-initial *sæ* or *læ*; however, across all of the documents that have been localized in which Orešnik found this change evidenced, “*iæ*” spellings in the former environment number over ninety in the former environment, but only six in the latter.³⁹⁶ Including the documents that have not been localized, these “*iæ*” spellings occur after *n*, *s*, *l*, *þ*, *s*, *tv*, and *br*, though they are by far the most common after *v* and *b*.³⁹⁷ This sound environment is searchable on EMROON as $\{(v|b|n|s|||b|s|tv|br)\} + \{æ\}$,³⁹⁸ though *k* and *g* can also be included in the first portion of the equation in order to accommodate the consonants that may have palatalised before *æ*. Considering Orešnik’s observation that this

³⁹¹ Ibid., 183-96.

³⁹² Stefán Karlsson, “Localization and Dating,” 139-140.

³⁹³ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 19-20.

³⁹⁴ Orešnik, “An Old Icelandic Dialect Feature: *iæ* for *æ*,” 185.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 189.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 189-190.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 192.

³⁹⁸ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

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change was most common when *á* followed *b* or *v*,³⁹⁹ a more focused search could be made via searching particularly for the environment $\{(v|b)\} + \{æ\}$.

5.5.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

There are 262 instances of the sound environment $\{(v|b|n|s|l|p|k|s|tv|br|g)\} + \{æ\}$ occurring unabbreviated in the sample from AM 764 4to. Forty-four of these instances feature *k* or *g* before *á*, in which the consonants are spelled in a manner suggesting palatalisation, with some form of *iæ*, 56% of instances. This conservative orthography is somewhat striking considering that the palatalisation of *g* and *k* preceding front vowels likely has roots that extend much further back than the fourteenth century.⁴⁰⁰ Five instances of this sound environment, particularly when *v* precedes *á*, indicate the diphthongisation of $\{æ\}$:

TABLE V - 7: SPELLINGS OF *Æ* WITH “*læ*” FOLLOWING *v* IN AM 764 4TO

7v.19	uíænf̃t	{væn-st}	vænst	pos.nom.sg.f.st	vánn (aj) ONP
8r.32	auruiæna	{ör+væn-r-a}	örvænna	com.nom.sg.n.wk	örvänn (aj) ONP
8r.37	uiænl̃leik	{væn+leik}	vænleik	dat.sg	vænleikr (nc.m) ONP
8v.31	uiænta	{væn-t-a}	vænta	prs.ind.3pl	vænta (vb.a) ONP
32v.35	uiænt̃i	{væn-t-ir}	væntir	prs.ind.3sg	vænta (vb.a) ONP

These five instances of diphthongal spellings of *á* following *v* comprise 21.7% of the instances in which this environment occurs in the sample. These spellings are relatively restricted, with 80% of them occurring within the range of folia 7-8; this of course falls within the range of folia 6-9, which as will be taken up further in chapter seven, seem to have been the work of a distinct scribe.

5.5.3 *AM 573 4to*

There are 31 instances of the sound environment $\{(v|b)\} + \{æ\}$ occurring unabbreviated in the entire sample from AM 573 4to. In only one of these is there evidence of a diphthong:

TABLE V - 8: SPELLINGS OF *Æ* WITH “*læ*” FOLLOWING *v* IN AM 573 4TO:

12v.24	banvænl̃g	{ban+væn-l̃i₂ʁ}	banvænlig	pos.nom.sg.n.st	banvænligr (aj)
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This one instance of this development shows that the scribe may have at least been aware of this budding development, but it was not typically part of their orthography, as spellings of this vowel with “*æ*” predominate in the manuscript. However, the presence of this spelling can serve as a further link to the scribes of AM 764 4to.

³⁹⁹ Orešnik, “An Old Icelandic Dialect Feature: *iæ* for *æ*,” 183-96.

⁴⁰⁰ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 17.

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In terms of the closely related environment {g|k} + {æ}, the consonants are consistently (100% of instances) spelled in a manner suggesting palatalisation in the first portion of the manuscript (ff. 1-45), yet never (0% of instances) in this way in the sample from the latter portion of the manuscript. The distribution of this feature seems to differentiate the scribes of this manuscript quite markedly, while also furthering the link between the first portion of the manuscript with AM 764 4to, in which this palatalisation is reflected orthographically in the majority (56%) of instances.

5.6 The Demonstrative Pronoun *sjá* / *þessi*

5.6.1 Description

The declension of the demonstrative pronoun *sjá* has undergone several changes in Icelandic, as notably outlined in the work of Katrín Axelsdóttir.⁴⁰¹ As such, the data for this feature can be interpreted in light of the developments outlined in this section, so as to localise and date the manuscripts more precisely, as well as aid in the definition of what may have been a norm of the scribes, should patterns in the data emerge, given the variation and development associated with this pronoun.

The form *sjá* in the masculine and feminine nominative singular was derived from another demonstrative pronoun, *sá*, though another stem, *þess-*, to which inflectional endings were affixed, makes up the rest of both paradigms.⁴⁰² Beginning in the thirteenth century, the form *sjá* in masculine and feminine nominative singular was analogically replaced with the form *þessi*,⁴⁰³ though both forms co-existed during the later medieval period,⁴⁰⁴ and the wholesale replacement was not complete in Modern Icelandic until the sixteenth century.⁴⁰⁵ The form *þessur(r)*,⁴⁰⁶ though predominantly found in Old Norwegian, is evidenced

⁴⁰¹ Katrín Axelsdóttir, *Sögur aforðum. Sex athuganir á beygingarþróun í íslensku* (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2014), 186-92; Katrín Axelsdóttir, "Saga ábendingarfornafnsins sjá," in *Íslenskt mál og almenn málvísindi* 25 (2003): 41-77.

⁴⁰² Ragnvald Iversen, *Norrøn Grammatik* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & co.: 1984), 87; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 28-9.

⁴⁰³ Alex Speed Kjeldsen, "Bemærkninger til pronomet *sjá* og dets middelalderlige historie," *Opuscula* 13 (2010), 246; Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblíá*, 352.

⁴⁰⁴ Haraldur Bernharðsson, "Copying Njáls saga into One's Own Dialect," 123; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 28-9; Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I*, 315-6; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, 47.

⁴⁰⁵ Katrín Axelsdóttir, "Saga ábendingarfornafnsins sjá," 43-4.

⁴⁰⁶ Kjartan Ottósson, "Heimenorsk innverknad på íslandsk språk i mellomalderen, særleg morfologien," 136-8.

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sporadically in Old Icelandic in the nominative singular feminine and nominative and accusative plural neuter.⁴⁰⁷

Additionally, while the existing data pool from previous studies involving this feature does not indicate clear-cut patterns, some data indicates that the change from *sjá* > *þessi* may have been more advanced in the feminine nominative singular than the corresponding masculine form during the fourteenth century.⁴⁰⁸ Though a tendency to use either the older form *sjá* or the newer form *þessi* cannot be charted geographically in medieval Iceland, an investigation of the use of these forms can aid in the identification of individual scribes and the charting of scribal practice.

In addition to the more common *sjá* > *þessi* development, some other side forms made their way into Old Icelandic, but exclusively in the feminine paradigm, during the thirteenth century, with these same forms occurring even earlier in Old Norwegian:⁴⁰⁹

feminine dative singular: *þessi* > *þessar(r)i*

In the feminine dative singular, the change *þessi* > *þessari* was likely generated by analogy to forms that regularly declined this way, such as *heiðinni* (feminine dative singular of *heiðin*), or *nokkurri* (feminine dative singular of *nokkurr*).⁴¹⁰ Further to this change, through the same process of analogy, younger forms with an intermedial *r(r)* were also generated in the:

feminine genitive singular: *þessar* > *þessar(r)ar*

genitive plural (all genders):⁴¹¹ *þessa* > *þessar(r)a*

Two other notable changes occurred in the *sjá* paradigm, namely the change *þenna* > *þenman* in the masculine accusative singular and *þetta* > *þettað* in the neuter nominative and accusative singular;⁴¹² evidence of the first of these two changes surfaces sometime during the fourteenth century,⁴¹³ but not in the manuscripts at hand, and the evidence of the second development did not surface until much later. In general, evidence of these changes surfaced earlier in Old Norwegian,⁴¹⁴ and thus developments in the *sjá* paradigm will aid in delineating the scribes at hand and charting their usual practice.

⁴⁰⁷ Finnur Jónsson, *Grammatik for den islandske oldsprøg* (København: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1925), 52.

⁴⁰⁸ Katrín Axelsdóttir, “Saga ábendingarfornafnsins sjá,” 51-57; Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Copying Njáls saga into One’s Own Dialect,” 127.

⁴⁰⁹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 331.

⁴¹⁰ Katrín Axelsdóttir, “Saga ábendingarfornafnsins sjá,” 65-6.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 67-8.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 58-60; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 28-9.

⁴¹³ Kjeldsen, “Bemærkninger til pronomet sjá,” 246.

⁴¹⁴ Katrín Axelsdóttir, “Saga ábendingarfornafnsins sjá,” 68; Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 315.

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5.6.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

In the EMROON system, the pronoun *sjá* is under the lemma *þessi*, which occurs 17 times in the feminine nominative singular form in the sample from AM 764 4to. There is only one instance (5.8%) of *sjá* being retained instead of the more novel *þessi* form (94.2% younger forms):

TABLE V - 9: A RETAINED “SJÁ” FORM IN AM 764 4TO:

AM 764 4to 9r42	fia	nom.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP
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As will be taken up in chapter seven, the exception to the rule of using *þessi* in the nominative singular feminine occurs on folio 9, which is of course in the range of folia 6-9, which as will be taken up later, is a unique portion of the manuscript with regard to language and orthography.

We can specifically search for the development *þessi* > *þessar(r)i* in feminine dative singular; the younger form *þessar(r)i* occurs 4 / 15 (26%) of instances:

TABLE V - 10: THE LEMMA *ÞESSI* IN FEMININE DATIVE SINGULAR IN AM 764 4TO:

AM 764 4to 8v20	þeffaʒi	dat.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 17r12	þʒi	dat.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 22r20	þʒi	dat.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 33r24	þaʒri	dat.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP

There are four instances of the younger *þessari* form occurring in the dative singular feminine, which have been attributed to various scribes in the work of Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir; the first, on 8v20 falls within the range of folia 6-9; the instances on 17r and 22r have both been attributed to scribe A, while the instance on 33r has been attributed to scribe K, whose similarities to scribe A with regard to other orthographic and linguistic features has already been noted by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir.⁴⁴⁵

The search for genitive singular feminine forms, and the *þessa* > *þessar(r)a* development, yields only one instance of the feminine genitive singular, in which a more novel form is used:

TABLE V - 11: THE LEMMA *ÞESSI* IN FEMININE GENITIVE SINGULAR IN AM 764 4TO:

AM 764 4to 6r9	þaʒaʒ	gen.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP
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The lemma *sjá* occurs ninety-two times in a masculine form in the sample, with thirty of those being the nominative singular form. The older form *sjá* remains 4 of 30 (13%) times in this grammatical form, *þessir* once (3.3%) with the more novel *þessi* appearing the remaining 83.7% of instances.

⁴⁴⁵ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12, 17-24.

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TABLE V - 12: THE LEMMA ÞESSI IN MASCULINE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR IN AM 764 4TO: 4TO:

AM 764 4to 6r21	fia	nom.sg.m	þessi (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 6v26	fia	nom.sg.m	þessi (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 6v33	fia	nom.sg.m	þessi (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 7r26	fia	nom.sg.m	þessi (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 7v42	þīr	nom.sg.m	þessi (dd) ONP

As will be taken up in chapter seven, the fact that these forms of *sjá* occur between folia 6-9 may support the notion that a unique scribe handled this section. The form *þessir* on 7v42 is much more typical of Old Norwegian,⁴¹⁶ and will also aid in distinguishing the scribe of this portion of the manuscript from the others. The more typically Norwegian form *þessur(r)* is absent from the sample.

In all genders, there are five instances of the genitive plural form, 80% of which are the younger *þessar(r)a*:

TABLE V - 13: THE LEMMA ÞESSI IN GENITIVE PLURAL (ALL GENDERS):

AM 764 4to 7r40	þāza	gen.pl	þessi (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 7v40	þā	gen.pl	þessi (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 13r30	þlāra	gen.pl	þessi (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 14r37	þāza	gen.pl	þessi (dd) ONP
AM 764 4to 14v34	þāzra	gen.pl	þessi (dd) ONP

Overall, the distribution of *sjá* and *þessi* forms in the manuscript is congruent with the observation that the change *sjá* > *þessi* may have been more advanced in the feminine than the masculine,⁴¹⁷ as *sjá* forms make up only 1 / 17 of the feminine nominative singular forms, whereas they comprise 4 / 30 of the masculine nominative singular forms. There is no evidence in the sample of the younger *þessur* form in the neuter.

5.6.3 AM 573 4to

The lemma *þessi* occurs three times in the feminine nominative singular in the sample from AM 573 4to, and all of which (100%) are the younger *þessi* form:

TABLE V - 14: THE LEMMA ÞESSI IN FEMININE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR:

AM 573 4to 28v26	þ̄s1	nom.sg.f	þessi (dd) ONP
AM 573 4to 46r21	þ̄1	nom.sg.f	þessi (dd) ONP
AM 573 4to 49v12	þ̄1	nom.sg.f	þessi (dd) ONP

⁴¹⁶ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 315-6.

⁴¹⁷ Katrín Axelsdóttir, "Saga ábendingarfornafnsins sjá," 51-57; Haraldur Bernharðsson, "Copying Njáls saga into One's Own Dialect," 127.

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One can look specifically for the change *þessi* > *þessar(r)i* in feminine dative singular, as there are nine appearances of this form, but only one instance of the more novel form *þessari*:

TABLE V - 15: THE FORM ÞESSAR(R)I IN AM 764 4TO:

AM 573 4to 60r17	þlḁr̥i	dat.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP
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With regard to the feminine genitive singular form and the development *þessar* > *þessar(r)ar*, this form occurs four times, again with only one instance (25%) of the side form *þessarar*:

TABLE V - 16: THE LEMMA ÞESSI IN FEMININE GENITIVE SINGULAR:

AM 573 4to 1r10	þar	gen.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP
AM 573 4to 47r7	þar̥	gen.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP
AM 573 4to 49v4	þar	gen.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP
AM 573 4to 56v6	þar	gen.sg.f	<i>þessi</i> (dd) ONP

The lemma *þessi* occurs six times in the masculine nominative singular; there are no *sjá* forms.

Overall, AM 573 4to indicates a relatively innovative practice regarding the pronoun *sjá* / *þessi*, as the younger *þessi* predominates over *sjá*, though the change of *þess-* > *þessar-* is only sporadically attested, albeit only in the latter portion of the manuscript.

5.7 The Indefinite Pronoun *engi*

5.7.1 Description

By analogy to the *wā* / *wō*-stem inflection of adjectives,⁴¹⁸ the indefinite pronoun *engi* acquired an alternative stem with a rounded vowel and sometimes a stem final *v*,⁴¹⁹ *øng(v)-* and later *öng(v)-*.⁴²⁰ These stems, *eng-* and *öng(v)-* were in competition in Icelandic until the twentieth century, and are both attested in the earliest written Icelandic from the thirteenth century.⁴²¹ In terms of the manuscripts of the earliest period in both Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian — essentially those produced before 1200 in Norway or before 1220 in Iceland — the innovative *öng(v)-* stem is only found in Icelandic sources, as well as codices produced in Norway by

⁴¹⁸ Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Copying Njáls saga into One’s Own Dialect,” 140.

⁴¹⁹ Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblíja*, 373.

⁴²⁰ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 322-3; Finnur Jónsson, *Grammatik for den islandske oldspog*, 54.

⁴²¹ Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, 50-1.

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Icelanders.⁴²² The *v* in the younger stem was naturally not present before round vowels, though following analogical change, it was either dropped where it was previously present, yielding forms such as the masculine accusative singular *öngan* instead of *öngvan*, or conversely generalised to where it was not previously present, yielding *öngvum* in masculine dative singular in place of *öngum*.⁴²³ As mentioned in section 4.2, the vowel *e* tended to round into *ö* in forms of *engi* in Old Icelandic, though scribes were able to use forms with either the *eng-* or *öng(v)-* stem; it may well have been the case that a preference for either form was geographically determined, or perhaps had to do with the written norm of a scribal school, which will be explored in the following sections, as well as in chapter seven. As such, this feature will aid in the localisation and dating of the manuscripts, the delineation of scribes, as well as the inference of a scribal norm, should patterns in the data emerge. Forms of the pronoun with the younger *öng(v)-* were generated in most of the paradigm, though they were uncommon in the masculine nominative and genitive singular, the feminine nominative singular, and the neuter nominative and accusative singular and plural forms, as well as the neuter genitive singular.⁴²⁴

5.7.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

In the sample from AM 764 4to, the feminine nominative singular forms always feature an unrounded stem vowel, which in all of these cases, is spelled as a diphthong, with “ei” before the *-ng* cluster, as discussed in 5.1. The other forms of this pronoun, in this case the three instances of the (feminine) accusative singular all feature a spelling suggesting a rounded vowel, indicating that the *öng(v)-* stem had superseded *eng-* in these forms.

In the masculine forms, the younger *öng(v)-* stem is ubiquitous in all forms except the nominative and genitive singular, though the unrounded stem also occurs once in a dative singular form:

TABLE V - 17: THE UNROUNDED STEM IN MASCULINE DATIVE SINGULAR:

AM 764 4to 14v23	eíngū	dat.sg.m	<i>engi</i> (dq) ONP
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In the neuter forms, the younger stem is only encountered in the dative singular, though there is also one instance of the unrounded, and consequently diphthongized stem in the form “eíngu” on 43r17. Additionally, there is no evidence of the change *ekki* > *ekkert* in the

⁴²² Katrín Axelsdóttir, “Myndir af engi,” in *Hugvísindabing 2005: Erindi af ráðstefnu Hugvísindadeildar og Guðfræðideildar Háskóla Íslands 18. nóvember 2005*, eds. Haraldur Bernharðsson, Margrét Guðmundsdóttir, Ragnheiður Kristjánsdóttir, Þórdís Gísladóttir (Reykjavík: Hugvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2005), 169-70.

⁴²³ Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Copying Njáls saga into One’s Own Dialect,” 140.

⁴²⁴ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 341-2.

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neuter nominative and accusative singular, though signs of this change would have been somewhat unexpected before the sixteenth century.⁴²⁵

Looking at the data for this feature as a whole, the scribes of AM 764 4to predominantly employed the *öng(v)*- stem in all forms where it might be expected, and there is no evidence of the change *engi* > *engin(n)*.

5.7.3 AM 573 4to

In the entire sample from AM 573 4to, forms in the feminine nominative singular have retained the *eng-* stem, as expected, while the two forms in the accusative singular feature the rounded stem, *öng(v)*-, but are restricted to the first portion (folia 1-45) of the manuscript; one instance even featuring the *v* (18r4):

TABLE V - 18: THE ROUNDED STEM INCLUDING A V IN THE FEMININE ACCUSATIVE

AM 573 4to 18r4	augua	acc.sg.f	<i>engi</i> (dq) ONP
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In the feminine accusative plural, 66% of instances feature the younger stem. This echoes what also seems to be the rule in AM 764 4to and the language in general: nominative singular forms (in all genders) retain the older *eng-* stem, which has often also diphthongized to *eing-* in some cases, while other forms have taken on the *öng(v)*- stem. Unlike in AM 764 4to, there is one instance of the form “*eíngín*” on 25v17 of AM 573 4to; forms of the pronoun in the masculine and feminine nominative singular, as well as the neuter nominative and accusative plural, may have taken on an *-in(n)* ending by analogy to adjectives ending in *-imm*,⁴²⁶ though evidence of this change is limited to this one instance in the sample from AM 573 4to:

TABLE V - 19: THE FORM EINGIN IN FEMININE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR:

AM 573 4to 25v17	<i>eíngín</i>	nom.sg.f	<i>engi</i> (dq) ONP
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In the masculine, forms with the *eng-* stem are used consistently in the nominative singular. The other eight forms all use the *öng(v)*- root, with two of these including the *v*:

TABLE V - 20: THE ROUNDED STEM, INCLUDING A V IN THE MASCULINE:

AM 573 4to 28r25	ongua	acc.pl.m	<i>engi</i> (dq) ONP
AM 573 4to 61v1	aunguan	acc.sg.m	<i>engi</i> (dq) ONP

There is some difference from a purely orthographic perspective as well, as three of the eight forms with the *öng(v)*- stem have this vowel spelled with “au”, (one of the typical manners of spelling *ö*):

⁴²⁵ Katrín Axelsdóttir, “Myndir af engi,” 172-3, 180.

⁴²⁶ Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblia*, 373.

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TABLE V - 21: THE ROUNDED VOWEL REPRESENTED WITH "AU" IN THE MASCULINE:

AM 573 4to 47r6	aungū	dat.sg.m	<i>engi</i> (dq) ONP
AM 573 4to 55r9	aung ^a	acc.pl.m	<i>engi</i> (dq) ONP
AM 573 4to 61v1	aunguan	acc.sg.m	<i>engi</i> (dq) ONP

All of these instances are beyond folio 46, indicating that they belong to the likely younger portion of the manuscript completed by a unique scribe, though this will be taken up in greater detail in chapter seven.

Of the neuter forms of the pronoun that appear in the sample, only the dative singular features the younger stem, while there are no instances of plural forms.

As was noted with regard to the masculine forms, the *öng(v)*- stem is spelled with "o" in the first portion of the manuscript and with "au" in the latter portion. While both portions of the manuscript feature both stems, they are more prevalent in the first portion of the manuscript, preceding folio 46, where *öng(v)*- predominates in the forms that it can be expected in, while *eng*- predominates in the latter portion, where the younger stem is always spelled with "au".

5.8 Analogical Restoration in Strong Verbs of the Type *sté* > *steig* and *fló* > *flaug*

5.8.1 Description

In Proto-Norse, strong verbs of class 1 and 2 that had a root-final velar fricative such as *stíga* (class 1) or *fljúga* (class 2) underwent word-final devoicing in the singular preterite indicative active, followed by monophthongization of the preceding diphthong.⁴²⁷ Already in Proto-Norse, *g*, the voiced velar fricative, became **h* through the process **g* > **x* > **h* and was ultimately lost in all positions except word-initially.⁴²⁸ This development can thus be sketched as:⁴²⁹

PrN **steiγ* > PrN **steix* > OIcel. *sté* > OIcel. *steig*

PrN **flauγ* > PrN **flaux* > OIcel. *fló* > OIcel. *flaug*

Later, forms of these verbs with a diphthong and word-final consonant were restored by analogy to other class 1 and 2 verbs that did not undergo this change.⁴³⁰ Thus by analogy to

⁴²⁷ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 326-8; Haraldur Bernharðsson, "Copying Njáls saga into One's Own Dialect," 140; Kristian Emil Kristoffersen, "The Morphology of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian," in *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook on the History of the North Germanic Languages I*, ed. Oskar Bandle (Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 923.

⁴²⁸ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 349.

⁴²⁹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, "Copying Njáls saga into One's Own Dialect," 129.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 140.

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forms such as *beit* (from *bíta*), and *laust* (from *ljósta*), the forms *steig* and *flaug* were created, as the forms *sté* and *fló* seemed to be anomalous relative to other preterite singular forms of class 1 and 2 verbs, despite them being formed by a regular development.⁴³¹ While the earliest attested Old Icelandic does not feature forms such as *steig*, only *sté*, this change, which can be summarized as *sté* > *steig* and *fló* > *flaug*, was underway during the fourteenth century, and thus manuscripts from this period may show a mix of forms, as the younger, analogically created forms began to replace the older forms that had been the result of a regular phonological development.⁴³² Given this process during the fourteenth century, examining this feature may elucidate whether the scribes of the manuscripts under study tended to prefer particular forms, which in turn aids in the definition of the norm to which they may have been using, as well as in the inference of which forms they may have preferred in their spoken language.

As there are relatively few verbs with a stem-final velar fricative in strong class 1 (*hníga*, *míga*, *síga*, and *stíga*) and strong class 2 (*fljúga*, *ljúga*, *s(j)úga*, and *smjúga*),⁴³³ forms of these verbs are not particularly common, and thus there is limited data regarding which forms the scribes may have preferred. However, some patterns emerge, as will be explored in the following sections.

5.8.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

Of all of the verbs affected by this development, preterite indicative singular forms are restricted to the verb *stíga* in the sample from AM 764 4to. There are five instances of the preterite indicative third person singular form, all of which are *sté* rather than the younger form *steig*:

TABLE V - 22: “STE” FORMS IN AM 764 4TO:

AM 764 4to 519	ʼfteʼ	prt.ind.3sg	<i>stíga</i> (vb.a) ONP
AM 764 4to 6r28	fte	prt.ind.3sg	<i>stíga</i> (vb.a) ONP
AM 764 4to 15v5	ste	prt.ind.3sg	<i>stíga</i> (vb.a) ONP
AM 764 4to 16r9	ste	prt.ind.3sg	<i>stíga</i> (vb.a) ONP
AM 764 4to 22r15	fte	prt.ind.3sg	<i>stíga</i> (vb.a) ONP

In summary, only the younger *sté* form is encountered as the preterite singular indicative active of *stíga* in the sample from AM 764 4to, indicating that the restoration of the

⁴³¹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 349-352; Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Copying Njáls saga into One’s Own Dialect,” 130; Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblíá*, 396-7; Finnur Jónsson, *Grammatik for den islandske oldspog*, 52; Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I*, 326-8.

⁴³² Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Copying Njáls saga into One’s Own Dialect,” 129-135.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 130; Kristoffersen, “The Morphology of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian,” 923.

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form *steig* was not completed, or even underway in the language of the scribe(s). This distribution would indicate a somewhat conservative practice in the context of the fourteenth century.

5.8.3 AM 573 4to

In AM 573 4to, there is only one instance of a preterite indicative form of *hníga*. The first portion of the manuscript uses the earlier form *hné* rather than the younger, analogically created form *hneig*. There is only one instance of the verb *hníga* in the latter portion of the manuscript, and it is the infinitive form.

TABLE V - 23: A "HNE" FORM IN AM 573 4TO:

AM 573 4to 1v28	<u>hne</u>	prt.ind.3sg	<i>hníga</i> (vb.a) ONP
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Regarding the verb *fljúga*, there is an alternation of *fló* and *flaug*. There are only six instances of this verb in the first portion of the manuscript, and the older form *fló* is used twice, toward the beginning of the manuscript on folio 12, while the younger form *flaug* is used twice on 27r, followed by another instance of the older *fló* form on 27r19. This distribution suggests that the younger form *flaug* was familiar to the scribe(s), but that they favoured the older form *fló*, or perhaps that their exemplar featured the older forms, leading the scribe to copy the forms of *fljúga* found in their exemplar verbatim on folio 12, while they may have tried to adapt the language to their personal norm on 27r1 and 27r17 before simply returning to the norm of the exemplar regarding this verb on 27r19.

TABLE V - 24: "FLO" FORMS IN AM 573 4TO:

AM 573 4to 12r10	fló	prt.ind.3sg	<i>fljúga</i> (vb.a) ONP
AM 573 4to 12v22	fló	prt.ind.3sg	<i>fljúga</i> (vb.a) ONP
AM 573 4to 27r1	flaug	prt.ind.3sg	<i>fljúga</i> (vb.a) ONP
AM 573 4to 27r17	flaug	prt.ind.3sg	<i>fljúga</i> (vb.a) ONP
AM 573 4to 27r19	fló	prt.ind.3sg	<i>fljúga</i> (vb.a) ONP

While there are limited instances of these verbs, let alone the preterite indicative singular form, the data from AM 573 4to indicates that the manuscripts were produced during a period while the analogical restoration of forms such as *steig* and *flaug* were underway, though the scribes favoured the older forms. The distribution of forms, particularly the 3:2 ratio of *fló:flaug* forms indicates that the analogical restoration was well underway in the language of the scribe(s), and indicates a more innovative practice than that encountered in AM 764 4to. However, this analogical restoration of older forms may have proceeded at different rates for each of the verbs that were affected by it.

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5.9 Fricativization $t > \delta$ in Unstressed Positions

5.9.1 Description

Over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, t in unstressed positions⁴³⁴ and in function words (conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, pronouns, and the infinitive marker) was fricativized to δ .⁴³⁵ As such, examining this feature can aid in the dating of the manuscripts, as well as defining the orthographic practice, and possibly also language, of the scribes more precisely. While this change widely affected the dental in the preterite participles of verbs, as well as the definite article, in both suffixed and unsuffixed form, in neuter nominative and accusative singular substantives, this change did *not* affect monosyllabic lexical content words, including nouns (typically neuter in this context), adjectives, and finite verbal forms.⁴³⁶ Searching for instances of this development in the EMROON database primarily involves looking for the sound position $\{t\}$, which corresponds to the $/t/$ phoneme in Old Norse, which in the above-mentioned contexts became fricativized. To streamline the search, the left context is set as an unstressed or half-stressed vowel $\{iV\}$, which may also (expressed by the parentheses) have an intervening δ , n , or null sound. Reverse or hyper-correct spellings, instances in which an earlier δ (sound position $\{\delta\}$) is spelled with “ t ” are also indirect evidence of the fricativization of unstressed $t > \delta$, though these will be addressed in 5.10,

5.9.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

In AM 764 4to, there are 370 attestations of the sound environment: $\{iV(\delta|n|)\} + \{t\}$. The first part of this equation denotes an unstressed vowel that may or may not be followed by δ , n , or $-$, whereas the second portion of the equation, $\{t\}$, is simply the dental consonant that became fricativized in this unstressed environment.⁴³⁷ Of these 370 instances of this environment, only 230 were deemed salient for the purposes of this study, as they feature $\{t\}$ in an unstressed position being spelled out in an unabbreviated form. Across these 230 instances of $\{iV(\delta|n|)\} + \{t\}$ in AM 764 4to that do not involve an abbreviation of $\{t\}$, 145 (63%) of them suggest a fricative, with 4 (1.7% of the total instances of this environment) spellings with “ β ”, and 141 (61.3%) with “ δ ”.

⁴³⁴ Iversen, *Norrøn grammatik*, 35.

⁴³⁵ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I*, 183; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 182-3; Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblíá*, 168-71; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xxvii; Finnur Jónsson, *Grammatik for den islandske oldspog*, 29; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 19.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁷ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

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This sound environment is spelled in a manner suggesting a fricative in 145 of 230 (63%) relevant instances in the entire sample from AM 764 4to, and there are no clear instances of a passage or portion of the manuscript deviating significantly from this rule, which otherwise may have indicated the presence of a unique scribal hand. This distribution suggests that unstressed {t} had fricativized in the language of the scribes, and spelling this sound with “d” was the norm, with “t” spellings being an archaism, perhaps reflecting the use of the exemplar, or a common practice of the not-too-distant past.

As will be taken up further in chapter seven, the relatively isolated yet clustered of spellings of older unstressed *t* with “þ” bolster the notion, in conjunction with the patterns that emerge regarding other features, that unique scribes handled the sections in which they appear.

5.9.3 AM 573 4to

There are 177 attestations for $\{V(\delta|n|-)*\} + \{t\}$ written in the sample from AM 573 4to, with 139 of these being unambiguously usable as evidence, as the sound in question is written unabbreviated. Of these instances, only 43 (24%) involve {t} being written with *t*, with all others (134 / 177 instances, or 76%) employ “ð”, “ð̊”, or “þ”, indicating the fricativization of unstressed *t* in the majority of instances. As will be discussed further in chapter six, the use of “ð̊” to denote this sound is somewhat unusual, considering that the manuscript has been dated to the fourteenth century. In terms of identifying scribes, a more nuanced view of the data can be gleaned from looking at the two major portions of the manuscript separately.

There are 123 attestations for $\{V(\delta|n|-)*\} + \{t\}$ in the sample from the first portion, folia 1-45, of AM 573 4to. Of these, 88 are deemed salient for the purposes of this study, as they do not involve potential ambiguity through abbreviations. Of all of these instances, 65% indicate a fricative, with “ð” or “þ”. This distribution mirrors the 63% fricative spellings found in AM 764 4to, and would be in keeping with the notion that the scribe of the first portion of AM 573 4to was of the same Skagafjörður milieu as the scribes of AM 764 4to.

Only 31 (35%) of these instances are “t” spellings, and are in words that are spelled as a fricative elsewhere. There is one (1.1%) seemingly archaic spelling with “þ”, however:

TABLE V - 25: AN ARCHAIC USE OF “þ” IN AM 573 4TO:

25r.31	buiþ	{bú-in-t}	búit	res.acc.sg.n.st	búa (vb.a) ONP
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This use of þ in this environment seems to mirror the occasional use of this spelling in AM 764 4to (1.7% of instances).

In the sample from the latter portion of the manuscript, folia 46-63, there are 54 attestations for $\{V(\delta|n|-)*\} + \{t\}$, with 51 of these being usable as evidence. It is striking that this latter portion of the manuscript, and likely this *scribe*, spells unstressed *t* as a stop in the

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vast majority of instances, 43 of 51 (84%) times in this environment. Of the 8 times that they spell this sound as a fricative, “ð” is used 4 times (7.4%), which can be considered an archaism in a manuscript whose orthography, language, and script otherwise points to the fourteenth century, and likely the latter portion of that century, at that. The presence of spellings of *t* with “ð” or “þ”, even in only 16% of instances, suggests that the scribe pronounced a fricative in this position, or at least that this phonological development was underway and familiar to them in the language of others. As will be discussed in later chapters, this convention may support the notion of a unique scribe handling the work on folia 46-63 of this manuscript, as the 16% of fricative spellings in this section of the manuscript contrast both the first portion of the manuscript (65% fricative spellings) and AM 764 4to (63%). Additionally, spellings with “þ” for the change *t* > ð are not encountered in this latter portion of AM 573 4to.

In addition to etymological dental fricatives of an older origin, the next section will also address inverse spellings of ð with “t”, which can also serve as indirect evidence of the fricativization *t* > ð in unstressed positions.

5.10 The Denotation of Dental Fricatives in Non-Initial Position

5.10.1 Description

While the letter þ was used ubiquitously to denote dental fricatives in all positions in the earliest Icelandic manuscripts,⁴³⁸ the Anglo-Saxon letter ð began to take its place in word-final and word-internal positions during the first half of the thirteenth century, which in turn was supplanted by the uncial ð over the course of the fourteenth century.⁴³⁹ Somewhat broadly, this feature can thus aid in the dating of the manuscripts, as well as in the tracking of the orthographic habits of the scribes. Should patterns in the work of the scribes emerge in their spelling of non-initial dental fricatives, these could be considered distinctive in outlining the norm of the milieu to which these scribes may have belonged.

Though it was common to use þ to represent a dental fricative in all positions in the written Icelandic of the earliest period,⁴⁴⁰ this practice is rarely encountered in Norwegian manuscripts,⁴⁴¹ as both þ, usually in word-initial position, and ð, used word-medially and

⁴³⁸ Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” in *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages I*, ed. Oskar Bandle (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 835.

⁴³⁹ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 43-4.

⁴⁴⁰ Didrik Arup Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, Nordisk Kultur 28 B (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1954), 44.

⁴⁴¹ Odd Einar Haugen, “The Development of Latin Script I: In Norway,” in *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages I*, ed. Oskar Bandle (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 829.

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word-finally, were in use from the latter-half of the twelfth century.⁴⁴² The trend in Icelandic orthography resulted in general spelling developments such as “þaþan” c.1200 > “þaðan” c.1250 > “þaðan” c.1350,⁴⁴³ as Icelandic scribes began to adopt more features of Insular script via Norway during the thirteenth century.⁴⁴⁴ Beyond the turn of the fourteenth century in Icelandic manuscripts, it was uncommon to use þ as an orthographic representation for anything but the word-initial {þ}.⁴⁴⁵

While the sound change $t > ð$, discussed in the previous section, also yielded a dental fricative, the EMROON reference orthography, in its accounting for the *origin* of sounds, differentiates between the older {ð}, which only occurred in stressed or partially stressed environments, and that which arose from the change $t > ð$ in unstressed positions, which in the EMROON system, would still be represented by {t}, as this sound, despite its development, originated from a dental stop rather than a fricative.

Interpreting the data for this feature provides some unique difficulties, as some dental consonants with the origin of {ð} had become /t/ in Old Norse by the period in question, and in many instances, {t} had become /ð/ i.e. some of the dental stops can be traced back to environments that also feature fricatives,⁴⁴⁶ and vice versa. For example, the word *samþykkttu*, from earlier *samþykkðu*, would be rendered {sam+þükk-ð-u} in the EMROON orthography, reflecting that the dental consonant marking the preterite tense can be traced back to a fricative rather than a stop, while the word *at*, often appearing as “ad” in these manuscripts, would be rendered {at} in EMROON notation. However, as will be taken up in the next two sections, this issue can, by and large, be circumvented with adding the search criteria $\{V(\delta|n|)^*\}$ ⁴⁴⁷ in the left i.e. preceding context of the {ð} sound, thus this more focused search can be represented as $\{V(\delta|n|)^*\} + \{\delta\}$. In investigating this data, we will primarily be looking for archaic uses of “þ” in non-initial position, as well as reverse spellings in which an older /ð/ is spelled as a stop, serving as indirect evidence of the change $t > ð$.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴² Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, 10.

⁴⁴³ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 453-4; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 44.

⁴⁴⁴ Haugen, “The Development of Latin Script I: In Norway,” 829.

⁴⁴⁵ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 43-4.

⁴⁴⁶ Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xxviii-xxix; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 18-22.

⁴⁴⁷ This equation representing a sound environment is explained in 5.9. See also: <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

⁴⁴⁸ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 47.

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5.10.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

In AM 764 4to, there is relatively little deviation from the general standard of representing the dental fricative with “þ” in word-initial position and with “d” in word-medial position; however, following Stefán Karlsson’s concept of distributional independence,⁴⁴⁹ any congruencies in the deviations from this principle may be considered salient in the localisation, dating, and identification of scribes. There are 5718 attestations of {ð} in non-initial position written by all scribes in the sample from AM 764 4to, with 3516 in unabbreviated forms.

Of the 3527 instances of unabbreviated {ð} in the sample, there are 188 instances (5.3%) of “þ” being used for {ð}, with some scribes seeming to favour it more than others. These spellings, which could be called a conservatism in any century beyond the thirteenth, occur sporadically throughout the manuscript, and seem to appear on each leaf (their absence in a particular section might point to a unique scribe).

While not entirely consistent, it was relatively common, accounting for 22% of the non-initial uses of *þ*, for the scribes to spell {ð} with “þ” in instances in which a word featured multiple dental consonants, such as *smiðaðr*, or in words that featured both a dental stop and a dental fricative, such as *andaðisk*, as exemplified below:

TABLE V - 26: USES OF “Þ” IN WORDS WITH MULTIPLE DENTAL CONSONANTS IN AM 764 4TO:

3f.9	fmidapz	{smið-Að-r}	<i>smiðaðr</i>	<i>smiða</i> (vb.a) ONP
7v.16	andapiz	{and-Að-r- <u>sk</u> i}	<i>andaðisk</i>	<i>andask</i> (vb.r)
10v.17	dauþz	{dauð-r}	<i>dauðr</i>	<i>dauðr</i> (aj) ONP

In the environment {_iV(ð|n|-)*} + {ð}, where we should expect solely fricatives, there are 17 reverse spellings (3%) in a total of 496 instances where the {ð} is not abbreviated. Note that the first element of this sound environment, {_iV(ð|n|-)*} (an unstressed vowel that may or may not have an intervening consonant) mirrors that of the search terms for the fricativization of unstressed *t* > ð. This similarity in sound environment facilitated hyper-correct spellings, as the scribes, in some instances wrote *t* in a context where they must have pronounced /ð/, as the /ð/ in this position was an instance of the etymological {ð} sound position rather than the later development of *t* > ð:

TABLE V - 27: REVERSE SPELLINGS WITH “T” IN AM 764 4TO:

3r.38	fmidut	{smið- <u>oð</u> }	<i>smiðuð</i>	res.nom.sg.f.st	<i>smiða</i> (vb.a) ONP
4bivr.9	huñdt	{hund- <u>rað</u> }	<i>hundrað</i>	nom.sg	<i>hundrað</i> (nc.n) ONP
6r.16	huñdt	{hund- <u>rað</u> }	<i>hundrað</i>	nom.sg	<i>hundrað</i> (nc.n) ONP
7v.32	biðt	{bið- <u>j-ið</u> }	<i>biðið</i>	prs.ipv.2pl	<i>biðja</i> (vb.a) ONP

⁴⁴⁹ Stefán Karlsson, “Om norvågismer i islandske håndskrifter,” 87-101.

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7v.32	fogdut	{sɔy-ð-uð}	<i>sogðuð</i>	prt.ind.2pl	<i>segja</i> (vb.a) ONP
7v.33	bídit	{bið-j-ið}	<i>biðið</i>	prs.ipv.2pl	<i>biðja</i> (vb.a) ONP
13v.29	furðnut	{stirð-n-ɔð}	<i>stirðnuð</i>	res.nom.sg.f.st	<i>stirðna</i> (vb.a) ONP
15r.30	fyllit	{füll-ið}	<i>fyllið</i>	prs.ipv.2pl	<i>fylla</i> (vb.a) ONP
15r.32	bit	{ber-ið}	<i>berið</i>	prs.ipv.2pl	<i>bera</i> (vb.a) ONP
15r.32	geyðut	{gøym-ð-uð}	<i>geymðuð</i>	prt.ind.2pl	<i>geyma</i> (vb.a) ONP
18b.isr.8	þufhuñđt	{þús+hund-rað}	<i>þúshundrað</i>	nom.sg	<i>þúshundrað</i> (nc.n) ONP
22v.1	oñdut	{ɔnd-ɔð}	<i>ɔnduð</i>	res.nom.sg.f.st	<i>anda</i> (vb.a) ONP
32r.13	blezut	{ble _{ts} -ɔð}	<i>blezuð</i>	res.nom.sg.f.st	<i>bleza</i> (vb.a) ONP
32v.10	aflit	{afl-ið}	<i>aflíð</i>	prs.ipv.2pl	<i>afla</i> (vb.a) ONP
32v.20	huñd2at	{hund-rað}	<i>hundrað</i>	acc.sg	<i>hundrað</i> (nc.n) ONP
32v.26	bunat	{bú-nəð}	<i>búnuð</i>	acc.sg	<i>búnuðr</i> (nc.m) ONP
33r.20	yf̥hneigt	{üβ-ir+hneiγ-j-ið}	<i>yfirhneiðið</i>	prs.ind.2pl	<i>yfirhneigja</i> (vb.a)

Overall, the scribes of AM 764 4to rarely departed from the general rule of using “þ” word-initially and “d” or “ð” in non-initial position. In non-initial position and in the environment $\{V(\partial|n|)^*\} + \{\partial\}$, “ð” is used in 0.001% of instances, “þ” in 8% of instances, and “t”, indicating a reverse spelling, serving as indirect evidence for the change $t > \partial$ discussed in section 5.9, 3% of instances.

5.10.3 AM 573 4to

As in AM 764 4to, we will begin our query for $\{\partial\}$ by simply searching for that sound alone; there are 2101 attestations for $\{\partial\}$ written by all scribes in AM 573 4to, with 1340 of these being directly usable, as they do not feature abbreviations of the sound in focus.

However, the search can be focused to $\{V(\partial|n|)^*\} + \{\partial\}$, of which there are 124 attestations in the sample taken from the first portion of AM 573 4to, with 86 of them not featuring abbreviations. These search terms reveal that there are 4 instances (5%) of reverse spellings with “t” in this sample area, while “ð” features 87% of instances and “þ” 8%. This distribution closely reflects AM 764 4to, which has 8% *þ* spellings and 3% reverse spellings with *t*, though it also implies that this portion of AM 573 4to is more archaic than AM 764 4to. Though these instances of “þ” in non-initial position represent a fairly small minority of the manner in which $\{V(\partial|n|)^*\} + \{\partial\}$ is represented in this section of the manuscript, some patterns can be inferred.

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TABLE V - 28: ARCHAIC USES OF “P” IN THE FIRST PORTION OF AM 573 4TO:

1r.5	fiḡaḡḡ	{siḡ-Aḡ-r}	<i>siḡaḡr</i>	res.nom.sg.m.st	<i>siḡa</i> (vb.a) ONP
1r.17	fḡoḡḡḡ	{fḡoḡ-nḡḡ}	<i>fḡoḡḡḡ</i>	acc.sg	<i>fḡoḡḡḡr</i> (nc.m) ONP
1r.28	fḡviḡnaḡ	{for+vit-n-Aḡ-I-sḡk ₁ }	<i>forvitnaḡisk</i>	prt.ind.3sg	<i>forvitnask</i> (vb.r)
1r.31	loḡaḡ[1]	{loḡ-Aḡ-I}	<i>loḡaḡi</i>	prt.ind.3sg	<i>loḡa</i> (vb.a) ONP
2v.28	fḡkipuḡḡ	{skip-ḡḡ-u}	<i>skipuḡḡu</i>	res.dat.sg.n.st	<i>skipa</i> (vb.a) ONP
2ḡv.9	uḡḡḡḡ	{und-r-Aḡ-I}	<i>undraḡi</i>	prt.ind.3sg	<i>undra</i> (vb.a) ONP
27r.30	ḡundḡuḡḡ	{ḡund-rḡḡ-um}	<i>ḡundruḡum</i>	dat.pl	<i>ḡundraḡ</i> (nc.n) ONP

The letter “ḡ” is used to represent the dental preterite marker in the vast majority of these cases, and notably, two instances, those on folia 26 and 27, are in words that feature another dental consonant, so the use of “ḡ” here could be interpreted as an attempt to distinguish the stop from the fricative within the same word, as was encountered several times in AM 764 4to.

The latter portion of the manuscript tells quite a different story in terms of the graphs that are used to represent non-initial {ḡ}. There are 486 instances of this sound position in an unabbreviated manner in this portion of the sample. One may note that in contrast to the earlier portion of the manuscript, discussed above, there are zero instances of “ḡ” being used to represent non-initial {ḡ}; rather this section of the manuscript features 275 instances (56%) of “ḡ” representing this sound position. While the use of opposition of “ḡ” and “ḡ” will be taken up in greater detail in section 6.3, and the ramifications of this criterion for dating the manuscript will be taken up in chapter seven, we can note here that the consistent employment of “ḡ”, in fact in the majority of cases that {ḡ} appears, is somewhat unusual in a manuscript that has previously been dated to the fourteenth century, and not least, contrasts quite starkly with the earlier and previously discussed section of the manuscript.

When the search criteria are focused to {V(ḡ|n|-)*} + {ḡ}, another pattern emerges, as in this environment, “ḡ” is used 45% and “ḡ” 35% of instances, while the remaining 20% are reverse spellings with *t*:

TABLE V - 29: REVERSE SPELLINGS WITH “T” IN THE LATTER PORTION OF AM 573 4TO:

4ḡr.5	ḡḡ ekahoḡut	{dræk-A+hḡḡḡḡḡ}	<i>drekahoḡuḡ</i>	nom.sg	<i>drekahoḡuḡ</i> (nc.n) ONP
49r.3	ḡut	{er-uḡ}	<i>eruḡ</i>	prs.ind.2pl	<i>vera</i> (vb.a) ONP
49r.6	erut	{er-uḡ}	<i>eruḡ</i>	prs.ind.2pl	<i>vera</i> (vb.a) ONP
49r.8	ḡugit	{duḡ-iḡ}	<i>duḡiḡ</i>	prs.ipv.2pl	<i>duga</i> (vb.a) ONP
49r.9	fḡandit	{stand-iḡ}	<i>standiḡ</i>	prs.ind.2pl	<i>standa</i> (vb.a) ONP
49r.10	ḡangit	{ḡang-iḡ}	<i>ḡangiḡ</i>	prs.ipv.2pl	<i>ḡanga</i> (vb.a) ONP

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49r.11	þolit	{þol-ið}	þolið	prs.ipv.2pl	þola (vb.a) ONP
55v.18	gefit	{geβ-ið}	gefið	prs.ipv.2pl	gefa (vb.a) ONP
61r.27	heyrit	{høyr-ið}	heyrið	prs.ipv.2pl	heyra (vb.a) ONP
61v.2	hafit	{haβ-ið}	hafið	prs.ind.2pl	hafa (vb.a) ONP

The two portions of AM 573 4to, folia 1-45 and 46-63 differ markedly in their representation of non-initial dental fricatives. According to the search terms $\{V(\partial|n|)\} + \{\partial\}$, the first portion features “ð” 87% of instances, “þ” in 8% of instances, and “t”, indicating a reverse spelling and serving as indirect evidence for the change $t > \partial$ discussed in 5.9, 5% of instances. This distribution is quite similar to the scribes of AM 764 4to. Conversely, the latter half of AM 573 4to features “ð” 45% of instances, “t”, indicating a reverse spelling, 20% of instances, and perhaps most strikingly, “ð̊” 35% of instances.

5.11 Word-final Fricativization of $k > g$

5.11.1 Description

The fricativization of k in unstressed positions⁴⁵⁰ began in the thirteenth century,⁴⁵¹ and became increasingly prevalent in Icelandic orthography over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries;⁴⁵² however, spellings with “k” or “c”, rather than “g”, suggesting a velar stop rather than a fricative, lingered in the orthography into the sixteenth century.⁴⁵³

Examining this feature can thus aid in the dating of the manuscripts as well as in the effort to define a norm to which the scribes may have been beholden. Lexical content words, such as *bak* neut. ‘back’, *lok* neut. ‘lid’, *tók* ‘took’, were not affected by this change, and thus this development was limited to:⁴⁵⁴

a conjunction / adverb:

ok > og

⁴⁵⁰ Iversen, *Norrøn grammatik*, 35.

⁴⁵¹ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 19; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xi-xii; Finnur Jónsson, *Grammatik for den islandske oldspog*, 29.

⁴⁵² Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblia*, 146-7.

⁴⁵³ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 187-8; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 17; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xxxii-xxxiii.

⁴⁵⁴ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 187-8; Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 183; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xxxii-xxxiii; Finnur Jónsson, *Grammatik for den islandske oldspog*, 29.

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pronouns:

ek > *eg*

mik > *mig*

þik > *þig*

sik > *sig*

An adverb:⁴⁵⁵

mjök > *mjög*

The orthographic representation of unstressed *k* varies considerably on a lexical basis,⁴⁵⁶ often with spellings suggesting a fricative being much more common in particular words than others; this pattern has already been observed in another manuscript of Northern provenance, namely AM 132 fol., *Möðruvallabók*, in which, for example, spellings of *mjök* almost always indicate fricativization (98.2% of all instances) while *ok* (in the minority of instances where the word is spelled out) and *ek* are always spelled in a manner that indicates a word-final stop or are abbreviated.⁴⁵⁷

Environments in which this change may have taken place have been searched for in four distinct manners:

1. {i1} + {k}

This sound environment indicates an etymological /k/, {k}, preceded by the unstressed /I/, {i1}, found in the pronouns *mik*, *þik*, and *sik*, and followed by a word division, {}.

2. Searching directly for the lemma *mjök*.

As spellings of this word often indicate the clearest evidence of the change /k/ > /g/, one can simply search directly for instances of this adverb.

3. Searching directly for the lemma *ek* in the nominative singular form.

4. Searching directly for the lemma *ok*

⁴⁵⁵ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 187-8; Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 183.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ de Leeuw van Weenen, *A Grammar of Möðruvallabók*, 78-79, 81-82, 195; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 188.

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5.11.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

As a whole, AM 764 4to features more spellings suggesting a stop than a fricative after position {i1} (the vowel in the pronouns *mik*, *þik*, and *sik*)⁴⁵⁸ + {k}, and there are 93 attestations for this sound environment written by all scribes in the sample from AM 764 4to, with 33 (35%) indicating fricativization, spread throughout the manuscript.

The lemma *mjok*, in which this change commonly surfaces, appears forty-seven times in the sample from AM 764 4to, with spellings suggesting a stop occurring only sixteen times (34%). Conversely then, there are 66% fricative spellings in the lemma *mjok*. Eight of these fifteen instances of *mjok* being spelled with a word-final stop appear in close succession between folia 6-9, and fall within the work of the scribe called E by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir.⁴⁵⁹ As folia 6-9 are also linked together by several other features, as are 4bis and 18bis, the presence of stop-spellings in the lemma *mjok* may suggest that these leaves were handled by a unique scribe.

The lemma *ek* occurs 84 times in the nominative case (i.e the *ek* / *eg* form), with only 7 (8%) of these instances indicating fricativization. All of these instances of spellings suggesting a fricative in the lemma *ek* occur in passages that have previously been attributed to Svanhildur's scribe A,⁴⁶⁰ and thus support the notion that one scribe handled these leaves.

The conjunction *ok* is often abbreviated, but is always spelled in a manner indicating a stop when it is not.

Overall, the scribes of AM 764 4to favoured spellings denoting a stop, though there are enough examples of fricative spellings to indicate this change gaining ground and featuring in some of their language; 35% of instances of *mik*, *þik*, and *sik*, 66% of instances of *mjok*, but only 8% of instances of *ek* indicate fricativization. The conjunction *ok* is never spelled in a manner suggesting a fricative.

5.11.3 *AM 573 4to*

There are 48 attestations for the sound environment {i1} + {k} in the sample from AM 573 4to, with eighteen (37.5%) indicating fricativization. Taken as a whole, the scribes favour spelling {k} as a fricative after {i1}, though some other patterns emerge if one segments folia 1-45 and 46-63.

⁴⁵⁸ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

⁴⁵⁹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 12, 17-24.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

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Spellings suggesting a fricative are much more common (70%) in the latter portion of the manuscript, folia 46-63, while fricative spellings occur in 29% of instances in the sample from the first portion of the manuscript. This 29% of fricative spellings brings this portion of AM 573 4to much more in line with the 35% of fricative spellings in AM 764 4to, though indicating that this portion of AM 573 4to was more archaic.

The lemma *mjok* appears 33 times in the sample from AM 573 4to, though only 3 (10%) of these 33 instances feature spellings that indicate a stop, and are all found in the earlier portion of the manuscript.

The lemma *ek* occurs 92 times in the nominative singular form in the sample from AM 573 4to, and is exclusively spelled with a stop.

The lemma *ok* occurs 939 times in the sample from AM 573 4to. When it is written out, the spellings exclusively indicate a stop, with “oc” being most common, and “ok” occurring sporadically in the first portion of the manuscript.

Overall, the scribes of AM 573 4to favoured spelling {k} as a stop in the unstressed positions in which it was developing into a fricative, though the strong minority of fricative spellings suggest that this development was underway and perhaps a part of their language; 37.5% of instances of *mik*, *bik*, and *sik*, 90% of instances of *mjok* indicate fricativization, while it is absent in *ek* and *ok*.

5.12 Epenthetic Vowel before word-final -r

5.12.1 Description

In the late thirteenth century⁴⁶¹ or early fourteenth century, orthographic evidence of an epenthetic or svarabhakti vowel before post-consonantal *r*, (Cr) (sound position {r}) in word-final position (before #) or preceding another consonant (C) other than *r* began to surface.⁴⁶² This epenthesis, or u-insertion as it is often called with regard to Old Icelandic, created an extra syllable in many words, facilitating the pronunciation of difficult consonant clusters, though the epenthetic vowel and resultant addition of a syllable in these environments (following a zero ending or an ending in which another consonant preceded the original *r*)⁴⁶³ may have been optional until the first quarter of the sixteenth century in Icelandic.⁴⁶⁴ This

⁴⁶¹ Ari Páll Kristinsson, “U-innskot í íslensku,” *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 14 (1992): 15; Kjartan Ottósson, “Heimenorsk innverknad på islandsk språk i mellomalderen, særleg morfologien,” 124-5.

⁴⁶² Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblíá*, 156; Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 140. Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 190; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 15.

⁴⁶³ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 192.

⁴⁶⁴ Ari Páll Kristinsson, “U-innskot í íslensku,” 32.

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development affected all varieties of Old Norse, and evidence of an epenthetic vowel in this position surfaced first in the orthography of Old Danish, usually as *æ*, circa 1200, and in Old Swedish, generally as *e* or *æ* during the mid-thirteenth century.⁴⁶⁵ In Old Norwegian, this epenthetic vowel surfaced around the beginning of the fourteenth century, and it has been argued that it manifested as *e* and *æ* in Eastern, North-Western, and Outer South-Western Norwegian, as well as in the dialects of Trøndelag and Oppland, while it seems to have surfaced as *a* in South Eastern Norway, and *u* in Inner South-West Norway, as it does in Icelandic,⁴⁶⁶ though spellings with *o* also surface in this area of Norway as well as in Iceland.⁴⁶⁷ While evidence of this phonological change surfaces as early as the thirteenth century,⁴⁶⁸ and may have been much more widespread than the medieval orthography implies, reflections of this change in the orthography were not common until the late fourteenth century in Icelandic,⁴⁶⁹ and is thus an important feature regarding the dating of the manuscripts under study here. The change affected words of various classes, yielding developments such as *armr* > *armur* or *veðrs* > *veðurs*,⁴⁷⁰ though the change only occurred when *r* was word-final or preceded another consonant.⁴⁷¹ Evidence of this change surfaces both directly, with etymological *-r* spelled with “ur”, “or”, “vr” or similar, and in the use of abbreviations, and indirectly, when etymological *-ur* is spelled with “r”, reflecting a hyper-correct spelling and the merging of *-ur* and *-r* in the language of the scribe.⁴⁷² Searching for this feature involved the equation {C-?} + {r}.

5.12.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

Evidence of the change *-r* > *-ur* is exceedingly rare in AM 764 4to. The lemma *maðr* ‘man’ appears 85 times in the sample in a form in which the nominative ending has been represented

⁴⁶⁵ Kjartan Ottosson, “Old Nordic: A Definition and Delimitation of the Period,” in *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook on the History of the North Germanic Languages I*, ed. Oskar Bandle (Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 791.

⁴⁶⁶ Jan Ragnar Hagland, “Dialects and Written Language in Old Nordic I: Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic,” 1015-18.

⁴⁶⁷ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I*, 140; Schulte, “The Phonological Systems of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian,” 889.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ Hreinn Benediktsson, “On the Inflection of the *ia*-Stems in Icelandic,” in *Áfmálsrit Jóns Helgasonar* (Heimskringla: Reykjavík, 1969), 394; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 194.

⁴⁷⁰ Janez Orešnik, “On the Epenthesis Rule in Modern Icelandic,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 87 (1972): 1-32.

⁴⁷¹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 192.

⁴⁷² Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 47.

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by $\overset{r}{\circ}$ (and the word is represented by “ $\overset{r}{m}$ ”), which would typically be expanded as *-r* rather than *-ur*, though this is not of course conclusive. Rather, let us take a closer look at how the sound position {r} is represented in the sample from the manuscript. There are 4929 attestations for {C-?} + {r} written by all scribes in AM 764 4to, with only 15 of which being anything other than some variant of \r or \R, such as “r”, “R”, “2” representing {r}:

There are five instances in AM 764 4to of {r} being spelled with *-ur*.

TABLE V - 30: SPELLINGS OF ETYMOLOGICAL -R WITH “UR” IN AM 764 4TO:

3v.26	ludurblaeft	{lúðr+blæðs-ðr-r}	<i>lúðrblástri</i>	dat.sg	<i>lúðrblástr</i> (nc.m) ONP
17v.1	þagurfnunum	{fayr+snú-n-um}	<i>fagr snúnum</i>	pos.dat.pl.st	<i>fagr snúinn</i> (aj) ONP
22v.12	þegurd	{fæyr-ð}	<i>fegrð</i>	dat.sg	<i>fegrð</i> (nc.f) ONP
17v.9	ftodugur	{støð-uy-r}	<i>støðugr</i>	pos.nom.sg.m.st	<i>støðugr</i> (aj) ONP
23r.40	þogður	{føy-noð-r}	<i>fognuðr</i>	nom.sg	<i>fognuðr</i> (nc.m) ONP

These five instances of {r} being spelled with “ur” only constitute 0.001% of all of the instances of this ending in the entire sample from AM 764 4to. However, all of these instances occur within areas of the manuscript that have previously been ascribed to closely related scribes, labelled A and I, by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir.⁴⁷³ There are no instances in the sample of etymological *-ur* being represented with “r”.

While indirect, there are also 7 instances of {r} being represented with the $\overset{r}{\circ}$ abbreviation marking.

TABLE V - 31: SPELLINGS OF ETYMOLOGICAL -R WITH THE $\overset{r}{\circ}$ ABBREVIATION IN AM 764 4TO:

1r.11	auftríki	{aust-r+rík-r}	<i>Austrríki</i>	dat.sg	<i>Austrríki</i> (np.n) ONP
2r.21	eilíf	{ei+líð-r}	<i>eilifr</i>	pos.nom.sg.m.st	<i>eilifr</i> (aj) ONP
3r.28	dætt	{dótt-r}	<i>dótr</i>	acc.pl	<i>dóttir</i> (nc.f) ONP
16r.23	geþ	{geþ-r}	<i>gefr</i>	prs.ind.3sg	<i>gefa</i> (vb.a) ONP
21r.33	þeğd	{fæyr-ð}	<i>fegrð</i>	dat.sg	<i>fegrð</i> (nc.f) ONP
21v.39	þoğ	{føy-r}	<i>fogr</i>	pos.nom.sg.f.st	<i>fagr</i> (aj) ONP
32r.25	uitlíga	{vit-r-li ₂ γ-A}	<i>vitrliga</i>	pos	<i>vitrliga</i> (av) ONP

This abbreviation is used elsewhere in the manuscript to denote etymological *-ur*, as will be taken up in chapter six, suggesting that the abbreviation denoting etymological *-r* indicates the presence of an epenthetic vowel and the merging of *-ur* and *-r* in the language of the scribes.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷³ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe,” 331.

⁴⁷⁴ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 47.

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There are also 3 instances of {r} being spelled with \ddot{o} , common in Norwegian orthography of the fourteenth century, suggesting an epenthetic vowel:

TABLE V - 32: SPELLINGS OF ETYMOLOGICAL -R WITH THE TITTLE ABBREVIATION IN AM 764 4TO:

1r.9	n̄df	{norð-r-s}	<i>norðrs</i>	gen.sg	<i>norðr</i> (nc.n) ONP
15v.10	syst	{sist-r}	<i>syst</i>	nom.pl	<i>systir</i> (nc.f) ONP
26r.11	lang	{lang-r}	<i>langr</i>	pos.nom.sg.m.st	<i>langr</i> (aj) ONP

These rare cases represent a small minority of how this sound environment is represented in the sample from AM 764 4to, though some patterns can be inferred when the locations of them are collated with the previously identified scribes in this manuscript. Yet again, these instances occur within sections of the manuscript that have been attributed to closely related scribes, labelled A, H, and I by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir;⁴⁷⁵ this matter will be taken up in detail in section 7.2.8, as the spellings of etymological -r being spelled with “ur” or “ \ddot{o} ” seem to be restricted to particular sections of the manuscript, as noted above, perhaps indicating distinct scribes, or that these scribes that have been identified previously may have been one person rather than three.

Across the entire sample from AM 764 4to, there are no instances in the sample of etymological -ur being represented with “r”, though as noted above, there is some evidence to indicate that an epenthetic vowel preceding -r had developed in the language of up to three, but perhaps only one, of the scribes.

5.12.3 AM 573 4to

As in AM 764 4to, there is some, albeit inconclusive and less frequent, evidence for the change -r > -ur, i.e an epenthetic vowel had begun to develop before {r} in the (Cr) environment. There are 1984 attestations for {C-?} + {r} written by all scribes in the sample from AM 573 4to, with zero instances of this ending being spelled out in an unabbreviated manner that might represent the presence of the Svarabhakti vowel, such as “-ur”, or even the forms more typical of Old Norwegian, such as “-er”, “-ær” “-ar”,⁴⁷⁶ etc. However, there are 4 instances of evidence in abbreviations of an epenthetic vowel in their language, all of which occur in the first thirty-one folia. There are no examples of etymological -ur being spelled with “r”, though there are three instances of the \ddot{o} abbreviation marker, which is commonly used elsewhere in the manuscript to denote etymological ur, being used for the -r ending:

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ Jan Ragnar Hagland, “Dialects and Written Language in Old Nordic I: Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic,” 1015-18; Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I*, 140.

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TABLE V - 33: SPELLINGS OF ETYMOLOGICAL -R WITH THE $\text{\textcircled{r}}$ ABBREVIATION IN AM 573 4TO:

2v.20	fyf̃t̃	{sist-r}	syst̃r	nom.pl	systir (nc.f) ONP
28r.4	fiḡfell	{siy-r+sæl-r}	sigrsáll	pos.nom.sg.m.st	sigrsáll (aj) ONP
31v.19	feḡft̃	{fæyr-st}	fegrst	sup.nom.sg.f.st	fagr (aj) ONP

As mentioned above, all of these examples fall within the first portion of the manuscript, folia 1-45, and are within the work of the first of two scribes identified by Jonna Louis-Jensen,⁴⁷⁷ called Scribe A in this context. However, if we investigate the possibility that folia 24-46 were the work of another scribe, identified by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir,⁴⁷⁸ and here referred to as the hypothetical Scribe Z, we might conclude that both the hypothetical scribes A and Z had an *-ur* ending in their language in this context, or perhaps used an exemplar that featured one. It might be considered a convention of this milieu that the epenthetic vowel before {r} in the position (Cr) was not to be spelled out, despite it featuring in the language of some of the scribes, and likely featuring in other manuscripts that they may have copied from.

Additionally, there is one instance of the *-r* ending being spelled with the $\text{\textcircled{r}}$ abbreviation, which was more typical of Norwegian practice:

TABLE V - 34: SPELLINGS OF ETYMOLOGICAL -R WITH THE TITTLE ABBREVIATION IN AM 573

2v.13	eč̃	{et-r}	etr	prs.ind.3sg	eta (vb.a) ONP
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As it is on folio 2, this example would also fall into the work of Scribe A; as one of the examples of the $\text{\textcircled{r}}$ abbreviation marker being used for the *-r* ending also appears on 2v, this would circumstantially support the notion that this scribe may had an epenthetic vowel in this position in their language or usual scribal practice, and included it here during their early work on AM 573 4to. Regarding Scribe Z, this same notion could be used to explain their instances of circumstantially implying the presence of an epenthetic vowel, as the two instances of the $\text{\textcircled{r}}$ abbreviation marker being used for the *-r* ending that could be attributed to them also appear in relatively close proximity, on folia 28 and 31, respectively.

The relatively few instances of *-r* being spelled, albeit in abbreviations, suggesting the presence of an epenthetic vowel fall within the first portion of AM 573 4to (folia 1-45), indicating that this scribe likely had an epenthetic vowel in their language, though they typically do not reflect it in their orthography; this practice mirrors that of at least one of the scribes of AM 764 4to, and sets the latter portion of AM 573 4to apart, as there is no evidence of the merging of *-r* and *-ur*.

⁴⁷⁷ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*; Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*.

⁴⁷⁸ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir mentioned the potentiality of a unique scribe in this section of the manuscript in email correspondence, and to my knowledge, has not published this notion. Any failures to represent this accurately are my own.

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5.13 The Denotation of the Middle / Reflexive Voice Exponent

5.13.1 Description

Over the course of the thirteenth century, the orthographic conventions surrounding the middle voice ending generally changed from *-sk* to *-st*,⁴⁷⁹ reflecting an underlying phonological change that prompted a gradual shift in the orthography. The latter consonant in the cluster, originally a voiceless velar stop, /k/, became a voiceless dental stop, /t/, in order to facilitate articulation following the voiceless sibilant, /s/.⁴⁸⁰ This change manifested itself in several variants in the orthography, and was denoted primarily with “z”, “zt”, and “zst”.⁴⁸¹ Given the potential for variation, tracking the spellings of this feature may provide some insight into the practice and perhaps norm of the scribes associated with the manuscripts under study here.

In terms of orthography, the “z” spelling was predominant c. 1225-1400, while the “zt” and “zst” spelling predominated from c. 1425-1525.⁴⁸² Subsequently, these general trends in the orthography can be used as points of comparison regarding issues of chronology and provenance.

However, while the “zt” spelling becomes increasingly common during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the “z” and “zt” endings co-existed from the middle of the fourteenth century onward, and according to the dating scheme of Haraldur Bernharðsson, the pre-dominance of either of these endings suggests that these manuscripts date from c. 1375 or later.⁴⁸³

Phonologically speaking, there is no difference between the “z” and “zt” orthographic conventions, as both spellings, which represent the same phonological reality, could have co-existed in the personal orthography of a single scribe. As argued by Kjartan G. Ottósson, the orthographic use of “z” to represent the /st/ superlative ending strongly suggests that the common use of “z” in middle voice forms in the period c. 1225-1400 also represented /st/.⁴⁸⁴ However, this has not always been the case, as multiple alternative theories were already presented in the nineteenth century, once editions of Old West Norse texts that were of

⁴⁷⁹ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 369-71; Finnur Jónsson, *Grammatik for den islandske oldsprog*, 29; Kjartan Ottósson, “Heimenorsk innverknad på íslandsk språk i mellomalderen, særleg morfologien,” 132-3; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld.*, 67-71.

⁴⁸⁰ Kjartan G. Ottósson, *The Icelandic Middle Voice - The Morphological and Phonological Development* (Lund: Lund Department of Scandinavian Languages, 1992), 108-9.

⁴⁸¹ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 31; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld.*, 67-71.

⁴⁸² Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 454; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 31; Iversen, *Norrøn grammatik*, 121.

⁴⁸³ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 454.

⁴⁸⁴ Kjartan Ottósson, *The Icelandic Middle Voice - The Morphological and Phonological Development*, 108-9.

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sufficiently high quality to scrutinise matters of orthography and phonology became more common. Julius Hoffory argued that orthographic “z” represented a /ts/ sound, primarily on the grounds of the internal consistency of the orthographic system itself, and secondarily, that the earlier orthographic convention of representing the middle voice ending with *-zk* (yielding a /tsk/ pronunciation), was affected by the phonological tendency in which a consonant is lost when it precedes another consonant followed by.⁴⁸⁵ However, this theory came under scrutiny within a few years, as Jón Þorkelsson observed, as Kjartan also did,⁴⁸⁶ that the “z” was also used to denote the superlative ending during this period. Alternatively, Friedrich Specht argued in 1891 that instead of orthographic “z” representing /st/, a four stage phonological development was involved: /sk/ > /tsk/ > /ts/ > /tst/ > /st/;⁴⁸⁷ however, this theory never enjoyed wide acceptance beyond the elements that it shared with the work of Hoffory.⁴⁸⁸ Rather, the work of Axel Kock argued that the dental *t* in the /st/ cluster derived from encliticized forms of the pronoun *þú*.⁴⁸⁹

The middle voice ending is codified on EMROON as {sk₁},⁴⁹⁰ and a search for simply this sound position will yield an overview of all of the variant representations of this ending in the manuscripts at this hand, as will be done in the next two sections.

5.13.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

There are 462 total instances of the sound position {sk₁} occurring unabbreviated in the sample from AM 764 4to, and the overwhelming majority of instances feature the “z” spelling for {sk₁}, with only 6 / 462 instances (0.01%) deviating from this, as outlined below.

Three of the six deviations from the “z” spelling occur between folia 6-9, already noted as a unique portion of a manuscript with regard to several features, all of which are some variant on the “st” spelling:

⁴⁸⁵ Julius Hoffory, “Oldnordiske Consonantstudier,” in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 2 (1883): 96; cf. Kjartan G. Ottósson, *The Icelandic Middle Voice*, 6.

⁴⁸⁶ Kjartan Ottósson, *The Icelandic Middle Voice*, 108-9.

⁴⁸⁷ Friedrich Specht, *Das Verbum Reflexivum und Die Superlative im Westnordischen*, Acta Germanica Vol. III, (Berlin, 1891).

⁴⁸⁸ Kjartan G. Ottósson, *The Icelandic Middle Voice*, 7.

⁴⁸⁹ Axel Kock, “Språkhistorie bidrag II. Till upkomsten av medialmärket -zt, -st i isländskan,” in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 8 (1892): 265-69; cf. Kjartan G. Ottósson, *The Icelandic Middle Voice*, 9-10.

⁴⁹⁰ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

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TABLE V - 35: THREE VARIATIONS OF “ST” SPELLINGS OF THE MIDDLE VOICE ENDING IN AM 764 4TO:

6v.24	biuġuft	{bju,gg-u-sk ₁ }	<i>bjuġgusk</i>	<i>búask</i> (vb.r)
6v.29	fafnaftz	{sam-n-ar-sk ₁ }	<i>safnask</i>	<i>safnask</i> (vb.r)
9v.41	reiknaftzt	{reikn-a-sk ₁ }	<i>reiknask</i>	<i>reiknask</i> (vb.r)

Svanhildur has labelled this section, roughly folia 6-9, as the work of scribe E,⁴⁹¹ and the distinct use of variants of *-st* to spell {sk₁} would support the conclusion that a unique scribe handled this section.

Another deviation from the use of the “z” ending occurs on 18bisv, which Svanhildur has labelled J and later k, but which has already been linked to the scribe labelled E with regard to several other features:⁴⁹²

TABLE V - 36: “TZ” ENDING IN THE MIDDLE VOICE IN AM 764 4TO:

18bisr.9	ṽtz	{brá-sk ₁ }	<i>brásk</i>	prt.ind.3sg	<i>bregðask</i> (vb.r)
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This passage of the manuscript mostly features spellings of {sk₁} with “z”, so the inclusion of the letter “t” here, may be a hypercorrect spelling denoting the stem-final dental found in other stem forms (*bregð-*).

Another notable form of the ending occurs on 26r, here previously attributed to scribe(s) A / H:⁴⁹³

TABLE V - 37: “DZT” ENDING IN THE MIDDLE VOICE IN AM 764 4TO:

26r.42	gledzt	{glæð-r-sk ₁ }	<i>glezk</i>	prs.ind.3sg	<i>gleðjask</i> (vb.r)
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In this instance, the letter “d” represents the /ð/ in the verb *gleðjask*, while the middle voice exponent is spelled with *-zt*, similarly to the way it is spelled on 9v41.

Another “zt” spelling occurs later in the manuscript:

TABLE V - 38: ANOTHER “ZT” ENDING IN THE MIDDLE VOICE IN AM 764 4TO:

43r.12	þozzt	{fór-sk ₁ }	<i>fórsk</i>	prt.ind.3sg	<i>farask</i> (vb.r)
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Both of these latter two instances have been previously labelled as the work of scribe A, again suggesting a closeness between scribes A, E, J, and K,⁴⁹⁴ which will be taken up in chapter seven.

⁴⁹¹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12, 17-24.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

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5.13.3 AM 573 4to

There are 194 instances of the sound position {sk₁} occurring unabbreviated in the sample from AM 573 4to, of which 127 of these occur in the likely older portion of the manuscript, folia 1-45. In the sample from this portion of the manuscript, there are only four deviations (0.03%) from the apparent rule of using “z” for {sk₁}:

TABLE V - 39: “ZT” ENDING IN THE MIDDLE VOICE IN AM 573 4TO:

1v.5	ræþzɾ	{ræð-r-sk ₁ }	ræzk	prs.ind.3sg	ráðask (vb.r)
1v.19	kēzzɾ	{köm-r-sk ₁ }	kømsk	prs.ind.3sg	komask (vb.r)
18r.5	ɾa kazɾ	{tak-A-sk ₁ }	takask	inf	takask (vb.r)
18v.14	ẽyzzɾ	{trøyst-A-sk ₁ }	treystask	prs.ind.3pl	treystask (vb.r)

This incredibly low level of deviation from the apparent rule of using “z” to spell the middle voice ending mirrors that of AM 764 4to (0.01% deviation), and also places this practice firmly within the fourteenth century.⁴⁹⁵

There are 68 attestations of {sk₁} in the sample from the latter portion of AM 573 4to, folia 46-63, with only one instance (0.01%) of deviating from representing the middle voice ending with “z”:

TABLE V - 40: “ST” ENDING IN THE MIDDLE VOICE IN AM 573 4TO:

61r.16	berft	{bær-r-sk ₁ }	bersk	prs.ind.3sg	berjask (vb.r)
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In congruence with the earlier portion of the manuscript, this latter portion features the {sk₁} ending being represented with “z” in the overwhelming majority of instances. While the deviations from this rule in the earlier portion of the manuscript involve a “zt” ending, the one deviation in the sample from the latter portion of the manuscript features the “st” ending instead. The prevalence of the -z spelling is congruous with the notion that these manuscripts were produced sometime before the turn of the fifteenth century, while the presence of the “zt” and “st” endings, in an albeit small minority, hint at the eventual change in orthographic convention pertaining to the middle voice that endured through the first quarter of the sixteenth century. In terms of delineating scribes along the lines of this feature, the -z ending is used almost ubiquitously in the manuscript, though the deviations from this rule take the form of some form of -zt in the first portion and -st in the latter.

⁴⁹⁵ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 454; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 31; Iversen, *Norrøn grammatik*, 121.

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5.14 Word-Initial *h*- Preceding *l*, *r*, and *n*

5.14.1 Description

As discussed in chapter four, the loss of *h*- before *l*, *n*, or *r*⁴⁹⁶ was sporadically reflected in the orthography of Old Icelandic,⁴⁹⁷ though it is considered a common Norwegianism,⁴⁹⁸ as this orthographic convention represented a phonological change in Norwegian,⁴⁹⁹ but not Icelandic,⁵⁰⁰ that was evidenced as early as 1100.⁵⁰¹ Though this development is often considered characteristic of Old East rather than Old West Norse, it also affected Old Norwegian,⁵⁰² and as such, can aid in the localisation of the manuscripts under study here, as well as in the definition of the norm to which the scribes may be beholden to. This change eventually affected all of the Nordic languages *except* Icelandic, and is thus somewhat notable in the hands of Icelandic scribes; Old West Norse texts that are normalised to Classical Old Norwegian will generally retain the *h*- in this position, i.e. *brím* ‘rime’ ≠ *rim* ‘rhyme’.⁵⁰³ In EMROON, this sound environment is expressed as {h} + {(l|n|r)}.

5.14.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

There are one hundred and eighty-four instances of sound position {h} before *l*, *r*, or *n* in AM 764 4to. In ten (5.4%) of these instances, the *h*- has been dropped:

Preceding *l*:

TABLE V - 41: LOSS OF H- BEFORE L IN AM 764 4TO:

15r.18	lutı	{hlut-l}	<i>hluti</i>	acc.pl	<i>hlutr</i> (nc.m) ONP
16r.37	luṛ	{hlut-ar}	<i>hlutar</i>	gen.sg	<i>hlutr</i> (nc.m) ONP
23r.9	lutū	{hlut-um}	<i>hlutum</i>	dat.pl	<i>hlutr</i> (nc.m) ONP
23r.11	luṛ	{hlut-ir}	<i>hlutir</i>	nom.pl	<i>hlutr</i> (nc.m) ONP

⁴⁹⁶ Iversen, *Norrøn grammatik*, 40.

⁴⁹⁷ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I*, 211-2; Bandle, *Die Sprache der Gudbrandsbiblia*, 136-7; Finnur Jónsson, *Grammatik for den islandske oldsprog*, 24.

⁴⁹⁸ Rindal, “Norsk eller islandsk,” 115; Kyrkjebø, “Norsk eller islandsk,” 15-35; Stefán Karlsson, “Om norvagerism i islandske håndskrifter,” 87-101; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 437.

⁴⁹⁹ Schulte, “The Phonological Systems of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian,” 889.

⁵⁰⁰ Sandøy, “Språkendingar med eller utan kontakt i vest-norden?,” 99; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 48.

⁵⁰¹ Finnur Jónsson, *Grammatik for den islandske oldsprog*, 24; Schulte, “The Phonological Systems of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian,” 889.

⁵⁰² Kjartan Ottosson, “Old Nordic: A Definition and Delimitation of the Period,” 791.

⁵⁰³ Torp, “Fonologi,” 188-9.

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23r.34	lutū	{hlut-um}	<i>hlutum</i>	dat.pl	<i>hlutr</i> (nc.m) ONP
26r.23	luta	{hlut-A}	<i>hluta</i>	gen.pl	<i>hlutr</i> (nc.m) ONP

Preceding *r*:

TABLE V - 42: LOSS OF H- BEFORE R IN AM 764 4TO:

8v.24	rid	{hrið}	<i>hrið</i>	dat.sg	<i>hrið</i> (nc.f) ONP
14r.23	rapan	{hrǫp-ǫn}	<i>hrǫpun</i>	dat.sg	<i>hrǫpun</i> (nc.f) ONP
26r.14	ræ raz	{hrǫr-A-sk ₁ }	<i>hrǫrask</i>	inf	<i>hrǫrask</i> (vb.r)
26v.9	ureiñ	{ú ₁ +hreir-r}	<i>óbreinn</i>	pos.nom.sg.m.st	<i>óbreinn</i> (aj) ONP

Note that these instances typically occur in close proximity, aiding in the delineation of scribal hands; 90% of these instances occur in passages that have previously been labelled as the work of the closely-related Scribes A, H, and I in the work of Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir.⁵⁰⁴ The ramifications for scribal identification will be taken up in chapter 7, though it can be noted here that this criterion links these previously-identified scribal hands even further; considering the rarity of these instances in which *h-* is dropped in this position, it would seem more likely that only a small minority of the scribes AM 764 4to occasionally omitted the *h-* rather than the instances of it being omitted being spread evenly across the work of all of the scribes. None of the scribal hands that have been previously identified have *consistently* dropped the *h-* before {(l|n|r)}, and the dropping of *h-* is only evidenced before *l* and *r* in the sample.

In one instance, {h} is spelled with a “k”:

TABLE V - 43: A REVERSE SPELLING INDICATING THE CHANGE KN- > HN- IN AM 764 4TO:

26r.27	knepañ	{hneβ-A-n-um}	<i>hnefanum</i>	dat.sg.def	<i>hnefi</i> (nc.m) ONP
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This spelling with “k” likely reflects that the scribe pronounced {h} as a stop /k/, preceding {n}, as it is today in Icelandic and some dialects of Norwegian. This is an instance of a reverse spelling indicating the change *kn-* > *hn-*, a change which first surfaces around 1300 but appears only sporadically until the fifteenth century.⁵⁰⁵

5.14.3 AM 573 4to

In the portion of the manuscript in which scribes A and Z have been previously identified, folia 1-45, there are sixty-two instances of {h} + {(l|n|r)}, with only two (3.2%) indicating the *h-* having been dropped:

⁵⁰⁴ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12, 17-24.

⁵⁰⁵ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 184; Finnur Jónsson, *Grammatik for den islandske oldspog.*, 29.

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TABLE V - 44: LOSS OF H- BEFORE L IN AM 573 4TO:

2r.29	^v bðlaupf	{brúð+hlaup-s}	brúðhlaups	gen.sg	brúðhlaup (nc.n) ONP
27v.25	lut	{hlut}	hlut	acc.sg	hlutr (nc.m) ONP

The *h-* is otherwise retained in this environment, in the other 60 /62 instances of this environment in the sample from folia 1-45 of AM 573 4to. Also note that *brúðhlaup* without an *h-* is common, and the word seems to have been lexicalized without it.

There are twenty-seven instances of {h} + {(l|n|r)} in the sample from the latter portion of AM 573 4to, none (0%) of which have the *h-* dropped. As this work likely took place later, the more typically Norwegian practice of dropping the *h-*, which indeed reflected a genuine phonological development in Old Norwegian, may have fallen out of favour by the time this Icelandic scribe completed this text.

