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THE WRITTEN RUNE

ALPHABETS AND RUNE-ROWS IN MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE CONTINENT AND THE BRITISH ISLES

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to create a fundamental historical and geographical framework for the study of runes written in medieval manuscripts. It does so by examining the transmission of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian rune-rows and runic alphabets within the wider context of contemporary medieval scholarship. The focal points of this study are the questions of the origin of the phenomenon, and how it developed between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, as evidenced by manuscripts currently held by continental and English libraries.

In order to contextualise this study, a brief introduction is dedicated to the concept of runic manuscripts and to an overview of the scholarship which has been carried out on this material thus far. The observations from this discussion are then used to define the limitations of this work. Finally, a number of the issues currently faced by scholars with regard to defining the field of manuscript runology are examined, and the comparison with its epigraphical counterpart is made.

The study includes thirty-nine manuscripts with alphabets or rune-rows; these are listed and described in a catalogue which comprises the main body of the thesis. Each manuscript receives a description of its history and contents, an analysis of the runic material it contains, and an examination of the immediate and wider contexts in which the runes appear.

The information gathered in the catalogue is collectively analysed in the final chapter, which focuses on determining the origin and development of the phenomenon of runes in manuscripts. The examination of origin uses commonalities between the contexts of the runes to achieve insight into the medieval perception of manuscript runes, and to construct a possible point of origin. The development section then follows the evolution of the tradition and compares and contrasts its execution on the Continent and in the British Isles. Finally, these results are used to indicate the place of written runes within medieval learning, and to construct a general framework which can be used to build upon for future research.

DEDICATION

Ik wil deze doctoraatsverhandeling graag opdragen aan mijn peter en grootvader, Michel Van Renterghem, die haar voltooiing niet meer heeft kunnen meemaken. Bedankt voor de oneindige steun, de interesse, en het geloof dat wat ik ook deed, het altijd waardevol was.

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I owe thanks to my friends, both academic and non-academic, for consistently pretending to be interested in my studies, and insisting that every achievement, however insignificant, merited a celebration. Special mention goes to my colleagues and friends from C27 for the many chats, distractions, and the general atmosphere of collegiality. Christina Mitchell should also be mentioned here, for her kind provision of artistic aid, even from across the Atlantic Ocean. Finally, Siobhán Hearne deserves thanks for being the world's most supportive friend (and simultaneously the worst pep-talker), and a wonderful housemate. Thank you for teaching me that everything can be solved with a cup of tea. The family Goudie-Brown should also be thanked here for their speedy proofreading, and endless sympathy.

My family deserves gratitude for their support, proofreading, and their dubiously executed but certainly well-meaning encouragement. You were right, the members of Monty Python were not the only ones who needed to 'get on with it'.

Finally, my greatest thanks go to Kenneth Goudie, for the patient support, the not-so-patient help with formatting, the never-ending encouragement, and for always being there for me.

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London, British Library, Additional MS 10374: drawing from T. D. Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe* (Manchester: 1872), p. 81.

INTRODUCTION

When the runic script is discussed, both in scholarly and in more general literature, it is often presented as an early script used by Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons to incise messages into objects made of stone, wood, metal, bone, and other solid materials.[1] Only the more detailed or comprehensive studies mention the phenomenon in the context of a different medium: the manuscript. References to this medium are, even in these comprehensive studies, often added as an afterthought, however; for instance: '[Runes] are not normally written with ink on parchment or paper (but cf. p. 121)'.[2] This is remarkable, since the appearance of runes in manuscripts, named the *runica manuscript*a tradition by Derolez in his pioneering study of the topic, was a widespread phenomenon during the Middle Ages in both Western Europe and Scandinavia. For some time, the writing of runes in manuscripts even happened simultaneously with the carved or epigraphical tradition. This manuscript tradition has not gone unexamined, but frequently only a selection of the material is explored, for instance the runes appearing in Old English or Old Norse poetry, or the runes used in glossing. Derolez and Heizmann are the only scholars to have provided something of an overview of the material.[3] However, Derolez focused on the English tradition, and Heizmann only collected the Icelandic manuscripts with runes. There has not been any research into the wider tradition, nor has an overview of all *runica manuscripta* been produced.

Admittedly, a study of all runic manuscripts would be a large undertaking, yet Derolez's work has indicated that it would be beneficial to look at the wider picture of the production of this type of material: the manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon runes he collected were written both on the Continent and in the British Isles during roughly the same time period (eighth to fourteenth centuries) in the Middle Ages.

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[1] M. P. Barnes, *Runes: A Handbook* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012), p. 2.
[2] Ibid.
[3] R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Brugge: De Tempel, 1954); W. Heizmann, 'Runica Manuscripta: Die Isländische Überlieferung', in *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung: Abhandlungen des Vierten Internationalen Symposiums über Runen und Runeninschriften in Göttingen vom 4.-9. August 1995*, ed. by K. Düwel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), pp. 513-35.

No comparison has been made between the Continent and the British Isles, however, and questions regarding the differences between the types of runic writing produced and the way in which the material was treated in both locations remain unanswered. Additionally, Scandinavian runes also appear in the British Isles and on the Continent during the same period, and were sometimes even written in the same scriptoria. This material is in many cases still to be examined in detail,[4] and no attempts have been made to look at both types of material, Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian, in conjunction despite their closeness in production. A more detailed examination, which expands upon the aforementioned studies, is therefore long overdue.