Overall, the *h-* before *l*, *r*, or *n* is lost in only 3.2% of the instances of this sound environment in the sample from the first portion of AM 573 4to. Though it may be insignificant, it can be said that the sample from the latter half of the manuscript is devoid of instances of the *h-* before *l*, *r*, or *n*; as such the first portion of the manuscript can remain linked to the scribes of Skagafjörður, as AM 764 4to features a similarly small minority (5.4%) of instances of the *h-* being lost in this position.

5.15 Orthographic Representation of Intervocalic [ʃ], “g” versus “gh”

5.15.1 Description

In addition to the Norwegianisms outlined in the fourth chapter as well as in previous scholarship,⁵⁰⁶ medieval Icelandic manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may have some features commonly construed as Norwegianisms that are purely orthographic in nature — in that they contain an orthographic convention that is considered not to have been the result of underlying any phonological or morphological developments. One of these features is the convention of spelling the fricative *g*, and sometimes also the stop, as “gh” i.e. “sagha” *saga*.⁵⁰⁷ Potentially in imitation of an earlier Anglo-Saxon practice, this orthographic convention may have come into Icelandic practice via Norway.⁵⁰⁸ However, Icelandic scribes using “gh” spellings in this environment cannot necessarily be taken as an import from

⁵⁰⁶ Rindal, “Norsk eller islandsk,” 115; Kyrkjebø, “Norsk eller islandsk,” 15-35; Stefán Karlsson, “Om norvågismer i islandske håndskrifter,” 87-101; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 437.

⁵⁰⁷ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 47; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 445.

⁵⁰⁸ Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, 8-9.

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Norway, and examining this feature can nonetheless aid in the definition of what may have been the norm of the scribes. This sound position is defined in EMROON as {ʏ}.⁵⁰⁹

5.15.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

There are 1482 instances of {V-?}⁵¹⁰ + {ʏ} occurring in the sample from AM 764 4to. Of these 1482 instances, 33 (2.2%) of them feature {ʏ} spelled with “gh”, with 17 (just over half) of these being in the lemma *dagr*.

In terms of the {ʏ} following an unstressed vowel, there are 262 attestations for {V-?}⁵¹¹ + {ʏ} written by all scribes in AM 764 4to, with ten (3.8%) of these involving *g* spelled as “gh”. Note that these instances of {ʏ} spelled with “gh” following an unstressed vowel are either in the lemma *Noregr*, accounting for 50% of the “gh” spellings in this environment, in which the more Norwegian convention seems to have been preferred, or the adverbial suffixes *-lig(-)* and *-liga*, accounting for the other 50% of “gh” spellings, in which spellings with solely “g” are much more common. These spellings with “gh” only account for 4% of the total instances of the environment {V-?} + {ʏ}.

Note that in all of the lemmata and environments in which {ʏ} is spelled with “gh”, there are more spellings with “g”, so it cannot be said that the scribes used “gh” exclusively or even preferred such spellings in particular words.

In one instance, {ʏ} is spelled with “k”, which may be interpreted as a reverse spelling indicative of the change *k > g* in unstressed positions, discussed in section 5.11.

TABLE V - 45: A SPELLING OF {ʏ} WITH “K” IN AM 764 4TO:

9v.24	íđduk	{kvið-uʏ}	<i>kviðug</i>	pos.nom.sg.f.st	<i>kviðugr</i> (aj) ONP
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The spellings of {ʏ} spelled with “gh” do not occur in a distribution that it is especially telling regarding the delineation of scribes, and it appears rather, that this spelling convention was not employed extensively by the scribes of AM 764 4to.

5.15.3 *AM 573 4to*

There are 693 unabbreviated instances of {V-?} + {ʏ} occurring in the sample from AM 573 4to, in which 34 (4.9%) feature a “gh” spelling. These instances of “gh” spellings occur in both portions of the manuscript, and thus cannot be said to be telling regarding differentiating the scribes. All of the lemmata and environments in which “gh” spellings can be found also have

⁵⁰⁹ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.; A stressed vowel that may be followed by a morpheme boundary.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.; An unstressed or half-stressed vowel that may be followed by a morpheme boundary.

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“g” spellings in other instances, so while “gh” spellings are more likely to be found in particular environments (such as in lemmata like *dagr* or *mega*), it cannot be said that the scribes necessarily preferred these.

The sound in question also occurs following unstressed vowels; there are 99 attestations for {_iV-ʔ} + {ʂ} appearing unabbreviated in the entire sample from AM 573 4to, with 14 (14.1%) of these instances employing the “gh” orthographic convention.

As in AM 764 4to, the scribes of AM 573 4to employed “gh” spellings in a relatively small minority of instances, and no pattern emerges that would seem to aid in the delineation of the scribal hands or inference of a wider scribal norm.

5.15.4 Observations Applicable to Both Manuscripts

In both manuscripts, the scribes often use the “gh” spelling in a restricted environment, in that they only use it in words that feature a fricative or glided /g/ in Modern Icelandic. While there are many instances of lemmata such as *dagr* being spelled with simply “g” rather than “gh” to indicate the fricative /g/ sound, there are no instances of the “gh” spelling convention being used to indicate stops. This practice is in line with that of many fourteenth century scribes, in which “gh” spellings are more commonly used to denote a fricative, though they can also denote the stop.⁵¹²

5.16 The Privative Prefix ó- / ú-

5.16.1 Description

As outlined in section 4.2.2, the use of the privative prefix *ú-*, instead of the more typically Icelandic *ó-*, is commonly framed as a Norwegianism,⁵¹³ though both prefixes surface in Icelandic and Norwegian sources. These two variants of what is morphologically the same prefix may have arisen through the generalization of two variants that were originally conditioned by different stress patterns.⁵¹⁴ The presence of the *ú-* prefix is, however, not necessarily telling regarding the provenance of a manuscript, the origin of the scribes who produced it, nor their education in itself, as Icelandic manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth century often featured this more typically Norwegian trait, but generally alongside other Norwegianisms.⁵¹⁵ As such, the distribution of the *ó-* and *ú-* variants of the prefix, when

⁵¹² Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 47.

⁵¹³ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 437-9.

⁵¹⁴ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 46-7; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 439.

⁵¹⁵ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 439.

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investigated through the lens of Stefán's notion of distributional independence,⁵¹⁶ may be revealing regarding the practice and language of the scribes under study. The privative prefix (encompassing the orthographic variants) has been defined as {ú1} on EMROON,⁵¹⁷ and can thus be searched for unambiguously, as it only ever occurs in one environment (word-initially).

5.16.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

The scribes of AM 764 4to clearly preferred the privative prefix *ú-*, spelled with either “u” or “v”, which accounts for 74% of instances in the sample. “v” only appears before “u”, likely to disambiguate the letters and avoid a “vv” or “uu” cluster when in fact two different sounds were being represented.⁵¹⁸ As outlined in section 4.2, the privative prefix *ú-* was more typical of Old Norwegian than Old Icelandic, a difference that remains in the modern languages. Considering Stefán's principle of distributional independence,⁵¹⁹ the privative prefix *ú-*, rather than the more typically Icelandic *ó-*, may have been a part of the typical orthographic practice, or even spoken language of the scribes, even if it was introduced to them, or perhaps a generation before them as a Norwegianism.

5.16.3 *AM 573 4to*

In the sample from AM 573 4to, there are also three variant spellings of {ú1}, all of which are almost equally frequent: “o” (17), “u” (15), and “v” (12), which appears mostly but not exclusively before “u”, for a total of 44 instances of {ú1} in the sample from AM 573 4to. There are no completely consistent patterns in this data that fall along the scribes that have been previously identified: A (folia 1-23), Z (folia 24-45), and B (folia 46-63). As in AM 764 4to, there seems to have been an aversion to writing the letter “u” twice consecutively, as lemmata that would be normalised to begin with the cluster “óv-”, such as forms of “óvinr”, are more frequently spelled with an “o” or “v” in the {ú1} position. There are some patterns that may aid in the differentiation of hypothetical scribes and the dating and localisation of the codices, though these will be taken up in chapter seven.

⁵¹⁶ A Norwegianism that appears consistently in an Icelandic manuscript that is otherwise relatively free of many common Norwegianisms makes it increasingly plausible that said Norwegianism had genuinely been adopted into the practice and perhaps even language of the Icelandic scribes. See: Stefán Karlsson, “Om norvågismar i íslandske hândskrifur,” 87-101.

⁵¹⁷ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

⁵¹⁸ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 49; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 53.

⁵¹⁹ Discussed in 4.2. Also see: Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 451; Stefán Karlsson, “Om norvågismar i íslandske hândskrifur,” 87-101.

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5.17 Summarising Remarks

In this chapter, an overview of the EMROON data on selected orthographic and linguistic features in the two manuscripts under study has been presented, with a deliberate effort not to preclude where the divisions in scribal hands occurred before all the features and data have been discussed. Much of this data will be re-examined in a new context, namely differentiating scribes along the lines of the patterns that emerge, in chapter seven, while the next chapter will provide an overview of selected paleographic features, which will in turn feature in the seventh chapter.

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6.0 Context

While some recent studies in Old Norse Philology have employed quantitative methods that involve focusing on and often encoding small components of individual letters,⁵²⁰ the approach to paleography taken in this project, as already discussed in the third chapter, will involve investigating the distribution of letter forms that appear in the manuscripts. Without rehashing terminological issues discussed in the third chapter, this will involve a graphematic approach: outlining which graphs and allographs are used to represent graph types, and in what distribution. Thus, this chapter is an examination of selected features in the script in the two manuscripts under study here. Trends in the data concerning the distribution of graphs and representations of graph types and graphemes will be collated in order to not only classify the script, but also to aid in the dating and localisation of the manuscripts. Additionally, this practice will aid in differentiating the scribes, as from the standpoint of micro-palaeography and scribal identification, it is unlikely that individual scribes would share the same distribution of individual graphs in the same environments.⁵²¹ This chapter will focus on providing an overview of the graphematic trends in the manuscripts, while the seventh chapter will be more explicitly dedicated to differentiating scribes along the lines of some of the features covered in this chapter, as well as the fifth chapter on orthographic and linguistic features.

6.1 The Letters “d”, “ð”, and “ḑ”

6.1.1 Description

In the earliest Icelandic manuscripts, the letter “d”, with an upright shaft, was nearly universal, though over the course of the thirteenth century, another form of this letter, the uncial ð, appeared and gradually became predominant.⁵²² This practice stands in somewhat of a contrast with that of Old Norwegian, in which both Caroline *d* and uncial ð are encountered even in the

⁵²⁰ Michael MacPherson, “Digitizing Early Icelandic Script for Learners, Human and Machine - Justification, Methodology, and a Prototype,” (Master’s thesis, University of Iceland, 2016); Alex Speed Kjeldsen, *Filologiske studier i kongesagahåndskriftet Morkinskinna*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagæana, Supplementum Vol. 8 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2013).

⁵²¹ Stefán Karlsson, “Localization and Dating,” 144.

⁵²² Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 835; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 463; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “The Origin of Icelandic Script: Some Remarks,” in *The Fantastic in Old Norse / Icelandic Literature - Sagas and the British Isles. Preprint Papers of the Thirteenth International Saga Conference, Durham and York, 6th-12th August 2006*, eds. David Ashurst, John Mckinnel, Donata Kick (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Durham University, 2006), 316; Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 46.

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earliest period.⁵²³ This difference in development between the Norwegian and Icelandic use of *d* and *ð* likely owes to Norwegian adopting *ð* directly from England,⁵²⁴ while it came into use in Iceland primarily via Norway;⁵²⁵ direct Anglo-Saxon influence on Icelandic script is rare.⁵²⁶

From the latter half of the fourteenth century onward, *ð* usually featured a fine stroke from the tip of the shaft down to the right side of the bowl,⁵²⁷ yielding the *ð* character. This tail, or open loop that curves down to the right of the bowl in the *ð* can be ambiguous, as *ð* may appear to be an *ð̇*; while not entirely consistent, a loop on *ð*, yielding the *ð* character, was one of the manners in which scribes differentiated between *ð* and *ð̇*, along with the significantly less common straight stroke⁵²⁸ that is more characteristic of the modern iteration of the character *ð̇*.

This distinction between *ð*, *ð̇*, and *ð̈* can be significant in terms of potential ramifications for localisation and dating,⁵²⁹ as the matter is further complicated by the adoption and subsequent disappearance of the letter *ð̈* to denote a dental fricative in non-initial position in Icelandic,⁵³⁰ which occurred during a fairly narrow window of time.⁵³¹ Appearing during the thirteenth century, the insular letter *ð̈*, which was initially adopted in Icelandic script through Anglo-Saxon influence by way of Norway,⁵³² was gradually replaced by the letter *ð* over the course of the fourteenth century.⁵³³ As such, this feature can provide some insight in the pursuit of dating these manuscripts more precisely.

The relationship between the graphs “ð”, “ð̇”, and “ð̈” is thus an intricate one, as all three *can* be used to represent the grapheme <d> and phoneme /ð/, but only one of them, “ð̈”, can be used to denote a fricative, and thus often also a different grapheme, depending on the

⁵²³ Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, 14-5; Haugen, “The Development of Latin Script I: In Norway,” 829.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁵ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 43-4.

⁵²⁶ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “The Origin of Icelandic Script: Some Remarks,” 316; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “The Origin and Development of Icelandic Script,” in *Régionalisme et Internationalisme - Problèmes de Paléographie Latine (Vienne, 13-17 Septembre 2005)*, eds. Franz Lackner and Otto Kresten (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), 89-90.

⁵²⁷ Haugen, “The Development of Latin Script I: In Norway,” 829.

⁵²⁸ Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 836.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*; de Leeuw van Weenen, *A Grammar of Möðruvallabók*, 35.

⁵³⁰ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 43-4.

⁵³¹ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 43-4.

⁵³² Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, 44-5.

⁵³³ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 43-4; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 47.

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scribe's use. In this study, “ð” is the only graph that belongs to graph type \ð\, and thus represents grapheme <ð> or phoneme /ð/, while “ð” and “ð” both belong to graph type \ð\, but can be used to represent *either* phoneme /d/ or /ð/. Given this intricacy and the historical developments, the distribution of these graphs may be telling regarding not only the dating and localisation of the manuscripts, but also the delineation of scribal hands and personal tendencies.

6.1.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

The scribes of AM 764 4to virtually uniformly represent /d/ with “ð”, and the letter ð was not encountered in the sample. Statistics from an earlier study show that at least some of the scribes of AM 764 4to preferred the looped ð to the unlooped ð, which was used to link the scribes of AM 764 4to with the scribe of the first portion of AM 573 4to.⁵³⁴

As already noted in sections 5.9 and 5.11, disambiguating the dental fricative in non-initial position from the stop was often achieved another way in AM 764 4to, namely by using “þ” for {ð} in such instances when the sounds both occur in the same word; for example:

TABLE VI - 1: A VARIANT SPELLING OF DAUÐR

10v.17 (AM 764 4to)	dauþz	{dauð-r}	dauðr
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While it can also be interpreted as an archaism, 22% of the instances of the use of þ in non-initial position occur in words with the dental stop /d/ earlier in the word. This sizeable minority indicates that the scribes may have been deliberately using þ in this position in order to disambiguate from the dental stop sound, and not merely using the letter as an archaism.

6.1.3 *AM 573 4to*

The letter “ð” appears sporadically in AM 573 4to, but only in the latter portion of the manuscript, folia 46-63; ð is about 150% more common in the latter portion of the manuscript in a position in which ð could also be used. Otherwise, the scribe(s) use(s) the graphs “ð” or “ð” to represent the graph type \ð\, with the scribe(s) preferring the looped variant.⁵³⁵ The graph “ð” is only ever used to represent /ð/, never /d/, and thus the scribe(s) were seemingly aware of the potential ambiguity of using \ð\ to represent both of these phonemes. In some cases, the

⁵³⁴ Farrugia, “A Study in Scribal Identification,” 13-5.

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

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scribe uses both \eth and δ in the same word contrastively:

TABLE VI - 2: A VARIANT SPELLING OF DAUÐR

48r3 (AM 573 4to)	ðauðz	{dauð-r}	dauðr
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6.2 The Letters “r” and “z”

6.2.1 Description

The prevalence of “z” and the environment in which it appears is an important criterion for the relative dating of Icelandic manuscripts and discussion of different scribal hands, as scribes could differ significantly in terms of both frequency and environment in which they used this character. In the earliest Icelandic manuscripts through the to middle of the thirteenth century, the *r* rotunda (“z”), or alternatively “round r”,⁵³⁶ is used almost exclusively following “o” or other letters based on it such as “ø” or “ø”;⁵³⁷ around the middle of the thirteenth century, the *r* rotunda was also sometimes used following “d” or “ð”, and even less frequently after other letters that had a bowl, such as “b”, “g”, “p” or “þ”.⁵³⁸ During the second half of the fourteenth century, “z” began to be used after some letters that did not necessarily have a bowl, such as “a”, “y”, “v” and “h”, and the use of “z” advanced in the fifteenth century, as many scribes employed it irrespective of which letter preceded it; it was not until the sixteenth century that “z” began to appear word-initially.⁵³⁹

6.2.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

AM 764 4to features a liberal use of the *r* rotunda, and as displayed in table VI - 1 below, this character appears after far more letters than the gamut of bowled characters, which includes “ð” or “ð”, or even “b”, “g”, “p” or “þ”.

TABLE VI - 3: USE OF THE R ROTUNDA IN AM 764 4TO:

Preceding letter	<i>n</i>	Percentage round “r”
“ð”	661	96.1
“b”	162	95.1
“o”	605	93.9

⁵³⁶ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 47-9.

⁵³⁷ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 47-9; Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 837; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 463; Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, 51.

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

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Preceding letter	<i>n</i>	Percentage round “r”
“þ”	82	92.7
“g”	301	91.7
“h”	50	88.0
“p”	19	84.2
“v”	4	50.0
“a”	762	46.2
“m”	11	36.4
“y”	223	35.9
“u”	199	17.6
“n”	35	17.1
“k”	111	1.8
“t”	251	0.4

The graph “z” is most common after “ð” (including the uncial variant), while it is also employed in the vast majority after other bowled characters such as “b”, “g”, “p” or “þ”. The z appears following fifteen different characters in the sample from AM 764 4to, though it appears in ≥90% of instances following five characters: “ð”, “b”, “g”, “p” and “þ”, and ≥50% following an additional three, “h”, “p”, and “v”, (for a total of eight) characters.

The distribution of z:r falls somewhere between the earliest period, in which “z” appeared only after the letter “o” in the earliest Icelandic manuscripts, and the later period, in which “z” might appear after the letter “a”, any round letters, or even in word-initial position.⁵⁴⁰ The z rotunda appears after “k”, “m”, “n”, “t” and “u” in a small minority of instances, and after “y” in 35.9% of instances. The round and straight graph types of the letter r are almost equally frequent after a. All of these factors point to a relatively late date and liberal use of the z rotunda among these scribes, and the fact that it is incredibly common yet not ubiquitous would imply that the milieu produced this manuscript during the latter half of the fourteenth century. Notably, “z” appears after the letters “k”, “n” and “t” in the sample from AM 764 4to, but notably not in AM 573 4to, which will aid in relative dating. The use of the z rotunda after characters such as “a” (46.2%), “v” (50%), “h” (88%), and “m” (36.4%) indicates a fairly advanced use of the character in AM 764 4to.

⁵⁴⁰ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 49.

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6.2.3 AM 573 4to

The first portion, folia 1-45, of AM 573 4to also features a relatively advanced use of the round *z*. As shown on the chart below, the “*z*” is predominant after many characters, including, unsurprisingly, “*o*” and “*ð*”, but also other bowled characters, “*b*”, “*g*”, “*p*” or “*þ*”. It is also predominant after “*h*”, “*v*”, “*u*” and “*y*”, yet not “*a*”. The *z* rotunda appears after a total of twelve characters; in $\geq 90\%$ of instances following six characters, and $\geq 50\%$ following eleven characters — all but one of the characters, “*a*”, after which it appears. This predominance of “*z*” after “*v*”, “*u*” and “*y*” contrasts the usage in AM 764 4to in the same environment, and “*z*” also never appears after “*k*”, “*n*” or “*t*” in AM 573 4to. The round *z* also appears after “*ð*” in all cases, with the straight “*r*” completely absent in this environment.

TABLE VI - 4: USE OF THE R ROTUNDA IN THE FIRST PORTION OF AM 573 4TO:

folia 1-45		
Preceding letter	<i>n</i>	Percentage round “ <i>r</i> ”
“ <i>d</i> ” / <i>ð</i>	130	100,0
“ <i>g</i> ”	63	96,8
“ <i>y</i> ”	62	96,8
“ <i>o</i> ”	89	94,4
“ <i>b</i> ”	12	91,7
“ <i>h</i> ”	11	90,9
“ <i>þ</i> ”	17	82,4
“ <i>p</i> ”	15	80,0
“ <i>u</i> ”	29	72,4
“ <i>v</i> ”	5	60,0
“ <i>m</i> ”	4	50,0
“ <i>a</i> ”	82	8,5

While suspected to have been completed after the first portion of the manuscript, folia 46-63 feature a much more conservative use of the “*z*”. Other than after “*a*” and “*y*”, where the round “*z*” appears in a small minority of instances, the character only appears after bowled characters: “*d* / *ð*” and “*ð*”, “*o*”, as well as “*b*”, “*g*”, “*p*” or “*þ*”. The round *z* appears after nine different characters; $\geq 90\%$ of instances following four characters and $\geq 50\%$ following seven characters. Though this portion of the manuscript was likely produced after the first portion of the manuscript, folia 1-45, the distribution of *z*:*r* and the environment in which “*z*” appears suggests an older provenance. If the “*z*” did not occur after “*a*” and “*y*”, albeit $\leq 10\%$ of

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instances, this distribution could be considered more typical of a thirteenth century manuscript, though other features in this portion of the manuscript of course negate this potentiality.

TABLE VI - 5: USE OF THE R ROTUNDA IN THE LATTER PORTION OF AM 573 4TO:

folia 46-63		
Preceding letter	<i>n</i>	Percentage round "r"
"þ"	13	100,0
"b"	64	95,3
"g"	38	94,7
"o"	102	91,2
"d"	65	89,2
"ð"	52	78,8
"p"	21	57,1
"y"	26	7,7
"a"	325	0,3

6.2.4 Observations Concerning Both Manuscripts

In the table below, the use of the round *r* across both manuscripts is represented:

TABLE VI - 4: USE OF THE R ROTUNDA ACROSS BOTH MANUSCRIPTS:

preceding letter	AM 764 4to all scribes		AM 573 4to folia 1-45		AM 573 4to folia 46-63	
	<i>n</i>	percentage round "r"	<i>n</i>	percentage round "r"	<i>n</i>	percentage round "r"
"a"	762	46,2	82	8,5	325	0,3
"þ"	162	95,1	12	91,7	64	95,3
"d"	661	96,1	130	100,0	65	89,2
"ð"					52	78,8
"g"	301	91,7	63	96,8	38	94,7
"h"	50	88,0	11	90,9		
"k"	111	1,8				
"m"	11	36,4	4	50,0		
"n"	35	17,1				
"o"	605	93,9	89	94,4	102	91,2

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“p”	19	84,2	15	80,0	21	57,1
“t”	251	0,4				
“u”	199	17,6	29	72,4		
“v”	4	50,0	5	60,0		
“y”	223	35,9	62	96,8	26	7,7
“þ”	82	92,7	17	82,4	13	100,0
total	3476		519		706	

As alluded to in the preceding sections, AM 764 4to features a significantly more advanced use of the character than AM 573 4to. While the practice of the scribe(s) of the first portion of AM 573 4to is fairly in line, albeit slightly more conservative, than that of the scribes of AM 764 4to, the scribe of the latter portion of AM 573 4to exhibits a far more conservative practice, as they rarely use the *z* rotunda after characters that are not round (0.3% of instances following “a” and 7.7% following “y”). As will be taken up in chapter seven, this distribution problematises dating, though it certainly distinguishes the scribe of the latter portion of the manuscript from the others.

6.3 The Letter *a*

6.3.1 Description

The uncial “a” with a bowl and neck was characteristic of thirteenth-century Icelandic script,⁵⁴¹ though the two-storey “a”, with the neck of the character curving down to close the upper bowl and thus forming a closed upper compartment, began to appear in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and became increasingly common over the course of the fourteenth century.⁵⁴² The single-compartment “a”, which more closely resembles modern iterations of this character, appeared during the fourteenth century, but did not become common until the fifteenth century.⁵⁴³ A single-storey *a* was present in Anglo-Saxon script, though this is one of the characteristically insular features that was not adopted in Old West Norse manuscripts.⁵⁴⁴ These developments also have ramifications for classifying the script, as the two-storey “a” was characteristic of early Cursive script, while the one-storey variant was characteristic of late

⁵⁴¹ Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, 48.

⁵⁴² Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 836; Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 45; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 463.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁴ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “The Origin of Icelandic Script: Some Remarks,” 316; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “The Origin and Development of Icelandic Script,” 90.

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Cursive.⁵⁴⁵ Given the increasing prevalence of the closed-compartment two-storey “a” and sporadic appearance of the single-storey *a* during the fourteenth century, tracking the use of the letter *a* can provide some insights into dating the manuscripts more precisely, as well in the attempt to define the norm that the scribe(s) and / or milieu may have been beholden too.

According to Lieftinck’s criteria for broadly distinguishing between Gothic Textualis and Gothic Cursiva, the shape of the letter *a* is paramount; Textualis features the two-storey *a*, while Cursiva features the one-storey *a*.⁵⁴⁶ However, in the study of Icelandic script, the two-storey versus one-storey is often used to distinguish between Cursiva Antiquior and Cursiva Recentior rather than broadly between Textualis and Cursiva.⁵⁴⁷

There are two allographs of this letter that appear, both of which are variants of the Gothic two-storey “a”. One of the graphs has a closed top compartment “a”, and the other an open compartment, “a”, and as such, both are allographs of the graphtype `\a\`. The allograph “a” with a closed compartment is considered to be a later form of the letter, not least because the allograph with the open compartment is strikingly similar to the letter “a” in Carolingian and Proto-Gothic script.

6.3.2 Observations Applicable to Both Manuscripts

In an earlier study,⁵⁴⁸ the distribution of *a* allographs was investigated, and in both AM 764 4to and AM 573, the two-storey `\a\` was used uniformly; both graphs “a” and “a” are allographs of the graphtype `\a\`. This distribution, across both manuscripts, would indicate that these codices were produced in the latter half of the fourteenth century and that the scribes had a uniform practice with regard to this letter.

6.4 <f> and the Letters *g* and *f*

6.4.1 Description

The Caroline “f” was ubiquitously used to denote the grapheme <f> in the earliest Icelandic manuscripts, and the letter stood on the baseline, with the curved shaft extending above the headline.⁵⁴⁹ Contrasting the Caroline “f”, the Insular version of the character featured a shaft

⁵⁴⁵ Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 130.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁷ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 84.

⁵⁴⁸ Farrugia, “A Study in Scribal Identification,” 12-3.

⁵⁴⁹ Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 836; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 455.

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that extended below the baseline, and did not reach over the headline,⁵⁵⁰ though the earliest attestations of the insular “þ” in Old Norse material often sat on the baseline.⁵⁵¹ While the insular “þ” had essentially replaced the Caroline version of the character in writings in Icelandic by the second half of the century, the Caroline “f” was often still used in Latin and other borrowings,⁵⁵² though not with complete consistency.

Largely coinciding with the adoption of the letter “ð”,⁵⁵³ the insular form of the letter “þ” began to appear in Icelandic manuscripts during the first quarter of the thirteenth century.⁵⁵⁴ The insular letter “þ” appears sporadically in Icelandic manuscripts as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, at which point, the insular “þ” was already predominant in Norwegian script,⁵⁵⁵ but became practically universal beyond the mid-thirteenth century.⁵⁵⁶ As such, the character may have been adopted by Icelandic scribes through Norwegian influence.⁵⁵⁷

The earliest version of the Insular “þ” in Icelandic script featured two horizontal bars, which varied in shape,⁵⁵⁸ as over the course of the fourteenth century, these horizontal bars often extended downward in a curved fashion, creating closed lobes against the vertical shaft;⁵⁵⁹ by the second half of the fourteenth century, the letter “þ” had two closed lobes in the majority of hands, and in virtually all hands by the fifteenth century,⁵⁶⁰ while the shaft of the letter þ descending beneath the baseline is a hallmark of Gothic Cursiva.⁵⁶¹ Given the development of this character over the course of the fourteenth century, investigating the

⁵⁵⁰ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 455.

⁵⁵¹ Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, 16.

⁵⁵² Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 455; Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 836.

⁵⁵³ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 43.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 41; Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 836.

⁵⁵⁵ Haugen, “The Development of Latin Script I: In Norway,” 829.

⁵⁵⁶ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 43; Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 836.

⁵⁵⁷ Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Scribal Culture in Thirteenth-Century Iceland,” 289-90.

⁵⁵⁸ Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 836; Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Scribal Culture in Thirteenth-Century Iceland,” 288-9.

⁵⁵⁹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 455.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 456.

⁵⁶¹ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 130.

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manner in which it is represented in the manuscripts can aid in delineating the scribal hands, inferring their norm, as well as dating the manuscripts more precisely.

In this study, the letter *f*, will be investigated solely on a macro-palaeographic level, as the graph types $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ and $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ can both be treated as variant representations of the grapheme <*f*>, all of which represent the phoneme /f/ in Old Norse. The letter <*f*> features an entirely direct relationship between the graph types “*f*” and “ $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ ” and the sound position {*f*}, and in this study, the graph types $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ and $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ are for all intents and purposes, the same as the actual graphs “ $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ ” and “*f*”, from top to bottom, as there is no potential linguistic distinction between the two graph types. As such, the next two sections will investigate the distribution of “*f*” and “ $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ ” across the two manuscripts; though we might expect Icelandic scribes to predominantly use the insular character during the fourteenth century, some uses of the Caroline *f* outside of foreign words or works in Latin may indicate some retention of an older habit,⁵⁶² this providing some clues regarding both dating and the general practice of the scribes. In a previous study,⁵⁶³ the distribution of multiple variant graphs of “ $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ ”, all of which stem from the graph type $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$, was undertaken, albeit to a limited extent, and that process will not be repeated here.

6.4.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

The scribes of AM 764 4to use the insular “ $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ ” essentially ubiquitously, and tend to have both lobes of the character closed.⁵⁶⁴ However, as noted in 6.4.1, the Caroline “*f*” does appear in a limited context in Latin and other borrowings,⁵⁶⁵ indicating a limited practice of using the letter “*f*” instead of “ $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ ” in these contexts. Interestingly, 63% of these instances occur on the first folio, perhaps indicating that this scribe had an older habit of using the Caroline character, though this practice was not considered correct among the milieu in which they were working, and thus mostly discontinued. The scribe may have also initially copied this practice from their exemplar, only to later switch to their own usual practice of using “ $\text{\textbackslash}f\text{\textbackslash}$ ”, even in these words of foreign origin.

The use of the Caroline “*f*” seems to be restricted to the work of particular scribes; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has noted that the character occurs in the work of the scribes she has called A and F,⁵⁶⁶ though it also occurs outside of the folia attributed to these scribes, notably

⁵⁶² Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Scribal Culture in Thirteenth-Century Iceland,” 291-2.

⁵⁶³ Farrugia, “A Study in Scribal Identification,” 15-7.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 836.

⁵⁶⁶ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 21.

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on folia 10-11, which has been labelled as the work of scribe G,⁵⁶⁷ As will be discussed in chapter seven, this may aid in the case to be made that some of the previously identified scribes can be conglomerated.

Overall, the practice encountered in the manuscript indicates that this work was likely carried out in the last quarter of the fourteenth century,⁵⁶⁸ though limited use of the Caroline *f* remained in the work of a few of the scribes.

6.4.3 AM 573 4to

The scribes of AM 573 4to ubiquitously use the insular “*ß*” in the sample taken, and the character features two closed lobes in the majority of instances,⁵⁶⁹ indicating that this work was likely carried out in the latter half of the fourteenth century,⁵⁷⁰ and that the scribes did not necessarily have an older habit of using the Caroline *f*.⁵⁷¹

6.5 The Grapheme <*s*> and its Graphs “*s*” and “*f*”

6.5.1 Description

In Icelandic manuscripts, there are two main variants of the letter *s*,⁵⁷² which in this study, fall under the grapheme <*s*> and its graph types *f* and *s*. The *f* was nearly universally used to represent the short consonant until about 1300, as the use of the round or small capital *s* became increasingly common over the course of the fourteenth century, especially to denote the geminate *ss*; however, *f* remained far more common nonetheless.⁵⁷³ Given this potential for variation within the fourteenth century, this feature has been deemed worthy of inclusion in this study, as it may potentially reveal some unique practices within particular scribal hands and / or the scribal milieu(s). While it often sat on the baseline,⁵⁷⁴ the letter *f* extended beneath the baseline in some Icelandic hands of the mid-thirteenth century and onward.⁵⁷⁵ Contrasting the wide-spread use of *f*, the round *s* was often, but not always, used at the beginning of a

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 12, 17-52; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe,” 331.

⁵⁶⁸ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 455-6.

⁵⁶⁹ Farrugia, “A Study in Scribal Identification,” 15-7.

⁵⁷⁰ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 455-6.

⁵⁷¹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Scribal Culture in Thirteenth-Century Iceland,” 291-2.

⁵⁷² Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 835; Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, 51-2.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.; Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 49.

⁵⁷⁴ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 73.

⁵⁷⁵ Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 835.

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phrase following a punctuation mark or in proper names, as well as to represent the geminate consonant,⁵⁷⁶ and its sparing use may reflect the fact that its presence was restricted to abbreviations in the period of the earliest Icelandic manuscripts.⁵⁷⁷ These tendencies can be generalised as *f* being the default representation of <*s*>, while the round *s* appears sporadically, generally at the beginning of a new sentence or section of text, or to create more space for a superscript abbreviation mark, though the long “*F*” can of course appear in these positions as well.⁵⁷⁸

The analysis in the following sections will focus on the ratio and position of long *f* and round *s* within each of the manuscripts, which will aid in not only dating the codices, but also differentiating scribes along the lines of their practice regarding these characters.

6.5.2 *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*

The round “*s*” is reasonably common in *AM 764 4to*, though its distribution varies according to scribe and section of the manuscript. In the majority of instances, the letter *s* features bows, such that it appears much like the numeral 8; this is one of the frequent forms of the character during the fourteenth century.⁵⁷⁹ In the following chart, capital letters denote the scribes as they are identified in Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir’s dissertation,⁵⁸⁰ while the lower case letters denote how they are labelled in one of her later articles.⁵⁸¹

TABLE VI - 7: USE OF THE ROUNDS *S* IN *AM 764 4TO*:

Scribe	Round	Round “ <i>s</i> ” percentage	Tall	Total < <i>s</i> >
Aa	1536	59.2%	1057	2593
Ae	43	53 %	38	81
AHih	151	55.5%	121	272
Ai	400	87.5%	57	457
Bb	26	8.1%	294	320

⁵⁷⁶ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, *Sýnisbók Íslenskrar Skriftar* 2. útgáfa (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í Íslenskum Fræðum, 2007), 10-20.

⁵⁷⁷ Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 835.

⁵⁷⁸ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, *Sýnisbók*, 10-20.

⁵⁷⁹ Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 837.

⁵⁸⁰ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12, 17-52.

⁵⁸¹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe,” 331.

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Scribe	Round	Round “s” percentage	Tall	Total <s>
Bi	2	4.7%	40	42
Cc	1	2.1%	45	46
Dd	28	19.1%	118	146
Ee	98	10 %	879	977
Fa	1	12.5%	7	8
Ff	10	2.2%	440	450
Fi	65	18.9%	278	343
Gg	15	2.6%	551	566
Hh	115	2.3%	391	506
HKhi	6	4.4%	130	136
Ij	1	2.7%	36	37
Jk	17	10.9%	138	155

Most of the scribes use the round “s” in a typical fashion: often at the beginning of a word or new clause following a punctuation marking, or in proper names, often of Latin or Greek origin in this context. The *s* also appears occasionally in medial or final position, though there is no evidence for it standing for the geminate *ss*. As illustrated in the chart, the round “s” is exceptionally common in the work of the scribe identified as “A” in Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir’s thesis.⁵⁸² While the work of scribe Aa covers folia 1-4, Ae was identified on 42v, while AHih is identified on folio 26, and scribe Ai on folia 22-23. As can be gleaned from the chart, the only areas of the manuscript in which the round *s* appears $\geq 50\%$ of instances of uses of the grapheme <*s*> were initially labelled A by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, and taken together, the scribe initially labelled A⁵⁸³ uses the round *s* in 62.5% of instances. This distribution of the letter “s” may support the notion that some of the previously identified scribes can be conglomerated, though this notion will be addressed further in the next chapter.

⁵⁸² Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12, 17-52.

⁵⁸³ Ibid.

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6.5.3 AM 573 4to

The round “s” is uncommon in AM 573 4to. As shown in the table below, “s” is more common in the earlier portion of the manuscript than the latter, and is used almost exclusively in word-initial position, in abbreviations, such as “s̄”, or in foreign names, such as the frequently used “eneas”. There is no evidence of it standing for the geminate *ss*. The following table illustrates the distribution of long *f* and round *s* within the two major sections of the manuscript:

TABLE VI - 8: USE OF THE ROUNDS *S* IN AM 573 4TO:

folia	Round	Round “s” /	Tall	Total < <i>s</i> >
1-45	231	14.9%	1319	1550
46-63	12	1.4%	799	811

There is one instance in which the round and tall “f” characters appear together in the same word, suggesting that the scribe used these characters in a complementary distribution, perhaps reflecting an aversion to using the round *s* in word-final position.

TABLE VI - 9: USE OF THE ROUND AND TALL *S* IN ONE WORD IN AM 573 4TO:

2r29	sínf	{sín-s}	síns
------	------	---------	------

Overall, this distribution indicates that the scribe(s) of the first portion of the manuscript had a more innovative practice regarding long *f* and round *s*, as their use of the round character in 14.9% of instances is similar to the average distribution encountered in the sample from AM 764 4to. On the other hand, the scribe(s) of the latter portion of the manuscript rarely use the round *s*, only 1.4% of instances. This distinguishes the scribe(s) of the latter portion from both the scribe(s) of the former portion of AM 573 4to, but also AM 764 4to; while there are some portions of AM 764 4to that feature the round character very sparingly, no section of that manuscript has it in $\leq 2\%$ of instances.

6.6 Selected Abbreviations

6.6.1 Description

One of the most salient characteristics of Medieval Icelandic manuscripts is that they feature a wide variety of abbreviations, often extensively,⁵⁸⁴ and as such, their distribution will aid in tracking the practice of the scribes and potentially inferring a norm. Each of the manuscripts feature the four types of abbreviations outlined by Hreinn Benediktsson:⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸⁴ Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 835; Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, 59-62.

⁵⁸⁵ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 85.

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1. Suspensions: The latter part of a word is omitted or ‘suspended’, and this is marked in some way on a preceding letter, often with a circle or horizontal crossbar. Suspensions are often noted with a horizontal crossbar, dot, or circle, and are regularly employed to abbreviate words such as ‘*hann*’, ‘*segir*’, ‘*þat*’, ‘*siþan*’.
2. Contractions: The medial part of a word is contracted and not written; this is marked somehow, generally on the first letter of the word. Contractions are typically marked with a horizontal crossbar, and are featured in words such as ‘*hafþi*’, ‘*borg*’, ‘*honum*’.
3. Superscript Letters: A superscript letter is used to denote a certain letter or a cluster of letters, often letters that have been suspended or contracted. This type of abbreviation seems to have been used most commonly in conjunctions and prepositions, and was used frequently in each of the excerpts, and indeed many Icelandic manuscripts from this time, to denote words such as ‘*firir*’ and ‘*tiþ*’.
4. Special Symbols: Particular symbols, often derived from Classical systems of writing, are used to denote certain clusters of letters.

In the following section, the uses of a selected group of frequent abbreviation markings, whose distribution may aid in the identification of scribes and a shared scribal practice across both of the manuscripts, will be discussed.

6.6.2 The Tironian ‘et’

We find the Tironian note, primarily used as an *ok* symbol, derived from the Latin abbreviation for *et*,⁵⁸⁶ in each of the three manuscripts. It appears in its post-thirteenth century form with a horizontal crossbar.⁵⁸⁷ However, there seems to be an alternation between variants of this sign, the distinctive feature being the decorative stroke extending to the left; this feature does not seem to have any lexical or semiotic relevance, though the presence of the extraneous decorative stroke would seem to suggest a later providence or more innovative script. We also find a few appearances of this conjunction being written out, and as discussed in section 5.11, it is always spelled with *k* (in the minority of instances in which the abbreviation marking is not used instead) in AM 764 4to and with either *k* or *c* in AM 573 4to, but never in a manner indicating the change of *k* > *g* in unstressed positions. The distribution of these spellings and the use of the tironian note does not show any patterns that may aid in the delineation of the scribes, as their practice is quite uniform regarding this feature.

⁵⁸⁶ Seip, *Paleografi B. Norge og Island*, 40, 81.

⁵⁸⁷ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 92.

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6.6.3 The *-us* Symbol, ʀ

The *-us* symbol, ʀ, is found in AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to, often in lexical items that are Latin or Greek in origin.⁵⁸⁸ Thus, the sign is exceedingly common, given the presence of Matter of Rome texts across both manuscripts, and it does not appear in a distribution that aids in the differentiation of scribal hands. The letter combination *us* is reasonably uncommon in the Norse word stock, severely limiting instances of the corresponding abbreviation marking.

6.6.4 The *-ur* Abbreviation, ʀ

6.6.4.1 Introduction

Like the *-us* symbol, ʀ, the *-ur* abbreviation, ʀ,⁵⁸⁹ is found in AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to. As discussed in section 5.12, the presence of this abbreviation can indicate the presence of an epenthetic vowel in the *-r* > *-ur* development, in instances when the abbreviation marking is used to represent etymological *r*.⁵⁹⁰

6.6.4.2 AM 764 4to

The ʀ abbreviation is commonplace in AM 764 4to, occurring a total of 143 times in the sample. However, the uses of the ʀ abbreviation for an earlier *r* in AM 764 4to are restricted to the work of three closely-related scribal hands identified by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir,⁵⁹¹ indicating that *-r* and *-ur* may have been in the process of merging in the language of these scribes.

6.6.4.2 AM 573 4to

The *-ur* abbreviation is commonplace, and appears a total of 87 times in the sample. Linking to section 5.12, this abbreviation appears in a few instances, all of which are in the former portion of the manuscript (ff. 1-45), in a manner that suggests that there may have been an epenthetic vowel in this position. This suggests that only the scribe(s) of the former portion of the manuscript may have had a merging of *-r* and *-ur*⁵⁹² underway in their language.

⁵⁸⁸ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 91.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁰ Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 47.

⁵⁹¹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 12, 17-24.

⁵⁹² Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 47.

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6.7 Script Classification

6.7.1 Script Type — General Characteristics and Summary of Traits

Following the discussion of specific features in the preceding sections, this section will provide a classification of the script encountered in AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to, within the context of a general outline of some of the major developments in Medieval Icelandic script. This contextualisation of some of the previously discussed specific features within the framework of a discussion of developments in Icelandic script aims to aid in dating the manuscripts under study more precisely, and will take into account the possibility that the script of different scribes may have differed enough to warrant slightly different script classifications.

Icelandic script underwent a series of developments over the course of the medieval period. Caroline minuscule (*karlungaskrift* in Icelandic)⁵⁹³ is found in the earliest Icelandic manuscripts from the twelfth century,⁵⁹⁴ throughout the thirteenth century, and remained in some use into the first half of the fourteenth century.⁵⁹⁵ Already around the turn of the thirteenth century, Caroline script began to take on features that signified a gradual transition toward Gothic script,⁵⁹⁶ and the period 1300-1550 can be broadly classified as the Gothic period in the history of Icelandic script.⁵⁹⁷ This transition to Gothic script, embodied in the Pre- / Proto-Gothic script (*frumgotnesk skrift* in Icelandic) often known by alternative names such as “Late Caroline”, “Primitive Gothic” and “Carolino-Gothica”,⁵⁹⁸ was characterized by:⁵⁹⁹

- the script becoming increasingly narrow compared to the relatively broad and round Caroline script

- some letters, such as “bb” or “pp” being conjoined

- the bodies of the letters are taller while the ascenders and descenders are shorter

- the almost circular “o” becomes more of an oval

- the feet of both minims and ascenders often curve to the right and meet the next letter

- minims and ascenders tend to be forked

⁵⁹³ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, *Sýnisbók*.

⁵⁹⁴ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 461.

⁵⁹⁵ Stefán Karlsson, “The Development of Latin Script II: In Iceland,” 835-6.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Lars Svensson, *Nordisk paleografi: handbok med transkriberade och kommenterade skriftprov* (Studentlitteratur: Lund, 1974), 170.

⁵⁹⁸ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “Caroline and Proto-Gothic Script in Norway and Iceland,” in *Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Iceland. Studies in Memory of Lilli Gjerløw*, ed. Espen Karlsen (Oslo: Novus Press, 2013), 202; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 57.

⁵⁹⁹ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 462.

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- minims and ascenders that stand on the base line tend to have feet that curve to the right⁶⁰⁰
- the minims of “i”, “m”, “n” and “u” become increasingly difficult to distinguish

By the second half of the thirteenth century, the Proto-Gothic script had developed into (Gothic) Textualis, known as *textaskrift* in Icelandic.⁶⁰¹ This script had superseded Proto-Gothic script by the beginning of the thirteenth century in Norway, and the end of that century in Iceland, and was the predominant script in Iceland until circa 1400.⁶⁰² This script is characterized by:⁶⁰³

- the features of Pregothic script becoming increasingly pronounced and systematically employed
- the script becomes narrower and letters are increasingly conjoined
- ascenders and descenders are shorter relative to the body of the letter
- more angular curves

According to Albert Derolez, the main criteria for differentiating Gothic Textualis from other script types are:⁶⁰⁴

- the two-storey “a”
- loopless ascenders
- the insular “p” and straight “f” standing on the baseline.

Subsequent to these developments in the West Norse world as well as on the continent, Gothic Cursiva arose, initially through a need for a script that was easier to execute than the laborious Textualis,⁶⁰⁵ and it eventually replaced Textualis as the predominant book script.⁶⁰⁶ However, it was not uncommon for Icelandic manuscripts of this period to feature Textualis script that had been influenced by Cursiva script, and thus exhibited some of the features characteristic of Gothic Cursiva.⁶⁰⁷ To add to the nuance in labelling a Medieval Icelandic script sample as either Textualis or Cursiva, the latter typically has two sub-types in Icelandic, with the older and earlier form being known as *árléttiskrift*, and the younger and later form as *síðléttiskrift*.⁶⁰⁸ While Cursiva arose largely out of the script that was used in charters

⁶⁰⁰ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “Caroline and Proto-Gothic Script in Norway and Iceland,” 206.

⁶⁰¹ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, *Sýnisbók*.

⁶⁰² Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “Caroline and Proto-Gothic Script in Norway and Iceland,” 203.

⁶⁰³ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 462.

⁶⁰⁴ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 73.

⁶⁰⁵ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “Caroline and Proto-Gothic Script in Norway and Iceland,” 203.

⁶⁰⁶ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 462.

⁶⁰⁷ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “The Origin and Development of Icelandic Script,” 91.

⁶⁰⁸ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, *Sýnisbók*.

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and documents, Cursiva is itself a book script, and should not be conflated with *cursive script* in a general sense.⁶⁰⁹ Some of the traits of Gothic Cursiva are:⁶¹⁰

- loops on the ascenders and descenders
- the tall “f” extends below the baseline
- the two-lobe insular “þ” is predominant, and also extends beneath the baseline
- two-storey “a” in early Cursiva
- one-compartment “a” in late Cursiva
- “b”, “h”, “k”, and “l” have a loop at the right of the ascender⁶¹¹

Derolez’ criteria for distinguishing Gothic Cursiva are:⁶¹²

- two-storey “a”,
- looped ascenders,
- insular “þ” and long “f” descending below the baseline.

While Gothic script predominated in Iceland between the fourteenth century and the mid-sixteenth century,⁶¹³ Icelandic manuscripts of the fourteenth century often do not fit neatly into one of the continental classifications, as these are themselves based on continental models, and do not take into account the various strong waves of influence on Icelandic script from both England and Norway. As discussed in this chapter, some of the room for variation within medieval Icelandic script was used as an inroads into investigating selected palaeographic features in an effort to delineate the scribal hand and date the manuscripts more precisely. Given the potential for variation and for norms to develop, it is often more appropriate to frame Gothic script in the context Icelandic manuscripts as a continuum, allowing for distinctions such as Cursiva-influenced Textualis or the two sub-types of Gothic Cursiva (*árléttiskrift* and *siðléttiskrift*); the script encountered in the manuscripts in this study will this be placed on this continuum in the next section. As observed by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “[m]ost of the manuscripts from...the fourteenth century are written in Textualis libraria, and some of them are under Cursive influence,”⁶¹⁴ though the appearance of Cursiva-influenced Textualis or alternatively early Cursiva (*árléttiskrift*) can typically be used to date a manuscript to the fourteenth century.

⁶⁰⁹ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “Caroline and Proto-Gothic Script in Norway and Iceland,” 203; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 123-4.

⁶¹⁰ Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 462.

⁶¹¹ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “Caroline and Proto-Gothic Script in Norway and Iceland,” 203; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 133.

⁶¹² Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 133.

⁶¹³ Svensson, *Nordisk paleografi*, 170.

⁶¹⁴ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, “The Origin and Development of Icelandic Script,” 91.

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6.7.2 *Script Classification of Both Manuscripts*

In keeping with the notion that these manuscripts can be dated to the fourteenth century, the script of both *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to* and *AM 573 4to* can be classified as early Cursiva, or árléttiskrift, though the nomenclature would also allow for the script to be called Late Textualis with influence from Cursiva. *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to* and *AM 573 4to* exhibit many, but not all, of the characteristic Cursiva traits, within both an Icelandic and continental context. Ascenders tend to be looped, the two-lobe insular “þ” is predominant and often extends beneath the baseline, the tall “f” extends below the baseline, and the letter *a* has two compartments and is often the closed-compartment “a”. However, from an aesthetic perspective, the script retains much of the angularity and austerity of earlier Textualis, so it with some hesitation that this script is called Cursiva, which is often associated with a rounder and more flowing execution.

These features are more advanced and prevalent in *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*, suggesting that this manuscript is of a younger provenance than *AM 573 4to*, or that the scribes were simply more innovative with regard to their script. This relative dating is also supported by the fact that *AM 573 4to* has some archaisms that are not encountered in *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*, such as limited use of the letter ð̊, albeit only in the latter portion of the manuscript (ff. 46-63), often used in complementary to the letter ð, both of which are usually represented with “ð”, a looped allograph of the graph type \ð\ in *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to* and the former portion (ff. 1-45) of *AM 573 4to*. In the next chapter, more issues such as these will be discussed, as a more thorough delineation of the scribal hands will be presented.

7 - The Scribes and Their Norm

7.1 Introduction

While the group of scribes who may have collaborated on the production of both AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to has been alluded to before, notably in section 2.2, and a more general survey of selected features of the orthography, language, and script of these manuscripts was given in chapters five and six, this chapter will be more explicitly dedicated to identifying and comparing patterns and congruencies in these parameters that will aid in elucidating how many scribes worked on these manuscripts, and where the shifts in scribal hands occur. The final two sections of this chapter will be dedicated to discussing the inferred norm of the scribal milieu(s), and more precise datings of the two manuscripts dealt with on this study, including some conjecture regarding what the workflow may have been like, will be offered. The work of previous scholars, notably Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, Jonna Louis-Jensen, and Stefán Karlsson, will be drawn upon, and as with chapters five and six, their conceptions of how many scribes were involved in the production of these manuscripts will be used as points of departure for the conception presented in this chapter, which notably differs from previous work in that it employs and is informed by the annotated transcriptions and data of the EMROON database. As discussed in chapter three, many methodological concerns apply, and the conception of the scribes of AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to presented here is not intended as a final word, with avenues for further inquiry on this issue presented in the eighth and final chapter.

Since this chapter is explicitly dedicated to identifying scribal hands and inferring some generalities and trends in the orthography, language, and script of these manuscripts, so as to assess the potentiality that these scribes were affiliated with a common scribal milieu, only selected features from chapters five and six will be brought up again here, as the distribution of variants within some features is considered more salient in the pursuit of differentiating scribes and defining a norm than others. To put it succinctly: not every feature discussed in the previous two chapters has trends in the data that are deemed telling in the identification of individual scribes. As one may have gathered from chapters five and six, as well as the relevant appendices, the data for some features does not necessarily have a clear story to tell regarding where a shift in scribal hand may have occurred or aid in the elucidation of the norm of the scribe and / or their milieu.

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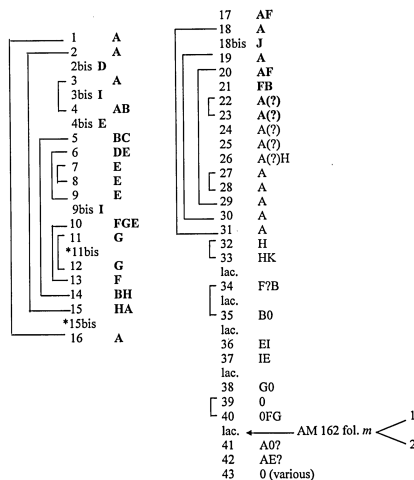
7.2 The Scribes of Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to

7.2.1 Context

One of the key issues with identifying the scribes in Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to is that the scribal hands of this manuscript, and the milieu that produced it, are often very similar and exhibit similar traits, as already noted in previous scholarship.⁶¹⁵ As such, the identification of hands in this project is correlated with trends in the data that have been deemed salient, and are not intended as final pronouncements on the scribes of this manuscript; the conclusions drawn about these scribes will likely be revisited in later studies, as has indeed been the practice in other scholars' work on this codex.

The work on AM 764 4to in this project has been informed by the work of Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir; in her significant output on this manuscript, she has presented two conceptions of the scribal hands in this manuscript, with, at least according to my interpretation, the latter representing a slight revision of the former. This first chart, organised according to the quire structure and numbered leaves, is from Svanhildur's dissertation, *Writing History in Fourteenth Century Iceland*, in which she also provides observations and justifications regarding the scribal hands she has identified:⁶¹⁶

FIGURE VII - 1: SVANHILDUR ÓSKARSDÓTTIR'S INITIAL CONCEPTION OF THE SCRIBES OF AM 764 4TO:



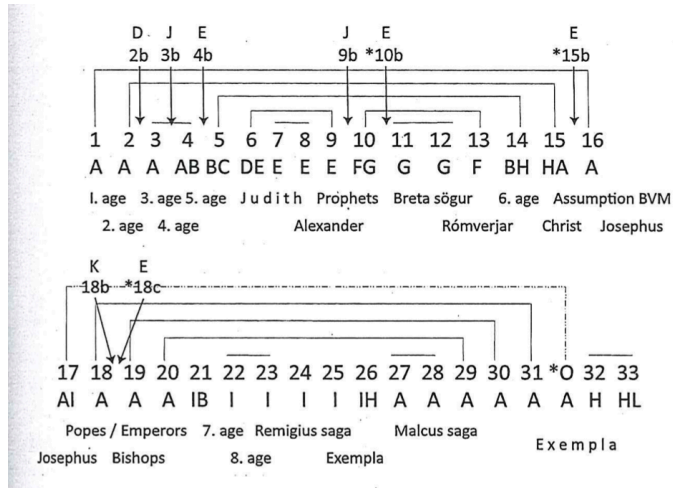
⁶¹⁵ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 16-24.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

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The next diagram, excerpted from her article *The Resourceful Scribe: Some Aspects of the Book of Reynistaður*,⁶¹⁷ outlines her later published conception of the scribal hands:

FIGURE VII - 2: SVANHILDUR ÓSKARSDÓTTIR'S LATER CONCEPTION OF THE SCRIBES OF AM 764 4TO:



As introduced in chapter two, these two conceptions of the scribal hands presented by Svanhildur differ, albeit concerning a relatively small batch of leaves, in which the scribal hands are particularly difficult to differentiate. Essentially, some of the passages attributed to the scribal hands initially labelled A, F, H, and I in her doctoral thesis, *Writing History in Fourteenth Century Iceland* have been reconsidered in a later article, *The Resourceful Scribe: Some Aspects of the Book of Reynistaður*, with these passages being variously reattributed to scribes a, e, h, and i, all of which are markedly similar in terms of both orthographic and paleographic grounds, as well as their general appearance. For example, folio 17 is labelled as AF (indicating that both scribes A and F worked on this leaf) in Svanhildur's earlier work, and ai in the later article. In order to avoid ambiguity when referring to Svanhildur's conceptions of the scribes, specifically in areas in which this conception has evolved across multiple publications, two letters will be given when referring to an identified scribal hand whose labelling has been revised; first, an upper case letter reflecting their label in *Writing History in Fourteenth Century Iceland*, followed by a lower case letter, reflecting their label in *The Resourceful Scribe: Some Aspects of the Book of Reynistaður*, as was the practice in chapters five and six. Thus, the second scribe that Svanhildur has identified on folio 17, for instance, would

⁶¹⁷ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "The Resourceful Scribe," 331.

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here be labelled Fi. This manner of labelling the hands that Svanhildur has identified — and accommodating any revisions that have thus far been published — has been incorporated into the labelling of the hypothetical scribal hands of Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to on the EMROON database, such that one cannot simply search for scribe “F” on EMROON, but rather must choose between scribes “Ff”, “Fa” and “Fi”, reflecting the fact that in some passages, the work of the scribe labelled F in *Writing History in Fourteenth Century Iceland* has later been redacted to be the work of scribe “A” or “F” in *The Resourceful Scribe: Some Aspects of the Book of Reynistaður*, here labelled as scribes “a” and “f” in order to disambiguate them from the scribes of the same letter name (but in upper-case) in the earlier conception.

In the process of the transcriptions of Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to being annotated by Robert Kristof Paulsen, preliminary and tentative conception of the scribal hands were also built into the labelling of the scribal hands in the EMROON database. This conception was deliberately made to challenge the relatively high number of scribes (about ten) that Svanhildur has previously identified, though not so low as to trivialize the fact that the manuscript does not appear, nor does the data support the notion, that only a few were involved in its production. As alluded to in the previous paragraph, some of the scribal hands that Svanhildur has previously identified are incredibly similar; the scribes labelled A, H, and I, for instance, are so similar that they have undergone relabelling in her work; for example, folia 22-25 were initially attributed to scribe A and folio 26 to the scribes A and H,⁶¹⁸ but later folia 22-25 were attributed to i and folia 26 to i and h.⁶¹⁹ In addition, Svanhildur’s conceptions seem to imply the potentiality, as it is never explicitly stated, that Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to had a *main* scribe, that copied out much more than the other identified hands. The work of Svanhildur’s scribe A alone accounts for a larger portion of the manuscript than any of the other scribes, even more so if one takes into account that hands H and I are more similar to A than any of the others, opening the door for these hypothetically three scribes being one and the same, which in turn sets a precedent for conflating previously identified scribes. This is precisely what the new preliminary conception built into the EMROON search bar is premised on. More definitive conclusions will not be drawn until later in this chapter, specifically section 7.4, and the tentative re-conception available on EMROON has only been used as a point of inquiry; both because certain hands identified in previous scholarship seem excessively similar and have not been thoroughly distinguished using quantitative means, and also in order to see how various segmentations of the data, done before the analysis itself, elucidate and perhaps

⁶¹⁸ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12.

⁶¹⁹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe,” 331.

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affect the patterns inferred from said data, i.e the identification of scribal hands on more quantitative grounds.

This new conception indicates that the division of labour may have fallen along the lines of the gatherings themselves, which at least in part would explain why the collation of the manuscript is somewhat odd. This tentative segmentation of the data presupposes that a group fewer than the scribes identified by Svanhildur worked on the first gathering, folia 1-16; in order to make this conception clear, especially given that the Svanhildur's evolving conception of the scribes has been accommodated in the nomenclature, the hypothetical scribes built into the EMROON database here were labelled with Greek letters, in this case, α , β , and γ , and it is also with Greek letters that a more conclusive labelling of the scribal hands will occur later in the chapter.

However, as outlined in previous sections, the employment of digital data on this project allows for a new conception of the scribes, which will be the subject of this current section. While chapters five and six provided a more general overview of how certain orthographic, linguistic, and paleographic features were represented in this manuscript, this section, and indeed this chapter, as discussed in 7.1, will focus explicitly on suggesting a new delineation of the scribes that worked on this manuscript through the discussion of patterns that can be found in the data in the EMROON database. As outlined in the first two chapters of this study, the identification of scribal hands will focus on the first three-quarters of the manuscript, as the later chronicle section of the manuscript appears to feature incredibly frequent shifts in scribal hands, reflecting the fact that these chronicles were of course written at different times; as such, clearer pronouncements on the scribes of that later portion of the manuscript will have to be the subject of another study.

7.2.2 *Diphthongization e > ei before -ng / -nk*

Overall, the scribes of AM 764 4to used diphthongal spellings in this environment in 98.8% of instances — as discussed in section 5.1, this is an overwhelming majority that makes it difficult to differentiate scribes along the lines of this feature. Spellings suggesting a diphthongal pronunciation of short *e* before *-ng / -nk* are almost ubiquitous in *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*, with only 1 of 83 example of {æ} preceding {n(g)k} being spelled with “e”.

7.2.3 *Diphthongisation of {ǣ} Following v and b*

On folia 7-8, there are a cluster of spellings of the sound environment {v} + {ǣ} that may indicate that the vowel was becoming a diphthong,⁶²⁰ as discussed in section 5.5. As will be

⁶²⁰ Orešnik, “An Old Icelandic Dialect Feature: iæ for æ,” 183-5.

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discussed with regard to several other features, folia 6-9 seem to have been the work of a unique scribe, and have already been labelled scribe E by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir.⁶²¹ While *é* is only spelled as a diphthong preceding *v* in 21.7% of instances in the entire sample from AM 764 4to, this percentage jumps to 57% if we solely look at folia 6-9. Additionally, 80% of the diphthongal spellings of *é* in this position occur within this range of folia, seemingly indicating the work of a unique scribe that differed from their peers with regard to this feature.

7.2.4 The Demonstrative Pronoun *sjá* / *þessi*

As discussed in section 5.6, the adoption of the form *þessi* in the nominative singular feminine and masculine, where *sjá* had formerly occupied these places in the paradigm, is widespread in Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to. There are however five exceptions to this rule, all of which occur in the range of folia 6-9, which along with other features in the manuscript, has been noted as containing some anomalous variants relative to the rest of the manuscript. This section contains the form *sjá* four times (13%) in the masculine nominative singular, and once (5.8%) in the feminine nominative singular, which is congruent with the observation that the change *sjá* > *þessi* may have been more advanced in the feminine than the masculine.⁶²² All of these instances occur within the range of folia that Svanhildur has previously attributed to scribe E.⁶²³ While there are instances of the form *þessi* in the nominative singular feminine and masculine, this section is the only one in the manuscript to feature *sjá* forms, and while the other scribes of the manuscript were consistent in their adoption of *þessi* forms, this scribe seems to have still retained both forms in their language and practice, and may have been more accepting of the older form that they may have encountered in their exemplar.

7.2.5 The Fricativization of Unstressed *k* > *g*

In section 5.10.2, an overview of the change *k* > *g* in the sample from Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to was provided, while in this section, some of the patterns that may aid in scribal identification will be explored. One of the key contexts in which this change featured were in the pronouns *mik*, *þik*, and *sik*, searchable in EMROON as the sound environment {i1} + {k},⁶²⁴ of which there are 93 attestations in the sample from Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to. Twelve of

⁶²¹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12, 17-24.

⁶²² Alex Speed Kjeldsen, “Bemærkninger til pronomet *sjá*,” 246; Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblíja*, 352; Katrín Axelsdóttir, “Saga ábendingarfornafnsins *sjá*,” 51-57; Haraldur Bernharðsson, “Copying Njáls saga into One’s Own Dialect,” 127.

⁶²³ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History” 12; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe,” 331.

⁶²⁴ <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

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these spellings are with “c” indicating a stop, in a somewhat more archaic manner than using “k”:

TABLE VII - 1: UNSTRESSED K SPELLED WITH “C” FOLLOWING {i,ɪ} IN AM 764 4TO:

4bivr.4	fic	{si,k}	sik	acc	sik (pe) ONP
6v.24	fic	{si,k}	sik	acc	sik (pe) ONP
7r.36	<u>fic</u>	{si,k}	sik	acc	sik (pe) ONP
7v.19	fic	{si,k}	sik	acc	sik (pe) ONP
8r.5	fic	{si,k}	sik	acc	sik (pe) ONP
8r.5	fic	{si,k}	sik	acc	sik (pe) ONP
8r.7	fic	{si,k}	sik	acc	sik (pe) ONP
8r.7	fic	{si,k}	sik	acc	sik (pe) ONP
8r.31	þic	{þi,k}	þik	acc	þú (pe) ONP
8r.34	fic	{si,k}	sik	acc	sik (pe) ONP
9r.32	þic	{þi,k}	þik	acc	þú (pe) ONP
18bivr.16	fic	{si,k}	sik	acc	sik (pe) ONP

As can be seen on the chart above, 10 / 12 (83%) of these instances occur between folia 6 and 9. Excluding the instances on 4bivr and 18bivr, the cluster of instances between folia 6 and 9 should support the notion that this section of the manuscript was handled by one scribe; all of these instances have been labelled as the work scribe E by Svanhildur.⁶²⁵

The lemma *ek* occurs in the nominative singular form 84 times, with only 7 (8.3%) of these suggesting a fricative, spelled “eg”. All 7 of these belong to the scribe that Svanhildur has labelled A,⁶²⁶ and has been preliminarily labelled α in the EMROON database.

The folia on which these “eg” spellings appear also feature, in contrast, other spellings that suggest a stop, generally spelled with “k”. It is difficult to explain this distribution, though the change may have been lexically conditioned, such that the actual phonological change took root in certain lexemes before others, or that the scribe simply continued to prefer to spell particular lexemes with a stop despite an encroaching fricative in the language.

The lemma *mjok* appears 47 times in the sample from Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to, with only 15 of these instances suggesting a stop. Some patterns emerge that suggest that a minority of the scribes who worked on this manuscript preferred to spell a stop in this position. Between folia 6 and 9, there is a sequence (about 50% of all the stop spellings) of {k} being spelled as a stop, despite the fact that the general trend in the manuscript is for this

⁶²⁵ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12, 34-9.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

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consonant to be spelled as a fricative in this lemma. This area of the manuscript, roughly folia 6 to 9, is also the area in which it was common for {k} to be spelled with “c” after {i}, as discussed above. Also, 4bis and 18bis feature two instances respectively of *mjok* being spelled with a stop, accounting for four of the eight instances of stop spellings for *mjok* that fall outside of the range of folia 6-9.

Svanhildur has labelled 4bis, as well as the portions of folia 6-9 mentioned here, as the work of scribe E, while 18bis has been labelled as the work of scribe J,⁶²⁷ though 18bis was later relabelled as the work of scribe E.⁶²⁸ The data for this feature supports the notion that the same person that handled 4bis also copied out folia 6-9, and the distribution of the spellings of *mjok*, as well as the spellings of {k} as “c” following {i} also suggest a link with 18bis. These spellings are not necessarily telling regarding dating or localisation, though they do cause this scribe to stand out from the others in this manuscript.

7.2.6 Fricativization of *t* > *ð*

As discussed in section 5.9, the data regarding the fricativization of *t* > *ð* in unstressed positions in Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to can aid in the delineation of scribal hands. There are 230 instances of the sound environment $\{V(\partial|n|)^*\} + \{t\}$ appearing in an unabbreviated form in the sample from Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to, with 63% of these indicating fricativization.

There are 4 instances of {t} being spelled with “þ”, which stand out relative to the other spellings that the scribes generally employ (usually “ð”, but also “t”) two of which appear on folio 9:

TABLE VII - 2: OLDER T SPELLED WITH “þ” ON FOLIO 9 OF AM 764 4TO:

9v.34	ṽ1þ	{ver-in-t}	verit	vera (vb.a) ONP
9v.35	etiþ	{et-in-t}	etit	eta (vb.a) ONP

While spellings with “þ” account for only 1.7% of spellings of $\{V(\partial|n|)^*\} + \{t\}$ in the entire sample from the manuscript, this percentage rises to 6.4% if we look solely at folia 6-9 in which Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has identified scribe E.⁶²⁹ The spellings with “þ” here also account for half of those of those found in the entire sample (there are 4 spellings with “þ” in the sample of 230 tokens of this sound environment). However, at least one of the words spelled with “þ” in this environment, *verit*, is also spelled with “t” and “d” on the same page, and by all indications, is the work of the same scribe.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., 12, 16-52.

⁶²⁸ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe,” 331.

⁶²⁹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12, 17-24.

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TABLE VII - 3: SPELLINGS OF OLDER T WITH “D” AND “T” ON FOLIO 9 OF AM 764 4TO:

9v.19	ǃid	{ver-ɪn-t}	verit	vera (vb.a) ONP
9v.23	ǃit	{ver-ɪn-t}	verit	vera (vb.a) ONP

Two of these spellings with “p” also occur on folia 19-20:

TABLE VII - 4: OLDER T SPELLED WITH “P” IN LIÐIT ON FOLIA 19-20 OF AM 764 4TO:

19v.2	liðp	{lið-ɪn-t}	liðit	líða (vb.a) ONP
20r.33	liðp	{lið-ɪn-t}	liðit	líða (vb.a) ONP

However, this same lemma is alternatively spelled in a manner indicating a stop, with “t” at the end of the word, in the same cluster of leaves, and by all indications, by the same scribe:

TABLE VII - 5: SPELLINGS OF OLDER T WITH “T” IN LIÐIT ON FOLIA 19-20 OF AM 764 4TO:

18r.17	liðit	{lið-ɪn-t}	liðit	líða (vb.a) ONP
20r.16	liðit	{lið-ɪn-t}	liðit	líða (vb.a) ONP
20v.9	liðit	{lið-ɪn-t}	liðit	líða (vb.a) ONP
20v.12	liðit	{lið-ɪn-t}	liðit	líða (vb.a) ONP

As the sound change occurred after the period in which “p” denoting the dental fricative was virtually ubiquitous, these spellings are innovative in a sense, as they unambiguously denote a fricative, despite a fricative not previously appearing in this environment.

As outlined, unstressed {t} following $\{V(\partial|n|)\}$ is most commonly spelled with “d” in Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to, while stop spellings with “t” are relatively uncommon throughout much of the manuscript. However, given the multitude of scribes that have been identified in the manuscript, some patterns emerge. Notably, one of the scribes that has previously been identified, scribe G according to Svanhildur,⁶³⁰ actually favours spellings with a stop, exhibiting a 14:13 ratio of t:d or stop to fricative spellings.

7.2.7 The Epenthetic Vowel Preceding -r

As discussed in section 5.12, direct evidence of the change $-r > -ur$ is exceedingly rare in Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to. However, some patterns can be inferred from this data, as the sound environment $\{C-\} + \{r\}$ appears 4929 times in the sample from AM 764 4to. Only 15 of these instances can be interpreted as evidence of the change $-r > -ur$ being underway. Firstly, there are five reverse spellings of etymological $-ur$ with “r”, already labelled as predominantly

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

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the work of one scribe, A, in the work of Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir.⁶³¹ These five instances can be interpreted as indirect evidence of an underlying phonological change, and given their distribution, are interpreted as the work of one scribe here.

TABLE VII - 6: SPELLINGS OF ETYMOLOGICAL -R WITH “UR” IN AM 764 4TO:

3v.26	ludurb læft	{lúðr+blæ s-ðr-r}	<i>lúðrblástri</i>	dat.sg	<i>lúðrblástr</i> (nc.m) ONP
17v.1	þagurfnunum	{fayr+snú-n-um}	<i>fagr snúnum</i>	pos.dat.pl.st	<i>fagr snúinn</i> (aj) ONP
22v.12	þegurd	{fæyr-ð}	<i>fegrð</i>	dat.sg	<i>fegrð</i> (nc.f) ONP
17v.9	ftodugur	{støð-uy-r}	<i>støðugr</i>	pos.nom.sg.m.st	<i>støðugr</i> (aj) ONP
23r.40	þognur	{føy-noð-r}	<i>fognuðr</i>	nom.sg	<i>fognuðr</i> (nc.m) ONP

The rest of the instances (10 / 15) occur in established “-ur” abbreviations for etymological -r, (see section 5.12.2) though most of them fall within the work of scribe A.⁶³² While Svanhildur initially attributed these passages to four separate scribes, A, B, F, and H,⁶³³ this view was slightly redacted, and Svanhildur’s later conception of the scribes in *The Resourceful Scribe: Some Aspects of the Development of Reynistaðarbók (AM 764 4to)*⁶³⁴ has labelled these passages as the work of scribes a, b, h, and i. In conjunction with other features, and the similarities between these scribal hands noted elsewhere, this congruency supports the notion that these hands could be conglomerated as one and the same person, scribe α.

7.2.8 The Middle Voice Ending

As discussed in 5.13.2, the scribes of AM 764 4to almost always represent {sk₁} with “z”, with only 5 instances of unambiguous deviation from this occurring in the sample, with spellings such as “st”, “ftz”, “ftzt”, “tz”, “zt”, “dzt” all occurring once in the sample.

Three of these deviations occur between folia 6-9, which according to the data regarding several other features, has already been demarcated as noteworthy and somewhat anomalous from an orthographic perspective. The presence of deviations from the apparent rule of using “z” for {sk₁} would support the notion that these leaves the work of one particular scribe, the individual whom Svanhildur has labelled E.

The other deviations from using “z” in the sample from AM 764 4to occur on folia 26 and 43, previously attributed to scribes A / H and various scribes, respectively, by

⁶³¹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12, 17-24.

⁶³² Ibid.

⁶³³ Ibid., 12, 296-9.

⁶³⁴ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe,” 331.

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Svanhildur;⁶³⁵ notably, folia 42, which of course directly precedes 43, has been attributed to scribes A + E, which already hints at or even implicitly concedes the similarities between hands A and E. However, it will not be argued here that the scribes previously labelled A and E⁶³⁶ were the same person, but rather that they seemed to have co-operated directly, perhaps to an even higher degree than the rest of the scribes.

7.2.9 *Word-Initial b- before {(l|n|r)}*

As discussed in 5.14, there are only 10 instances of *b-* being dropped before {(l|n|r)} in the sample from *Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to*. Three of the instances of *b-* being dropped occur on folia 14-16, and Svanhildur has labelled three different hands as having worked on these three folia, as follows: B 14r1 - 14r37, H 14r37 - 15v, and A 15v - 16; note that *b-* is retained in this environment in the vast majority of instances on these three folia. Under that conception of the scribal hands, scribes B and H would have dropped the *b-* preceding {(l|n|r)} in only one instance apiece, on 14r23 and 15r18, respectively. A more likely explanation may be that scribes B, H, and A were indeed one and the same person, as the work attributed to scribes B and H is always in proximity to scribe A, who, as will be taken up later, seemed to have been the main scribe, renamed scribe α in my conception, of the manuscript.

7.2.10 *The Privative Prefix ó- / ú-*

As discussed in section 5.16, four of five of the spellings with “v” occur in close succession on folia 6-8. This area of the manuscript, which can be extended to folia 6-9, has been noted to exhibit other features which may also point to one particular scribe having handled this section. This area was initially attributed to scribes D and E by Svanhildur.⁶³⁷ This section also contains 10 / 19 of the spellings of {ú₁} with “o”. This scribe who handled this section of the manuscript could thus be then distinguished from the other scribes of the manuscript in that they prefer to spell {ú₁} with “o” (10 times), rather than with either “u” (5 times) or “v” (4 times), as it is in the majority of the rest of the manuscript. If one is to combine the “v” and “u” spellings under one category in order to account for “v” being an environmentally-conditioned variant of “u” in this to position, used to disambiguate from another “u” in the word to which it is affixed, both likely reflecting the “ú-” pronunciation rather than the “ó-” pronunciation reflected by the “o” spellings, we get a ratio of 10:9 for ó:ú spellings in this scribe’s hand. While this makes it ambiguous as to whether this scribe leaned more towards Icelandic or

⁶³⁵ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, 12, 17-24.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, 11-52.

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Norwegian in their spelling and pronunciation of the privative prefix, the fact that the majority of the “v” and “o” spellings in the sample from the manuscript occur between folia 6-9 may very well indicate that one particular scribe handled this section.

7.2.11 Concluding Observations

As outlined in the preceding analysis chapters, there is a case to be made that AM 764 4to was completed by fewer than the ten or so scribes that have been identified in previous scholarship.⁶³⁸ Though it is maintained in this study that these scribes likely worked in close co-operation, as has been remarked in past scholarship, the relationship between these scribes was previously argued to be one of more equally spread contributions, with several scribes contributing several leaves or more. The sites of shifts in scribal hands cited in this study are by and large the same as those made by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir,⁶³⁹ except of course in instances where a previously identified shift in scribal hand has not been granted, and rather, would be argued to be the same scribe working at a different time or with a newly cut pen.

Following the analysis of the previous chapters, it will be argued here that four scribes, called α , β , γ , and δ here handled the majority of the work on the manuscript, with several other hands, lying outside the scope of this project, contributing to the section of annals toward the end of the manuscript, in which changes of hands were common, reflecting the disparate times at which these sections were written. Given that this manuscript seemed to function as an account of universal history at a nunnery, it seems reasonable to argue, as has been done previously in Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir's work, that it was compiled by and for a group of female clerics, though this claim cannot be substantiated on the grounds of orthography, language, and script.

While the first gathering, leaves 1-16, is primarily the work of scribe α , several passages and folia, first the end of 5v, then folia 6-9, and then 9-12, were handled by scribes that were distinct from scribe α . Scribe α gives way to β at 5v20, while β gives way to γ on the next folio at 6r1, then δ takes over on folio 10r1, with α taking over again on folio 15v1; one can imagine this as a kind of relay exercise in which the scribes worked directly in close co-operation with one another, perhaps on the materials that they were most acquainted with from previous work. Scribe β , previously labelled C by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, was responsible for only a short passage on 5v, and seems to have been something of a guest, and perhaps not coincidentally, their apparent guest appearance occurs amidst the work of the main scribe, α , perhaps deliberately in order to highlight the importance of this guest, and their potential

⁶³⁸ Ibid., 12, 17-24; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Resourceful Scribe,” 331.

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

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connection with the main scribe of the manuscript and the ambitious project as a whole — this notion is highly speculative, however. Folia 5 and 14 have previously been cited as locations of shifts in scribal hand,⁶⁴⁰ though where Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir identifies eight hands in the first gathering, four are argued for here. As outlined in chapters five through seven, the criteria for distinguishing these hands is already minute, and thus the truth of the matter likely lies somewhere between. Whereas Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir distinguishes scribe A, B H, and I, they have been conglomerated here as scribe α ; her scribe C has survived as scribe β ; her scribes D and E have been conglomerated as γ , and in many ways these folia, 6-9, where γ is found, are one of the most interesting areas of the manuscript in terms of language, orthography, and script; scribes F and G have been combined as scribe δ .

Scribe γ has been identified on folia six through nine, and seems to have picked up directly where α , briefly followed by β 's guest appearance, left off on folio five. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has previously identified a shift in scribal hand in this area, though she cites it as the change off between scribes B and C.⁶⁴¹ As alluded to previously, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir's scribe B has been one of the previously identified hands conglomerated into α , while the work of the scribe she calls C, at the bottom of 5v, is attributed to scribe β in this study .

As discussed in chapters five through seven, folia six through nine feature some of the clearest deviations from an otherwise fairly uniform approach to language, orthography, and script in the manuscript. As such, there is a case to be made that a unique scribe handled these folia only, hence the unique distribution of features in this area of the manuscript. Scribe γ illustrates several traits in their language, orthography, and script, not entirely dissimilar from α , but in a distribution that deviates more than enough to indicate that this is a different person; from a purely qualitative point of view, the work of γ is also visually distinct from that of α or even β , though as the reader can glean, this “palaeographer's eye”⁶⁴² can also lead to different conclusions than a quantitative analysis might support. As mentioned in the discussion of the scribes of AM 573 4to, scribe δ is also likely found in that manuscript,⁶⁴³ and may well have been tasked with these sections of each of the respective manuscripts because of their expertise on the subject matter.

Some of the combinations of scribes that Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has previously identified in single folia, thus implying some co-operation or likely immediate proximity, also indirectly support the notion that some of these previously identified scribal hands should be

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

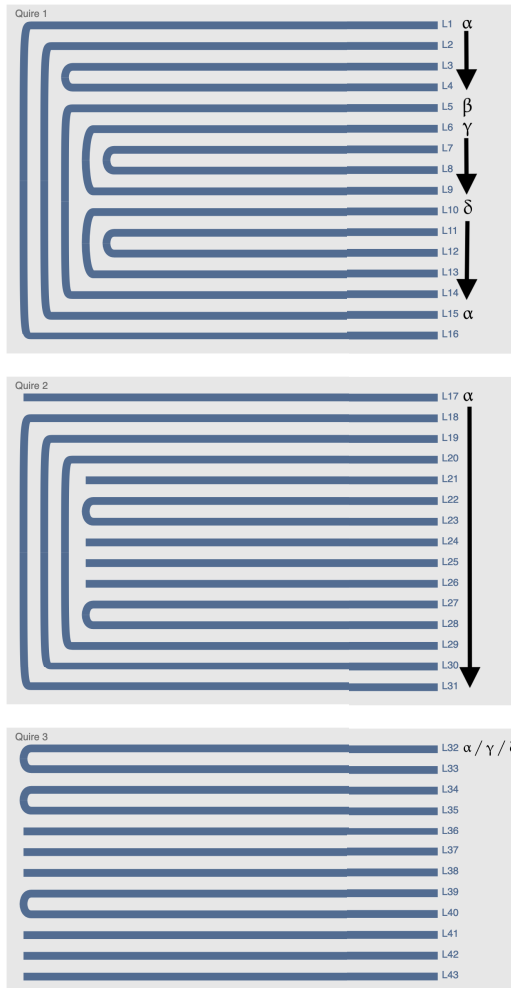
⁶⁴² Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 1-9.

⁶⁴³ Farrugia, “A Study in Scribal Identification.”

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conglomerated, rather than viewed as distinct individuals. For instance, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has identified folio 20 as the work of scribes A and F, while folio 21 is the work of F and B; folia 20-1 are bookended by folia (19 and 22) that have both been attributed to scribe A.⁶⁴⁴ The data gathered on this project, as well as Ockham's razor, suggests that these passages were the result of two scribes, α and δ trading off, rather than three scribes, A, B, and F, with B only providing a short interjection before A resumed again after F's takeover.

FIGURE VII - 3: QUIRE STRUCTURE AND SCRIBES OF AM 764 4TO



⁶⁴⁴ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 12, 17-24; "The Resourceful Scribe," 331.

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The combinations of scribes on folia fourteen and fifteen also present a similar predicament. While Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir has labelled folio fourteen as a co-operation between scribes B and H, and fifteen as the work of H and A,⁶⁴⁵ the distributions of features discussed in previous sections suggests that these previously identified scribes may be one and the same person. The work variously attributed to scribes A, B, H, and I have all been deemed too similar to one another on quantitative grounds to be considered the work of different people, even though there are some differences in appearance and ductus across the sections attributed to these various hypothetical scribes. As such, folia fourteen and fifteen, which have also been interpreted as the work of three scribes by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir,⁶⁴⁶ can also be interpreted as one scribe working at different times, perhaps under different light, in a slightly different position, or with different pens.