One of the most interesting questions, especially considering the epigraphical origin and the dominance of carved material overall, is where the idea of writing runes in manuscripts came from and how it developed into a tradition during the Middle Ages. These questions are the focal point of this thesis. However, questions such as these are rarely straightforward to answer: partly because only limited material survives, partly because of the different types of material, and partly because there is seemingly little consistency in where it appears. To establish the origins of the phenomenon, it is therefore prudent to look at the texts and materials surrounding the runes, because they may give an insight into the perception of this alphabet in the medieval scriptorium. For instance, if runes appear in a purely linguistic context, looking further into early medieval language studies may hold a clue; similarly, if the alphabet is used to write secret messages, cryptography may be the direction to follow. Context and function are therefore important to establish an idea of the place this material took in medieval scholarly culture. However, before these elements can be examined, it is necessary to establish the general parameters of these types of manuscripts, and set out the limitations of this study. After all, as

[4] Derolez examined a number of continental manuscripts with Scandinavian runes in his publication from 1965: R. Derolez, 'Scandinavian Runes in Continental Manuscripts' in *Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Francis P. Magoun Jr*, ed. by J. Bessinger and R. P. Creed (New York: New York University Press, 1965), pp. 30-39.

suggested earlier, it will not be possible to examine every single runic manuscript here. Instead, the current study examines manuscripts which contain Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian alphabets and rune-rows dated between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, and which are currently held in continental and British libraries. This is done in the form of a catalogue containing thirty-nine manuscripts, and an analysis chapter which examines these manuscripts as a tradition and combines the observations made in the catalogue to establish a hypothesis on the origin and development of *runica manuscripta*.

PARAMETERS OF THIS STUDY

A detailed discussion of what exactly *runica manuscripta* are, and how this material has been perceived by scholarship follows in the next chapter, but in order to establish the parameters of this study a number of basic elements such as the runic alphabet, chronology and geography, and context are explained first.

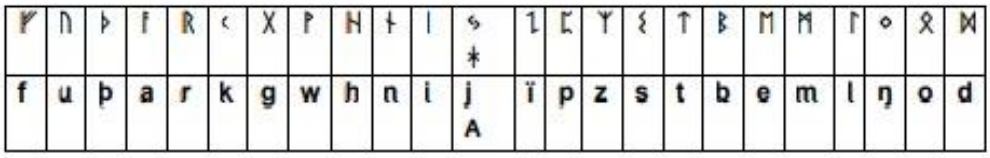
Over one hundred *runica manuscripta* have been found in the British Isles, mainland Scandinavia, Iceland, and on the Continent; they include a variety of runes, runic alphabets, and languages. These are all elements which need consideration when examining runic manuscripts. The most important element to grasp, however, in general and especially in a study of runic alphabets and rune-rows, is which kind of characters are included, and how to differentiate between them. Runes, when collectively presented, appear in their own particular sequence. This sequence is called a rune-row, or a *fuþorc* or *fuþark* after the first six characters. Medieval scribes, however, were trained in the Latin tradition, and used the Roman alphabet to write their texts. They therefore often changed the specific sequence of the rune-row into an alphabetised version, to match the Roman alphabet with which they were familiar. However, the letters of the Roman alphabet do not correspond fully to the characters used to write texts in Old Norse or Old English, as the sounds needed for Latin differed from those needed for these Germanic languages. Scribes often struggled to match up both sets of characters and frequently had to make some adjustments. These adjustments are often indicative of how well the scribe understood the material. For the purpose of this thesis the difference in sequence is important, and the distinction is therefore maintained throughout: the term rune-

row is used for the original sequence, while runic alphabet indicates the alphabetised version.

The terms *fuþorc* and *fuþark* also indicate the original sequence, but further specify whether the runes are respectively Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian, another important distinction for this study. Generally speaking, four main types of rune-rows can be distinguished: the older *fuþark* (Scandinavian and South Germanic), the Anglo-Frisian or Anglo-Saxon rune-row or *fuþorc*, the (Scandinavian) younger *fuþark*, and the medieval *fuþork* (again Scandinavian).[5] The older *fuþark* was in use between roughly 100 AD and 700 AD in different parts of the Germanic world. The *fuþorc* was used between 450 and 1000 AD in Britain (mainly England) and Frisia, and contains a larger number of characters than the other rune-rows (in that way increasing the difficulty of alphabetisation). The younger *fuþark* appeared in the North of Europe around 700 AD and developed into the medieval *fuþork* around the late tenth century, to be fully formed by around 1200. Both of these alphabets were used for inscriptions found in the British Isles. Within the medieval *fuþork* a distinction is usually made between the runes used in the East Norse linguistic area, and the West Norse linguistic area.[6] It is important to note here that the distinctions between these rune-rows are based on epigraphy, but since they correspond for the most part with the manuscript tradition, they are functional here.[7] The older *fuþark*, however, does not appear in any manuscripts, because, based on the current evidence, the *runica manuscripta* tradition only begins after this rune-row had already been reduced to create the younger *fuþark*.

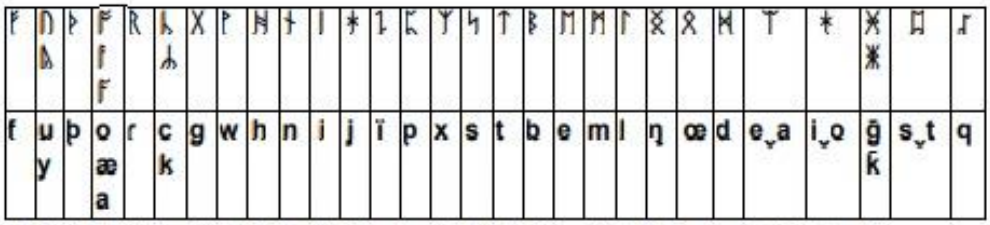
The earliest example of the phenomenon of runic writing in manuscripts was found on the Continent: the manuscript Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 207 [11], is dated to the late eighth century and displays Anglo-Saxon runes. There is an earlier manuscript which contains runes, Kassel, Landesbibliothek, MS Theol. F. 65, which was written in the sixth century, but it is thought that the runes were only added to

[5] Barnes, p. 4.
[6] Ibid., pp. 4-7.
[7] The standard epigraphical rune-rows used for comparison here are from *System of Transliteration: The Oslo Standard* (forthcoming), p. 1.