The scribes that have been identified on this study, relative to those identified by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, can be summarised as follows, with the scribes that Svanhildur has previously identified on the left of the equations in Latin letters, while the scribes identified in this study are on the right, represented by Greek letters:

$$A + B + H + I + J = \alpha$$

$$C = \beta$$

$$D + E = \gamma$$

$$F + G = \delta$$

7.3 The Scribes of AM 573 4to

7.3.1 Context

In previous scholarship on this manuscript, it has been predominantly only ever been two scribes that have been identified in AM 573 4to. While the manuscript contains two major texts, *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*, as well as the brief introduction (one folio) of a third one, *Valvens Þáttr*, and two scribal hands have been identified in multiple pieces of scholarship,⁶⁴⁷ the supposed break in the scribal hands occurs in a somewhat unexpected, perhaps even unconventional place: partway through the second text, *Breta sögur*, on folio 24, rather than at the end of the first text, *Trójumanna saga*, which is not until 45v.

As the manuscript was subject to dis- and later re-assembly during the early modern period, the potentiality that this process involved stitching an altogether different redaction of

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁷ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version*; Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna saga*.

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Breta sögur onto the otherwise incomplete text of the initial portion of the manuscript was investigated. The bottom of 45v contains the note, written in an Early Modern hand, “Hèr tekr við fragm. membr. Bibl. reg. Thott. 1763 4to”,⁶⁴⁸ alluding to the fact that, as mentioned in the description of the manuscript in chapter two, this latter portion of the manuscript, beginning on 46r, was once separate from the rest of the manuscript, and thus had a different shelf mark, Thott. 1763 4to, until the reassembly of AM 573 4to. While the scribal hands appear somewhat strikingly different, the ruling and pricking are essentially the same, though the text block on 46r occupies 27 ruled lines, mirroring the number of used lines on the previous folio (45), though the initial portion of the manuscript typically was ruled for 33 lines of text. Curiously, folia 46-63 typically feature about 27 lines of text, though the folia themselves have been ruled for about 33 lines of text, suggesting that these folia were either ruled and pricked at the same time as the first portion of the manuscript, perhaps reflecting the first scribe’s intention to see the project through, or that the later scribe (B) made some effort to mirror the format of the earlier portion of the manuscript. Though the scribal hands are quite different, looking at the manuscript from a purely codicological perspective suggests that these once-dismembered sections of the manuscript are not together simply through an act of Early Modern intervention, but rather this reflected a direct link between the production of these sections during the fourteenth century.

The two scribes responsible for the writing of this manuscript have been discussed previously in this study, and will continue to be called A and B here. However, it has also been suggested that AM 573 4to was the work of three rather than two scribes; this claim would not affect the notion that a single scribe completed folia 46-63, but it would have some ramifications for the notion that the first portion of the manuscript, folia 1-45 was the work of a singular individual. Svanhildur has suggested that a second (resulting in the scribe previously called the ‘second’ i.e scribe “B” becoming the ‘third’, in terms of the order of the sections of the manuscript) scribe took over from the first on folia 24.⁶⁴⁹ In order to avoid ambiguity, the nomenclature for the previously mentioned hypothetical scribes A and B will be maintained, with this other identified scribal hand, identified between folia 24 and 46, taking on the name Z. According to this split, scribe A would have begun *Trójumanna saga* (folia 1-23), scribe Z would have completed it and begun *Breta sögur* (folia 24-45), and scribe B would have contributed the latter portion of *Breta sögur* (folia 46-63) Referencing the EMROON data, these various conceptions of the scribal hands will be taken up in the ensuing sections, as well

⁶⁴⁸ “Here starts fragm. membr. Bibl. reg. Thott. 1763 4to.” Translation by the present author.

⁶⁴⁹ This potentiality was mentioned in an email correspondence, and to my knowledge, is not a view that Svanhildur has published on. Any failings to represent this potentiality accurately are my own.

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as their relationship with the hands of AM 764 4to, as the hypothetical scribes A, B, and Z of AM 573 4to likely have some overlap with the scribes of AM 764 4to.

Dating this manuscript provides some particular challenges, as it has been suggested that the portion completed by the second scribe, called B on this study, 46r-63v, was removed in time by as much as several decades from the work of the first scribe; Stefán Karlsson wrote that the first portion of the manuscript was written in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, while the second portion dated to somewhere between 1330 and 1370.⁶⁵⁰ This notion that the latter half of the manuscript, which is very much a continuation of the first half of the manuscript, could be labelled as the earlier work will be addressed in this section.

7.3.2 {æ} before {n(g|k)}

The first portion of the manuscript, folia 1-45, features 84% diphthongal spellings, while the latter portion, folia 45-63 only 54.5%. This is a marked difference, and the scribe of the second portion of the manuscript was much more conservative regarding the spelling of this feature, as the 54.5% majority still indicates that they had a diphthong in their language in this position. There are no patterns that emerge regarding this feature that indicate that two scribes with differing practices handled the first portion of the manuscript.

7.3.3 *The Indefinite Pronoun engi*

As in AM 764 4to, the general rule was to use the *eng*- stem for the nominative singular (all genders), as well as the neuter nominative plural, while the *öng(v)*- stem appeared in all other forms, as was common in Icelandic manuscripts of this period.⁶⁵¹ However, forms with the *öng(v)*- stem are far less common in the latter portion of AM 573 4to, in which they always feature a spelling with “au”, which is rare in the first portion of the manuscript, folia 1-45.

7.3.4 *The Fricativization of Unstressed k > g*

The feature *k > g* in unstressed syllables, discussed in a general sense in section 5.10, and in the context of AM 764 4to in section 7.2.5, can be used to distinguish the scribes that have previously been identified in the manuscript. The first of the scribes, scribe A, preferred spellings suggesting a stop, with {k} being spelled with “k” after {i} (the unstressed vowel in the pronouns *mik*, *bik*, *sik*)⁶⁵² in 27 / 38 instances (71% stop spellings). Conversely, scribe B

⁶⁵⁰ Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-8.

⁶⁵¹ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 323.

⁶⁵² <http://emroon.no/info/info-graph.html>

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preferred a fricative spelling, using “g” 7/10 times (70% fricative spellings). Both scribes always spelled *ek* and *ok* with stops, while the second scribe always wrote *mjoġk* with a fricative, and the first scribe did so in 90% of instances. As such, the second, likely later scribe, was more innovative in terms of their orthographic representation of this feature. In terms of this feature, there are no patterns that would suggest the presence of a different scribe on folia 24-46, i.e scribe Z.

7.3.5 The Representation of Etymological Dental Fricatives in Non-initial Position

In a related environment to the fricativization of $t > \delta$, discussed in the next section, and indeed with very similar search criteria on EMROON, the scribes of AM 573 4to distinguish themselves in their spelling of the etymological dental fricative δ in the environment $\{V(\delta|n|) * \} + \{\delta\}$. The first portion of the manuscript, folia 1-45, that is tentatively attributed to scribes A and Z, features 5% reverse spellings with “t”, and 8% of spellings with “p”; otherwise, “d” is used. Conversely, the latter part of the manuscript, attributed to scribe B, does not feature “p” at all in this position, but rather “ð” in 35% of instances and 20% reverse spellings with “t”, predominantly in 2nd plural preterite verbal endings.

7.3.6 The Fricativization of Unstressed $t > \delta$

As discussed in section 5.9, orthographic representation of the fricativization of $t > \delta$ in unstressed positions can be useful in differentiating scribes.

In the first portion of the manuscript, $\{t\}$ following $\{V(\delta|n|) * \}$ is most commonly (63.9%) spelled with “d”, indicating a fricative. There are 88 relevant examples of this sound environment in this section of the sample, with 65% of these being fricative spellings (using “d” or “p”). If one is to look closer at the distribution of fricative to stop spellings, so as to accommodate the possibility that the second half of scribe A’s work was actually carried out by scribe Z, no meaningful patterns can be inferred from this feature alone, perhaps other than that scribe Z would have seemed to favour fricative spellings slightly more than scribe A; scribe A has a 15:17 ratio of fricative to stop spellings, while scribe Z would have a 42:14 ratio. In one instance, on 25r31, the scribe has spelled sound position $\{t\}$ with “p”, perhaps indicating a conservative orthographic convention that none of the other scribes employed; nor did this same scribe do so in the rest of the sample.

TABLE VII - 7: OLDER T SPELLED WITH “P” ON FOLIO 25 OF AM 573 4TO:

25r.31	buiþ	{bú-in-t}	búit	búa (vb.a) ONP
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Interestingly enough, this anomalous form occurring on 25r would make some sort of sense if this were indeed a new scribe taking over; scribe Z is alleged to have taken over on

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24v, when *Breta sögur* begins, and only two instances of $\{V(\partial|n|-)*\} + \{t\}$ occur on 24v, both of which also indicate a fricative, but are spelled with “d” rather than “þ”.

In stark contrast, the sample from the latter portion of the manuscript (folia 46-63) features 84% stop spellings with “t”. As with some of the other criteria, the predominantly conservative spellings of this portion of the manuscript in this context distinguish them from the other scribe(s) of the manuscript. As this scribe spells $\{t\}$ following $\{V(\partial|n|-)*\}$ with “d” or “ð” (but never with “þ”, as in the first portion of the manuscript or AM 764 4to) 16% of instances, one can infer that this scribe pronounced a fricative in their spoken language in this environment, yet elected to use more conservative spellings.

7.3.7 *The Diphthongisation of é*

In line with the scribes of AM 764 4to (46% diphthongal spellings), scribe A of AM 573 4to writes é as a diphthong in 41% of instances, contrasting the much more conservative practice of scribe B, who exhibits only 4% diphthongal spellings. Scribe B also occasionally employs “é” to spell é, though this character still likely represented a monophthong in this period.

7.3.8 *The Epenthetic Vowel Preceding -r*

As taken up in 5.12, there are but a few instances of circumstantial evidence for the presence of an epenthetic vowel in the environment (Cr), or rather $\{C-?\} + \{r\}$, as it is expressed in EMROON. These instances all belong to the previously identified hypothetical scribes A and Z, as, they all occur within the first thirty-one folia of the manuscript, with no instances of even circumstantial evidence of this change in the hand of scribe B. As two of the four instances of circumstantial evidence respectively belong to scribes A and Z, no clear distinction can be made between these two hypothetical scribes on this feature alone. However, scribe B is the obvious outlier, and despite the presence of younger features in some of their work, they display a very conservative approach to the orthographic representation of this feature. As with other features, Scribe B could be said to be not only distinct from scribes A and Z, but also likely more conservative overall, although they were likely younger and removed in time from the work on the manuscript carried out by the other scribe(s).

7.3.9 *The Middle Voice Ending*

As noted in 5.13.3, the middle voice ending, $\{sk_1\}$, is represented by “z” in the overwhelming majority of instances in AM 573 4to. In the first section of the manuscript, folia 1-45, there are some deviations from this rule, with the “zt” spelling appearing four times. All of these instances appear on or before folio 18, so they may be used as circumstantial support for the

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notion that scribe Z, who according to this conception, used exclusively “z”, took over from scribe A on or before folio 24. However, this criterion is not significant enough in itself to demarcate scribal hands.

While the latter portion of the manuscript, folia 46-63, is distinct from the earlier portion of the manuscript with regard to several other orthographic features, the denotation of the {sk_i} ending is not one of them. This portion of the manuscript also features almost exclusively “z” in this position, with only one deviation, a single use of the “st” spelling on 61r6.

Though the deviations from using “z” are few, their presence and distribution in the manuscript could be used to support the previously made demarcation of scribes A, Z, and B, though it must be stressed that this criterion cannot be taken as conclusive on its own, and will be correlated with other criteria later.

7.3.10 The Privative Prefix ó-/ú

In the latter portion of the manuscript, folia 46-63, spellings with “v” are favoured, as 9 of 12 of these spellings in the whole sample occur in this section. The other 3 instances of these spellings with “v” could be attributed to scribe A, on folio 18, while it can also be noted that spellings with “u” only begin to surface on folio 24. This could be considered circumstantial evidence of a distinction between scribe A and Z, as we could say that scribe A employed a mix of “o” and “v”, while scribe Z employed “o” and “u” in a nearly equal distribution.

Regarding this feature, scribe B is then again the outlier, as they spell {ú_i} in three varying ways, although in a somewhat revealing distribution: “o” 6 times, “u” 4 times, and “v” 9 times. If we are to take “u” and “v” spellings together (as their complementary distribution is dependent on context), perhaps reflecting the more Norwegian *ú-* prefix and pronunciation, then we get a 6:13 ration of *ó:ú* spellings, suggesting that scribe B leaned more heavily to this variant than the other scribe(s), and that they were also more wont to spell the privative prefix with a “v”.

7.3.11 The Letter ð

The sporadic use of the character “ð” in the latter portion of the manuscript, folia 46-63, indicate that a distinct scribe handled this section. While the scribe also uses “ð” or “ð” to represent /d/ or /ð/, they somewhat frequently use “ð” to represent /ð/, especially when /d/ or /ð/ appear in the same word, such as in *dauðr*:

TABLE VII - 8: D AND Ð USED IN THE SAME WORD ON 48R OF AM 573 4TO:

48r3	ðauð2	{dauð-r}	<i>dauðr</i>
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7.3.12 *The Use of the Round “z”*

As discussed in section 6.2, the conservative use of the letter “z” in the latter portion, folia 46-63, of AM 573 4to makes it markedly distinct from the earlier portion, folia 1-45, as well as from the even more advanced use of the character in AM 764 4to. With the exception of a small minority of instances after “a” (0.3%) and “y” (7.7%) “z” only appears after bowled characters in this latter portion of the manuscript. In total, the z rotunda appears after nine characters in the latter portion of the manuscript compared with the twelve in the former portion, and the character is generally far less frequent. This distribution, along with several other features, suggest that a different scribe, likely associated with a different milieu, handled this section, and that their work on the manuscript may have been significantly chronologically removed — either because the scribe was older but working contemporaneously, or they were simply working in a later decade — from the previous work on the manuscript.

7.3.13 *Concluding Observations*

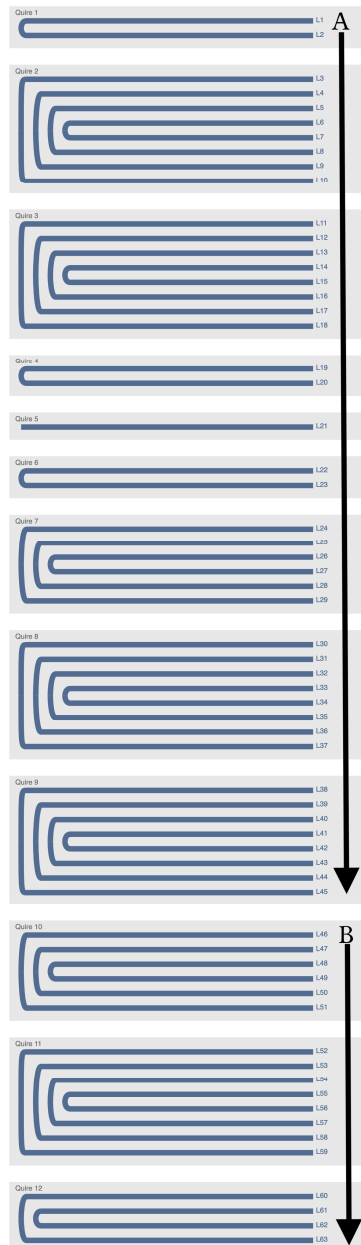
The data presented in chapters five and six and subsequently reviewed here supports the notion that it was two scribes that were responsible for AM 573 4to. While the hypothetical designations of A, Z, and B have been used to this point, a review of the data suggests that scribe A handled folia 1-45, while B handled 46-63; along the parameters set in this study, there is not enough evidence to claim that there was another scribe, Z, involved.

The manuscript may have begun as the work of scribe A, who wrote folia 1-45, while scribe B took over on folia 46, under uncertain circumstances, with not only the appearance and ductus of the script changing markedly from the earlier portion of the manuscript, but also with the language, orthography, script, and symbol inventory shifting. However, the respective shifts of orthography, language, and script do not move in the same direction; while the language and orthography of scribe B are generally more innovative than that of A, their script and inventory of symbols are more conservative, which if one were to look at palaeographic features alone, may lead them to conclude that this younger portion of the manuscript (the codex is collated in such a way that makes it virtually impossible for folia 46 to have been completed before 45, unless the scribe deliberately left a large section of the gathering preceding their work blank) was in fact older. While that claim was never fleshed out further in previous scholarship, this relationship, of the latter portion of the manuscript possibly being older, was in fact noted by Stefán Karlsson,⁶⁵³ albeit in a cursory way.

⁶⁵³ Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-8.

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FIGURE VII - 4: QUIRE STRUCTURE
AND SCRIBES OF AM 573 4TO



Given that scribe B exhibits more innovative and younger linguistic and orthographic features, yet is more conservative in terms of the script and symbol inventory, this scribe was likely younger than the main scribe that began work on the manuscript, scribe A, and as

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mentioned above, likely active in a different milieu, and the scribes were likely also taught their craft by different masters. Scribe B's relatively conservative script may also suggest a lack of experience and a need to follow their exemplar more closely, other than in instances when the language of the exemplar would have been excessively archaic relative to the spoken language of the scribe. As discussed in 7.4, this scribe does not adhere to many of the inferred norms that the other identified scribes seemed to adhere to, albeit to varying degrees. The language and orthography of scribe B is, according to several parameters but not others, notably younger than that of scribe A, such that the notion that these scribes worked as much as several decades apart could be supported by this metric. However, from a practical perspective, it is difficult to conjecture the circumstances surrounding a manuscript being left unfinished for several decades, especially considering the intense co-operation and planning that must have gone into AM 764 4to, which was of course, likely the work of at least one of the same scribes, and has significant overlap in terms of texts, themes, and genres. In other words, if AM 764 4to was a significant undertaking that involved several scribes directly collaborating within a limited window of time, then a similar manuscript, namely AM 573 4to, going unfinished for several decades would seem incredibly anomalous, or at least indicative of a shift in priorities and workflow among the milieu.

A more likely scenario, then, would be that scribe B took over from scribe A under less than ideal circumstances; perhaps scribe A died or was reassigned, and the work on this manuscript had to be resumed in the middle of a text — *Breta sögur*, in this case. From a textual perspective, the exemplar of *Breta sögur* used by scribe B was either the same as that used by scribe A, or so similar in structure, content, and theme that the differences between them were only linguistic, orthographic, and palaeographic, although a closer look at the phrasing and word choice, tracking the *Überlieferungsgeschichte* more closely, could be a direction of future work on this issue. As noted before, scribe B differs significantly from scribe A along these linguistic, orthographic, and palaeographic features, though the tone and structure of the text itself does not change when this shift in scribal hands occurs.

As investigated in an earlier study along quantitative lines,⁶⁵⁴ scribe A of AM 573 4to seems to be one and the same person as scribe δ from AM 764 4to; congruencies with regard to specific features are outlined in that study. Both A and δ , who have both been argued to be distinct scribal hands within the respective manuscripts, also bear more than enough in common, even relative to the other, often very similar scribal hands, to be considered the work of the same person, albeit at different points in their career, and serving a different role in the workflow surrounding the production of these respective codices.

⁶⁵⁴ Farrugia, "A Study in Scribal Identification."

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7.4 Shared Scribes and the Norm of the Reynistaður Milieu

7.4.1 Context

In this section, congruencies found across both manuscripts will be stated in order to define what the ‘rules’ or norm governing the milieu that produced AM 764 4to and the first portion of AM 573 4to may have been, based on inference from the data discussed up to this point. Instances in which the scribes represent a linguistic feature in a particular, often more novel, manner in a large majority of instances will be considered indications of agreement between the spoken language i.e linguistic norm of the scribes and their writing i.e scribal norm. As discussed in section 2.3, 4.2, and 4.3 in particular, the concept of a norm is used here to denote tendencies, perhaps even rules, in the written work, and in the case of some features, perhaps even the spoken language of the scribes. As most of the scribes examined in this study were likely co-operating to varying degrees, their norm will by extension carry some implications in terms of geographic delineation, though it is not argued here that the norm of the scribes inferred here could be interpreted as something approximating a definition of the dialect of medieval Reynistaður.

7.4.2 Diphthongization *e > ei* before *-ng / -nk*

Across both manuscripts, spellings suggesting a diphthong in this position are far more common than those indicating a monophthong (97.6% diphthongal spellings in AM 764 4to and 84% in the first portion of AM 573 4to), other than in the latter part of AM 573 4to, likely done by a scribe from another milieu, or at an earlier time, in which the spellings occur in about a 1:1 distribution. Circumstantially, this latter practice would be more in keeping with the practice of Möðruvallabók AM 132 fol. and an associated milieu, in which monophthongal spellings are far more common than diphthongal ones.⁶⁵⁵

7.4.3 The Demonstrative Pronoun *sjá / þessi*

The scribes of AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to are relatively consistent in their employment of the *sjá / þessi* paradigm. Scribe γ of AM 764 4to featured an alternation of *sjá / þessi* forms in the nominative singular masculine and feminine forms in their work on folia 6-9, while otherwise *þessi* forms are uniform in this form. Other younger side forms, in the feminine dative singular: *þessi > þessar(r)i* and feminine genitive singular: *þessar > þessar(r)ar*, also occur sporadically, though in AM 573 they are restricted to the work of scribe B. Overall, the distribution of forms indicates that older *sjá* forms were on their way out of the scribes’ written norm and likely also spoken language.

⁶⁵⁵ de Leeuw van Weenen, *A Grammar of Möðruvallabók*, 63-4.

7.4.4 The Indefinite Pronoun *engi*

As discussed in section 5.7 and 7.3.3 the scribes of AM 764 4to and AM 573 employ two different stems for the indefinite pronoun *engi*, namely the *e(i)ng-* stem and the side form *øng(v)-* stem. Across both manuscripts, the rule that it is almost always followed seems to have been to use the *eng-* stem for masculine and feminine nominative singular and in the neuter genitive singular and nominative and accusative plural forms; the *øng(v)-* stem predominates in all other forms.

7.4.5 The Fricativization of Unstressed *k > g*

The scribes of AM 764 4to and AM 573 tended to spell {k} as a stop, with “k”, following {i1} in the pronouns *mik*, *þik*, and *sik*, though spellings suggesting a fricative with “g” or “gh” occur about one third of the time in this position (35% in AM 764 4to and 37.5% in AM 573 4to). However, when the data for AM 573 4to is segmented to reflect the disparate sections, the first portion (folia 1-45) features 29% fricative spellings, very much in line with the 35% of the scribes of AM 764 4to, while the latter portion (folia 46-63) features 70% fricative spellings, displaying a much more innovative orthography.

The lemma *ek* is almost always spelled with a stop in AM 764 4to, with the seven exceptions (8% fricative spellings) in AM 764 4to having already been attributed to a single scribe in the work of Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir.⁶⁵⁶ Somewhat curiously, *ek* is only spelled with a stop in the sample from AM 573 4to, indicating that while the scribes of this manuscript were likely from different milieus, they adopted the same orthographic convention for this particular word in the manuscript, though it must be pointed out that *ek* is also spelled with a stop in 92% of instances in AM 764 4to. However, this is likely due to the lexical distribution of the underlying change.

The lemma *mjǫk* is generally spelled as a fricative in AM 764 4to, 66% of instances, though half of these seem to be the work of a single scribe, appearing in close succession on folia 6-9. In AM 573 4to, the latter portion of the manuscript features solely fricative spellings, and the former portion 90%. Considering that, by contrast, *ek* is spelled uniformly with a stop, this distribution would seem to indicate that while the relevant phonological change was underway or perhaps even complete in the language of the scribe(s), orthographic reflection of the change in their written norm may have been limited to particular words as the change progressed.

⁶⁵⁶ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History,” 12, 17-24.

7.4.6 The Representation of {ð} in Unstressed Positions

As discussed in sections 5.11 and 7.3.5, the scribes differ in their spelling of {ð}. In AM 764 4to, and the first portion of AM 573 4to, the tendency was for the scribes to use the letter “þ” for {ð} in instances in which a word featured multiple instances of {ð}, such as *smíðaðr*, or in words that featured both a dental stop and a dental fricative, such as *andaðisk*. This tendency does not seem to have been practiced in AM 573 4to, as the first portion of the manuscript, folia 1-45, rarely features “þ” in this position, and when it does, it seems to be used as a manner of spelling the dental preterite marker rather than strictly a means of differentiating from other dental consonants in the same word, as in AM 764 4to. Conversely, the latter portion of the manuscript, folia 46-63, often features “ð”, but never “þ” in this position, indicating a conservative orthographic practice on the part of the scribe, as their work must have taken place after the former portion of the manuscript was complete, situating them somewhere in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

Additionally, while the first portion of AM 573 4to (folia 1-45) has 8% “þ” spellings and 5% reverse spellings with “t” in this environment, reflecting the 8% “þ” spellings and 3% of “t” spellings in AM 764 4to, the latter portion of AM 573 4to (folia 46-63) is the outlier in terms of scribal practice regarding this feature, as it has 20% reverse spellings with “t”, 0% “þ” spellings, yet 35% of spellings with “ð”.

7.4.7 The Fricativization of Unstressed $t > ð$

In a related environment, the scribes are also fairly united in their representation of the change $t > ð$ in unstressed positions. In general, the scribes favour spellings indicating a fricative, with 63% fricative spellings in AM 764 4to and 65% in the first portion of AM 573 4to. Conversely, scribe B of AM 573 4to is an outlier, perhaps reflecting their link with another scribal milieu, as they spell unstressed {t} as a stop in 84% of instances. Even though they constitute a minority, the fricative spellings suggest that the scribe pronounced a fricative in this environment, but opted for a more conservative orthographic practice, delineating them from the more uniform practice adopted by the scribes of AM 764 4to and the first portion of AM 573 4to.

7.4.8 The Merging of $\acute{e} + \acute{o} > \text{æ}$

As discussed in chapters four and five, the merging of $\acute{e} + \acute{o} > \text{æ}$, which involves sound positions {ø} and {ǣ} on EMROON, can serve as a vital criterion in the localisation and dating of Old West Norse manuscripts. The scribes are uniform in their representation of this feature, and all instances of these sound environments suggest that \acute{e} and \acute{o} had fully merged in

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the language of the scribes. There is not a single instance in the samples from either AM 764 4to or AM 573 4to that suggests that a round vowel remained present in words that contained {*ø*}, nor are there any instances of a scribe attempting, and failing, to distinguish *é* and *ø* by spelling earlier *é* as a round vowel. Though it is not surprising that these vowels had merged in the language of these Icelandic scribes of the fourteenth century, it is significant, in that the complete lack of evidence of any attempt to distinguish these vowels significantly weakens any case for these manuscripts being prepared by Norwegians or for export to Norway; as discussed in section 4.2, Icelandic scribes would often attempt to distinguish these vowels in codices intended for a Norwegian audience, yet would typically betray their Icelandic origins in their inconsistent differentiation between two vowels, *é* and *ø*, which remain distinct in Norwegian.⁶⁵⁷

7.4.9 The *vá* > *vo* Change (Diphthongization of *á*)

As outlined in section 5.2, the “*vá*” > “*vo*” orthographic change,⁶⁵⁸ which resulted from the phonological change of the the vowel /*á*/, which resulted from the merging of etymological /*á*/ and the vowel /*ǫ*/, a rounded form of /*á*/ that arose through u-umlaut, beginning to diphthongize during the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century,⁶⁵⁹ does not surface at all in either AM 764 4to or AM 573 4to. While a negative cannot be considered a result, per se, this situation is perhaps telling, in that the two earliest attestations of this change of “*o*” for “*ó*” for etymological *á* following *v* are indeed from the Skagafjörður area, with the spelling “*svo*” for *svá* appearing in a charter from 1311, and the spelling “*hafnarvodum*” *hafnarváðum* appearing in a letter written in Hólar in Hjaltadalur in 1341.⁶⁶⁰ This situation has several potential implications, not least for dating the manuscripts, though that matter will be addressed more directly in 7.5. In terms of localisation, the absence of spellings indicating this change could suggest that the language of the scribes had not been affected by the diphthongization of /*á*/, or that they were united in simply *not* spelling that vowel in that particular way in that environment; i.e. that this was one of the orthographic ‘house rules’ in the milieu in which they worked. It is admittedly odd that several scribes that were likely active in the Skagafjörður area during the fourteenth century — the precise context in which the earliest evidence for this change emerges — did not reflect it in their orthography.

⁶⁵⁷ Arne Torp, “Fonologi,” 157-8.

⁶⁵⁸ cf. Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 153.

⁶⁵⁹ Hreinn Benediktsson, “Relational Sound Change: *vá* > *vo* in Icelandic,” 231-2; Stefán Karlsson, *The Icelandic Language*, 14; Björn K. Þórolfsson, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld*, xi-xii.

⁶⁶⁰ Hreinn Benediktsson, “Relational Sound Change: *vá* > *vo* in Icelandic,” 231-2; cf. Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 155.

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7.4.10 *The Diphthongisation of é*

The practice exhibited in AM 764 4to is in line with that of the first portion of AM 573 4to; in AM 764 4to, *é* is spelled as a diphthong in 46% of instances, and 41% of instances in the first portion of AM 573 4to. Additionally, the form *gekk* retains a monophthong while *fekk* features a diphthong. This distribution contrasts with that found in the latter portion of AM 573 4to, in which *é* is spelled as a diphthong in only 4% of instances, and is not encountered in the forms *gekk* and *fekk*. Again, this congruence between AM 764 4to and the first portion of AM 573 4to indicates that these scribes were of the same milieu.

7.4.11 *The Epenthetic Vowel Preceding Word-Final -r*

As outlined in section 5.12, the epenthetic vowel can be an important feature in the localisation and dating of West Norse manuscripts. As was the case with the “*vá*” > “*vo*” orthographic change, all of the hypothetical scribes are relatively united in the way that they represent this feature. As with the previously outlined feature, the novel variant, in this case *-ur* where we previously would have encountered *-r*, may have been known and perhaps even part of the language of some of the scribes. As discussed in 5.12, 7.2.8, and 7.3.8, spellings of *-r* that imply the presence of an epenthetic vowel are rare across the samples from AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to, suggesting that though an epenthetic vowel in this position was likely known to the scribes, likely appearing in other codices with which they were familiar, or perhaps featuring in the spoken language of some of them, it was typical of this milieu to spell *-r* simply as “*r*”. Though some of the scribes, namely α of AM 764 4to and A of AM 573 4to, deviated from this occasionally, accounting for the small minority of spellings that imply the presence of an epenthetic vowel, the orthographic principles, written norm, or ‘house rules’ that the scribes were working under seem to have mandated the more conservative spelling of this feature, regardless of the what the phonological reality may have been.

7.4.12 *The Middle Voice Ending*

As outlined in section 5.13, the scribes of both AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to represent the middle voice ending with “*z*” in the vast majority of instances, situating this manuscript chronologically somewhere before the turn of the fifteenth century. As discussed in sections 7.2.9 and 7.3.9, the deviations from the rule of using “*z*” in this position can aid in the demarcation of scribal hands, though it seems, as a rule, these scribes used “*z*”, with the younger forms “*st*” and “*zt*” occurring sporadically, likely foreshadowing the eventual change in orthographic convention regarding this feature.

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7.4.13 Word-Initial *b-* Preceding *l*, *n*, and *r*

While *b-* is generally retained preceding *l*, *n*, and *r* in both manuscripts, it is lost 5.4% of instances in AM 764 4to and 3.2% in the first portion of AM 573 4to. This indicates that some of the scribes of this milieu occasionally dropped the *b-* in this position, likely in their orthography only, while the majority of the others did not. Though they were likely of a different milieu, the second scribe, B, of AM 573 4to, never dropped the *b-* in this position.

7.4.14 The Privative Prefix

The scribes of both AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to favoured spelling the privative prefix, {ú₁}, as *ú-*, either with “u”, or “v” preceding another “u”. Spellings with “o” also appear, though they are in a clear minority, especially if we were to consider “u” and “v” as variation in graphs under the same graph type \u\, as the opposition between “u” and “v” does not reflect any kind of phonological distinction in this particular context. With these trends in mind, the milieu responsible for the production of AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to clearly preferred, perhaps due to either their spoken language or the orthographic principles taught or mandated by their institution, the privative prefix *ú-*, more typical of Old Norwegian than the more typically Old Icelandic *ó-*.⁶⁶¹

7.5 Summarising Remarks - Dating and Order of Production

While both AM 573 4to and Reynistaðarbók AM 764 4to were the product of multiple scribes, most of whom belonged to the same milieu and may have co-operated on other projects, the circumstances surrounding their production were likely quite different. As outlined in previous sections, AM 573 4to features a noteworthy disparity in the apparent age of the orthography, script, language, and symbol inventory used by the scribes A and B. It has of course been suggested that another scribe, Z, also worked on this manuscript, though, as already addressed, the quantitative data from EMROON does not seem to support the notion that A and Z were different people, owing to their excessive similarity along certain parameters. As such, AM 573 4to is, in this context, a manuscript that was scribed by two people who differed notably along the orthographic, linguistic and palaeographic criteria investigated in this study. AM 764 4to on the other hand, was the product of a group of co-operating scribes .

AM 573 4to seems to have begun as the work of scribe A, who was able to copy much of *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*, likely around the middle of the fourteenth century, circa

⁶⁶¹ Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I.*, 46-7; Haraldur Bernharðsson, *Icelandic: A Historical Linguistic Companion*, 437-9.

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1350-70. For unknown reasons, this manuscript was not finished, and perhaps scribe A was reassigned or died before their work could be finished. The orthography and script of scribe A of AM 573 4to indicates an older provenance than AM 764 4to — even the sections attributed to them as scribe γ — so the work on AM 573 4to either took place *before* AM 764 4to, or a more archaic exemplar was used for AM 573 4to. It is also plausible that as the scribe was more comfortable and experienced by the time they worked on AM 764 4to, their personal language and norm shone through to a greater extent, exhibiting fewer archaisms.

In this interim period while AM 573 4to lay unfinished, the work on AM 764 4to may have begun, an ambitious project led by scribe α . Owing to their experience, scribe A of AM 573 4to also participated in the production of AM 764 4to, though this time as a contributor, as scribe γ , rather than the as the main scribe. Their involvement in AM 764 4to may well have taken priority over their work on AM 573 4to. AM 764 4to, while being the product of multiple scribes, almost uniformly displays more innovative language and younger script than the first portion of AM 573 4to, suggesting that AM 764 4to was completed around 1375, likely in a relatively short period of time considering the apparent direct collaboration of multiple scribes. Considering the younger language yet more conservative script and symbol inventory of scribe B of AM 573 4to, the latter section of the manuscript completed by this scribe, folia 46-63, may have been completed after AM 764 4to, likely removed by some years, circa 1375. Taken together, this means that the respective work of scribes A and B on AM 573 4to may have been removed from each other by as much as thirty years.

8 - Concluding Remarks

8.1 The Scribes of AM 764 4to

As Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir foreshadowed in her identification of scribe A across large disparate portions of the manuscript,⁶⁶² a single scribe, in this study called α , has been attributed with the lion's share of the writing of this codex. Owing to the congruencies in orthography, language, and script discussed in chapters five through seven, the 'scribal fingerprint' of this single hypothetical scribe, α , can be found in large passages of the manuscript, though their work is interrupted several times by more minor scribes, who among other professional scribes, may have included the mark of literate guests at the institution, who may have been provided the opportunity to contribute to the manuscript. Scribe α completed the majority of the manuscript, and given that their scribal fingerprint can be found across multiple gatherings and in various sections of the manuscript (even accounting for the fact that Árni Magnússon collected AM 764 4to in multiple pieces from various places), this scribe can be called the main scribe of the manuscript. While the precise impetus for making this manuscript, as well as the circumstances surrounding its inception will remain a mystery, one can infer from the ubiquitous presence of scribe α that AM 764 4to, was, in some sense, *their* project, at least insofar that they did the bulk of the scribing. If we grant the claim made here that scribe α wrote the majority of the manuscript — and also took over from or bookended the work of scribes who were working under them who were potentially also less experienced — then it seems only reasonable to also suggest that this scribe was tasked with overseeing the production of the manuscript, perhaps owing to their experience or level of familiarity with the learned materials of this manuscript. In their role as the main scribe and likely practical leader of the project of writing this codex, scribe α , directly co-operated with at least the three other significant scribes in this manuscript, scribes β , γ , and δ . As such, their orthography, language, and script may well have influenced that of the other scribes working on this manuscript, as one can conjecture that this main scribe would have wielded influence on the scribes working under them. However, this manuscript was very much a team effort, as the hands of α , γ , and δ all carried out notable work in the manuscript.

8.2 The Scribes of AM 573 4to

The analysis undertaken in chapters five through seven supports the notion that it was two scribes that completed AM 573 4to, concurring with the most commonly held conception of

⁶⁶² Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, "Universal History," 12, 17-24.

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the scribes in previous scholarship.⁶⁶³ While it may well be possible that this manuscript was completed by three scribes rather than two,⁶⁶⁴ the quantitative analysis on this project does not support such a conclusion. Thus, this manuscript has been conceived of as having two scribes: A, who completed folia 1-45, and B, who completed folia 46-63. The possible third scribe (who would in fact become the ‘second’ scribe, displacing B to the position of the third scribe, if their presence in this manuscript was argued for here) was investigated across folia 24-45, and as folia 25 features the textual division between *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*, this would make a certain kind of sense in terms of where scribes may have wanted to switch off their duties; this hypothetical third scribe was called Z in previous chapters.

As discussed in chapter three, both the age and the level of experience of the scribes likely shaped their orthography, script, and level of faithfulness to their exemplar; while the phonology of their actual language would, to various degrees, reveal itself in their spellings, and thus younger scribes might tend to have more innovative orthographic conventions, their script could well be more conservative, reflecting their inexperience in the craft. Thus, in the case of AM 573 4to, scribe B may have been the younger or more novice scribe, perhaps given the unenvied task of completing a manuscript that a more experienced scribe had already written the majority of. Though their language often appears younger, resulting in a more liberal orthography in this section of the manuscript, this is not an entirely consistent rule; the scribe simply may not have been confident, experienced, or engaged enough to deviate from the symbols and script used in their exemplar in an entirely consistent manner. Thus, folia 46-63 of AM 573 4to sometimes appear more novel from a linguistic perspective with regard to particular features, likely a simple reflection of this scribe’s younger language, and perhaps that this scribe found the language and orthography of the exemplar overly archaic. However, the circumstances surrounding AM 573 4to being the work of two scribes with different milieu associations can only be conjectured.

8.3 Moving Forward

One of the key ways in which this project could be expanded would be through the inclusion of data from the entirety of the two larger manuscripts that are under study here, namely AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to. As both of these manuscripts combined exceeds one hundred quarto leaves, it was deemed both unfeasible to transcribe and annotate all of the available material for the purposes of this project; this undertaking in itself could very well have taken up the entire

⁶⁶³ Louis-Jensen, *Trójumanna Saga, The Dares Phrygius Version; Trójumanna saga*; Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26-8.

⁶⁶⁴ This potentiality was mentioned to me in email correspondence with Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir during Fall 2021.

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four year project period. As discussed in the third chapter, an issue with some of the more novel digital approaches, which themselves are intended as tools that can streamline and increase the accuracy of our inquiries, can actually be one of *inefficiency*. A morphologically and etymologically defined reference orthography (EMROON) has been employed in the investigations into the orthography and language of these manuscripts, and the script has been charted using selected macro- and micro-palaeographic elements; the features within the orthography, language, and script have been selected according to known historical developments, though this project cannot be considered an exhaustive survey of the manuscripts or all of the potential data. However, as discussed in the first and third chapters, the data set used in this study is very much a targeted one.

While the assertions of Dyvik⁶⁶⁵ and Paulsen⁶⁶⁶ regarding a minimisation of assumptions about an underlying phonological system via a *maximisation* of the background reference system with a morphologically and etymologically refined reference orthography remain valuable, this project has adopted more of a pragmatic and streamlined approach, not least because the areas of investigation of this project are not strictly phonological and linguistic. In this context, it was not deemed feasible to infer and chart the *entire* phonological inventory of all of the scribes in both of the manuscripts, but rather to use the reference orthography as a tool to aid in the elucidation of the underlying phonology in particular environments, so as to aid in the localisation and dating of the manuscripts, as well as to delineate the scribal hands and infer their norm. In general, the underlying principles governing the orthography and language of the scribes of AM 764 4to and AM 573 4to were in line with known historical developments. However, variant representations of linguistic features and orthographic conventions were invaluable in the discussion in chapters five and seven, which, based on these variants and deviations, also involved the inference of some of the orthographic and phonological rules that these scribes may have been beholden to, as well as the delineation of scribal hands in the first place.

A similarly pragmatic approach was adopted regarding the script of the two manuscripts. Just as using the system of sound positions minimises implicit assumptions through a maximisation of the background reference system when approaching the orthography, the defined approach to graphematics taken in this study involves a hierarchical structure that can aid in charting the actual use of letters in the hands of scribes, down to the smallest unit, the “graph” (this approach could involve zooming in further to the idiographic level). However, these systems have obvious pragmatic and practical limitations, as a study

⁶⁶⁵ Dyvik, “runematerialet fra Bryggen,” 3-21.

⁶⁶⁶ Paulsen, *The Emroon Referential System*.

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involving a complete inventory of a manuscript involving sound positions and graphs has yet to be undertaken. The system itself that was employed in this study and outlined in the third chapter could feature a much broader variety of graphs, though this would in many instances, involve moving into the territory of idiographs, in which, at present, efficiency and feasibility would be major issues. For example, the investigation of the graph types “ð”, “ḍ”, or “ḏ” in chapter six was deemed a macro-, rather than micro-palaeographic line of inquiry, as the focus is on the letter form itself, not on the minute variations, perhaps deliberate or not, that may have affected individual instantiations from a particular scribe; for instance, idiographs of the letters “ð”, “ḍ”, or “ḏ” lie outside the scope of this current project.

With these issues of scope and efficiency in mind, it must also be said that, as attempted in this project, abstract conceptions of a scribe’s language such as with sound positions, can be hierarchically linked all the way down to the actual graphs used by the scribe, the ink on the page. As discussed in chapter three, if one can establish a link between a grapheme and a phoneme, a scribe’s language, orthography, script, and symbol inventory can be charted with direct links between an abstract sound position at the top, and the actual graph that appears on the page of a manuscript. While likely of value in identifying and differentiating scribes, an idiographically-focused inventory of symbols, such as one might do using Peter Stokes DigiPal technology, was deemed outside the scope of this project, though it would be a valuable exercise in this future. However, while such technologies can aid in the segmentation and organisation of letter forms, the system itself does not offer or even aid in the process of drawing conclusions, which is of course a characterisation that can be applied to the novel technologies already employed on this project.

The network of manuscripts and scribes discussed in this project likely encompassed more than a handful of manuscripts and scribes; the number of codices and scribal hands that could be investigated continues to grow as research progresses. While the method of inquiry employed in this study could also be utilized in other cases in which related scribal hands are identified, a limit on which manuscripts and potential scribes can be included is necessary in order to make any such project feasible. However, a more thorough and far-reaching survey of codices and scribal hands could be on the horizon, especially with the continuing development of technologies and methods, and this necessitates further engagement with the manuscripts and scribal practices of fourteenth century Hólar.

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Appendix 1

AM 573 4to

Trójumanna saga – Breta sögur

Transcribed by Patrick Aaron Farrugia.

Informed by Jonna Louis-Jensen and Þórbjörg Helgadóttir, eds., *Breta saga*, Editiones Arnamagnæanæ, Series A, vol. 10. Copenhagen: Unpublished draft, version 6 / Museum Tusculanum Press, 2019.

Proofread, improved and typeset in L^AT_EX by Robert K. Paulsen.

22 July 2023

è þu v̄t m; ƿoþz minū h̄yg ā nu h̄v̄f̄v̄ mycla m̄f̄kuñ þv̄ veit̄z m̄
 þ̄ è ek v̄ kōin̄ iþac̄ l̄ð Nu f̄k̄r̄t̄i ḡf̄ m; ockr̄ ollu male 7 f̄k̄r̄t̄e h̄t̄ m̄
 t̄ hañða bæþi heþ̄ þv̄ miġt̄ v̄ f̄gg 7 ƿreyu v̄ folaz ḡf̄ 7 h̄una hel
 gv̄ pallaf 7 þ̄ v̄þz þv̄ è æriñ eiū t̄ heƿnda 7 è viñz þiñ likame t̄ þoç
 5 h̄ v̄i allr̄ f̄v̄ñðz f̄igap̄z þ̄ ḡf̄m oc mioḡ reynð̄ þv̄ þa t̄ minf̄ f̄ckapf̄ è þv̄
 liez mioḡ eina eƿt̄ ieyuñe 7 f̄igld̄ f̄ m̄ ollū h̄ þ̄inū. kofc̄ aza ek ad̄ ð̄ckia
 þ̄i 7 ollū þ̄inū h̄ ihape þa è ek fa f̄eglin̄ O hoffvn̄ m̄ vefælli konv̄ þ̄ f̄p
 yz ek t̄ þ̄in̄ aþ̄ þv̄ kuez è uita h̄vz̄ media v̄ en eƿ þu ueiz è þ̄ þa m̄
 cv̄ þo keña fonu þ̄ina è þ̄i èo mioḡ lik̄ 7 è villðv̄ ḡf̄in̄ fua f̄uik̄ia
 10 mik̄ aþ̄ è f̄æi þz̄ mik̄ 7 ƿyllaz m̄ f̄paƿaga fu è þ̄ v̄ f̄agc̄ ac̄ f̄yn̄ þ̄ar vef̄
 lv̄ konv̄ m̄ðv̄ v̄þa f̄toz̄ hoƿþ̄giaz 7 m̄do ƿæþaz̄ ianūf̄ f̄e ○○○○○○
Erkulef̄ v̄ aƿt̄r̄ kōin̄ 7 v̄ndi f̄ella v̄ f̄ina f̄ð̄ heƿna ○○○○
 7 oþ̄þ̄iḡ þa è lamedon k̄ h̄ þ̄ ḡva heiman̄ f̄ð̄ f̄ina 7 þ̄r̄ t̄ eƿ̄
 in̄ f̄r̄v̄ ad̄ hiça þa cafoz̄e 7 polloc̄ è þa þoçtu kynf̄toz̄ m̄ iþ̄n̄ t̄ia
 15 Sva feġ̄ iþ̄nū bokū aþ̄ þz̄ haƿi eina moþ̄ at̄ baþ̄ 7 h̄ h̄eda en̄ þz̄
 v̄ ƿaþ̄ pollocif̄ en̄ thedacoƿ̄ .ƿ. cafoz̄if̄ 7 è èkulef̄ v̄ þ̄ kōin̄ haƿði h̄
 þ̄ goþan̄ ƿoḡnuþ̄ 7 þ̄ v̄p̄ erendī fin̄ v̄ bapa b̄ðz̄ 7 f̄þ̄ði h̄v̄f̄v̄ þz̄ yn̄
 ði v̄ fin̄ h̄t̄ v̄ lamedon k̄ è s̄ haƿþi þa f̄uūþ̄liga lað̄ f̄ aƿ̄ f̄ine
 ioz̄þu ad̄ f̄aklaufu 7 kuaz̄ illa v̄ una· En eƿ̄ yckr̄ è s̄ v̄ geƿ̄ ā ð̄
 20 vilð̄ heƿna yckraz̄ f̄uūþ̄v̄ þa kalla ek̄ æna naup̄f̄yn̄ t̄ ā roa
 aheƿnileit̄ ūzaz̄ h̄neif̄u 7 en̄ eigu þ̄ ƿleiri m̄ h̄t̄ ad̄. þ̄ v̄ f̄k̄ioz̄r̄
 fuor aƿ̄ heñði þz̄a 7 koduz̄ þ̄ albvn̄ è h̄ villðe rap̄ ƿoaa Erk̄
 vlef̄ f̄ t̄ falome ad̄ hiça thelamū eƿ̄ him̄ v̄i nock̄³ ○○○○ t̄ þ̄ḡ
 ia lðz̄ 7 heƿna þz̄ f̄v̄n̄þv̄ è lam̄ ·k̄¹ ḡði off̄ h̄ f̄vaz̄ f̄k̄ioç̄ f̄i m̄
 25 aale 7 q. þzaz̄ f̄ð̄ bv̄in̄ þeġ̄ è h̄ villðe 7 leġia ale t̄ f̄ è h̄ haƿ̄
 ði ƿaunḡ a Eƿt̄ þ̄ f̄ erkulef̄ t̄ aā aþ̄ hiça ○○○○○○○○○○
 ƿll̄t̄ḡf̄ en̄ h̄ veite him̄ m; bliðo þa ƿau: èkuī f̄ þa t̄ ƿilv̄
 þ̄ rieþ̄ nef̄toz̄ h̄in̄ f̄paki þ̄ 7 tok̄ v̄ him̄ f̄kunla 7 f̄v̄içnaþ̄
 h̄ eyz̄eði en̄ h̄ kuad̄ f̄ik̄ anġ̄ oþ̄þ̄iḡ þa è lamedon k̄ haƿði
 30 þ̄ veit̄a 7 kalladī s̄ iƿkarī leika ac̄ heƿna þz̄ f̄v̄iþ̄ḡ eƿ̄
 fua uillði ūþa nef̄toz̄ loƿaþ̄[1] h̄ mioḡ þ̄ f̄ina ætlan̄ 7 hec̄
 h̄im̄ f̄ino liþi 7 f̄ð̄ ad̄ rap̄az̄ m; h̄m̄ þa bio h̄ t̄ f̄ð̄⁵ ○○○○

miog vaunftrv 7 valdi þ a hunv bæzcv ridda 7 ofr huga 7 ræck alla
hluce t þa è haþa þrte vl 7 skauzuliga 7 sende þa ozþ kaupū
aþ þz kuaē t þ þz kōu þeġ Oc nu è fv tþ v̄ kōin è þz æcludu ā
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○ 7 vzþu vl reiþf̄ kōv anact̄ þeli v̄ þġialð
5 ○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○ 7 è vrþu lð þalt̄ skiptu þr lide sino 7 ræþzc
èkulef ○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○ 7 m; h̄m þelè 7 chelamū 7 helmíngz lids
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○ ad gíæta kaftoz 7 pollef m; goþū buníng
Lamedon kr v̄ iþḡ sinu þa è h̄ heyþi h̄foguna þgin v̄ kollud J
liū en sif̄ čea v̄ h̄ þa h̄úki allf̄c ad ueġiū ne maif̄iollda en þ
10 o v̄ h̄ čfoč þamne nu v̄ h̄ m̄ sagt aþ m̄ḡ h̄fkip v̄ kōin v̄ lð 7
þa liet k̄gz blafa ut ollv lþinu oz þgíne 7 reid m; hefta lid t̄ þza
è skípanna gíætv 7 æcla2 fyft̄ aheñðz þ t̄ekr þeġ mikil oza 7 è
lavng aþz m̄n kōu oz þgíne 7 fōgþu þan h̄fogu nu vill lamedō
kr snua aþtr 7 uerta þgaz m̄m. Oc er erkulef v̄ aleid kōin t̄ þġ
15 in̄ þa ·m· h̄ v̄ s̄ m̄ þier vitud goþ þelaġ h̄ū v̄nð byz v̄zi þ̄
þ nu vil ek fegia yþr h̄ū m̄ byz ískapí þgína vil ek up̄ taka mþ̄
ollū gíæþū en ðpa lam̄ ·k· 7 þ̄ íb̄t v̄ šb̄v̄ eþ þ̄ v̄þz aþið è þg
ín è è aþfoč m; þa lþi þot h̄ fe lizl 7 leġium nu allan hug a
ā na þgíne Sa í kiofa eín hluc aþ nāe er fyft̄ kēz̄c iþgīa
20 þ̄ þ ad š v̄þiz ad fa vīne þgína aþ meftū hluc è h̄ nam fyft̄ Gí
ngi v̄ aþ ofliočt̄ vl ā ġar þot èkulef heþði þta mælc̄ þ̄ nu sif̄
t̄ þġín̄ 7 fækia m; oddi 7 eġiu en þz è þ̄ v̄ iþgíne v̄þuz vl̄ 7 ðz
engiliga en lizl v̄ rap̄ yþ̄ þġ m̄m è k̄ v̄ íb̄tv̄ 7 uillð lþ þlef̄c m;
h̄m J þna cā kō k̄z̄ ā þgíne 7 villði lid uerta þġ m̄m
25 Erkulef riez imot h̄m m; meftan hlt̄ h̄fínf̄ è þz hoþdu iup
gonguñe 7 lauft̄ saman m; þ̄ myclū b̄ðaga 7 in̄þ̄ fokn þa g
engz èkulef vl̄ þ̄m hauġz̄ a baþ̄ heñðz 7 t̄ þ̄ rypz̄ h̄ í f̄cig
è h̄ f̄ínz̄ fialfan lam̄ð k̄ 7 þ̄ h̄ne .k. þ̄ erk̄ 7 þellðu þz oalā
allc̄ lþ þ̄ è m̄ h̄m v̄ Gf̄t̄ þ̄ þ̄ þz aþtr t̄ þġín̄ 7 v̄ þa oalā
30 allc̄ fēn aþ þz kōu t̄ þġín̄az 7 þa v̄ chelam̄ kōin þgína 7
haþði up̄ lokit̄ h̄l̄fū ġgv̄ þz þa allir iþgína 7 toku þ̄ hef̄
íonē k̄ ð. 7 allc̄ þ̄ è þiemæt̄ v̄ þ̄ þote beč̄ ā haþa è è sif̄

5 þ þz t̃ ġcklðz m̃ s̃iġ 7 myclu h̃fange 7 hořbu ařlat s̃ mikilř agiæ
 t̃if oc ṽñdu nv ṽl ṽ s̃ina ř̃ð ṽ þa eřt̃ leitað ṽ chelamū hū hā
 m̃de kiosa ař h̃řangi en h̃ kauf hefioēm ř.ð. erkuleř ·k· h̃ ma
 ckligan ā þiġia þ̃ ař sē h̃ villði 7 ṽ ř.ð. h̃im ġipt̃ a rap̃i eřkv
 7 tokuz řiř m̃ þ̃ myklař ařt̃ir 7 ř̃ þ̃au heim ř̃alominā 7 ṽ þa s̃
 10 kōit̃ ap̃ ġck̃ uinðv ṽl ṽ ř̃ñ h̃l̃t̃ er þz hořbu heřnt̃ ř̃iñ ř̃iut̃þ̃
 ġ̃ þ̃ ř̃iellu 7 ř̃y h̃ lameðonř ř̃ laungeřnr̃ þ̃r̃ heřṽ s̃ h̃iřf̃eþeluf
 volconē amphařt̃ Oc eřt̃ ř̃ta ræz erkuleř oz ř̃de ā leita řer ř̃
 ġř̃ 7 ř̃fkog̃i þ̃ ē nozñia ·h· ṽ h̃iñ ðařaliġi leo ř̃ñ ð̃p̃ ēkuleř 7 reif̃
 15 ř̃iunðz m; ř̃inū ř̃řkū hondū ·herkuleřt̃ē heyz̃þi ġeē erkuleř 7 ġ̃þiz
 að ř̃ia h̃ en ·Ċ· ð̃p̃ h̃ Cořna ·h· eñ hoġozm̃z m̃iok h̃ ṽ m; m̃ġū hoř
 ðū en ř̃ṽ nařt̃a ř̃yľġði eř̃ ʻeirt̃ ʻ ṽ ař hogġū þa kōu ř̃ ř̃caðiñ ·þ̃añ ð̃p̃
 ēkuleř ·h̃ ř̃a 7 m̃ikuiñ leon 7 hařði naut̃ imṽñe ·h̃ ð̃p̃ leon ē tok
 ař h̃im nauē Ċrkuļ̃ ð̃p̃ 7 ogvzliġā ozm m; ðiġ̃ kylřṽ h̃ cok þa 7
 20 ġullepl̃iñ þa ř̃ ř̃ aheñðz h̃iñṽ mycla ġeřion h̃ hařði ř̃riū hořvð
 h̃ ř̃þ̃ði t̃ ·Ċ· 7 ġerþiz imot̃ h̃im 7 ē þ̃r̃ ř̃uinðuz bořþuz þ̃r̃ 7 ð̃p̃ ·Ċ· ġe
 ř̃ion ·k· 7 heř ř̃ ṽk̃ ř̃ræġt̃ ṽþ̃ ř̃añ ř̃ Ċ ·iueřt̃r̃ halř̃ heřřinř̃ 7 alē
 t̃ heřř̃ enða 7 ġ̃þi þ̃ ř̃řka ř̃tolpa t̃ ř̃m̃k̃ ř̃ř̃li ř̃inař ·þ̃añ helle h̃ t̃
 nauřna ř̃ṽñða 7 ř̃iřaliā ·katol ř̃on evanð ř̃ ařunð h̃ mikill̃ kap̃i
 25 7 eřl̃r̃ imote honū 7 ř̃ell̃r̃ erkuleř h̃ þa ř̃r̃ h̃ ř̃y t̃ ġcklðz hař̃ a m̃
 ðia ř̃ð ·J ř̃i ř̃ ð̃p̃ h̃ m̃ġ̃ ðyř̃ acenřṽ ton ·ř̃ ·Ċñ h̃ ř̃að̃i ř̃ṽ ðyřiñ ·ð̃
 p̃ h̃ ř̃uġla þa ē agiæz̃t̃ ṽ a ollṽ ř̃ðia ř̃ði ē ařpine heita ·þa ř̃ ř̃ ṽ
 ř̃an eřt̃ ř̃ta 7 ř̃ ř̃egia heid̃h̃ m̃ ā þa bzyġþiz h̃ ř̃ualligallē liki oc
 30 þořðṽ onġ̃ ṽ h̃ ā eiga Oc s̃ ġeck̃ ā eck̃i ř̃roð ṽ h̃im ·þ̃ sē h̃ ř̃ ř̃an
 ř̃e h̃ñr̃ t̃ heluřt̃if hořř̃ġia ·ř̃ ř̃egia heid̃h̃ m̃ m; ř̃inē rang̃ ṽ ad
 h̃ bæri h̃imiñiñ a auxlū s̃ 7 ř̃ þ̃reķ̃úki ř̃oġbu heid̃h̃ m̃ h̃ a
 h̃imna num̃iñ 7 þ̃ kalla þz erkuleř eina ř̃t̃iornu ř̃u ř̃eñðz ř̃mal
G Eriřeuf ř̃on ġeřeonif̃ þa ē h̃ kuangaþiz t̃ueġia vagna
 baud̃ h̃ t̃ b̃ðlaupř̃ ř̃inř̃ cenřio þz ṽ m; konṽ h̃ þ̃ ṽ alch̃iðeř
 30 7 þa ē þ̃ ṽ cenři m̃ 7 meñiē t̃ meřt̃r̃ ṽ ř̃ra b̃zæð̃ h̃ cok ř̃b̃t̃ b̃ð
 ř̃ina ř̃ oř̃·k̃ ·þa ṽð þ̃ h̃iñ meřt̃a b̃ðagi m; m̃m̃ cenřij̃ 7 l̃āřhiðif̃
 þ̃r̃ ř̃ullēġðu ř̃eð̃ikeo Ċrkuļ̃ ·ṽ m; h̃im 7 ř̃iell̃ þ̃ myk̃ill̃ hlute ař

cenčio þ̇ êkulef 7 ʋ̇ þ̇ þo v̇la m̄nz̄k̄ m̄n̄· þa ê erkulef haꝥde
 f̄it̄ aꝥ 7c̄alia þa f̄ m; h̄m̄ d̄iađenía kona· 7 ê þau kōu t̄ az
 eín̄h̄ þa kō þ̇ eín̄ aꝥ ceñčio m̄ ê neffv̄f̄·h̄· 7 vull̄ði m̄is̄þyрма
 h̄· h̄ kallaz á êkulef h̄ ð̄p̄ þeḡ neffv̄f̄· þ̄ca b̄f̄ señđi d̄iaðema t̄
 5 êkulef þa ê þau ʋ̇ skulð en h̄ haꝥði teḡ h̄ia aꝥ kap̄a þ̇ ê ache
 lauf·h̄· en liet s̄iþ̄ klufa 7 tok eína boñða .ð. s̄ t̄ eígin̄ gu
M azgr̄ k̄er̄ v̄ v̄ þit̄ ráþ̄ þ̇ ê þ̇ f̄kōu m̄ði ê lukl̄gr̄ þ̄ick̄ia þu
 heḡ nu tek̄ið þ̄i t̄ handa eína koḡk̄l̄f̄.ð. þa ê ecki kañ ḡa
 nema r̄iḡa ull̄ iḡv̄ñðz̄ þ̇ ê m̄ 7 sagr̄ ad þu f̄erc̄ ad m; h̄ ā gzeið
 10 a eḡ flok̄ éo J· en eḡ þu ḡír̄ ê ðugañða þa lyf̄tr̄ h̄ þ̄iḡ m; f̄n̄æll̄
 ðv̄ haala s̄inū 7 ê veír̄ ek nu h̄ú̄ fa erkulef ê· ê ðcañ ð̄p̄ iḡði aḡh̄
 an̄ī k̄gr̄ 7 r̄iḡa 7 tok̄ þ̄an̄ gullepl̄i íj 7 ê m̄ði aḡhan̄ī .k. keña þ̄ik̄ 7
 þ̇ ê m̄ sagr̄ ac þu ðck̄ v̄in̄ v̄ ðagha 7 s̄va v̄ nætr̄ 7 eḡ hænf̄ p̄iḡz̄v̄
 7 paḡugla ê ḡþ̄ þv̄ þa s̄va ê þv̄ kōt̄ t̄ heriðē. ê haꝥð þv̄ þa v̄in̄ ðc̄
 15 k̄ic̄ 7 haꝥð þv̄ þo aḡl̄f̄ v̄ h̄m̄ 7 lagþ̄ h̄ t̄ 7 eíngī m̄ði ča ad þu m̄
 ð̄ s̄l̄ik̄ir̄ v̄þa aþ̄ þv̄ v̄tr̄ im̄þz̄gongu 7 þv̄ ð̄p̄ ceḡliū heluic̄if̄ huñð
 ê haꝥð þu þa v̄in̄ ðck̄ ne hænf̄in̄ eḡ 7 ê iḡkallate ḡḡit̄ 1 ê gull̄ ah̄
 eñđi þ̄ī s̄ē spekinḡ þa ê þz̄ s̄ic̄ia iðz̄yck̄iu f̄coḡ̄ ê þ̄f̄ ek v̄ ā ann
 az m̄in̄ fozlauḡ fað m̄in̄ va s̄iḡ m; s̄v̄ði· b̄z̄æþz̄ m̄in̄ vaguz̄ s̄ua
 20 iḡ̄ s̄yḡt̄ m̄in̄ ðck̄nuðu h̄ señđi ek þ̄ī eín̄ k̄yz̄til̄ roþ̄in̄ m; bloði
 ê v̄tr̄ þa iḡþ̄a k̄yz̄til̄ ê þu ð̄p̄t̄ gozgoniā s̄k̄m̄l̄ þ̇ ê f̄řman̄ v̄ s̄ē leo
 en im̄iðiu s̄ē geir̄ en ḡlugðcī aꝥtr̄ veír̄ ek .f. h̄ þoḡ nuck̄ kleima
 se aḡv̄ leḡ ad þv̄ m̄tr̄ þo skulð̄ faa 7 vellðz̄ þ̄ mik̄ill̄ ḡtr̄ 7 m̄ḡ̄ t̄ā
 ê ek̄ řellða t̄ þ̄in̄̄ s̄ak̄ oc̄ þ̄ m̄in̄h̄ mik̄ aþ̄ þv̄ v̄ir̄ uááḡack̄i· en
 25 ê Iblaut̄ī k̄yz̄til̄ þa ê þu ð̄p̄t̄ geueonē k̄gr̄ a s̄paniā iði 7 rieḡ
 eín̄ s̄pania iði 7 v̄ þ̇ meira v̄t̄ en þa ê þu s̄ic̄r̄ yḡ̄ ull̄ laupē gu
 þ̄in̄az̄ 7 uin̄laz̄ v̄ll̄ eḡ h̄ k̄eḡ t̄ klæða yck̄r̄ s̄ē h̄řreyria imp̄ria Nu
 señð þu h̄iḡ̄ son̄ ock̄n̄ ad þ̇ řī ad s̄k̄iḡuþ̄v̄ ac h̄ byz̄gī augu m̄i
 7 ueír̄e m; nabiaz̄ḡ̄· en ek̄ señđi þ̄ī im̄oḡe bloþoḡ klæði imp̄ria
 30 Nv̄ seḡi ek̄ þ̄ī þoḡ þu uil̄ir̄ ê uíca ā nu b̄ḡþ̄ ek̄ s̄v̄þ̄in̄v̄ ê h̄ la eḡ
 t̄ eḡz̄ca s̄inē ê v̄ sk̄ill̄ðūz̄ 7 s̄nȳ ek̄ blodzeḡl̄in̄v̄ v̄p̄ ê h̄r̄ h̄iol̄ev̄n̄v̄
 P R̄iañ̄ k̄gz̄ v̄ ecki inañð̄ řū̄ at̄b̄ðū 7 ê h̄ ř̄ðī ř̄ī t̄iðeñđi b̄za

fíðit hūc yf annað þr biaz leingi sua ad húgi fær annan. þz fæk
 íaz nu gmlígha oc kofca aplfínf maðvlígha f̄ fók hínú foğ konū þ
 raz è þr ga þca einvighi f̄ sua hínú f̄kuztu gðung þa è þz fcang
 az gmlíghaz oc þota up̄ 1ozðina m; fo^m oc hnda blæfcrínū ha^{tt}
 5 akaplígha m; gñiañda ym radðínú oc leingi þzeyngðu þz likam
 ana m; fcrínū oc huoffū sūz eggíū oc þa míniz menelā m; reidiñe
 húfu píf hařði tekid heleno ař fim oc nalígha v̄ h̄ þa oz vrcínv oc
 hio ip̄ mefca hog oc þ hog kō ahíalmín alx. utan vðan en h̄ v̄ s̄
 h̄ðz ad ecki beic fúðit a· en þ hog v̄ ueit ař sua myclū křre ad
 10 sūðit b̄fc fuñðz è è nadi brcino oc plo hlutr f̄vzmf yf hoř hm oc
 langt ib̄c fygñiañda auollín· oc è fylkínğ ġckia fa meñ. vapnlaufan þa
 þoē þ h̄ ráðín t̄ bana oc gðiz nu ymr ihínū oc hozmuðu allír Menelā
 En þoē h̄ heřði mefca vapnaña þa kō è ad hellðz hzæzla t̄ fi oc æftaz ad
 nyu hiazad ař reidiñe þa hleypz m̄ ad hm oc gzeip hñie hæğ hendí J
 15 þn hún gullbuna knap̄ è f̄toð oz híalmínū at píf En h̄ v̄ sua ñ hm ā
 è maē píf hoggua t̄ h̄ m̄ h̄mđi sua fafc híalmín ad aleř piell ařtr
 oc þa uillde m̄ ðgha h̄ þğ è f̄toðu h̄buð ġckia oc è þca fa ŕeo m̄ h̄
 muðu þz mioğ píf oc knuðuz þa þza fylkínğ m; roððu hzæzluñ
 oc v̄ nu ū fialřt ad faman m̄ðu hlaupa fylkínğ. Oc J þ bilí b̄fc ífuñðz
 20 kútk band̄ Jhíalmínv̄ píf oc þa kō freyia m; þoku myz̄k oc tok al
 exandm̄ b̄t m; s̄· ella heřði þe fi hún eřzci dagz v̄id m̄ kařaðí þ̄
 v̄ finū gullbvna híalme ih̄ ġckia oc ġip fkyñðila kefiuna oc veik
 ařtr oc fkauz f̄p̄ioctinu ař ollu ařli íþokuna eřt̄ fim En freya
 fluce aleř unðan þū hogi oc hařði h̄ m̄ s̄ íbgína oc lagði h̄ id
 25 yzlígha b̄ðhuilu è h̄ hařði t̄allðað· en meðan þca ein vigi vaz
 Þa hařði helena f̄tađit aeinū čne b̄gínf oc nu geck h̄ b̄t
 oc þgad fē v̄ píf oc veite fim þackfamlígr̄ řaðmlagh oc þo .m. h̄
 þū ozðū ařtr étu nu křgr mín ařt oc ūtu yf f̄tigiñ ař uapnū
 mínf hínf řyza bonða Sa ek hū þv̄ v̄t oc f̄kōmudūz ek ad fia
 30 þik þa è híñ myclí .m. hařði þik hoñðū tek̄ [7] ðzo þik eřt̄ 1or
 ðuñe oc ad vífv̄ fyndiz m̄ fē h̄ heřði faurğ þina gullígha loc
 ka Jctrovefk̄ mollðu oc hū hyggz þu ařt̄ mín húfv̄ hzæðð ek m̄ði vera

vefol að faa hín gʒkí hʒogí m̄di skíla að eilífu ockr blíðlæte oc
 allr lítín húfʒ oz ahlíte m̄ oc eckí keñða ek blodfínf ílīdū oc allr
 hugz v̄ f̄ lmf fullr að v̄la víssa ek uiz mínz .e. hú egiadi þik að
 ganga t̄ einvígíff v̄ m̄ oc è è þ̄ kōid t̄ eyzna þi húfu mikil f̄gð
 5 f̄ aʒ fí v̄kū of oll lond húfu f̄t̄kr h̄ v̄ .e. húz ríððe h̄ v̄. Ec bíð þi
 ik nu aʒ ollū hug að þu ḡ þ̄ allð síðan að hæta sua lípi þínu
 unð fí hæḡ hond agíazna of̄t̄. eñ alexanð̄ heyzdi þaz h̄m̄toluz
 helene þa v̄ð h̄ hzyḡz oc ḡt̄ m̄ h̄e. oc þa m̄ h̄ heyzdu mín loga
 ndi aʒt̄. Ecckí aʒl m̄ heʒ mik yʒt̄ f̄t̄gíð hellðz reidi godfínf pallá
 10 oc eñ fl̄tv̄ þ̄ sía è fl̄kāt líðz hedan að ek fl̄ heʒnaz oc eíð h̄t̄r síñ
 fl̄ h̄ gzeylígha oc loctígha gzeyuaz yʒt̄ kōín t̄ m̄o f̄v̄di. En frey
 a duḡ m̄ è síðz en h̄m̄ pallaf. Of̄t̄ þ̄ta f̄aðm̄ h̄ h̄a sua s̄ famā
 kōu allír líð þ̄za oc sua eñðznyudu þau sína aʒt̄ ad h̄ v̄ b̄n
 nandi þ̄ baðū aðz en þau síte þ̄u f̄aðmlaghe m̄ leíʒ nu at
 15 íʒylkingū t̄eo m̄ oc h̄ reínz h̄m̄ḡ oc þínḡ oc h̄m̄ f̄ylḡ hoʒud̄ k̄
 gzin̄. aḡam̄on b̄ð fí m̄æla nu að þ̄z ḡck̄ skolí v̄l eʒna faetma
 líð þ̄ è þ̄z f̄ætuaz a m; helgū f̄úðoghū oc f̄a nu heleno ihe
 n̄dz m̄ boiðda síñō oc è þ̄t̄r hoʒðingíaz v̄ faman kōñ ad
 keppaz ū þ̄a acb̄ði haʒði faet̄ñ þ̄ḡ ah̄ínū uppe oc ḡḡu þa f̄
 20 m̄ godín t̄ knía h̄m̄ oc bað húz t̄ f̄ínū af̄t̄m̄ oc kíæsl̄ vín
P andv̄f h̄ín f̄t̄kí v̄ð f̄yʒt̄ t̄ þ̄ ad ríuʒa f̄ætína oc beñðe
 up̄ bogha síñ oc fl̄kaut ad menelao oc fl̄o fl̄kotid̄ ígeḡm̄
 síavfallða b̄zynyú oc ígeḡnū síðuna t̄ ucán ríʒín oc v̄
 þ̄ banvíaenlígh̄t̄ faez en ḡck̄ toku h̄ þ̄eḡ oc b̄v̄ jh̄buð síñ oc þa
 25 kō t̄ eín vngz lækn̄ è ·h̄· políðt̄uf̄. h̄ ḡzæðdi h̄ m; pecc̄t̄oíʒ ḡzo
 f̄v̄ h̄ v̄ h̄ín bez̄t̄i lækn̄ íollū h̄ ḡck̄ia oc haʒði num̄ alla læk
 n̄ḡ aʒ f̄eðz síñū Nu byz ec̄o m; reidi roʒínf̄ faet̄malf̄ aʒ t̄eo
 m̄ oc eḡia alla sína h̄t̄ugh̄a t̄ oʒū þ̄eḡ f̄m̄ m; h̄uo
 f̄f̄v̄ h̄ugh ok f̄ígha nv̄ faman f̄ylkinḡ m; op̄i oc ka
 30 ll̄i oc vapna gny oc v̄ð þ̄ nv̄ h̄ín f̄h̄paʒta oʒa oc h̄ín agíaz
 taz̄ta è f̄aḡt̄ è ad v̄t̄ m̄e haʒa iheímínv̄ oc fa eiginlíḡz h̄m̄r
 eḡgíaz nu alla ḡck̄i t̄ akaʒlíḡz̄ aðfok̄ñ v̄ m̄. En þ̄z veit̄a ḡciū

oc   sva s  fkaall  fag i ad pzy i oc f gb f gia l z hocu u  c k oc h z dduz  
 ck  e Nu  i az i u nd  fylking  oc s ek allt folk   h vda oc lata   a  iki oc
 kafcala   vcan sik oc allr h   ckia   annad h t  lyi    h buda .e.  r i   
  ck e.  n aga .  g r fier h  . .  r ok  ck  iengu auga hialp a   im  a
 5 eggiaz h   cki oc b    a e  fcyzkiaz ihugin  oc .q.  ann   a m  a be r ta
 J amfkiot hleyp   iomedef vt imoc  eo m m; huoffv oc  i p  vapn  kazt
  a hleyp  mote  m fa hor i i   .h. y i vf. e   iomedef s  h  skell  h  f  it
 m; f k he  i oc s  an legg  h  ige n  h  m; huoffv f  i imi  fylkingv  
 eo m. Oc  a hlyp  vt ad  eo m Cret 'f chem  m; vapn  aiax b  ur s f h  f 
 10 k  af  ad  eo m oc  pr m a en fvm  lya    im. h  vi z nv m   f virk  a  eo
 m. hau z h t oc legg  f e nd  ecki v h  v pn . Nv fellir h  .m. hor i gia   ko
 rmechiana .h. v myclu f ari ok  a s ek h  iadza fylking oc  pr  n ma   
 fcyz  rv  ck f. ok   h  fa  ra v h    sua n r ad t  p  f  it   f.  a cok
 h  upp e i mik i  f ein oc kafca i ad  m sua ad  eg  iell h  oc  gu  m  a
 15 logunau  f    h   a l f. Oc e t geyfuz eck   m ahe nd   ck i oc skell 
 h arta  za m; ogurli u s n  hogg . allir  lya  z     meghu v k a   s ia
 kafcala oc v a s gh  an en  eo m s ekia e t   ok  i a s no folk    v 
 oc ba a   vt ad  ga. s ta nv v  a n tr s   agha. Nu  i az gl d  ves k
 m i n  v f v oc  zeka nv agi etan  zyck  n  ckia hor i gia   m d
 20   a  f az  oc hugfotv sva ach on  meghu   neyta s erli  k fa ne bl f
  zyckiaz    ze of uz    z hor u  it    eo m. h gia nv ad  za all z log
 m   z v a m; v  d oc van  ing.  a f  du hor ingiaz  ckia h  m  il
 h nf mycla akillef m;   eyzend  ad h  ki e     agha.  n akillef hey  i  
 ta eyzend  he r h  skio  s ne    oc vill ecki lata teygia s gh     agha m;
 25  egio u a  k e. f  i m a tr v sua b  ach s gia . . k . oll s  akillef oc   megha
  z nu   ahy iune b  a hogli  suaza k . ach mo na v h   eo m h f i  lga
 P       iungz l  i n tr  ga  z v ixef oc  iomedef vt a  h bv u   rad  .a.
  z hell i mo n na oc  ir ij hor i gia   nv vt a  h bv u   s  v h rvn
 h  nock r   leyn a oc  o h kfaf la  o nv muog hugf k v s na    oc  a
 30 s a  z h   r e i m   delon .h. h  v f   z a   eo m ach mo na h   ck
 ia. oc  eg    z v ixef s a  na ma    fier leynaz  z i n  h rvne
 oc h du sik       ad delon ky e   ad s gia  eo m    za     n  i h i

5 eiveski m̄ reñz f̄m̄ v̄ þa oc v̄ðz ecki v̄z v̄ þa En þeḡ þz v̄ta ad h̄i é ein
 saman f̄p̄zeta þz up̄ oc hlapa eřt̄ h̄im en h̄i v̄ñðan oc t̄reyf̄caz é ā bi
 ða oc f̄ðaz v̄ h̄ð En þa f̄a þz tekid̄ h̄i oc vilia þeḡ ð̄pa h̄i. en ðelon h̄i
 ræðia muogh oc .m̄. alla h̄lci vil ec t̄ f̄i v̄ina aþ̄ þ̄ic ð̄piē mik é .e. h̄ū
 10 goē m̄v̄ þ̄id up̄ taka þoē þ̄id ḡniz̄ þ̄. oc þ̄æte m̄ f̄e v̄e m̄a hap̄ ac
 ek f̄egða yckr̄ rað ðeo m̄. þau é ek é f̄eñðz t̄ akillef̄ eř̄ h̄i villði v̄a iv
 ingan v̄ ðeo m̄. en nv̄ f̄z̄ m̄ allilla é ec heři tekín̄ oz̄it̄. oc heř̄ f̄ca
 eyzeñði midz̄ f̄allit̄ m; illū acb̄t̄ Nu bið ek yckr̄ f̄ k̄řt̄ gudaña ad þ̄ic
 15 geř̄ m̄ þ̄ð oc ḡð oc ḡid̄ f̄ ð̄ingf̄kap̄ yckn̄ oc f̄reyřid̄ é onð̄ min̄e t̄ helv
 10 ırl̄. quala ḡid̄ nu sua ul̄ godir̄ meñ oc h̄lř̄ m̄ niða fl̄ ek alla h̄lci fe
 gia yckr̄ ař̄ ætlan ðeo m̄. oc þa é h̄i haf̄ði f̄agz̄ þ̄ alla hluci þa leggz̄ vl̄
 ıx̄el f̄p̄ioct̄iv̄n̄ ikũkr̄ h̄im sua ad fuñðz̄ İf̄ b̄cañ̄ Eř̄t̄ þ̄ ḡga þz̄ ih̄buðir̄
 þ̄ hořðingia é refuf̄ .h. h̄i v̄ agiætr̄ oc f̄gz̄. þz̄ kōa ach̄ þ̄ v̄ūū é þz̄ sořa j
 reckiū s̄inū v̄inðc̄ñ oc t̄yz̄caz̄ vl̄ ūðhallð̄i s̄ m̄ þz̄ ð̄pa hořðigian oc m̄
 15 ga að̄ þa é þ̄ v̄ ıt̄allð̄innv̄. þ̄ taka þz̄ klæði þ̄ra oc vapn̄ oc mikid̄ annar̄
 řee ad h̄řanḡi. Oc eñ̄ ð̄pa þz̄ v̄ci auellin̄v̄ v̄ðhallz̄ meñina. oc þ̄ taka þz̄
 hefca þa é t̄baðef̄. heita é s̄ skioē ðo ā ecki kuikuendī geř̄ tekir̄
 þa a raf̄ oc é þ̄řt̄v̄ þz̄ ad h̄ðaz̄ vuine s̄ina eř̄ heř̄tnir̄ kiāi aráf̄. Rið
 a nu heī t̄ s̄ina h̄bv̄ða adz̄ en ðagz̄ kōi. Nv̄ ḡgz̄ moç þ̄ Nef̄toz̄ h̄in̄ f̄p̄
 20 ak̄i ok̄ řagh̄ þ̄r vl̄ ḡga nv̄ allir̄ f̄āřt̄ a řuñð̄ .a. ř. oc .f. h̄m̄ oll þau t̄id̄
 eñð̄i é þz̄ v̄zdu uifir̄ oc f̄egia allt̄ ḡin̄la oc eř̄t̄ þ̄ huila þz̄ f̄igh
A Gañon̄ řgz̄ veçr̄ nu alla ḡckia hořðiḡia oc h̄t̄vga oc byz̄ allā
 h̄in̄ t̄ urḡgv̄ oz̄ kařtolunū oc ætlaē ā heřia up̄ id̄ ř̄na erřid̄i
 sē řyza .ð. hořðu þ̄r ḡt̄. oc þeḡ ḡck̄ kōa vt̄ yř̄ ð̄ik̄in̄ þa reña f̄āa
 25 n̄ řylkiḡ̄ þ̄ra Eñ̄ řca s̄ia ðeo m̄ řařnaz̄ þz̄ oc saman oc f̄cyz̄kia s̄in̄
 řylkinḡ̄ oc ganga ad þ̄ Nv̄ řluuga h̄ūanæřa up̄arñin̄ h̄ūracueḡiu
 oz̄v̄ oc onñ̄ vapn̄ hoggua nu h̄ūir̄tueḡiu f̄tozt̄ m̄ oc h̄lř̄ kēr̄ nv̄
 fuerð̄ ū f̄v̄ð gangaz̄ nv̄ ach̄ řterkl̄igha ř̄az̄ řylkiḡ̄ oc řellr̄ bloð̄ vm̄
 alla uolluna oc ðoggua f̄v̄ðin̄ alla ioz̄ðina. þa ḡgz̄ ř̄m̄ .ā řgz̄ ad þ̄ ho
 30 řðiḡia é .h. amph̄iū oc heit̄ é řyē ē h̄i heř̄ ð̄pið̄ h̄i. oc þ̄ næřt̄ řæk̄ h̄i ř̄n̄
 hořðiḡia é řheř̄añð̄ .h. oc řellir̄ h̄i m; řcoř̄ řař̄ Oc eř̄t̄ þ̄ ð̄p̄z̄ h̄i eñ̄ hořð̄
 inḡia yp̄ol̄t̄v̄. Oc ř̄řna t̄ia řæk̄ ř̄m̄ Eçk̄t̄ ad ḡck̄iū oc eḡiaz̄ alla h̄t̄v
 ga