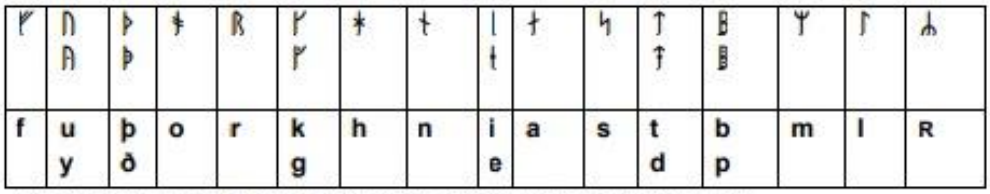
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Fig. 1. The Oslo standard for transliteration of older runes. (Sigla + O)



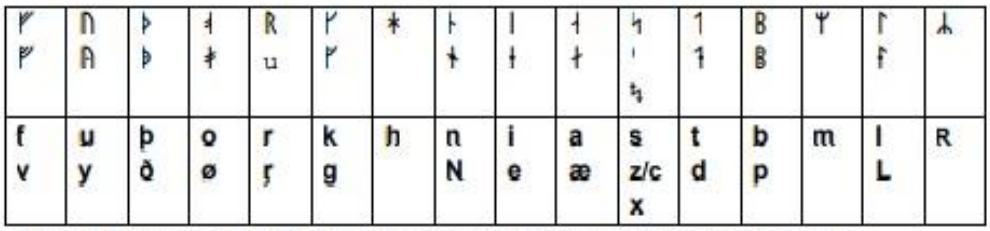
f	u y	þ	o æ a	r	c k	g	w	h	n	i	j	ï	p	x	s	t	b	e	m	l	ŋ	œ	d	e˳a	i˳o	ǧ ǩ	s˳t	q

Fig. 2. The Oslo standard for transliteration of Anglo-Saxon and Frisian runes. (Sigla + AF)



f	u y	þ ð	o	r	k g	h	n	i e	a	s	t d	b p	m	l	R

Fig. 3. The Oslo standard for transliteration of Viking Age runes. (Sigla + V)



f v	u y	þ ǫ	o ø	r ʀ	k g	h	n N	i e	a æ	s z/c x	t d	b p	m	l L	R

Fig. 4. The Oslo standard for transliteration of East Norse medieval runes. (Sigla + EM)



f v	u ü	þ ð	o ø ǫ	r	k g	h x	n	i e	a æ	s z/c	t d	b p	m	l	y

Fig. 5. The Oslo standard for transliteration of West Norse medieval runes. (Sigla + WM)

the manuscript in the late eighth or early ninth century.[8] It is important to keep in mind, especially for the later discussions of chronology, that the dates mentioned apply first and foremost to the runes. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to provide a date for the runic material, as no consistent way for dating *runica manuscripta* has been developed yet. In those cases where the dating of the runes is unclear, the age of the manuscript (or the relevant part of the manuscript) is used as

[8] Derolez (1954), p. 270.

a reference point. The Kassel manuscript is still early, however, but not included here, since the runes are scratched into the binding of the manuscript rather than written on the pages. Although this type of rune usage is related to the scriptorium, these manuscripts are not part of the current study because they are not technically 'written' and also for reasons of space.[9]

The earliest Scandinavian manuscript with runes originates from Denmark and dates to around 1200: it is best known as the *Codex Runicus* (Copenhagen, Arnamagnaean Institute, MS 28 8vo), and contains a Danish law code for the Skåne province (now part of Sweden), written entirely in medieval Scandinavian runes.[10] It should be remembered here that this manuscript is still early medieval from a Scandinavian point of view (though 1200 is already the High Middle Ages in the West of Europe), as the Scandinavian Middle Ages follow a long Viking Age and begin around 1100 and end around 1600. 1100 is taken as a start date because a number of major cultural innovations happened in the early twelfth century: the establishment of the Church and other religious institutions, the emergence of many monasteries and churches in Norway, and the rise of the Old Norse literary tradition.[11] The monastic influence introduced the manuscript tradition to Scandinavia, and established an intellectual culture, yet it took another century for runes to be written down. This could possibly be explained by the fact that around the same time the medieval *fuþork* was beginning to establish itself, and carvings using this rune-row would continue until approximately 1500 (with a few later traditions).[12] There was therefore no need to write runes down in manuscripts, and the need for other types of texts would have been met by the Roman alphabet. However, because the Scandinavian tradition only came into existence later and was heavily influenced by European knowledge and tendencies,[13] it is possible that this

[9] For scholarship on manuscripts containing scratched runes, see for instance A. Nievergelt, *Althochdeutsch in Runenschrift: Geheimschriftliche Volkssprachige Griffelglossen* (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2009), though this work focuses primarily on German manuscripts.
[10] *Det Arnamagnæanske haandskrift no. 28, 8vo, Codex Runicus: Udgivet i Fotolitografisk Aftryk af Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske Legat* (Kopenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1877), p. iii.
[11] S. G. Eriksen, 'Introduction: Intellectual Culture and Medieval Scandinavia' in *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Scandinavia, c. 1100-1350*, ed. by S. G. Eriksen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 1-34, p. 10.
[12] Barnes, p. 99.
[13] Eriksen, p. 15.

tradition is derived from the Western model (a hypothesis further suggested by the way in which runes are used in Scandinavian manuscripts). This is something worth examining further, but perhaps less revealing about the origin of the phenomenon (though of course this tradition has its own origin and development). For that reason, the focus of this thesis is on the Western tradition, i.e. England and the Continent, which was established first.

Chronologically, the latest *runica manuscripta* appear in Iceland. The most recent manuscript is Reykjavík, Landbókasafn Íslands, LBS 2881 8vo, which has been dated to the twentieth century. However, the Icelandic tradition is slightly different to the others, as the earliest manuscript, incidentally the Icelandic runic poem, dates to the fifteenth century,[14] at a time when the *runica manuscripta* tradition ends in most other places. This is not surprising since, runologically speaking, Iceland has often been seen as separate. The epigraphic runic tradition started relatively late on the island, with the earliest runic inscription dating to the eleventh or early twelfth century, and the latest to approximately the seventeenth century.[15] Taking into account the ties with Norway, runes were a concept which the Icelanders were familiar with, although Bauer believes more as a curiosity than as a practical means of communication.[16] Hagland, however, has suspected Icelandic influences on the Bergen rune-sticks dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth century.[17] The manuscript tradition is similar in a way, as much of the Icelandic tradition appears to be the product of later scholars examining the earlier rune-traditions out of a historical or linguistic interest. The Icelandic *runica manuscripta* tradition thus

[14] The poem was found in two manuscripts, AM 687d 4° from c. 1500, and AM 461 12° from between 1539 and 1558 (R.I. Page, *The Icelandic Runic Poem* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham Press, 1998), p. 1, 10); R. I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), p. 66.

[15] J. E. Knirk, 'The Viðey Rune-stick: Iceland's Earliest Runic Inscription' in *Viking Settlements and Viking Society: Papers from the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Viking Congress, Reykjavík and Reykholt, 16-23 August 2009*, ed. by S. Sigmundsson (Reykjavík: Hið Íslendzka Fornleifafélag & University of Iceland Press, 2011), 260-70, p. 268; A. Bauer, 'Die Späten Runica Manuscripta aus Island. Was Versteht Man unter *Málrúnir*?', *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies*, 1 (2010), p. 198.

[16] Bauer (2010), p. 198.

[17] J. R. Hagland, 'Runematerialet frå gravingane i Trondheim og Bergen som kjelder til islandshandelen i mellomalderen', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 67 (1988), pp. 145-57.

appears to be more about analysis than production. For that reason it is also not examined here. Thus, focusing solely on the Western European tradition, the end-date for this material is the fourteenth century: on the Continent, the the most recent manuscript found thus far is London, British Library, Sloane MS 3854, which has been dated to the fourteenth century,[18] while the last runic manuscript produced in the insular tradition is London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D. XVIII, which dates to the second half of the fourteenth century.[19]

Since the era of the *runica manuscripta*, with the exception of Scandinavia and Iceland, stretches over approximately six centuries, a key period has been selected for the purposes of this thesis. This key period will start in the eighth century, to include the beginning of the tradition, and will incorporate the time during which most of the material was produced. For the Western tradition, this ranges from the end of the eighth until the end of the twelfth century, since only few manuscripts were produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, and a stagnation in production can be detected at the end of the twelfth century. Limiting the period in this way allows for an overview of the tradition and its development, while restricting the quantity of manuscripts to a number which is appropriate for the size of this study.

As noted earlier, this examination has also been restricted to the early tradition from the West of Europe, and thus focuses on the manuscripts originating from scriptoria on the Continent and in the British Isles. However, as Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 207 [10] has already demonstrated, the place of origin is not necessarily representative of the type of runes in the manuscript: the earliest continental *runicum manuscriptum* contains Anglo-Saxon runes, whereas the earliest insular manuscript of this type, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 572 [2], shows a

[18] Derolez (1954), p. 326; 'Detailed record for Sloane 3854', *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, The British Library < http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=764> [Accessed February 2018]

[19] 'Cotton MS Titus D XVIII', *Archives and Manuscripts*, The British Library <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?fn=search&ct=search&initialSearch=true&tab=local&indx=1&dum=true&srt=rank&vid=IAMS_VU2&frbg=&vl%282126785UI0%29=toc&vl%281UI0%29=contains&vl%28freeText0%29=%22IAMS040-001103581%22&Submit=Search> [Accessed June 2017].

coded *fuþark*. Additionally, there are a number of manuscripts like Oxford, St John's College, MS 17 [7] which contain both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian runes. For this reason the manuscripts in this thesis have been organised by location of origin rather than by type of runes. Of course, as with dating, it is not always possible to pinpoint exactly where a manuscript was written. To circumvent this problem, the manuscripts are divided into two wider groups: insular and continental. In order to further restrict the number of manuscripts, and for reasons of accessibility, the manuscripts examined here are those which are currently held by insular and continental institutions.

It has been noted that for research into the origin and development of this material the manuscript context in which it appears is of importance, as it may give an indication of early associations with the material, or more generally how it was perceived by the medieval scribe. Even without a detailed study, it can be observed that runic material appears in a variety of contexts, yet a number of elements accompany the runes more often than not. These elements are basic, and in most cases intended to explain or clarify the runes, or to provide further explanation of their meaning or use. For that reason, I have referred to these as encyclopaedic information. Not every *runicum manuscriptum* has been studied, so there is no comprehensive list of all the contextual material, but much of this encyclopaedic material has been recorded by Derolez in his work. So far, three main groups of encyclopaedic information can be distinguished: transliterations, rune-names, and explanations provided in treatises. This material is also what is studied most frequently by scholars, especially those interested in presenting a general study on runes. Derolez comments on this as follows:

> [*Fuþorcs*, alphabets, and the runic poems] provide us with an amount of essential evidence on the runes: they contain all we know about the names of runes, and some welcome additional evidence on the order and division into three sections. All scholars who have discussed runes in a general way, and especially those who have dealt with the problem of the origins, have referred to the material included in manuscripts. But their attitude towards

> this material is far from uniform; in fact it varies from unjustified scepticism to uncritical acceptance.[20]

He makes a valid point, and the reason for these attitudes is likely because these elements do not appear, or at least very rarely, in epigraphy, which means that most scholarly commentators are unfamiliar with the material. Barnes does mention a few inscriptions from Gotland which contain rune-names (though much later than those of the manuscript tradition),[21] while Elliott and Page note that there are also inscriptions which employ both the Roman and the runic alphabet, such as the inscription on St Cuthbert's coffin in Durham Cathedral or the Manchester runic ring. They also reference identical texts in Roman letters and runes, appearing side by side on the Falstone hogback. [22] Only the latter is really comparable with transliterations, however. It is one of the intentions of this thesis to detach this material from the value judgments made in the past, and to discuss it in a more nuanced manner.