- [h]ER hefr upp at fegia f̄ enea hinū millða ā efr̄ ○
 ○ b̄ðaga ġkcia ȳ ȳeo m̄ lætr h̄ ihaf̄ ſkɪpɪ ſinu ȳ gaſ̄ h̄im illa
 ○ byzi hoſðu þz̄ m̄k̄ uáf en ad̄ lyktū b̄ þa ā einu liclu l̄ði
 ○ haſði ȳzū ūð fon þam̄i k̄ḡf̄ fa ē̄ poliðazī hec̄ Eneas geċ
 5 ○ f̄c̄ h̄i þyftā m̄ioḡ h̄i f̄ān̄ ein̄ bzūn̄ ȳ ē̄ ā̄ hellðz̄ uillðī h̄i oȳ þ̄ b̄
 [n̄ī ðz̄]ecka þ̄̄ k̄ōz̄ h̄i ū̄ m̄ioḡ: f̄unauē̄ f̄i f̄p̄ðū h̄i h̄i uillðī ē̄ ð̄ckā eneaf̄ fa
 ○ einū̄ þam̄i k̄gs̄ mik̄t̄ ad̄ uīcā ad̄ ū̄ myz̄ðz̄ fon̄ fi ȳ famā ugled̄[1]
 ○ efr̄ f̄ ſigldū þz̄ ihaf̄ ȳ k̄ōū ū̄ ſikeleȳ þ̄̄ r̄iedū þa þ̄̄ mycl̄r̄ hoſþ̄
 [ḡiar̄] ȳ uīn̄ ȳeō m̄: epenef̄ ȳ accef̄ef̄ þz̄ ē̄ ū̄ eneā m̄; miklū̄ f̄agnad̄i ū̄ h̄i
 10 ○ ueſn̄ m̄; mikill̄i f̄æð̄ þ̄̄ let̄ eneas̄ fer̄ uapn̄ ġā m̄; gll̄igū̄ bunad̄i
 ○ [m̄]iklā iulianū̄ aſiallinū ethnicō: M̄ġ̄ koñ̄ ū̄ m̄; eneā ȳ oȳduz̄ þ̄̄ m̄io
 [ḡ] ○ ſiglā iſ̄ langt̄ haſ̄ f̄ē̄ eneaf̄ ætclad̄i ā̄ f̄ā Eñ̄ þeḡ ūad̄i b̄iō eneas̄ ſkɪp̄
 ○ hec̄ ihaf̄ f̄ē̄ h̄i ū̄ buin̄: ġioz̄ðī þa ad̄ þ̄̄ miklā h̄ð̄ ſ̄ ac̄ m̄ġ̄ ſkɪp̄ cynduz̄
 euz̄ m̄ġ̄ m̄n̄ þz̄ hoſðū ſ̄ h̄ðā ut̄i uīfc̄ ad̄ m̄ġ̄ m̄ ū̄ ē̄ liðf̄ær̄ ȳ̄ þ̄̄c̄aðī
 15 ○ eðī ðyzyk̄ ȳ uīfc̄ en̄ þō k̄ō̄ ſ̄ ū̄ ſið̄ ac̄ þz̄ ē̄ l̄ð̄ ȳ fā þz̄ þ̄̄ eck̄ī f̄eē: eneaf̄
 ○ ſ̄ ē̄ maalf̄: þū h̄in̄ millðā f̄reyā h̄ialp̄ off̄ nū ȳ ſiā h̄ū̄ ū̄ hoſþ̄ ○
 ○ off̄ aſ̄ h̄m̄i ȳ l̄át̄ off̄ ē̄ leingz̄̄ kueliāz̄̄ iþ̄sū̄ h̄lucū̄ ȳ þeḡ̄ h̄i haſðī ○
 ○ eū maſī fā h̄i ein̄ h̄ioz̄t̄ h̄i lagðī aur̄ afcreínḡ ȳ ſkaut̄ iġegnū̄ ○
 ○ þeḡ̄ ○ ſnæðinḡ: þ̄̄ n̄æfc̄ fā þz̄ ſ̄ud̄z̄ f̄̄ ſ̄̄ f̄agz̄t̄ l̄ð̄ ȳ ○
 20 ○ ad̄ ē̄ ȳ ○ ſkɪpū̄ ſinū̄ iġodā hoſn̄: þz̄ fā ā̄ þ̄̄ ab̄ġuegiū̄ ū̄ ſkɪſap̄
 ○ ȳ̄ k̄ō̄ eneaf̄ ā̄ ē̄ ſk̄f̄að̄ ū̄ f̄all̄ ſ̄luf̄ k̄gs̄ m̄; þ̄̄ hætt̄ ad̄ ſnuinn̄ ○
 ○ h̄im̄ ȳ ġzeidduz̄ iſ̄uñðz̄ lok̄ ○̄reykr̄ h̄im̄ þoſ̄ī mik̄l̄s̄ ū̄ þ̄̄c̄ā ○
 ○ f̄̄ h̄in̄ ðyzygā ð̄c̄n̄ġ̄ ē̄ ðiðō ○ ē̄ h̄i uīff̄ī þ̄̄ k̄ōū eneē geck̄ h̄i ○
 ○ egl̄ā ȳ baud̄ h̄im̄ ē̄ ſin̄: h̄i þeck̄t̄az̄ þ̄̄ ul̄̄ D̄iðō ð̄z̄oc̄n̄iġḡ̄ lieē̄ leikā þ̄̄ ○
 25 ○ f̄t̄rengleikā: ȳ ġled̄iā hann̄ j̄ þuī ſem̄ h̄i mat̄tē en̄̄ Ē ū̄ þō iap̄n̄ v̄ḡ ○
 ○ ðiðō ð̄z̄oc̄n̄iġh̄: þv̄ h̄in̄ millðī Ē: ġuþ̄in̄ ġeſ̄ī þ̄̄ī ġlac̄ h̄ar̄cā ok̄
 ○ meġh̄ s̄ē̄ þv̄ ert̄ ē̄ kom̄iñ̄: oc̄ ſv̄ aill̄ s̄æð̄ ſem̄ v̄ hoſv̄ ○
 ○ riol̄ ā þ̄inū̄ m̄m̄ h̄ī̄ heyz̄ðū h̄in̄ millðaf̄tā ð̄z̄oc̄n̄iġh̄ ○
 ○ h̄mā mā ek̄ ē̄ kat̄r̄ v̄ā ○
 30 ○ nyat̄t̄ ē̄ f̄̄ ○ f̄all̄ t̄[̄]iō m̄ā ā yðz̄ b̄ġ̄ ueggiū̄: ○
 ○ þ̄̄ nauckō ġeioz̄ f̄̄ ac̄ f̄egiā: þā m̄̄ ð̄z̄̄ þū iñ̄ millðī ○

- mañðo þín 7 seg off þ þ stoztíþðū· þa gladdiz ·E· ad h̄i fan̄ ā m̄n m̄do
 5 ʒa fogu fī· ðido ðct̄ng ml̄i þa allt fl þier heim̄t m̄it ·t̄· 7 þ̄ an̄ñ ē þu
 kañt beida· þa epl̄ h̄ ueizlu ad nyu 7 læcr leika alla leika þa ē h̄ ærl̄
 at ·E· fl̄i meft gledi ipickia en eneas gar̄ s̄ licid ū þa gledi alla· ðct̄ng
 10 fan̄ þ̄ b̄c ac h̄m þozi eingu f̄kēcan ad leikū h̄az þa ml̄ti ðct̄ng þu h̄n̄
 sæti ·e· fyn þina kurteifi ḡ̄ t̄ m̄in ozþ leik off nocka f̄kēcan· h̄ ḡ̄ði fē
 ðñg bad 7 liek alla f̄creingleika m; mikill̄i ðað 7 atḡuī myclu betr ē
 ne ein̄ m̄ hefði heyzt betr f̄m fl̄iē aḡ gudliḡū k̄f̄ti fē æt f̄i f̄tod t̄
 15 E· let up̄ f̄etia f̄k̄ip f̄in 7 ū bua ū þz̄ þ̄ m; ðct̄ngu igodu yḡlæti ūði h̄
 onga m̄n fl̄ikt fē þa ein̄ ðagh ē goḡ ū uedz̄ f̄ ðzoct̄ng a h̄noz̄kfog 7 Ē f̄
 a f̄kogiñ m; f̄inu l̄idi en er adagin̄ leid̄ ḡ̄ði ad þ̄ mykla uaetr 7 f̄uñðu
 7 Ē 7 ðido ðct̄ng ieinū hell̄ f̄kuca 7 ū þ̄ ū f̄k̄ina en þ̄an aḡ ḡiz̄ myclu m̄i
 20 aḡ m; þ̄ en adz̄ Ē ū m; ðct̄ngu nocka uetr igodu yḡlæti· Eit̄ f̄in ē h̄ la
 J reckiu f̄in̄i uic̄ðiz̄ h̄m f̄reya 7 f̄agði s̄· þu h̄in̄ mill̄ði ·E· h̄ fl̄tu ē f̄ækia
 25 eḡt̄ f̄æð þ̄in̄i 7 mikill̄i ðyzd 7 f̄logū ē þ̄i ēo f̄ ætlud a icalia l̄di· eḡt̄ þ̄ b̄io
 h̄ f̄k̄ip f̄in̄ alaun þ̄c h̄ uiffi ad ðct̄ng m̄ði ē uilia ac h̄ f̄i b̄ct̄· 7 þ̄eḡ ē h̄ ū
 buin̄ sigl̄ði h̄ ū noḡ ab̄ct̄t ollu l̄idi f̄inu en ū m̄gunin̄ fak̄ñ ðct̄ng f̄i m;
- Þ** eḡa bzeḡ f̄eñð ðido ðct̄ng enea aḡ tarc̄za b̄g þzi b̄g cap mikill̄i fut 7 fozg
 ē þig ḡ̄ði auðgan 7 þu ðyzkad ū f̄ct̄uñð 7 f̄cyzkt̄iz̄ h̄ m; þ̄inu rad̄i 7
 20 ū· miog þ̄ickiz̄ h̄ en̄ þ̄fa þ̄in̄az̄ af̄ia 7 bad̄ u f̄aman· þu ūt m; off im̄i
 killi f̄æð 7 mā m̄ctu h̄f̄u þu k̄ōc̄ iūt l̄ð ē þu haḡð leinḡi þolad ualk 7 ua
 ðæði þ̄ t̄ ē þu k̄ōc̄ im̄it̄ l̄ð m; licill̄i ūðin̄gu· allr̄ m̄in̄ m̄n ḡgu oz̄ f̄im̄
 huilū f̄ þ̄in̄ū m̄m 7 ē hoḡðu þz̄ klæði abak f̄er adz̄ ek gar̄ þ̄ 7 iāfk̄ioḡ
 25 sē ek leir̄ þ̄ik ūð m̄ bæði heit̄ 7 kallc̄ 7 ē uiffa ek h̄ūt f̄m̄ geck· s̄iþ̄ l̄i
 et ek aka þ̄i t̄ þ̄z̄ hallaz̄ ē aḡ m̄m̄a ū goz̄· ek f̄et̄a þ̄ik im̄it̄ haf̄æti ok
 klæðda ek þ̄ik 7 þ̄ina m̄n m; þ̄fa gull 7 f̄ilf̄r gar̄ ek þ̄er 7 allt̄ þ̄ ē ek
 atca t̄ t̄· 7 m̄ngc̄ annad̄ eigi f̄þ̄ða ek ū þ̄ig uef̄æll̄ m̄ þ̄ ē m̄ ū nakuæra
 ē ek ū f̄ialf̄ 7 þu f̄ot̄ þ̄f̄ ū oll̄ gud̄in̄ þau ē þu kuñir̄ neḡna ad þu f̄k̄
 30 yll̄ð m̄in̄ ūa h̄uḡi ē ūir̄ ·e· h̄ūt fē þu f̄ir̄ Nu heḡ þu fl̄ukid̄ mig 7 f̄ua ḡþ̄
 m̄ Nu f̄k̄yc̄ ek ollu m̄inu m̄ali t̄ þza ac þau heḡm̄i m̄in̄ aḡ 7 s̄ mik
 in̄ ofoma heḡ þu t̄ tekid̄ ū mik ac ē ma ek s̄buip̄ b̄a hygg ad þ̄ ā ē

5 š fē þu þir m̄ ȝ þ lunū unga m̄ ē m; m̄ ē ȝ leyniz þ̄ aȝ huifc ȝ þeḡ e
 k ueie at þ̄ t̄ hañða ē kōitc þ̄ca b̄f̄ ſtcu radín urca mín dauþa ȝ b̄nfins ē
 ek ȝ m; Ger fua ul þoctu uillð mik è fína þa è ek liȝða ac þu laet ðcka
 erri eȝt̄ mik ȝ þicki m̄ þ̄ myclu mali ſkirca. ȝ š ū ad h̄ ȝ š ſiolȝ. þs þo
 10 íz hañibal k̄gȝ heȝna þa è h̄ ðp̄ fleſca rōūa ȝ liet leir bleyca iblod̄i þ̄
 ra ȝ ḡa þ̄ aȝ ſceinhall̄. š heȝndi h̄ ðido ðzoct̄nḡ cap ij k̄gs ac h̄ byggiz ū
 S Jȝ fa ȝ f̄log ȝeo m̄ ſeñdi mey ſina in̄ t̄ icalia ad ſegia ðct̄ngu lauin̄
 þ̄ enea ſua ac è ḡgȝ þ̄r yȝ lð þ̄za è rekt̄nḡ ū an̄na m̄ kuad þ̄ þ̄ ūa e1
 liȝt̄ b̄gzli. ðct̄nḡ blotadi þa mioȝ ſȝ ȝ þoeti m̄m þ̄si acbðz all̄n̄kiligȝ è
 15 ḡb̄in ſiolȝ hoȝðu h̄i uicȝ Nu è ad ſegia ȝ enea è h̄ ȝ t̄ icalia lðȝ ȝ þeḡ
 h̄ è lðȝaſtr̄ ūðin̄ ſeñð h̄ oȝð lauin̄o k̄gȝ ac h̄ uill ȝðm̄ ūa ȝ ungaz ū. k̄
 m; ðyȝlgū gȝoȝf̄ k̄gȝ ſeñdi þ̄au oȝð imoci ac .E. ſlði è of ȝreȝt̄ taka h̄
 ȝ m̄di h̄ þa hallða ȝð ū h̄. lauin̄i ū gāall k̄gȝ ȝ ul ad š .E. ū uunfæll h̄ú
 20 fē h̄ kō En þa è ſȝ fa ac .e. tok ac ſcadȝeſcaȝ ſen·ði h̄ mey ſina iannat̄ ſi
 ū t̄ k̄gȝ ȝ fagð̄i ad è m̄di ſuabuȝ hlyða nēa h̄ lægð̄i kapp ȝ yȝganḡ .e.
 Nu liet enea ḡa b̄ḡ mikla è k̄tago .h̄. ȝ ū ſcyzka ſceinueḡi ȝ mikin̄ kaf
 tala ȝ š ū ſu b̄ḡ ſcyzȝ ac einginḡ ū on̄ñ þ̄lik aollu icalia lð̄i. h̄ ū ȝ ſki
 puð miklū kaup̄pū š ā mikillaz ȝf̄agñ è ūt̄ ū þ̄za riðða ſkap eo ppa
 D ullun̄ h̄ k̄gȝ h̄ red ȝ þ̄ ſē nu ſceñðz rōab̄ḡ. Turñ .h̄. f̄. f̄. ȝ ū allra ha
 20 meſtr̄ a ollu icalia lð̄i. ȝ è t̄ñ ſp̄ði ac .e. tok ac h̄. mikid̄ .h̄. iuellð̄i fi
 ȝ š ſp̄ði h̄ þ̄ ac .E. h̄ beðit̄ ðoc̄t̄ lauin̄i k̄gs en t̄ñ haȝði adz beð̄ h̄az. þa
 ḡð̄i t̄ñ heímanȝð̄ ſina ȝ bad̄ h̄az iañat̄ ſin̄. lauin̄i k̄gȝ gȝȝt̄ h̄m̄ þa 9
 una. þ̄ imoc̄ ſlði t̄ñ ū h̄liȝf̄kiollðz ȝ k̄gȝ. en allir̄ m̄ h̄ ſkyllð̄ir ad uei
 ta t̄no lid̄ En þeḡ t̄ñ k̄er̄ heím t̄ b̄ḡ ſin̄.az ſaȝñ h̄ lid̄i moc̄ enea. En
 25 þeḡ .E. ſp̄ði þ̄ca ſceȝñ̄ fi h̄þ̄inḡ ȝ m̄te š. heȝrið god̄ uin̄ è of̄f̄ haȝ̄ of̄c̄
 god̄a ȝylgð̄ ueit̄. þ̄ hoȝū ū ſp̄t̄ ac t̄ñ heȝ ſaȝnad̄ lid̄i a heñðz of̄f̄ en
 nu ul ek taka leyȝi aȝ yðz ad fína ȝræñðz ūa ȝ uin̄i en ek m̄ ſet̄
 ia h̄ ȝ medan̄ afkanū ſon̄ mín Nu reid̄ enea aȝund̄ h̄in̄f̄ mikla
 euañð̄ ȝ ſoñ̄ h̄ pallaf̄ þ̄z ū bad̄ aȝiæt̄ m̄n̄ þ̄z t̄ ū h̄im ul h̄ fagð̄i þ̄ f̄
 30 in̄ eyzeñð̄i. en euand̄ ſúað̄i š. þ̄ uiliū ū ḡf̄unū þ̄acka è þ̄i ēur̄ ſka
 pað̄ m; š myclū hug ad þ̄ è audſed̄ ā þ̄i ulit̄ è b̄a h̄in̄ lægȝa hluc

hinn hælg honð 7 reyna aholldi uuina sína 7 eñ fl è ú sía m; ollu· b̄ h̄ þa síuði
 7 s̄ ekulè huugu þz m̄ acuær heñðz è uúir lagu f̄ 7 ðru mikín fíoldá rið
 ða f̄u s̄ f̄m̄ ū herín· en s̄ m̄ga m̄ hořdu þz ðr̄ið ad úla řengu þz talc 7
 s̄ uuædu þz mod̄ ac þz maçu úla ḡga 7 þza síḡ è uida ú b̄gðit ibokū ac þz
 5 řengu þa· Serafm̄ h̄togi uakti l̄iði čn̄i 7 huelřdi kačli a hořud̄ s̄ 7 þ̄ði è
 ad sína sík Niš ðp̄ þsa hořřgia meřp̄u 7 kaín è huilđi úđulíḡ k̄ru 7 hařđi
 mikid̄ lid̄ ū sík· serafm̄· fařm̄· slíkt̄ ḡđi 7 ekulè· h̄ ū skrautgiaz̄n̄ m̄ h̄
 tok hialm̄ řđan ař þ̄ riðđa è h̄ ualuens fi mod̄ ū eín godia· uallcens f̄ m;
 b̄ř laíni řegs t̄ řuñđ ū čn̄ū· řir riðđaz̄ k̄ouz ut ař h̄m̄ū Niš hařđi úac
 10 ekuleū ū ad taka ne eíř h̄řang· ecule è ðp̄ eín h̄toga 7 tok ař fim̄ ðyzliḡt bel
 lci þ̄ ū fl̄ř agiačtū f̄ogū þz toku þa ad řiraz̄ fim̄ en folin folin foči up ū m̄
 gunín 7 skeín ařn̄ řağ̄ hialm̄ è ekulè hařđi tekid̄· vallcens reid̄ þa ř̄ h̄budū
 7 sa íj m̄n ř̄ uegín f̄ s̄ b̄iðz̄ h̄ sína m̄n̄ řakia eřt̄ þ̄ Niš foči t̄ řkogíns̄ è e
 kulè úđ řungřař 7 k̄ouz þz imilli fi 7 řkogíns̄ 7 foču ac fim̄ ollū megin̄ è
 15 h̄ úđiz̄ ul 7 đinguliga en řak̄ mikils ořreřl̄ ðru þz ū síđ řna h̄in řrakna r
 iðđa· eñ þ̄ řa n̄is řkaut h̄ oz řkogínū řggnū eín mañ 7 iannad̄ sín řkaut
 h̄ t̄ bana eín mikín hořđgia 7 řeğ̄ eřt̄ h̄iop h̄ oz řkogínū m; b̄gðit síđ
 7 h̄uo acuær heñðz̄ s̄ Niš ðp̄ þ̄ řngan m̄ n̄ 7 ū mikill ualkofc̄t̄ f̄ řocū fim̄
 þ̄ næřt̄ řhadi h̄ řm̄ řlock sína uuina ře uřuñðz̄ medal řmadya 7 ðp̄ m;
 20 s̄ síuði řialřan hořřgiañ uallccens 7 bađ̄ heñðz̄ hařđi h̄ blođḡ t̄ axlaz̄· þa
 foči s̄ miok mæđi řan líkā fi ad h̄ mači è up řcann̄da h̄ řcadi þ̄ þa ad è
 řelagi fi laa 7 lagđiz̄ ař ořan s̄ řegiañđi m̄in̄ godi uín ekulee ieínū řcadi řlu
 ū ðauþa þola V̄ h̄ þa þ̄ hořín 7 liet l̄ř síč m; miklū ozđřcír ař m̄m̄ síř
 toku þr̄ hořud̄ þza 7 bu ařcongū t̄ b̄ḡiñaz̄ 7 řđu čno 7 řogđu fim̄ þ̄s̄ c̄ř
 25 ði· čn̄ gladdiz̄ ař þ̄ è íj h̄in̄ meřtu kapaz̄ ū ðp̄h̄ ař l̄iði enee· en ř̄ ugladdi
 h̄ ā h̄ hařđi lacið lid̄ mikid̄ 7 m̄ga h̄zaufca đingr̄· v̄ þa blafid̄ ollu l̄iði c̄il
 acfokn̄ b̄ḡiñ̄ 7 hořđu h̄m̄n̄ hořud̄ þza řořčb̄đza f̄ merk̄i en è ř̄ řa mod̄ ek
 ulæi þa b̄ h̄i s̄ ū ad h̄ ærđiz̄ 7 h̄iop ořan ař mun ař o
 eggiaði lid̄ síč 7 řagđi s̄ Ganğ̄ ac řgínū ðiazřliga 7 o
 30 lenđ m̄ síḡ off· đzygiū hellðz̄ ðzeingřkap 7 řh̄n̄đū ař off̄ þ̄s̄i o è ř̄
 t̄ řpyzia ad ū síč ū eína řḡ .x. uecř 7 h̄úki m̄u ū t̄ h̄ rad ulixířf̄ ne anña

5 fpekínga 7 è m̄u ù lata heft ǵa ne aðʒ uelaz hellðz fl̄u ù uína b̄gí
 na m; ùu megní· ʒn̄ geck þa ʒ faft ad ad h̄ f̄ieck b̄cið b̄ḡueǵína 7 ʒ
 úð h̄i oðz ad è beid h̄i f̄iña m̄ 7 m; ollu megin ù þa ualflonguz ad
 b̄h̄ 7 1þ è ʒn̄ kō ʒb̄gína ðp̄ h̄i íj̄ m̄ 7 þ̄n h̄iín þ̄ðia è h̄i f̄ñaði íf̄unðz· fa
 10 hoʒðingí ʒb̄gíní è ʒp̄ið h̄i kaftaði ʒ ʒno f̄kðliofú è ellðz ù J· ʒ· foʒi ʒ f̄
 aʒt̄ f̄m̄ f̄e leo ílāba f̄locki· b̄iffa h̄t̄ogí kō h̄im f̄yʒt̄ ím̄ot h̄i haʒði godan
 f̄kiollð en þo ù þz ulikt̄ uigk̄iæñ b̄iffa h̄io íf̄kiollð ·t̄· 7 hallaðiz eʒt̄
 hoǵínu en ·t̄· lagði kefiu f̄iñi íf̄maþ̄ma h̄m 7 þeǵ íf̄cað lagði ʒn̄ ig
 egn̄u f̄alaga h̄i ʒp̄iðū m; f̄iði· þa fa meʒt̄e h̄u h̄i f̄ 7 unðþ̄i è eín m̄ í
 15 kullði f̄m̄ ǵǵa· h̄i m̄t̄ci eilif̄ f̄kō eʒ eín· m̄ f̄k̄ uína yʒt̄ off· þa rez f̄yʒt̄
 ím̄ot ·t̄· sereʒtus 7 þ̄ n̄æʒt̄ meʒt̄nek h̄i ù allra m̄ uafk̄az̄er þz foʒu
 ʒn̄u bað feñ 7 b̄ h̄ aʒ þ̄ b̄ǵm̄n̄ f̄uñðu ad líc̄ið ù kōið ʒb̄gína m; ·t̄·
 20 byz̄gðu þa aʒt̄r b̄ǵ h̄lið 7 foʒu ad h̄m̄ ollū megin en h̄ ù ʒ ulikt̄ f̄l̄
 eʒt̄ū m̄m ad h̄zeyʒt̄i ad h̄i h̄io auallt̄ abað heinðz 7 ʒ er f̄age eʒ þ̄ ù
 f̄kapað ad eín m̄ f̄iði alla ðzeʒa ad h̄i m̄ði þ̄ h̄liota Nu f̄e ʒ heʒ lein
 gí n̄æʒt̄ ǵeínǵ þa ùðz þ̄ aʒ manz̄ eðli ad þ̄zeyʒt̄az̄ oʒl̄ t̄uzni aʒ m̄æ
 ði· þa è þ̄ f̄agʒ ad ǵþ̄ín̄ toluðuz ù ah̄iñū geck f̄if̄ f̄ þoʒ 7 f̄iell̄ t̄ f̄oʒa h̄
 onū 7 bað ad h̄i ǵæʒi nock̄a h̄ialp̄ þ̄sū m̄ at è f̄t̄igí uuiñ̄ þ̄n̄ mañ è
 ʒ è f̄ullhugaðz 7 f̄ ongu ǵǵz· ek geʒ þ̄ leyʒi t̄ f̄agði h̄ at h̄ialpa h̄m̄
 25 m; þ̄iñū m̄æʒi en þo m̄ h̄i f̄iñū f̄elogu f̄ylḡia h̄i f̄ þa aʒuñð ʒni en h̄i
 ù þa ʒ modz̄ ad h̄i la aeínū az̄ backa 7 f̄iell̄ þ̄ a ut̄ sif̄ tok̄ h̄i 7 f̄luʒi
 t̄ m̄ f̄iña 7 uuʒðu h̄im allir̄ f̄egñ̄· ʒn̄ eǵiaði þeǵ̄ aʒlogu ad b̄ḡiñe 7 þoʒ
 t̄i mikill̄ figz̄ auuñín̄ t̄reyʒt̄iz̄ þa m̄iog ad þz̄ m̄ðu uuið̄ ʒa b̄ḡiña 7· þa
 30 kallaði eín̄ riðði haʒt̄ vñðliḡ̄ èo þ̄s̄ m̄n̄ è kōñ̄ èo ut̄an aʒ henni 7 fe
 7 h̄i ir̄ki úʒ· þz̄ èo þ̄ f̄æðð̄ f̄e t̄iðaz̄i è ozleikr 7 f̄t̄reín̄gleikr en b̄ðaǵ̄ ha
 ʒa þz̄ uaniz̄ f̄ælliu f̄k̄eʒtan 7 allz̄koñ̄ leikū· þa f̄t̄oð up̄ eín̄ m̄ ungz̄
 uæñ 7 uigligz̄ afkani ·f̄· enee· en ʒ ù t̄ íaʒnad̄ h̄i f̄egz̄ð 7 b̄iaz̄leik̄ h̄ia
 oðz̄ m̄m f̄e h̄ið h̄uiz̄az̄ta f̄ill̄beín̄ ù f̄kozið íf̄uz̄t̄az̄ b̄nd̄· h̄i m̄t̄e ʒ ʒ
 hoʒū ù talad̄ f̄ f̄olk̄ínu h̄ t̄ 7 hoʒū eñ̄ líc̄iñ̄ allðz̄· en þ̄ f̄lo þer uí
 35 ta ʒ m̄ kuñu íúu l̄ði ù b̄ðaga ʒf̄leʒt̄ū m̄m̄ æcla ek þ̄ kuñígt̄ ùa
 þo m̄ntu líclaz̄ íaz̄teǵñ̄ f̄ia mega ad eʒt̄ h̄if̄ nockud̄ èo m̄ f̄kaur̄ h̄i

5 t̃ fi þunǫ́ kefiu s̃ ǎ þeǫ́ flaug igeǫnū h̃ γ fiell h̃ þ̃ ðaupz̃ t̃ iazd̃ ·ṽ þa
 hin sñpazta oza J̃þsi suiþan kō eneas ũ l̃d̃ m; myklu skipa liði ·al
 refc̃ẽ haþði ·v· skip· mefcenc̃i haþði fiold̃a skipa γ m̃g̃t̃ riðða lið en ē
 þz̃ hořðu t̃iþði aþ̃ l̃ði þa lagði eneas ad m; s̃ mikill̃i reidi ad h̃ ge
 10 ymði ē řyz̃ ad en h̃ figld̃i afk̃ skípunū γ l̃ādi þ̃ míog̃ ř̃ð̃ fi kōz̃ h̃ þo
 alð þa ē b̃dagin ũ fē h̃ðaz̃t̃r uid̃ b̃gína þa ē s̃ fag̃t̃ ad þ̃ǫ́ bad̃ apoll̃i
 nē ad fcyza solíñu þ̃ñ ðagh tok̃ þa solíñ ecki ad ǫ́ǫga· pallas ·f̃· euanð
 ũ iþ̃d̃ m; enea· h̃ ũ myklu meiri en adz̃ m̃ γ þ̃ eř̃t̃ ũ fi ařl̃ eðli γ oll̃
 skapan γ þa er eneas kō m; fiř̃ lið t̃ b̃ǫ́inaz̃ hořz̃ ad nyu oza s̃ řræ
 15 g ad iařnad̃ ē ũ ēeo b̃daga· pallas haþði ecki řyz̃· iðdaga ũid̃· en all̃r
 mořt̃oðu m̃ñ hræððuz̃ h̃ γ fi oǫ́liga ařl̃ ǫ́ði h̃ γ s̃ mik̃ ař̃ s̃ ad ecki řcod̃
 ũ h̃m· h̃ geck̃ ǫ́nañði γ řpuzd̃i h̃ ũ ēñ̃ ũi uillði h̃ ad þz̃ reynd̃i fin o
 řl̃· eñ̃ tuzñ heyzd̃i akařlig̃t̃ kall̃ fi· γ fa fi h̃zæðliǫu hogg̃ γ h̃uřu m̃i
 kiñ skada h̃ ǫ́ði alidi þza þ̃t̃ ē s̃ t̃ iařnad̃ fē þa er leo hleypr̃ ař̃ hař̃
 20 iall̃ eř̃ h̃ s̃ ad yxñ ēo iǫ́ñd̃u ·e· añh̃ řeñad̃z̃ ad h̃ uill̃ þ̃ all̃ t̃ bana řæ
 ra m; mikill̃i ǫ́mð̃ Nu fē ēñ̃ fa fi řñi h̃ moř̃ h̃m· en pallas skaut̃ þe
 ǫ́ t̃ fi řpioři s̃ h̃t̃ ac flaug igeǫnū þz̃iřall̃ða b̃z̃yniū γ řiduna ř̃ utan
 riřiñ γ ũd̃ þ̃ mikid̃ sáz̃· þa æððiz̃ ēñ̃ γ řkaut̃ ad h̃m řpioři þ̃ ē řkap̃t̃
 ũ s̃ ðigz̃t̃ fē áff̃ ũi γ s̃ oǫ́liga řlo þ̃ h̃t̃ γ řñt̃ ad eíng̃i m̃ maři auga
 25 ařeřta γ s̃ řařt̃ niřti h̃ ad pallaf̃ fiell t̃ iazd̃ γ liet̃ þ̃ liř̃ γ þa kō ac
 ēñ̃ γ tok̃ ař̃ h̃m þ̃ id̃ ðyz̃liga bell̃t̃i ē all̃t̃ ũ fog̃ū řkřad̃ γ ē s̃ fag̃t̃
 ad řa ðagz̃ ũ bæði hiñ řyřti γ h̃iñ řidaz̃t̃i ē řa h̃iñ mykl̃i kap̃i pall̃ā
 ũ iðdaga· ṽ þa řyřt̃ geřiñ up̃ b̃dagiñ t̃ huill̃ð̃ h̃uř̃ ēueǫ́iū Þa let̃
 eneas taka alla þa m̃ñ fē řallið hořðu ř̃ uapnū palle γ let̃ aka m; h̃
 30 onū t̃ b̃ǫ́ euanð̃ h̃m t̃ ðyz̃þ̃ γ aǫ́iæřt̃iff̃ eneas řialř̃ ř̃ m; likinu γ all̃
 hinu aǫ́iæřtu kap̃þ̃ γ ē euañð̃ řa lik̃ řoñ̃ řiñf̃ liet̃ h̃ kalla řamañ allaz̃
 hinu aǫ́iæřtu koñ̃ ad þær řiðu leika m; miklū řagnad̃i ař̃ řis̃
 řræǫð̃ pallaf̃ ũ lagð̃i iřc̃eiñþ̃ γ řeř̃ k̃ abořt̃ h̃m řil̃t̃ ař̃ balsamo
 vřp̃ oř̃ kinu ũ ij̃ eir̃ piþ̃ inař̃ likinu γ nad̃i buķñ̃ ē ad řuna γ m̃
 35 ǫ́ h̃undzup̃ū ueř̃ řið̃ ē t̃ ũ leĩtad̃ řanz̃ h̃ ořuiñ en h̃ ũ ē læǫ́ ē
 b̃ǫ́ueǫ́iñ· ř̃ta ũ riřad̃ alegř̃eimi fi· son euañð̃ pallaf̃ ð̃p̃ m̃ga riðða

čnī ȝ šđi sialþan hī Ɔřč þ sīnī eneas ařtr t bġ sīnāz ȝ eplđi bđaga ū tuzm̄
 Dzap eneas þa iij hořþġia agiæta ·c· đp ȝ mġa m̄n· eñ Ɔ· sa hūn mikla laffū
 f̄ mefcencij hīns m̄pa sīnī hī þeġ mot h̄m ȝ bđuz þz ū fcuñđ· þa mlte Ɔ·
 5 þu hīn kuztefī lafle ē řrægz ēt ūđiñ ad m̄gū fnullđ ūkū leita þu per a
 nhs ȝ hlif ælku þīne ȝ þzeyt ē ū mik· laffus ū ad ođi ȝ bđiz leingū ū Ɔ
 ȝ fiell ad lyktū· þa mlte ·e· mikill h̄mz er eřč flīka mañ ē þu heř mī
 fč ælku þīnāz ·Ɔ· lier řa hī t pallas en ē řad hī sa lik soñ fīns gzet hī þa ȝ m
 ælci ř þu hūn agiæti mīn· fon hū kō nu řm đmb þit ē þu fellt ř einū m̄
 Mīkillaz tīđ kō ek iheimūn ad sīa fon mīñ dauþan ȝš fāzliga leikūn hī ū mīog
 10 h̄madz ař ollu řolki ȝ ġřīn m; hzygd ȝ ġřci ȝ huuldūz bđaġ nocka hđ ū řr
n u ē kōin ořto tamī ȝ ad řkīpōđū řylkingū ġgu luđz ū allan hūn ·c·
 ēztr sīnā m̄ ȝ řlyđi ř h̄m hū fē hī ř ȝ mġa kappa đp hī slikt id
 fama ġđi ·Ɔ· ř fē hī reid· þa ġđiz mikil deillđ m; gudunū řč hūč bad ř
 sīnū aīmañ· sagđi řreya t řgs řza þořf ad h̄ uill hialpa enee seġ ad h̄
 15 heř lagč fig ihætu ř lř ȝ řeīnġ mikid ř ř hī řak bad h̄ h̄m figzs en
 sīř bad čno figzs· þoī sīađi· van·t ē ek uīđ kōin ad đāa ū řča mal en
 eř þu sīř ř hialpad ·č· þa nīoči řīđ řs Jřn pungč enđznyađiz bđagīn
 ȝ ūđ hīn akařazci sīnī þa mañfalli aheñđz ·č· ȝ cynīz mīog lid hī ·J· ř bī
 li kō sīř ihīn ȝ b̄ afīk afīanu enee ȝ ġgz ībđagan ř čnū hī æđđiz þa ř
 20 ař ȝ soči řn řařaz ē hī hařđi meřtan hug a ȝ ūđ řegīn eř þz næđi at
 hīčaz þa soči ·Ɔ· řm en ·c· ř hellđz unđan ȝ ř fē ·Ɔ· řæk eřč· ř h̄ unđan
 ȝ teyġ hī řm aeīn ham̄ bčtan þa hleypz h̄ ř ř ořan ūđ ř unđ řkīp b̄
 ř þeġ řtraūz ř řđi· þa řañ ·c· hū kōid ū ȝ unđi illa ū ř hī bč ȝ ř lier
 řč nocka fcuñđ ·Ɔ· tok ř eřč mikla řæđ ȝ ř· Mġ tīřđi uuřđu medan ·c·
 25 ū ībčt ař řkīřčū þza ·Ɔ· ȝ launij řgs ȝ h̄ ·Ɔ· iafnā hīn hæra luc řgz
 feñđi ořđ nefčozī hīnū řpaka eř hī uillđi ġga mot ·č· řagđi ř onga flīka
 adza nauđřyn· h̄ sīađi aþa leid ad ř ū ongū m̄ iākuñīřč fē h̄m hūř řeo
 m̄n ū ř ř ȝ řza kap ē ūřm adza m̄ þā ūollđīnī čo ȝ ūđz ollū illč ū þa
 ad řa ȝ ř ūđ ek ē t řs buīn· ř næřč uuřđu þau tīřđi ad ·c· kō ařtr īđ
 30 m; mikīn h̄ ·Ɔ· řafnadi lidī īmot ȝ ē þz řunduz ȝ řylkingġ mætu þa g
 engu luđz ū allan hūn ȝ uoktu nya hugi t ořo toku m̄ þa ad bīaz ȝ ūđ

dín þr bð mín ú fyft hcekiñ en nu latiñ mikill hluti liðs míns en ek
 kóin a yðit uallð þa eru nu trauē ein rad þ honðū fē þa ē ek fat iþ
 minu 7 fullū ueg Nu þo ad ē lægi lif mit ú þa gíz včē s agiær rñ
 7 radugz 7 siðfell ad m̄ fyniz fa naliga húgi sicia iheimíni ad liclraē
 5 di fe 1 ad teingiaz ú bctū þ m̄ þ úda mít rád ad lica a þca maal 7
 ēga gladlīgha ad þfū kofci þc m̄ byðz þ hugz ad ·b· m̄ geē medan fi
 eirín fceñðz 7 fi kynf m̄ kēr m̄ 7 þ ihug ad ú fkiꝛci fe iþfogn þð 7 þ
 upi haꝛc hū fina alla æt heþ fllc oz anauð syniz m̄ nu fu úþg m
 efc 7 búz ad epla bctū m; ollū þ godu fe ú hoꝛū 7 ollū þfū radū hm
 10 fæð ad rada vænt mug ad m̄g goꝛg m̄ eigi æt t̄ bci ad telia
 en ek man þa einū m̄ þm̄ úa iþzi ætaztolu ek uil 7 bē kiofi hūc fi
 uill h̄ m; inegau ðoçuz míni þðung rikiff mínf m; ollū giæðū 7
 tekū fē þ fylgia ella uil ek fi epla t̄ bctū ollu liði sinu mun ek þa
 geꝛa hm̄ gnoçt gull 7 silꝛ 7 adz ḡfín fkiꝛ m; reidíngi uín huei
 15 ci uad smioz m; oðz uifcū þ ē þ þꝛ ad fylgi ek m̄ 7 silꝛ sicia igif
 lingu þgat cil ē þca kēr þm̄ fē ek heꝛi yðz heicið eꝛciꝛ þca fætu
 7 þz ·b· 7 pandioð heilū façū 7 ú inogen giꝛt bco ú fu ueizla all
 úðulig þ allra hluta faþ Lictu sið bioz ·b· t̄ bctū m; ollu liði fino
 bæði þ ē fi ·h· þgad haꝛc 7 s þ ē þ ú þ ꝛieck kçz ·b· t̄ bctū úy fk
 20 ip 7 xx hinf riozða huñðs 7 oll onñ giæði þau ē fi ·h· heit̄ ·e· m
 eiri siglðu þz bē þeð byz gaꝛ en inogen fell s̄ ú ad skilia ú þo
 ðuz fin ad h̄ uiffi longū ecki t̄ m̄ ē þau siglðu h̄ soꝛnaði ad lykč
 þeir siglðu þu ðægr ad þz kōu ú eina þa er luçtia fi h̄ h̄ úid þiol
 m̄ en þa ú h̄ eyðð naliga aꝛ uikingū bzuē feñði ccc uapnaðza
 25 m̄ ad kaña eyna 7 fundu þz ongua m̄ en þiolða ðyza afkogū þz
 Nu hoꝛ eít þnc 7 mikid 7 ú þ liknefki geꝛiun þozf 7 oðmf en
 ou þr kōu aꝛciꝛ fyftu þz miog ad ·b· ggi alð fi geck up ú xi)ta' m̄
 7 haꝛði m; fer uifenda mañ þn ē geron ·h· þz ú allir goꝛgazt̄
 m̄ ilaðinu ē up ggu m; ·b· 7 hoꝛðu mikin blotkrap m; s̄ þz
 30 hoꝛðu bundit cigñ ðglū ū hoꝛuð s̄ en þz k̄ in̄ ihoꝛē gðu þz
 ellða þa ein þ þoz annan þ oðni þia þgeꝛion siþ geck bē

- t̄ f̄caz ú gefíon ū ozlog sín 7 sofnadı h̄ þ̄ ihořinu· þa þoizaz h̄ sia gefíon fca
 n̄ða yf̄ s̄ 7 fagđi s̄ ·j· ueftrhalřu heimfínf igr̄a·t̄· liggz eyld iuchap̄i obygd̄
 þ̄ hef̄ řyz meir̄ ūđ rífa bygd̄ þ̄ hæf̄ ad bygia 7 þínu kyni ad eilřu
 m̄ su iozđ ūa yđz f̄ řeo· ok řínu kyni m̄ fa řæđaz ē ·t̄· m̄ h̄ yf̄ ollū heim[1]
 5 H̄ fagđi řna řbuozđ řelogu sínū ē h̄ uaknad̄i þz uuozđu řegh̄ 7 f̄ řeḡ t̄ řkupa
 říña eñ byz gař říglđu þz manuđ adz þz kōu ueftr iarf̄k̄ā þ̄ h̄izu þz a ○
 uřia 7 uikínga· ațu ū þa říga řđaga 7 hořđu iarřan řigz· þ̄ fa þz řmg ○
 mn bæđi ařio 7 řđi· eřt̄ þ̄ h̄izu þz amíkıđ lıđ řeo m̄ 7 ū fa hořřgi f̄ þ̄ ē
 íneuf hec· h̄ ū hogū m̄ h̄úřđaglıga rıkr 7 radugz 7 hín điazbazı· h̄ ū 7 ○
 10 řt̄ kr ad h̄ hařđi kafcađ eínū rífa řē řnı· eñ þz b̄ř řunduz logđu þz lag
 řaman ř̄ řıř řē řkotaz gař þ̄ t̄ ē þz kōu ař řđ ē eđřaına heit̄ řengu þ̄ go
 đa hořn þz ū þ̄ uiku 7 końuđu řđı· ř̄ red̄ f̄ řgz řa ē gořuř hec· 7 ē h̄ ūđ
 ○ ū kōu þza řeñđi h̄ m̄ ařza řuñđ ad uıca h̄ıř þz ū řđm̄ ·e· ē ○
 ū řın afkog ad ueıđa đyz· řgs m̄ h̄ıřu ařa 7 řřđu h̄ız þ̄ heřđi leyřo ○
 15 ueıđ afkogırnū řogđu bañ řgs aıa· k̄ınē kuaz allđ h̄đa h̄ıř h̄ leyřđi e· ○
 adı řagđıř řa m̄đu řē řım lıkadı· eñ h̄ řca m̄ıř geck řm̄ eıñ ař řgf m̄[m]
 řa ē h̄ıbē ·řı· h̄ beıđı up̄ boga řın 7 řkaut ad k̄meo ·ř̄· ran ímoř h̄ıbēř 7 řp̄ ○ ○ ○
 ga h̄ 7 būc řřmac en řleıř h̄ řıalřan řřcyckı· řunauř h̄ řlyđv 7 řogđu geřu
 t̄ ř buíns h̄ ūđ reıđz mıog 7 đ̄ ā ř̄ mıkıđ lıđ 7 æřlađı t̄ heunt eřt̄ ○
 20 m̄ bzuř ūđ ūz ū þ̄ řa æřlan řæřı h̄ m̄ t̄ gıæzlu řkupa říña m̄ h̄ ○
 m; řırn̄ ř̄ þz ímoř řgi hořř þ̄ řeḡ řmlıg oza 7 ūđ mıř m̄řall ○ ○
 íū eñ k̄ınē řa řall říña m̄ h̄ıoř h̄ řm̄ aheñđz řgs řm̄ m; ○
 hıo acuar̄ heñđz 7 řellđı řolk̄ geck h̄ ř̄ ıgegnū řylkır̄ḡ ○ [f]
 lo þa řlořa alıđ řgs· en k̄· řořı ođřluga eřt̄ m; řgdıř řıđ ○
 25 h̄ kallađı hař ř̄ řegıandı· f̄ h̄ řlyřı řı řkaud̄ m̄nín h̄ıř ařř 7 ūı
 řsı řkōm ad řı řlyřı řunđ m̄ f̄ m̄ eínū· yđz řıřa augıan řm̄ı ○
 hořřřgi ē řıđuř heř m; ·v· hundđ rıđđa h̄ ū kapı mıkıll 7 ē þzı ○
 hıo řıđ t̄ k̄ıneı· en h̄ b̄ ū řkılłđı řınū 7 h̄ ař řer hegıa en hıř muıge ○
 alm řıđı 7 klaup̄ h̄ řh̄ř nıđz řua ac ē h̄ız h̄lucı řıell t̄ íarđ řıř řıs
 30 k̄ acuar̄ heñđz kō þa b̄ř t̄ lıđf ū h̄ 7 řon mařfall mıkıđ řlo ○
 ořca alıđ řgs ațu þz b̄ř b̄ř řıg ā hzořa J řn řıma řeđu řıř řḡ f̄

7 malfrími· maddan ú hogúr 7 uinfæll 7 è ǫ́ hm eíngi faga h kuangadiz 7
 7eck ætfozǫ́f konu 7 gat m; h i 7 sonu· hec anǫ́ mēþuf en annar malín
 Eñ þz ú nalíga fullkōñ t allðzf 7 uiz sē þ eñðiz gıfca t· þa tok maddan f
 o t þa è h leiddi t bana 7 ú h leiddz eǫ́t ǫ́nū síð· eñ rıki ú 7ıd uıð þa
 5 bðz þa uıllði hı 7za haða eín allt en hıgı unı oþz íafnad þo gatı m
 s t gıæc ad þz nadı è ad berıaz ú fcuñð fáǫ 7 è maçu þz fuıku ǫ́m kōa
 ad þ bygı þ ífkarı· mēþuf hugfadı ad seınc mđı h rıki ǫ́m ðgaz eǫ́ s lıdı l
 angc ǫ́m leıcađı h s þa ozrada ad h señđı m afuñđ malımf bđuz sıns
 m; þ hæcı ad þz sıđu fıñaz 7 rada radı sínū fagđı á hm þo tı sē unð
 10 m þza uıllđu nema þa ollū radū· kuad þa mıog mđı uđa ozǫ́fa sıñaz
 æta z eǫ́ fıku hellđı ǫ́m· Taldı sǫ́ııg ad þz pzyđđı fına fræñđfēı 7 pzyđ
 đı fıalǫ́ fına hđ hellđz en þz ú lǫ́g fınu und m eñ 7ca eyzeñđı kō ǫ́
 malín þa fyndız hm è þ fıazı sē mēþcđı haǫđı tıad ǫ́ h fıkıo t afun
 đ bđuz sıns· eñ þz fıuñduz ggu þz acal í 7 sǫ́p en aǫ́ze malıfcerfu
 15 haǫđı mēþuf meñ ıleyrı uapnada hlupu þz ǫ́m þeǫ́ h gđı þ mık
 t 7 bu uapn amalín 7 ðpu h· eǫ́t lıfıad fı tok mēþuf allt ·· unð
 fıǫ ǫ́ h fıkuıllđı nalıga ú allt· t t 7 ðp mıog s allt ıð bezca mđıal ıldınv
 þ t hm þoçu þz allt t leıngı haða heǫ́c fıǫ ad fıku ozađı sē h lıec nu
 ǫ́m kōa 7 þ añađ ad hm þoçu þz lıkaz t t ad þola s è ofōa 7 ıllgđ è bæ
 20 đı ú bez t m rıkaz t 7 uıcz t h eyđđı 7 nalıga allrı fıñe æt 7c h hug
 đı ad è mđı langc lıda adz en hı z fı 7ñđı mđı þıckıa be t 7 fallıń
 en h ad haða ·· 7 ba 7gı nıfı· en þ ímot gaf h fıoz eıgñ 7 cıgñ n
 oǫ́n þ m m è adz ú lıcıl s úđ 7 fer letu fıefc sōa ı ozadueñđı 7 fıcıozne
 yı· h ú kuangadz be t en h ú úđz acı h ætfoza konu 7 ıalla fıade sǫ́ı
 25 lıga godū hoǫ́fǫ́gıa· son acı þau 7n è ebru t hec h ú bðgz m mēfır
 7 fıcyzkazc· h ú ulıkr 7ođ fınu ífkaplyñđı 7 lıktı z meır mođ fıñe ıg
 ođ ac 7đ· vımfæll ú h ıupǫ́æđıngu af alþyđu 7 eckı mǫ́gla t· þa è eb t
 ú ungz ad allđ lıec mēþuf eına konu fına úđ h fıþ allr ad unð ok
 klækıū þc h tok þa ad þyðaz kazıa 7 7mđı ıð lıozazca lıf úđ þa t 7c ac
 30 taka ad h haǫđı fıkıpad uraduoñđı m m rıki fı t 7 fıkeđfıllū sǫ́þyc
 kcu þz ú h hııa uhæfu er hm þoçu z eıga ad gıallda mıkla úđıng
 7 fıoz eıgñ· eñ h haǫđı 7gz kalladz ú t ·xx· ue t þa ǫ́ h ú dagh a

- dyzauēþ m; hð sīne 7 úþ þskila hēnū eñ hī kō einfaman idal nockn
 ðeef ad hīm úga fueit mikil þz redu añ 7 rifu allan ífúndz þ þ makla
 t ad fa do hřfiligū ðauþa ē skāfāliga lřđi þc æfi mēþij hořz m; glæpū
 7 geck řm m; skēð en eñđiz m; suuþing. J řn cīa ú yř gyþga lđi faul
 5 kęz Eyrurfein hařđi. hī J macdonia řc ad řkřpa .t. řicæþbnū einū m
Pa ē mēþ ū ðauþz tok ebđē .f. ři. ři. eřt hī 7 hařđiz bđē miķ ad. Tok řy
 eñ hī ř. ři. řic řkřpad eřt uulia. þa mīnciz hī hūřu řēđz ři hořđu hīad
 J galliā 7 laciđ þ řina řræñđz 7 ařc m en kōiz nauđuřiga řbē. þořiz hī þř řky
 llđz ad heřna. ř hī þa m; hī řin řgalliā 7 aři þ ř mę ořoz. vañ bę. b̄ur kafc
 10 ala en řellđi řiolđa řikřř m. hī tok miķ hřang řgulli 7 řilř. 7 kō ařc t
 b̄cđđz m; aęiæcū řię 7 oęzyñi řiāz. Eñ hī kō ařc þa uillđi hī en nock
 ad hařaz þ ē ři nařn mæće leingi upi ūa. liec hī þa bę řa 7 kalla ař n
 ařni řinu ebca su bę heit nu iozk. þ ē nu ekřřcoll 7 añ nalięha aęiæcāz
 cř řradz aeinglđi. hī liec reifa adđ bę řię řēaz 7 řēk. 7 hī liec řa uigř þ a
 15 řkocłđi ē meya kafcali ē kalladz. Ebbē aři xx koñ 7 xx. řonu 7 xx. ðæcř
 ř̄ ir ēo neřnđ řyñ ři. bđē řřkřialldz. řgaduđ. řiřilui. řegim. řozuiđ. blađuđ.
 gařf. ðandā. elđad. affareak. řiuel. en ē ēo adđ neřnđ. řř ēo ðæcř ři ne
 řnđ. Gloegin. řnogen. ðuđaf. gueban. řagag. řradad. gladiad. aęaef. řcadi
 aef. galaek. hī ū allra meya řeęřc řza ē a b̄cłđi ū 7 bezz ad ř řz Ebbē
 20 řēñđi ðæcř řiñ allaz řuđz ū řiall J. řcālia .t. t řilui řođ albanī ē þa ha
 řđi þ ř. ř. bad hī řilui řia þ ř řza kofci þ ē řyña þæci t řmkuæđaz ē
 þær řiřcuz řñanldz. řilui řiřci þær allaz řikū řm ař řeo æt. þær
 hořđu řēaz eigñ 7 miķ uallđ. Ebbē řēñđi řonu řina t řaxldz ad uina þ
 7 řēci affacikū hřcuga yř 7 řřia mañ m; řullřingi řilui ř alřci. gařu þz un
 25 iđ unđ řik allc řaxld 7 ředu þ ř. ř. řicřudu ř þan anña lđ kofca. bđē ū heima
 m ředz řinū řmān þz lřđu bad. Ebbē ðo þā hī ū miog ū allđz 7 hī hařđi .t. ha
 řc einū ueť midz en xxx. bzuť liec ul bua řřc hī ad řnū. řiđ. Tok hī þa rad
 7 ř. eřt řođ řin 7 řed řij ueř 7 ē eingř řagha einkāñlięha ř řim gřoz. řon
 ři tok .t. eřt hī ē heř lei. hī liec řa nalięha a řñdanūđ b̄cāñia ř řē þa ū ka
 30 llad bę 7 kalladī ař nařni řinu křerlei. J řn řima řed řolomon hīñ řpa
 ki ř iozfala lđi. 7 þa ū reřc ař řñđuelli řēplū .đ. þ ř mēti ē řyřc ū řc řheim
 řnū. almačkū ři t lořř 7 ðyzþ. 7 þa kō in řpaka ðēřg ař auřcřueę ařuñđ

ther tok ríki allt oc kðō
 yǫ bzetlði h̄ let ǵa ðzeka tua aǫ gulli
 oc let þar ǵa aňan heima íkkuu en an
 nan let h̄ bera þ̄ s̄ifockū huar fē h̄ ha
 5 ði bardaga h̄ var síðan kallaðz vther ðz
 ekahofut· oc ǵ ðzekarń ǵū ept̄ þeī ē sēń ǵ 1 aňlatu
 relíj· En ept̄ aňlat aurelíj þottiz otto son heígefr
 lauff aǫ aullū þza eincamalū oc oz ǵa ollū vanda ǵ bzeta
 h̄ faǫnar nu faman faman faxah̄ oc ǫr m; vuugian her
 10 t̄ bzetlðz oc iáfkíot fē h̄ kēr ǵ lð rēń h̄ oc bzeńnir bygði
 na ðzepr hún mán ē h̄ naer vngan oc ǵalan oc eyði lðit
 allt nozðan at eborakō ǵ gaungu h̄ fetr s̄inar h̄
 buðer ǵ bǵueggina oc ætlar at v̄iňna b̄gina. b̄ǵm̄n s̄ia
 nu at ē ē víft ū at þz geti hallðit sig íb̄gim̄ þ̄ fauxū. oc
 15 ē k̄riń s̄pyr̄ þna uǫð· þa faǫnar h̄ þeǵ lði aǫ skyndingu oc
 heǫ ecki mikim̄ h̄· eim̄ h̄togu ǵ ílði m; h̄im aǫ kornbzeta
 lði fa ē gozloef het· h̄ ǵ mikill hauǫðingi oc ǫrækn til
 vígf Nu ǫylkia huarǫueggju sínu lði oc tekz haurð oz
 rofta oc hauǫðu bzet̄ miklu m̄iňa lið en faxar en fax̄
 20 oc irar ǵ ymfer ǫrām̄i oc ǵð þ̄ bzetū aukit þott þz væri
 ǫrækń marḡ· þ̄i ozra ǵ allan ðagin̄ oc sfod m; miklu
 maň s̄pell̄i oc víð nott ǵ kuellðit kō ǫlott̄i 1 lið bzeta
 oc ǫlyði uther 1 ǫiall eitt mikit þ̄ ē heit̄ ðaň oc uar
 allt lukt m; sferkū haūrū ðe bzottū Saxar fettuz
 25 vm ǫiallit m; allan síň h̄ oc ætludu at engi m̄ sky
 llði 1 bzott kōaz ǵ nottina en þeǵ líoft ǵ oc ðagz kō
 ueittu þz at gaungu oc þottuz sigz ihendi haǫa

N u kallar vth̄ sáman alla sína m̄n þafē
 m; h̄m v̄ aꝥiallinu oc b̄iðz þa leggja rað t̄ h̄úfu þz
 munu hellzt ƣa hialpat sínu liðz ·e· ƣirraz ouuna yꝥ
 gang· Gozloef koznbzeta h̄tugi v̄ m̄ vitraztr oc raðug
 5 aftr· h̄ fú k̄mali v̄ erū nu fē vita ma ƣæri oc aꝥ va
 rū uuinū nu miog yꝥ kōner oc eꝥ v̄ b̄iðū h̄ mozḡinf
 þa s̄yniz mer fē vart eꝥni fē naliga b̄tit en illt til f
 uruunḡ at v̄b̄iðī h̄ fē naut haugf oc knenē fē fau
 ðer iqu· Nu ē þ mitt rað at hlaupa a þa inott m;
 10 bardaga þa ē þr̄ ẽo s̄izt v̄buner oc mun þēi mun þēi
 miog a vuart kōa at v̄ munū ē oz f̄tað b̄iðia ○
 nu illir tiltakf m̄ḡ ē aðz soƣa vnder tuollðū s̄inū oc ha
 ƣa moder niðr lagz oc marḡ saꝥ k̄inū oc ollū oðzū
 þotti þta et vænfta rað oc fogðuz aller hellðz vilia
 15 ƣalla m; ðzeiḡfkap en b̄iða þar mozḡinf oc v̄a þa
 hertekū ·e· ðzeþñ aꝥ s̄inū uinū ḡðu þz oc síua hlau
 pa nu a þa vuara m; op̄i oc eggjan oc ludza gang v̄
 ða ƣaxar nu eck̄i goder t̄ takf· ƣalla þz nu hundrudū
 en s̄uñ ƣlyðu þz otta oc eupa vr̄ðu handtekñ bað
 20 oc kaftað imyrkua s̄toƣu Gillomañ ƣlyði hēi til
 iriðz oc haꝥði latið mik̄it lið oc vndi h̄ s̄tozilla v̄ sína
 ƣð h̄ liꝥði s̄kañā s̄tund þadan aꝥ· oc andaðiz aꝥfott
 en t̄ k̄ḡf var tekiñ eꝥt̄ h̄ s̄on h̄i ē loð het h̄ v̄ v̄infaell
 m̄ oc var engi vuun bzeta ðingū s̄inf rik̄if
 25 **A** t paskū ḡir vth̄ veizlu mikla oc v̄ðuliga hauꝥ
 oc bar h̄ þa sína kozonu m; hiñi meſtufæmð
 v̄ þar þa s̄aman kōner m̄ḡ agæter hauꝥðingiae

oc kǫ́gnf rað gjafar oc huñ meftu viñ gozloef kozn
 bzeta h̄togi v̄ þ̄ komiñ oc fi fru iğna è allra kuenna
 v̄ vænft oc pegrft. þ̄ at h̄ar afion v̄ fua faugz oc biozt
 at aller þ̄r è fa vndzuðuz h̄ar pegrðd oc lofuðu hē
 5 nar líft. h̄togiñ v̄ni h̄i fua miķ at h̄i matti varla aþf
 ia oc aungū m̄ trudi h̄i h̄ar at gæta at þ̄i veizlu nē
 a fialfū s̄. kǫ́gniñ rendi opt augūi t̄ þ̄arf konu oc fua
 hug. þegar h̄i fa hana oc h̄i fendi h̄i alla hinar beztu
 krafer aþ fínu bozde. oc h̄i taladi m; h̄e iafnan oc
 10 è h̄togi fa þ̄ta. þa foz h̄i ibzott m; konu fua f̄ vtan k̄
 leyfi oc let hana kōa i ein hařan t̄n è h̄i t̄ndagiol
 fkat fra fío. þ̄ v̄ fua aurugt v̄igi. at þott allr b̄t
 a h̄r fækta at þa mattu vel þz riddarar v̄ia þ̄ at
 þ̄i kaftali v̄ allr luktr fío oc hōzū oc þangat v̄ fua
 15 þzaungt einftigi at engi v̄an v̄ a at þangat mæt
 tikōaz eþ nockuř mēn v̄it varnar h̄togiñ f̄itr nu
 ikaftalanū oc fetr nu fua m̄n at geyma þ̄a t̄nf
 fua at engi m̄ k̄æmu þar t̄n nema h̄i leyfði en h̄i
 fialfr f̄itr nu iaudzū kaftala eřlandiz miog at li
 20 **Þ**a è kǫ́gniñ v̄ðz viřf at gozloef ðr
 hertogi v̄ ibtt þarīn. m; fua f̄ f̄ utan fi lof. þa
 fender h̄i h̄toganū ozd at h̄i þ̄æri fē fkiotar apr
 afi řund. huat eþ h̄i vill m; aungu moti oc aþ þ̄ verðz
 kǫ́giñ hardla reiðr oc þ̄r m;kiñ h̄ oc f̄itr v̄ þ̄n|a|k
 25 aftala fē fialfr Gozloef h̄t f̄itr i m; fua m̄n
 fua at ecki manz barn matti þaðan b̄tt kōaz
 en è k̄ziñ hařði þar v̄ fetið viku þa kalladi h̄i t̄

sín sín en meftra vín þáñ è vlfriðr het· kr fagði hím at
 hī hafrði sua mikín girndar hug aignā konu h́toganf
 at hī q̇ è heilfu mundu hallða efr hī næði è hīar· en vlḟ
 ḟ· è er hī hægt at na è ḣ è lukt ísua ḟkū ṫnī at velm
 5 ega þzr ṁn v̇ia ḟ ollū varū ḣ· þótt ṫ ḟæki Nu þiki ṁ è
 van at þu naer hī nēma þu noḟ rada v̇ merlj̇ enf ṡpa
 ka· en ḟgziñ fendī þegar epṫ hīm oc è hī kō ḃiż ḟgñ hīm
 sín vilia oc biðż hī leggja ṫ nockur rað· at hīf vili gangi
 ḟm· merliñ ·ḟ· ḣra fagði hī þ̇ mun ḟkiott v̇ða mega ep
 10 ṫ yðżū vilia þ̇ at ek ma sua ġa afṙ minū ḃzaugdū
 at þar man fynaz gozloef h́togi è þu èt en vlḟm rad
 ġiafṙ sua ḟe jozðan þio þionoḟtu ṁ þ̇ra en ek mun
 fynaz ḟe butabef añar þionoḟtu ṁ þ̇ra seninn ofḟ ġā
 ġż ġeṗṁ iñṁṅ ḟgñ baḋ hī hafṙa mikla þauck ḟ þ̇i rad·
 15 oc þara síðan iturmiñ oc ḟingu þ̇r gang iñ þ̇ at þ̇r þot
 tuz þ̇ kēna gozloē· sín ḣra oc hīf þ̇elaga m; þ̇m hætti
 þor kṙ i ṫnūñ oc rekte ḣia iðne þa nott hugði ḣ ecki
 añat en þar v̇i gozloef h́togi hīar eigimbondi oc ġðiallt
 epṫ hī vilia þ̇ ḟe hī beiddi· oc v̇ þ̇za ḟauiſt eī ṫ engiḟ þa n
 20 ott ḟe síðar mun fagt v̇ða at mozṅi lez hī mundu ṫ
 liðḟ ḟinḟ Nu v̇ðż gozloef var v̇ velar þ̇ar oc vill nu at u
 fu v̇ia ḟina ḟ þo at hī ætti v̇ oḟrepl̇i v̇· þ̇r nu m; allt lið
 fitt ṫ motż v̇ ḟgñ oc tekż þar ḣin hardazti bardagi
 oc þo è langż adż h́togiñ hrauckṙ apṙṫ ikaḟtalañ oc æt
 25 lar sua at þozð fer· vtḣ kṙ ḟæker þa at m; ellði oc
 vapnū þar ṫ at hī hefṙ ḋzepiṫ h́togañ oc síðan lætṙ hī
 ḃzeña kaḟtalañ oc ḃziota ṁðż allan oc epṫ þ̇ta þ̇r hī

eñi fama ðn fē iġna fat i oc fyniz ollū femþar k
 omiñ h̄togiñ oc er þau ēo ifinifæng· kēr fu tūdenða
 faugn ꝥ þau at h̄togiñ se ðauðz en bzenðz kafaliñ
 ꝥ iġna þottiz þa è vita h̄uiu gegna mundi· è fagt
 5 var þallbonða h̄ar en h̄ þottiz þo sia h̄ h̄ia fer· k̄ġn
 lagði þa baðar hendz v̄ half h̄e sua mælandi· sia
 mattu min fæta at ek h̄ ꝥ heill oc katr her h̄ia þ̄
 en þo úðiz m̄ þ̄ ubætiligz skadi è mier vpp bzenðz kaf
 tali miñ endzeþn̄ miñ m̄n oc mun fat at fara a k̄
 10 fund oc beida ġða síðan miñ apli nu farin̄ oc með
 þ̄u einu bzagði kō h̄ h̄i burt aꝥ t̄ninū oc ifinar h̄buð
 En sua var kafaliñ aurugt v̄igi at h̄ maeti h̄i allðzi
 þaðan btt kōa nēa h̄ villði vnauðig fara at sialfuih̄ia
 15 **U**th̄i k̄r tekr nu þeġ apr̄ sin yꝥir lit è h̄ sinū
 v̄ ibrottu aꝥ turminū oc seġ h̄i þa allt et faña oc með
 hueriū b̄gðū h̄ heꝥ hana þengit· oc þo at þu þikiz nu
 mikiñ skada beðit haꝥa iðzari bonða þin̄f þa munu
 fkiott raðaz bætr a þ̄ ꝥ þa gzein at nu ftu v̄a min
 20 ð̄nig oc ft eki ockari samuift allt þ̄ bæta fē ek he
 aðz b̄tið v̄ þ̄ig· en h̄ mli m; miklu⁻ harmi Nu è ek
 farliga fuikin oc hozmuliga gut· ho ho ·f· h̄· mikil
 ofkaup ēo uozðin Sua è fē ek fē vozðin bana m̄ bō
 ða minf· sua agætz· h̄m ūna ek likama sialꝥf̄ mī
 nar· oc sua fē h̄iꝥi minū h̄ villði m̄ allt gott oc þ̄ ft v̄
 25 ða allðzi at ek gangi loftig ifama fæng þeī m̄ er
 miñ bonða heꝥir fuikit oc fyr ft ek lata
 en þ̄ verði h̄ grætr nu farliga oc ber sua

harm at engi m̄ mattu hugga hana

- K**gziñ beñ nu þta mal þ m̄linū speking· oc biðz
 h̄ nu sua ḡa m; s̄inū radū at f̄ o f̄aþyckī h̄im
 merliñ m̄h̄ h̄ra sagðī h̄ þ er litil þzaut· þt ek ma ge
 5 þa h̄i þa ū dzyck at h̄ muni eng`a`z heipt̄ v̄ þig· en v̄ðī þ̄
 vel v̄ñandī merliñ geþr h̄i þañ dzyck at h̄ kaftar
 þegar ollū ecka oc angzi oc f̄aþyckir k̄ginū oc p̄ar
 h̄ h̄ar· oc takaz m; þeī miklar after oc attu f̄aman
 ij bozn· het son þza ar̄ en anna dot̄t oc þa ē þau
 10 hoþðu mozg ar afāt v̄it· þa tok k̄gziñ fott mioglan
 ga oc mæðiliga· En meðan h̄i la i þ̄i miklu fott þale
 tu þz þa laufa þara ottā oc erþā er geymt skyllðu
 haþa myrk̄stofūñ· oc þozu þz siðan t̄ faxlðz oc so
 þnuðu þar liði siðan k̄ou þz aprt̄ t̄ bzetlðz m; mic
 15 lū h̄· oc toku þa at þara h̄skullði nozðan yf̄ lðit· oc
 ræntu uida· en bzendu þger oc bæi varð þa litil m
 ot ftada þ̄ at k̄gñ v̄ t̄ engif̄ r̄æk̄ f̄aker s̄inf̄ krank
 leika viñ fi ræððu þa at h̄i skyllði gipta añam ·ð·
 fina lothura k̄gi oc v̄i h̄i siðan þ̄ liði k̄gfinf̄ oc þau
 20 rad tokuz at āna v̄ h̄im geþin oc v̄ þza ·ff· hoel oc
Loth ē nu geyr̄ hauþ mozeid oc valnon
 ðingī yþir bzetaher oc st̄yrðī þ̄ liði imot þeī
 otta oc erþa oc attu þz f̄aman nu nockurar ozroftur
 oc k̄o lið bzeta iāliga a þlerta oc þell þeī þungt iol
 25 lū bardaugū En ē þ̄ þta þa steþñ h̄ t̄ sin ollū hoþ
 ðingū s̄inū oc ē þr komu þagat m̄h̄ sua mikil
 hozmung ē þ̄ f̄egir h̄i eþ t̄ign oc vellði b̄tldz fl leg

1 aullū mañraunū þeī ē v̇ þolū † gudf narñi· Ep̃t
 ði geck ðuþct̃ ēkibp vpp a eina hæð oc kallaði alyð
 iñ sua mælandi· þer goder dzeigir ē pryðð ēut t
 aknū k̃ftilgzar truar oc agæt at godū fidū re
 5 yndir at raðuenði oc raufkuer i þmgaungū miñūz a
 mañðo oc millði þa fē erut fkyllðer at veita vinū yð
 rū oc felugū ē nu ēo miog þzaungðer aþ heidnū m̃m
 kostið nu oc ðugit oc biz hraufliga † yðzu fe oc fl
 fi þ at a yðz munliggia eiligt bizgzli eþ þ standit ē
 10 i mot aþ ollu megnī· yðzū vunnū gangit þm̃ vhræði
 liga oc þolit þzekmāliga ðauðan þot̃ h̃ kōi þm̃ þ at
 fa ðauði ē sigz oc laufn allðariñar er m̃ tekr fakar
 bzæðza fīna Nu latid̃ yðz ē iaugu vaxa iþa mañraun
 at ganga þ at h̃ur ē til fkr̃ipta g̃gz oc fyñ guði fāna
 15 iðzan fīna fynda þa munk holp̃in aurug̃liga ifi
 nū ðauða· fīðan blezadi h̃ allt liðit oc bað herklæ
 ðaz fkiott oc uafkliga i narñi ðtt̃if oc fællar marie
A r̃t̃ kr̃ tok þa bzyniu fīna g̃ua aþ hinu harð
 azta ftali oc ftyþ̃ fig fīðan tekr h̃ hialm̃ fīñ hep̃a
 20 ðū allan gyllðan· hardara h̃ūu ftali· oc g̃f̃r̃iñ i ðze
 k̃i eiñ aþ gulli oc fet̃r a hauþuð f̃er· þa tekr h̃ f̃ið̃ f̃it
 kaleburniū oc gyrðer fig med̃ allra f̃uerða bez̃t þza
 ē þa v̇ bozin· iþañ t̃ima· hauðf̃riot fitt tok̃ h̃ i haunð
 f̃er þ̃ ē eron h̃et̃ allra f̃piota bez̃t þza ē þa v̇ bozin·
 25 h̃i tekr þa ok fkiollð fīñ þdoñ h̃ v̇ þyckr oc þoliñ þ̃ v̇
 laugð̃ am; gulli liknefkia marie ðzotnigar oc aha
 na het̃ h̃ iraunū aullū † traufz̃ fer oc fulltingf̃

oc   h   v vapnaðz m; súa godzi hnefkiu oc agæt. þa varð
 allr hekiñ glaðz     þz fa siñ hauþðingia oc  ozmañ
 súa ulikan aullü auðz oc treyftvz þz súa vel fi hamgiu
 at þz  gu aller glaðer   þar oztu. Nu fla hiñ vpp hopi. oc
 5 blafa i luðza sına. lyftr siðan sókn saman. oc tekz h
 aurð orða oc ganga sa  ht  m oc  alla miog b etar
 i eñi  yftu atlaugu. ar  lætr þa ba  m mki sitt at þei
  ylking  armi at vífi    gariñar. en þ   v   kol mr oc
 10  æk nu ar  h súa  aft at   kol mr lætr þa vndan
  iga. sına  ylkingar oc  rell þo  ioldi a  þei. ar  eg
 gear þa sına mñ. lætr ba sitt mki vnder  ylkin
 gar saxa. oc  ara þz nu vndan a h eli en þo stod þi oz
 rofta allt   nætr oc sleit nott bardagañ Saxar i
 ottu vpp a fallit. oc settu þ sún h buder oc horðu þ  
 15 vígi v nottina. En ar  setti sına h buder vnder  i
 allinu en þeg v mozginiñ  æk hi vpp a fallit. með
 allan siñ h oc  ær hi mikit mañtion. þ at saxar vozð
 uz all iar liga bæði m; gzioti oc skoti. hauþðu þz
 iardarmun oc attu at vega  ozb eckif. oc þa k oz ar 
 20 vpp a  fallit m; allan siñ h oc tekz þa hardz barda
 gi oc  fanligz h fu hmiga mundi langar stunder
 bref fottu at  aft en saxar vozduz vel oc  iar li
 ga. En   ar  fa at seint oztiz a v mañfallit þa
 varð hi súa reiðz at hi h op  m oz  ylkinguñi oc
 25 þu guð   aullü hlutü styrrer bæðe stozü oc smā
 oc þu skapader aða. oc himin oc iozð oc alla hlutü

- vigðz ðð frændi f̄ oc þótti h̄ miog líkiaz síðū dubzicij þa let
oc fāfon êkibp sín b̄pðo oc ú celerí þ̄fr tekīn í ftað fī. oc f̄ioʀ þ̄par
aðzer v̄ þ̄ vigðer. oc mart v̄ þ̄ aňat t̄ t̄denða þ̄ fē h̄ é é fagt. þ̄ b̄
tar hauþðu nú aðz ikyrðū fetið .v. vetr oc f̄kētu f̄er at flukū
5 hlutū oc mozgū auðzū. oc h̄rðu í miklū bloma.
- N**v é at fegia f̄ rōiūū. þ̄z f̄pyria nu h̄úfu mikit ar̄
hauþiz at oc h̄úfu mikit riki h̄ hauþi. af þ̄eī v̄nit. oc
lagt vnder f̄ig. vndu rōueriar f̄ozilla v̄ oc þ̄otti. þ̄eī b̄tar
f̄itta miog yf̄ finū hlut é þ̄z f̄kyllðu aunḡ f̄katta luka.
- 10 leo keifari v̄ í aufr riki. En h̄ hauþi f̄ett hauþdingia þ̄aň
yf̄ rōueria é lucí het. fullr ðzābf̄ oc metnaðar. oc þótti
betra at hættā finū m̄m oc f̄ér. en f̄itia f̄ua lengi yfir
f̄kaurðū hlut f̄ē þa hauþi v̄it v̄ bzeta. ḡðu rōueriar þ̄at
rað at f̄enda m̄n til artū k̄gf̄ þ̄ir m̄n f̄ með b̄zefū oc kōu t̄
15 bzetlðz þa é ar̄ f̄r fat at veizlu. ḡættu f̄um̄ f̄kīpa. en fu
m̄ ḡgu t̄ hallar. oc ḡgu m̄ í haullina þa é f̄r fat yf̄ bozðū.
.xij m̄n veñ oc vnḡ oc t̄iguliga buñ. oc bar huèr ihenði ker
en aňar l̄im af ol̄fu t̄. oc ḡgū f̄ artū. oc kuoddu h̄ v̄ðuliga
oc pengū h̄im b̄zef̄ í haund. þ̄ er f̄ua ml̄i. lucí hauþdingi rōue
20 ria f̄endir artho k̄gi. f̄lika quediu f̄ē h̄im f̄om̄. miog vndzūz ek
ðirþð þ̄ina oc ðul é þu þoz v̄þð at ḡa oc eigna þ̄ mitt vellði
oc þu hugleiðer è h̄úia h̄neifū þu ḡir. þar f̄ē allr heīr lytr
vnder vara t̄ign en þu hellðr þ̄eī f̄kauttū é f̄ aundūðū
kugaðe yðz t̄ Julí keifari at ḡiallda. oc síðan haþa rikuli
25 ga heit̄ v̄it af þ̄inū frændū oc naliga af ollū nozðz hal
f̄ū heif̄inf. þu hef̄ ðzegit vndan varri t̄ign vallð oc f̄k
lð oc mozg oňur riki. Nu vill rōuefk̄ t̄ign at boðe f̄tól f̄.
at þu f̄ækir þ̄eğ̄ a fama f̄ūri a vara m̄fkuñ. oc bæit̄ ollu

þ þe v̄ viliū. oc vaķi tign byriar. en eř þu ðuelr oc uill ozæk
 ia vara ozdfending. þa man ek kōa oc heita þ̄ allt miřkuņar
 lauft. þa e ar̄ ĩr hařđi þ̄i ozđ yř lefit e v̄ a b̄ri rōueria
 þa rez ĩ v̄ v̄ hauřđingia oc alla alþyđu þa e þar v̄ řaman
 5 komin huat t̄ rađř řkyllđi taka. þa reif vřř Cađoz koznb̄
 ta ĩr. oc řtvđ ĩ řęginv̄ oc řyndi a fer gleđibzagđ oc m̄i ř
 ře m; hlat nockurū. trauť heř ek řua notid ře ek m̄
 řa ella řa řagnadar ře v̄ hauřū ař yđz řegit. eř e ot
 tuđūz ek ř̄ at v̄ mundū ĩ řællřřř řakar. tyna řoknři
 10 m̄i oc řigz řællđ .e. audzū bzaugđū agætū ař ř̄ at a řzē
 vetrū hauřū v̄ engřř řađ. nēa teřla oc leika oc ko
 nur řađma en ĩ řlika hluti tynř margz mađz veg
 oc virđingu mundu v̄ naliga tapa vaķi řrægđ. eř řli
 ku řęri řrā lengz en guđ læť rōueria ĩ ř řliķra hlu
 15 ta leita at þa řyniz đul řza oc đzābuři oc řar m; rađle
 yři ar̄ m̄i þa e řulltruar miņ oc řylęiarar oc řañer
 ařtuņ koma i ollu rađneyťi oc řrāgaungu iħūri
 řzaut oc maņ raunū e yđuar řarř at neyta. gerř
 m̄ nu rađ t̄ huat v̄ řm imoti řtanda rōūū m; al
 20 lan řtyrk varn oc v̄ia vart řli ĩ řeī e-. řm v̄ ona
 uđger upp geraz a řza vallđ. oc geraz řza řzælar
 oc řola ř̄ bzigzli er a man liggia. tauķū nu eitt
 rađ at allra var řařykt. řt lettbaert v̄đz řleřtum
 ř̄ e at hendī kemr. eř aller ero at einu rađe man
 25 off litiđ .e. ecki řa ořocka rōūia eř v̄ v̄đū aller a eitt
 řatter. v̄ vitū huerřu miķit Juluř keřřari eigna
 řiz ař ranī. oc hauřū v̄ iarņan e miņi malaerņi
 at heimta ař řeī řkatta en řz ař off. ř̄ at řrændz

vař bældu oc brendu oc heingðu xxx haurðingia rom
 vřkra ainutozgi. oc logðu víða lđit under fig. Con
 ftantiñ elenu fon frændi muñ eignaðiz allt romari
 k1 oc ređ fina æri. oc hif fon eřt h. sua oc maxentiñ na
 5 frændi var bzeta kř eignaðiz stol rōueria rikiff.
 hu1 man ě rett at v heitum ař þeiř skatta en eř v ho
 řu tekitt ař þeiř riki. řakriřz řialř eř řz vilia. řa reif
 hoeluf vřř řyftur fon arthi oc mli. vær hřřu allđ ř
 lengi at v řai řeđza řað en řta. at v lati řa leita ř
 10 at v řetti at rettu at hařa. oc ě ař ř maktigt at řz
 miřfi řinf. řa ě řz villđi vart m; raungu hařa. Nu
 villđū v at řu řeir řað ř ř at řu mikladez ař. en
 aller ađzer řylgđi yđzū villđi ũ nu ě at řu leř
 ř ř viřaz at řakia rōariki. ař ř at sua hařa řpa
 15 mñ vař ř ř řagt at .iij. mundu bta řgar romari
 k1 eignaz. Nu hařa .iij. eignaz en řu munt va eñ
 řziđi. řkunda řu at řiggia ř ě guđ er buiñ at vei
 ta ř. Taktu řigziñ at řialřkraři řggz at ř. đyrka řu
 off sua at řu vđir řignaztr řialř. ek em řř
 20 at řalla řpei řardaga .e. řa řigz. oc mun ě aňarř
 huarř miřfa ek man řa til řarar m; ř .x. řund
 maña vařkligza oc vel vapnađza řa ě hoeluf
 hařđi řinu mali lokit. řa reif vřř augufeluf alba
 nie kř. oc mli sua. ek em řegiñ yđuaru řatlan sua
 25 at ek ma ř ě ozđū iña oc ek gleymi ollū ottanū oc
 gleđiūz ek ař řardaga oc sua er ek giarn ř bana
 rōueria. ře řa mađz ř đryckiu ě ađř heř lengi řyřt
 .e. řriđt vatn řellr ř řařar. řegiñ ě ek þeiř degi

at aňat huart fe. at ek ƿai aƿ þei ƿar .e. ek veiti þei bana
 ella. goðz è sigñ endaz è gott at ƿalla v̄ tír oc ozðloƿi oc haƿa vel
 ƿm̄ ḡgıt oc varit vel ƿe ƿitt oc ƿelfi. konur oc bozn oc ḡt k̄gf ƿo
 ma oc tıgn oc d̄yrð m; ðzeıgfkap. hrındū aƿ haundū rauƿkliga
 5 mañlærū þei oc leggiū alla þza tıgn v̄ var metozð. ek ƿær t̄
 ƿarar ƿar .ıj. þunder r̄. oc oƿ ƿotgangandi m̄ at ollu vel buıt
 þ̄ è þta ƿolk þarƿ at haƿa t̄ hbunaðar. ft ek h̄ıgı mik t̄ ƿpara
 at ḡa k̄gf foma iollū hlutū þei è ek ma. Nu m; þ̄ at allt ƿtoz
 m̄nı eggiadı þ̄ at ƿtanda amot r̄oueriū þa v̄ar oc ƿufū at ƿ
 10 ylgia þar fe art̄ k̄gz var ƿıalƿr. ƿaƿnar k̄r nu h̄lıðı v̄ aull
 ƿın rıki t̄ ƿuðz ƿðar. h̄ı haƿði aƿ bzetlđı. einu ƿaman lx. þ̄v̄.
 með artho v̄ ı ƿaur ƿkotar ozkneyngar ƿuðreynḡ hıalltar
 bzet ƿot. nozðm̄n ðaň. valer ƿeckar. oc ƿlæmıngıar. albanı
 ar. oc nozðımbzar oc var talıt allz rıððara lıð m; h̄m .cc.
 15 þ̄unda oc þzar þunder. oc .cc. vtan ƿot gaungu m̄n oc
 knapar. art̄ lætr þa aƿtr ƿara ƿenduım̄n lucıj. oc bıðz þa
 ƿua ƿegıa at h̄ı mun k̄ða aƿıf ƿund oc è þ̄ erendiıf at gıall
 ða r̄oueriū ƿkatta hellðz kuga þa t̄ at gıallða š. eƿ þz vıll
 20 ðı è ella ƿara ƿenduım̄n þar t̄ è þz k̄ða a ƿund lucıj. oc ƿegıa
 h̄m ƿın erendi. En è lucı ƿƿurði þı tıðendi. lætr h̄ı þegar
 lıðı ƿaƿna v̄ allan auƿtr ueg oc v̄ ƿerklđ með h̄m ræz tıl
 ƿarar ephıfıroıñ gııckıa k̄gz oc matezár ƿerkıa k̄gz oc
 alımānaƿ lıbıalðz k̄gz oc hurtaç ƿarðıa k̄gz oc bozeı
 media k̄gz. ƿertenıf ƿabıa k̄r. ƿandaıuf egiptalðz k̄r
 25 mıcıpıa babılonıf k̄r. ƿalıtexel bıthıme k̄r theoı ƿrıgı
 e h̄tozgi. euanduf h̄togi ƿıne. ethıon boerie h̄t. ypolıf
 aƿ crıt. oc meðz h̄m marğ jarlar oc hauƿðıngıar r̄ða
 þgar aullðungar v̄ þır. lucı catelluf. marıtuf herıcul

60r

Art varð glæðz v̄ þa faugu
 oc þotti vel hagnat haða ifyrftu oc þack þei vel fina
 5 frāgaungu h̄i fpyk nu at luci var kōin m; sinu liði i b̄g
 þa ē heit antifiodoz. oc ætlade ept̄ v̄ ðagiñ t̄ lmkolm. art
 roz m; liði sinu v̄ nottina. oc fkipade fylkingar h̄i ḡði vj.
 fylkingar i ðal þei ē luci atti veg v̄ art haðdi .v. þvnd̄
 maña oc .v.c. m̄ oc .lx. oc fīm mīr i h̄uri fylkingu h̄i fkip
 10 aði fer huaru r̄ liði oc fotgangandi m̄. h̄i fkipaði ahuar
 atueggju hond̄ r̄ t̄ eini fylkingu v̄ þz augufeluf aþal
 banie oc katoz kozn̄ta htogi. oc var sū fueit afina haund̄
 huar m; r̄ fueit añari fueit stýrðu þz Geriñ oc karno
 cenfuf oc helo ozauxnaþurðu. þziði fylking stýrði loth
 15 nozegf̄ kr. oc askell ðana kr. þiozðu stýrði hoel oc valuen
 fyfturfyn̄ h̄i þar þioz̄ fylkingar v̄ frēftar settar h̄ðar
 miog valit lið þ̄ fē fræknazt var iþfak̄i fylkiḡar En þ̄
 ar ē nu ēo talðar ftanda abak h̄inū. þar var þ̄ eini bedu
 eř byzli oc gai skutilfueiñ. añari stýrði hollðvan htogi
 20 guðard̄ aþ peitu. þziðiu rugen oc jonathaf þa var
 fet̄ en atta fylking abak þ̄m fylkingū oc stýrði þzi urb
 geni aþ badon. art̄ fialþr̄ ein̄ niundu fylking. oc v̄ iþzi
 .vi. þund̄ emualaliðf. oc vi.c. oc vi tiğ̄ oc vi. m̄n h̄inū t̄
 undu fylking stýr̄ moziund oc heþ̄ art̄ þa fylking t̄
 25 þ̄ at h̄ fl para lauf. oc kōa i opna fkiollðu rōueriū þa ē
Art̄ fet̄ti þa niðz fokn̄ v̄i fē akaufuzt
 m̄ki sitt auidan voll. ðzeka aþ gulli ḡuan. oc reifa
 þar h̄buðer sínar. h̄i bað þangat færa alla þa fē far̄ v̄.

- oc hauþðingia þa   fellu oc let h þa[n] ftað vigia áðr vandliga.
þa talar h en þ lyðnum oc tok sua til malf. þat vil ek fegia yðr
aullum aftunnum minum at ek vni sforuel þ þat at ek fe þo at vær
hauþim nockura hrið i kyrðum fetið. at þ hauþim en e[] tynt figzfa
- 5 li ok foknþim oc vart agæti er hellðz van at a lopt munu fæ
raz en niðr falla. ver hoþum gozt æðri bzetlðz tign en añar
ra landa. oc hauþu þ sua aukit vara tign.   nu og þeþ mik
fkarð hauþt aþza lið oc eigu þz nu þegar at sia epi sinum
hlut við off. oc er sua inðællt at dzeþa þa fe suun eða fauði.
- 10 eigi var mik at þr ætli yðz auuirdið mnn at þ   ek hugða
nu alla va hræðða þ yðz oðna. eggiz nu a goðer bz
æðz oc gum þei einðzægia hriðina. at þz viti húa þz hitta
þ at þa hauþu þ figzaz oc kostgæpt   miða heþ boðiz
eþ off vðr audt at raða þ romariki. þa flu þ haþa
- 15 gnogar vðingar oc yfrit gull oc silþr huð oc þozp. þgir
oc kaftala oc vapn. at hu   kost at kiofa fer tugþ naþn
þat   h vill sialþr. en   hann haþði lokit sinu mali. þa letuz
aller vilia falla hellðz en flyia oc ba eilifa fkaumm oc
bzgzli aþ hueriu   t fpyzia. mki sitt a við
- 20 **L** vci verðz þ þza ætlan var bzetaña oc lætr fetia
an voll. þ v aurn aþ gulli gtozr. oc let þ fetia hia finar
hbuðer m; þei hætti fe art haþði fett sin hbuðer. h fki
paðe sinu liði tolf fylkingar oc v i þzi ferhúri .vi. þund
þotgangandi m. oc .vi.c. oc .lx. oc sex menn. en   lið allt
- 25 v þim oc var þ þi fylking luci catelluf oc alþamaþ.
spanialdz kr. añari hiruaþ parðia kr. oc mariuf oc le
uið romaþgar aullðung. hini þiozðu styrði. sertozi
libia kr oc kumf mil romaþgar aullðungar. þeffar

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oc ei nam h̄ fyr staðar en h̄ haŕði heŕnt sín frænda
 oc þellr hokronē oc ð̄ h̄ ðauðan ep̄t ser̄ t̄ h̄buða ar
 ti . þa varð kall mikit i herinum oc ḡðiz oŕra haurð oc to
 ku nu lik ðauðza maña at þekia viða volluna. rið
 5 a nu frām r̄r m; albzyniaða hefta. þz leggja m; fú
 dū .e. haugua. v̄ðz nu sua akapt mannfall at allt
 flaut ibloði einu. Jþi suipan fell af rōúia liði
 þ̄ir hauŕðingiar alþania splanlandz kr. miŕkfla
 babilonf kr. kuint̄ mil̄ oc mar̄. liuid̄ aullðungar
 10 rōúia hoŕðingia. en af art̄ liði fellu þ̄r hollðuin̄
 htoḡi oc leodegar̄i oc þz̄r ofulef oc turfalef guali
 o. oc vrbgen̄i. J þna tima kō lucī með mikiā sty
 rk t̄ liðf̄ v̄ rōueria. oc raða þ̄r Cad̄or oc hoel̄ þ̄ i
 mot með sinar fueitir. lucī veit̄ sua harða hrið
 15 at þ̄r hoel̄ f̄ þegar a hæl. en þo vorduz þ̄ vel oc
 ðzeigiliga luciuf eggjar nu faft fina m̄n oc berft
 fialfr̄ all ðiarfliga. art̄ v̄ þa oc t̄ kōin̄ með lið
 fitt. oc ē h̄ fa þ̄i tiðendi. hleypt̄ h̄ þ̄m milli fylk
 inga m; akeŕð oc bzegðr̄ fuerði sinu kaleburni
 20 o oc haugz̄ t̄ beggia handa. oc mæŕ einū hauŕ
 ðingia splanlenzkū þeī ē vtaln̄ h̄. h̄ var hin̄
 beztī k̄. oc allra m̄ fræknaztr̄. h̄ haŕði ðiar
 fleik at riða fyfr̄ imoti artho. oc þeḡ k̄ḡn̄
 leit̄ h̄ riðz̄ h̄ at h̄m oc haugr̄ til h̄if̄ með fuerði s̄
 25 oŕan i h̄if̄ hialm̄ gyllðan oc klyfr̄ allan hialmiñ
 o bukiñ bzyniaðan oc sua heftiñ at fell huar
 tuegḡi ðauðz̄ aiozð. artuf kallar nu hatt. heyrir
 goðer ðzeingir̄ seğ̄ h̄. taūkū vel v̄ iþyrfu. oc re

kū aꝥ haundū off omañan ƿī. oc látū aunguan m;
 lıꝥı vndan kōaz. mīnumz a þat at þ̄ haꝥıt vnder mik
 v̄nit .xxx. rıkia m; yðzum ƿrækneık. mīnūz huña
 ƿyri ƿrænða vara huat ƿr̄ deıllðu röuerıū aꝥ. ƿr̄ f
 5 katgıllðu þa vnder bzeta oc v̄ þa ftærı oc tozfoꝝıgı rō
 ueria hauꝥðıngıar en nu ẽo. oc ƿalli hellðz hūr vaꝥ v̄ þ̄
 ueran añan en v̄ ƿlyım m; ƿkēð. þa ẽ ar̄ haꝥði ƿtta
 mıt rıðz h̄ ƿrām oc heꝥ baðar hendz ıfñ bloðḡ allt v
 ƿp̄ t̄ axlar. oc ẽ hūr t̄ bana raðıñ ẽ ƿı ƿıðı mæt̄ h̄ hıo
 10 ıarñan .ıj. ı einu hauggı. allð mıfı h̄ m̄ .e. hefta oc
 geck ı gegnū ƿylkingar huar ƿē h̄ kō oc ƿtoðaðe þeı
 litt hlıꝥar ƿ̄ at ƿa. þ̄ ƿē kaleburnıo v̄ t̄ haugıt. þa re
 ðuz .ıj. kgar aꝥ rōuıa lıðı hım ımóı. añar ƿertoꝝı lı
 15 ııa k̄r. en añar polıteka bıthunıa k̄r. ƿr̄ leggia t̄ ƿı ııa
 ðer ƿēñ en ƿua fat h̄ ƿaft ıfınum ƿauðlı at h̄ ƿıkaðı h
 uegı ƿ̄. ar̄ haugr þa t̄ ƿerkoꝝıū oc klyꝥr hann ı h̄ðar nıðz
 en hann leğz ƿrıotınu ıgegnū polıtekā. oc hratt hım ðau
 ðū aıorð. Lucıuf eggıar nu ı akaꝥa ƿıtt lıð oc ǻð ẽ ðu
 ga mundu eꝥ ẽ ḡgı aller ƿm̄ ƿē ƿaung v̄ı a. ıarðız hann
 20 **Þ**a ẽ ƿı at gangz var oc allıarþlıga.
 ƿē harðaztr þa kēr ǻ lıð ẽ mozeıð ƿendı hım ƿræn
 ðr ƿı. ı opna ƿkıollðu m; ƿına ƿylking ƿua ƿē ar̄ haꝥ
 ðı rað ƿ̄ gozt æpa ƿr̄ hop oc blaƿa ıluðra. oc ġa ƿua h̄
 ða aráf at hundrudū ƿell lıð romıua kō þeı ƿı oꝥðz a v
 25 uart oc flo otta aþa. bzetar ðıꝥfaz nu v̄ oc ƿækıa h̄t
 ƿrām. oc eggıar hūr añan. v̄ða rōuıar nu ıklyꝥıuñ
 oc ƿellr nu hūr ıꝥır añan. ẽ nu ƿua mıkıll ıapna
 ıurðz at ẽ ma ƿıa ƿ̄ heıðan hımın. J ƿı hrıð var ƿkotıñ

Appendix 2

AM 764 4to
Reynistaðarbók

Transcribed by Patrick Aaron Farrugia.

Informed by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “Universal History in Fourteenth-Century Iceland: Studies in AM 764 4to.” PhD diss., University of London, 2000.

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22 July 2023

1r

[U]pphafi þfa litla annala bæklmg̃ skulu skriðuð nuck̃ lituð af heif̃ kr̃i
 [nglunni ɿ] af þm lonðū ē .f̃hi ftanda ɿē s̃idz hoʰboz̃g̃ h̃ufo þ̃ haʰa ɿɿyftv
 [fm]idaz t̃ þz̃f̃ ā h̃ofara ūði lefañda m̃ ē t̃ hlydañda þza āburda .e. tid̃
 [en]ða ē ūdit haʰa ɿ̃ þ̃ ē g̃d̃ skapadi ūollðina ɿ ū hoʰ̃ fuñðit ibokū skil
 5 [r̃i]kū ē annalū ɿyrr̃i m̃ ɿ̃ s̃ heʰr ar ē s̃undz skipt 1 þza hlutu heit̃
 [Ra]ukf̃alig sk̃ipan ɿnr̃ uizku heʰ sua ɿ hellðz ā uioñi heif̃ byg̃f̃iñ
 eiñ þz̃idiungz. afia .iij. europa .iij. aʰfrica. Afia þ̃ðiuungz g̃g̃z aʰ solar upp
 [r̃]af̃ s̃ s̃ē þ̃ūt takañði auftan aʰ heif̃ k̃ngluñi. en. europa ɿ aʰfrica
 g̃ga ueftan amoti s̃undz skipt̃ t̃ ñðf̃ ɿ̃ fullu auf̃t ē þ̃ l̃igt s̃ē afia g̃gi
 10 þ̃ūt auftan ɿ̃ eñðim̃k affrice. afia heʰ naʰn tek̃ aʰ konu nuck̃i ē ɿoz
 nū tímū hellt auf̃triki h̃ liggz ituei hlutū heit̃ onñ afia meiri ē on
 ñ afia miñi. Afia meiri heʰ þ̃fi laund̃ ɿf̃ier. þ̃ziū ðiálonð partiā. affir
 iā mediā. p̃iðaland. mefopotamiā. arabia. ɿyrl̃ð. fañiā. iozafala ð̃ ē ft
 endz im̃idiū heimi. iudea. þ̃ nær. egipta. ð̃ armenia capadocia ɿ m̃g
 15 aunñ r̃iki. Jaufr̃halʰu meiri afiv ē fa ftadz ē paðifuf heit̃ h̃ ē fullr
 m̃ð ollu kyni bl̃oganda uio ñm̃ ē l̃ɿf̃ t̃ þ̃ k̃ēr ē kuldi ne oʰr̃hiti hellðz
 ftendz þ̃ ub̃gðiligz loʰz̃im̃f sk̃iærleiki. þ̃fi paðif̃ ē ē ahimni ɿ ē aiozdu h̃ ē
 [xl] ɿadma hærr̃i en noa flod geck. h̃ ftendz im̃idiū lopti paðifuf fegiz
 [io]ɿn abzeidd̃ ɿ̃ leigð þ̃ ē ē holl ne ðalr. þ̃ ē h̃ūt t̃ r̃iett f̃em kolbz. þ̃ ē fa
 20 [ɿugl] ē ɿenix heit̃ h̃ ē mikill uexti ɿ̃ ɿagz ɿenix ē s̃ f̃em ðozott̃iñ ɿ̃f̃ ollū
 ɿuglū h̃ lauʰ ɿig ul̃ɿf̃ bzuñi ɿ̃ ɿlygz upp þaʰt̃|ð̃'an ɿ̃ fez at̃ þ̃ ē hæft̃ ē ɿp
 ðifo igegn folu. h̃ gloar s̃ē gull. augu fi sk̃ina f̃em k̃ftalluf blodzaud̃ ēo
 [h̃]f̃ ɿætr̃ h̃ ɿlygz oʰ paðifo aegipta ð̃ ɿ̃ xv uikur fam̃faft̃. þ̃ k̃ōa til
 [h̃]f̃ allzkyñf̃ ɿuglar sua s̃ē h̃ fe allra þza k̃gz ɿ̃ ɿyngia ūh̃p̃ū h̃ h̃ur̃ af̃in
 25 [a] lūð ɿ̃ ē lanzmeñ heyra þ̃ þa ɿ̃a þ̃z̃ huadanæʰa t̃ fi ɿ̃ mæla s̃ k̃ō heill
 ɿenix h̃uʰ t̃ ñnz þu gloar f̃em gull rautt̃ alra ɿugla k̃gz ētu. þ̃z̃ g̃a ɿ̃
 og̃l oʰ uaxi ɿ̃m̃ka eʰt̃ h̃im s̃ē þ̃z̃ megu l̃kaz ɿ̃ víta naʰn fi allir ɿog̃lā
 [ɿalla] t̃ ɿota h̃im m̃ð rauddu. raud̃ raund̃ liggz abaki h̃im f̃em gull. ɿenix
 [ɿ̃r̃] aʰtr̃ ɿpaðifuf þa ē xv uik̃ ēo ɿ̃ h̃ð̃f̃ allir ɿog̃lar ɿylgia h̃im oʰtt̃ fuñ̃ ɿl
 30 uga ɿ̃ oʰan ē fuñ̃ ɿ̃ nedan ɿ̃ ah̃iā tuegg̃iū h̃lið. en þa ē þ̃z̃ eigu ē lein
 gra kuæt̃ þa ɿ̃r̃ h̃ur̃ aʰtr̃ t̃ finf̃ ñnz en ɿenix heif̃ ɿpaðifum þ̃ ɿpzettr̃
 [ɿ] ṽp̃ bzuñr̃ h̃áðla mikill ðogguandi allan sk̃og̃iñ en sk̃iptiz s̃idan ɿioz̃r̃
 ftoz ar heit̃ ein þ̃ufoñ h̃ fellr̃ ū iozð eulat þ̃ ɿiñz þ̃ gull ē ecki ɿiñz
 þ̃ ē ecki ē sk̃iær̃ra þ̃ h̃ittaz ɿ̃ þ̃z̃ nat̃tu f̃eiñ b̃iðelliū ɿ̃ onichuluf. Aunñ
 35 a h̃i gyon h̃ fellr̃ ū blað̃ ɿ̃ oll þ̃z̃f̃ eñðim̃k h̃ sk̃illr̃ afiā ɿ̃ affricam̃ ɿ̃ h̃
 fellr̃ ūh̃p̃ur̃ egiptað̃. þ̃ðia a h̃. tiʰf̃ h̃ fellr̃ ū ɿiriā. ɿiorða a .h. euʰra
 [tef̃] þ̃ ɿalla bað̃ im̃idiarþar ɿio h̃ fellr̃ igegnū babilon h̃ina miklu
 ɿ̃ kemr̃ ɿio sk̃āt̃ ɿ̃ anthuokia. veʰtr̃ ihaʰ̃ l̃gz hin miñi afia. g̃yrd̃ir̃ ā
 h̃i ɿioz̃ ollūmegin utan t̃ auf̃træft̃. suñan ā g̃gz ɿioz̃ ē kallaz h̃e

- [e]gripciu nðan á gǫgzi sioz euxinu en ueftan ,pponticl. Afia minni h
 eþ isfer þlik halþ bittiniā. frigiā. galaciā. lidiā. cariā. pāphiriā f[am]
 5 þ ē all
 [t] oocif 7 k
 [al]ðea lð
 antiocchia. nichomedīa bōg. fteñd2 7 ibittiniā. Affrica kallaz anñ þdiu
 ngz iard ipm hlut ē ferklð id mikla. scitia þ ē nv fviþioð hin mik
 la. pentapol. tripolis. bizancia. kaztagina. nvmidiā. mawritania fmg
 10 itan 7 annad mauzitanīa. þ vt unðan ē langt fteñd2 eyin fazdōmī
 a þ geymdiz heilagz dōz auguftinī þpf næi .cc. 7 lxxx aza þaz til er
 lidbzañd2 kǫg longobazdoz liet fækia med sinum legatīf 7 flytia heī
 15 iþi rikī iþa bozg ē papienīf heit ok geymiz iafnan sidan iþzi k
 kiu er kallaz a latinu auzeū celum þad þydz a nozrænu gu
 lligz himin þ n ē kaldea lð þ fteñd2 hin mikla babilon hā simðapī semī
 ramīf huīf nini þ ē pñida lð 7 iij blalonð 7 arabia lð þ gez reykelī inog þ
 fteðz bōg ctago 7 bōg ypponīf þ ē 7 fitiþs lð. Þzidi þzidiungz kallaz europa ē na
 20 j h fte
 nðz bōg
 ooon
 7 h fte
 nðz bōg
 ooon
 15 i t.
 ooyf
 oozbuzi
 s[pi]tal
 ftæna
 oofelo
 þan tok af þm m ē eurof .h. midiarðar siozr fklr affricā 7 europā ē iauftā
 ūþzi. europa ē gða rikī ē fuþz af gklð þ fteðz ostantinopol ē naþn tok af
 20 ftantino him mikla kra ē nu kallaz miklagðz. italia tok naþn af italo þ
 ē mik k 7 fteðz þ fuñan fiallgð þn ē mñ kalla mundiu fiall iñi þē midzi
 fteðz rōa bōg ē naþn tok af romlo þ fteðz 7 turon 7 mediolanū. At utanuþ
 25 italia ē pulld þ fi'e'ndz bæer langbða lð fteðz inþanūðzi italia. þ nðan t auftf
 ē faxlð ē t ut fydz fcklð. ispaniā ē ū kollu spanlð ē mik k 7 liggz fudz t mī
 ðriarþ haþ mill langbða lñz 7 fcklñz. rīn heit a mikl ē fellr nðz f mū[diu]
 30 þalli mill fcklñz 7 faxlñz irīñ kuīflū nðz t haþf. þ nðan faxlð ē ðanmīk
 þan liggia þi lond einglð irld fkotlð. auftf af faxlði ē hunalð þ ē lit rikī
 suiþioð liggz þ auftan ðanmīk ē ñegz þ nðan en auftf af ñegi ē ruza lð [7 nðz]
 þan tta k þ nðan ñegh ē fīnñk þan ukr lðinu t lanñþz adz kōi t biarm
 a lñz af biarmalði gga lond obygd af nðz ætt unz gzænlnd tekr ū fudz f
 35 grænlð liggz hellu lð þa mklð þan ē ē langt t uinlñz. iñlð ē ey mikl h ē nð
 uz iktfni fva ā m uti t almeñiligz uppzīfu hīñ viij byriaz a hīm mikla ðe
 þ
 S ex eo gzeind ibokū allðzar þfa heif. hīñ vij ē ē iþfu līfī hellðz i oðzu fīm
 gi 7 he ongan eñða. fua heþr hīñ fyfta heif allðz igðs naþnī [fyfti .h.]
 H Æftu gud ufyniligz ūandī þ allar ūallð ein iþzeñing 7 þzeñr ieiñingo
 þ ē faudur eiginligt ā ūa af ongū getiñ ē fkapadz ē getiñ. sonr ē fam
 35 iafn 7 faeilþligz feðz iallrī ðyrf. af hīm ē ūðin ē fkapadz hellðz oūræðiliga
 getiñ. heilagz añði ē af feðz 7 fyni fīmfañði af huarþtueggia. fua ē lefið
 fañliga ā aþz ē heiriñ ū gīozr. uiffi þi uollðugz gþ tolu 7 noþn fer hū
 [r]a fiña m. h fkapadī fyft iupphaþi hīminn 7 iozð 7 alla hlūi fyniliga ok
 ofyniliga af ongu þ lggianða eþni þ ū ðzottīnf ðagh fa .ð. kallaz ala
 tinu þñ dief feculi þ ē id þzidīa .g. uñcio þ ē iij natm þ ððicm a

rauftu síðan gzeindí h́ skapada hluti a oðz .v. ðoḡ^m. A oþz degi uiku g1oz
 ði h́ ix eíngla fylki. eíñ aþ ollū eínglum skapadi h́ fríða ollū oðz fa het
 lucif 7 skioctiga fem h́ ú skapadz fyllðiz h́ ðzäbfeñðar 7 þottuz v́a líkr ḡþi
 þ v́ h́ fyttr niðz t heluítif úþín fíañði aþ eíngl 7 allir þz è fim fāþyc
 5 ktu urdu fíañðz aþ eíḡlm þa g1ozþi h́ 7 feftunḡ h́mín. hín þðía .ð. fí
 o 7 1ozþ mþ uotm. hín f1ozða .ð. g1ozði h́ fol tungl ftiozñ þær év allar f þa fto
 aít 7 haþa ongan gang unðan teknū víj planetif þ fetu h́ þñ ḡḡ fē síð ð fol
 an heþ hallðiz. luna .h. fýfta planeta h́ è fkuþ ð íneðfta lopti ú 1ozþ í þmo a aufrí
 celo h́ ḡḡz síñ h́ng a .xx. 7 ix ðogū 7 úíj ftuñðū. anñ planeta .h. m̄curí h́ è tungl [a]
 10 1ozþu lopti h́ ḡḡz síñ h́ng .c. 7 xxx 7 íx. ðaga. þðía .h. ueñ è íþðía lopti h́ geḗ uefrí
 síñ h́ng .cc.xl 7 víj .ð. f1ozða. pl .h. fol h́ è íf1ozða lopti h́ geḗ síñ h́ng .ccc.
 7 lx. 7 v .ð. 7 vj ftuñð. fímta. pl .h. m̄f h́ è 1v`a` lopti h́ geḗ síñ h́ng íj ar. Jupit .h.
 hín vj`ta` h́ è ífetta lopti h́ ḡír síñ hzīḡ a xij aþ s1onða .h. fañnuf 1vñ`a` .l. h́ ge
 r síñ h́ng a .xxx. Aþ íorðu t tunglf èu x̄v mlna 7 ðc.xx. 7 v. f̄ tungli t m̄cu ara
 15 ríu vj mlna ðccc. 7 xij aþ m̄c̄io t ueñè íāhḡ fē f̄yḗ. aþ ueñè t solar .x̄x.m.
 cccc. 7 xxx 7 íj mlur. Aþ folu t m̄tè èo x̄v.m.ðc.xxv. aþ m̄te t íouè .vī.ðccc
 7 xij. Aþ íouu t fañnū íamhḡ fē f̄yḗ. Aþ fañno t feftinḡ .h. x̄x 7 új.cccc.xx
 7 vi. m̄. Aþ1ozþu t feftinḡ h́mínf èo mlur famantalð .c.1x.ccc.lxxv 7þo á ftioz
 20 ñ f̄yníz ḡga oz auft íuefr aij ðægz f̄nuaz loptin m; ftioznuñ. fīta .ð. fkapadi
 h́ oll kuíkuenði þau è. lífí añða èo þeim lífliga añða fkapadi guð eþ[ti] oððū ḡḡij 7
 fýfta þñ è è è hollði hulðz 7 è eilíþ þñ annan è hollði è hulðz 7 è eilíþ 7
 ðeyḗ allðt þðía añða fkapadi h́ þñ è hollði è hulðz fa ðeyrr mþz hollði þ è all
 ra kuíkuenda þza è lífliga oñð haþa. A hínū fetta .ð. f̄m̄aði h́ fýfta mañ aþ. f
 íoz hoþfkeþnū. lopti. ellði. 1ozþu. uatní. þñ mañ kallaði h́ aðā fuafe takañði
 25 ferhún ftaþ íñ naþní aþ fíoz hoþ ættū. h́ ú skapadz íebzon þfí m̄ hín fýfti v́
 lx á hæð eþt fogn fæmð h́ v́ fkapadz eþt líknefkíu fíalḡ guð á líkáf f̄m̄i ha
 fañði .cc.xl 7 víj beín. en .ccc 7 lx æþa sua fegiz `á` aþ h̄artanu ḡ⁻ḡi ú uizka è
 mał aþ lungaf̄nuþ. reidi aþ gallíþnuþ. hlattr aþ mullti. è líkáf f̄yfin aþ líríní
 ok á aðā fořanda tok guð ríþ aþ fí hægzí síðu 7 g1ozði þ aþ konu h̄a kallaði
 30 h́ euā h́ ú .l. á hæþ fetu guð bæði ípaðífum 7 leyřði á þau æti auoxt þ
 ra ta è þ líkaði en bañaði á þau æti aþ þ f̄ è ftod ímíðzi paðífo 7 h́ kallaði
 líf̄ f̄ þa kō t eþu fíañðíñ íhoggozm̄ líki aþtr en í fr̄era hlut f̄yndiz h́ haþa
 meylígt añlir h́ talaði á h́ m̄ði eta aþ þ f̄ è guð bañaði 7 m̄ði h́ þa uita ḡó
 7 illt. 7 h́ fua bleckt at bañat epli 7 gaþ síðan aðāi Guð reiddiz þm 7 rak
 35 þau bzott aþ þm f̄agza f̄tað þau hořðu þ úid è leíngz è fex ftuñð þa klæ
 ðuuz þau loþkyrtlū. A fíaunda .ð. huulðiz ḡþ aþ ollu úki fa kallaz f̄abþim þ
 è huulð.ð. sua feḡ ymagō m̄ði á heírín fe uaxín fē egg 7 s̄ fē f̄kurn è ū egg
 s̄ è ellðn ūhúřū heírín 7 s̄ fē albumen þ kollū v́ f̄kual è næft f̄kínau s̄ è lo
 pt næft ellðiþnūþ. 7 s̄ fē íð huíta egḡ è næft album̄ s̄ èo uotn næft lopti

- § fem id rauda è ieggì § è iozþ lukt íþsum hoþfkepnū. Jozð è uhzærilig
 en uotn. lopt 7 ellðz þ' snyz íarfan ū iozðina. Pa è aðā 7 eua uozu af
 fett þaðífi þagnaðū þæddiz þ' son fa è feth è neþndz h' ū þyfr getuñ mð
 munud af karlm' 7 konu. mþ þ hætti fē bækr uífa t' á loptu karlmínf
 5 hggí ifi leñdū en ínaþla konuñar 7 è þza beggia fað fáblandaz mð kon
 unni è þ' afynd' vj. ðagha næftu § fē míolk 7 þ' pan íx .ð. líðnū ūðz þ' blod
 7 á eñ xí. ð. líðnū styrkíz. 7 þan xx .ð. líðnum è mínf líknefkia algiozr §
 feğ 7 yfodoz' ethimologiaz at fueínþ' ūði af þriou konuñar. è meybñ
 af íaði karlmínf. tua fonu gatu þau aþza abel 7 kaín h' ðp abel mðz
 10 afna kíalka þ' fak oþnð è gð þektíz þn abelf þedgín h' fyttu h' .c. ara tírat
 § fegez á þau haþi att síðan xxx. fona 7iárhg' ðætr. Aðā lífði 7 xxx ara
 h' ū gþrñ iloco caluarie 7 eþt' tía ū fluttr íebzon. seth son aðāf lífði .ðccc
 c. ara 7xíj. h' í enof. l. ðccc. 7 v. á. h' í káinan .ðccc. 7 x. á. malaleel. ðccc. 7 lx 7 íx
 á. h' í iared. h' í. enok è upp ū numín t' hína 7 lí ká mð elia 7 biaz moti a
 15 ntú 7 þ' þalla. þa matufale .m. h' í ū lamek h' .l. ðcc.lxx víj. á. h' í fyn' ū þz noe 7
 íubal è þyfr þañ hlíodþæra íþzott. þði .h. íoel è þyft þañ hufa ímíð. íozði h.
 tubalkaín h' þañ þyfr m' á blafa rauda 7 allan malm syft' þza `h.' noema er
 þyft þañ ueþh ymíuþg' hatf' enok è upp ū numín fē þyfr. feğ ū huñ vj
 af aðā h' þañ þyfr allra m' bokftaþa fetning' lætinu málf. eð þan èo ebzei
 20 þ' þyð' ebzeþkr her lýktaz hín þyfti heíf allðz haþaði ífier .m `7' .ðc. ara. **anñ hifa.**
 h Er heþz anñ heíf allðz a noa lamekf' fyni h' eín þañ gþ ríetlatan þa þyll
 ðiz íozþín af míkullu íllku mañaña húanaþ gþ reiððiz h' mæltu þa ū noa
 gðu ozk af liettū t'ā h' íkal ūa .ccc. alna long 7 .l. alna bzeið .xxx. alna unð þak
 bika hā utan 7 ínan. sex alñ .e. íx þætr þ' è íámik þ' heita geomete alñ. auln
 25 è halþr anñ þotr fua feğ. jústoria scolafuca. þa ū noe .ðc. ueþ è h' geck íozkína o
 a h' het þarpa þz fyn' h' kā. sē. íaþed ggu íozkína oa káf .h. kataþloa. koñ fē þarþh
 ía oa íaþed þlua þ' ū x'í' kl mai þ' è íj nattū þ' gagnðagh hín eina. è ū þífk íoz
 kíni 7 è þoglar þz è þiota auatní en oll onñ kuíkeñði tueñ. þa þlæðði fíoiñ
 en lukuz upp hímínrauþ 7 rígnði xl .ð. 7 natta ífamt geck þa þlodit xv. alna u
 30 pp af hæftū þollū ðo þa allt mankyn íheñm' utan þf' víj mñ Aurkín þlaut
 afíon' ul' xíj manudu. gud byrgði íalþr ðyrr aozkíni
 Críftalluf Gluggz
 Menn atta ok þuglar
 Mannhæg kuíkenðe Uífa rum Mannhætt kuíkenðe
 35 Sagzína eða faurrúm

2bisv

neƿnðz abzaham ú ıfyftu hoƿðıngı a lðı þ   kallðea heit. þz vozu
 þr bzaðz abzaham oc arā ok nachoz ok   ƿıolmeıne mıkið komıt ƿ
 þeim ollum Jþan tíma toc alþyðan ath blota skðgoð^m. oc þ þ ath
 5 aþham oc aron bzaðz villðu   blota þa v þ bað skotið iellð bnn
 anða. en ellðn mate eckı gā ath aþham þ sakır helgı fi oc vðleıka
 en aron liet þ lıf sit ok attı eƿt ein fon er loth het. sıþ baud gud
 aþhe at ƿ aƿ ƿofırlði fıno oc ƿ ƿrænð^m oc bað h leita lanz þ   v kollum
 ıozfala lð. abzaham ƿoz sıðan m; loth bzoð fyny fınū ok bygði ıozfala lð
 sva feğ gılofa fı eƿlam paulı ath romanos. ath ceða haƿe heıtıð þðla abza
 10 he. en agar kallaz haƿa vıt ambai hon ú moð ıfmaelıf sonaz abzahe

Þessi melkıfedeçh heþ rıkt iþ kaftala er falem heit oc þ   h kallaðz kgez
 falem fa fıaðz er fıkamt ƿ ıerımı ıozðan þ ero mozg uoın oc þ ueıtte
 15 ıohef þƿta ƿolkınu fkırn

noe geck oz ozkni 1j nattū ꝥ tueggia plā m̄ aūið þa ml̄ti gđ ū noa boga min
m̄ ek fetia ifkyū s̄ fē m̄k faatmalf̄ m̄iðil min 7 þin 7iárd þ̄ kallaz regnbogi
s̄ fegiz 7 á gþ̄ haꝥi þ̄fi o2ð talað. iðz̄ mig á ek heꝥ̄ ḡt manin̄ noe .l.. allz̄ dccc'c' 7 l. ara
s̄ .f. ymago m̄ði á ꝥ̄ fem fe kōñ̄ k̄ḡ ē aꝥ̄ íaꝥed̄ ridd̄ar. ē ꝥ̄ k̄a þ̄zælá sē .l. d̄c. ueꝥ̄
5 fi f̄ arfaxath .l. ccc 7 xxx 7 uíj̄ á. fi. f̄ káinan .l. cccc lx. atta á. fi f̄. fale .l. cccc xxx 7 íj̄ á
heþ̄ .l. cccc.lx 7 íj̄ á. falek .cc.xxx 7 uíj̄ á. ragau .l. cc 7 xxx 7 íx̄ á. seruth .l. cc.xxx. nachoz
c 7 xl 7 atta á. thare cc. 7 v. á. Neꝥrod .h. ein̄ rífi h̄ gaꝥ̄ s̄ ƿyfr̄ m̄ k̄ḡ naꝥn̄ h̄ ū xxx a
lna haꝥ̄ h̄ ƿyllðiz þ̄f̄ oꝥmetnað̄ upp̄ á ḡa st̄opulín̄ babel̄ ibabilonia h̄ sm̄iðuþu lxx
rifa 7 íj̄ þ̄z̄ ætludu á sm̄iða h̄ allt̄ upp̄ t̄ hímín̄sín̄f̄ 7 ē h̄ ū sm̄iðaþz̄ s̄ á h̄ ū á hæð
10 q̄uo2̄ m̄ paꝥfū .ij. paꝥfuf̄ ḡa ƿadm̄. þa leit̄ ḡ ðꝥ̄ þ̄za 7 talmadi sm̄iðina s̄ á þa ūð tu
ngna sk̄ipti taladi þa eíngi þ̄za hín̄i somu tungu ēo æ. síðan lxxx ok íj̄ tungþ̄ þa
lāðiz̄ st̄opl̄ sm̄iðin̄ s̄ .f. ieronun̄ þ̄f̄tr̄ á ein̄ tunga ḡgi ū íj̄ ƿyftu heifallð̄ t̄ abh̄af̄
en síðan haꝥa þ̄ær ðzeiꝥz̄ ū allan heī. neꝥrod rífi gio2ði ƿyfr̄ m̄ skurgod̄ 7 gio2
ði þ̄ ƿꝥt̄ ƿauð̄ sinū Zo2oaf̄t̄ k̄ḡz̄ ríktu n̄ þ̄s̄f̄ ūa h̄ ƿañ̄ ƿyft̄ ƿiolkyngi h̄ ð̄p̄ nínuf̄
15 **P**her lykta an̄h̄ heimf̄ allðz̄ haꝥañði .dcccc.xl 7 íj̄ á **þ̄z̄ði heimf̄ allðz̄** m̄æltu ū h̄ m̄
r̄iði .h. allðz̄ heꝥz̄ a abzahā̄ s̄yni thare h̄f̄ kona .h. fara en síðan fara gud
knī mañ̄ m̄ ek þ̄iḡ ḡa 7 kyn þ̄itt̄ m̄ m̄ḡrallða fē st̄iorñ̄ hímín̄s̄ bleza m̄ ek þ̄ er
þ̄iḡ bleza en baulua þ̄ ē þ̄iḡ bolua. Abzahā̄ att̄i íj̄ sonu ísmael̄ 7 ƿfac̄ ḡþ̄ bauð̄ á
þa heꝥiz̄ ūskurō s̄k̄n m; þ̄ hætt̄i á m; huof̄fū̄ st̄eínkn̄iꝥi s̄l̄i aꝥ̄ s̄n̄ið̄ hín̄ ƿr̄ezti
20 ƿtr̄ getnað̄ líf̄ allra karlm̄̄ hiellz̄ fa síðz̄ ū næftu íj̄ heif̄ allð̄t̄ nær̄ þ̄s̄f̄ ūa |suk̄|
r̄ignði ellði 7 b̄zeñuf̄teíni íꝥ̄ f̄odomítal̄ b̄ḡ þ̄ þ̄ þ̄yððuz̄ karlmeñ̄ s̄in̄ ím̄ill̄i 7 þ̄ aꝥ̄
fucky þ̄z̄ níðz̄ þ̄t̄ þ̄ ƿuñðuz̄ ē .x. m̄n̄ rietlat̄. loth̄ b̄ður̄ son̄ abzahe 7 ðætr̄ h̄f̄ .ij̄
ƿrelfadī gud̄. ē huíꝥ̄ loth̄ leit̄ aꝥtr̄ 7 ūð̄ h̄ á fallt̄ st̄eimi. Aþ̄fū̄ t̄ima ū melchifede
c ē bæði ū k̄ḡz̄ 7 keñm̄̄ h̄f̄ ƿað̄ ē ē uítadz̄ Abzahā̄ obbiút̄. ðo. þa ē h̄ ū .c. ueꝥ̄ lxxx 7
25 v. ƿfac̄ att̄i þa konu ē rebecca .h. h̄ ƿæðði íj̄ s̄ueima íeinū burð̄ ē s̄ua hetu
eſau h̄ ū lodiñ̄ fē ſauðz̄ 7 íacob h̄ ƿæððiz̄ m̄þ̄ þ̄ hætt̄i á h̄ hellt̄ ū il̄ b2oður̄ s̄ínf̄
ƿfac̄ o. c. 7 lxxx ueꝥ̄ soñ̄ son̄ eſau ū íob̄ ē míoḡ ū ƿreiftadz̄. ymago m̄ði .f. á h̄ ū
síðan̄ k̄r xxx ara h̄ att̄i v̄ij̄ sonu 7 íj̄ ðæꝥ̄. v̄ij̄ þ̄ufuñð̄ ſauða. íj̄ þ̄unð̄ ulballða
cccc. ƿxn̄a 7 ſua m̄ḡ aſna þ̄ta ū fi eign̄. íacob att̄i íj̄ ſyfr̄ liā 7 rakel̄ h̄ ubyria íacob
30 att̄i x̄ij̄ sonu. s̄ b̄ t̄ á íacob ū ein̄ ſaman̄ ſtadz̄ þa k̄o þ̄ m̄ 7 ḡl̄iði ū h̄ 7 ē h̄ matt̄i ē
íacob íꝥ̄ ft̄íga tok̄ h̄ aꝥl̄s̄ín̄ lærf̄ fi 7 þ̄eḡ̄ h2oznaðī aꝥl̄ ƿætt̄ínū̄ þa ml̄i hín̄ k̄on̄i
m̄ lat̄ miḡ laufan̄ þ̄t̄ nu ē ðagz̄ upp̄ k̄oín̄. íacob .f. 7 þ̄ottiz̄ uíta á þ̄ ū ḡþ̄f̄ eíngill̄ ē
m̄ eḡ þ̄iḡ laufan̄ lata n̄ēa þu blez̄r̄ m̄. eíngill̄ .f. h̄ .h. þu. íacob .h. eg. e. m. m; ol
lu ē mattu íacob .h. hellðz̄ íf̄rl̄ þ̄t̄ þu ūt̄ ſtyrkr̄ mott̄ gud̄i. þa blezadī eíngill̄in̄ h̄
35 7 ē þ̄z̄ sk̄iðuz̄ geck̄ íacob halltr̄ `obur̄' son̄ fi .h. íoſep̄ h̄ ū fellðz̄ aꝥ̄ b2æðz̄ ſinū ꝥ̄ xxx
pen̄ga þa ū h̄ xv̄j̄ ara. ē þ̄tugz̄ ē h̄ ried̄ ðzauma pharaōif̄ 7 medz̄ ſin̄i rad̄ſpek̄i
ſlaukt̄i h̄ v̄ij̄ ara hallærī egipta Inz̄ þanaꝥ̄ v̄ h̄ kallaðz̄ g2æðī heif̄ fi h̄þ̄ .h. aſe
nek̄. n̄ þ̄f̄ ūa sm̄iðadz̄ ƿeañ̄ b̄ḡ. Cartago b̄ḡ ū sm̄iðut̄ aꝥ̄ ēdone.
helyaf̄ telbintef̄ s̄ f̄egiz̄ á h̄ haꝥi ƿyft̄ reift̄ mañ̄ aꝥ̄ ðaуда leui

7 ū þ̄
ebzeſka

v̄

cx1

het ein af fonu iacob. fi. fo u gfon. fi fo caht. mari. fi. fo. ara h u hu uifj af a
 bzahā hoƿudpedz hƿ fi .h. ioabeth þza fyn u þz moyfel 7 aron kenirñ. h lykt hñ
 þði heif allðz haƿandi sfer dcccc.xl. ara **iozði h** íeín bikadan stock þt phazao
Fiozði heif allðz hepz amoyfi syni araf. 7 e h u iij manada gamall u fi latín kōa
 5 kēgz baud itima ollu fueinbnū. fim gaƿ naƿn. dott pharaōif e h fañ h fliotañ
 ða ípolli áinñ kendi h á h u af ebzefku kyni. h gaƿ fim naƿn á h flí moyfel he
 ita þt moyf þyð uatn. 7 e h u fullrofskiñ á allð fíeck h þz konu e seƿoza .h. gð. m.
 u h á h flí prella lyd fi af uallði pharaōif e h mltu mot. þa .f. gð aron bð þin fl
 10 fā m; þ 7 f þañ uoñð e þu hellðz a m ek ſa egrþald mð m̄gū byfnū s á þ
 anaƿ m pharao geƿa upp lyd miñ. 7 e moyfel kō aegipta lð fagði h pharaōi kēgi ul
 ía gð e h ulʼYði e gā frialfan guðf lyd þa kaftaði aron niðz ueñðinū e h úd á ozmī
 þa feñði farao eƿt gallð m̄ finū 7 bad þa ſia þta uñðz þz ſnozu ſim uondu ihogg
 ma þa fualg hoggm̄r aron̄ alla þza ðzeka. þa lauft guð egr̄m̄ mð þlikū byfnū. ƿyf
 ta á oll uotn ſnauruz íbloð. anñ bolna fott. iijʼiaʼ. my. s á ƿyllði naƿar 7 augu. iijʼaʼ ftoð
 15 ƿlūg. vʼtaʼ. ƿall ípenaði þza. viʼtaʼ ƿrofk̄ íuotm̄ þz e þ ƿpulltu. viʼdaʼ hagl. viʼtaʼ. þz ſmaƿoglar e
 atu ḡfrot ak̄. niuñða myrkr. xʼdaʼ. topuðuz allir ƿrūburð 7 e moyfel ƿ btt af egr̄
 ta lði lāt h ueñðinū aíd rauða haƿ. e þ bft ſunðz ímíðiu. gēgu þz þzū ƿotū iƿ
 haƿ. e pharao ƿ eƿt þ ðzuknaði h þ 7 allr fi herr m; heftū 7 krū. þa oztī moy
 ſef cantemū. h gíozði guði tiallðbud aeyðim̄k. Nær þm tía fualg íozðin ðathan 7
 20 abiron liƿandi. Guð gaƿ fim .x. laga bodoðz. ſk̄ƿuð afpiollðū m; ſialf̄ fi ƿin̄g. ƿyfta á
 ʼta agud. anñ ſúía e hiegōa u guðf naƿn .iʼiaʼ. elſka guð af ollu híarta .iʼijʼ. aʼ elſka
 nauñgim̄ ſen ſialƿan ſig .vʼ. taʼ á hallða þuat ðagh .viʼ. taʼ á uegfama ƿauð 7 mod̄ .viʼ. daʼ ƿ
 ðaz mañðp̄ .viʼijʼ. taʼ haz e .ixʼ. daʼ ſtela e .xʼ. daʼ ba e líuguítni. h gíozði .v. bækr e ſua heita ge
 nefiſ. leuític̄. num̄. deuſnomi. exoð. obbjt moyfel þa h haƿði .c. 7 xx. á. eƿt h u ío
 25 ſue ſk̄paðz htogi iƿ lyðin. h leiðði íſrlf lyd m; ſier agyðinga. lð. m; m̄ḡ íarteinū
 þz gēgu þurrū ƿotū iƿ íozðan. íericho b̄g hzapaði niðz ƿ luðurblæft gyðinga. ƿ h
 ftod 7 ſolín ū heilan ðagh þa e h uañ b̄gina gabaon. o. c. 7 x. á. af íoſue allt t̄ ſaulf
 ū íuðicef ſet̄ ƿ ʼeruʼ ðarñar iƿ gyðinga lyd. s b̄ t̄ íbḡ gabaon á ſoƿnuðuz ſaman ǣ
 ku meñ 7 toku un̄ḡ m̄ konu 7 þzaungðu ſi t̄ ſaurliƿif s á þz gēgu á ſi ðauði
 30 hoƿðingia
 þz f ſtað
 oooein
 7 t̄ mininḡ þlik̄ glæƿ̄ ſk̄iptu þ þz h̄ar lík̄á í xij ptef ſeñðañði s hñn hlut xij æt̄m̄
 íſrlf lyd̄. Gedeon attu .lxx ſona 7 ū ƿm̄ þñ e abímelek .h. h ðp ſina alla bzæðz
 aeinū degu. fim úd þ á bana á kona ƿellði künſteín thoƿ̄ fim afna kíalka þa
 Manue .h. ƿað ſáſonf hínf ſtka h heƿ̄ úd ſt̄kaztr̄ m̄ ſk̄apaðz h ðp̄ .m. m̄ m; einū
 a þyfti h míog. h hzærdi ein̄ íagfl íafna kíalkanū 7 þt̄ ƿ oz uatn 7 ſlockti s
 35 fi þoſta e h u adz koñ á þzotū af mæði. h u ſuíkū 7 bliñðaðz ein̄i putu
 e ðalila .h. 7 á ſiðuztu banaði h mmm̄m̄ m̄ m̄þ þ hættū á h ƿellði oƿan aþa
 hollína m; þ atburð á h kíptu oz ſtað þ ſtolpa e h̄i huelle upp 7 liet h ʼſuaʼ líƿ fitt
 h u ðom̄í .xx. á. ely keñim̄ u ðom̄í iƿ gyðingū xl ara 7 e ſagt á h u lmr̄ 7
 e ſtíoznf̄ar. ſyn̄ fi 7 gyðinga lyd̄z attu b̄ðaga ū þh̄ilſf̄i ƿiellu þ af gyðingū

3bisv

Solumon k fetti xij horðigia t þeff at annaz fim bozð huert ar fra audzu
 oc allri hf hırd fiñ manuð huei þza en t bozðz ú at etla xxx melzt fimiliubzau
 ðf oc tau ftlik rugar bzaud. x yxn feít oc xx hagge`in`gna .c. hruta oc úprā fkgaz
 hrut oc aunnur ueiði ðyz é iařnā ú gnog oc en alřuglar salmf mtarı ú
 5 lxalna lāgt oc xxalna bzeit en xxxalna hatt en fkotit řrā ařmtarínu ú
 fua lāgt fem mtarit ú bzeit en þat ú xalna bzeit þat ú vıj ar ı fmið

- xx̄ ē htekin ozk dzottif aꝥ heidíngiū 7 fluttu h̄a ibgína azotū 7 fettu im̄ti
 gḥ fín ḍagonif. v̄ m̄gunín eꝥt̄ kōu p̄lf ḍagonif t̄ hoꝥfínf 7 fa h̄ luggia aíoꝝdu 7
 aꝥ b̄t̄ hoꝥ 7 heñðz s̄ á h̄útueggia la utan gatta. 7 t̄ þ̄fa fok gíauma .æ. síðan al
 lir blotm̄n 7 heidíngiar íazoto á ftiða allð a þ̄epfkioillð þa ē þ̄z ḡga ibloth̄ ḍago
 5 níf. þa kō reidi dzottif íf̄ azotō m; þ̄m hætti á þ̄z funudu nedan. ē bæ 7 b̄ḡ fuc̄k̄
 níðz 7 aꝥr im̄idiu h̄adí. en þ̄ f̄æððuz myff 7 meín kuikueñði. þ̄z þolðu m̄g f̄k̄p̄ í
 azoto 7 f̄kōm̄ t̄ bana. 7 ē þ̄z fa fig ftangada m̄ð þ̄liku aꝥelli m̄ltu þ̄z m; fier allð íl̄
 ozk þ̄f̄i leīgz m̄þ̄ off̄ ūa f̄t̄ guð ḡir mikil byfn̄ a off̄. hely .o. níraðz 7 víij̄ á. samu
 el ū næst eꝥt̄ hely ḍōari fon helkana 7auñu h̄ ū ubyria aþz h̄ gat samuele þa
 10 ḍictaḍi h̄ cañican exultaḍ. neꝥnðz famuel ū f̄pañ 7 ḡiðði fattmal̄f ozk hína helgu ē
 í ḡiáūðiz h̄ina míolíd 7 uoñðn 7 logmal̄f f̄p̄iollðin h̄ ḡiáūði 7 þ̄ helga keñim̄ klæði ē
 aꝥꝥot kallaz 7 aron Ƴf̄t̄ keñim̄ b̄ 7 s̄ ū ḡt̄ á f̄mar hlíobbiollur hengu níðz aꝥ ollū megū
 Nu h̄úꝥr aꝥtr t̄ æt̄t̄ tolu ʾiáçʾiþ̄ob̄ p̄riarcha iudaf ū eín aꝥ fi fonū xij. fi 7 ū Ƴaref. fi 7 efrō
 fi 7 arā. fi 7 a. aminadab. fi 7 naʾfon. fi 7 falmon. fi 7 booz. fi 7 obeth. fi 7 ieffe ē oðzu naꝥni .h.
 15 yfaí. h̄ ū h̄iñ xijʾðr̄ aꝥ abzahā Ok ē h̄ ū kōið beidðu hoꝥḍíngiar gyðinga á h̄ fl̄ði f̄k̄iþa þ̄m
 f̄g en ḡð bauð samuele á h̄ fl̄i taka t̄ k̄ḡ saul fon f̄cis h̄ ū b̄ðaga m̄ mikil 7 hoꝥði h
 ærri ē fleif̄ m̄n aðz m; h̄im ū iñð f̄yn̄ yfaí uuʾtaʾ ḍð .h. h̄iñ yngzti h̄ ḍp̄ goliath risa ē
 uʾj̄ alna haar 7loꝥa h̄ ū f̄tyrkr̄ á aꝥli s̄ á h̄ reif̄ k̄iapta h̄iñ oarga ðyrf̄ 7 k̄iæñ iozro
 f̄tū s̄ á þ̄ta ū hlíodot med f̄treingleikū saul f̄ellði .m̄. ē ðaū .x. m̄. saul fiell̄ íb̄ðaga
 20 7 fon fi ionathaf h̄ lykt̄ h̄iñ f̄iozði heif̄ allðz haꝥandi .ḍc.l. 7 víj̄ á f̄i [h.] íkol .ḍ. sauls
Fimti .h. allðz heꝥz a ḍð f̄yn̄ ieffe saul ū Ƴyfr̄ k̄ḡz ē þ̄ næst ðaū h̄ ū 7 f̄pañ h̄ attu m̄
 attu h̄ 7 f̄leiri h̄ꝥzeyur iāꝥm̄ abf̄alon .h. fon fi. h̄ heꝥ ūið allra m̄ f̄riðaztr. anñ .h. so
 lomom h̄ heꝥ ūið allra m̄ uítraztr. fi mod̄ ū b̄fabee ed uriaf̄ haꝥði att. m̄ga aḍza fo
 nu attí ðaū. s̄ b̄ t̄ adogū ðaūf̄ k̄ḡ á gyðinga lyðz reitti en dzottin̄ t̄ m̄ḡ t̄ꝥelli þa
 25 bauð ḡð ðaū á telia gyðinga lyð 7 reꝥsa þ̄ ē þ̄f̄ ū ūðir ē ðaū f̄eñði íoabb̄ h̄toga ē Ƴ
 ē f̄ialꝥr s̄e guð bauð þa señði dzottin̄ ḍzep̄ iallt̄ rik̄ ū íij̄ ḍaga 7 ḍo ē Ƴærra ē lxx
 karlm̄n̄ ē utalḍ̄ koñ 7 b̄n. þa fa ðaū eín̄gíl guðf̄ standa mull̄i humif̄ 7 iáḍ̄ íꝥ̄ eim̄ ḡði
 7 ḍp̄ fołk̄ m; elligu s̄ūði ðaū .k. rietti þa halsin̄ unð̄ s̄ūðit 7 .m. þ̄f̄ bið eg þ̄igh
 dzottn̄ miñ á þ̄ta s̄ūð̄ f̄nuiz̄ m̄ ahalf̄ 7 reidi dzottif̄ m̄inf̄ sediz̄ hellðz añ ok
 30 mínu kyni ē fołk̄ guðf̄ se nu f̄leira hoggū t̄ miñ̄ faḍ̄ 7 ē ḡ heyrði fi s̄ míuka
 bænen het̄ ḡ aꝥ á ḍzepa fołk̄. ðaū .l. lxx ara gzoꝥ fi Ƴinz̄ tō allt̄ t̄ þ̄fa ḍaḡ. solom
 on tok kongðō eꝥt̄ fauð̄ f̄in̄ h̄ ū h̄iñ .vʾ. t̄ 7 xx. t̄ aꝥ noa ē h̄iñ xvʾðr̄ aꝥ abzahā h̄ ḡði
 íij̄ bækr̄ ē s̄ heita ecclesiaf̄tef. cantica canticoꝥ. lib̄ Ƴapientie. h̄ f̄m̄uðap̄i Ƴyfr̄ guði
 mufti s̄ á h̄úki aḍz̄ nie síðan heꝥ þ̄likt̄ ūið reif̄ iā agiætt̄. k̄ḡ uida ū heim
 35 7 dzotniḡ saba aꝥ yf̄tū enðim̄kū heif̄ kōu á heyra speki þ̄fa k̄gs. s̄ b̄ t̄
 á .ij̄. þ̄tkoñ̄ komu aꝥuñð̄ solōōs̄ kuñiḡ ḡañði s̄in̄ uandzæþ̄i aunñ̄ talar s̄
 miñ̄ h̄za .s. h̄ ū tuær bygðū eitt̄ h̄bḡi 7 ungz̄ son m̄ð̄ h̄úri 7 ē ek ū soꝥañði
 reif̄ h̄ upp̄ hlíodl̄iga 7 tok b̄tt̄ miñ̄ son l̄iḥañða ē Ƴagði s̄in̄ son ḍauðan þ̄
 eꝥt̄ s̄uadi onñ̄ þu lygz̄ miñ̄ son l̄iḥ̄ ē þ̄in̄ son þ̄zaungð̄ þu t̄ bana Ok ē k

onġn uñdirfteñd: ƒza ƒzætñi bíd: h ƒa s̄ bitrt súd m; húiu h̄ bad skipta su
 ñd: imúdiu sueinínū á síñ pt tækí hú ƒza. ƒa .s. onñ ġid é s̄ laŕ h̄a hellð: ha
 5 ƒa. ƒa onñ t̄ o:ða snið suñd: s̄ á húgí níotí. ƒa .m. kġn takí su kona liƒa
 nda bñ sítt á é uillði ðzepa laata. ƒt h̄ ḡ ƒ'. ƒ ƒ ƒhkan dō kġfín loƒudu allir fi
 10 speki. h̄ úð tæld: aƒ kueña aft s̄ syrgiliga á h̄ tignadi skġod. s̄ segia ebzē
 k̄ bæz: á fak̄ idzōñ lieti solomon .k. ðġa siḡ .v. sínñū ū strætí iozsalā bġā
 ƒ ƒ næft haƒi h̄ kōid m; .v. uoñdū im̄tí ðzottis. ƒ sama é h̄ haƒdi ġā laŕ ƒ m̄ð
 ƒ uoñdū bauð h̄ íij. logmonñ á b̄ia siḡ ƒ aphyða en ƒz sogðu allir éitt sogþu
 siḡ allð skullðu leggja heñd: akst ðzottis. segiz síðan á h̄ haƒi síolƒr b̄
 15 t siḡ. h̄ ū kġz .xl. ueŕ. roboaf. fi .f. ū hín xvj`ðr' aƒ abzahā. abiaf hín xvij`ðr'. asa xv
 íij`ðr' h̄ ū líkr ðaú á gíæzku. íosaƒað `h' .xix`ðr'. íozas .h. .xx`tr'. oziá .i xx`tr'. íaachím ij`ar` xx`tr' akaz
 íij`ðr'. ƒ xx`tr'. ezekíá íij`ðr' ƒ xx`tr'. h̄ ū godz kġz ū h̄s allðz lagði ḡ xv. á. h̄ ġiozdi cañtikan ego
 ðixí. manases hín .v`tr'. ƒ xx`tr'. h̄ líet pína. yfaíā spamañ modurbður síñ ƒ saga
 suñd: m; ƒsog h̄ ū settr íeíroxa snoriz h̄ ƒa t̄ ḡs ƒ b̄zaz h̄m allð síðan ƒsí
 20 ysaias gíozði ƒa bok é líb ysayaf kallaz ƒ íj. cantica cōfiteboz ƒ ðne audíui A
 mon .v)`tr'. ƒ xx`tr'. Josías vij`ðr' xx`tr'. Jecónias é oðzu naƒní .h. íoachim ū ƒa .xv`íij' ueŕ ƒ ríkti
 J ierlm é leingz ē íij. manaði. ƒa é .c̄c̄c̄. ƒ xvíij' á ū ġġín aƒ v`ta' .h. allð smiðaz rōa
 bġ aƒ romulo † Á dogū hanf sē ū gatū ƒyrr kō zardān ƒ m̄p̄ h̄m herr nobog
 ðonosoz kġs á bziota níd: solomons m̄tí h̄ kō lítlu síð. geck íoakí ƒ allir h̄s
 25 m̄n ahs uallð ƒ gaƒu upp bġína ƒ ū a vñj`ta' arí ríkis nob. ƒ. aƒ babilon é h̄ tok io
 achí ƒ ƒlutt m; s̄ akallðea íð h̄ rænti tēplū ð ollū ƒehzlu ƒ ƒiarhlut ƒ gesm̄. h̄
 tok ƒ á h̄ƒangí oll gull ker é solom̄ kġz. haƒdi ġā laŕ t̄ ƒionuƒtu ím̄tí ðzottis ƒ
 alla hoðingia ƒ smiðu h̄m̄n ƒ ġellðingia .x̄. ƒ eigín koñ kġ s̄ á h̄ liet ecki eƒt̄ ne
 ma ƒataekis ƒolk. ƒ lítli tía síð liet h̄ sla ellði ítēplū .ð. ƒ bzeña allt̄ á kaullðū
 30 kolū. ē toku allan buñ m̄t̄isín ígulli ƒsil̄: s̄ m̄ik̄ á é matti uaġū akōa. v̄ s̄ h̄
 leiðð allir íuð ƒa ū líð ƒ ðaú .cccc.xl ƒ íx á
 ooo
 ooo ækí o
 ooo
 ooo su boc er
 ooo taka ðanielē ƒ setia iðyr
 35 [a grof] ooo [abbac]uc spañ
 ooo gyðingā lði eīgill gudf̄ m̄allti
 ooo [e]n ƒa tok eīgilln̄ ihar h̄m ƒ b̄ h̄ ū lopt ƒsetti h̄ n
 [iðz] ooo an. ƒsí abbacuc heƒ ġt̄ kañtican Audíte. Nobog
 [ðonofoz] ooo ƒa kom koñġz
 [ñ] ooo ði h̄ mikill er gud ðaniel. ƒa v̄ h̄ bzoí
 ooo ðyzagzauƒina er rækt hoƒðu ðanielem
 40 ooo einu augabġði aƒ ðyžū
 ooo [n]luckud aƒ nabogodonofoz kġge é h̄ liet ġā lík
 ooo [ƒ]yfta mañz ƒ mazgt illt liet h̄ gera allt̄ ƒ
 ooo idran m; ƒ hætti fem nv skal heyzaz Criff
 ooo imei ƒífū. Jn quauñ hoza fuŕcipít abf̄qz̄ moza

4bisr

Þa ẽ her v̄ kōið æfe ífríf k̄a urðu mikil tíðeñði ok miok skaðfamliḡ ok h̄ næ
 ft fl nu ḡina Nær f̄m tíma ríkti híñ myckli Nabogodonofoz k̄g2 íḡíne myck
 lu babilon ẽ steñðz íferklañði en ftuñðū kallaz þ̄ kaldea l̄ð neḡnda bozg liet f̄míða
 5 eín mikilhæf kona er femíramíff het sua fínz ok f̄k̄rað ath hon haḡe okað uñð̄ sic
 þ̄1 lonð Jndiam 7 ethioḡiam þ̄ ẽ blalañð. hon v̄ hufrú níni h̄f v̄ f̄kolū geta f̄iða2 J
 bokíne sua fínz f̄k̄rað Jlatinu maali ath babilonie b̄g haḡe allra b̄ga fterkuz v̄id f̄e h̄
 næft ma heyzaz. hon v̄ f̄et þ̄ f̄em f̄ðaz lanzlegh f̄ieckz t̄ iammikil miokfua a allauēga
 henñ muir v̄ f̄itíḡi alna þ̄yckr v̄ 102þ en þ̄2u flík a hæð. muirñ ú f̄míðaþ2 aḡ ho2ðū tíḡl
 10 l̄fteíne ok fteyḡt þ̄ Jbíkí f̄ir lím. Aneḡnd̄ b̄g ú hlið huñðt ath tolu oc oll m; eire ḡiozr
 en v̄h̄f̄ū optneḡnda bozg uo2u f̄ioḡur huñð2uð f̄taðioz ok atta tíḡir segia ok sua bæ
 kr ath babilonia Nu skal þ̄ til taka ẽ v̄ær hurḡū f̄ at íohachím kongz ú herleíððz m; þ̄
 hæie at afi ðoḡū kō zazðan

N obogodonofoz k̅gz liet ǵa gulliga liknefkiau ihieradi babilonif aþeim
 velli ẽ kallaz duzam lx ad hæd biodañdi ad allir meñ iriki hans
 f̅lðv hana uegfama hon vaz xxiiij alna ðigz en þa er neitvdu skilldu fetia
 iorfn bzeiñanda. siðzak 7 mifak 7 abdenago þeir hetu oðzu nafni. aña
 5 niaf adaziaf miffael þz hoꝝðv ùið hleiððir oz ierlm. þz neittudu b
 oði kongs. þui bauð k̅gzín ad kynða skillði vj hlutv heita ofn yf þ
 fem uani v̅ t ad kynða 7 ad bvñv hondv ok ƿotvm vozu þz kastað
 iþuulikan ofnz bzuna. gefaði login ut yf callðeof .xl. 7ix. alna 7 bzeñdi þ
 a alla ẽ næft geingu. þa `fte' gudf eingill niðz iorñin sua stoꝝmkiliga ad
 10 huaazki fkaðði ellðziñ hæz nie klæði aþu helgu fueinū þa fungu þeir
 guði loꝝ dictañði ƿfalmín benediçite. þa kom roðð yf kongiñ sua fe
 giandi. þu muñt uera niðz feir aþ þínū uellðiff stol ƿt þín maꝝgaz
 illǵðir 7 meðz fskogðyzi muñtv liꝝa vm víj az 7 bita gzaſ fem vxí
 a þzi somu ftuñðv ƿyllðuz þir hlutir allir. hæz hanf 7 negl uxu sliking
 15 fskogðyza. en þ bæñ daniel þa hi aþtr alla tign finf uellðiff 7 b̅z allð
 guði siðan Nobogodonofoz k̅gz rikti ibabylon xl 7 iiij aaz. þa tok riki.
 balltafaꝝ son hanf. hi liet bera in iholl fina ieiñi famkuñðv oll gullker
 þau er ƿaðir hanf haꝝði gripið oz m̅tazi gudf ierlm 7 sua fem kongziñ
 7 hanf meñ ðzuckú glað aþ þu keru birtuz ƿingz sua fe manz hañðaz
 20 ritañði ƿp auæg hallaziñaz þ fem hiof baz a meft þi oðð. mane. þ er
 a latinu. Deuf numerauit regnū tuū. annað oðð tekell. þ ẽ alatinu. appe
 nifum eft iudicium tuum. þziðia oðð pharef. þ er alatinu. ðiuifum eft
 regnū tuum. þa fkiꝝti fkiot v̅ yf bzagð afianu k̅gfinf 7 fkelꝝðu hi mio
 g hugzeiñiñg̅ fi. 7 hzæððan geyzdu sua mioꝝ ad lofnudu famꝝeftiñg̅ fi
 25 leiñða fva ad kne fi bozduz fin amedal. Þa kalladi k̅gz m; mikilli roððv
 ad þ hi f̅lði leiða ƿolkuniga m̅n 7 gallð m̅n. k̅gz taladi s̅ t fpekinga
 babilonie huer fe fa er ad lefið ƿær þta letr 7 m̅ gir hiofa þeff þyðing
 þa f̅k han v̅a f̅kryððz þþa 7 hi f̅k gullmen haꝝa a finū hali. 7 hi f̅k v̅a
 hiñ þði mefir iminu riki. þa g̅gu in allir fpeking̅ k̅gfinf 7 maiv eigi
 30 lefa leðð ne legia þyðing k̅ginū huadan aþ balltafaꝝ k̅gz v̅ð mioꝝ hzygz
 7 hi meñ Siðan geck ðzotniñg̅ in þ þ fem ad haꝝði bozið 7 taladi til
 k̅gfinf honū fva heilfañði. k̅gz liꝝað ad eilifru. eigi fkelꝝi þig þin hug
 reiniñg̅ 7 þin afiona ẽ u fkiꝝtuz ein m̅ er iriki þinu sa ẽ heꝝ ifer.
 añða guda 7 adogū ƿoðuz þin f̅anz m; hm uizka 7 fpeki v̅m̅m̅ adza
 35 m̅n 7 fpekinga 7 þ f̅krapaði ƿaðir þin hi hoꝝðingia yf að fpekinga ok
 gallð meñ. kañ hi ad rada 7 rit fkyza ðzauma 7 leyfa buña hluti
 7 birta myzkua hlute þeffi m̅ er daniel er kongz kastaði i ðyza[gr̅of] N
 v fe daniel v̅ in leiððz þ k̅g huiū in leiððv faꝝði k̅gzín. ertv ða
 niel aþ herateknū fonū gyðinga ẽ ƿað min leiðði hingað aþ gyd
 40 inga lði. ek heyz i faꝝt aþ þi ad þu haꝝ añða gudaña 7 meiri u
 izku 7 fpeki en aðzir m̅n Nv g̅gu in þ mik fpeking̅ 7 uleñða[m̅]

ad þz skillðu lefa þta rít 7 segía m̄ þyðing 7 mega þz è ut fkyza skilning
þa malf. en ek heyzi s̄ fagt af þí ad þu kuínir ad þta myzkua hlíti 7
leyfa buña hluti. Nv ef þu kañt lefa rítid 7 þyða. þa sltv va skryððz
þþa 7 haða gullgt men apínū haalfi. 7 þu flk. ūa hín þði mefr ímí
5 no ríkí Daniel fvaði a þña haat. þín gíaf kgez skolu m̄ eckí gef þær
odz. en ek m̄ lefa þí rítid 7 þyðing þ̄ heyzðu kgez. hín heftu gud gaf. f
edz þínū. Nobogodonofoz. ríkí 7 megn. ðyzþ 7 tígn. 7 þ̄ þa mekt 7 mik
lan è gud gaf hm ofaðiz h̄ 7 hzæððiz. þa fē h̄ uillði ðp̄ h̄. 7 þa fē hañ
villði þínði h̄. 7 þa fē h̄ villði miklaði h̄. þa fē h̄ villði lægði h̄. En fí
10 ðan h̄ hoř up̄ fít hiazta 7 ðígḡ ðmfemí þa v̄ h̄ niðz setr af finū ue
llíff ftolí 7 ríkí 7 b̄t b̄ín fí ðyzþ 7 af finū eignū ut rekin 7 hiazta fko
gðyza v̄ hm gefið 7 meðz elgū 7 fkokgðyž v̄ fí bygd v̄ víj az. ḡf at h̄ fē
vxí 7 fí líkái v̄ uoknadz ðauğ hímínfins þ̄ t̄ è h̄ keñðiz við at hín hæftu
gud heř vallð yř ríkí m̄ 7 h̄ñ fē h̄ vill setr h̄ up̄ yř þ̄. En þv balltafaz. f
15 on fí lægðir è þit hiazta þ̄ fém þv uiffir alla þa hluti. hellðz hořþ þv þík up̄
mot guði ðtña hímín̄ s̄ ad þv 7 þín m̄n h̄preyuz 7 þzælaz ðzuckud af þ̄
v̄ k̄ū fē ḡpín v̄ oz fí hufí. ok þv kgez loř 7 ðyzk̄ god ymíflig. gullig fil
frlíg. eirlíg. íaznlíg. trelíg en þv ðyzkad̄ è þn gud è þín anða heř ínuu
vallði þ̄ þa fauk è þ̄í hlutr. hañð af honū señðz 7 rítadı þta fē þv fier
20 h̄ fkiotliga eřt̄ þ̄í tíðeñði v̄ h̄ ðzepín af kallðæif Eřt̄ h̄ v̄ ðariuf kgr
h̄ liet fettía ðanielē J ðyra groř með þeī hetti. at babilonif .m̄. to
lodo t̄ h̄ fellðu off ðanielē è niðr braut út gud beęel ok ðrapp ðre
ckañ è uær tignuðū ella monv v̄ ðreþa þík 7 allt þitt hyskí. þa
fellði h̄ þeī ðanielē. en þer kauftodo hm J ðyra groř þar .vij.
25 vozo leonef 7 gronðodo hm eckí. Eřt̄ þat v̄ cirvf kgr frendi. h̄f. h̄
leyřði heī ferð gyðinga lyd eř .lxx. ara til gyðinga landz fið
an tok þer at fmiða vpp falomonf muftarı gíozði þer þat vex
ti þz vozu at k̄kiv gíozð þri .xl. 7 .ví. vetr. Eřt̄ fyrū .v̄. çambí
fēf fon h̄f è odro nařni hiet nabogodinofoř h̄ rickti 1 muklo þg
30 níníven afyrlanði. v̄ neřða .þg. è .íij. ðaga leið. h̄a fmiðadı níñ
kgr f. beli è blott haða af hařiz. h̄ñ v̄ blottadr ðauðr. eřt̄ hm̄
v̄ fcurð god gíort þat è fuñ þiodr kalla baal. en gyðim̄ḡ beelz
eebub ○○○○○○○○○○○○ **Her byriaz fagha af hinne blezudu**
A rřaxat è neřðr meðialanz kgr **Juðith heilagri eckiu**
35 è vnðir sík hařði lagt m̄ḡ þiodr ok eřt̄ þat liet h̄ ġa fí
er ena fterkofto .þg. ok kallaði h̄a ekbatanif. h̄ v̄ gíoz af
fiteíní 7 fva fterk. at .lxx. alna. v̄ havır ueggír. henn̄. en .xxx.
alna þyckır turna henn̄ fetti h̄ .c. alna haða. h̄ liet hliðín
þgareñar uppi v̄a itnonō ok v̄ h̄ þa mefr kgr. latiñ iaufr
40 uegi arfino ríkí aeno .xij. arı ríkif .h̄s. kō nabogodofoz .k.
affiríe af níníue. ok bardiz við arfaxat. a viðū uelli. er

- kallaðz è ragau ok liggz amedal euþten ok tign ok iadapan þ v iriki erioth
 kgr ierichoþ m ok fiell þ arphaxath Ept þta ox mik riki nabogodonosoz
 ok ox miok ormefnadz fi. h feñdi þa fina mn ok eyrendreka t allra lañða
 þra er eigi voru unð fi riki fyft ath hia þaðan til damafco ok libano til kaz
 5 melo ok cedaz ok igahlea ok allt a hinv myklu heidi efdzelon h feñdi þa ok
 t samarna hads ok fim u iordan allt t iehrlm ok þan v alla iord ieffe vnz þz
 kov allt t blalanz fialla. h feñdi þa þf eyrendiff ath bidia þaz þioð allaz þiona
 nabogod .kgr. En þz f vðingazlaus aprt ok an ollu foma. þa vð kr akaþliga reidz
 ok foz þ fin ftol ok riki at h flið hefna þu þioðu þazaz sneypu
- 10 **A** hnu xviii arí rikiff .n. k affirie kallaði h t fin alla tignar mn rikiff sinf
 bædi iarla ok radgjafa ok berferki ok fagði hugfan fina ath h ætladi þi
 lonð undir sik ath legia ok hetv þr sier þ uel lika Þvi næst kallaði Naþ. kgrz
 t fin oloþne hoþþingia riðða sveit sinh ok mlte v h þu slt þ t allra veftrlañða
 ok hefna þ è è uilia hlyða mínu bodoþþi ok uellði ok fl auga þit ne è einu riki
 15 uægia ok húa borg ftu unð mí riki oka Þa feñdi oloþnef t fin iarla ok hoþ
 þingia affiria ok talði s huñðt þufuñða ok .xx. þufunð gaungu hðft t bðaga buit
 ok het þ lid þ t m; otali ulfallða klyþiaða af uiftu ok oðz þazhlutv. ok með
 þiolða nauta ok fauda ok allz kynf þiaz. m; hueite ok allkoñ gæði af ollu af
 fira. En h þ eþt m; hefta lid ok v þ xij þufuñð. Gull ok silfr harði h ok mik ak
 20 aþliga af kgs þe Sva v hz fa mikill ath allt land þoti vognu ok heftu ok bog
 mm þakit sē þa è lemeñdz þalla þyckvaz a iorþ. Oc þa è fia hz kō oz affir
 ia hōðu til mikilla þialla er heita ange þau ero til sudz ok t vinf hañðaz
 è þr acele fira ok cilcia Þa bñði oloþnef alla kaftala þra h but hunv agiæ
 tuztu bozg melothu ok ræntu alla fonu thazfi ok alla gyðinga è þ þyðu uð
 25 eyðimkr ok t fudlañða. En è h þ yþ evþten kō h t mefopotainiam ok but
 allaz borg hin fkuztv allt þ þozfe mamb unz h kō t fiouaz. h tok ath her
 þangi alla fonu maðian ok allt þe þza en ðþ alla þa è fim ftodu imot Það
 an fte h niðz a vullu damafci a ðogū knífkðaz ok breñði alla ak ok oll allðinf
 ok unğða baud h upp ath hoggua ok otuðuz mn þna hnath a hüt land **capituluf**
- 30 **P** a señdu meñ hoþþingiar bædi konğ ok iazlaz m; bzeþv oz hüre bozg ok hadi af
 fira ok mefopotamia af sabal ok libia ok cilcia til holoþne ok mlto sua. Latu
 af reidi þin v off þt beþ þick off ath þiona mycklu kgr nabog. en va ðpn. Vilu v
 ipri vallð gefa þğ vazaz oc allar eign hiazð v var naut ok fauði geitþe hefta ok vl
 þallða oc oll auðæri vr ok manf meñ. v ok vir fyn uilu gáz yðz m. kō þu hza ok ne
 35 yt vraz þionkañ fem þi lik Nv þr holoþnef sva unnt oll lonð þi unð nobogodonosoz
 k. Siþ valði h alla hína maikuztu kgr t bazdaga m oz ollu bozg. En sva mikill oite v
 yþ mm at kgr ok aðr hoþþingiar af huzi bozg er holoþnif f t þa ggu m; lofkū ok
 kozonū hoþþū ok fiðlū ok þipna faung. En þoi þr gði þa kofaz þa þiengu þz þo
 è myktan þmleik bzioftz fi ok but h þo niðz borg þra ok huo up allðintre þza
 40 nobogodonoð .k. baud ok holoþne ath eyþa ollu godū ok fkvllða alla til þ þa è
 h þeingi unid ath þr kallaði ongan annan gud en nobogod Nu þr holoþne

oll lond unð fik ʿ nabog̃ .k̃g. Sıþan valdi ʿi alla hinu matkuztu ʿhmeñ k̃gı
 ʿ bðagaṁ̃ oz ollum bozū En sua mikill ote ʿ yʿ monnū ath k̃g̃ ok adz hoʿðig̃ia
 aʿ hūre boz̃g̃ ʿ holoʿnif ʿ ʿ þa gengu m; hiofkū ok kozonū hozpū ok řidlū
 ok řipna faung En þoi þr ʿđi þa koif þa řiengu þr þo ʿ myctan ʿrinleik
 5 bziroz fi ok but fi þo midz b̃g̃ þza ok hio up allđim̃ þra Nabog̃ bauð ok
 holoʿne ath eyþa ollū godū ok řkřllða alla ʿ þ þa ʿ ʿ h̃ gaeti unid at þz kalla
 đi aungan aňan guð en Nabogodð .k̃. Nu řr holoʿ m; h̃ řin allt ʿ ydumeos
 aa iozþ gaba ok toc boz̃g̃ þra. adz uañ fi allt apamiā cap̃ ok m̃fe đzoitiñ sē
Þ ad řgu gyþiġ řr ʿ bygðu gyđiġa lð oc oíuðuz at řr m̃đu niðz bziota ierfm̃
 10 řr hoʿđu ġt ũ adz b̃g̃. þa řeñđu gyđiġ oʿ allt řařnia h̃ad ok allt ʿ jericho at
 allir řđi eigñ řin up aa hinu h̃aestu řioll ok ʿđđi þ ũki ũ bæi s̃ ok řařnađi at ři
 h̃ ok bygiz ʿ bðaga Eleachim̃ kennuñ señđi b̃ř ũ allt gyđiġa lð ʿ hinar myclu heid̃
 eidlon ath allir kiāi ʿ hierlm̃ aþz þz ře aa řiollin Gyđiġ ġđu ře fi bauð Eleachi ġz
 keñuñ bad allan lyð kalla ʿ điñf m; mikilli řtađřeste ok litillæřji hugi s̃ ok řkryðaz
 15 h̃klæđi ok řalla ʿ jarđ Jmuffe đtiñf ř gudf allfe ok biđia guð at řr yrđi ʿ hteknir
 eþa koñ řra eþa bozn eða eyðđ hōð řra .e. b̃g̃ .e. faurgað řtað řra helġ .e. řr řʿalř hneyc
 ʿ aʿ hidnū þiođū Þui næř ř eleachim̃ þp ũ allt gyþiġa lð ok mlte sua ũ lyđin. Vita řko
 lu þi ř at đtiñ heř bæñ yþř eř þier erod řtađřař řřořti ok bæni jaugluti đzoitiñ Miniz þier
 at moyřef řionuřtu m̃ gudf ʿ ʿ řiġđi amalek m; uapnū bðagha þañ ʿ treyřtz řřti řinum
 20 ok h̃liđi řkiollđū řinū oc řiðđū ok heřta liđi helldz řiġđi fi m; helġū bæni. sva munu
 þier řiġ yþ̃ alla ouine eř þi erud řtađřař J ydrū bæni þ ʿ ʿ þi tokud up. Vid řa aeg̃
 iun fi ġđuz řz řtađřař J řinū bæni ok řđu řñ guđi h̃aklæđū řkryðđ ok iufu moll
 du Jhořud řier ok badu aʿ ollu h̃iaza ʿ đtiñ ath fi utiađi lyðs řiñf. þa řđđi holoʿñ
 hoʿđiġiřiř affirra at gyđiñġ biuġuř ʿ motřodu ok luctu řic aa hinū h̃aestu řiollū fi řyll
 25 điz þa up mikillaz řeidi ok kallađi ʿ řiñ alla hoʿđing̃ia moab ř jarla amon ok mlti řua
 Segid̃ m̃ hūř ře lydz řia ʿ řitr aa řiollū eþa hūaz ero b̃g̃ řra eða hūfu mykill ʿ ķřřř þza .e.
 liđf řioldi .e. hūř ʿ ķg̃z řra .e. ř hui h̃ařna řr at ġa řem allaz řiođ þær ʿ byġia auřř halřun
 a ʿ ʿ řtanda moti off m; ořđi. þa řuaradi Jazl řona ammon ʿ heit̃ achuoř ok mlte Eř þu h̃za læ
 tr ři řoma at hlyða řine řřogn m̃ ek řegia ři řřogn ř řiřʿyđ řū ʿ ařaliinu řařnařř h̃añ ʿ ky
 30 ũaadz aʿ kallđea ok byġđi řřř Jmeřopotamia þ at fi uillđi ʿ gořga þau god ře řra ředz řr ʿ aa
 kallđea landi uozu ok řlietu řz oll log řina řeđ en gořgudu h̃ina guð ʿ þ bauð at ř̃ aġyþi
 ga land ok bygðu řz Jazan En ʿ hallære kō ałđit þa ř řz aa eġipta lð ok ũo ř cccc ueř
 ok řiolgadiř þa řia lydz řua at þa ř utoluligz h̃z med ollu þa þyngđiz eġiptalanř ķg̃z
 ř þa ok řiadi þa ʿ at ellta leir ok tigl ok ath řmida ři b̃g̃. řz kolluđu þa aa guð řiñ En þa
 35 lauft h̃ina guð eġiptalđz lyð m̃gřkynf unđm̃ ok raku řz þa řina lyð řbi þa řietv aʿ þe
 ġ unđn. en þa uillđu eġipt̃ řeġ taka þa ok þzælka Eñ þz řlyđu þa lauk h̃ina guð up id rau
 da h̃ař ok řtodu uoiñin atuær heñdz s̃ ře ueġir ok geck ři lydz řrū řoti ũ điuř řioř Eñ
 eġipta řr řoti eř ři m; h̃ řiñ þa řiellu uoiñin yʿ hoř honū ok h̃ ři. đcknuđu řz allir En
 ʿ ři lydz geck oz hinu rauða h̃aře þa ř řz ũ eyđim̃kr řiallz ř ʿ řyna heit̃ ʿ allđ h̃ařđi adz
 40 m̃ [mai] byġia. þa ġđi guþ řza þau uoiñ řæt þ ʿ đzyckiaz ʿ adz ũ beifc oc řæđđi þa þ aʿ h̃ina
 miol[ř xl] ueř ok řiġđi ġř řra alla řra řuine þa ʿ viđ þa b̃duř. þoi fi lydz heřđi h̃uki řkiollđ