The provision of transliterations is a straightforward method of identifying runes as a method of writing. It is the most frequently appearing encyclopaedic information, and is typical of the *fuþorcs/fuþark*s and the runic alphabet material which is focused upon here. The scribe or annotator usually adds Roman values above or below the rune-row or runic alphabet to show with which Roman letters the runes correspond. It is also possible in some cases that Roman letters were written first and the runes supplied afterwards. As mentioned earlier, transliterations are interesting additions to study, because they can indicate how far the writer was aware of correspondence in values between the Roman and the runic alphabet. They are also valuable tools to recognise copying, because frequently characters were invented or supplied from elsewhere so both alphabets would line up neatly. Similar mistakes in different manuscripts can indicate manuscript relations, or even the same scribe or annotator. Transliterations, because they are

[20] Derolez (1954), pp. xxvi-xxvii.
[21] Barnes, p. 153.
[22] R. W. V. Elliott, *Runes: An Introduction*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 95; Page (1999), p. 115.

written in the Roman alphabet, are also often used to date the runic material. However, it is important to be cautious here, as it is not unknown for later owners or students of manuscripts to supply these values to alphabets or rune-rows which appear without them or with rune-names only (see for instance London, British Library, Cotton MS Domitian A. IX [6]).

The second type of encyclopaedic material is the rune-names. A rune-name is a name or word which corresponds with every rune following the acrophonic principle, so beginning with the sound represented by the rune. There is a vast amount of scholarship on the rune-names, and many introductions to runic studies include a chapter on these words. This appears to be the element of manuscript runology which has received most attention and which has been fully appreciated by scholars. There is a lot to say about scholarship on the rune-names and the disproportionate amount of attention paid to this in comparison to other elements of manuscript runology, yet it would be too much of a deviation to include all of this here.[23] One remark is worth making, however, and that is that *runica manuscripta* are often discussed briefly as a context to rune-names, rather than rune-names being evaluated as context to alphabets and rune-rows in manuscripts. The aim here is of course to enact the second scenario and to focus on the runes first and foremost. More concretely, rune-names are often added to *fuþorcs/fuþarks* and runic alphabets in a similar way to transliterations. From a manuscript runology point of view, they are interesting in the same way as transliterations: they demonstrate how knowledgeable scribes or annotators were about runes, and whether they understood the acrophonic principle. Similarly, recurrent mistakes can

[23] A few studies on rune-names are for instance A. Griffiths, 'Rune-Names: The Irish Connection' in *Runes and their Secrets: Studies in Runology*, ed. by M. Stoklund, M. L. Nielsen, B. Holmberg, G. Fellows-Jensen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 83-116; K. Schneider, *Die Germanischen Runennamen: Versuch einer Gesamtdeutung* (Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1956); W. Krause, *Untersuchungen zu den Runennamen*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1946-61); H. Arntz, 'Runen und Runennamen', *Anglia*, 67-68 (1944), 172-250; C. L. Wrenn, 'Late Old English Rune-Names', *Medium Ævum*, 1 (1932), 24-34; C. J. S. Marstrander, 'Om Runene og Runenavnenes Oprindelse', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, 1 (1928), 85-188.

also indicate copying or relations between manuscripts. Of course, the same problems arise: the scribe may not be the annotator, and the rune-names may be copied from another manuscript without further thought. Runes regularly appear with the same rune-names, and when they do differ, many a hypothesis has been proposed to explain this. It is not usually considered that these names might be flexible, with some used more often than others; instead it is assumed that they remained the same, and only changed if the object to which the rune-name referred was no longer common or current, or for religious reasons.[24] This may be a gross oversimplification, but since there is no comparative list of all rune-names appearing in manuscripts, it is difficult to draw any conclusions or justify any such claims. Derolez provides a table of the rune-names appearing in the *De Inventione Linguarum* treatise, which gives an indication of how this material may have evolved.[25] However, since it is restricted to a specific treatise, which was often copied in its entirety, this cannot be representative of the whole tradition. Therefore, this study includes the rune-names from every manuscript in the catalogue, as well as providing a general, chronological overview of this material. This is of course restricted to the time frame set out, but does include all manuscripts containing rune-names within this time-frame.

As a side note, it is not only important to keep in mind that annotators and scribes might be different people with varying levels of runic knowledge, but also that later editorial practices can throw up unexpected challenges. This is especially pertinent in the case of manuscripts of which only facsimiles or editions survive, as for example the Anglo-Saxon runic poem, London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho B. X, fo. 165, which was destroyed alongside most of the codex in the 1731 Cottonian fire. Luckily, the poem was copied by Humfrey Wanley and printed in George Hickes's *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et*

[24] Page (1999), p. 67 ff.
[25] Derolez (1954), p. 361.

Archæologicus, which is now the only source for this *runicum manuscriptum*.[26] However, editors also make mistakes and during the twentieth century there was a protracted discussion between scholars on whether Wanley or Hickes added material to the runic poem and thus whether it was original.[27] For that reason, those manuscripts have not been included in this study, though they are referenced where appropriate.

The final group of encyclopaedic material is explanatory texts on the runes provided in treatises. There are two medieval treatises which contain runes: a treatise on runic cryptography named the *Isruna* tractate by Derolez, and a more general treatise on the origin of alphabets called *De Inventione Linguarum*. Though the treatises and their runes are described in the catalogue and discussed in more detail in the analysis chapter, it is worth noting their value here. These two treatises contain short texts explaining respectively how to use runes as a code using different notation systems (many of which can also be found in epigraphy), and where the alphabet came from and how it was used. The second group of texts is especially interesting because they give a rare insight into how runes were perceived and what was known of their history. Though these texts are brief and rarely contain much detail, differences between them can reveal different ideas about runes, and which information on this material was most commonly transmitted over time (which can indicate the minimum knowledge scribes had of this alphabet at different times).

Although chronology, geography, and context are the three main parameters for this study, it is difficult to avoid the question of function. Outside of the aforementioned treatises, runic alphabets and rune-rows, as well as runic texts, appear frequently as solitary notes in margins, on empty pages, or at the end of manuscripts. There has not been any research into the function of this material, though Dekker has examined the appearance of alphabets more generally as

[26] G. Hickes, H. Wanley, *Antiquae literaturae Septentrionalis Libri Duo*, 2 vols (Oxford: [Oxford University Press], 1703-05), vol. 1, p. 135.
[27] See for instance G. Hempl, 'Hickes's Additions to the Runic Poem', *Modern Philology*, 1 (1903-04), 135-141.

encyclopaedic notes.[28] A number of remarks have been made about the reason for their existence, but few of those are particularly well-developed. Derolez suggests three different functions: '[…] they may be used as an ornamental script, or for cryptograms; or else they become an object of study.'[29] Although he does not expand on how he came to this conclusion, he does explain why he understands that runes were not meant to be used for manuscript writing. He notes that originally and for quite a long time runes were essentially an epigraphical and non-utilitarian form of writing. With this he means that they were not used systematically for writing down longer texts, such as law books, poetical texts, and accounts, or at least that he does not know of any convincing proof which has come down of such usage.[30] He sees their main usefulness in other fields than those of communication and recording, and says that '[i]t is usually assumed that they played a part in magic: they conveyed a special power to the inscribed object.'[31] Derolez mentions that Bæksted has tried to disprove this theory, and adopts his suggestion that the runes in origin only amounted to a partly unsuccessful Germanic attempt at acquiring cultural goods, the importance of which was only realised in relation to the Romans. In a Germanic milieu, the runes would be seen as a luxury or a plaything, because there was no immediate need for them.[32] He further considers that there is no need for a

[28] K. Dekker, 'Alphabets in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts' in *Limits to Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by C. Giliberto and L. Teresi (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 81-108.
[29] Derolez (1954), p. xxiv.
[30] Ibid., pp. xxii-xxiii.
[31] Ibid., p. xxiii.
[32] A. Bæksted, *Målruner og Troldruner: Runemagiske Studier* (Copenhagen: Nordisk Forlag, 1952), p. 328. The connection between runes and magic has received a more nuanced examination in more recent times. See for instance R. I. Page, *Runes and Runic Inscriptions: Collected Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Viking Runes* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), pp. 105-26; K. Düwel, 'Magische Runenzeichen und Magische Runeninschriften' in *Runor och ABC: Elva Föreläsningar från ett Symposium i Stockholm Våren 1995*, ed. S. Nyström (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, 1997), 23-42; J. McKinnell, R. Simek, K. Düwel, *Runes, Magic and Religion: A Sourcebook* (Wien: Fassbaender, 2004); M. Macleod, B. Mees, *Runic Amulets and Magic Objects* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006); K. Düwel, 'Runen als Magische Zeichen' in *Runica Minora: Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften zur Runenkunde*, ed. R. Simek, Studia Medievalia Septentrionalia, 25 (Wien: Fassbaender, 2015), 211-22. Most recently the discussion has been reopened on the magic qualities of the runic amulets in S. Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Vikingatida Runbleck: Läsningar och Tolkningar', Unpublished PhD Thesis (Uppsala: Institutionen för Nordiska Språk, 2017).

background in magic or something similar, if one regards the runes as luxury and/or a plaything. Although he says that at a very late period the runes are used much in the same way as Latin letters for inscriptions (even in Latin), he thinks it unlikely that they were used for book writing, except in rare, obviously archaising circumstances. He concludes that the actual usage of runes and Latin letters show that they belonged to different worlds, and that there was nothing that destined runes to be written in manuscripts.[33]

This attitude is fairly common, and is repeated in many general overviews of runology or brief discussions of *runica manuscripta*. Blomfield, for instance, says there appears to have been 'a radical difference in function between runic and bookhand'.[34] She also states that 'a manuscript written in runes could be no more than an antiquarian freak'.[35] Of course, Blomfield's article dates to the 1940s, but this idea is still prevalent. Barnes, for instance, looks for a connection between the epigraphical material and manuscript runes in his examination of *runica manuscripta*, stating that 'it is difficult to believe that manuscript and epigraphic tradition here are unconnected'.[36] In that way he shows the same unwillingness to accept that runes could be used in a manuscript context independently.

One function which Derolez does not mention directly, but which is relatively common elsewhere, is the idea of the antiquarian curiosity, as demonstrated by Blomfield's 'antiquarian freak' statement, and the following remark by Elliott:

> One of the results of the conversion of England was the establishment of monastic scriptoria all over the country. It is here that runes became a bookish pursuit. First merely an orthographic convenience in the writing of the vernacular, but later an antiquarian pastime for its own sake: alphabet lore and cryptic writing had, it seems, a particular fascination for medieval minds: as late as the second half of the fourteenth century weird alphabets based on the fuþorc appear in *Sir John Mandeville's Travels*.[37]

[33] Derolez (1954), p. xxiii.
[34] J. Blomfield, 'Runes and the Gothic Alphabet', *Saga-book of the Viking Society for Northern Research*, 12 (1945), 177-94, p. 182.
[35] Ibid., p. 178.
[36] Barnes, pp. 154-55.
[37] Elliott, p. 56.