- ne skeyti eþa sūð ok ecki sīgðri þína lyð eḡ hī v̄ hlyðin̄ guði. en þeḡ ē þz fa yḡ ok gaurgu
 ðu auñur guð þa urðu þz h̄tekñ. Nu iðþuz þz ok hurḡu ƒ blotu ok t̄ guðf sīñ þa gaḡ
 hīna guð þ̄ k̄pt t̄ motfodu þa sīgðu þz m̄ga k̄ga kananeū ok ebeū oc ƒezeū Jetheum
 eueū ok emozreū auallt ē þz miḡðu ē Jauglite guðf sīñ þa ū m; þ̄ god̄ hluḡ þt guð þza
 5 haḡ illzku En ƒ̄ nuckurū manz ollandū hurḡu þz aḡ gotu þze ē guð s̄yndi þ̄ oc urðu þa
 h̄tekñ aufr̄ j babilon Nu leita þu h̄za m̄in eḡt̄ eḡ illzka þza se eḡt̄ nock̄ jmote uilia guð
 ok gongū þa at þ̄ ðiazfliga ok m̄ gḡ þza selia þa jhond̄ þi ok m̄tu þa unð̄ þik legia. en eḡ ē
 ē guð þza reidz þ̄ þa megu v̄ ē amot þ̄ stañda þt guð þra m̄ hliḡa þ̄ ok m̄ ū ƒa uḡig **caḡ**
- Þ**a ē achioz h̄ þta mlt̄ reiduz allir hoḡðigiaz .h. ok ætludu ad̄ ðpa achioz ḡ mfo. h̄ur
 10 ē ƒi m̄ ē sonu isrl̄ seḡ stañda megha amot̄ Naboḡ .k. ok h̄ fi. uapnlaa m̄ ok an k̄rte k̄rae
 n̄fku b̄daḡ iḡt̄f̄ ok at akioz uite at h̄ bleck̄ of̄ ḡḡū nu þa at þ̄ aḡollin̄ ok ē ū ƒa tekna hoḡ
 ðingia þza ðpū h̄ ƒ̄ þa m; þ̄ at allaz þiod̄ uite ath Nobogodonoz ē guð Jaz̄ þ̄ ok eingi ē h̄im æð
 þa ē þz hoḡðu þta mlt̄ þa reiddiz hoḡ akaḡla ok mlti v̄ achioz. þu s̄pað of̄ at gyðiḡ m̄ðu v̄ð
 ueitir v̄a aḡ guði sīñ ƒ̄ of̄ þa m̄ ek s̄yna þi at eingi ē guð nema Noboḡ. þt̄ þa ē v̄ ðpū. gy
 15 ðiga sttu m; þ̄ ðp̄in̄ ūa. Oc þa ē miḡ sūð ƒ̄r igegnū þin̄ siður m̄tu reyna at Nabogodoñz
 ē k̄r allz jaz̄p̄zik̄if̄. ok eḡ þu hyḡz saña s̄pa þina h̄ blicñ þu ū andlit̄ ū ƒi oaz̄ m̄in. þa baud̄ hoḡ.
 sinū m̄ at taka achioz Jaz̄l ok leida t̄ b̄ḡ bethulā ok selia jheñdz̄ gyðigū þz ƒ̄ En̄ þz nalguduz
 ƒiallid̄ þa ƒ̄ amot þ̄ ualflaungu ok h̄ḡu señduḡn̄ apr̄t̄ ok buñðu achioz Jaz̄l v̄ ƒ̄ m̄ik m; re
 ipū ok soiu siðan aḡund̄ h̄za s̄in̄f̄ en s̄yn̄ isrl̄ st̄igu oḡan oz b̄ḡ betulia ok leyf̄tu achioz ok leiddu
 20 s̄ḡina ok setu amedal̄ lyðf̄ ok ƒ̄tu ƒ̄ h̄uia sok̄ affira m̄ setu h̄ ƒ̄ buñðin̄ eḡt̄ a þ̄ dogu ū þz hoḡðr̄
 giar oḡiðaf̄ son michee aḡ kyni simoñ ok k̄me ē oð naḡne het gothoniel En achioz saḡði þ̄ al
 la hlute þa ē h̄ .h. mællt̄ v̄ holoḡnē ok h̄uḡu þz ætludu ad̄ ðpa h̄. þa ē þz sīgði sonu isrl̄ ƒ̄ þ̄
 ē h̄ saḡði guð h̄iñf̄ ūa fullt̄igiaz þza En̄ h̄ h̄. þta mlt̄ þa ƒ̄iell̄ allr̄ lyðz̄ t̄ bæñ m; ḡte ok m̄
 ælltu ðzoñn̄ guð himiñ ḡ iard̄ litu a oḡmeñud̄ þza ok s̄ siap̄u litl̄ætt̄ v̄ Jauglite heilaḡ m̄. oc
 25 s̄yndu at þu ƒ̄ lætr̄ ē þa ē þi treyftaz̄ en þu læḡ þa ē t̄uḡt̄ haḡa J̄l̄ ok isinū k̄rte eḡt̄ ƒ̄ gloddu
 þz achioz iaz̄l ok fogdu **G**ud̄ ƒeð uara sa ē þu bodaþ̄ k̄rt̄. h̄ m̄ lata þik sia ðaup̄a holoḡnif̄ ok
 fi m̄ En̄ þa ē ðiñn̄ ūr̄ geḡu þzælū sinū þta ƒ̄l̄fe se h̄ þa ok þin̄ guð at þu sinū þa ƒ̄ræñðū þi
 nū t̄ fi t̄e þi lik̄. þa ē oziaf̄ haḡði þta mlt̄ tok̄ h̄ achioz J̄h̄ sin̄ ok ḡði mikniñ nat̄ud̄ ok kal
 laði t̄ sin̄ alla ƒ̄sta ok motuduz þz allirfāan at ap̄ne þt̄ þz hoḡðu ƒastad̄ ū ðagin̄ Siðan kall
 30 ad̄i oziā allan̄ lyð t̄ k̄k̄iu J̄b̄gine ok badu þz ƒ̄ alla not̄ fullt̄inḡ aḡ guði sinū **capit̄** þufuñða
- a**oḡzū degi baud̄ holoḡnif̄ h̄inū at st̄iga up̄ aḡiallid̄ þ̄ ē bethulia steñdr̄ a ok haḡði þa .c.
 ḡongu lid̄f̄ ok xx. en hefta lid̄ tuær þuñð̄ ok xx ok ƒ̄ lid̄ ū ƒ̄m̄ ē h̄ haḡði ualda s̄ unga
 m̄n̄ t̄ b̄daga buid̄ ƒ̄ up̄ aḡiallid̄ oḡanūt̄ ok sa þa yḡ mozḡ hod̄ þan s̄ ðothaim̄ oz þ̄ st̄ad̄ a ƒial
 linu ē kallaz̄ belina ok s̄ þan t̄ celmoḡa st̄ad̄ ē ē ē langt̄ ƒ̄ eḡðlon. en̄ gyðinḡ ƒa lid̄ƒiolða si
 35 n̄a þa ƒ̄iellu þz t̄ iaz̄ð ok usfu mollðu J̄t̄ hoḡ s̄i ok badu at guð isrl̄ señði miḡkuñ s̄ina yḡr̄
 lyð sinū eḡt̄ ƒ̄ toku þz uapn̄ sin̄ ok setu lid̄ ū oll einḡt̄ige ē t̄ b̄ḡin̄az̄ lagu ok ūdeuitu sic̄ s̄
 nætr̄ ok ðaga en holoḡnif̄ ƒ̄r̄ uida ū ƒiallid̄ ok ƒ̄in̄z̄ b̄ñn̄ ē oz ƒ̄eir̄ miok̄ m̄ik̄ uaz̄fall̄ aḡ s̄ud̄
 ræt̄ t̄ b̄ḡin̄n̄ en̄ sk̄at̄ ƒ̄ b̄gine ū b̄ñaz̄ þz ē .h. m̄ sa at gyðinḡ m̄ðu si ƒ̄ uatn̄ taka leynila
 þa ḡḡu t̄ .h. s̄yn̄ amon ok moab ok mælltu s̄yn̄ isrl̄ treyftaz̄ ē aur̄ eða s̄p̄iotti hellðz̄ ueria
 40 þa ƒ̄ioll ok ūki en þo matu þa b̄daga lauft̄ yḡ s̄uga. setu ūðhallz̄ m̄ t̄ b̄ña þaþa ē þz haḡa
 si uain̄ oz tekid̄ ok mañu þa s̄ uapnlaḡ ðpa ok m̄ þi þa b̄t̄ up̄geḡin̄ b̄gin̄ þta raad̄ likadi

ul' holoþne ok ollu fi hoþþingiu ok feite h .c. m̄ u hún b̄n Eñ þaðan liðu xx ðaḡ þa t̄ þ2o^o uatn
 allt j b̄gine s̄ at þa t̄ é meir ein ðagh at ðeila þa sofnuðuz s̄āan allir k̄laz ok koñ unḡ 7 gālir þ̄
 oziā ok m̄to allir eíne roddu Dæe gud mille úr ok þín þ̄t þu ḡð off illt é þu uillð é mæla þ̄ð
 5 malū v̄ affiria ok þ̄ þ̄ fellði gud off Jheñðz þ̄i oc þ̄ þ̄ é eīgī fa é off tæi þ̄a v̄ kriupū unð̄ skegg
 þ̄i m; þoſta ok mikille glotun nu ʒoz v̄ allir ok gefū off up̄ sialʒk̄ra holoþne þ̄t beṯ é at v̄
 loʒū gud hteckn̄ en deyū aʒ hunḡ koñ úaz ok b̄n Þeff biðiu v̄ jðagh h̄jn ok 1o2ð ok gud ʒe
 ð̄ úra é off heʒn̄ s̄ynða úra at þeḡ é þ̄i gef̄ up̄ b̄gina .h. fe skām̄ úir líʒðaḡ é þ̄i éud kvalð̄ Jlo
 ngū þoſta. Eñ þ̄z hoʒdu þ̄ta m̄lt̄ úð̄ ʒ̄tr mikill ok þytr Jk̄k̄iu mikin̄ hluta nætr ok kolluðu t̄ ḡf̄
 ok m̄to M̄iḡt̄ hoʒū v̄ m; ʒeðm̄ v̄u ranglíga ḡðū v̄. en m; þ̄ at þu ét millðz ok miſkuñfāz gud m̄
 10 kuña þu oš at m; þínū b̄daga heʒn̄ þu þ̄b̄daga u þ̄ ranglætis v̄f. h̄ð é þu at ſelia þa é þ̄i iata iheñðz
 vuína þína é þ̄za ecki kuña þit naʒn at é ſegi þ̄z s̄ h̄ú é nu gud þ̄za. en mæðduz aʒ ḡti ok kallí
 þa þognuðu þ̄z. þa reif up̄ oziāf ok m̄lte v̄þ̄i ſtaðfaſt̄ ihug ok biðiu ʒi ðaga miſkuñaz gud^s ma
Iva at h̄ takí aʒ off reidi s̄ ok geʒe ðyrþ̄ naʒne ſino nu eʒ é k̄er h̄ ʒlltīgz aʒi ſtuñðu ḡū þa ſe
 þañ t̄ia ú eckia ſu Jbeþulia é Juðih̄t é neʒnd̄ ðoſir merazí soñ ýðox .s. Jofeph **capitlm** þier m̄lið
 15 .s. ozié.s. elai .s. jamnoz .s. geðeon .s. raphaím .s. achítob .s. melchie .s. enam .s. nazanie .s. falathiel .s. fim
 eon .s. ruben m̄ h̄az het manafel ok v̄ ſamʒ̄ þ̄za iij vetr ok vij manaði þa tok h̄ fot ok añaðapiz Jb̄g
 ſiue bethulia ok ú þ̄ ʒ̄ʒrín h̄ia ſinū æt̄m̄. Judith bio þ̄ ſiðan leingi iʒgine ok h̄. ſier ḡa laṯ eín leynliḡ
 an koʒa ih̄nū epztū h̄ū ſinū ok ú þ̄ m̄; þionof̄to meyū ſynū h̄ h̄. h̄klæði ū leñð̄ ſer ok ʒaftaði h̄vn̄
 ðaḡ n̄ea þ̄uaidaga ok k̄kuudaga ok hatuð̄ ḡyþiga h̄. v̄ ḡna uiaenft̄. m̄ h̄az leiʒði eʒt̄ ſic auðæʒe m̄i
 20 k̄il bæði naut ok ſauðʒe ok manſmeñ oc allzkyñf̄ auð. hon ú h̄in aḡiætazta kona iollu ḡyðinga
 lýð þ̄t hon oſaðiz gud h̄ðla mioc eíngi m̄ mællti t̄ h̄az illt o2ð Eñ hon hey2ði ſagt at oziā h̄.
 heitid at geʒa up̄ b̄gina eʒt̄ v̄. ðaga þa ſeñði hon eʒt̄ þ̄ftū chað ok k̄mín ok k̄ou þ̄z t̄l h̄az
 h̄ m̄lte v̄ þa. h̄út heʒt̄ oziā ſáþyck̄t at geʒa up̄ b̄gina affiria m̄ eʒ é k̄er off ʒlltīgz adz .v. ða
 ḡ̄ liði. h̄ ʒ̄reifstuðu þ̄i ſua gudf̄ é eḡuðu þ̄i iʒu þ̄r̄n miſkuñ guds hellðz reidi. .fi. en ſæt
 25 uð̄ gudi t̄ miſkuñaz b̄ḡða 1 ætlun yðure ok ſeiu þ̄i h̄im ðagh. en þ̄ at gud é þolinmodz m̄
 h̄ likna off eʒ v̄ iðmz þ̄a ok biðium m; ſum Litillætū v̄ añð̄ v̄az oc þionū gudi ok mælu
 m; t̄u at gud ḡe v̄ off miſkuñ ſina eʒt̄ ſinū uilia ok ſua ſem̄ h̄zellt̄ é h̄iazta út aʒ op̄ðombi
 úra vuína ſua ðyzk̄iz v̄ nu aʒ v̄u litillæte þ̄t v̄ ʒylgðū é ſyndū ʒeð̄ úra é þ̄lietu ḡf̄ ſin̄
 ok goʒgudu ſk̄ðgod oc urdu h̄teckn̄ ok ðr̄ñ aʒ oviñ̄ ſinū. en v̄ utū aungan gud an úū
 30 h̄ina gudi. þ̄ſtaʒn̄ ſuorudu allir hlut̄ ero þ̄z ſann̄ é þu ſeḡ. biðþu nu þ̄ off þ̄t þu ét heilug
 kona ok oſaz gud. Judith f. ſtandí þ̄id ú b̄ḡ h̄lið þ̄a naí ok m̄ ek þ̄ ut ok m; m̄ þionuſtumæ
 mín biði s̄ ſe þ̄i fogdu at gud liti yʒ̄ lyð ſin̄ iſrl Ek uil é at þ̄i ranzſakid athoʒn̄ m̄ʒna
 unz ek ſegi yðz. Geṯ̄ ekki añ en biði þ̄ m̄ t̄ gudf̄. þa ml̄ti ú h̄ia oziāf hoʒðigi gyþiga ʒdu
 35 iʒði ðt̄in̄ ſe m; þ̄i iheʒnd̄ ouína úra. eʒt̄ þ̄ ḡḡu þ̄z ab̄t en Judith ʒ̄ ibæñ h̄ ſit̄ ok ſkryððiz
 h̄arklæði ok iof ofku yʒ̄ hoʒ̄ ſi ok þ̄f̄r̄ell t̄ iazþ̄ ok kallaði t̄ ðt̄in̄ ok m̄lte ſua Dzoſiñ̄ gud
 ʒeðz miñ ſimeonf̄ é h̄im gaʒt̄ ſið at b̄iaz imote utlenðū þ̄ioðū é ſaurgudu ok ſneyððu
 meʒy ok koñ ok gaʒtu honū at h̄ʒangi koñ þ̄za ðætr ok allt̄ h̄ʒang t̄ ſk̄iʒtiff̄ m; þ̄ælū þ̄i
 nū é elſkuðu þ̄ina aſt. bið ec þ̄ik̄ ðt̄in̄ fulltīgþu m̄ þ̄t þu ḡð̄ bæði ſtoza hluti ok ſma ſe þu
 40 uillð̄ ſialʒr̄ ok ſeſir̄ alla ðða iþiue þ̄ſia. Liú h̄buð̄ affiria m̄ ſua ſe þu liez þ̄i ſōa at ſia
 h̄buð̄ egiʒta þ̄a m̄ é ruñu eʒt̄ þ̄ioðū þ̄inū uapnað̄ oc treyſtuz riððū ſinū ok heſta li
 ði 7 ʒiolda b̄daga liof é þu hulð̄ þa myzkm̄ ok h̄iellt̄ up̄ ʒotū þ̄za ok ʒozuz þ̄z þ̄az
 ○○○○ þ̄ir̄ ðzoſiñ̄ é treyſtaz liðf̄ ʒiolda ſinū riððū ok m̄ḡū o2ū ok ſʒiotū ok uita
 .é

at þu ét gud úr è knofaz bðaga M þ uphæfe heim ok ðtín è naþn þit læpu kçft þza m;
þinú þalle ðyzt þza þ kçte þinú è þheita at laurga stadi Gerðu sua ðtín at af
finuiz ðmb þinú uuin m; fialþ fi fúði gefðu m stæðestu hug at ek hefna þim ok ek ú finu
a kçte fi þt mineligt m úa naþn þit En hon lauk bæn síne þa reif hon up ok kalladi am
5 baí fina oc bad þa lauga sic ok kaftadi af fier hæzklæði ok reid afic huine beztu miru 7
reyzt þi hæz sit ok klæddi sík ðyztigú klæðu ok féte mitr ahoþ fier oc fañdaha aþætr s ok t'oc'
yþ sic vðuliga fkcicku oc sua h. hon eyzna gull ok mng ríngz gull ok pzyðdi sic allre híne be
ztu pzyði. en gud ueite þe s. mikla þte þt þi pzyði þaz v è gr t saurlífiss hellðz at uia k
þt þ mngfallðadi ðtín þa fegzþ ah'e'ine sua at h fyndiz m; ofáñðilíð fegzðz t allra augu. Judi
10 th ríeck þhendz eskimey síne bil uin ok uðfmiozf k ok steypf étr ok buð ok of. Sidan gga þæ
t bðg ok rina þ oziá ok s þsta bðginn. ok è þz fa þa ríeck þ oia ok unðþuz akafligha fegz
ðz þaz oc einkiff íþðu þz h. ok hetu h þ ok mltu Gud feð úza gefe þi grftu ok epli oll ræð hí
azta þin af finú kçte at íerfm ðyztiz yþ þi ok fie naþn þit jtolu heilað ok ríelaf en þz mæ
llto allir è v þ þ úði. þ vði. En Judith bad t ðtín ok geck ut oz bðghlði ok þionoftu m þaz m; þe
15 en þæ ggu oþan oz riallunu Jdogun þa ruinu amot þ niofn M affiria ok toku þæ ok mltu v Judi
th. huadan kótu .e. hüt þrðu. h fúaði. Ek e dotf ebfk m en t þ þlyða ek þ þ at ek viffa at þz mðu
nu þi upgefaz ydz ok mðu þi þa taka mik at hþange t þ è þz uillðu è fialþ upgefaz ok hoþ
nudu at rina mifkuñ Jyð auglite. af þi fok æilada ek lhug m ok mlta ek. þ m ek t andlit ho
rðingianf holoþnif at ek fegia þim leýnda hlute þza at þ megí audlaz þa alla s at eíngi madz
20 þalle af þi h En þz heyzðu ozþ þaz ok fa afianu þaz ok mltv s Vel úðueitir þu hug þin è þu þa
nt þlíkt ráð ok t t hoþðigia vrf. ok þat matu uita at þa è þu fteñðz t fi auglite m þi ul t þin g
a ok þim mntu hugbeck úa ca ul jfkap þa mlo fi meñ. húr v þafne ebfkan lyð è sua þæge koñ he
Nv leiddu þz þa t buð holoþnif ok fogðu þim t ok è h geck jn t h ok þi fa þa þa ríell hon þim þeð
t at v flm þ þza fak è þiaz jmot þ En Judith leit holoþ. fittanda Jhuupe þ è ú af þþa oc glf
25 oþin ok fei bæði Smazagdo ok oðm ðyztigú fteinú. þa þiell h t þota þim ok tgnadi þ. holoþni
mlte v s m at þz reifte þa up ok síðan mlte þi tveiz t vtu m; glodú hug at è hzæðiz hugz
þin þ at allð gñdaþa ek þ m è þiona uillði Nobogodonofoz ki. en ef lyðz þin hefði è haf
nad m þa hefða ek è hafid þriot mif jmot þim Nu feg m feg m t húa fok þi líkadi t uazr
at kōa ok t þ á hþa Judiþ .s. ef þu fylg at ozðu mínú þa m ðtín gá m þi algván hlut. þt
30 líþ Nobogodonofoz kr jazð ok líþ kçtr fi fa è m; þi è t þ at leizzeita hugi allra uillf m. þt eí
þiona þim m at eín t þic hellðz bæði ðyzt ok akr ok ollú þioðú m fagðz fkozungfkapz þin hu
g ok þu ét beztr ríððe ok ftkaztr jþ fi ok ftozn þin beizðz Jhút íð. ok è è auruaena at þ kōi
at heñði fē achioz fagði ok þu hiez þim. en ríet ínte þi è þi talði gud ún ftyguan v fina ouí
ne. en fyn írfi uita sic nu h miok gýt mote finú gudi mæðaz þz nu af hunð ok hygiaz deya
35 m v af þofsta þz nefndu at þpa fimala fin ok ðcka blod fi. En ef þz gá þta gma þz gud fin at
fié ok m þ þa reidaz þ. Þ þlyða ek t þ at gud fēñði mik at fegia þi. þi ozð þaz líkudu uel
holoþe ok fi m ok unðþuz fpeckt þaz ok mli húr ú anñ Eigi è þlík kona alandínu at uazn
leik ok líft ok uzku ok ozðfe cap t þ at m þick goi þheít þit þa fl þin gud úa mín gud
40 **P**a mlte holoþ. v h. v f gði gud è þ fēñði þik t úr ok þu gefr þna lyð Jhendz off ok
ok ef þi gír þta ftu úa meft metín Jholl Nabog .kf. ok þit naþn m nefnt ahúuu lði
Sidan bauð holoþnif þa leida jtallð þ è t v fehzlur fi ok bad þa þ v a ok bad ooo h
geþa uíft af þi fæzlu En Judiþ s. è ma ek neýta af þ hlutú þyzt en ek hefþi [neyt] þza

fæzlu é ek hefe m; m̄ Eƿ ƿ þzýte .s. holoƿnē é þu tokt m; þí ƿ m̄v̄ é þa ƿa þí. Judith .s.
 Liƿ andi þin hīa mín ƿt é hæƿ at ek ġa ƿ ambai þin ƿy: en gud ġir þa alla hlute ƿ mín
 heindz é ek ætlaða Nu leiddu ƿz h̄ jþa bud sē h̄ h. boð. hon bad si ġeƿa leyƿe at ġga ut v̄
 nætr at biðiaz ƿt é d̄it̄n̄ ok bad holoƿn̄ h̄. ġga fē hon uilldi ok ġoƿga gud sín unz lidi þz ða
 5 Nu ƿ ƿ hon ut v̄ nætr Jðal hīa beth v̄le ok ƿ ƿ ikallt uatn ok bad gud ísrl at h̄ ġæaðdi gotu h̄
 az é ƿl̄inġ l̄yð sínū en hon ú ū ðaga ítíalldi ok tok é fæzlu ƿy: en ú artan. ƿþ̄ia ðegi ġðe
 holoƿn̄ ƿagnada: not̄vð sínū m̄ ok mlte v̄ h̄in æzta þion sín é het vagau ƿðu ok bið h̄in
 ebzeƿku konu ƿialƿƿa ƿamþyckiaz at byġia m; m̄ ƿt ƿ é logmal Jaffira eƿ kona ġir meín
 maíne sínū at h̄ late h̄a eína. þa geck vagau aƿuñð iuðid ok m̄. Eigi ƿtu ƿflaz god kona at ga
 10 nga Jn̄ t̄ h̄za mín̄ at þu fiert ueƿfomuð aƿ h̄m ok ðyzkuð ƿagnadi m; off. Judith ƿuadi. h̄ mā
 ek mæla mot h̄za mínū allt ƿ é goi é Jguðf auglite m̄ ek ġa ok h̄ fem h̄m líkaz m̄ ƿ bezt v̄
 a a ollū ðogū líƿf miñ Nu stod hon up ok bio ƿik t̄guliga ok geck Jlandtialld holoƿn̄f ok ƿt
 oð t̄ h̄m en h̄azta ƿ b̄n̄ iġnd̄ t̄ h̄az ok mlte h̄ ƿa síf h̄ oc ðck íkētun ƿt þu ƿaít miƿkuñ
 aƿ úre ġirtu h̄uþon ƿuazadi Dzecka m̄ ek h̄za ƿt meire é iðagh Jhug miñ en ƿy: h̄. úid amiñ
 15 ðogū líƿ Nu at hon þ ok ðck aƿ þ é þionuƿtu m̄ h̄az hoƿðu t̄ buid **capitl** ġū. v̄ artañ síð ƿv̄
h oloƿn̄f v̄ ġladz miok ok kátr ú h̄a ok ðck ƿua mikid at allð h̄. h̄ ƿl̄kt ðckit a ollū sínū ðo
 m̄n̄ t̄ ƿueƿñ ok byzġdi uagau þionuƿtu`h̄. h̄. ƿueƿntialld ƿ ok ƿoz aþut ok uozu alir meñ moðir
 aƿ umðryckiu en Judith ú ein eƿt̄ h̄a . h̄. ok eƿkuñ h̄az en .é . h̄. la ƿoƿnadz Jreckiu ƿine akaƿ
 líga ðckin̄. þa mlte iudith ú þionuƿtu mey s̄ at hon ƿtædi v̄ ðy: tialzínf ok úðueite þau. en iud
 20 ith stod ƿt reckiu ƿi ok bad m; tazū ok mlte h̄lot Styzktu `mik` ðoitiñ gud ġyðinga ok lítu a þeƿfa:í
 t̄ð k̄rt handa mína ok ƿua fem þu h̄iez ƿt at heƿia up ok eƿla h̄ierm bozġ þina Laitu mik
 alġa ƿ er ek heƿe ætlat ok tat at m̄ð úða lata. Eñ hon h̄. ƿta mællt þa geck hon t̄ ok b̄
 ƿv̄di hañ ƿialƿf þ é h̄ieck aƿtolpanū yƿ hoƿði honū ok ġir ƿha: h̄m m̄. Styzktu mik ðoitiñ
 gud ġyðinga aƿi rið. h̄on h̄io þa tyƿuaz a h̄alf h̄m adz aƿ geck hoƿið Siðan tok hon h̄iup ƿi
 25 h̄in ðyza en uellti bolnū o: reyckiuñe a iozþ eƿt̄ ƿ ġġz hon ut ok felldi hoƿuð ambai ƿine ok
 bad h̄a lata í ƿkppu s̄ Siðan ġġu mille h̄buda at vanda sínū ok kōu þa eckí 1 ðal bethulie hell
 ðz ġġu þær þeġ t̄ h̄luds ok mlte Judith t̄ v̄ðhallz m̄ é v̄ a uegū b̄ġinaz Lukaz b̄ġ h̄lud̄ ƿt
 gud é m; off é ġdi k̄rt l̄yð ġyðinga. ok é ƿz keñðu m̄al heñaz kolluðu ƿz a ƿiƿta b̄ġinaz ok ra
 ñ þa h̄ur m̄ t̄ b̄ġhliz ƿt eíngi uon þote h̄az aƿtrkvāu. þa ú lof ġikt ƿlogu m̄ h̄ng ū h̄a
 30 **h** on geck ih̄n̄ hæƿta ƿad iġġine ok é allir þoġnuðu mlte Judith Loƿidier ðit̄n̄ gud ún er
 é ƿ lætr þa é uænta aƿ h̄m fullt̄ingf ok m; m̄ abát ƿine ƿylldi miƿkuñ ƿina þ̄a h̄ lei
 h̄yƿki ġyðinga ok ðp h̄ v̄n̄ and̄skota aƿi noi. Siðan tok hon o: ƿk̄puñe hoƿuð . h̄. h̄iſhoƿðiḡia aff
 irie m̄ ok s̄ h̄iup ƿi ok mlte. Liƿ ðit̄n̄ ƿt mik úðueite eingill ƿi bædi hedanƿandi oc ƿuand̄i ok
 h̄igat aƿtr h̄uƿandi. ok é liet ðoitiñ mik ambat s̄ ƿaugaz hellðz kalladi h̄ mik an ƿaugan
 35 t̄ yðir ƿagnandi ísġf ƿi ok aƿtrkuamu míne ok ƿrel̄ingu yðure Nu Jate þí h̄m allir ƿt h̄ é
 ġoðz. ƿt miƿkun ƿi é um allð. En allir loƿuðu gud ok m̄tu ú h̄a ðoitiñ blezadi þik ík̄ƿte ƿy
 nū é at augu liet v̄ða ovine uaza ƿt þik. Oziaf mlte ú h̄a hoƿðinḡi þingh̄f ġyðinga l̄yðf M
 ecktuð étv ðoitr ū allaz koñ ƿm̄ aƿ ðit̄ne guði ísraelf h̄inū hæƿta. Blezadz é ðit̄n̄ é ƿkapadi h̄im̄
 ok iozþ é þik ġy:þte t̄ ad ƿniða aƿ hoƿuð . h̄. ƿt iðag mikladi h̄ naƿn̄ þit̄ at é h̄uƿe loƿ þit̄ o: m̄
 40 ne m̄ é ƿz mínz k̄rt ðit̄n̄ ísƿellu ƿt þu uæġð é onð þine Jþozunguñg ok ƿul kynf þin̄ hellðz
 t̄eð þu off iauglite gudf íf Eñ allir ƿon̄uðu ƿta ú þġat kalladz achioz Jazl ok é h̄ kō. þa ml̄tj
 Judith ú h̄ Gud ísraelf é þu b̄t utne h̄ heƿndi þin a v̄uinū sínū. h̄ ƿneid aƿ ƿialƿf hoƿ allra

5 ullauffa m̄ a þr̄i noi m; miúne heñði. ok at þu reyñ at sua è Sja h̄ hoř h. è hařnadı Jıfıñ
 ořmeñnadı guđı ıfıř ok þier ognadı bana. ok ml̄tı sua þa è lýðz ıfıř úðz h̄tekin̄ fı m̄ıno s̄ıđı
 gegn̄ı ġra þıñ s̄ıđ Eñ achıoz fa hoř holořñ. þa řıell h̄ mıd; ıaunguıt Eñ h̄ raknadı t̄ řıel
 l hon t̄ řota fı̄m ok ml̄te Bleuzud fıer þu guđı þınu ih̄ure tıallðbuđ Jacob bygḡ þt h̄ır þıo
 10 ð ok h̄ır þıod è heyz̄ nařn þıı m̄ lořa guđ. þa ml̄te Judith ı allan lýð. heýre þı bzaðz řefte
 þı up hoř řta abozğ veğ t̄ synıff ok è sol reñz up takı h̄ız fem eın uapn s̄ın ok ganga oz bg
 ıne m; gnȳ ok fıřğ è ořan at þ hellðz ġıđ gnyıñ fıe meřtan. þa m̄ úđm̄ řlyıa t̄ hořđıgia s̄ın ok
 uekıa fı t̄ bđaga. en þa è ıazlaz řza reña t̄ landtıalz holořñıf m̄v řz fıa buk fı lıgıaı̄nda ıblodı s̄
 ok m̄ þa yř alla mıkill ote kōa Eñ þı fıad þa řlya řækıd eřt̄ þ ozuğır þt đtıñ m̄ þa řella ovıne
 15 yđ unđ řæř yđz Eñ achıoz ıazl fa křřt þaı è guđ ġđı gyđıngū þa ř liet fı heıdıñ s̄ıđ ok tđı ġı
 ok tok úřkurd řkn̄ ıu þeğ ıdogun řefřtu řz up hoř .h. a bğ ueğ Sıdan t̄ řz uapn s̄ın oc ġgu ut
 oz bğıne m; mıklū gny ok hořı ř fa úđm̄ affrıa ok ruñu t̄ h̄buða. Eñ heıdıngıaz uzdu uarıř
 ú řeck þ oıa oc řkuıđıþu allır m; þyf myclū t̄ fıveřnh̄f holořñıf ok ælıđu at fı řđı uakna
 ú hazeyřte þt eıngı þozđı ad uekıa fı.e. ıñ ġga Eñ þ kōu allır hořđıgiař affrıa m̄ bađu řz þı
 15 ona fı. Ganğ ıñ uagau ıřueřnbuđına ok uekıd fı řt nu èo myřfı geınḡı ut oz holı s̄ınū ok þo
 ra at eğıa off t̄ ozo. þa geck vagau ıñ ok řtod ř řtıallđınu ok hugđı at þau ıudıth m̄ıđu řořa bæđı
 faman en fı heyzđı eckı t̄ řza. þa geck fı t̄ ok lýpte řřallınu ok fa þeğ bol holořñıf. en fa h̄ğı hoř
 uđıt ok la fı řırdnadz ııozþu. Vagau toc þa at æpa m; ġtı ok reıř ař fı klæđı ok geck ıbuđ er
 ıuđıt ú uon at řořa ok řaıñ fıa è þ ok hlıop þa ut t̄ lýđřınf ok ml̄te Eın kona ebfk ġđı myckla
 20 fıneypu Nobogodonoř .K. Se h̄ holořñe lıgıa a ıozdu en hoř fı è ıbıtu ca fullır ok radağđ
 E n è hořđıgiař affrıe heyzđu řta řıřu řz klæđı ař fıer allır ok urđu sua hzaðđ ok řelñ
 řıuz ř þ ġđız þa oř ok ġřr ok akařlıg ueınun ih̄lıđınu ok þ næřt toku řz řloıa s̄ fıkořt̄
 at eıngı beıđ řınf naungf ok řozđaz en ebzeřka lýð è þz fa ok heyzđu řækıa eřt̄ fıe ok hlupu
 þa heıdıngıaz ř ollū uapnū ok řıazhlutū s̄ınū v̄ heıđ ok býe Eñ ř fa gyđığ at heıdıgı řlyđu
 25 řækıa řz eřt̄ m; hořı ok luđblæřt ok řt affrıa m̄ hlupu řıauega iholur en gyđığ ř Jenum
 řlockı. řz ðřu alla hm̄ è řz maıu řıına Ða feñđı ozıař hořđıgı gyđıga meı ıallá bğ ok h̄ud ı
 bađ feında m̄ eřt̄ þ affrıa m̄m ok reka řloıaıñ allt abı oz h̄udū gyđıga lanz En řz è eřt̄ v̄ ġgu
 ıñ h̄ıbuđ affrıa ok toku þ h̄řang mıř h̄đla ok ř m; řbgına En řz è řloıaıñ hořđu reř hurřu
 ařřr t̄ bethulıe ok řořnuđu řaan řmala þ è affrıa m̄ hořđu eřt̄ leıřđan ok ú ř utallıgř auđz er
 30 gyđınḡ řıengu þ Eleachı þř kō oz hıerřm m; ollū s̄ınū řřřu at fıa ıudıth Eñ h̄ kō ř fı lořv
 du fıa allır ok ml̄tv. þu èř đyzþ hıerřm at þu ełřkađ h̄ınlıře ok tokt è maı eřt̄ þıı bonđa
 ok ř þ řřyřktı þıc đtıñ ok m̄tu úa lořřud at eılıřu þa řıuđu lýð ok řogđu sua ř v̄đı ř v̄đı Eřt̄
 ř ġđu gyđığ ř raad at řařna faman ollu h̄řangı affrıa ok řıengu řıđđū ř fı holořñıf fı. hařř ıgullı
 ok řıřt̄ ok đyrū ġřıfeıñū þ ġařu řz Judith. Ok tıgnadı allır lýðz m; k̄ıozıonū ok meýū ok boznū
 35 Jozağñ řaung ok hozřıflæıe Judith. řna lořřong řyngıanıđı đıne ok ml̄tv s̄ Incıpiente ðo
 mıno ı řıpanıf. cantate đ. ı cıthazıf. eřt̄ řna řıgř kō allır lýðz t̄ hıerřm at řnřa ok eřna heıt fı̄m
 Judith ġař ıřn̄ guđı hıup þaı è holořñıf fı. at ok uapn fı. þa v̄ ř allır lýðz ıheılağ řkēton ok hıe
 llđu řağnad tıđ þa manudu m; Judith ımınḡ řa řıgřř eřt̄ ř ġ hū t̄ fına heıřkına ok ú Judith
 meř meřın ıbethulıa. h̄ hıuell h̄ınlıře alla fına đaga ımınḡıñ řınf řıgřř. Judıř v̄ Jbethulıa
 40 alla æřı fına ř andlatı manafef boı̄nda řıñ Ap đeğı v̄ h̄ız mıřte haıud hallđıř Judith hıřđı
 .c. ok .v. ueřr hon ġař řıře eřkımeý fıne adz h̄ andařız. hon v̄ ġřıř hıa bonđa s̄ınū ok ġt fıa al
 lr lýðz vıj. đaga Ok eřt̄ ř v̄ allđ ġğıđ ař gyđıga ok è m̄nḡ fıa hallđıř Jıřellu allt t̄ řa DAGS

Alexand hín ríki v̄ son philippi macedo fi meifte het arifotol. h̄ ríkti fyzt
 allra kga igrecia an nocku skafgialldi. h̄ ðp díum k̄g p̄farū 7 medozū ok ē
 fu'a ath q̄ðit ibokū at h̄ haþi lagt unðir sík miokfva allan heim m; h̄fkillði. ftaz
 þaði h̄ J̄p̄ h̄nadi n̄ xij. uefm̄ h̄ lagði ock ahalf fer unðgepnū k̄gū ok v̄ h̄ ðgm̄ af þ j
 5 k̄ru v̄ bgír. h̄ h̄. þa ú ozþ ath h̄ia t̄ heluítif ok ē h̄ ú kóin m; h̄m̄n fina J̄babilon hí
 na mýclu leiddiz m̄ h̄ miok þlíkt ftaz þ̄ blonðuþu þ̄r ðryck fi m; eitru úþ þ̄ fi ba
 ne h̄ gaþ xij m̄. t̄ sit ok ḡði þa k̄ga. Tholomeuf het k̄r a egrta ldi ok þan af het h̄ur
 sē ein tholomé oþru naþne Litlū tíma síðz fædduz machabæi fyn̄ mathathie ē sua
 hetu Judæ Joh̄s Jonathaf thímotē ok símon v̄ þ̄r allir hín mefsto h̄m̄. en þo vaz
 10 Judaf langt 1p̄r að ath stýzk er s̄ lefið af h̄im ath h̄ v̄e rífe ath mikilleik en ath
 grímleik fē 1þ oarga ðyr. h̄ ðp apolloniū h̄f hoþðigia ē f̄tðdi a ífrl̄ folk ok tok síud
 fi ok bðiz m; þ̄ alla s̄ ðagha. Jonathaf htugi bzoð Jude señdi þar þ̄unð h̄m̄ t̄ h̄ude
 izlu v̄ demetum k̄g f̄iellu jþ̄ bðaga c. þ̄unða af þ̄ra motftodu m̄m v̄ fa figz meft
 keñðz Jonathe **her heþr ætttölu eþt̄ h̄leiðing hunv miklv t̄ g'v̄s**

15 **h** Er byriaz ættaztala guðf soñ eþt̄ h̄leiðing hínu myclu Salathuel v̄ hín iðk ok
 xx̄ af abhe Zoꝛobabel hín xx̄. Abíud .h. xxxi. Eliachím xxxii. azor xxxiii. Sad
 oc xxxiiii. Achím xxxv Elíud xxxvi Eleazar xxxvij. Mathan xxxviii. Jacob xxxviii
 Joseph xl h̄ uar jarnsmiðz h̄ fafnaði fr̄u f̄cam mariam þ̄ uar h̄ ætlaðz af moꝛgum
 þaðir guðs J̄hinū f̄imta heímfallðz haþa f̄ioğ k̄griki maikuz v̄ið aðz rōv̄ia .t. ho
 20 f̄z Eit̄ v̄ .t. affirioz J̄nínive Annat v̄ .t. kallðeoꝛ J̄babilon f̄ ðoꝛ nobogodonofoz̄ k̄ḡ
 ið þ̄ðia v̄ p̄farū .t. þan f̄ ē ciruf v̄ k̄r. ḡckia .t. v̄ ið f̄iozþa síðan alexand hín uíð
 fozi ú k̄r hið f̄imta ú roma .t. en h̄v̄v̄ rōa .t. eplðiz 1f síðz ḡina en st̄ fyft̄ f̄kfa af
 f̄paþm̄ guðf þ̄ ē v̄it haþa J̄rimta heímfallð oc t̄ f̄paðu guðf h̄uð kuamu. Ein af þ̄
 fagði s̄ íkylruga ath mæꝛ muñdi v̄ða q̄ðuk ok m̄ði f̄æþa son þan ē emmanuel
 25 m̄ði kallaz þ̄ er guð m; ofl **capit̄ h̄f** hanf het anna en onñ reneña v̄ h̄e ate h̄ .x.

Elkana er neþnðz m̄ sonr ieroboā soñ helíu .s. thau .s. suph h̄ v̄ tuikuangaðz
 fonu `en' anna v̄ ubýzia þ̄ t̄ er guð heýzþi bæñ h̄ar ok gaþ h̄e fon fa h̄. samuel. h̄ v̄
 k̄iæf guði. Anna úþ miok gloþ v̄ þ̄ta ok loþaði guð af ollu hiarta þa ozti hon cantí
 cañ Exultaui coꝛ meü: Samuel v̄ spañ h̄ sm̄ði t̄ k̄gs saul ok líflu síðz ðð̄ k̄g eþt̄
 30 guðs boði. h̄ v̄ fyftz spañ J̄ f̄imta heímf allð eþt̄ þ̄ fē bækr uífa t̄ eþt̄ h̄ næft v̄ na
 tan spañ h̄ b̄ þ̄ maali. ðð̄. k̄g ath h̄ heþði radit bana urie riðða sínū en tekid̄ h̄f̄ fi s̄
 t̄ famlagf. Abbacuc spañ heþ̄ ḡt kantican auðite celi q̄ loq̄. s̄ b̄ t̄ a fi ðoꝛ at þa er
 h̄ þ̄ði dagúþ v̄k̄m̄m fyn̄ þa kō t̄ fi guðs eíngill ok bad h̄ þ̄. señdiþ̄ s̄. sua t̄ fi talañdi. ber
 þ̄na dagúþ a kaldea lð J̄nbabiloniā t̄ danielē er feir jðýra goꝛ ok heþ̄ þ̄ v̄þ v̄j ða
 35 ga s̄ at h̄ heþ̄ h̄úki etjþ ne ðruckið. þa f̄v̄aði abbakuc spañ. Ecki kañ ek at f̄a þ̄a señdi
 þ̄ð. þ̄r allð kō ek J̄babiloniā ok ē fa ek ðýra goꝛ þa tok eíngillín̄ skioi t̄ rada h̄ ḡip anñ
 re heñdi Iharid ok hoþ h̄ up̄ J̄loþt ok bar h̄ alla leið J̄babiloniā ok fei h̄ niðz a ðy
 ra grauf þar er þ̄ uar daniel. þa talaði spañín̄ her er ðaguerþr daniel er guð señ
 ði þ̄ier oc er hañ haþði f̄e-þnæi bar guðf eíngill h̄ aþr a fama haí fem fyrr er ík
 40 nuat ath han tok J̄huirþil hanf ok sefe hañ niðz a gyþinga lañði. **her næft flo**
 v̄ fegia m; ftuþu maali af þ̄ f̄paþm̄ fem mefthattar reiknaftz J̄bokinn̄

gbisr

Gđf modir ũ đottir ioachimf ħif .f. ũ barřancheřa
 ħif .f. ũ pantha ħif .f. leui annař ħif .f. ũ melchu ħif
 .f. uar mathā ħif .f. iacob ħif .f. iosehp ě kallaz m
 adz marie fel mařia ũ ħin xl ař nathā fyĥ
 5 đđ kĳf en Jofhep ũ ħin xxvĳ ař falemone ĳęĳ
 bzoduř datāf řui uozo řau Jofiep ĳ mařia
 gđf modir řiozda māni huart

Fioz haða spam̃ bækr ǵt þz è huñ meʹrri spam̃ èo kallað þri èo nofn þza yfaiaf he
 miaf ezekiel ʒdaniel. þ þa fok èo þz huñ meiri spam̃ kallað à þz haða fleiri ʒ
 meiri bækr ǵt è xij aðz þz è huñ miñi spam̃ kallaz. yfayaf .h. spaðo adogū k̄ga g
 yðinga lanz þza è sua hetu oziaf. ioram achaz ʒ manafef è feitr v̄ ieruxan. eze
 5 k̄iaf. adogū ezikie k̄gf kō feñakib k̄gz af niniue b̄g hini miklu agyðinga ið ʒfeiti
 h̄ sin v̄ bgina ierlm ʒullldi uña h̄a. en af bænu ezekiel ʒ yfaye è þz badu gud m
 ikuñar þ̄ bgini kō eingull ǵf ʒ ðp af h̄m̄ .c. ʒ halfan níunda tug þufuñða. ept̄ þ̄
 h̄uf feñacheribb aþr ininiue ʒ litlu ið ðpu h̄ fyn̄ h̄ fialf iblothu þa è h̄ blotaði
 god siit. Jeremiaf tok spaðo adogū iosie k̄gf ʒ haþði t̄ þf è nabogodonofor uañ ie
 10 rlm ʒ h̄leidði gyðinga lyd t̄ fyr̄ seǵ. uurðu iþri h̄leiding. ezekiel daniel añaniaz
 azariaf mifael è fetir v̄ ibñanda ofn t̄ fyr̄ v̄ lk̄f̄. Jofiaf k̄gz fiell iozofu. ala k̄gz
 ezekiaf ʒiofiaf v̄ god k̄ḡ kōñ af .dð. en fleit̄ aðz miǵðu iblotkap. Jeremiaf v̄ ept̄
 iierlm þa è h̄ v̄ eyodd. en ezekiel f̄ieç viðo af ǵi ʒtok spaleikf añða þa è h̄ v̄ ih̄leid
 ingu hia á þzi è efcobar heit̄ Daniel tok spaðo ibabilon adogū nabogodonofoz k̄ḡ
 15 en h̄ ið miog gamall ʒv̄ upi t̄ þzf è þz ið k̄ḡ ðiuf ʒ cír̄ ibabilon þz leyfðu lyd gudf
 aþrthuf t̄ finf lanz oz babilon þ̄ u afyfta ari k̄ḡiðof círi ad gyðing hurfu heim agyð
 inga lanz fimtiǵ þufuñða m̄. þa toku þz ad enðznya ierlm t̄eplū ð. en heidh̄ þioð
 f̄tddu sua aþa aʹt langa ftund þ̄ lit̄ f̄m̄ u m̄tuf ǵðina. a oduz ari ðarij k̄gf è oduz
 nañni. het yftapif v̄ f̄yld lxx uef̄ f̄ þ̄ è ierlm v̄ unín ʒ lyðr ǵf v̄ h̄leidz. en h̄emiaf .h̄
 20 sagt at lxx uef̄ m̄ði lyðr ǵf v̄a Janaud h̄leiding. en h̄ leyftiz oz anaud aodzu ari
 k̄ḡiðof ðarij. þ̄ u á tolu f̄h̄ þund þunda ʒ sex hundzud þunda ʒ viij m̄
 Jþ̄ liði v̄ fyftu m̄ iefuf ʒ zozebabel ʒ m̄ducheuf. þa u endz nyad t̄ fullz m̄tuf gudf.
 en m̄tuf ið algiozt av̄taʹ ari h̄inf lxʹdaʹ tiǵ f̄ þ̄ è gzunduellir þzf v̄ fetir adogū ða
 25 rij k̄gf. xii èo huñ miñi spam̃ en þ̄ri èo nofn þza. ofeaf. Jolel. amof. abðiaf. ionaf. m
 icheaf. Nau. sofoniaf. abbacuc. aggeuf. zakariaf. malakiaf. sua seǵ ieronim̄ .p. á
 ionaf spam̃ haþi iud eckiu fon. fa è heliaf reiftu af ðauþa þa è h̄ u ungz fuein̄
 þ̄ri ionaf v̄ iij ðaga ʒiij nætr ikuði hualf þ̄ þa fok at h̄ ǵði gegn uilia gudf ʒ
 è h̄ f̄ è þangad sem h̄ baud h̄m. siðan þ̄ h̄ ininiue ʒ rak þ̄ ereñði ǵf s̄ at k̄gn ʒ
 allr lyðz b̄gñar s̄nuz t̄ ǵf m̄ fañri iðzan. Fioldi u þo anña spam̃ ieñe f̄nu æfi è è
 30 ǵðu þz bok sua á þ̄ se uitad. þz v̄ æzi spam̃ ept̄ moyfen samuel ʒ heliaf ʒ elifeuf
 samuel u keñiñ ʒðoanði allz gyðinga folcf xii á h̄ smurði faul t̄ k̄gf aʹt bodi gudf
 en è faul únnaði þa sendi gud t̄ samuel ʒiñði h̄ ðð t̄ k̄gf en h̄ tok k̄gðo ept̄ faul
 þa è h̄ u falliñ ʒ hellz ihanf kyni k̄gðo medan k̄gziki u yf̄ gyðinga. heliaf ǵði
 m̄ḡ itegñ h̄ reiftu fyft m̄ mañ af ðauþa. ʒh̄ þa þad af ǵi at è t̄gnði vij á mif
 35 fer̄i þ̄ fak̄ f̄ynða acab er þa u k̄gz iþ̄ iñrlf folki en þeǵ kō regn è h̄ bad þzf. he
 liaf smurði elifeu þoff siñ t̄ spamanz f̄r̄ fik en h̄ u numin up t̄ himinf iell
 iǵ kru ʒ liþ̄ h̄ en. helifeuf reiftu ʒ mañ af ðauþa til liþ̄f. en anñ kuiknaði
 sa er ðauþz u lagðz iðeiði hia beinū hanf malachiaf u gorgaftr spamana h̄ v̄
 hefðzaf keñiñ logm̄ gyðinga han uar kallaðz af gyðingum malachiaf en
 40 þ̄ þenþ̄ þyðiz t̄ se eingill ðzoñinf at þ̄ þoiv̄ sua mæt oðð hanf uera sem
 þa at eingill gudf mællte þad er han kuad up

nu   fe h rfi a t t son   ad f ka nf h kallaz r kr ok rekin    n gl ep   h
  p abel b2odur sin fe  y2 fe   a u h xxx. ka n  oz unz h k  a idiald  
 n  h ftad  g di     bg  a kalla i h enof ga  b g ni na n son sinf  ga  fer k g
 na n fu u b g  yft g z iheimi ka n   fagt at  yft tok   oprikif fak   annan ue
 5 g ad raugu  ad er ad  atu at him namu m g  z   an a eigu toku   hurfu a 
   honu t ha da   g du a    b  b g m; him lamek  p ka n Syn  lamekf ioel iu
 bal  tubal     fagt at  z fkrifudu i zoitir sin amazaza stein    aelltum
 leiri     ell  m eti st andaz  tludu  z at m f in s di ke a J zoitir  e  a 
 fa  gangi  ariz me tr hluti ma kin  en e  ell z eyddi s di nema a  lei
 10 rinu leingz h m eti ell in st andaz en   m f in  au s fkin  uz inoa  lodu
 azphaxaht son semf noa son l r di ccc   xxx   u  az ma  h u   skilia h fu fk
 ioi minkat he  manz all na.   him  o k n kall ei. fi son u ka nan. fi
 son u fale  adan  o indiaz k n. fi .f. eber a  him  o k n ebz ei v fi da
 ga ho z stopol smid h n mikla. fi .f. phalec a hanf dogu bza guo stopol
 15 l smid h u t smid z imiklu b g babilon m;   h ti fe  y2   fkrif t  hu
 ia huf ru nini het smida. fir  z b g ried  y ft bel k g  adir nini. en
   bel uaz dau z  a l tr h  a liknesku e t him   baud mm ad go ga  
 a dogu ragau phalahef son ho z riki su riodaz h n az myclu.   ried k g sa
  yft   thaneuf u d h   ke d a fu   thaneuf heit. h skilr affric   euro
 20 p  Seruhc son ragau l r di cc   xxx az J n t a bygdiz egipta id   ried
  yft fa k g   uizuef het.  a nacho  afi dogu ho z riki affric .   ried  y
 ft egiptiu   beluf k g z.  a thaze  adir abrahamf a fi dogu ho z  olk
 ngi fa het zo oaf  h u k g z abactria sua er fagt at h hlo  y2 en h g 
 et  a er h u     ddr. abrah  son thare  an  yft stornu i rot h lei di g 
 25 fe  y2  
 fkrif d
 bzo  a  uall di kall eo z h son yfac a hanf dogu bygdiz azgira riki
 a    k g    irakuf het. fi son Jacob   o zu na ni het isrl Mo y f k in a 
 leui syni iacobf h lei di isrl folk y  id rauda ha   a u h uel attr er  adan
  ozu  z ae dri k   u   xl ue  her n ft fl segia h ir ho dingiaz redu  
 gydingu Jofue u  yft e t mo fen h styzdi gydingu xx   u  az. kaleph. l r di
 30 c. aza h styzdi gydingu J an t ma u  z ikr t saturnuf  iupiter  a
 kalla m n  oz   op n. Opomel ried xl. aza. aloht riet lxxx aza  a u bazd
 agi mikill m; sialfu gydingu u allir amot beniaminf kynu  ellu a 
 beniaminf  t .c.   hal r  ziditugz  ufu da en a  gydingu xl  ufu 
 da. s g z red .x. az Nephora red xl. aza  a u  epin sifaze k g m;   h 
 ti at fu kona   iabel he  feti nagla auanga him   ut um annan. Ge
 35 deon red xl. aza. abimelehc i i  . Dula xxx   i  az. J ir xx   i  az. ley di
 u  az. abefan u  az. akialon .x. az J an t ma u   fetid u troe  a  g ckiu
 en e ne ok tilganga  a stoza st idf er  eir ho du sin imille vaz
  i at  yft  ami k g ha di u d htekin a  g ckiu ok  adan a 
 40 uilldu  eir b  d  he na  eir z suu du tok alexander helen
 am hust ru menel  er allra  nna he  v d  duzt ok  lutte

iŕgria lañð bozduz þeir è um meira efne mozg ar ut ok fægu
 mtið. Lef `mikið' her næft bladit è fkrat è af teo. bgt þ þiellu af
 gckia liti fiau þufuñð hinf atta tiġ hinf níuñða huñðf. en af tea
 5 liti þiellu fex þufuñð hinf þatta þ níuñða tiġ hín fiañða huñðs. þ gck
 ia liti red meft agamenon 7 menalauf. en þ teo liti red þaþ 7 fýñ fi
 ecíoz 7 alexand. h harði tekít bzoí helenu konu menalaí Mġ flýðu bt
 eŕt þ ad bġín úd unín eín af þ ú eneaf h kō t italia lnoz 7 úd þ kġz h ðp
 ellðíng t bana h ðp adz turnū. Eneaf gat þaþ fon afkaniuf .h. fi fon ú
 filuíus. fi fon bzutuf fi bygði fyftr þ land è ú kallað alkríon þ reifti
 10 h mikla bġ è h kallaði hínu nyu troeā þa ú fkipt ū noŕn ū h 7 kal
 laðz bzíto en landit þttanía 7 þaðan èo bzef kōñ. þ è nu lunduna bġ
 è h kallaði nýu teā en lañðit heit nu eíngland aŕaft bzeflði nu fl af
 tr hūfa t þerf ū hurfū þ litlu ƿ. Labðon ú ðōazí uíj az. Sāfon ftki. ū
 xx az .ð. heli keñerñ xl aza. a fi ðogū bygði þtto eíngland. Samuel fpañ x
 15 ij az. þa ū faul tekín t kġg yf gyþga h ríed xx az h þiell Joōo 7 m; hm
 fýñ fi Jþ þiollū è gelboe heita Eŕt faul ū ðð fon ieffe kġz xl ueč. þa folo
 mon fon fi xl ueč. Roboaf xvij az. abia íj az. Afa xl 7 .i. az. a. fi ðogū ū heli
 af fpañ. Jofaphat xxv az. þa ū helifeuf fpañ. Jorā .v. oz. þa ū helias up nu
 miñ. Ozíaf l 7j az ū fi ðagha ū upi fpañ guðf. yfaaf. ofee. íoel. amof. abðíaf
 20 íonaf. mikeaf. Joatan ríktí xvj az. akaz xvi az. íþaþ tíma reiftíz rōabġ Ezekí
 af xxx 7 íj az manafef .l. 7.v.az amon íj az. Jofíaf xxx 7 .i. az. þ ū upi huerimí
 af fpañ. Jeconiaf íj. manaði. þa ū ð hleíðíng hín mikla. Eleachím xí az
 þa ríed círuf kġz babílon hie leyfði heimþð gyðínga folki. híeroboaf xx
 7 u az h ua þíaf kġz. nabath íj az. baífa xx 7 íj az. hela íj az. h ua þzæll fi
 25 fa è samb het. h ríed vj ðaga síðan ū h uegín. amrí ríed xj az. achabb x
 x 7 íj az. okozíaf íj az. h þiell oz loŕt ríði 7 ðo. íozā xí az. h ðzap hieu þræll
 akabf. hieu xx 7víj az. Joachaz xví az. Joabb xví az. Jeroboā xl 7 í oz. Zakaríaŕ ví
 manud' u'. h ua felluf 7 ríet .i. mañ. síðan ðp manaen h. fa ríed .x. az fačca .íj.
 az h ua faceuf htoge fi 7 ríed xx az. h ua ofíaf 7 ríed xx az. h ū ð htekiñ af
 30 falmanafaz affíría kġi 7 mikill gyþga þíolði. J þzi herleíðíngu ū tobíaf 7þz
 feðġt þa eyðduz gyðínga ríkí unz mathathíaf 7fýñ fi rífu amot heíðnū
 þíodū. Judaf machabeuf ū fon mathathie. h helt up mġū fōknū ū heíð
 h þíod 7 harði fígz aualt þoi h heŕði litid líð en adz mikít h þiell J
 fōkn þa bazdíz h uíð bakíðem ☉ hídín hoŕðíngia. eŕt h ū hoŕðíngí 10
 35 nathaf bzōðír hanf h uelte tphon hoŕðíngí Síðan ū fímon è bæði ū
 htogí 7 keñírñ h ū fíukín af tholomeo t h ū bð þza íuðaf 7monathaf eŕt
 h ríed íoñef fonz fi h ū hín umfælaztí m. síðan azíftoboluf. Síðan alex
 and fon híf. en eŕt h alexand kona h íj az Síðan fýñ hiaz azíftoboluf 7
 hircanuf þz ū ofatír bzæðz 7 uíllði hútuēġí eín harfa ríkít alt Sækir
 40 hcanuf trauftr rōúía 7 foz pōpeuf t m; hm 7 ū azíftoboluf tekín er h
 canuf ríed xxx 7 íj az þa ū gyðíng fkaígíllð unð rōúia Stþ v antígon

þa uar
meftari
uf

- h̄ ðp antoniuf rōūia h̄tugi en fēti herodeſ k̄g yſ gyſga h̄ ū r̄yft k̄g2
 yſ ḡydingū þza m̄ ē eckī ū þ̄zar k̄iñd. h̄ ū h̄iñ ueſte k̄g2 h̄ bzeñde gy
 ðinga bækr til þ̄zſ at eyða ſua logū gudſ h̄ liet ðzera ij fonu ſina
 7 konu ſina 7 ahanf ðogū ū gud bozín r̄yft a bzetlði h̄ hand tok
 5 **h** er hefr ad ſegia aſ bzeta k̄gū h̄iſ r̄ikt haſa þ̄ h̄igad buzdín Bzūf .j̄.
 g'o'c'ma'gogg r̄ifa ē ū xu alna haz. kozineuf het ein hoſðingī aſ ſea
 m̄m h̄ ū iſylgð m; bzuto h̄ bio ſig t̄ gl̄imu ū r̄ifañ tokuz ſidan til
 7 ū gl̄ima þza fu2du ſteſklig á ſia þ̄2 blefu haat 7 ſtigu niðz haat. r̄i
 ſiñ tok kozineū ſua haat at bzotnuðu r̄iſin .ij. jhæſ ſidu eñ eitt
 10 uiñft̄ kozineo rañ miog iſkap ē h̄ ū ſ̄ faſt tekiñ færðiz h̄ þa
 ialla auka aſlſ ſiñf h̄ hoſ up r̄ifañ a auxl ſer 7 rañ m; h̄ ſ̄ma
 ſioú h̄āza nockuza 7 kaſtadi h̄m þ̄ aſ oſan. r̄iſiñ ū iñgū hlutū ē
 h̄ kō aſæ. þ̄ſi r̄iſi ū ſua ſteſkr at h̄ reiſ up ðiſ̄ eik m; rotū. ločñ
 ū ſon bzuti h̄iñ ellzti h̄ r̄ied þ̄ þ̄ hluta r̄ikiff eſtír ſoðuz ſiñ eſ aſ o
 15 llū potū k̄iozligaf en albanackuf tok þ̄ .j̄. eſ þa ū kallad albania aſ
 h̄ſ naſni en ſidan ſkotlð yñb̄ k̄g2 ðp albanackū en bzæðz fi ločñ 7 k̄a
 ber bzæðz fi bozduz ū ýmbzu en h̄ plyði ut a aña týndíz ymb̄ ok
 r̄ioldi fi m̄ tok aín aſ h̄m naſn 7 ſua lðit 7 ū kallad noſþim
 b̄lð. lokriñ ſieck ðoſuz kozinæi k̄gf aſ kn̄bta lði en h̄ haſði þo ſ
 20 ellt hug ſiñ t̄ þ̄z̄ meýaz ē eſt̄rallðiff het 7 allra meýa uaz fegzſt̄
 En ē kozinē þ̄ þ̄ſa at h̄ uill þ̄ſa meý eiga liſf giarna. þa þ̄ ſ̄ aſun
 ð ločtu m; æſingi 7akaſa h̄ geck ad h̄m m; bzugðnu ſúði 7 ygðu
 anliti 7 mlti. þu ætlar ei medal ſkō 7 hadung ū off ad ġa eſ þu
 maí rada. mañtu ē h̄uſu ek heſi ġt uid ſoðuz þ̄iñ iġoð ſylgð
 25 en nu ætlar þu ad eyða ſāfoz uid ðot̄ mína. ad uñð ē ek ozþ
 iñ 7 auúði aſ elli 7 maña miſſi eſ ſuabuít ſi hlyða. villði k̄inē
 þa raða ad k̄gi. þa ſtoðu m̄ ímilli. ſætu2 þ̄2 7 r̄iek ločñ guendale
 nā ðot̄ fi ſ̄ ætlað ū. eſt̄ ðauþa korenei liet ločñ eína guend
 alenā en tok ſer t̄ huſpzeýu eſtrallðē. guendalena þ̄ heím t̄ kn̄
 30 b̄ta Inz litlu ſiðz ġði h̄ h̄ aheñðz ločno r̄iell h̄ þ̄. þa red guendā
 r̄ikinu h̄ liet ðzeckia eſtrallðe 7 ðot̄ h̄az ieiñi a 7 ē h̄ haſði
 .j̄. rað̄aſ̄t̄ .x. az tok maðan .j̄. feðzſ ſiñf en h̄ ſetíz at kozn̄bta lði
 7 red þ̄ .j̄. allt t̄ ðauþa ðagf Jþ̄n tima ū ſamuel ſpañ agyðinga
 lði þa ū 7 upi om̄uf ſniillingz. maðan ū hogúr i.j̄. ſino 7 ē eíngi
 35 ſaga þ̄ h̄m. þa toku .j̄. ſyñ h̄ menþciuf 7 malín. menþci ū h̄iñ u
 eſti m̄ þ̄t h̄ þ̄yððiz kazla en aú þo þ̄ða konu En ē h̄ haſði k̄g2 k
 allaðz ūid xx uetſ þa þ̄ h̄ ū ðag afkog aðýzaueið 7 ūð þ̄ſkila m̄
 ſinū. þa hliop ad h̄m ūga r̄ioldi 7 r̄iſu h̄ iſuñðz iþañ tima uaz
 ſaul k̄g2 yſ gyðinga lði þa tok .j̄. ebzutuf ſon fi. h̄ reiſti þa bozġ
 40 ē h̄ kalladi aſ ſinu naſni ebcā ſu b̄g heit̄ nu iozk þ̄ ē nu ēkī
 ſtoll h̄ liet ġa ugi þ̄ aſkotlði er meya kaftali ū kalladz. ebzui

attu xx koñ 7 m; xx fonu 7 xx ðætr. bzuft .h. ein fon ebti. h tok .t. eft 7oðu2
 sín andaþan 7 red xij uetr 7 é éingí faga 7 hím. en b2æð2 fi unu faxld
 unð sig 7 reðu þ 7 fíðan Son bti tok .t. eft é .h. leil h let 7a 7g 7 kalla
 ði a7 na7ni sínu klerleil. 7n tía red folomon hín fpaki íozfala lði. l7
 5 bniðibf het fon leilf h tok .t. eft 7oðu2 sín andaþan h ú mikill fko
 rung2 7 ftioznf2 h fæti alla þa fē h gat en rak hína o2 lañði h liet
 7a kantabyrgí 7 hng adí 7g h ú k7g2 ix az 7 xx. eft h tok .t. fon fi é h
 et bladud h ú uitr 7 radugz. h ú miog fíolkuníg2 7 keñði þa ífti þ
 a lði 7 namu hng fíðan en e7 h ha7ði xx uetr 7g2 úud þa liet h 7a
 10 fer fíaðzhā 7 uillði flíuga at fía yf .t. fít 7 þoti s þa fíð2 auúf kōa
 En é h ú kōín fíaðzhāín 7 plo7g ú ftuñð bíladí fíað2 hāzín ðaí h þa
 nið2 7 lāðiz íft7e7ýckí. bladut ú 7g2 xx az. leir het fi fon h ú gullð2 7g2
 h ha7ði unð sig knbta lð 7 fkoftlð. leir attu i7 ðætr en onga fon h ú
 7g2 xl uef. hif er7i ú ðzuck xii manuðu. gozðeilla 7ott leirf .t. eft h
 15 v. az h ú uínfæl a7 fínū unðír m. þa toku .t. hngan 7 konedaguf. ðo
 tt f7ynír leirf koneda7g 7p f7ræñða fín íbðaga. red þa koneda7g ein
 .t. íj uetr hinf fíozða ti7g. þa ú a7yðinga lañði fpañ yfauf 7 ofee 7
 þa ú fōa 7g reíft a7 gzuñðuellí xí kf maíj. son konedagú tok .t. e7tír
 h fa .h. fíuallō. afi ðogū fígnði blōði íj ðaga 7 íj nætr e7t 7 kō mañ
 20 7all mikíð. e7t fívallē tok .t. goz7c7ruf fon fi. þa fi .f. filuí. þa íago f7f
 tu2 fon 77tí. þa kíñuí .f. filuíj. þa gord7a7o' ðago. e7t h toko .t. f7n fi .íj.
 het anñ ferue en anñ fo7uex h 7p f7uen b2oðu2 sín en eualle mo
 ð þ2a 7p fo7uex 7 þna h2a m; fo7ū. þa ú mikíð ufāþyckí ū .v. 7ga
 æ7í þ t é fa m híaði abzetlð é ðunuallō .h. h ū .f. glotení f knbta 7g
 25 7yft 7p h pínecū en fíðan fellði h íbðaga 7adacū 7 ftatu2íú fíðan
 úð h 7g2 abtíðí h liet 7yft7r allra bta 7ga 7a fer kozonu a7 gullí
 h feiti ho7a 7eí þan at éingí m fíði fua ilt 7t ha7a at h fíði é 7ð
 ha7a e7 h kíæmiz aho7a 7ð. at þ hæti ū fíðan fet kirkíug2íð e7
 t þ fē nu hallðaz h eyðði ollū ranū 7 hñaðí. h hegnði 7 s hðliga
 30 þio7ū at éingí þozði ftulði at f7rēía. h red bzetlði xxx uef fíðan
 h tok kozonu. ðínouallō atí íj fonu het anñ belín en anñ bzeñí 72
 atū hðan bðaga en moð 72a fæti þa e7t 7 logðu 72 unð fík aemū
 xij manuðū 7kld 7 oll .t. þau é lígía 7 fíðan fíall 7 fkatgillðu alla k
 onga þa é þ ū adz 7. 72 híuðu 7 allt t rōa 7gaz 7 fellðu ofulef gab
 35 íú 7 pñentū é ū yf rōa 7g fkipuðu fíðan 7gína fínū m. þ 7zeñí um
 alla ítalīa 7 7ak fua mikín hñað á ímínū ū ha7t leíngí fíþ. belín 7
 heí t .t. f. fínf h liet 7a 7n yf aní temf 7 .t. leíngí fíðan guzguí .h.
 .f. belíní. h híaði t ðanmkr 7t fa k2 é þ red 7 uillði é guallda fkyll
 ð ne fka7a fē h ha7ði íatad belínō .f. h guzguí fellði 7gín 7 lagði
 40 unð sig allt lð. en é hann fíní a7tr o2 [þí h7pð] húi h átholomem 7g
 m; xxx fkipa h bað fer 7ð lanz [fagðiz ha7a] o2ðit 7gat fæhaua en

adz landþlota af sþanldi 7 rek^o u hař inan e flkēġ en xvij manadi h beid
 di af kgi nockf ldz at bygia a. kēg2 gař hīm f lđ e nu. heit 1řlđ gurguī
 ūđ ellī ðauþ2. Guteliñ tok .ř. eřt řodu2 sīn h fei þau log e kolluđ u h
 ciane log þau u diupfeiri en þau e adz u þau log u ř leingī sīðan hall
 5 dīn. h ūđ foitauþ2. Sifillī het h son. h hellt .ř. řyft m; moduz sīnī sīđ řed
 h .ř. allt t ellī. eřt h tok kēgdō gañuf. ř næft řrillu son h e het mozuīđ
 M ozuīduf u řā2 ad ařlī 7 uuægīn eř h ūđ řeīd2. eīn bferkr hīadi añđīmþ
 lđ. mīuīđ ūđ mīog řeīd2 řrřū hlt 7 ř řeğ imoti m; sīn h tokz m; ř řđagi
 7 ecki lang2 ař2 mīuīduf řieck fig2. h ū þa ř řeīd2 at h huo m; sīno sūđi
 10 t bana hūn e ř h kō ř t e h mate e ř mæđi. en þa e eřt u bauđ h ā ř
 la kuika 7 bñā sīðan iellđi. þo2đi sīðan eīngī m at biaz amot hīm m;
 an h hřđi Aorfan ūđ ařfī h ūđ eīn unđlig2 hlutr ā geck up o2 sīo eīf ðyr
 sua ġmt 7 illt ūř eīgn ad ř řeīř ř e ř ūđ 7 eyðđi lđit ř ře ř ř en e fu řt
 kō ř kē. redz h imoti ðyzīnu en e h kō ad ř řualg ř kēgīn ře řilung lauk
 15 sua h ařfī Mozuīđ aī .v. sonu het řa gozboniāñ e ř. tok eřt h. h ū elfkad2
 ař ollū h liet řyđia mkr t bygða 7 bæti nalega inuckū hūf manz řeti
 iđīnu a þa leīđ řoduadi h řtulđi 7 rān ře řaīř adz ad h gař ř gull 7
 řilř e þuzřa þotuz řř ř ġntuz anñā. argallo tok ř. eřt bđur sīnn
 h ū hīm ulīkr iollū hlutū h ūđ sua uuīnsæll at hořřgīaz řīřu amot
 20 hīm 7 řaku h ař řīki. en þ2 toku t kēgř bđur ři er eřđuñ het h ū kall
 adz elīđuř hīn mīklī. h tok b2ođuz sīn t kēğ azgallo h .ř. x. uetř sīðan h ū
 þa hogū ū allt řolk. eřt h toku þ2 ařtr eledurū t kēgř ū h þa en hogū ře
 řy2 þa řīřu up 1j bđur řyñ h vīgenī 7 řīđuř þ2 hellđu o2o uīđ kēg ř ūđ h
 he'r'tekīñ 7 řetr iřteīn 7 eřt uīř uetř līðna tok ugenī řot 7 anđařiz en
 25 eledu2 tok .ř. řđia sīn. h anđařiz gamall m; godū o2đřīř Eřt ř řeđu b
 ta .ř. mğ kēğ þ2 ře eīngī e řaga ř en þo m ek neřna nucka kēga eřt elī
 đum ū gozboziāñ. þa mğm. euañuf. anualluf. řuno. katelluf. koziľuf
 . poztex. keřīn. řulğenci. elđuđ. mīāñ anđgī. uzīāñ elīuđ. cledćuf. cloteř.
 ř
 30 h gař
 lunduna řauđ sīn ř en eřt h kafibellañ bđīř h. řn řīā rīktī iulī řřōā h řeñđi
 bř kafibellano at h gyllđi řkaī 7 iati řig unđ þ2a hlyđnī kafebellañ
 bř nař
 7 đ ař uillđi ř m; ongu moti hellđ2 řř h t bđaga ū iulīū 7 m; hīm vī kēğ2
 ře sīnu n þ2 hīřuz ū ana řeř 7 řiek kafib. řig2 en iulī řlyđi. eřt 1j uetř hīðna
 35 ařnī aīu ř2 ad2a o2o řlyđi þa en iulī ařtr a uallđ. řđiu o2o aīu iulī
 ū kafib. 7 řeīuz þ2 þa at ř ad kafib. řđi hařa bzetlđ ře adz e řga
 llđa řōūū řkaī ařīnłiga. kafb. lřđi vīř uetř sīðan. eřt h tok .ř.
 tenuanci bđīř anđ2ogīř. eřt h tok .ř. kābelīñ h ū řořrad2 med
 auguřto řra řřōā bğ 7 ū hīm řva ařřpolgīn at h gař hīm up řka
 40 řana þa uu2du þau řīðendī at guđ liet baz hīngad řheim. h hāe
 řt æřt tolu bta en heřř at řegīa nock līřđ ař romueřīum

R omuluf 7 remuf v ij kfg. jitalia ldi 7 e fva fagt a þz v fyf mntuf ef
 e ruvlar kolludu ozrofto g en v kollu tyf mod þza .h. ilia h v kfg do
 tt 7 ad langfedgu koin f enea magi þam kfg iteo bg þz bzædz gðu ro
 maþg. en e bgin v gioz. uilldi hutegei gefa naþn bgini af sinu naþni
 5 7 gðiz þan af fva mikid miffæti at htogi fa e þabi het dzap remu m;
 fapþycki 7 radi romli kfg. eft þ gaf h naþn bgini af sinu naþni 7 roe
 leam. fðuluf feiti fyft rímtal 7 fkipti þa fyft arinu J x ftaði þ mañi 7ka
 lladi hín fyfta manud af naþni faudur finf hciú lítlu síð ú fkiþað ari
 nu J xij manaði kaulladu þz hín fyfta mañ ianuariú af naþni mukilf ho
 10 fðingia 7 heidunf þz e ianuf het síði h úa enð azsinf uphaf anfs
 kolludu mðg h sín gud 7trudu aþ. aullðunðg fetu þau laug at eíngi m síði
 þa kfg naþn iroma bg en u mn síðu úa hoþðingiar yf romvía h 7 kolludu þz þa
 m ofulef það þyðú v ræðif m þz síðu e leingz va íþzi tign en eína xii ma
 ñu enir fonu nēa f nockur foz úk 7 fyndiz aullðungunú en ad kiofa hina fo
 15 mu m t 7 síði þ íaþnā gā ahíni fōu tíð akvedíni at fkiþa ríkínu 7 uelia ofu
 lef Confulef reðu rōaríki cccc ara tíræð 7 uu uetr hinf fimta tūg aþzi æþi ox
 rōa ríki meft 7 gðiz fua mik ad þz logðu nalega und sík oll lonð þau er v kuñú
 noþnū ad neþna íúollðíni 7 helt þ miok t þrf at þr keptuz uad konfulef at
 húr síði meira agiæti gā en anñ afínu ari s fe rad ú t fet. þ kō lokf at
 20 þ þoti offkāt úða ríkíð ef þr fkipti hoþðingíu ahúíu xii manudū þ fe þz f
 hþð íarlaræg ríki. þa gafu þz þ naþn þri tign e þa síði meft heita at þr k
 olludu þa dīcatozef þ kollū v ððe'ara 7 síði þ va .v. uef tign 7 va fua mðg
 þr m fe fe avllðungrur uillðu 7 síðu þo úa ofulef íj. ahúu ari fe adz. en er
 þí æþi v miog líðim ú fkipt ollū rōvía her íþriðunga 7 ú feir sín ho
 25 fðingí yf hún þðiungín þr mn er æzt hoþðingiar ú adz írōa bg 7 ú þa al
 lr gū dīcatoref. þ v eín fa m e het mcfuf 7 craffuf oðu naþni h ari 9u
 þa er koznelia het hon ú ðotír þrf manz e mcelluf .h. 7 eín ú af hinú æztú
 hoþðingíu írōabg. anñ v fa m er het íuluf cefar e íþn tía ú hín agiætaþ
 ti m íbgíni. hín þði ú fa e kalladz ú pōpeíuf magnuf 7 leingzt haþði þo
 30 þfara m allra radit f rōvía h. h haþði víj sínú út gioz oful írōa. h ari
 íþna tía konu þa e iulia het. h ú ðotír íulj cefarí 7 ú pōpeíuf þo my
 klu ellri en íulíuf Marcuf craffuf uar fenz t þra þioda er uozo íaffrica ok
 heita parþu 7 affirij 7 meðij þær allar þiodir gengu moti romuerium m;
 uúingan. en er marchuf kō þangad meðz sín her þa bðiz h þ mgar ozro
 35 ftur 7 haþði figz. en um síð uard h ígradz 7 hañðtekin af parþuf fua he
 itandū þiodū 7 ð'e'yðz m; þ hæti at þz fteyptu gulli uellañða ímuñ honú
 7 mæltu þta yf. til gull'z'inz þyfti þik enða ðzektu nu gullið fua at þu
 haþir gnognt. lauk nu fua yf híf æþi. Julíuf f t faxlanz m; líð fít
 íarlín af fuaúa landi ú mefir motfauðu madz íulj. h haþði lagt u
 40 nð sík mikín hluta faxlanz 7 fríflanz íuluf hadi þar mðg ozroftur
 7 hoþðu ymfír figz Pōpeíuf magn f m; h sín fyft m; fkiþa líði v

t
 þan e
 tyrf.ð. k
 alladz
 kallade

5 ǵecklanz haꝝ 7 ǵecklanz eyar 7 bðiz þ̄ ù uikinga mǵg ozroftur è þ̄ hoꝝdu mǵgt
 illt ǵt 7 hoꝝdu ƿiolda liðf h̄ ðp þa súa en rak alla aꝝ sænū 7 aꝝ fkiꝝū
 Siðan helt h̄ liði sino ut yꝝir haꝝ 7 bðiz þ̄ uio mełdatē kǵg iponto 7 siǵ
 ði h̄. ƿan ƿ̄ h̄ iƿpanlð 7 siǵði þ̄ fertiū kǵg. Eꝝtur þ̄ ƿ̄ h̄ ierrmland 7 rabita
 10 lð 7 gyðinga lð 7 uan neꝝnð þ̄ioð unðir rōa riki. h̄ bðiz iaufr riki.
 uio ði kǵga 7 xx 7 uan þa alla. eꝝt þad kō h̄ t rōa bǵg 7 ǵǵu mot h̄im
 aullðunǵ 7 oku h̄im iǵullkru i þozf hoꝝ è þz kolluðu kapitolū. ƿanaꝝ
 v̄ h̄ kallaðz ƿað bǵgínar meñ þa è h̄ haꝝði h̄im hieð t ƿylgð en iulí uill
 15 **P**ōreiuꝝ sefndi oꝝð iulio at h̄ ƿæri heim t rōabǵg eþa señði h̄im alla sına
 ði h̄uki ǵa ù þa 7 þz ƿī uetr uti er iulí atí ad stða. úð þta uphaꝝ t
 ofāþýckiuꝝ ƿza maga. Siðan ƿ̄ iulí ū alit faxlð ƿcld 7 ƿñð valld 7eǵngld 7
 lagði þav riki oll unð sik è v̄u þ̄ nðan mðiu ƿiall Þa ðæðu aullðunǵ j
 rōa bǵg m; radi pōpæi ad iulí sliði einkuꝝ fōa eiga uon þ̄ þan siǵz er h̄
 20 ynni þadan iꝝ er h̄ hlyðði è bodoꝝði ƿza ox þa ƿianðskapz þza imillj. s̄
 seǵ lucañ at iulj uillði onguan mañ uíta ser hæra. en pompæi aun
 gan ser iaꝝnan Þa er iuluuꝝ haꝝði siǵð yspaniá 7 yberiu ƿ̄ h̄ ut yꝝ haꝝði eꝝt
 pōpæio 7 aiu þr ij oꝝoꝝ v̄ hín siði ítheffalonía lði ƿiellu þ̄ ƿleif kaꝝar pōpæi
 en h̄ sialfꝝ ƿlyði 7 med h̄im kato sꝝekingz è ǵt heꝝ hugsuñz mál 7 m; þ̄
 25 Pōpæi ƿlyði aegipta lð 7 uæntí ser þ̄ ƿ̄ð en h̄ úð þ̄ sukliga ðzeꝝin m; þ̄
 hæti at siptíniúꝝ riðði tholomæi kǵg è þa red egipta lði 7 è .p. fa bana
 siñ radiñ uaðði h̄ motlinū ū hoꝝ ser 7 lauk saman augun 7 hieł ad ser
 onðuñi. 7 è uillði h̄ ƿilla siñi ƿrægd m; ne einu andþi. þa ū h̄ lagin i
 gegnū m; siði en h̄ þagði se fauðz 7 lauk sua hanf æꝝi kato v̄ e ilep
 30 tíni er h̄ ƿ̄ði þau tiꝝði ad inba kǵz v̄ siǵðz 7 pōpæiuꝝ v̄ falliñ. þoiz h̄ þa sía
 at iuluuꝝ riki mði ǵga yꝝ alla ūollð. en h̄ uillði aungū kofu h̄im þiona. tok
 è capító
 liú v̄ ka
 llað
 35 at iulio 7 færðu h̄ .v. farū 7 xx m; smam handfauxū 7 liet h̄ þ̄ liꝝ sit 7 è lið
 stðnaði v̄ hondin sturðnut ad bzeꝝi þ̄ è h̄im haꝝði felit úð 7 ū ecki btið
 insiǵlið. en þa è b̄rið ū sed ū þad aritad ad h̄ ū uaradz uio ad ƿa afeꝝnu
 na t hoꝝfinꝝ 7 faꝝt ad h̄im ū bani radiñ eꝝ h̄ kiæi þ̄. Lik iulij ū siðan bz
 ent eꝝt rōuefkū sið 7 uapn h̄ 7 m̄ki. Siðan ū afkan tekín oll 7 buio ū
 ðyrluga 7 latid kōa ieir knaþ ein mikín 7 ū h̄ allr á at sía se gull ū sía
 40 ūbuñz ū færðz up afeimfotpan þan è steñðz atozǵinu 7 heit þ̄ petia
 iulij en ƿilaǵñ kalla peitarf nal Syft iulij cesariꝝ het actia ellri m
 yclu en iuluuꝝ heñar ðoitr het octauía 7 var hon modir auguꝝti
 uar h̄ 7 aꝝ þui kallaðz octauianuꝝ auguꝝtuꝝ. antoniúꝝ 7 auǵt boꝝduz ū
 rōa. þ̄ ƿiellu urci 7 ƿínfa þa ū auǵt ein yꝝir rōuía þ̄ t aþ þ̄ sætuꝝ þz
 antoní m; þ̄ hæti at þr siðu ūa ij hoꝝðingiar yꝝ rōa.k. iaꝝñ á metozð
 40 þ̄ ū litla stund ad þr mæti þ̄ sáþýcia ad ūa iaꝝñ m̄ fkiꝝtu þr þa
 rikínu 7 hlaut auǵt rōa bǵg 7 þ̄ .t. è þ̄ ū t fkiꝝlið. e'n' ant. tok þ̄ .t. è liǵz