However, it is probably fair to include this under the function 'scholarship', since antiquarianism is often seen as a scholarly pursuit. It would thus appear that runes were written down in manuscripts because a scholar or scribe recognised them as archaic, historical, or exotic, and decided to record them. Although these functions appear, and scholarship seems a plausible reason for the creation of *runica manuscripta*, this seems to be a one-size fits all approach, especially where the alphabets and rune-rows which appear outside of the treatises, which are demonstrably scholarly, are concerned. These functions do not explain, for instance, why a tenth-century Welsh scribe would make a note of Scandinavian runes (as in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 572 [2]) on an empty manuscript page, or why runes would be added rather nonchalantly at the end of a medical manuscript in the late twelfth century (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 14. 34 [8]). Neither inscription is decorative, cryptographical, or clearly scholarly. This is not to say that these three functions do not appear in the corpus, but rather that they are restrictive and that little effort has been made to look outside of those functions for other possibilities. The reason for this, it would seem, is that insufficient attention has been paid to the contexts in which manuscript runes appear. A more thorough investigation of types of scholarship associated with runes, the kind of cryptography for which they are employed, or the context in which they appear ornamental, would be able to help clarify the reason for the presence of this material. Therefore, though not the immediate focus of this study, the intention is to shed some light on the function of runes in manuscripts as a by-product of the study of their context.

AIM OF THIS STUDY

As outlined above, the aim of this study is to examine the manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian runic alphabets and rune-rows dated between the eighth and the twelfth century, and currently held in British and continental scriptoria. I elected to study alphabets and rune-rows rather than the runic texts or single runes appearing in manuscripts because it is often thought that the alphabet

material provided the basis for other runic writing.[38] Whether this is correct is unclear, but runic alphabets and rune-rows are also the largest group of *runica manuscripta*, and more consistent than the runic texts. This makes them more straightforward to compare and study, and provides the opportunity to establish a basic framework for a wider study of runic manuscripts using the majority of the material. This then offers the possibility in the future to examine whether the hypotheses regarding origin and development posed here are confirmed by the runic texts, and if both types of material are in fact related.

This study consists firstly of a more general chapter on runic manuscripts, discussing previous scholarship and problems in the field, as well as giving an overview of the comparisons made between manuscript runology and the study of epigraphy. The main body of the thesis is taken up by a catalogue discussing thirty-nine manuscripts, their runes, and the context in which the runes appear. Though a number of these manuscripts have received descriptions, most of the scholarship on the manuscripts and especially on their runes is based on Derolez's research which was written in the 1950s and 60s and is now in many cases outdated. Additionally, because the focus in the past was more on introducing the material, little to no attention was paid to the context. It was therefore deemed necessary here to create a new catalogue of this material before any analysis was possible. The present catalogue contains updated descriptions of the manuscripts analysed by Derolez, including a number of new observations and more recent scholarship on every manuscript, its dating, and place of origin. Also, more importantly, it contains descriptions of more recently discovered manuscripts.[39] The catalogue is followed by a chapter which analyses the material presented in the catalogue and uses its observations to construct a hypothesis on how and where the tradition came into

[38] Runic texts are small groups of runes which form messages (though not necessarily with a meaningful content), while single runes appear on their own, often functioning as abbreviations for their rune-names. The former type is found throughout the Western manuscript tradition, and ranges from nonsensical pen-trials to elaborate, coded colophons. The latter type is frequently found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, used in conjunction with the Latin text or occasionally even to number quires or folios.

[39] See High Wycombe, Wormsley Library, The Byland Bede [10]; Modena, Archivo Storico Diocesano di Modena-Nonantola, O. I. 11 [15]; and Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana Apostolica, Barb. Lat. MS 572 [27].

existence, and how it developed over time. As set out above, the focus is placed on the chronological as well as the geographical movement of the material, and how that movement impacted its development. For that reason the two main areas under investigation, the British Isles and the Continent, are compared and contrasted to lead to a conclusion on the state of the tradition in the twelfth century.

Throughout this thesis, manuscripts are referenced using the shelfmark: this includes the current place of holding, the library, and the number and/or letter combination given to the manuscript. It is important to note that this holding place is not necessarily and only seldom the place where the manuscript was created. Medieval manuscripts were frequently borrowed and donated to different libraries in different countries or regions, or transported by travelling scholars. The modern interest in them also often landed material in different places, and even in different codices. Special attention should be paid to the fact that this does not necessarily have an impact on the contents or the runic material, but may affect our modern perception of it.

The runic writing discussed in this thesis is transunified where necessary using a standardised rune-font, and transliterated into Roman characters. The Oslo standard of transliteration prescribes that all runic inscriptions should be rendered in bold, non-runic letters in normal font, and Roman letters capitalised and serifed.[40] Runes from older rune-rows are capitalised as well. Characters which cannot be identified as any of the above are indicated by a bold question mark: **?**. Editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets [], and conjectures, if necessary to illustrate a point, can be shown by using angle brackets <>. This standard, however, was set up for epigraphical runic inscriptions and is only partially suitable for the manuscript material. As all runic inscriptions are to be transliterated in a bold font, it becomes unclear which runes are Anglo-Saxon and which Scandinavian in manuscripts which contain both. This is therefore indicated in the description. Also, as non-runic letters in manuscripts are almost always Roman, there is little point in

[40] This standard has not been finalised yet, however.

differentiating between serifed capitals and ordinary capitals. For that reason, the occasional Roman letter is represented as a non-runic character in normal font. In this context, it is also worth noting the existence of rune-like characters. These are characters which are either based on runes, show similarities to the alphabet, or are perceived as part of the rune-row (often due to alphabetisation mistakes which are frequently copied). There are alphabets which consist entirely of rune-like characters, such as the Nemnivian alphabet of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F. 4. 32. These alphabets demonstrate a medieval interest in, if not fascination with, runes, and are valuable in their own way. Only few of these exist, however, and their inclusion would again not add much to the study of the origins of *runica manuscripta*, though they are an interesting development. For that reason alphabets consisting entirely of rune-like characters are not included here. However, rune-like characters which are included in the otherwise mostly runic alphabets are discussed here, because they can reveal copying and give an indication of (lack of) runic knowledge.