5 þ vtan háf. vð auǵt einvallz kǵz yf ollū heimí 7 v þa kalladz auǵt ceś. En þa è auǵt kō avð þ ollū írōabǵ è h eignadiz a egiptaldí. eǵt ðauþa ańtonij 7 cleopať liet h bńa iellði oll fkvllða blauid rōvía. aǵ þ liet h þ ǵa ad h v illði ad allír rōvíaz vı ǵrialś aǵi ðogū 7 eíngi æte oðz skullð ad ǵiallda h g
 10 allt aǵ fínv ǵiazhlut húíū m̄ skullð fína. auǵt bæti mıog rōabǵ bæði iþ ad h liet ǵa mǵ h 7 hallír m̄an bǵ þav è mikıd fkv̄t v̄ ad. h liet vl̄ bva oll ftr æti þai è Jrōabǵ v̄. h liet oǵt bǵveǵı eǵla 7 ś vıgı v̄húřū bǵína auǵt m̄lte 7 ś þ vínv̄ fínv̄. leir bǵ v̄ rōa è ek tok ú .ı. è ś fkv̄lūz ek ú ad h̄ è h̄ m̄fma bǵ
 15 f̄ þ è 7 fagt ad hallæri kō ś mik̄ aǵi ðogv̄ ad ǵıoldı m̄ ðo aǵ sulltı. En auǵt f̄ynđi ś aǵtrıki fıt v̄ bǵ m̄. ad h lyftı þ f̄ alþyðv̄ eǵ è kíaı vıf̄ 7 leıðanǵz i nan iıj náta þz è næf̄t v̄. villði h̄ ðcka hellðz eıtr 7 ðya en fía vefollð a
 20 ǵıolknv. en aǵi ðogv̄ v̄ð fa atbðz ad iǵǵıne f̄pzaı v̄p vıðfııozıf̄ bńz oz bıaz ǵı einv. eıń ðagh ś ǵnoglıga. ad h̄vz m̄ maıı v̄p aıfa ś sē villði 7 v̄ðu rō vıaz ad iþ m̄ktı mıskv̄n̄lemı keıśanf. en betr fkv̄lanđı v̄m̄ v̄ða ad iþ m̄kız ǵs
 25 mıskv̄n̄ f̄v̄ è b̄tız aǵi ðogū þa è ðtın̄ ihc x̄ bın̄ iheim̄ þna. AVǵt. heǵ v̄ıð meftr fıozıf̄ m̄ allra rōvía kǵa iǵv̄n̄ fıð 7 h̄ feıe þn̄ f̄ð v̄ allan heı è eıngı heǵ v̄ıð f̄ıkr̄ h̄v̄kı adz ne fıð. aǵ fı naǵnı heǵ h̄vz fē eıń yf̄ kǵz rōa vellđıf̄ kallaz auǵt. en.ða è þ h̄æf̄t tıǵn̄ naǵn̄ kallad̄ iheim̄ıv̄. auǵt v̄ allz kǵz vı veť
 30 .e. vıj. hıńf̄ seta tıǵ. h̄ v̄ð f̄oıðauþz þa è h̄ haǵđı vıj vetr hıńf̄ atta tıǵ N̄ f̄v̄ tıa faz ahıńıńv̄ iıj f̄olır en v̄ð oz eıń. þyððv̄ vıtr̄ m̄ ad fa m̄đı kōa t̄ iðıkıfıf̄ è bæði v̄ı þzeńz 7 eıń. Her lyctaz hıń .v. heimf̄ allðz haǵanđı iś .m. 7lx aza en f̄ uþhaǵı heıf̄ v̄ lıðı. .v.c. 7 xc 7 íx az Nu è h̄ ú kōıð heimf̄ıtoðu leıt mıukr
 35 ǵuð mıfkuńaz auǵu aǵına f̄kepnu fam̄h̄mańđı úollđına f̄ f̄az ífyzǵılıǵ rapan húa ǵyftu ǵeðǵın̄ f̄teyptu yf̄ fık 7 fın̄ atboga ífynū ǵlæp. h̄ú f̄ þav byzǵoðo íngau
 40 ngu hımı k̄f. þa feńđı hæf̄tı ǵađ aǵ hınefku f̄æte fın̄ eıngetın̄ fon t̄ ıazðk̄f ad hıa lpa mańkynınu 7 ǵa ś þ̄ f̄a eııǵıǵt m; þze fkv̄ıpan 7 ǵblıǵ ǵozfıa fem nu fkal
S Eıı heıf̄ allðz byzıaz a ǵvðf̄ foń hollǵan **setti h.alðz** þıu næf̄t fkyza .e.. b̄ta m; þ̄ hætı ad ǵabel hoǵv̄deıngıll heıf̄adı f̄ T̄cā maııā þ̄lıkū oıþū. aue maııa ǵza .þ̄. ð. tecū. þa v̄ð h̄ getańđı ad ǵþ̄ fynı. þa v̄ h̄ xıııj aza ǵoūl
 45 þ̄ v̄ a vı'ta' ðeǵı uıkv. ok þan lıðn̄v̄ ıx mańū ǵæððız l̄ańı allz heıf̄ v̄ mıðn̄æı íf̄f̄ f̄keıð f̄ ðtın̄f̄.ð. þa v̄ hıń .x.đı' vetr ífolaz ollð en .ıj. ı tungl̄ aıllð. þa v̄ tungl̄ .x. iıj. naıa. þa rıktı auǵt̄ k̄rı v̄nð h̄ v̄ allr heır f̄kaıǵıllðz. þ̄ v̄ a xl'da' 7ıj arı h̄f̄ fı. è f̄ þ̄ è rōabǵ reıf̄ız. ðcc 7 l. 7 ıj az. AA .vııj'ta' ðeǵı f̄ ǵæðıngv̄ fıne tok h̄ v̄f̄k̄ ð̄ f̄kn̄ N̄ f̄v̄ tıa kōv̄ átr̄ueǵ̄ k̄ǵ .ııj. m; þ̄ðv̄ f̄neytı vtan aǵ azabıa med̄ ǵoınum
 50 ǵllı. reykelıfı. mırv̄ ad f̄æa 7 heıð. þn̄ è þa v̄ bın̄ iheim̄ıń. þz kuıńv̄ ul̄ fıozınv̄ ıþzoıf̄ þz fa kōna nıa fıozınv̄ 7 bıazta fē loga ahımıńın̄ h̄ú f̄ þ̄ f̄ allt t̄ þ̄ h̄b̄ ǵıf̄f̄ è sueıńın̄ ı 7 fı f̄æta mođ̄ fatv̄ íne Noǵn̄ þ̄aza kǵa è þı aeb̄fku ǵyftı sa mańk̄ an̄h̄ ameth̄ þ̄đı appulıuf̄ En ıǵırzku è þz f̄vo galgalath malafath sırath ím̄ E atungu heıđına þıoða kallaz ǵyftı ǵeǵpaı an̄h̄ balltafaz. þ̄đı melchıoz þ
 55 eıa blezad̄ lık̄arı è m; ǵuðs uıfıa kōń ś langt̄ fıðz J halǵuna ad þz h̄ǵıa J kol
 60 m

þ   erki foll   fte ndz Jsaxl di Sua   dylzlgz    t ni  za dauþi ad  z sig  n
nativ   lgja m; heilu liki   t lof    dyz      z tgnodu m  zennv  n 

N  r     t ma birtiz eingill  t inf ioseph J fue ni s'v'a feɡian i. Taktu fu
enin  m   mazi  mod fi   fly a eɡipta l d    t    an  t ek bt iz  z
5  at v k   kallaz t eɡipta l dz uatf fu bok   heif  ei ancia saluatoz  at s
s   av  m k v  nia  ioseph miog  rmod v nd  n vid   palma taka  au h
uill d at   fualt     eina st in d. V z    fmod v    a miog m e d af longm ueg
ke nir hungz   vif v  gn       tektr pilltn i   neyta fins uallz ad modvz
fi hung   uifaz he ndi ne up at eikine sua se  f  nk   h   l   l gia fina h
10  d   ueita lidugan  n avoxz se t man e du v  n uaxin.   hlyd iftad skap
anf bodi   legz  m koll allt t iaz .    a h egt at lefa  au eph se t fyfti. oc
at    vuu reifiz   up   riettiz ifyz   nativ. Vnd   palmuidi fe   ama bo
k at bnr haf   up  rzung m; fmat uatn oz iozdu e   bodskap hmf un
ga ifu   b en Josph   nau fyn  za  leing .  t  f hat   ueg      uatn
15 miog  agiat at b edi sie m  dygt    azazfkiot  **capitulum**    

N v   l   segia annad  euentyz   t b    f  za. se en lidz leing  egnum
k a  au  m eit kuell d   helli no kn. fte ndz   nat at       ma
al at taka   gifting. plytr Josph  aung  za in ihell m nan    tlaz  
  ad buaz fak skiolz   hielu  all se      iazn anat  ma ip lon u
20   se      az  finv. heyza  au  gnud mazi  hazk   hu efing miklaz
in imyzk d s at  au ottaz b edi     n eft  kda  m ho ozm tueir af h
ine bygd   uilia undan lata geft   u. En  z nalgaz va   be d  f m;
he ndi sine at  z skuli kuina sim h f     m; eing  orftopa  z  a sva
l gia ho ud   lu  bi t ey mkr    a natbolid  rialft   ota lauft. se
 au  a  an   en lida da  k er Josph no ku  l gliga at  ang  za  
25  ti liefa   eykn  gz   m dz b edi af  fleyi    ofa. Oc sua bzat  gz
ein leo af ey mki ne  m auegin    au.   gefr sik blidan bidz bak  
bad fid. ef  au uilia no kn liefa af hm  iggia. Josph     buin oc
setr up  pan  ferka kl in hu     har i t  yl       idan not  dag
30 alla leid  m i eɡipta l d sua miukr   meinlauf sem ein  audz **capit**

N v   herodes  gz v d uiff ad ne nd k    ho du he   snut t fina  a
da oc k it ecki afi  un d e t   se   beiddi  ylliz   bolgin  rei
di s  mt at   by d  zepa oll sueimbozn yng en tu uetr  au   v
 b  ethle  oc henn endimku. tolu  azra fueina kuinu v    ina  
35 su tala   fte ndz J niunda resp iozio   sua heit. Cent  .xl inu. m. h
eyz uif   t tolu bna a hell z   h se t apocalip   io if   ftoz mkrif
kra t herodes  eck skiota he nd s at   do uef lliga e t  ui
se k ftnine   ul kuingt at han uall modkum af herodi hinu

At ɔaupv̄ gāla h̄zode bt̄iz an̄ñ t̄ima guðf eingill Jofeph s̄ segjandi rif
 up̄ ȳ tak sueinín íhm̄ ȳ moð̄ fi ȳ f̄ heī aiorð gyðinga lðz. ꝑt ꝑz̄ é
 nu ɔauð̄ é leitudu at glata aund̄ sueínfins S̄iðan f̄ h̄ f̄ð̄ s̄ ꝑ kallaz
 alatinu refo p̄ui exegipto ꝑ̄ é vij̄'or' yð̄ ianuazij. oc é h̄ heyzdi at azchila9
 5 son hodes m̄di rikia J iudea ꝑ̄ ottadiz h̄ at f̄ þ̄ḡ. oc f̄ guðliga amínning Jsue
 ꝑne ad h̄ sl̄ði bygía Jþg nazareth f̄æððiz þ̄ up̄ í míu son ȳ af̄ v̄ h̄ kallaðz
 íhc nazareñ. sua .f. heilug ritnḡ at þz̄ M̄ h̄ bið̄ íhm̄ þ̄ir maza ɔzotnḡ. sim
 eon gālí. Jofeph fostrf̄að̄ fi. maza m̄ b̄ h̄ Jkuidi s̄in̄v̄. simeon Jf̄aðme. Jo
 feph a h̄ðū s̄ f̄e h̄ flutu h̄ undan ill'z'ku h̄oðef̄ f̄m̄ t̄ egiptū. sua boð̄ math
 10 uf guðf̄rialla M̄ at íhc̄ f̄ xij uef̄ m; síne f̄ælle moð̄ ȳ Jofeph t̄ iozfala þ̄ḡ
 at muftif̄ hatid̄ ȳ þau bæði uzdu uuif̄ h̄u h̄ ú ū t̄ima. en fv̄ v̄ fok t̄ þ̄ ad
 fekianð̄ l̄yðz af̄ rikínu l̄ið̄i ḡga m; faungleikū beidi t̄ m̄t̄if̄ ȳf̄ v̄ fa fetnḡz
 up̄ a ad ísín̄ uegh l̄ið̄i h̄út ūa ḡim̄l̄igt kazlaz ȳ kuenð̄i. oc f̄ þ̄a sok at f̄æ
 l̄m̄ia ȳ Jofeph sk̄iðu s̄in̄ imiðil. hugð̄i h̄út þ̄za pillt̄in̄ m; oðzu uera. oc
 15 ept̄ þ̄ḡia ɔaga leit̄ f̄e v̄ f̄ f̄ca maza f̄innz h̄ sitia ís̄ialfu muft̄in̄v̄ mull̄i
 f̄pek̄inga é uanbuín at f̄úa ne f̄pyzia. seğ̄ h̄ sua t̄ fi. son h̄ f̄yndiz þ̄i s̄
 ad ḡa. Ek oc f̄að̄ þ̄in̄ leitudu þ̄in̄ h̄mandi. þ̄a f̄v̄að̄i íef̄ic. h̄ú é þ̄ é þ̄ið̄ le
 ituduþ̄ min. vísf̄v̄ þ̄it é þ̄. at m̄ byziaz at ḡa þ̄a luti é foðuz minf̄ ero
 ahim̄nj. han f̄ þ̄a heī m; þ̄ inathazeth oc v̄ þ̄ hlyð̄in̄ f̄e aþ̄ ma mazk
 20 a at h̄ foī uatn̄ t̄ lækiaz eȳ nauðfyn beidd̄i ȳ fi f̄ignud̄ moð̄ baud̄ h̄im
 Eñ ma sua v̄az f̄ak̄ fi mykla litl̄æt̄is at h̄ haȳi at f̄t̄að̄i ȳ fulltunḡ veit̄
 fostr̄ foður s̄in̄v̄ Jofeph ꝑt̄ ꝑ̄ é uitat at h̄ kuñe v̄l̄ iazn̄f̄im̄ð̄ aȳ uarū [h̄ra]

Nv̄ þ̄n̄ t̄ima fem̄ úz h̄za tok f̄kn̄ aȳ Joni b̄þ̄a f̄n̄ða s̄ín̄v̄ aþ̄tugf̄ allðre
 gzeina guðf̄rioll at h̄ f̄af̄tadi xl̄ ɔaga ȳ þ̄p̄ð̄icadi þ̄ naia þ̄a hungð̄i h̄ fi fe
 25 mañ f̄ianð̄in̄ f̄reíftadi fi oc v̄ð̄ yf̄ f̄ugin̄ þ̄ é not̄ ept̄ f̄eft̄v̄ valent̄
 in̄i M̄ En a oðzu ázi s̄ine h̄ uatnj̄ iúin̄i Jkana galilee at bzud̄kaupe
 þ̄t̄ h̄ v̄ t̄ þ̄za2 f̄amkundu kallaðz ȳ fi moð̄ ȳ all̄ir fi lærifuein̄. þ̄ v̄azð̄
 [XXX] ueizlu f̄all en guðf̄ moð̄ heȳð̄i é f̄m̄i f̄tað̄. h̄ taladi uio s̄ið̄
 s̄in̄ aþ̄a leið̄. son min̄ þ̄zytr̄ v̄in̄ ad ueizlune. h̄ .i. huat k̄er þ̄at
 30 t̄ min̄ .e. þ̄in̄. oc en̄ talaz h̄. f̄yllit v̄j̄ f̄tein̄k̄ aȳ uatni sua ú ḡt̄ s̄e
 h̄ baud̄. h̄ blezadi uatn̄it ȳ taladi s̄iðan t̄ þ̄ionof̄tu M̄ auif̄id̄ up̄ nv̄
 ȳ b̄it̄ f̄yft̄ aundueḡif̄ M̄ oc é h̄ keñð̄i f̄agð̄i h̄ s̄. þ̄i geȳðut allt̄ h̄ t̄
 ið̄ bezta uín̄ þ̄ta taek̄n̄ f̄r̄að̄i f̄kapazín̄ f̄yft̄ f̄ir̄ manna augum
 L̄iðu hedan̄ s̄ t̄in̄ v̄f̄ ɔzot̄tis̄ hollgañ ȳ herueru ad þ̄z̄ flutv̄ a
 35 l̄ir m; ɔaf̄eðum oc allzkyns íaztegn̄um sua ad hanf̄ mañ Jorð̄i
 oc ūki ma eink̄i. f̄kyza Sva f̄inz̄ f̄kriȳat ad anna moð̄ M̄iu
 ȳ ef̄meria moð̄ elisabeth ueri f̄yfr̄. h̄ uaz moð̄ iohann̄if̄ þ̄pe h̄ b̄
 anadi ad h̄oðef̄ hellð̄i ū honð̄ f̄ b̄ð̄ konu s̄ é h̄.. h̄oðiaði þ̄ ū fi fet̄r

ímyrkua stofu mot paskū af herode 7 xij manudū sið ū h̄ halshogfīn. þa tok
 ǫs son s̄ t̄ fylgðar xij þa kalladi h̄ plā 7 iodzulagi .lxx 7 ij. þa kalladi h̄ sina læ
 rifiueina. tok h̄ þa ā geḡa syn blīndū ē d̄ubū māl dauḡu heyrn. h̄ saddi 7
 v. m̄ af .v. bzaudhleifū 7 ij ʀiskū. ē an̄ tīa ʀæddi h̄ .iij. m̄ vj̄ bzaudhleifū
 5 7 ʀa smaʀiskū ā utauldum konū 7 b̄nū. n̄. þsū tīa ste h̄ upp ʀfall taḡ. 7 m; h̄im
 ij plār peʀs iacob iofis þa syndiz asiona h̄s sē skīnandi sol ē klædi h̄s bioḡ
 sē sniozr. þ̄ kou 7 ij spaʀm̄n moyses 7 elias 7 keñdi peʀs þa baða. ē haḡði h̄ú
 ngi ʀyrr sied. h̄ reisti iij m̄n af dauda unga dot̄t̄ iayri ih̄i. eckiu son ib̄ǧ
 hliði. ē lazarū ʀdagapan kalladi h̄ af ǧʀ. s̄ seǧ speclm̄ ecce ā lazaʀ ū t̄p .x
 10 xx ara. ikipz. siðan syst̄ fi ū m̄ia magdalena 7 m̄ta ē audladiz ā laða isitt h̄
 b̄gi sialʀan ǧs son. Sa hlutr ǧiozdz þa ē s̄æl m̄ta ū ū ana roðanū ein̄ mī
 kill d̄zeki ū am̄iðl ʀza stada ē an̄ .h. arelaiñ ē an̄ auiton skāt ʀ a ʀzi ē ro
 ðañ .h. h̄s h̄iñ ʀrēri hlut̄ ū sē aʀogli huñ siðzi hlut̄ sē aʀiski h̄ ū ðigzari ē ux
 í leinḡ ē hestr hoʀf haḡði h̄ sē leo. teñ h̄s ū huass̄ sē s̄uðz oðð. ʀax haḡði h̄ mik̄
 15 sē hestr huass̄ k̄abz geck abaki h̄m sē bzeidauḡ egg. hzeistr ū aʀim̄ fozt ʀs̄hpt̄
 h̄ haḡði vj ʀætr ʀðuliga s̄ka klær h̄s ū sē abni. hali h̄s ū sē a'e'itr ozmi þ̄ ē uip̄pa
 uēngi haḡði h̄ ij langa 7 bzeiða s̄ ā ʀz huldu allan h̄s likā 7 ū ʀz s̄ þyckū 7 styrk̄
 ā ʀ ʀza traustleika lietti h̄ ē ʀ nie einū hogguapnū nie ʀluguapnū nie nučkum
 uiguelū s̄ ū h̄ sterkr ā h̄ matti m̄ð sinu aʀli 7 ǧmleik ū iaf̄ñ .e. siǧ xij bioznu
 20 .e. leona þ̄si ðkū af ʀnz m̄m kalladz tharācoñ. þ̄ hugdu m̄n ā h̄ m̄ði getiñ ūa
 af þ̄ sio d̄zeka ē leuatan .h. 7 i iobs bok ē neʀñdz 7 haḡi sa d̄zeki ʀið eʀf̄ h̄inu.
 mikla haḡi auftan af galatia asie. 7 ē h̄ huñ ǧmazti d̄zeki 7 liggz isio .e. uotnū
 7 haḡi þ̄ kuikueñdi ē igalacia ē 7 bonakū .h. blandaz ū sio d̄zekan t̄ þ̄sa getna
 ð ʀta olma ðyr bonakū ē s̄ illf̄ nat̄tu ā ūp̄z uellheitu ðti ū xxx ʀadma ʀn u
 25 † þ̄
 [ē] h̄ la ʀfk
 ogi ada
 uðf̄ m̄ h̄
 ræi
 30 þ̄ b̄
 h̄
 35
 eg sē skeyti ʀlygz aþa ē þ̄ sekia 7 bzeñr af h̄ú ē ʀ ūðz. h̄in blezada m̄ta gek
 skialʀandi ā þ̄sū d̄zeka † 7 staukti iþ̄ h̄ uigðu uatni. 7 ks̄ ðzot̄tis b̄ h̄ m̄ð s̄
 sua sē skiollð auruggan moti þ̄su illʀusa ðyri. ē h̄ ūðz ū þ̄si h̄ar t̄l tæk̄i s̄
 otta fullr 7 umattugz ā h̄ matti oz þ̄ stad h̄uǧi hzeraz. 7 ecki mein ǧa. ē
 h̄ batt h̄ m̄ð sínū liñða þ̄ næst ðʀuz m̄n ū 7 baurdu h̄ t̄ bana [i ʀna tuma] b̄
 t̄ ib̄gñi ʀa'ē'ǧicas þa ē ʀrōto t̄p saung m̄sso sialʀ hoʀf̄kk̄iunnj̄ ā h̄ soʀna
 ði iþ̄ sueʀni uif̄ðiz h̄m sialʀ ǧ 7 .m.. m̄iñ elskuligz uin̄ ʀrōto eʀ þ̄ uult
 eñða þ̄itt ʀ heit̄ þ̄ sē þu hez ʀ ūri m̄the ʀ nu skiotliga ā ueita h̄i ǧuptr
 7 ʀylḡ m̄ 7 ē h̄ haḡði ʀta m̄ællt̄ ʀ ʀz a'ugaḡðdi itharaʀkonū 7 ǧgu ʀkkiu m̄te
 7 toku ā syngia m̄ð oðz iþ̄ h̄ar likā. hellðu ʀz bækr m̄ð sínū eiginligū
 hoñðū. ʀ syngiandi. ē audz ansūandi bað ʀz þ̄u h̄ar likama 7 ileidi logðu
 þa ū t̄p uakiñ af klerkū t̄p sagði þa ho ho b̄zæðz m̄ñ h̄ uoktu þ̄ier m
 ig s̄ skiott. ek heʀi ā segia yðz aǧiætān āburð ifc x̄ leiðdi m̄ig af
 þ̄sū stad t̄ likʀylgiu sællar m̄the sínñ h̄ʀ ʀnu nu hoʀū ū ueit̄ h̄i
 ǧp̄tr þ̄ionostu. h̄ sagði 7 ā þa ē ʀz ǧgu b̄tt oz k̄kiuñi s̄p̄ði ein̄ b̄zod̄

þs stad sialfan dzottin húr fi úi .e. hau'aðan fi úi .e. hút ætti. E fi
 súaði fim aungu 7 syndi fim opna bok þa fi haðdi iheñdi ahi ú ecki aní
 skf e þta ús i memozia eþna eþ íusta hospita m ab|scondito| 'audito' malo n
 tímeþ iðie nouissimo þ e s á skilfa. Jeliþ míning m úa riettus hþ mín
 5 e m h ottaz ú heyrn illra hluta ahínú síðazta degi **capit** s á myrkt úd

Pa e ific haðdi xxx ara 7ul íj. ú fi kspestr† af gyðingū soztnaði solin
 mð ollu e stein bzustu. leidi dauþza opnuduz kaufudu up dauþza
 m líkaumū. mts tialld rífnadi á ořanúdu allt t nedsta
 † 7 þan f axlda .ð. ste fi t himíns n standandi fis signaði

† langa
 rria
 .ð.

10 modur mie 7 asianðū n .c. m 7 þan .x. dogū lidnū sendi fi hín helga aþda
 sínū plm. siau diakna uigdu plar gš stephanū. philippū. ,pcoz. nicañe. th
 imoteu. parmenā. nicolaū. e smíðadi maumez uillu. Anæfta ari eþt gš s
 oñ písl ú stephan gzytr. 7nuckū síð ú íacobuf bð íofis halshaugguín m
 otí paskū. e peþs settr ímyrkuastořu af sama hode litlu síðz siau aþ eþ

15 t rínig gš ú sæl mæf mía upnumín e þan axlda .ð.. tok h hollz uppísu þ e
 íj. nattū eþt mathē.m. ú þ langan tía miog uuíst f aldyþu. e húsu þ úd lio
 st sl h næft gzeína. elisabeth .ð. kgs af unğia geck íklaustr .xí uef goml lířdi
 h stoþ heilaglíga 7 e h haðdi líř íklát xí á btiz fi gš mod optlíga. talandi m; fi
 ymis gzein. heilagza rítínga h mð btiz fi eín gš eigill sa uandiz t fia á læra

20 af glnğ speki kendi h þna eíngul. æ hín sama t sín sē sañā uín 7 kíæran fe
 laga 7 e h blōgaz þlikū gjořū stuñð |þlikū| h þ řm á loka gí sē bezt iollū hlu
 tū gíomandi satt lílæti m; godū úkū 7 þ gíz síð h skilr á mía gš mod. úd
 iz fiar optlíga á uítía. hú h .s. leynlíga sím aňðalígū ředz þ íklátnu húr fi gef
 þ rad á spyria dzotnīgína nucks þa h btiz fi næfta sín h segiz þs h segiz

kōāða

25 þs uilia spyria sē hín gālí m uill fi rað t geřa. þs bið eg ðott mín á þu
 spyř fi hút h hař af dauða rið 7 líři nu mð g. m; oňðð 7líkama. 7 næfta tía
 sē sæl mía btíz .e. tala þær m; s hðla kíærlíga þ ú í octa affūciois sēe mie
 medā gš þionosta fluttíz íkkiuñi leid líettr hořgi íř .e. ihūū h btíz .fi mæ
 mía .e. spyrr fi þa ðiarflíga s segíañði dzotnīg mín sæta. eř þ líkadí |głíga|

þz

30 uillðí ú gíarna uíta hút þu heř á eís íaňðanū upp rið 7 ríki tek m; þ sy
 ní .e. reistu af dauþa bæði mþ oňð 7 líkama spyř ek f þa sok þsa líř þina m
 illði á m e sagt á e říníz skf íbokū heilağ ředza af þríní upp nūnīg. ðmígi .s.
 fiar mali þ sē þu spyrr mattu e á síni uis úða e þo e þ f ælat á ři hltř
 sl f þig btaz 7 audsynaz. sē þsí syn húr btt gř systín kuñigt hínū gā

35 la řauður. húsu řið hařdi řpníg 7 aňsuoř mþ. ðtn. e sa godi bð leggz þ t
 á nuñan takí upp eíkañlíğ bæñ gš modur t sæð ímíníg þsa f heiz 7 hall
 ði þ ðaglíga þ t řm kēr uířnín líðz nu s heillt á á þsa luť þir nuñā hú
 kí á spyria gš modur mūā nie sín h'e'ímolígā eígil þott þau btiz fi bæði e
 řt uana þ t á affūpcío fce mie steñðz řr an oðzu ari þa sykiz elífabeth

3 þmt á h liggz miog maatfin ire`c'kiu afialfa hatina e þn tia se haleit
 þionofa gíz aþ blezada degi lidz iþ hia þungt umegin 7 þ næst sierr h m
 10 iog fiári eina fteþzo iþzoñi si e h liggia se kuenlig likāa. allauega ūbgí fto
 du heia m himi.rikis. biart g's eiglar mð skinaða lofi 7 litlu sid rifs þsi u
 5 m; dyrþ mikilli e adz la igriñi luta þa .h. eiglá flytandi hat iloþt upp
 m; gofuglig skipa þagza hlioda þ t á mot kēr aþ himiríkif kia þagz 7dyrligz
 ūþm sonu maña lřaði g's.s'on'. hðsueitū siña hðm sa sái ðtí br 1s1
 nī hēði .h. ks mþ fogzu mki e þa skip agiæt ,pceffio geck þsi ðzotning s in j
 þagnin e adz haþði t litlu upp rið aþ gřni á hæfti kgz leidr hia mþz s. sið
 10 byrgiz þlik ,pceffio btt aþ hiar aug. lidz þa litl ftuñð adz sæl mīa btuz hī syn
 h blezud hī andlit sitt blitt e talá ecki ū hā. 7sē h lidz btt kēr sái eingill
 þa talá h þeg t hīs segiðði hza mī hū m̄k su syn e eg sa t skōu .e. s.. þa. iþ
 rī uitiñ syndi g þ hūsu sčā mīa ū upp numñ bæði m̄ oñð 7 likā. eřt þlika uī
 tñ fær h fulla heilsu. asialfan octauo dagin talar sái eigill t hiar. bið ek
 15 á þu. seğ m̄ hūsu langz tīmi leid btt aþ uppnūnig ūf Ƴ adz fyllðiz h̄ likālig u
 ppzisa .e. s. aþn sama .ð. se nu dyk hiar affūptio leid h̄ bt aþ þsu lři. e axida .ð.
 þan þ e nono kl octoþs reif h̄ aþ ðauþa eřt þ hūf eingillin hī á syn. n̄ xiiij a
 rū eřt pisl xz skiptuz plar t lañða. e eřt upp stignig g's xxx ař 7iiij ū þz pñð
 20 pēts 7 paulus ū h̄ halshaugguin e pēts křsfeřt irōa bg aþ nerōe k̄ra. andzeas
 křsfeřt iakara J aþ egea .j. Jacob yng ū t̄p xxx ara á iozsolū h̄ ū gzyttr e sid sle
 giñ Jhoþ mð þuatia buifl. asama degi ū phulþp křsfeřt iasia 7buñðin akosinn
 þa haþði h̄ lxxx 7 vij á. ij ðætr hīs helg ū gřn asina hoñð fim hū. bartholomē flegñ
 25 k̄ra 7 færði helgan ðō plans t eyar þz er liggz nærr romabozz 7 g'e'ymiz þá
 anæfta iðialdi ū tōas lagiñ iðegnū mþ sūði aþ t̄pī solar hořs. Mathē ū laghiñ
 iðegnū abak mþ sūði abladi aþ ftaco simon 7iudas ū lagð iðegnū mþ kesiu a
 psida ldi. Mathias ū pindz J iudea fyst gzyttr e sidð ðzeþin mþ exi **kapitl** u er
 F ioztugū ueř eřt pisl g's soñ kō udæilig heřnd gydning aþn hat á ein starna s
 30 kōeta .h. ū sien allt á iðegnū iþ ierlm mþ oğligu liosi 7hřði blodzeþillin abgā
 þ ūð 7 id næsta á .vij'ta'. .ð. aþl þa e mik řiolmeñi ū kōid t paska hallz J ierlm .a. 1xðu
 ftuñðu nætr ū s̄ mik lios sied iþ solomons m̄fi á flest m̄n ætludu dag liosan
 7 hellz þ halfa ftuñð þotti þ aldyðu fsełligt e řræðim̄n hugðu feigð lios ūa a
 þzi sōu paska tið ū ein kuiga t řn leidd 7 t̄ allra aug b h lāb. v̄ miðnættis fk
 eid eina nott hurð .1. im̄tinu aþ eiri 7malmi giozr lukt mþ lasū 7 læst mþ lokū
 35 7 s̄ þung á traulla mattu xx m̄n hzæra hā lausa lauķz upp sialfķri á aungū
 m̄ ū kōanða þ uñðz ūþ 7 sied n̄ iozsala řialli syndiz se uapnað fylkyng t
 bðaga buñ iloþtinu mþ ūsat abgina 7 þa e kēim̄n kōu im̄tūð á færa řn heyr
 du þz m̄ maī aþna hat foř btt heřn. e b s t á ein m̄ ihc á nařni rañ ū b
 gina 7 kallar mþ þsū hættu kall aþ aust kall aþ ueřt k. aþ suð. k. aþ řiði. k.

aꝥ ollū attū iꝥ ollū m̄m ꝥ kall iꝥ bzuðgūa ꝥ bzudı ꝥ allan lyd ꝥta kallan
 h̄ bædi nott ꝥ ð. þa ú h̄ tekín aꝥ hoꝝðingū ꝥ m̄iog kualðz ð̄ h̄ kallan þ̄
 meirr. s̄ ú h̄ kualðz á hollðit geck allt aꝥ beinunū ð̄ allð úꝥ h̄ ozþ̄ iꝥ sig
 ꝥ ð̄ kōu t̄ aꝥ h̄s augū ð̄ kalladi æ. id sama á þ̄su ú logðu ue ir̄m ꝥ uei. þ̄su
 5 næft kōu þ̄z uespasiañ ꝥ t̄i t̄i m̄þ̄ miklū h̄ t̄ íozsala b̄ḡ n̄r pafka t̄ið gyńga
 þ̄t nu kō su stuñð ð̄ þ̄ ú heꝥnd̄ huḡ þ̄ s̄ina glæꝥi þ̄ p̄isl k̄z ꝥ stephani ꝥ ia
 cobi hústueggia ꝥ mathie ꝥ þ̄ m̄ḡ ap̄z uhæꝥ. þ̄anḡ haꝥði saꝥñ mikill ꝥiol
 ð̄i s̄ á þ̄ ú ð̄ míni mañtala ð̄ xx̄m̄ siña huñðzad̄ þ̄uñða huḡi matti þ̄ mat
 ne uist̄ ú uedzi haꝥa huetuetna ú þ̄ á lyktū et̄ þ̄ ð̄ toñ matti aꝥesta iāul
 10 skū s̄e bellti halmr ꝥ ḡs̄ f̄nt. s̄ seḡ Joseꝥ á þ̄ ú kōin ein goꝥuḡ h̄ꝥ haꝥañdi
 m̄ð s̄ ein̄ m̄iog ungan son s̄in̄ h̄ úð̄ fundin aꝥ snauttungū þ̄ ð̄ allt ḡꝥu m̄þ̄
 rani þ̄ þ̄z ꝥiengu nad̄ ꝥ ð̄ mik̄ huñḡz geck á þ̄s̄i konu talar h̄ s̄ heyr̄ m̄in̄ s̄ð̄
 þ̄u et̄ reñgia ð̄ð̄ eg gat þ̄ig ꝥ et̄ þ̄ ð̄p̄ h̄ h̄ ꝥ steikti ꝥ at halꝥan ꝥ ð̄ h̄ sier r̄ās
 m̄n talá h̄ s̄ et̄ þ̄ta. þ̄ta ð̄ míni ð̄ eg snæðða ꝥ ð̄ þ̄z heyrðu s̄ osk̄nliḡ konuñ
 15 á ozd̄ h̄ꝥu þ̄z b̄tt. ð̄ þ̄a ð̄ b̄gin̄ ú uñin̄ telr̄ s̄ ioseph̄ sagna m̄ á ð̄ lieti þ̄ fær̄
 rí m̄n l̄ꝥi ð̄ x̄i sínnū .c. þ̄uñða adz̄ b̄gin̄ ú uñin̄ ð̄ s̄iðan̄ ú sum̄ ð̄yꝥ beirt̄
 ð̄ m̄þ̄ sumū leik̄ asūðū edz̄ sp̄iota oddū ð̄ þ̄z m̄ ð̄ unð̄ ḡḡu ú bunh̄ ꝥ fell
 ð̄ir t̄ eḡiptaln̄z edz̄ an̄ña hierada á hauggua biarḡ edz̄ telgia ḡziot t̄ halla ḡioz̄
 ða allir elri m̄n ð̄ xvij̄ ueċ. ð̄ þ̄z h̄in̄ ynḡ ú sellð̄ mansali. ð̄ þ̄z m̄n allir ð̄ sellð̄
 20 ú eo talð̄ .xc. þ̄uñða. eꝥt̄ þ̄ ú b̄gin̄ oll̄ niðz̄ b̄tin̄ eꝥt̄ þ̄ s̄e s̄ialꝥr̄ ð̄ozott̄i haꝥði ꝥi
 sagt. helyas adz̄iañ het upp̄ ḡa ierlm̄ ꝥ baud̄ á h̄ sl̄i elya aꝥ h̄is naꝥni heita h̄
 liet ḡra niðz̄ iij̄ k̄sfa ú ein̄ k̄ss̄ ð̄ttis̄ ús̄ iñu ð̄ þ̄z ij̄ ð̄ þ̄ioꝥ̄ ú ap̄inð̄ ð̄ iꝥm̄ stad̄
 ð̄ ḡ̄ ú p̄inðz̄ liet h̄ f̄ꝥꝥȳu likneski á h̄ur̄ ḡs̄ uína s̄e þ̄ uillði biðiaz̄ þ̄ sl̄i
 h̄ þ̄ sia ꝥreyu ð̄ ð̄ k̄ss̄ m̄k. siau t̄iḡ̄ v̄ ueċ eꝥt̄ p̄isl k̄z̄ añðap̄iz̄ ion̄ pl̄i aufr̄
 25 ierpresso þa haꝥði h̄ xc ꝥ ix̄ á. h̄is̄ f̄m̄þ̄dar̄ ð̄agz̄ ð̄ a ions̄ messo þ̄ꝥte asuñið̄
 ꝥioz̄ eo guðꝥp̄ialla m̄. math̄e m̄ch̄ lucaf̄ ioñf̄. math̄. ð̄ ꝥꝥi het leui s̄āf̄eti sit̄ ḡs̄piall̄ m̄
 ebskū malshæti i iudea. en̄ m̄ch̄. tok̄ sit̄ ḡs̄piall̄ aꝥ ꝥozfogn̄ ꝥet̄ pl̄a meif̄ta s̄in̄ h̄ ú
 þ̄ꝥ i alexanða ꝥ þ̄oldi þ̄ piñlaruæti þ̄ ḡs̄ naꝥn̄ s̄ ð̄ l̄iñið̄ aꝥ h̄im̄ á h̄ hyḡi aꝥꝥer̄ þ̄umalꝥin̄
 ḡñ á h̄ sl̄i ð̄ mega taka þ̄pl̄iga t̄ign. lucaf̄ ú f̄yrlenzkr̄ á æt̄ h̄ sk̄ꝥaði sit̄ ḡs̄piall̄ eꝥt̄
 30 ꝥsogn̄ siñ̄ meif̄ta palf̄ pl̄a h̄ ḡð̄i ꝥ þ̄a bok̄ ð̄ kallaz̄ ac̄t̄ ap̄loꝥ̄ h̄ kuñi lækniff̄ l̄iuf̄ h̄ an̄
 ð̄ap̄iz̄ ihalꝥū biñime þa h̄ haꝥði lxx ꝥ iij̄ á siñ̄ allðz̄f̄. Joñef̄ sk̄ꝥð̄i s̄iðaz̄ sit̄ guðꝥpiall̄
 o aꝥanūðū ð̄ogū siñ̄ l̄iꝥꝥ ꝥ sua heꝥꝥ ꝥñcipio erat̄ úbū ꝥ ð̄ **capitulū de specie saluatoris**
Her byraz̄ kataloḡ sumoꝥ̄ pontificū rōanoꝥ̄ þ̄ ð̄ s̄ l̄e paua tala .e. f̄k̄ipan̄ þ̄t̄ h̄
 seḡ h̄iit̄ huḡi þ̄za heꝥ̄ logtek̄ k̄ftnū ð̄oif̄m̄ t̄ upphallz̄ heꝥiū ú ꝥyft̄ a uaz̄ lauf̄
 35 h̄a iñu xp̄o ð̄ bædi ð̄ k̄gz̄ ꝥ keñim̄. sua ꝥin̄z̄ sk̄ꝥað̄ irouefkū analb̄ iudeoꝥ̄ ꝥ
 geymaz̄ irōa á ḡzæð̄i mañkynf̄in̄ ꝥ ú luꝥi laúðz̄ iñif̄ mariu son̄ haꝥi úð̄ meþ̄
 al̄ m̄ ahæð̄ reiuaxin̄ ꝥ úðuligz̄ á lita h̄ haꝥði ð̄yrligt̄ añl̄it̄ sua f̄m̄t̄ á a litañdi
 ꝥ h̄ siandi m̄n̄ s̄iðū bædi mega oiaz̄ h̄ ꝥ elfka. haꝥañdi haꝥ̄ h̄ðla ꝥagz̄t̄ þ̄ á iaꝥna t̄
 fem̄ ny up̄ ruñin̄ hnot̄ fu ð̄ kallaz̄ alat̄inu auellana nux̄ rieihar̄ oꝥan̄ ð̄ eyꝥl̄

en þan niðz hzauck nockuð. þallañða a. axlír med þagurfnunum lok
 kũ. reik harði h eřt miðiu hořði að sið þeira mana er nazaræi uoru k
 allað en þeir letu allð fnera kníp. eða fkeğ har 'fitt', eñið flet an nuckm
 pleck eða hrucku. bzyn gulbzunar augu jbla 7 huoff. nef riei med munda
 5 ngligum nafukũ. mun meyligan. kínr hutar 7 j þagz rodi. skeğ mikid 7
 þyck 7 klupðiz lítað ahokuñi. oianligz leiz h íafakan. en blidz 7 ðafamligr
 þağ amíning. gladz 7 hyr jmalí 7 allri raukfemd h gzet nuckurũ sínũ en hlo
 allð. j ollũ likáf burd ú h afik kõiñ. heñðz med armleğin uozu gledlígaz á
 ij á .v. m. ij .ð. þa tæðiz .þ.sæt xxí .ð. sixt þ. rōañ á æ .s. x. á .íj. m .ð. xxí. h skípí at
 10 fía. hoguar 7 ftoðugur 7 þeckr iollu uizðmæli. eða likamfín hræringũ. fua at
 uerðugu maí h feğiaz eřtir pphetanf ozðũ þeim er fua hlíða speciofuf foz
 ma þřilíf hominũ ðiceretur 7 effet. þfi ozð nozrænaz fua fridz 7 þagz er h
 ūřm fonu maña. eig er þ undarligt þt þfi, 'è' kgez allra kga 7 ðozoiñ ðozoina
 loř englaña. ðyrþ heilağ. heilfa heimfins bzunr mullðinar. fañr h bti hæ
 ta feðzf. hæfi fañleikr. eilřt liř ihũu h liř 7 rik pſeculorum ſecula ame
 15 petr þli hellt saçðotũ íij á jaustrhalřũ. è síðan ſat h víj á. jañthiokia.
 ſyngianði þ řyf. meffu. síðan hellt h pauaðũ .v. á 7 xx. Jrōa. víj. manaði 7 víj
 ðaga. è axiij'ða' arí neronif kra. krunaþiz h mþ paulo aplo. líñ þm. tułc á ætt
 ſat xí á. íj mañ. řxíj .ð. clet þm rōañ á ætt. s xij á .i. má þa tæðiz paua sæt
 20 xx .ð. h u'řgði á boði pet xxv. þřta clemf. þ. rōañ á ætt. s. ix á .ij. mañ. fim ū ðrekt j
 síou ðiup ū þz líñ 7 clet íařm pet è clemf eřt petm. anacleť .þ. athenienſis
 á ætt .s. ix á .íj. m .xi. ð. h skípaði á ongũ klerk fíði uaxa skegg nie kruna. euar
 ířt. þ. gzeç á. æ. s .x. á 7 víj. m. ij .ð. þa tæðiz sæt xix .ð. alexand .þ. rōañ á æ .s. vj
 íj fíði ſyngiaz ſcs ihũri m. Theleſpoř .þ. ġc á ætt .s. xí á. íj. m. h skípí á fařta la
 25 ngařaufu. 7 aburð.ðegi ġssoñ slí ſyngia íj. m yğin .þ. ġc. á æ. s. íj. m. vj. ð.
 tæðiz íj .ð. h gzeinði uigslu palla mþ þsũ hætti. kozonať hořtiarí leč exorcífa
 acoliť sbđiacoñ. ðiacoñ pþz. aníci .þ. romañ á æ. s. vj. m. íj. m. íj. ð. tæðiz sæti
 xv .ð. h skp á klerk fíðu skapa si kruñ. Piuř þ. ađliñſif á æ. s. ix á. íj. m. xxí. ð. tæ
 ðiz .s. xíij .ð. þsu ū bt ař ġs énglí á paska ðagz fíði ðyrkaz ađzotítns .ð. Sother
 30 þ. cāpañ á ætt s xí á. íj. m. xxí .ð. h. skíp á nuñur skailðu ba uil. Eleuť .þ. fšř rōañ
 lucíũ á. æ. s. xv. á. vj. m. 7 v. ð. tæðiz s. vj .ð. h ks'ř'ñđiř kğ ař bzetlandi. Víctor þ. affer á ætt
 s. x. á. íj. m. x. ð. tæðiz .s. xij .ð. Zořin .þ. rōañ á ætt. s. ix. á. m. vi. x. ð.
 h sk. á kkiuñ k skailðu ūa ař gleri 7 hũr m xij ueřm ellri slí taka ġs líkæa
 Calixtũ .þ. romañ á æ. s. vj. á. íj. m. x. ð. 7 t. vj .ð. h sk. řna Jbzudaga axij manuř
 35 Vrbañ .þ. rōañ. á. æ. s. xíij. á. xí. m. xíij. ð. h sk á kalek slũ ġaz ař gull 7 silř a
 fi ðoř þođi piſlaruætti fael m cecilia. pontian .þ. s. annos .v. íj. m. 7 íj .ð. t. .x. ð.
 Anthef .þ. s. m. í. 7 xv. ð. h sk á bþ slu řm mega ġga ař ſinũ þps ftolũ t anña
 þps stola. řabiañ .þ. rōañ á æ. s. xíj. á. vj. m. t. s. x. ð. h sk á íařpan slũ u
 ígiaz kstin askðag. Coznell .þ. rōañ. á. æ. s. íj. á. íj. m. x. ð. h sk á keñimñ flí

súna eid ef þz uillði 7 nauþsyn beiddi. lucí. þ. rōań á æ. s. íj á íj m. .d. fi
 sk á húr þp hefdi íarþnan hua sí íj þfta 7 íj dīakna. stephań þ. rōań
 á æ s. íj á íj m. .d. fi sk á keńimn slū ē ba mesfo klædi utan kkiu. sixt
 secunđ gđc á æ. s. íj á x1 m. fi sk á 7arþnan slī meffa syngiaz íf alfi. dioní
 5 sí þ. s. íj á. íj m. víj .d. Felix þ. s. íj á. x m. xxv .d. Eutícus þ. tć á æ s. víj á fi
 x. m. v. d. .t. s. xvj .d. Gai þ. dalmatíne á æ s. xí á íj m. .xv. d. M'cell'ín' þ. rōań á æ
 s. víj á. íj m. xx1 .d. t. s. xv .d. fi ú nauđgaþz ař dīocletiano á ba reykelsi f skgod
 ū sinū. litlu síđ gīozþi fi 7ağđ idzan a þpa þingī saman ū kōh' jeín stad
 c. 7 lxxx. síđan þoldi fi þislar uætti 7 f bauđ á fim slī gđtr ueittaz þ t á
 10 petr plī uíđiz t þs á fi ū sēalíga gzeftaðz. M'cellus .þ. rōań á æ s. vj á
 xxij .d. Eusebī þ. gđc á æ s. íj á íj m. xx .d. t. s. víj .d. Me'Y'kiades þ ast á æ s. íj
 á. vj m. víj .d. t. s. xij .d. fi sk á 7afta ē dōzotmf daga Siluef. þ. rōań á æ s.
 xxij á x1 m. t. s. xv .d. fi ueitti skírń hínū mikla confantíno 7 hzeínsaði fi
 15 ař líkþ þa geyrþiz byfkupa fynodur síua mykill ath þ ū ccc 7 xvij þp á
 þz f dæđu arriū þft 7 h̄s 7Y'ga. þs1 siluest' snauri elenu dōzotńngu 7 xij dō
 marū 7 miklū ođz 7iolda t riettr 7ar f gyþinga t. fi ū xxv. 7v. ař peť
 þa ū líđit ař hollgan ḡs 7 t þzs ē siluest' tok þp dō. 7 xvj á. M'c. þ. rōań
 á æ s. íj á víj m. .xx. d.. lucí. ij. rōań á æ. s. íj á ij m. vj .d. libiuf .þ. rōań á æ s.
 .x. á víj m. t. s. .xx1. d.. fi sk á lauglíg hion slū saman uígiaz ař keńimn. 7e
 20 lix. ij rōań á æ. s. ij á víj m. ij. d. fi sk ef þp ē harđz f sauk 7 kalladz lauglīga
 t þings sl̄ fi kōa. 7yrsagđz libius s. v. á eřt felicē þ á lířanda libío ū skípz
 felix uillu þp en raku libiū jutlegđ Oamaš .þ. h'íř'pań á æ s. xvij á víj m. .x. d
 t. s. xxxi. d. fi sk á gla þ slī syngiaz mīþil psalma. sirić .þ. rōań á æ s. xv á
 íj m. xv. d. t. xx. d. fi attu þpa þing ímiklağđi mþ ccc 7 xl þpa. anastaf. þ. rōań
 25 á æ s. íj á xxvi. d. t. s. xxij .d. fi sk á eingi klerkr slī ugiaz Janhs þps dæi
 an ozlóri Jnnocenci .þ. albań á æ s. xv á íj m. xx .d. t. s. xxij .d. fi sk á eingi slī
 uígiaz t þz ef fi ū á nuckū lím uanadz. Zosím .þ. gđc á æ s. .i á víj m. .xxv. d
 t. s. xx d. fi sk. á uígia ktí moti paskū Bonifaci .þ. rōań á æ s. íj á víj m
 íj .d. t. s. víj .d. Celestin þ. rōań á æ s. víj á .i. m. ix .d. t. s. xxi .d. fi sk á mu
 30 ti m̄ slī syngiaz Judica me đs 7 dīcne .c. m. d. psalmín. fyxť íj. rōań á
 á s. xij á xix .d. t. s. .xxij. d. leo .þ. tć á æ s. xxi á. m̄ .i. víj 7 xx .d. t. s. xij .d. h̄s
 ū 7reístat ē h̄ leit miog 7řida konu ē h̄ gař h̄ gđf líkama apafka d.. s̄ á ūla
 7ieck h̄ bođ keńđi h̄ þsa sauk síni hæğ heńđi þ tok h̄ ox1 7 hio ař sí hon
 dína 7 eřt lítiń tīa gařz h̄m hondín f ḡs modur bæń h̄ sat synodū ca
 35 llcedońsis. ylarí .þ. šđ á æ s. v1. á. v. m. x. d. t. s. x. d. fi sk á eingi klerkr slī
 klædaz leikn̄ buńi. simplici .þ. tiburtin' á æ s. xv á. v1 m. v'j' .d. fi sk á
 eingi þp sl̄ skpa sí eřt sig koańda h̄đi Felix íj rōań á æ s. xij á. vj m
 xv .d. t. s. v. d. fi sk á uígia kkiur ař þpí. Gelasíuf þ alf á æ s. íj á v1j
 m̄ xv .d. fi lagđi ū þs1 ozd 7řacionē ūe dīgnū 7 íuftū ē. anaftafíuf ij. rō
 40 an' á æ s. x1 á x1 m̄ xxíj Symacu þ. šđ á æ s. xv á víj m. xxvij .d. fi sk á
 la 7excellfís slī syngiaz t 7estif sfoz. hozmísla .þ. capań á æ s. ix á. xvij. d.

clauit jof
phat 7 bar
laam

- 5 Johs .p. rō á æ á ij á iij m .t. á .viij. ð. ahs doḡ fclð kst. Felix iij á
 æ á. iij á ij m viij .ð. bonifaci ij sabin á æ á. ij á. xxvi .ð. þs ij gnozdu ecki þ
 è mkianda úi. Johs .ij. rō á æ á ij á iij m. vij .ð. t. á vij .ð. h þ ðæði maximianū
 þp arrianū. agapit .p. rō á æ á xi .m. xvij .ð. Seui .p. cāpañ á æ á .i. á .x. m ú s
 eñðz iutelḡ ð þ ðzepin. Vigul .p. rō á æ á xviij á .vij. m .xxv. ð. þa tæðiz þp sæ
 t̃ ũ iij manaði ahs t̃ia ũ rōa bḡ tekín aḡ gottuf è prelst þ pátciū. pelagi .p. rō
 á æ á iij á .x. m xvij .ð. h sk á uallu m̃n slū ũa þzaungð aḡ ũalligū uallūðū
 Johs iij rō á æ á ij á xi m xiiij .ð. t. á .x. m. h eñðzbætti kkiur ḡ kkiugða plāna
 bñdiçt .p. rō á æ á ij á .i. m. xvij .ð. pelagi ij rō á æ á .x. á iij m .xx. ð. t. á xxx. .ð. †
- 10 Gregi .p. læriðð kstniñar romañ á æ á xij á vi m .x. ð. t. á v m. xv .ð. h setti
 vj munklri h saseti aspiciēf bok ḡ m̃ga aðza m̃kiligā hluti. fabri n'añ ij tu
 lç á æ á i á i m. ix ð. t. á vi. m. xvi .ð. bonifaci iij rō á æ á ix m. bonifaci iij
 m̃fuf á æ á vi. á. viij m .xxv. ð. h þa aḡ þoka ceše á uigra panteon t̃ sæð ollū
 helgū Deuðedit .p. rō á æ á ij á .xx. ð. t. á .i. m. ḡ viij ð. h ũ son sððiakns
- 15 stephani. honozi .p. kapañ á æ á xij á xi m xvij. ð. t. á xvij. ð. h sk á hallða cate
 ðm pet. seuiñ .p. rō á æ á .i. á iij m xxix .ð. Johs iij ðalmatín á æ á .i. á .ix. m
 xxvij .ð. t. á .i. m xij .ð. h leysti hteknā m̃n m; gozi kkiuñar. T'e'hoðo .p. tuf
 ç á æ á .vj á .v. m. Martiñ .p. tiburtn á æ á .vj. á ij m. xxvi .ð. t. á .xvij. ð. Olip
- 20 huf htoḡi señði þion sñn t̃ á ðzepa h è h saung m. è sa ũð þeḡ blinðz. Eug
 eni .p. rō á æ á .ij. á .ix. m. xxij .ð. t. á ij m. xvij .ð. Vitell'uf .p. signeñ á æ á xij á
 vi. m. t. á. ij m xij .ð. h sasetti rōueskan saung ḡ sāhl'yoðaþi m; sætū ozgans
 son. Deodat .p. rō á æ á iij á. ij m vj .ð. t. á iij m. xv .ð. h kystr lkhpn mañ ḡúð
 ḡ ũþ sa þeḡ heill. bonifaci iv á æ á iij á .v. m. vj. ð. t. á .i. m. h liet ḡa þn sta
 ð è kallaz paðifuf þ è onñ huila pauanf. agathuf .p. ficiliensis á æ á .ij. á. vj
- 25 m iij .ð. t. á .v. á vij m; leo .ij. siculus á æ á .x. m. xvij .ð. t. á ij m. Conon .p. á .xi. m
 ix .ð. t. á .i. m. xvij .ð. Sergiuf .p. antiocheñ á æ á xiiij á. viij m xiiij .ð. ḡ t. á .i.
 m .xx. ð. h sk á iij slū syngia agñ ði jhūri m. leo tti rō á æ á .ij. á. ix m. Johs
 v. ḡç á æ á iij á iij m xij .ð. t. á .i. m .x. ð. Johs vj. á ij á. vj. m xvij .ð. t. á iij m. s1
 sini .i. rō á æ á xx á .t. á ij m. Constantin .p. fyr á æ á vij á .xx. .ð. tæðiz set
- 30 xl .ð. Gzegozi. syr á æ á xvj á. viij m. xiiij ð. h snozi þioð ḡmanoḡ
 t̃ kriz. Gzegozi iij. rom. á æ á .x. m. viij .ð. Zacarias .p. ḡçuf á æ á x á iij m xv .ð.
 t. á xij .ð. h gnozdi m̃k bzodur pippini kgs Stephañ ij ro á æ á .v. á xxvij .ð.
 t. á .i. m. vi .ð. Pauluf .p. rō á æ á .x. á .i. m. t. á .i. á .i. m. Cōfantun ij h ũ skipað[r]
- 35 aḡ leikm̃m. á .i. á .i. m. Stephañ iij sicl á æ á iij á v. m. xv .ð. t. á vij .ð. Adriañ
 þ. rō á æ á xiiij á v. m. xv .ð. t. á iij .ð. leo iij rō á æ á xx á .v. m. xv .ð. t. á iij
 ð. h sk á ganga iij ðaga m; litanijf á beidni mañti þps uieñe è h harði
 heit þ hallæri stephanuf iij rō á æ á vj m. pascal .p. rō á æ á vj á xvij .ð.
 Eugeniuf ij. rō á æ á iij á ij m. Valentiuf .p. rō á æ á xl .ð. Gzeḡiuf
- 40 quart. rō á æ á xv á. h eñðzbætti kkiu heilags mci Sergiuf ij rō á æ á
 þziu á tæðiz ij á m xv .ð. h ũ kallaz of pozci ○
 h sk á hūr pau slū muḡa sitt naḡn þa h è tekín t̃ paua leo v ○

18bisr

S ua b^f t^f miog afúdz^tú dogū pelagij^f p̄^f at a fu è túbif^f .h.
 7 fellr jñan ftad^f jrō tok sua ubæriligan uox^t af ak
 aϣligū regnū 7 þeyuoitnū at þn geyfig è h b at þgini to
 k è þuegin jñan ftad^f 7 hliop hon up^f ajazduegin m; s̄ m
 5 icklū undzū ad ū hð geck hon miok iāfi^f bozǵm̄inū h̄ m;
 ʒoz þ ad hufin heil þdi hon aϣlot. ʒieck heilug k̄kia þaz af
 mikin̄ skada þ at koznhloð^f h̄az m; ollū kofti ʒozu þ J ug
 iollð ʒs̄ m̄gt þufhuñðt mæla h^v eitiff tok þa túbiff at þ
 ʒær af eingi gzeint. h̄ ʒylgdi þ. sē hon b̄tz añan uegh
 10 ut af bozgin̄i oc leitadi^f suo^f at hon skolar bzot oz jað
 holū mikin̄ ʒiolða hoǵozma oc þm; ein̄ ðzeka sua mikin̄
 ad uexti fē ein̄ ftocker ūe. þta alltāt plytr hon 7 pleyǵ ut
 j suo En þañ t̄ia fē haþbázan ríff jmoti kaftaz hon þu u
 þ afañða tueim̄egū m; áz ofinū ū þa è langt adz folaz h̄i
 15 ti fteikti þau h̄ʒiligu h̄zæ geck þ af ʒozuin̄ð s̄ upolligz fn
 ykr ad þ ū ðauðligt h̄úiu l̄ʒi. loʒtið ðiāðiz 7 fyn̄di sic m̄
 beifkr̄i h̄zygð Oc j manadi januarzio fē þi ðūba kō heī í
 þ̄ rōā ʒylgdi s̄ h̄zæðilig ogn ad m̄n ðuítu niðz j ðaуда
 m; þ̄ kyni fē ʒp̄ioti ūi lagt j s̄maþmana. h̄ m; ʒoz þ od
 20 æi ad m̄n ía lk̄aligū augū fē logandi auruz ʒlygi af loʒ
 tínu j gegnū m̄nina 7 þ ū eigi ðtr j ðauðanū hellðz kō
 h̄ s̄ b̄t fē auga b̄gð En þ̄ è miog gzeinanda ad ʒyfr al
 lra maña jnan bozǵ ūð þ̄ þu ðaуда skoti pl̄igz h̄za pelagi^f
 p̄. ʒiell þa sua niðz ʒolkid ad m̄ǵ ǵðaz j þ̄gine uozu m; ollu
 25 aleyðð. ē utan bozǵ eyðði sua túbif mozg huð m; sinū ʒoz
 uexti ad fút v̄ eʒt oc flik udæi haþdi eigi m̄ heyzt ʒyr k
 ðið haʒa. moti þ̄liku aʒelle kalladi t̄ gud̄s m; oðzū lyd
 gzeoziu^f è þa ū èkiðiakn pauāf h̄ sk̄ipadi bæna hallð
 cū víj letanijs. klerk̄ allr f̄lðu ǵǵa j k̄kiu joñis þ̄pe. muñk̄
 30 allr 7 klauf̄ m̄n j k̄kiu joñif 7 pauli gud̄s piʒlazuata Nu
 ñuz allaz j k̄kiu choime 7 ðamiani. leikm̄n allir i k̄kiu m̄
 celli piʒlazuaz. allaz ǵiʒt̄ koñ i k̄kiu stephani ʒthomeif Eckiu^z
 allaz j k̄kiu uital ʒataek̄ m̄n 7 bn j k̄kiu heilaǵz cecilie

18bisv

gengu síðan allir fát t maziu kkiu cūpceffiōe. þa bauð
 fæll g̃goziuf að ut síðr baz líknefkí gudf mod è bokín
 feḡ að lukaf ewangelta haḡi ḡt. v̇ nu ðaуда myrkð
 fē meft ḡ mañfallið akaḡaz̃ sua að a eíne ðagftuñð fē ḡolk
 5 ḡði letaníaf ðútu niðz lxxx maña. ē fæll .G.G. h̃der ḡolk þ̃ ǿ
 maí bíz þa hát kalla t̃ almatigf gudis ḡ fī fætu mod̃ syndi
 hon þa oc blelezuð sína millði þ̃ að aḡ aḡianu h̃az líknefkis
 fteñðz fē folazgeifli s̃ flkær ad myrkð plyði bzoť. unðan. h̃ m;
 10 f̃ylḡ þ̃ ad up̃ iloḡtið iḡ fl̃kḡtíne heyráz hímínrikuf eínglaz
 fætu rodðū fyngianði. þ̃lukť loḡ regína celi lefe. `a' q; q̃ m̃uifí
 pozte .a. refurēxít síc ðiḡ .a. fæll g̃g. tekr unð ḡ leḡz þ̃ta uíð
 eíngla faungín. Oza p nob̃ ðm̃ rogam̃ .a. þau ozd̃ ero síduz
 j ant. jþa m̃ínung è nu heḡ ūíð lefín è hallðín gagnðagz hín
 eíní v̇ð þ̃i oḡtneḡndz g̃g. þ̃ j rōa fē chataloguf feḡ Næf eḡ
 15 t̃ h̃ ūð þ̃ sabínían ḡ ū m̃iok ulíkr g̃gozió þ̃ ad þa è ǿatæk̃ m̃
 loḡuðu andþan g̃gzíū ē baðu þaḡan geḡa fer olmoḡu ē
 h̃ síaði m; þ̃ū hæti. þo ad g̃goziuf fagði h̃ spēntí up̃ kkiu
 ñaz fe s̃ t̃ ǿræḡð ḡ ǿæði allan lyð t̃ heilíḡz ðyrð̃ ē h̃útuḡia
 at è megū v̇ ḡ è uilū ū sua ḡa sē m̃gan t̃ia heḡ h̃ sua ta
 20 lað b̃tiz heilagz g̃g. h̃m j sueḡni þ̃zē síñū m; bliðū ozdū
 ok h̃ialp̃fálíḡū amíníngū bíz h̃ uikia síñū hag meíð t̃
 uazkyñð ū hín ǿatæka ē leḡia aḡ aleítíní ū sík. ē faḡ þ̃ at
 h̃za þaḡín uaz sua fteínligz j̃sínu b̃ziotfi at h̃ haḡnaði ollū
 þ̃ū þ̃mz amíníngū hellt fē ǿyz sína hond̃ ǿ allri m̃ískuñ
 25 ū ǿatæka ē stod̃ a ūleḡtrū t̃ g̃goziū þ̃ kēz h̃m maklig̃ fl̃k
 ǿt þ̃ ad eḡt̃ ozdū ðð̃ fēti h̃ síñ muñ ihumín up̃ ḡ talaði ra
 nglæti m; hauaða. h̃v̇ t̃ h̃ g̃g̃ kēz t̃ fī íð ǿiozða síñ nu m;
 ogn ok m̃íkullí reíði fētr h̃m þ̃n flag̃ ihoḡuð̃ fē fī ū bana
 30 t̃ uitozðz huadan leiddi fī bana

á æ s víj á .íj m víj .d. t. s íj m. xv .d. bñdicit íj. rō á æ s íj á vj m .x. d. t. s .x
 v .d. Pauluf íj rō á æ s íj .á. íj. m. t. s .i. á. Stephan .v rō á æ s íij á. Nicho
 lauf .p. rō á æ s íij á íj m .xx. .d. h. sk á ept añdlat paua slú cōdinalf kōa .j
 eín stad ḡ kíofa sí pp roānū ef sa ū t. Adzian íj rō á æ s v. á. Johs vj
 5 rō á æ s .x. á .íj. d. ahs tīa kou śaceni af italia ḡ bzeñdu kkiu .h. bñdicití. M
 arin .p. rō á æ s .i. á .v. m. Adzian íij rō á æ s .i. á íij m. Stephan v rō. á æ
 s víj á íx d. Fozmos .p. s .v. á ví m. bonifaci vj s xv .d. Stephan víj s .i. á .íj. m. T
 heodoz íj s xx .d. Johs. octauuf s íj á xv .d. bñdicit íj rō á æ s íij á íj m. leo v
 i. s xl .d. xþofoz. rō á æ s víj m h ū btt rekiñ af sínu paua sæti ḡ ūd ef
 10 t p mkr sgr íij á æ s víj á víj m xvj .d. Anaftafius íj s íj á. Yañdo p.
 rō á æ s vj m Johs íx rō á æ s xiiij á íj m .íij. .d. Leo vj rō á æ s víj m. Stephan
 víj íx á .i. m. Johs .x. s íij á .x. m. h ū son sgrj .p. Leo vj. s .íij. á .vj. m .x. d. Step
 añ íx s .i. m. Muanuf .p. s íij á vj m xiiij .d. agapit íj s .x. á. víj m .x. d. Johs xí
 s víj á. Leo íx. s .i. á .íij m. bñdicit. íiú s íj m. Johs xij s vj á xí m. bñdicit v
 15 s .i. á .vi. m. h ū tekni af cencio sthfan v's syni aiola natt hínu fyftu ḡ halsh
 augguin. Dompñ .p. s .i. á .vj m bñdicit vj rōan á æ s íx á .vj. m. bonifaciuf
 víj s .i. m. xiiij s. víj Johs xiiij. s íij m. Johs v'x. s x. á íij m. Gzeḡiuf
 v saxonuf. á æ s íj á. Johs xvj s .x m Siluest. íj. s íj á íx. m. h fi het odzu napni
 gullbt feć omagiū h gaf sig ríandanū ē ū daupā sín baud h á aplíma fuk
 20 ē bukin íuagn flūi fetia ḡ p ggra sē yxnin t beitt nēmi stad an m full
 tīngi ē pau nāu stad íeini kapellu. Johs xvij. s .i. m. sergi. íij tufculā á
 æ s .xi. á .ix. m. Johs xviij s íx á. bñdicit vj. s xiiij á. Silueft íj. lx .d. ḡḡiuf ví s
 íj á. Clemenf .ij. s íx. m. Damafuf íj. s .i. m. leo x. s .v. m .vj. d. Victoz íj alamíuf
 s íij á íj m. Stephan. x s íx m. bñdicit íx. s .ix. m. Nicholauf. íj. burgūdenfis á æ
 25 s íj á .vj. m. Alexand íj. s .vj. á .vj. m .xxv. Gzeḡiuf víj s xij á .i. m. íij .d. victoz íij s
 .i. á. Vzban íj. s .ix. á. íij m. tædziz sæt xvj .d. Pafcal íj. s .xviij á .v. m. h attu bðaga
 mp heinreki kgi ūd htekin af fm htogí vè moti bðiz' mp allri síni rylgd Gelafius íj. rō
 á æ s .i. á. Calixt íj s .v. á .x. m .xiiij. d. honozí .ij. s .v. á. íj. m. íj .d. Jnoći íj tybinuf
 á æ s xiiij á vj m víj .d. .t. s íj .d. h sat þing laťanē i bafilica saluatozif. Celeft
 30 ínuuf .ij. s .v. m xiiij .d. Lucíuf íj. bononíenfis á æ s .xi. m xiiij .d. Eugeni íj hifp
 añ á æ s víj .á. íij. m .xx. .d. .t. s íj .d. Anaftafius íij rō á æ s .i. á. íij. m. xxiiij .d. ad
 rían .íij. anglicuf á æ s íij á vj m. alexand íj. tufcuf á æ s xxi á xí .d. t. s
 íx .d. h attu synodū íaťan ḡ sigzadu íij þzætu mñ. Lucíuf ttiuf tufcuf á æ
 s íij á. íj m xviiij .d. ahs dogū ū mik hallæri Vzbanuf .íij. lūbarduf á æ s .i. á .i.
 35 m .xxv. d. ahs dogū ū íerlm tekín af farracenif. ḡḡiuf. s .i. m. xxviij .d.
 Clemf íj rō á æ s .íij. á .íj m. Celestinuf .ij romanuf á æ s vj á víj m. h kru
 nadi heinrek keifara. Jnnocenciuf ttiuf cāpanuf á æ s xviiij á .vij. m. h
 attu þing ílaťn ḡ m; hm íj paťark añr af íozfaulū ē añ af miklaḡdi
 ḡ mp ēchubp lxx ḡ íj. lydbp cccc.xx ḡ íj abot mp þoz aniunda hundzađi. en
 40 utal añña meifara ḡ klerka ē ū allan heím hořdu sott t roma bozḡ
 á laugtaka ḡ sapyckia. hollgan. feđing. píníng. ḡs soñ ḡ onñ hís stoziñki

aiolanoŧ

3 7 þ á þa uozu solh^vaurf è kfr ú b'ozín è aionf.ð. Þpe afuñ è þau þoka
 ú íj ðæg2 ahuñðzadi uef tolfraedu. þa ú liðþ f hæğ burd ús fza .m.cc
 7 xv. á. hef þta þing úid íþ þdia fíolmennaz. nefnð2 inocenci gíozdi ok
 þær laugbækr è heita dectalef jhúú h skípaði á þst slú mþ aungu moti
 5 7a sí eiginkuena m; huufkaþ sábañdi. ðdínalib þotti miog imoti skapi
 þuulíkr boðskap2 þpanf huadan a'f þ2 gá rítin. þcíani regula penit caffæ
 sacðos þ h 7 h íā n declínať sz p h solūm ñc artíclát ẽ p nřm þsulē h āmo
 ueať. Jta qđā pβ2 ceþ alleğe peccat ċmínalít q uult separe quod đs zíunx
 erat femínā ařhe ú ðignū buxíní ořm appellare. ñc inoćcífuf iřno no
 10 cens úe qđqđ ffo ðocuít úbo uult delefe 7 qđ olím íuuenís uoluít hab
 e. m ffs pontifex stud; þhibe Oqm doloz anxíus oqm ðāpnū ġue no
 b ðímífe qđ ē tā suauē o romane pontífex statuítu þue ne ítanto
 ċmíne moziarís caue. Paulus celos raptuf adfupíozes ú mlťas ði
 ðícít res sećtíozes tandē ad nos ueniens ístruēñdo mozes suas í
 15 quíd habeat qđlibet uxozef. honozíus íij rō á á s x á. vj m xxj .ð. Gzeğíuf
 íx. cāpanuf á á s xij á h ú elect gíozr añ feřtū ġğíj híns mikla Eugeni
 íij s 7a ðaga. jnocenciuf íij s xij á. siluest íj. s 7a .ð. alexañđ íj uí ar
 J finum pařa domí Clems íj. s íj á íx m. h geřu ú upp řyst tal þt úr
 hořu è řřr řuñđít ířćptís En þa è ú řínnum hedan ař ř slō skř síð
 20 [c]romica ar jañalnū. ař sælū peť 7 ċ cleñtē quartū ūu .c.lxxx 7 víj þ2 á rōa su
 u. bok è kallaz řtíní seğ á unđ pařanū se .c. 7 xx. ećhibř è .ðcc. 7 lx lyþpa. m;
 fíozum þziarkís et augustus h tok ríkí řioztígū 7 íj ař f
h ǪR. byriáz keiřa tala julíuf híñ řysti. eřť h octouíanuf e oðzu nařní. h
 řæđing kríz en añðapíz íij ař síð. h ú jollū hlutū goðz krí. utan h elskadi
 25 míog ġñð lostasemí. h liet. ðzepa. ouidiū. meířa. jutlegð f þa sauk á h hařđi ði
 cť íj bækr ðe arte amañđi. þ è á gúla konur. þa tybíuf híñ þziði h ú mikill ðzy
 ckíu řm. Gáiuz ríktí íij á .x. m. unđ peť. Nero ríktí xíij á. unđ. peť. h ðp modur
 sína 7 řystur 7 meířa h lypti řyst uapnū moti řksnū monnū. Galla ú júb
 nía. è uítellíus. jğmania þ2 styrðu víj á rōa uellði þ ðp húr annan. Vespa
 30 síanus .k. íx á xí. m. adogū líní. Tyť. k. íj á. unđ. líno 7 cleto. þa. Domiciāñ bđ ty
 tí h k. xíij á adogū cletí 7 cleñtís h liet setia jon pla jketil uellanda ūsm
 íozs. Nua k .i. á íj m. unđ. cleñte 7 anacletu. h f ðæði allar skípañ ðōicíaní
 řiañ. k. atía anacleti 7 euarístí xix. á. adzíanus k atía eúřtí 7 alexañđ 7
 sixtí xxi. á. antoni. k. atímū zelesphozí řanña xxj á 7 íj. m. Mćus antoniú
 35 nerus ríktu atía ygíní xix. á. Comodus aurelíus cū lucío antonio řu. a
 tímū sořhíj 7 eleuťj. xíij á. helyas pt'Y'nax k atía eleuťj 7 zepřhíní. xx á an
 toníus karakalla. k. atía. zeříní 7 calixtí vj. á. Mařnus k. atía calixtí .i. á
 alexañđ .k. atía urbaní 7 pontíaní xíj. á. Maxímañ .k. at. pontíaní 7 anthí
 7 fabíaní xvj á. h tok ríkí eřť ðiocletíanū 7 liet ðzepa maurícíu jarl 7 m;
 40 řim .vj. þusunđ ðc.lx 7 vj. adogū þsa maxímíaní 7 hculuaní ú pínđ xvj þ
 unđír křtířtířa řm aefnū manaði. Gozdíañ k. atía fabíaní vj á. Phlípp .k. a

20r

tía fabíaní víj. á. h̄ úð f̄ystr k̄ra k̄stín m; syní sínū. Decíuf. á. atía. C
 oznelij .i. á h̄ ú h̄ín uesti k̄rí h̄ liet pína laurentíū. Gallus .k. a. t̄. c̄
 nelij. lucij. stephaní. íj. á. íj. m̄. Valeríanvs .k. a. t. stephaní. 7 lucij .íj. á. x
 v. ð. Claudí .k. a. t. euticianí 7 gajj .i. á. vj. m̄ Aurelus .t. a. t. euticianí 7 ga
 5 íj .v. á. c̄citus .t. a. t. gajj .vj. m̄ Pzobuf .t. A. t. gajj íj. á. íj. m̄. flozianuf .t. a. t̄
 gajj .i. á. xx. ð. Carus .t. a. t̄. m̄celli .íj. á. Diocletianus .k. a. t. constantín 7 l
 cínij .x. á. Galeríus .k. a. t̄. eusebíj .íj. á. Constančí. adogū diocletianí hur
 fu bzeí uñðan rōuífū 7 eyððíz þ̄ oll kristní þa sendu rōúíar cons
 antínū t eínglanz þa ú þ̄ sa hořðíngi è koel het h̄ ú k̄raeinglđi è
 10 eřt̄ añðlat koels tok constantíus kongðō h̄ tok ðot̄t̄ h̄s è helena het
 m; h̄i gat `vıd' h̄ son è constanínuf .h. h̄ ú xxx ara k̄r 7 bauð ořrñd krist
 nū m̄m h̄ úð líkþzar 7 tok tru ař siluest̄ paua. maxentiuf ú son ðiocl
 ecíaní uñð h̄uífū kařna ú pínð. constantínus .t. a. t. líbíj .xx. á. Julia
 nus guðníðíngz h̄ ðzap m̄curíus. Jíouíníanuf .t. a. t̄. felícuf víj. valen
 15 tíníanus .t. a. t. damasí xí. á. Valens .t. a. t̄. damasí ííj. á. theodosíus. h̄ín mí
 klí tok ríkí þa è líðit ú þ̄ holgan ġs n̄r cccc. h̄m b̄tū ġ ū almeínlíga uppzísu
 m; þ̄ hættí á víj souendz suařu jeínū helli .ccc. 7 .Yx. 7 íj. á. Archadíus .t. a. t̄. s
 ertí xííj. á. honozíuf 7 theodosíus ríktu a. t̄. jnnocencij .xv. á. theodosíuf
 h̄ín míní .t. a. t̄. bonífacíj .xxvíj. á. valentínían .t. a. t̄. leonís víj. á. Leo .t. a
 20 t̄. leonís víj. á. Zeno .t. a. t̄. síplicíj. á. anastafíus .t. a. t̄. felícis xxví á
 Jufn̄t̄ .t. a. t̄. hozmíslé íx. á. Justínían .t. a. t̄. felícis 7 an̄ña xxx ara. justín̄
 .t. a. t̄. joñis. xí. á. tybíus .t. a. t̄. joñis xíj. á. maurící .t. a. t̄. pelagíj 7 ġġíj .xx.
 á. foca .t. a. t̄. ġġíj 7 fabíaní íx. á. h̄ skípađi á rōa sl̄ úa hæst sæti íheilaġ k̄
 stní Graclíus .t. a. t̄. ðeodatí .xxxi. á. h̄ ðzap kosðzoa 7 son h̄s aglerhímnínū j
 25 eínuígi h̄ liet ġa þañ glerhímín m; þ̄zı líst á þ̄an ðogguaðíz íozð ař uotnū
 7 h̄ kalladı síg k̄g k̄ga 7 ðzotín ðzotna Constantínus .t. a. t̄. theodozı xx 7
 víj. á. Constantín .t. a. t̄. ðeodatí 7 an̄ña xvíj. á. Justínían .t. a. t̄. ġġíj .x. á. leo
 .t. a. t̄. h̄íns sama ġġíj íj. á. Tybíus r a t̄. joñis víj. á. justínus. t. a. t̄. sísíníj .vj
 á. philípp .t. a. t̄. constantíní .i. á. v. m̄. anastafíus .t. a. t̄. ġġíj íj. á. theodosíuf
 30 .t. a. t̄. ġġíj .i. á. Leo .t. a. t̄. ġġíj .xxv. á. Confantín .t. a. t̄. zacharíe .x. á. íj. m̄. íj. ð
 aħs tímū b̄ s̄ t̄ á solín řal sína geisla 7 úð ðauk xííj ðaga hugðu m̄ġ á
 þ̄ m̄ðı úa sař þ̄za meizla è keiřín þolðı. karlamagnus ríktí atía leo
 nís .xíj. á. .i. m̄. ííj. ð. þa ú líðıþ ař hollgan ġðs .ðccc. 7 íj. á. N̄r řm tía uífız
 jsueřnı íacobus pl̄ klamagn̄ k̄gı á h̄ sl̄ řrelsa lð h̄s uñðan heíðína m̄
 35 uallđı 7 ířzı h̄řð ðř h̄ agulandū k̄g 7 son h̄s. 7 reısı síðan íð. ðyrlígazta m̄
 tı. 7 c̄postella. è aðz h̄ úð keiřı ř̄ h̄ alangbarða lnz á bæñ aðzíanı. ř̄
 7 hertok ðesíðı k̄g 7 h̄ř h̄s 7 řluttı m; sıer heím ířnz h̄ ú k̄g 7 k̄ı .i. 7 vj
 á. n̄. l̄x ueř síð. tok k̄gðō hallðz harřaġ j n̄egi. lodouíc .t. a. t̄. pascal .i. á
 íx. m̄. Lotíus .t. a. t̄. ġġíj. íx. á. carolus .t. a. t̄. joñis v. á. Carolus .t. a. t̄. joñis
 40 .i. á. x. m̄. Lodouíc .t. a. t̄. xp̄ořozı vj. á. berengíus .t. a. t̄. ġġíj víj. á. hu
 go .t. a. t̄. joñis. 7 leonís. víj. xx. á. lotíus .t. a. t̄. agapítı íj. á. berengíuf

1. a. t. joñis vj á. Otto .t. a. t. bñðictí. vj á. Otto t. a. t. bñðictí 7 joñis xxi á
 Otto t. a. t. gēgij 7 joñis. xij á. heínriç .t. a. t. joñis .x. á. Conrað .t. a. t. siluef
 t xiiij á heínricuf t. a. t. clemtís xi á. heínricus t a. t. gēgozj xvij ar
 heínricuf t. a. t. pafcal xv. á. lofius t a. t. īnocencij á Conrað t á t
 5 celestíní xv á. Fríðicuf t a. t. aðzíaní 7 alexanð xxxv. ara. heínricus t
 a. t. celestíní vj. á .v. m. Otto t a. t. jnoceñcj 7 honozij. Fríðicus t. a. t. gēgoz
 ij. |Jste| anno abīcaciónē dñi m. cc. xx. Lotius ij ahs tímū. ú solín á siá sē
 blod 7 eřt řa ðaga kō mik mañřall **capitulum** h liet handtaka iudā ok
 10 **P** a ē lidit ú ř hollgan ús hza iñu xpī ccc. 7. rikti helena ðzotnīg
 nauðgadi h t á segia hú gš krosf ú řolgín ē h gzoř xx. řotspoz
 J íozð níðz 7 řaň řa kssa řa ú bozín gš ks iř ðauřan mñ 7 reis sa ře
 g upp. řa ē lidit ú ř hollgan ús hza j. x. cccc ueř uozu řs sātíða uppí
 m̄tinus iřton. Jeronímus á íozsaulū. ambzosius. 1 mielans bg auğ
 tinus hín miklí íařřka. seúinus. j kolní asaxlñđí. Patricius řp er
 15 křifnadi skotlđi h ú syst son řtíní het řað řis tokes. pacomius h
 ú aboti řm řtiz gš eíngill 7 sagði řm skyrť mð. húiū hættí hallða sl
 1. pafka hallð. Ozígenes řstr. basilíus. Gzēgozús nísenus. Gzēgíus naza
 zenus. Jeronímuf ē eín ař íij ðocřbívus 7 kallaðz hín íðnaztí. ambśuf
 ij. h segíz hín rauksalígztí h ueíttí auğtíno skñ ebættí řa ú auğtín .x
 20 xx. ē theodoz hín miklí tok rikíś stíožñ. ś řínz skř. á řa ē auğtín řre
 ttu andlat antoní munks talaðí h řsí ozð mik ē řo ú á uřroðir mñ
 taka hoñðū hímínín ē uær mð řroðleik ún ðzekiūz iheluí. auğtí
 nus hín íj. h kallaz hín ðíupaztí h heř skíř kanoka reglu. h añðaðiz řa
 h řaðí lxx ara 7 vj á. řis huarťa gíomuz íbg řzí ē úcell heit 7 řzutñ hú
 25 n tía ē su bok ē lesín sē h ðictaðí ðétnítate. abzosius. ř h snoziz oll
 ítalía. t ríettř řar. h ozti te ðm m; auğtíno neřnðz auğt. gđi .m. boka 7 xxx
 gđiuf hín iuj`ðí doctoř h řegiz hín nytřal`řgzť h señđí auğtínū abota at křifna eíng
 land ab ícarnatione ð .ð. hann uar řyft erkiřp ikannćia íeínglđi 7 eřt tíma
 blögíz
 30 ú ř ðunřtañ ēkřř 7 lanřnc 7 anfelm̄ nż. říu tía albín ē síðan .h. alqñ ař
 řim nā karlamagn vj hoř list řsū alqno řal aheñđí karlamagn m̄
 klří. řtíní t stíožñ. řř m̄klří klæðduz m̄k gullsmeittū skuā
 7 gullskotnū klæðū řz řæðduz íařřnan mðz kiot iř sít bð. Eín ař.
 m̄kū sa ū notť ij eíngla gēga řřza ðzřmíū 7 hařa íðauða alla m̄k
 a nēa řaň eín ē synína sa ūð řsí ořť neřnðz alqñ aboti iř ř klāt
 35 ařmundus řř řsarū řðaðiz jřannonía 7 ē h kō t eíns stodu uaz
 hítí h vj smasueína húa eín poztkona hařđí geř jeínū burð ok
 hařđí ætlat á toztíma ř 7 ē řgzín leít řlkan hlut reid h ñ ř ríet
 tí řm kesíuna ē h b íheñđí. ē eín ař smasueínū tok ū kesíuna. ř
 gzín unðzađí ē lítt sueínsís t tekíu 7 sagði á řsí áburðz mđi m
 40 ík hařa á m̄kía ř tekr h řilltñ 7 heř m; sí. heím ísítť rikí 7 læ
 tr uañðúklřa upp řæða uarð haň eřt tía kongz ílumbarđi

a aundúðū dogū ieronimī p̄z ū ozigenef p̄ftr á uigflu. rínz s̄ fl̄kpad at h̄ hař
 1 l̄řpad helgu l̄řf̄ fē h̄ ma heyra řyft il̄ering ę boka ġđ h̄ hařđi onga řaeng at
 ligia í. ecki b̄ h̄ skínhofur edz fuarta skua. allđ at h̄ kiot nie đzak uín. ř̄ é
 fyręuligt at heyra é nuckir řegía at uilla hařf̄ řunđiz řif bokū en řum̄ řeg
 5 ia at uañđ m̄n hařf̄ řkotid řui řh̄s bækr řem heyraz ma řfauln̄řg v̄ řtíni řp̄
 řa é lidit ū ř̄ řf̄ řza cccc ˘ř xxxv ara kō eín řiañđi řřunđ iuda ū hař
 eít ę řagđiz ūa moyřef ę bauđ á leida řa řř aiořfala řđ en řz truđu řim ę řen
 gu ařio med řim ę řynduz řleřf̄ en řz toku řru é l̄řid řago: hundđi ę řiu
 arū eřf̄ řm̄řđ řtíni řpf. obbíit řndict̄ aboti h̄ řeí xię řm̄kl̄řf̄ řxię bzæđz
 10 ihúiu h̄ é řegluřad řút̄mka. řioř arū řyr ū řkirđz klodoneuf řin řyfti
 řřcka řęř ař řemigio ékřřp̄i řenf b̄ę. añ. ab řc. đ đcc xl ū řæđđz karlamagn̄ řr
 h̄ tok řiki řxx̄ ueř řid en l̄řđi řanař xl ę vj uetr h̄ aňđařiz řl řebzuarį. ab řc đ
 đccclxx. řignđi blod̄i ř ítalía řđi ę řa řtiz ř řugla kyn é heit locuřa ř hařđi ví
 uæęęi ę vi řætr ę řj teńr řteinū hařđi ř eyđđi m̄kin řt ař řallía ř med
 15 řylęđi řua řtyř hallæri at næř řzidungz maņfokřins đo. a đogū ieronį ř̄.
 ū alexañđ eřkřřp̄ ř alexañđa řa ū ř ariuf řřtr é řm̄đaři řefu uillu é řidan.
 kallaz ařf̄ uilla đęęin ař řis nařni h̄ đo med ř h̄æti at řis ol řin řři řřruku řidz
 oz ři řula buk řa ř ætladı at ġa řin nauđřyniar. eřf̄ neřndan alexanđz ū đ
 řp athanařiuř đ đictadı cantikan řcūę;uult. řæll řícholauf řirree b̄ę řp.
 20 obbjt řa é lidit ū ř̄ burđ řf řza řři đc lxxx ę víiř ar ia ř řyndugum
 [J] řřclđi é řa řtadz é kallaz řřf řř řtad ū eín cantoz ř lagđi ř řuana řin at bid
 křřřfnū řalū ř é ř̄ ū ġřřad řp řkřiu gaurđū ře h̄ řeck ū đagliga řyęęianđi řod
 řuřliga řřalmín đęřfundřf řua ř̄ t̄ eín .đ. h̄ řa řeřndan řřalm hlupu at
 řim řis řefřu uun̄ h̄ řřařta ři řæķianđi cantoz ū đ miog ota řlegiń ę řeidđi
 25 ař řud̄i řulltngs ę řim řařz m; ř h̄æti á iozđin řu h̄ řtod a lauk up řin řuid
 kařtand̄i up l̄řřandū řm ř é ř̄ ūozu đauř ġřř̄ m̄ ř̄ ūkřærū ę řandhofřnū é
 ř̄ ūozu řřři ūollđ řand̄i ġđū m̄kla řřyriollđ ę uapna řc hlaupand̄i a ořřokř
 řm cantozřf řua řt ę řřt̄ á ř řyndiz řa kořř beztr at eřřka řřotan ūnduřu
 řz řua řkřmanřiga řin řnřactozē ř̄ é ūġđ mañ eřf̄ ř hurřu řz med řkiot řař
 30 ařřř J řin ġřřarřřada é ř̄ m̄křll řodęřiořnįęz at m̄naz ořřřiga ř̄ řin ū bænř
 řřmłid̄ma maña ař řeímínū řř řngz é řkiotřiga kalladz ař řeímínun
 řua řeę ieronim̄ řřtr řa h̄ řaňadı heilaę m̄ řřf̄ ū řa řn̄ é appell̄ .h.
 h̄ ū řnřmíd̄ nuckurn řia ř̄ m̄idnæti řř řianđin ař řđulę řeęđ
 eínř unęř konu řoti řidan ařunđ řud̄s mařz ř̄ h̄ ūakti at řimđiu ū
 35 kř řinu ř ře řid̄ianđi řimíd̄ .h. appelleř řęęřp̄ řeę řloand̄a řin oz ařřinū
 řzi heñđi ę řak řřman akueřřđ řř ři nykōnu konu en řon řřđi řeę řt
 řlanđi ę řnauķtand̄i řua á allř bzæđz é umh̄řřřř byggđu heyřđu řar
 oř řadan ař hařđi .h. ařelles alđ řong řellđ řellđ h̄ řloand̄a řarņ med
 řzi heñđi ę řakadı h̄ ecki ř̄ h̄ ř umęęin ę řiell ařřm̄ řeřf up řidan ę řz
 40 **Ń** u řeę řua ieronim̄ at eín aboti řiluanuf at nařni řat řua bzæđz ū đ
 et miog bzæđz řřđū ř̄ h̄ řte .řil. abó. ř ē ġřř adz řz řkřřlđuřu ř̄ t̄ at

t á fegia sauk g̃z síñ h̃ .s. þa ek þotūz leiððz t̃ ðōs 7 fa ek r̃nga m̃ ūrū buñi f̃
a t̃ kuala ē r̃nga ūallð̃ m̃ t̃ h̃ina r̃kíś. h̃ þ̃ syt̃ .h. siluañ. 7 uullði allð ut g̃ga
aƿ sínu h̃bgí æu lene ðiñg̃ h̃ ū íƿyftu g̃m̃r ū k̃ftna m̃ 7 let þa p̃ina
Pa è l̃iðt ū aƿ g̃s ƿæðing̃ ccc lx 7 viij á ū keiśi 9ƿfantiñ son 9ƿfantij̃ 7 he
5 m̃ ymifl̃gu kyni kualaña. þa reiððiz gud̃ h̃im 7 lauft̃ h̃ m̃ h̃ini ƿuluztu lik̃þ̃
7 è s̃ stod̃ h̃ hagz ū t̃ia. radlogðu h̃im h̃is þ̃p̃ á h̃ sl̃ði laugaz ıblodı un
g̃ b̃na sua á h̃ sl̃ði þ̃an aƿ mega taka lik̃áf heilfu. h̃ú s̃ g̃ðiz an h̃is uitoz
ði. þ̃t iij þ̃ufunð unğ b̃na kōu íeín ftad̃ t̃ rōā. Ok eín ðag̃ è k̃gñ geck ut
aƿ íini hall heyrandı mikiñ g̃t 7 þ̃yt è mæðz gzetu s̃ñ b̃ñ k̃gñ ū eƿt̃
10 ƿreıandı þ̃ h̃úa sok coññ̃ gzetı sua s̃t þa ū h̃im sagðz allr̃ t̃ g̃g̃z þ̃za
g̃z þa .s. keisariñ á þ̃ íe è ul ƿallıð á ðæpa eín meınlaufan mañ è allra
hellz sua mikiñ ƿıolða meınlaufra b̃na. haƿði h̃ þ̃ maurg̃ skynf̃al̃g̃ oðð
ū 7 þau sıðuz at h̃ baud þ̃na kueña ƿıolða h̃uƿa heı t̃ sína heıkyña m̃
gıoƿū ƿogz̃zū 7 ƿrıðū ƿk̃ostı 7 s̃inū b̃nū. h̃ ƿk̃ıot eƿt̃ kōu t̃ h̃f̃ íueƿni ƿe
15 truf 7 ƿauluf bıoðanđı h̃im á h̃ íeñđı eƿt̃ íluelf̃ ƿ̃. 7 h̃ m̃đı s̃yna h̃im med
sainleik̃ h̃ú h̃im byrıadı at g̃a up̃ þadan. h̃ú è þ̃f̃ h̃ at ƿk̃ƿa þ̃t þ̃ ma heyra
7 ıf̃ogu íluelf̃ı ƿaƿa Nuckorū t̃ia s̃ıð ūð þ̃ t̃ tıðenða adogū þ̃ía 9ƿfantıni h̃ı
nı k̃ftna k̃ra at up̃lyanđı heıðingia h̃z saƿnadız s̃aman at bıaz ū rōanof ū
ana. ðanubıū k̃gñ ū mıog oıa ılegiñ uıð þ̃lıka s̃ogn. þa kō á h̃im bıartr̃ m̃
20 íueƿni 7 sagði t̃ h̃is è ıftu otaz 9ƿfantıne. s̃ıftu up̃ ıh̃ımıııñ 7 ıfa. 7 è h̃ leit
up̃ ía h̃ k̃f̃ m̃k̃ t̃z gauƿugl̃gt̃ h̃ðla bıart 7 þ̃sı oðð ū ıƿt̃ ık̃ƿud̃ m̃ þ̃su m̃
k̃ı m̃tu s̃ıgz ƿa. sıðan g̃ðı k̃gñ ılık̃ıng̃ þ̃lık̃ı takñf̃ 7 b̃ þ̃ fama m̃ s̃ t̃ b̃ðaga
mot heıðingıū s̃ íe þ̃ ıfıgz̃m̃ærkı. þa slo oıa myclū aheıðingia 7 ƿlyđı h̃ur̃
íe maı ııellu þ̃ aþ̃ ðegı m̃g̃ þ̃uñð maña. aƿ heıðingıū gaƿ keisariñ
25 þa r̃ng̃faullð loƿ gudı þ̃ þ̃uıııkan s̃ıgz. ðanubıuf er sua stoz .áa. è aƿ þ̃
ma m̃k̃ıa ad ı h̃a ƿalla lx stoz.áa. 7 hon ƿellr ı sio ı sex stozū h̃ er stæ
r̃f̃ uazƿall sua ad eckı è þ̃lık̃ı ıþ̃f̃ı þ̃ıðıungı heım̃f̃ınf̃ è europa kall
az Sv è meft̃ a ıollṽ heımı è gangef̃ heıt̃ hon ƿellr ṽ aƿıam
ııııuf ƿellr ṽ egiƿtalð. þ̃ íṽñan saıxıð ƿellr aıñ roðan. en rın ƿellr
30 næf̃ kolnı. Tvav uauñ̃ eo a ıozfala ıðı heıt̃ anñ̃ ıoz en annad̃ ða
n ƿellr s̃ın a oz h̃ıu vaıtnınṽ 7 mætaı ṽñð ƿıallı ııııano è þa e
eın a sıðan 7 heıt̃ íṽ ıozðan. **capit** gıƿta ıðı. h̃ıñ þ̃đı ad ıozfölṽ. ƿıoz
Fıoz̃ eo þ̃ıazka stozaz. eín ıanthıocıa a s̃yzıðı anñ̃z ıalexanıða ae
ðı ımyklağđı a g̃ckıðı. ı neƿnð b̃g̃ alexanıða ṽ athanaıııuf̃ ekaþ̃
35 a h̃ı ðogṽ. gıozðız azı villa þa ṽ k̃rı 9ƿfantıñ h̃ıñ myk̃lı h̃ı þ̃olđı m̃
ık̃ıñ mot gang aƿ azıanıf̃. s̃ á aƿ þ̃ ma m̃ka ad h̃ı ṽ .vı. uetr íeıni
ıazðholṽ h̃ı ṽ þ̃p̃ xl uef̃. h̃ı ðıktađı ƿf̃al̃m̃ıñ ðcūq; uult. ıneƿnð b̃g̃ þ̃ol
ðı 7 ƿıflazuaeıe h̃ıñ helgazta mæı kařına ðotır kofı k̃g̃f̃ h̃ı ṽ hals
hoğuñ ƿlauf̃ ƿm̃ aƿ h̃ıaz helgu ıvıra ƿog̃ mıol̃k. h̃ıaz ııkama toku
40 g̃þ̃ eınglaz. 7 bú ııııallıð s̃ıynay 7 gıozƿṽ þaz med ıullrı s̃æmð. aƿ
h̃ıaz steıñþ̃ ƿlytr̃ ƿm̃ skıært oleṽ. hac oleū s̃yna te glozıfıcant̃ kař
na

- nv hef̃ ūð sagt m̃ stutu maali hū gjozz hef̃ j. vj'ta' .h.allð ȝ ē slo ū sk̃fa hū t
 m̃ ba j ẽða neƿnz .h. allð̃ ȝ helg̃ læriƿedz haƿa set̃ isiñ bækr̃ aƿ antixpo
 fi m̃ ƿædaz ibabilon hiĩi myklu ašk̃lð̃i aƿ kyni dan. iƿsū ðiƿna stad̃ ē aĩti
 xpc ƿyft getiñ m̃il klmañz ȝ konu ȝ ē ƿ̃ ƿrio liğz ikuĩd̃i konuñar ƿa liknes
 5 kiu blaẽs̃ uuĩnrĩn ȝ ƿyll̃ m̃ sinū k̃ƿtĩ ƿædiƿ sidan ȝ kallaz glatañ son fi m̃ ƿ̃
 ðaz agyðinga lð segianði gyðigū s̃ ūa k̃ft̃ ƿ̃ ƿ̃ heitiñ. ƿa m̃u ƿlyckiaz samā
 gyðig̃ ȝ ƿylgia fi m̃ smiðanði upp ƿau m̃ti ē ñr̃ ū bzoĩ ƿ̃ ƿza glæƿi aƿ tito ȝ
 ƿoð̃ hĩs. j ƿta id nya m̃ti m̃ antixpc̃ ba siƿ oĩduegĩ segianði s̃ ūa g̃s son
 ȝ m̃ aĩxpc̃ m̃ iƿyftu kōa t̃ iozsala b̃g̃ fi m̃ rikia halƿt̃ ā i ier̃fm̃ ƿa m̃u kōa
 10 seĩð̃ aƿ g̃i enok ȝ helyas ā f̃nuu gyðigū t̃ reif̃ ƿar ƿz̃ m̃u ƿdića. m̃. ðagha
 cc.lx ȝ vj̃ ƿ̃ ē samanlefið. iij. ā. sē g̃s son ƿdićði. ƿa bada m̃ aĩx̃ ðƿa lata en
 eƿt̃ .iij. ðaga liðna m̃ ƿ̃ upp risa ȝ uegeĩðz ƿza m̃ heyra ƿlika rodd̃. stiğ̃ upp
 heg̃ t̃ mĩn enok ȝ helyaf̃. m̃ bioztu skyi m̃ ƿz̃ upp stuga t̃ hiĩns. Eƿt̃ ƿm̃
 ƿð̃ ƿza t̃ g̃s m̃ aĩx̃ rikia xv ðaga ē allz m̃ fi rikia halƿt̃ iij'a' ā. fi m̃ ūa ðƿiñ
 15 iƿfiall oliueti sitiaĩði ðm̃bsār afiñu uellðis̃ stoli ñ ƿ̃ f̃tað ē g̃ fte upp t̃ hĩna ƿa m̃
 geƿaz godū m̃m xl ȝ v ðag̃ t̃ nada ē rongū t̃ yƿbof̃ Eĩngi uet̃ hũsu langt̃ ƿ̃
 an ē t̃ ðos ðags ȝ eĩða heis̃ m̃ ƿa heilug̃ k̃'Y'tni iğodū ƿði huilaz t̃ eĩða ūallð̃
A ƿ vj'ða' .h. allð̃ kunū ṽ ƿat̃ ā segia ƿt̃ ē fi ē j ƿsu liƿi hellðz̃ ioðzu sē ṽ gatū **vij .h.a**
 iƿyftu ȝ byriaz adauda stuĩdu hũs̃ m̃ ƿa ē sal ȝlikāi g̃a fiñ skul̃h sē ūollðĩni
 20 ē ul̃ kunig̃t̃ ā hollð̃ ƿr̃ imollð̃ ȝ ūðz̃ ā ongu ē oĩðiñ ƿr̃ usynliga oz ƿ̃si ūollð̃ ȝ
 jƿñ stad̃ ē hũr hef̃ s̃ t̃ ūk̃. j heluĩt̃ ēo iij̃ stad̃ gzeĩnð̃ ƿ̃ oðz̃. hĩñ h̃ðazti kallaz
 ƿutē iƿferni ul̃ abyffuf̃ ƿ̃ ē ƿyir̃ .e. ðiup heluĩtis̃. aĩ f̃taðz̃ kallaz ƿgatoziū ƿ̃ ƿy
 ð̃ hzeĩfoñ stadz̃. iij̃ segiz̃ lĩb̃ iƿñi ƿ̃ ē s̃ sē beltũ .e. lista ē g̃g̃z̃ ūhũƿū. j ƿ̃ f̃tað huil
 ðuz̃ allra rietlaƿ̃ m̃ salur ƿza sē ƿæðduz̃ i upphap̃i heis̃ allt̃ t̃ ƿiñiğ̃ kruz̃ ƿa leið
 25 ði fi ƿ̃ allar m̃ s̃ ē fi ðæði ƿz̃s̃ ūð̃ ƿæ̃r̃ aĩð̃ sē ƿz̃ongð̃ ēo aƿ f̃taerr̃i syñðū ē. leið
 ð̃ t̃ kuala heluĩtis̃ fē leẽ ē ibokū. Eiñ syndug̃ kona liƿði eƿt̃ ƿyftū likāans̃ ȝ ē h̃ ðo ƿ̃
 h̃ar sal̃ ikualar heluĩtis̃ h̃ atĩ eĩna ðoĩtur̃ h̃ ū leiðð̃ isueƿni aƿ eĩnū ƿogz̃ m̃
 allt̃ ƿ̃ t̃ ē ƿau k̃u ā eĩnū ðal̃ ƿullū aƿ aĩðz̃tygð̃ ok oƿocka iƿsū ðal̃ ū eĩñ oƿñ .e.
 ƿyir̃ allr̃ logaĩði ȝ aƿ s̃ seĩðaĩði h̃zæði'Y'g̃̃ fyur̃ hins̃ s̃h̃paƿza t̃ ƿulazta reyks̃
 30 J ƿ̃sū ðal̃ ȝ eyð̃ f̃tað ū moð̃ h̃ar sokt̃ allt̃ upp yƿ̃ axl̃ ȝ elliğ̃ hoğozm̃ ƿoðm̃u ȝ fugu
 h̃ar hollð̃ ȝ hoziũð̃ s̃iit̃ aĩð̃ f̃toðu yƿ̃ fi ȝ ƿzyftu fi m̃ gloaĩnðū ƿroðū j ƿna logan
 ða s̃uelg̃ ȝ ē h̃ sa f̃ina ðoĩtur̃ kallaði h̃ .o. ho mĩn ðoĩt̃ h̃ialptu aũliğ̃ moð̃ ƿiñi
 m̃g̃ onñ ðæi mega heyr̃az ƿau ē syñðug̃ m̃ñ kueliuz̃ ikuol heluĩtis̃ all̃ m̃
 eĩni ȝ sōu ƿĩnu sē h̃ mĩs̃g̃ðu m̃ salma h̃æti. Eĩñ ē heluĩt̃ i ellðz̃ eƿt̃ oðz̃ū g̃
 35 g̃iğ̃ ƿ̃ ȝ m̃ ƿo meigh̃ misiaƿnt̃ heitr̃ keñaz̃ syndugū m̃. t̃ likiğ̃ ā taka ē solĩñ
 ē ƿ̃ h̃ skĩñ ē iāheitt̃ ū ūollðina ƿz̃ all̃ sē b̃t̃ liða aƿ ƿ̃sū heĩmi ȝ haƿa m̃ s̃ ue
 maia pecc̃a ƿ̃ ēo likns̃alig̃̃ synd̃ s̃ sē ē yðuligz̃ ƿ̃blaus̃ hl̃atr̃ uftulliligz̃ malshair̃
 .e. heilig̃ glæði .e. ƿ̃ anñ ē ūla ma ƿ̃ðaz̃ iƿñ h̃zeĩmsoñ stad̃ sē ū gatū ƿyr̃ ȝ ēo
 ƿ̃ s̃ leĩngi sē g̃s̃ mĩsk̃uñ uill̃ ū ƿa skĩpa .iij̃ h̃luĩt̃ ēo ƿz̃ ē læriƿedz̃ segia ā aĩð̃
 40 ƿreĩs̃i aƿ ƿĩnu meffur̃. olmoƿuğ̃ð̃. ƿof̃t̃ bæñ̃ heilağ̃ ȝ ē siðz̃ ƿza ē iƿs̃i ūollð̃ ēo sē
 uĩt̃ni b̃z̃ ƿ̃si h̃lutr̃ ē ƿylg̃. Sua b̃ t̃ isialƿ̃ rōa næƿta ðag̃ ƿ̃ mĩu m̃ ƿyri ā .i. h̃ƿ̃
 ƿ̃ ƿ̃ m̃ sa h̃ g̃ga moti s̃ ƿa konu ē aĩðaz̃ haƿði xij̃ maĩnū ƿyri ē ē h̃ keĩði ā

- þsi kona ú oñdut þa hzæddiz h þa sagði hín ðauþa hzæz é þu. h̄f̄in s̄p̄ði þa h̄úfu
 su h̄i úi. h̄ seḡ h̄t hēf̄ ek úið imyklū kuolū f̄ synð m̄ín þ̄ é ek hēf̄i ḡt̄ ḡ m̄at é t̄
 á segia þ̄ ú ðalr m̄ikill s̄e ek ú ḡfiollði m̄ ḡ é sa ðalr oðz megū s̄ kallðz á hue
 tuetna frȳs̄ é þ̄ k̄er̄ ẽ oðz megū ellðz bzenañði ẽ iðag k̄o þ̄ sæl maria ḡ ley
 5 f̄ti m̄ik þ̄an ḡ meira mañfiolða en h̄ se írōa b̄ḡ ḡ leiðði oss ífagza f̄tadi ḡ þa
 ð ōs̄ þ̄ úða t̄ þ̄zs̄ é ōs̄ úi meiri ðyrþ ueit̄. M̄ḡ huilð̄ stað̄ ẽo gzeimð̄ ibokū
 ih̄úíu salur rietlāf̄ huilaz t̄ ðōs̄ ðaḡ. Sa ú eín akrkl̄ é mæddiz imykle
 uanmegni lkāāñ̄ h̄ ú faozðz ḡ rietlatr þeḡ h̄ reis oz reckiū s̄f̄raði h̄ akrūk
 þ̄ k̄o á h̄ añðap̄iz ðōt̄ h̄s̄ líp̄ði ēf̄t̄ h̄i btuz ísuef̄ni eín ðzeingz m̄ elliḡ afionu
 10 h̄ bað h̄a ḡḡa m̄ s̄ ḡ é þau k̄ou aeín blōḡan uoll ḡ fagzan m̄ allri uñs̄eð̄ f̄l̄Ȳota
 ñði m̄ uñðligū ilm ḡ sætleik skínañða m̄ bioztu líosi aþ uelli sa h̄ m̄ḡ þ̄uñð̄
 biar̄t̄ m̄ m̄ m̄ikill gledi. m̄r̄ þ̄ m̄ lítr̄ h̄ feðz p̄yzððan allri feḡurð̄ h̄ geck
 þeḡ mot̄ h̄i kallañði sætliga f̄ina ðōtur kyf̄ti ḡ f̄aðm̄i é h̄ f̄yllð̄ aþ myklū fag
 h̄i biðz foðz s̄ín á h̄ lof̄aði h̄i þ̄ á úa h̄ kuad̄ þ̄ é úa mega at siñi. petr ðia
 15 kn s̄p̄ði ḡḡiū h̄úf̄ añð̄ rietlāf̄ m̄ mega leiðaz in̄ ih̄imínrikis ðyrð̄ aðz þ̄z takí
 hollz uppr̄isu .ẽ. ḡḡ. .s. s̄ íf̄iozðu bok ðialogoz̄ á þ̄ se é v̄tañða aþ ollū rietlāf̄ m̄
 oñðū f̄t̄ h̄ .s. á þa unaitaði nuck̄ a algiozt̄ r̄ieit̄ætí ḡ m̄ þ̄z þa huilaz igodū f̄tad̄
 f̄man t̄ h̄inf̄ mykla ðōs̄ ẽ þ̄za añð̄ .s. ḡḡ. é m̄ ollu ẽv̄ alḡt̄ ḡḡa skiōt̄ ēf̄t̄ s̄if̄ añ
 ðlat̄ j ðyrð̄ h̄imínrikis̄ þ̄ s̄e s̄ialf̄r̄ ḡ é f̄iri. sañañði f̄ta m̄ sanleiks̄íns oazðū é s̄
 20 segia iguðsp̄iallinu. v̄cunq; f̄iut̄ c̄p̄c̄ illuc congḡgabun̄t̄ aquile. gef̄t̄ ú h̄ upp̄ á
 sk̄fa fleira aþ huillð̄ salnaña é mest ḡḡz ū v̄j`ða` heims̄ allðz ẽ h̄ s̄iú ú segia
 nuckud̄ litid̄ aþ s̄iðazta allð̄ ḡ s̄ hēf̄r̄ caþ̄| la m̄ myklū ludzbl̄æt̄ þa m̄u
S Va seḡ matheus á ḡ m̄ kōa m̄r̄ myklū k̄f̄t̄i ḡ uellði h̄ m̄ seña s̄ina eíng
 saman safnaz allar þiód̄ ḡ taka h̄ur̄ s̄ín lkāā é h̄ b̄ íþsu l̄p̄i skuñðañði f̄m̄ .a.
 25 ið mykla þiḡ þa m̄ kōa ḡ s̄ialf̄r̄ t̄ ðōs̄iñ̄ á ðæa uollðina þ̄ m̄ kōa m̄ h̄im̄ ix̄ eíḡ
 la f̄ylkinḡ h̄in̄ēk̄ k̄pta þ̄ m̄ ḡ n̄ úa f̄lock̄ hōf̄feðza ḡ spañ̄ ḡ ðyrð̄ p̄lana ḡ utolv̄
 liḡ tala þ̄islaruaia iat̄ta ḡ meya þ̄ m̄ þa ḡ úa kōñ̄ all̄ lyð̄ m̄iog oia full̄ sa ðagz
 kallaz .ð. reid̄i .ð. kualar ḡ eyð̄ .ð. myrkrs̄ ḡ þoku .ð. ludz̄s̄ ḡ kallz sa .ð. m̄ m̄iog úa
 beiskr̄ ḡ ḡm̄r̄ ollū umillðū. ḡ þa é ḡ k̄er̄ s̄e v̄ sogðū t̄ ðōs̄iñ̄ á ðæa heíñ̄ þ̄ aþ
 30 seḡ ðð̄ ignif̄ añ íf̄m̄ p̄cedit̄: Ellðz̄ þ̄s̄i m̄ úa s̄ m̄ikill̄ á h̄ m̄ haḡa ēb̄ætī íiij̄ el
 lða þ̄ é á sk̄ilia á heluitif̄ ellðz̄ m̄ p̄ina alla m̄ hzeínsañ̄ ellðz̄ m̄ bzeña synð̄ aþ
 godū m̄m̄. jarðligz̄ ellðz̄ m̄ upp̄ eyða oll̄ kuikueñði ḡ lkāi allra m̄ þ̄za é þa s̄e þa
 lífa s̄ á þ̄z̄ m̄ þa á aurfku úða. Loḡtligz̄ ellðz̄ m̄ hzeínsa hōf̄ skep̄fi ḡ eñðz̄nya
 f̄ þ̄na ellð̄ m̄ upp̄ bzeña asana f̄ðm̄ar̄ s̄ á þ̄sa heíñ̄ f̄iḡa m̄ á úða. þ̄s̄i e
 35 lðz̄ m̄ haḡa upphaḡ̄ m̄skeids̄ ḡ eñða f̄t̄ s̄ skiōt̄ m̄ úða upp̄zifa lkāana ḡ t̄kuama
 ðōarañ̄ t̄ ðōs̄íns̄ ḡ þa m̄ bzena allr̄ heir̄ ūh̄up̄ū eñða þ̄ á endap̄ū ðōinū m̄ ellð̄
 ñ̄ f̄ylla ḡ fullḡa uulia ḡ ozsk̄ð̄ ðōarans̄. jte maled̄ictū̄ t̄ign̄ē efn̄ū þa m̄ ellðn̄ uer̄
 ía ðḡa ḡ steypa alla m̄n̄ iheluiti. Ellðz̄̄ þ̄s̄i m̄ hzeínsa íiij̄ hōf̄skep̄ñ̄. vatn̄. loḡt̄ ellð̄
 Jozð̄ aþ h̄i m̄ bzeña þ̄unḡi ḡ ðíma. vatn̄. f̄t̄ aþ þ̄ m̄ bzena frost̄ ḡ kulði. loḡt̄ f̄t̄ aþ
 40 þ̄ m̄ bzeña allr̄ myrkleik̄i. ellð̄ f̄t̄ aþ f̄im̄ m̄ hzeínfaz̄ aþ ollū meínsomū hlutū
 himun̄ é hzeíñ̄ ḡ þ̄ m̄ h̄ eck̄i hzeínsaz̄ hellðz̄ eñðz̄nyaz̄ þ̄ é á sk̄ilia á h̄ m̄ aþ lie
 ta siñi ras ḡ ūreñingū s̄̄ f̄mt̄ f̄t̄ h̄ m̄ kȳr̄ stañða jstad̄ ḡ stad̄fastr̄ ḡ úa

biartí nu. þa m̄ sol standa íaustr̄ ẽ tungl íuest̄ þ̄ sē þau ú ʝʝystu skop̄
 sē ʝʝʝr̄ seǵ. m̄ þa sol úa víj hlutū biartí ẽ nu. þa m̄ v̄a eilʝr̄ ðagz̄ ẽ eíngí
 not̄ þs̄i ẽðznyan ʝ hzeínsan m̄ ẽ úa m̄an syndǵ̄ m̄ ẽo jheímínū. ẽ þeǵ eʝt̄
 5 ðóim̄ sē syndǵ̄ m̄n ẽo byrgð̄ ihelutí m̄ íozðín úa s̄ bíozt̄ ʝ skíær sē k̄ftal
 lus. loʝt̄ m̄ úða myklu bíartá ẽ n̄ þt̄ þa m̄ ẽ úa sky ne uínð̄ ẽ regn ne sn
 íoz̄ ẽ myrkr̄ .e. þoka ẽ hagl̄ .e. ellðínǵ̄ .e. reioð̄ þzum̄. vatn ʝ ellðz̄ m̄ ʝ h̄útuægía hz̄
 eínt̄ þt̄ uatn m̄ úða hzeínt̄ ʝ gagsn̄sæt̄ ẽ b̄t̄ m̄ ʝalla aʝ þ̄ frost̄ ʝ kulði. Ellðz̄ m̄ ʝ
 haʝa ʝs̄íer h̄os ʝ b̄tí en þ̄an aʝ seǵ ðð̄. vox ðm̄ ít̄cedentíʝ flamamígníʝ; aʝ þ̄
 sū lutū b̄tíz̄ á hímín̄ ʝ ʝozð̄ m̄ úlída s̄ sē myñð̄ .e. ʝǵa á úu ʝ unð̄sodu. aʝ al
 10 lʝaʝr̄ hoʝ̄ skepnu m̄ ʝíozs̄álíga b̄t̄ þ̄ ẽ t̄ meíns̄ ẽ ʝ þyngð̄ ẽ þ̄ m̄ allt̄ uaxa sē t̄
 glaði ẽ ʝ ʝagñar̄ ʝ aʝ þ̄ seǵíaz̄ all̄ lut̄ eñðznyaz̄ ímanzín̄ eñðznyan sē r̄í
 tad̄ ẽ. ecce noua facio oíā; þt̄ allr̄ heírín̄ hzeínsaz̄ ʝ eñðznyaz̄ þa sl̄ godz̄ m̄ aud̄
 laz̄ s̄ mykla ðyʝþ̄ ʝ b̄tí á h̄ m̄ skína ílkama sē sol̄ ẽ þa ẽ víj hlutū biartí ẽ n̄
 ʝsalíní m̄ h̄ oðlaz̄ á úa eíglū líkr̄ sē rítad̄ ẽ á k̄ftr̄ m̄ eñðznya helgan añða þ̄
 15 líkama ús líttlætus̄ s̄amyñðan líkama sín̄ b̄rtí m̄ h̄ taka þa einkanlíga
 xíj ǵíaf̄ ílkama s̄ ʝ líkái m̄ þa úða bíatr̄ ʝ mañlígz̄ gagn̄fíluz̄ skíotr̄ ʝ st̄kr̄
 heill ʝ langlíʝr̄ h̄ m̄ v̄a. víj hlutū biartí e sol̄. h̄ m̄ úða opínanlígz̄ s̄ þoi h̄im̄ úi
 kafta ı bzeñaða heluítus̄ ellð̄ þa þeíngí h̄ þ̄ aʝ aunga þínu ne bzuna s̄ sē
 þz̄ saklaus̄ sueín̄ ú señð̄ íbzeñaða oʝn̄ h̄ m̄ úa gagn̄fíluz̄ þt̄ ðyrlígz̄ lík̄
 20 m̄ ʝgegnū ʝa udyrlíga líkái s̄ se ǵlær̄ .e. t̄ ʝ þo at uskodðo h̄útuægía lík̄
 amanū h̄ m̄ úða skíotr̄ sē seǵ̄ auǵtín̄ ʝ h̄út̄ sē oñðín uill m̄ þ̄ þegar̄ úa lı
 káin̄. h̄ m̄ ʝ úða s̄ st̄kr̄ á h̄ m̄ ʝa b̄ioz̄ ʝ ʝíoll̄. h̄ m̄ ʝ úða s̄ ul̄ heill̄ á allð̄ m̄
 h̄ úða knkr̄ ne síukr̄ ʝ eíǵíshat̄t̄ særdz̄ þoi h̄ se slegín̄ .e. hoǵuín̄ m̄ h̄ ẽ s̄s̄ k̄ẽ
 ná hellðz̄ ẽ solargeísli. h̄ m̄ ʝ úða lañglíʝr̄ þt̄ aʝ þ̄ se ẽ ǵ̄ eilʝr̄ m̄ h̄ s̄ líʝgadz̄
 25 ʝ h̄im̄ eilʝlíga s̄ateíngðz̄ á h̄ m̄ allð̄ mega ðeya s̄ m̄ ʝ godz̄ m̄ taka ʝsalíní
 m̄ǵ̄ ǵíaf̄ h̄ m̄ ʝa s̄ mykla spekt̄ ʝ uízku þa ẽ h̄ s̄íer s̄íalʝan̄ ǵ̄ s̄ sē h̄ ẽ á h̄ m̄
 uita ʝ skúla allt̄ þ̄ sē þ̄ʝ skúlía uilía allt̄ þ̄ ẽ ǵ̄ uill̄ ẽ þ̄ ẽ sē h̄ uill̄ eí. h̄ m̄ þa
 ʝ uíta hugzeñǵ̄ anña eʝt̄ þ̄ sē sa uill̄ b̄ta. ast̄ ʝ uínatu m̄ h̄ ʝa s̄ mykla
 á h̄ m̄ úa elskadz̄ aʝ ǵ̄í f̄e son̄ ẽ aʝ eínglū sē bzod̄. s̄āþyckí m̄ þ̄ úa s̄ m̄ík̄
 30 á eíngí m̄ ǵ̄a motí añars̄ uilía m̄ h̄ s̄ ǵledíaz̄ aʝ anñs̄ ʝagñí sē síolʝs̄ s̄is̄
 s̄æð̄ ʝ úðínḡ m̄ h̄ s̄ mykla haʝa aʝ ǵ̄í á h̄ m̄ úa ðyʝkr̄ aʝ ǵ̄s̄ eíglū. ǵledí ʝ þ̄ð̄
 m̄ haʝa eilʝan̄ þt̄ ʝíandz̄ ʝ uuuín̄ ẽo þ̄ onǵ̄. oʝuñð̄ ʝ illzka ẽ þ̄ eíngí. ʝatægt̄
 h̄mr̄ ʝ hzygð̄ ẽ þ̄ eíngí hellðz̄ eilʝ ǵledí ʝ sk̄etan̄ h̄ín̄ mesít̄ ʝagñðz̄ ẽ þ̄ íol
 lū lutū ʝ a alla uega. goð̄ m̄n̄ ʝagna ẽ þz̄ s̄ia upp̄ yʝt̄ sík̄ allz̄uallðaða ǵ̄s̄
 35 ʝ h̄s̄ sætu moð̄ þz̄ ʝagna ẽ þz̄ s̄ia n̄r̄ unð̄ sík̄ nyan heím̄ ʝ h̄s̄ þyzið̄. þz̄ ʝag
 na ẽ þz̄ s̄ía síḡ uozðna s̄ ðyrlíga ʝ ʝagñar̄ sæla ísal ʝ lík̄a. þz̄ ʝagna ẽ þz̄
 s̄ía úh̄ʝr̄is̄ sík̄ aʝ ʝelagskap̄ ʝ saláǵi eígl̄a ǵ̄s̄ ʝ heilaǵ̄ m̄ þ̄ m̄ þickia heíska
 uizka solomonís̄ ẽ ú allra m̄ uíʝztr̄. vanmatr̄ styrkleíkí s̄āsonís̄ ẽ ú al
 40 lra m̄ styrkaztr̄. líotleíkí ʝegzð̄ aʝsalonís̄ ẽ allra m̄ ú þ̄ðaztr̄. ʝatækt̄ ríkí
 augustí k̄ra ẽ ú m̄ ríkaztr̄. heilaǵ̄ m̄ ʝogñur̄ ẽ s̄ m̄íkull̄ á ẽ ma m̄ælaz̄. s̄
 m̄ǵʝallðz̄ á ẽ ma telíaz̄. s̄ ǵnogz̄ á ẽ ma eyðaz̄ .s̄. ðyʝrð̄fullr̄ á ẽ ma eñðaz̄
 ẽ þa h̄úr̄ þ̄ sællí sē heʝ̄ betr̄ líʝ̄ yðulíḡ hatíð̄ m̄ þ̄ úa ʝ sætr̄ eígl̄a saungz̄

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eíngi m̄ þ̄ úa tungna suñðzhlíodan hellðz m̄ þa all̄ tala eíní tungu eřt̄ oz
 ðū bñd̄i 7 lıřañd̄i glað̄ 7 řagnand̄i jeııřı ðyrř̄ ū ueñðalıġ̄ ūallð̄ řt̄ þa ě
 lıðñ̄ ěo řuñð̄ řuñða ara ě þa íanær̄r eñða sē adz sl̄o goð̄ m̄n lıřa m̄
 ġı ředz 7 řıs helgū m̄m. æ 7 æ utan eñða

þta athæfari mif ɛ uozðna obun leitadi þ ̇m siini smiðuel á talma minu til
 tæki þ ̇b ̇s ̇t á sa meynuni eina ẽ ek ɛieck einskoñ á hañ þær ẽ ek ẽða h
 tla glaðla s ɛ ɛieck ek hi ẽ siðz auññ ærĩntyr á h ỹni m ̇h aɛ ỹð uañði ɛ tr
 auf ̇t oɽtlĩgz tals þ ̇næf hlattr ɛ hañða atekning á lyktũ gatũ ỹ ḣżarm ɛ al
 5 ẽðu illzku ock ̇imilli siau mañi ỹ ek ̇ĩpsĩ ṁ ḣzapan aðz ek tok at hugleið
 a þheit mif .e. hu ̇ḟ hondũ ṁði eɛ ek onduðũz ̇ĩpsũ á þ ̇uĩ eilĩɛ pĩna ðauþa
 þot ek heɛða hož ḣɛ anñs ṁ en nu ḣða ẽ æk haɛða ɛpillt ɛeɛf meɛ k̇z tok ek þ
 þ rad á ek ɛlyði ɛ konuñi. ̇iḃt heğ ̇iṁkĩna aɛ leynd ɛ ollu þ ẽ aĩ hi ̇t hug
 añ ɛan ek siðan helli þna ɛ kelliðu ɛ palmũĩn ẽ ṁ ueitir atũĩnu ṁ sĩnu
 10 auexti. ẽir ḣ ahũũ .xxx. ðag ein riðul. uĩnr ṁ sa þozɛ meðan aññ moat
 en ẽ lang tĩmi leið toku klæði mĩn á slĩtna en haar á uaxa ṡ á ek hyl ṁ þ
 þ buksĩn ẽ meif ỹð .b. ɛretti þa ḣlĩgt ḣðzeiti ḣ heɛði þolt ḣ lĩez ɛɛɛftu keñt
 haɛa kuĩsoĩar ɛ ỹkti ̇ilɛrĩna ṡ á ḣ maĩ traui standa abæn sĩni þ ɛr
 ḣ kuaz þa ɛalla ̇t bæñ ɛ kalla ̇t guðs miškuña m; myklũ ẽ ḣ maĩ huğĩ ræ
 15 raz ɛrĩ uanmæni þa þeğ sa ḣ ein mañ kōa at ṡ þn er ɛpũrði á meĩnĩnu ɛ
 at sogðu kuad ḣ hiñ ̇t kōna taka ̇lɛrĩna ṁ hoñðũ ṡ bzoĩ ɛ bziostĩnu ɛ oɛ
 na sua ṡið skaɛa siðan ̇lɛrĩna ̇t ein ðuk ɛ feğia ḣa siðan aɛtṙ ̇ieĩgĩnlg
 an stad ɛ sagði sua þiona hedanaɛ ̇t uarũ ỹ ̇. sua ṡe þ heɛr ̇t ɛr þu ẽt nu
 heill heɛi ek siðan .s. h. ɛ. ỹið ḣ ̇aɛrĩ heill utan eɛrĩði se huũ nærd huillð
 20 ɛ hoglĩɛ ɛieck ɛieck ɛallid þ ẽ aɛtr bæti algioz iðzan ṁ ɛtaðɛɛfti ̇

Sa peĩngz ẽ ðeñiuf .h. ḃz aš ẽgs liknefkiũ .e. mynd sa peĩngz ueitiz 1ṡt
 ɛa laun at ly'c'tadi eɛrĩðiɛ uĩnu iuĩngði ðzoĩnĩ ̇psĩ ðeñiuf ẽ elskulɛ
 asynd skapa ỹs ɛ allra luta su ẽ ueitiz ɛerĩðiɛɛs laun at eñðalykt heĩfĩñ
 ollũ þ ẽ rietla sṫɛa iheilağ ẽfĩni þa ẽ þz na á sia isĩni ðyrþ ẽg allra ẽga
 25 eilɛflga rikiañða þan aɛ ẽ þ þa ẽ ṁğ ḃzæðz ỹ saman koñ á uitia eins ḃzod
 þs at bana ỹ koĩn ɛ ṡe þ þoiti ḣ añðaþz ḃ ḣ up augũ ɛ skaut ɛm ɛ ṡ loknum
 kneɛañ ahæğ heñði ɛ ṁlti uel ṁ ul ṁ þt nu tok ek miñ ðenariũ. ṁ þsũ oz
 ðũ huillðz ḣ aɛ uĩngz uĩnu takañði ðeñiũ þ ẽ sialɛan ẽ ̇t asynd ẽ geck ḣ ihuillð

Peilɛɛ ɛagnar aɛ ̇ koĩn aɛ eyðṁnk geck jñ imalæga ḃg sa ḣ ein ɛatækan
 30 ̇Eta uifði ẽ ḣmĩt einũ ɛuitĩz ỹ ɛṁð gods ṁ ɛ illz ṡe þsĩ einɛtu ṁ
 mañ á ðauþa koĩn ligia aɛtræti ɛ gaɛ eĩngĩ gaũ á þ slogu ḣng ỹ mikill ɛiol
 ði heilağ eĩngla ɛ toku sal ḣs ṁ myklũ ɛagnadi ɛ ɛluĩt ̇t ḣĩnefskṙ ṡakuñðu
 þ næf geck einsetu ṁ ̇t ḣḃgis nukṡ audigs ṁ ɛ ṡ þ saman koĩn mikĩn
 mañɛlock karla ɛ kueṅa ḣs á uitia ɛ ḣṁ á þiona þt ḣ la banuæñ aɛ mikillĩ
 35 soĩ ɛ ṡe ḣ la ṡ ṅ á koĩn ðauþa á ḣ maĩ ỹla ṁla þufstu iṅ ihuifð ṁğ ɛañðz
 ṁ ḣzæðilgũ afianũ ɛ ẽ hiñ siuki ẽ þ lita kalladi ḣ ɛ bad ẽ ḣialpa ṡ þa kō roðð ̇t
 ḣ ṡ segiañði nu ið ɛɛfta mĩniz þu ẽs en allð ḣ ̇t. nu beĩðz þu laufi er þu
 maĩ ecki sialɛṙ ḣialpa þ. ðioɛlarñ ẽpũ ẽṁla ḣs onð aɛ likāanũ ɛ ðzogu ̇t
 40 heluitis kuala. siðan ỹ ḣ silki sueĩpaðz ɛ ̇t ẽũ buĩn ɛ mozgũ ktũ ɛ loga
 nðũ lioskũ ɛ iardaþz ṁ heilġ ðyrþ en ḣs auma sal pĩnðiz iheluiti m;
 ðaligũ ðioɛlũ en likāa ɛatæka manz rĩɛu ðyṙ isundz ɛ ḣzæɛuglar en
 ḣs sal gleðzt ṁ helgũ eĩnglũ jḣĩnrĩkiš ɛagnadi an eñða a-m-e-n

- Einsetv n̄ nūtkur bygd̄i hina idz̄i hal̄fu egiptālnz̄ s̄ fræḡz̄ fē h̄ fæti v̄
 eyd̄im̄k Nu m̄ f̄iand̄liġ f̄tolu f̄rieti ein urad̄ uauñd̄ kona á þ̄fi ○
 ġs uin̄ aiti s̄ ofun̄d̄ m̄ þ̄ flær h̄ kaup̄i ū þ̄a at þ̄z̄ fl̄i geƿa f̄i ūðkaup̄ eƿ
 h̄ f̄ienḡi fellt̄ .h. f. f̄ einsetu f̄r h̄ f̄idan̄ ƿ kō at kuell̄d̄i t̄ koƿa .h. f. f̄ ○○○○
 5 h̄ hon̄ ū þ̄ kōin̄ hon̄ kuez uillz̄ haƿa āmk̄iñi en þ̄ at h̄ gzet m̄iog biðz̄ guðs
 m̄ h̄a ġġa in̄ ū ġð þ̄an̄ è ḡæti h̄bḡiff̄inf̄ ġ̄ir h̄ f̄ta t̄ god̄ uilld̄ f̄kyll̄d̄. konan̄ ○a
 llar s̄ kaftad̄ ut t̄ ð̄yr ƿ ḡætr̄ hal̄fu meif̄ en f̄yr. guðs m̄ huḡleið̄ ñ m̄ s̄ h̄u
 hæƿa m̄ ƿ s. h̄uan̄ t̄ hellðz̄ m̄ huḡh̄ð̄i þ̄fi ƿ reidi haƿa fl̄oġ tekr̄ h̄i sidan̄ t̄il
 h̄ar ƿ leið̄ h̄ in̄ ikoƿañ. þ̄ næft̄ tok ureiñ̄ ānð̄i huḡ h̄is at f̄ueiḡia t̄ s̄aræð̄iff̄ m̄
 10 konuna ok è h̄ f̄k̄ilr f̄iand̄anf̄ f̄tolur seġ̄ h̄i m̄ s̄. v̄uif̄iñf̄ ueġ̄ ēo myrkv̄ir
 en guðs fon̄ saī h̄os. r̄iff̄ h̄i þ̄ uƿ̄ ƿ tendz̄ar s̄ l̄iof̄ ƿ ġġz̄ þ̄o è unðan̄ ġ̄nð̄ h̄i
 t̄in̄ ū h̄i hellðz̄ uex̄ h̄i ƿ uhægz̄iz̄ þ̄a .s. h̄ .f. señl̄ga ūð ek ad̄ p̄ra m̄iḡ h̄uifu ek þ̄o
 h̄i eil̄ifan̄ ell̄ð̄ f̄t̄ eƿlauft̄ þ̄ola þ̄z̄ h̄i è f̄tarfa ihozaif̄iñīi tekr̄ h̄i nu ƿ reit̄r ym
 fa r̄ingurna f̄m̄ ih̄osid̄ allt̄ t̄ m̄ġuns ƿ foz̄ f̄va at h̄i kenð̄i eyƿu h̄imf̄ idz̄a
 15 hitans̄ t̄ h̄in̄u idz̄a ƿ è hon̄ faluḡ konan̄ fa f̄ta h̄is t̄ tæk̄i ūð hon̄ s̄ r̄iod ƿ fot̄h̄
 ð̄i ū h̄a f̄tirðnadi þ̄ næft̄ fē f̄teiñ̄ en and̄ap̄iz̄ sidan̄ v̄ m̄ġunin̄ f̄nēmā kōu
 ofun̄d̄ m̄n̄ m̄k̄f̄ins ƿ f̄reiu h̄i h̄ūt̄ einḡi kona heƿð̄i hoz̄f̄ þ̄aġ̄ aƿ mozk̄
 in̄i h̄i uis̄ þ̄ t̄ h̄ū h̄i suaƿ ƿ è þ̄z̄ ġġa á uekiā h̄a f̄iña þ̄z̄ á hon̄ è ð̄aup̄ ƿ .s.
 f̄in̄ h̄i tok þ̄a aƿ s̄ yf̄ hoƿn̄ina ƿ r̄ieti f̄m̄ r̄inḡna eif̄i f̄en̄ ƿ f̄agð̄i h̄i me
 20 ġi þ̄ier sia h̄ū þ̄si ð̄iof̄ullsiñ̄ ð̄otir̄ heƿ̄ m̄ ġt̄ En þ̄ at ek è f̄kyll̄d̄z̄ at
 ġialldā god̄u illt̄ þ̄a m̄ ek bið̄ia t̄ f̄h̄i ƿ è h̄i lauk̄ bæñ f̄iñ̄i reif̄ h̄i uƿ̄ ○
 h̄i hellt̄ f̄ik̄ sidan̄ h̄zeinl̄ga medan̄ hon̄ líƿð̄i se h̄i h̄uifu loƿl̄ig ƿ f̄maf̄muḡ
 auðl̄iḡ f̄kipan̄ è f̄askyrl̄iḡ uand̄f̄yft̄ konuñar̄ ġð̄i helgan̄ helġā siñ̄ h̄i reir̄
 reid̄iff̄ en tok illuilia aƿ auƿun̄d̄ m̄. h̄is. h̄. ġs̄ uif̄i sua ū faul̄ f̄ð̄u v̄in̄i
 25 k̄ft̄niñar̄ fa er adz̄ f̄tirðð̄i āñ̄a. h̄in̄ loƿl̄igz̄ti m̄ iob huḡleið̄ð̄i ƿ þ̄s̄ hat̄f̄
 t̄relli ƿ f̄agð̄i þ̄u guð̄ m̄in̄ ġð̄ muḡ ġaḡft̄að̄lan̄ þ̄i ƿ ū ek þ̄ t̄ þ̄uñġz̄ m̄
 ð̄auid̄ f̄ġz̄ .s. ƿ s̄ þ̄f̄laufl̄a uak̄̄ fa è bozgar̄mā ġiæt̄ nēa guð̄ ġeymī far
 sua f̄r̄ off̄ ƿ at v̄ faull̄u en f̄ā è uƿ̄ r̄if̄id̄ utan̄ guðs̄ m̄if̄kuñ̄ ueita
 E in̄ godz̄ guðf̄ m̄ f̄añ̄ t̄ ablafr̄ heilagf̄ ānð̄a þ̄ hagz̄æð̄i heilagz̄az̄
 30 k̄ft̄ne ath̄ h̄ūt̄ kuell̄ð̄ eƿt̄ cōpletoziū antiphonam̄ uaz̄az̄ f̄rv
 salue reḡina oc fē h̄i heƿ̄ þ̄ f̄m̄ hallðit̄ um̄ t̄ima m; s̄inum̄
 kapit̄la b̄z̄æðz̄ū b̄tiz̄ of̄tligā h̄im̄ famā syn̄ þ̄ iklav̄st̄n̄u t̄ guð̄
 uin̄u ok s̄ f̄mt̄ fē þ̄z̄ f̄yngiā f̄i ozd̄ iant̄ipha eiā è aduocatā t̄ia
 opnaz̄ h̄im̄iñin̄ oc þ̄z̄ fia at h̄in̄ f̄æta guðf̄ moð̄ f̄teñðz̄ uƿ̄ aƿ f̄i
 35 nū f̄æti t̄ f̄ta akall̄ f̄alland̄i f̄m̄ t̄ guð̄ ð̄of̄ uall̄ðit̄ bið̄iand̄i t̄
 allrē almen̄liġ̄ k̄ft̄ne ok t̄ f̄ta ð̄ǣi haƿ̄ salue reḡina ○
 ok f̄az̄id̄ ih̄ueriā f̄k̄iu er guðf̄ moð̄uz̄ loƿ̄ uill̄ heyz̄a ○
 hallðā henn̄|a|'e' se loƿ̄ ok ð̄yð̄ þ̄einā fecla
 Pertuā ġaud̄iā quinquē maz̄ia ○ miferere ○
 40 Gloziā etaē cazenf̄ fit̄ t̄ v̄gō pazan̄

- N** v fl en fegia af hínu sama efní hu^s su^gs mod^o lík uel
 at nefnd an^t salue regína se sungín h^t sæð daghligha m;
 godu athuga oc m; aft t^t henní. Jpis ú eín dāma h^dla rik gíozn
 a o^o heyra fagzan song e sǣlīga tíða g^gð ok sak^s þ ad innanfað
 5 uozo mar^g stett^t klerkar oc klauff maña hugleið hon m; ser op
 tfinís h^hur reglum^m bezt faga sin of^fá ok úðiz h^h sē þðicaza líf
 naði se fozkunligz íþuífa um^mþm adza h^húfu þz syngia haat ok m;
 fogzū hæti þ uenr h^h sik eínkañliga t þza k^kíu bæði síð e árla tek
 r h^h þ ífínu h^hazta at h^hut kuellð áðz hon þr^r so^ofa íl h^h heyza þza cōm
 10 pletoziū þt hie e eínkū k^kíarr h^húfu m; v^vktū þz syngia v^vzar f ant^t
 phonā salue regína e^eft natfaungín. J þzi k^kíu v^v fallit at f
 me a leskozñū stod meifligt v^vk v^vzar f sk^kft sua fozmud at
 h^h blezut hellt ípadme sín sǣla son ok t þa f^fkpt g^ggu bæðz .pce
 s^sioēnlit huert kuellð m; salue regína. oc fungu sua sæt fem
 15 þ v^v m^míkl fæð .j. líkadí fa punktr þionostunⁿ f^fne h^hðla ul e v^v
 f^fyz nefndū. ok nockt kuellð b^bz s^s t sē þz syngia at f^figz y^y f^fia liet
 tr hor^ogí ok iam^mþm gefz hie anð syn at sua fem bæðz fegia þi ozd. e
 ia ergo aduocata ñ. ríff hín sǣla guðs mod up af sætinv oc f^figz
 níðz agol^l ríeí ímíðíu sē þz stanða úb^bgís h^h hef son sín ahañðleg^g
 20 oc þn tíma sē ozþudū f^fm líðz. illos tuos m^mícozdes oclos adnos g^gute. s^s
 h^h bíðlīga m; glog^g syn v^vb^bgís t h^húf þza fē ozþín hlhoduþu. En e^eft þ sē
 þz fegía. 7 ím bñd^dictū fructū uents tuí .n. þ^o h^h exiliū oñde. rett hon
 m^m þilltín ím oc tíaz h^h h^húf þza augū sua umb^bgíff fē f^fyr at h^húte^eg
 h^har g^gð f^fuadi t m^míkuñ f^fkuñⁿg^g gzeín rítínⁿg^gím^m E^eft sua f^fmuð kastaz at
 25 f^fñne ho^organⁿ hugleið h^h godmañliga ok sto^oz uífliga h^h h^h harði feet þt
 þnna leyndā hlut fagði hon f^fyr ozdū lo^ofligū p^psonū en þ fial^lþū bæðz
 nū at ei ofradiz þza famuizka sē v^vða kañ íuolltu híoli þa líðanda lí^l
Þ a e líðit v^v f^f he^eg^g b^bð íf h^hza íf^fu x .ð. ok lxx ára tok t^tb^tíuf **capí**
 rōuefkan keifaza dō næft e^eft ítínū en t^t maurícíū þ v^v a a^aúðíþū
 30 dōgū hím^m heilaga g^ggíj magní. af þū t^tb^tíu e^e þ lefit íup^uþarí fē h^h í ríððí
 unð iustíno keifaza ok h^h heyzdi talat m^míklíga t^t sín bæði af keifaza^m
 ok ozdū sto^oz m^m at h^h úi bezt fallín til ho^oðingía seí h^h þ nei t^t at
 taka þn uanða þot þ taladi fial^lþr keifazín en e^e síðz e^eft guðs uífla
 úð h^h ógín unð keifaza dō e^eft uthafín iustínū ok fē h^h e^e íkóín uallð
 35 fnyz h^h sína lund ulka þ fē f^fuári h^h harði haf^ht ítín; h^hmadz m
 íkíll ok harði sopat sáman ofa fe af ymíffū londū oc lagit nⁿr
 rōuefkan thefaur En t^tb^tíuf sítr m; kyzlat ftozn ríki sín
 o rakandi badū honðū níðz ífemo^ostur iustíní oc ueit f^fio
 gurra uegna f^fataekū þzongdum ok h^htektū m^mkū e^e úallðaz
 40 klerkū eckíu oc þodurlaufū s^s at þ^o f^f fíeck h^h naⁿþ e^e v^v kal

laðz ƿað ƿataek̃ D2otng̃ ƿieck̃ fĩ š̃ è sophia è neƿnd̃ h̃ ú̃ lk̃
 ozungz̃ mikill̃ en miñr̃ god̃ƿ̃ a olmoſvg̃iaedi en keifariñ boñdi
 h̃az̃ ƿt̃ h̃ tekr̃ h̃ optf̃inif̃ m; b̃ũ o2d̃ũ h̃ũ ætlaz̃ t̃ ũ ueizluz̃
 síñ ṽ ƿataekã m̃. feḡ̃ at keifaranf̃ thefauk̃ è sua geƿriñ aḡñ̃ á
 5 ihoƿḡd̃inū̃ è úla tæri ƿeiḡ̃ uƿ̃ aƿi bozð̃ biðz̃ hugf̃a h̃ũfu hañ̃
 kruna m̃ leing̃i riet̃ ƿ̃ eƿ̃ h̃ hellðz̃ ƿ̃ũ ƿ̃m. h̃ imot̃ f̃vaz̃ keifaziñ
 einƿollðū̃ o2d̃ũ heilaḡz̃ ƿ̃az̃ oc tekr̃ š̃ t̃ ozz̃. Ek̃ treyftũ guðĩ m̃
 at k̃gs̃ ḡd̃ziñ̃ m̃ è t̃ ƿ̃ eydaz̃ at fĩ ƿ̃iazhlut̃ leggiz̃ níðz̃ ithefauz̃
 h̃ina k̃g̃inif̃ ƿ̃t̃ ƿ̃lika ƿ̃fio keñdĩ fĩ oš̃ ƿ̃monnunū̃ ƿ̃ è h̃ ƿ̃agðĩ š̃
 10 aƿlit̃ yðz̃ ƿ̃eħzlu ihimínif̃ ƿ̃t̃ ƿ̃ m̃ h̃ũk̃i molr̃ ne ryðz̃ eta yð̃
 út goz̃. Hedañ è líof̃t at d̃t̃iñ byðz̃ ad̃ ṽ leḡim̃ ƿ̃iazhlutĩ úa ifĩ
 ƿ̃eħðzlu ƿ̃ è ihoñð̃ ƿataek̃ oc eƿ̃ ṽ ḡum̃ sua m̃ h̃ ð̃bona of̃f̃ bæð̃
 15 1 if̃ũ líƿi ok oðzu. Oc è blektiz̃ keifariñ̃ íf̃inẽ t̃. oc litlũ síðz̃ f̃ẽ
 h̃ ƿ̃paceraz̃ ũ f̃ina holl̃ úðz̃ h̃im̃ litid̃ níðz̃ agol̃ƿ̃ ok s̃i ad̃ ƿ̃ ṽ
 ḡuð̃ m̃k̃ h̃inif̃ helga ko2f̃. ƿ̃ biðz̃ h̃ h̃ðina ok feḡ̃ ho ho uheril̃
 20 1ḡz̃ hlutr̃ at ƿ̃likt̃ m̃k̃ skolū̃ ũ unð̃ ƿ̃ot̃m̃ t̃da ok an ð̃uol̃ byðz̃
 h̃ ad̃ gol̃ƿ̃ f̃e uƿ̃ b̃t̃id̃ ok sua ḡt̃ ƿ̃inz̃ ƿ̃ ƿ̃az̃ hellur̃ ok lut̃ f̃ama ḡ̃
 ƿ̃it a ollū̃ m̃k̃. h̃inif̃ .h. kroff̃. ok ƿ̃ ollū̃ uƿ̃ teknū̃ ḡloaz̃ ƿ̃ unð̃
 20 gu huñðz̃at̃ finnū̃ ƿ̃ufunð̃ m̃ka en ƿ̃ta gull̃ ṽ f̃ua t̃ k̃oit̃ 1ƿyftṽ
 eƿt̃ fog̃n gamalf̃ manz̃ at fa k̃g̃z̃ è Nazfuf̃ ƿ̃riciuf̃ het haƿðĩ ƿ̃
 ƿ̃olḡit̃ ƿ̃ta ƿ̃ee ok unnat̃ ongū̃ ad̃ níota. ṽ nṽ geƿ̃t̃ agiozƿañ te
 ín at tæra h̃teknū̃ t̃ ƿ̃rellif̃ en ƿataekū̃ t̃ magƿyllaz̃ ok ollū̃ oðz̃
 25 **J** italia 1ðĩ f̃tendz̃ fu k̃kia è t̃iectif̃ heit̃ uox̃ uƿ̃ eiñ ƿ̃ ƿ̃ è ƿ̃urƿtṽ
 ungr̃ m̃ è heinrekr̃ .h. geck̃ h̃ unð̃ kanoka reglũ ƿyft̃ ũ t̃ia en síð̃
 tok̃ h̃ afik̃ bunat̃ ƿ̃ðicatoz̃ fullr̃ m; ƿ̃ræḡ̃ síðf̃æmð̃ f̃ua at eƿt̃ t̃ima
 ṽ h̃ ƿ̃oz̃ sk̃iƿaðz̃ íf̃ial̃ƿ̃ kolonia. h̃ haƿðĩ ƿ̃ær̃ mañdyḡð̃ m; š̃ ƿ̃yft̃a h̃
 eilr̃æðĩ ũ naungiñ. blezud̃ ƿ̃ðicañ t̃ ƿ̃mbuð̃ f̃álnana. sæt̃ aminingaz̃
 30 1leyndū̃ sk̃p̃t̃ m̃álū̃ Sē̃ h̃ è o2ƿ̃iñ ƿ̃oz̃ ikolonia. leḡz̃ t̃ fĩ eiñ meḡt̃
 ug̃ h̃ƿ̃ mykla el̃fkũ ƿ̃m̃ oðz̃ m; h̃inū̃ uilía. Sē̃ fa guðf̃ maðz̃ keñ
 ð̃iz̃ h̃ f̃almðaz̃ t̃ finnaz̃ h̃ialƿar̃ uẽt̃ h̃ h̃ f̃iñ heimolleika taland̃i
 m; h̃ oƿt̃liḡa aƿ̃ rit̃ḡū̃ sk̃ƿand̃i h̃ m̃gaz̃ klaufur̃ t̃ hugañ̃ huað̃
 anaƿ̃ inḡḡz̃ m; ƿ̃ k̃iær̃ heimolleikĩ ð̃ƿiz̃ ƿ̃iñ ƿ̃ ad̃ biðia ƿ̃oz̃ heinr̃
 35 1k̃ eƿ̃ h̃ andaz̃ ƿy2̃ è h̃ m̃ð̃i h̃ btaz̃ h̃ eƿ̃ ƿ̃ ð̃e guðf̃ uil̃. ok eƿt̃
 fĩ andlát̃ uaeñt̃ ƿ̃iñ æ̃ b̃t̃inḡ̃ ƿ̃oz̃f̃iñf̃ en ƿ̃æt̃ è ƿ̃ t̃ ad̃ ƿ̃oz̃ heiñz̃
 ekr̃ b̃t̃uz̃ einū̃ síðfom̃̃ m̃ f̃ua t̃ ozz̃ takand̃i. Ek̃ uil̃ feñðã ƿ̃ik̃ t̃ h̃ƿ̃
 40 m̃iñh̃ ƿ̃ eyzeñð̃if̃ at ƿ̃ũ b̃ir̃ h̃ k̃uediũ mína ok ƿ̃ m; á hedañ iƿ̃
 sí̃ h̃ è haƿã flikañ haat̃ f̃e adz̃ f̃urã f̃inã úkã hellðz̃ sí̃ h̃ f̃ua oc f̃ua
 ƿ̃ ok ƿ̃ta ḡa oc f̃ua talat̃ f̃er̃ b̃ðiñ uƿ̃ imot̃ h̃im̃ h̃ũfũ h̃im̃uik̃liḡa h̃ è
 klæððz̃ h̃ b̃z̃ aƿoſt̃iñṽ sk̃inandã ḡif̃teíñ ok alla uega b̃ziaz̃ aƿ̃ ƿ̃ anñ

- at iŋg ū afionuna geingz fē ein mur grīfeinū fetr h̄ unðzaz
 miok. oc ftt̄ mīn fæli h̄za h̄u heḟ m̄kia þín blezad̄i þozinf gín
 fteín oc mur íafionu þoz f̄uad̄i h̄m blid̄līga. Gímfteín abofu f̄kíært
 f̄tañd̄i b̄z got̄ utn̄í mín̄ h̄ínlīḟe En mur yḟ afionu m̄k̄ þ̄ upf̄mí
 5 d̄í ē ek eḟl̄d̄i gud̄i m; þ̄zemz ḡínū heilræðū. þ̄ðicanaz ozdū ok f̄kriḟ
 tamalū sē h̄ ē kōít þ̄za tali kēr gud̄f̄ mod̄ ok ē þ̄oz heinrekr lit
 r h̄ar nalægð. feḟ h̄ s̄ b̄zod̄nū þ̄i ðt̄nḡ mín̄ ḡzæðanf̄ mod̄ ē mik u
 alði s̄ ad̄ þ̄íona þ̄ līt a ok ūð r̄ieilīga h̄ūz ombon þ̄ ē at famlaga
 ē þ̄līk̄ fua blezad̄. Eḟt̄ fua talat h̄ūḟr̄ f̄yn̄ nu ē þ̄ t̄ at taka at h̄ḟ
 10 ín f̄teñdz daglīga m; h̄zygd̄ ok bæñ h̄ þ̄oz heinrikr m̄ fua leinḡi dueliá
 ok h̄ míoḡ mæðð aḟ b̄iðf̄tuñð tala2 fua Eḟ m; þ̄ līḟi feḟ h̄ ūe fan
 leikr ē off̄ þ̄ðicaz þa hæḟði þ̄ mik ath̄ f̄tyzkia þ̄ v̄ ē ek el̄fkad̄i miok
 ok fē h̄ ē at þ̄tū kōín nalīga ē fua n̄r̄ t̄ ætlat at r̄ieí iḟn̄ punkt̄
 kēr f̄eñðimad̄z þ̄ozf̄inf̄ heim̄s̄ innand̄i f̄iñe oll þau eínka mal̄ f̄em
 15 f̄im̄ v̄ bod̄ín fua ūlīga at þ̄ f̄ina rok̄f̄emð máti f̄ín a ongua luñð
 ū ðyliaz at þ̄līk̄ uitran̄ v̄ aḟ gud̄f̄ f̄pek̄i ut geinḡín styzkiz hon
 nv miok íháztanu tekr up̄ blod̄ f̄ín oc letr̄ ē þ̄oz heinzīkr̄ haḟði f̄
 ðū ðagha f̄kḟat̄ h̄. ok ein̄ ðaḡ h̄ leff̄ f̄ín blod̄ h̄neiḡ h̄ f̄iḡ yḟ ein̄ f̄ma
 f̄ínr̄ fua f̄kḟat̄ iḟ let̄ Sup̄ dulce iḟu peçt̄ rec̄ub̄ite ē aīe n̄re f̄itím
 20 extinḡuite þ̄ nozrænaz fua þ̄i yḟh̄neiḡit̄ f̄æt̄ bof̄t̄ iḟu oc f̄lockuñð þ̄
 f̄ta f̄alu yðúar sē þ̄i rit̄nḡ h̄zæriz̄ iḟr̄ín̄h̄ m̄n̄i ē h̄ leff̄ h̄a m; inztv
 aftundan̄ fē nu r̄ieḟ̄ feḟi h̄ līḟand̄i þ̄oz heinz̄ekr̄. ḟ̄r̄z̄ h̄ up̄ iand̄aḟ
 ē fer̄ f̄ik̄ f̄íta h̄ia ð̄ín̄i iḟu ok h̄neiḡiaz̄ yḟ f̄i blezada b̄ziof̄t̄ en̄ f̄ieḟ̄
 þ̄oz heinz̄ek̄ hallaz̄ annan̄ ueḡ ath̄ mote. J̄ḟaz̄ri annð̄ f̄yn̄ ū h̄ fua h̄t̄
 25 b̄i ḟ̄p̄ín̄ oz̄ heim̄inū at þ̄ fē h̄ ū ath̄ líkamanū̄ hey2ði h̄ h̄úki ne f̄a
 oc r̄ieḟ̄ afamz̄i f̄tuñðu kōā h̄ ambaḟ̄t̄ f̄eḡand̄i ad̄ boñd̄i f̄itr̄ biðan̄
 ði buín̄ t̄ b̄z. líðz̄ þa aḟ h̄ hoglīga hugf̄koz̄ þ̄unḡín̄ oc h̄ūḟr̄ aḟtr̄ j̄
 ūallð̄ f̄kynf̄eme. f̄yllði fua gud̄f̄ mad̄z̄ tuiḟallīga gud̄f̄ o2ð huggand̄i
 konunaz̄ h̄íazta f̄ramaz̄ en̄ hon̄ kuñe beida **capitulum** ◦
 30 **A** fomu f̄tund̄ oc ðegi f̄em̄ f̄æll̄ ðom̄in̄icuf̄ añð̄aḟiz̄ fa ein̄ p̄ziozr̄
 þ̄ klauf̄tr̄ er̄ b̄zix̄ia heit̄r̄ þ̄uulika f̄yn̄ fa p̄rio2̄ het̄ gualo oc ūð
 eḟt̄r̄ t̄ima líðín̄ b̄rix̄enf̄is̄ byf̄cup̄ h̄im̄ f̄ynd̄iz̄ h̄im̄ op̄naz̄ h̄ímín̄ín̄ oc
 aḟ þ̄zi up̄lok̄nḡ f̄enduz̄ n̄iðz̄ f̄uḟ̄ t̄ueír̄ eḟt̄ h̄úíū̄ gud̄f̄ einglaz̄ ru
 nu up̄ n̄iðz̄ geḟz̄ h̄m̄ þ̄oz̄i fua huaf̄t̄ auga. h̄ m; á up̄ yḟ h̄īna
 35 f̄er̄ h̄ t̄ eḟztu hluta f̄t̄iganna at an̄h̄f̄ eḟzta hlut̄ hellðz̄ f̄ialḟr̄
 iḟc̄ x̄. en̄ an̄h̄f̄ maria mod̄ f̄i. J̄neð̄ hlut̄ miðil̄ f̄t̄igana f̄i h̄ f̄æti b̄
 uír̄ ok̄ m̄ f̄it̄ianda m; hulðu hoḟði fē m; ◦ ē ḟ̄r̄tr̄ bunad̄z̄. ok
 þ̄ næf̄t̄ lyḟtaz̄ f̄t̄iḡn̄ hoglīga þ̄ lint̄ atak̄ gu ◦ fua iloḟt̄ up̄ þ̄ t̄
 ad̄ hum̄nef̄k̄ eḟglaz̄ ruín̄ ímote f̄æḟ̄ h̄lod̄ū ◦and̄i skilr̄ fua íf̄ið̄
 40 uztu m̄ f̄y íne oc b̄ð̄ Ḡralðe á h̄iín̄ lykz̄ aḟtr̄ f̄el̄ð̄i f̄ ðaupl̄iḟ̄ m̄

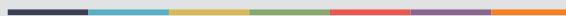
Nothur heilagur faðer byggjaði j eyði mozk ú upp gþin meyftu fun þat   þa
   madz   j m'rlı sueruf oc uauku ú hf andı fiandı ıııj skıpaner heilag
 maıa þ fialfı g e fegzfa skıpon   þra m   ıafn    j þeffı uerold ıııı ıı

20 sua þrfein̄ úð aþrreka. ꝥkiv beínu a valþioꝝfioðv̄. .ij. nottv̄ rir̄ tibvr̄n̄. M̄
 b Hakon .k. fanġi magñ .k. feðz sīn̄ ꝥ þa sok á h̄i haꝝði íafat nućkum þr̄ aꝝ ríkí
 sinu vallðim̄ ðana ꝥġi. Ellðz uppi í. íj̄ ftoðū ꝥ suñan ꝥ hellz þ̄ ꝥ f̄ðogū
 t̄ hauz m̄ s̄ myklū bysnū á eyðði lítla h̄að ꝥ mik̄ aꝝ hoznaꝝði ꝥ lons
 hū r̄i s̄ á eyðði .v. þīġm̄ leid̄ h̄ m̄ hliop knappa fellz iokull f̄m isío þ̄ s̄ ē ú
 xx̄x ðiup m̄ gziotꝝalli aur ꝥ saur á þ̄ urðu síðan slett̄ sañð. tok ꝥ aꝝ
 íj̄. ꝥkiu sokn̄ m̄ ollu á hoꝝi ꝥ rauða læk. sañðn tok im̄ian leḡ asletu en
 25 rak saman ískaꝝla s̄ á úla sa h̄in. oskuꝝfall b̄ ñðz ū lð s̄ á spozrækt ū þ̄
 rylgði ꝥ þ̄su á uikriñ saz reka Dzoñū ꝥ ueftriozðū á úla maðu skíp ġġa
 ꝥ síra þrfein hallzson f̄ utan. ðzeþiñ ion b̄ndicz son. vtkuama þpa þarīs
 sigð̄ sonar huñ xvij`ða' skalhollz b̄þ. ioñ. b̄. eirek̄.s̄. f̄ h̄ t̄ hola ē m̄ meira. ík
 ilríkí ē aðz. stīgu neꝝnð̄ b̄þ̄ alð næfta .ð. eꝝt̄ mikals. M̄. ē skíp̄ kō alð. 1
 30 not̄ ꝥ allraheilaḡ. M̄. bzaut ispon ueftr̄ ꝥ myrū ꝥ tyndiz mikull hluti
 goziñs āðaðiz h̄ra aꝝġmr aboti
 E Jnnocentiuf̄ v̄i en kioziñ. vrbañ .v̄. albzíghu Jfuþiøð fyftvz
 fon. magnufar ꝥġf het sier geꝝa ꝥġf naꝝn huaþan aꝝ Magñ̄ k̄r þlyði J
 gautland ok íat þar ū tíma. vígðz gunftein̄ aboti t̄ þingeyra
 35 Anðaðiz síra þorfein hallz fon ī f̄efto t̄ib̄
 Hakon k̄gz ꝥieck̄ m̄gretar ðot̄t̄ vallðim̄f̄ ðana ꝥġf .O. blankuꝝro ðroi
 ñġ magnufar ꝥġf ok fon o kongf. Godífkalk þyꝝefkr̄ m̄ hoꝝ ram
 nozegi rænti h̄i yuar ok Nicholaꝝf broðða fon ok en̄ þleire m̄n aþra .O. þo
 rariñ̄ b̄þ̄ ískalahlolte broðir jon aꝝ v̄e uigðz til uðeymaabote aꝝ jone
 40 b̄þi eirekf̄ syne holum arne b̄þ̄ f̄uæla aꝝ þ̄æreyū f̄igldi b̄t aꝝ íflañði

- er íþ þyra súmíð harði orþið sæhaða huē t̄ lanzínf ú. vm uet̄n̄ ◦ m; þ
 arne þri. þozfteín bondi ok olaþr petr̄f son kōu ut t̄ suñan lð. v̄ þozfteime geþin
 logfogn t̄ nozþan en h̄ ílði skupa logman t̄ suñan. þar aozan ú fim skupuð h̄ð
 ftiozn `ok fyfla' halþt lañðit en olaþr ú skupuð h̄ðftiozn t̄ nozþan ok þar með fyfla v̄
 5 halþt lañðit eingi letr eþa breþ komu aþ paþanf curia ne aþ erkíþri til ftyr
 kíngar jone byskupi þui uozu eyþd̄iḡ huñ somu oc fyr j̄sínū skuln̄ngi ath þ
 fyndiz jon byskup ulogl̄gha hallða ftolín en jon byfcup kalladiz með ollu logl̄
 gha t̄ ftolfinf komín þ rak h̄ fyflu ueftr jsueif̄ toku fleif̄ m̄n udr̄ h̄m ned
 s̄izan n boñdi a silþraftodū þta sama súm̄ kō ok t̄ íslðz yuaz holmz h̄ baz bzeþ
 10 ok boðfkap huē t̄ þpftolaña huñ h̄ m; tok aþ paþanf nuncio þ è guide.. het oc
 þa ú nykōín til nozeghf
 þozzt fkip è þoz t̄ Íflanz aþ nozeghe ε a v̄ Nazfa þozleif̄ fon Vigr t̄þa alþr þpc
 t̄ gzænlðz
 Vigðz hra oddgeif̄ þpc t̄ fkalahollz hín xvij`de' kom ut magnuf jonf fon m; sua
 15 hlidoañde bzeþ út tekín aþ fna uinallða è þa geymde k̄gf J̄n̄figl̄ ath huñ fa leik̄
 madz fem è h̄iellde jon þpc eir̄.f. reitan hola þpc skilldi luka k̄ge xij̄ m̄k ok v̄ij̄
 auztuē en bidenðz hoþdu þ ath eingu
 Olbut gudny abbadif ath ftad en vigð fyft̄ oddbiozg aþ k̄kiu biegi aþ jone þpc
 kō eif̄ fkip aþ nozeghe t̄ h̄þn lð j kolbeinf ar óf v̄ juar
 20 gallte þ̄m̄ skipfínf
 tolf̄ h̄ðmeñ ðæmdu en xij̄ radmeñ samþycktu at þyfk̄ m̄n skilldu einge f̄etr
 haða jnoz'e'ghe þ̄m̄z en eþt̄ þ̄nū lðzínf uana en eþ þ̄r ḡiozd̄i oðzu uif̄u skilldi allt
 þza goz up̄tækt oc þalla j k̄gf ġð h̄za alþr þp kō t̄ gzænlðz harðe þ̄ þa
 úið þpf lauf̄ vm xix̄ áz. þof̄tæín laugmadz æyulþf fon þangín
 25 aþ þyfk̄ū m̄m hæz h̄ agud ε h̄ hælgha m̄ s̄ t̄ lauf̄n̄ gæþandæ sær
 añad naþn æn h̄ harðæ
 stozmr `kk' tok ihitarðal Neukziad̄i fies þozlacr narþa Jon oz hitarðal. Græn
 landz huærn fauk undz uíð nozeg en m̄ komuz aller l̄þf t̄ landu Vtanþoz
 jonf b̄þc ◦
 30 fex k̄gi tok aþ ◦ olaþf þ̄ði t̄ iad̄ skialta



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