RUNICA MANUSCRIPTA: TOWARDS A DEFINITION

> The term *runica manuscripta* in its broadest sense refers to manuscripts that contain runes.[41]

In this simple way Barnes introduces his chapter on *runica manuscripta* and rune-names. Defining the term, it would seem, is straightforward; however, he does not explain how he sees *runica manuscripta* in any other, narrower senses. 'Manuscripts that contain runes' seems rather generic, and is not particularly useful as a definition, because it leaves a number of questions unanswered, for instance: what type of runes do these manuscripts contain? Are they written entirely in runes, or only partially? In what language are these runes written? Are they an integral part of the manuscript text or marginalia, and are they contemporary with them? Do these runes all have the same place and/or function in the manuscript?

Vagueness aside, Barnes is one of only a handful of scholars who have provided some sort of definition for the phenomenon. Of this handful, only two scholars provide a definition in the strictest sense of the word. The first is Heizmann, who produces the following for his discussion of Icelandic *runica manuscripta*:

> Dabei habe ich den Begriff 'Runica manuscripta' sehr weit interpretiert und nicht nur Runeninschriften, sondern auch anderes Material wie Runennamen und die Runengedichte aufgenommen.[42]

Bauer, who also focuses on the Icelandic material, gives a similar definition. She includes an even wider range of material:

> Den Begriff Runica Manuscripta werde ich im weite Sinne verwenden und alles berücksichtigen, was mit Runen zu tun hat und auf Pergament oder

[41] Barnes, p. 153.
[42] Heizmann, pp. 513-14. 'In relation to that I have interpreted the concept 'Runica manuscripta' very widely and have recorded not only the runic inscriptions, but also other materials such as rune-names and the runic poems.' (My translation).

> Papier tradiert wurde, von runenähnlichen Zeichen bis zu den Runennamen und Runengedichten.[43]

Page discusses the appearance of *fuþorc*s accompanied by their Roman equivalents, sometimes arranged 'in ABC order', i.e. in the order of the Roman alphabet, in Anglo-Saxon and early post-Conquest manuscripts.[44] He remarks that

> [t]heir scribes drew the runic characters with more or less accuracy and usually added the roman value above or below the rune, and sometimes also the rune-name. Roughly contemporary with them – indeed, some of them surviving from rather earlier date – are Continental manuscripts which contain Anglo-Saxon rune-rows, apparently written by local scholars from English exemplars, often with added roman values or with rune-names whose forms are sadly distorted by foreign hands. All these are the runica manuscripta […]'.[45]

Page only focuses on Anglo-Saxon runes here, and his definition only encompasses rune-rows and by association alphabets. While he makes a number of assumptions, he does increase the specificity of the definition by including the encyclopaedic material. Parsons, in his historical overview of runic writing, provides further information on the format of the material and alludes to their value for scholarship:

> [f]rom the eighth century onwards runes sometimes appear in manuscripts, never to write extensive passages of text, but as marginal jottings, reference marks, or as shorthand for their names; more importantly, they occasionally survive in lists, codified accounts, without which our knowledge would be much the poorer.[46]

Parsons does not mention the term *runica manuscripta*, and perhaps because he does not, his description is already more useful than those mentioned above. Yet although he talks about 'runes' as a seemingly general term, he is likely again referring to Anglo-Saxon runes, as more extensive texts have been written in Scandinavian runes (e.g. the *Codex Runicus*). Parsons's description of *runica*

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[43] Bauer (2010), p. 197; 'I will use the term Runica Manuscripta in the wide sense and take into account everything that has to do with runes and was transmitted on parchment or paper, ranging from rune-like characters to the rune-names and rune-poems.' (My translation).
[44] Page (1999), p. 60.
[45] Ibid.
[46] D. N. Parsons, *Recasting the Runes: The Reform of the Anglo-Saxon Futhorc*, Runrön, 14 (Uppsala: Institutionen för Nordiska Språk, 1999), p. 25.

manuscripta is quite likely based on information provided by Derolez in his monograph *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition*, the only extensive study of the subject. Surprisingly, Derolez does not provide a definition of *runica manuscripta*, despite coining the term. Instead, he notes that it covers a wide range of runic writing, which can be subdivided into six major groups or categories: additional letters, abbreviations, reference marks, short notes, *fuþorc*s*/fuþark*s and alphabets, and runic poems.[47] Derolez's work also inspired the most recent definition by Symons:

> As well as surviving in carved inscriptions, runes appear sporadically in the manuscripts produced in Anglo-Saxon scriptoria. […] By the ninth century, fuþorcs and rune rows were being included in lists of exotic alphabets compiled on the Continent, often by Anglo-Saxon scholars, alongside Hebrew, Greek and some invented alphabets. Runic letters in manuscripts, like their use in epigraphy, are usually secondary to the roman alphabet when mixed. Nevertheless, they appear in a variety of contexts and are employed for many different purposes […].[48]

Clearly the specificity of the definitions has increased over time, yet the more detailed descriptions all pertain to Anglo-Saxon runes, while the more general (and often vague) ones appear to be written from a Scandinavian perspective. This is rather telling with regard to the Scandinavian interest in this topic. It seems therefore useful to determine what *runica manuscripta* are and what they encompass, before going into a discussion of the material itself. Clearly, Derolez's work is of interest here. Although his monograph lacks a clear definition, he does discuss briefly how runes evolved from epigraphy to manuscripts before laying out the various types of runic manuscripts.

> When we find runes in manuscripts, we must conclude that the people who normally wrote Latin had become interested in them. This could only happen after the runes had left their narrow barbaric, or worse, pagan surroundings. It also meant the transfer of an epigraphical style to bookhand, but this will only occur in very rare, late instances, with obvious archaizing tendencies (i.e.

[47] Derolez (1954), p. xxiv.
[48] V. Symons, *Runes and Roman Letters in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), p. 10.

> the Codex Runicus). Usually the runes we meet in manuscripts retain their special character in some measure: they may be used as an ornamental script, or for cryptograms; or else they become an object of study.[49]

Although this seems a rather black-and-white view of manuscript runes, Derolez presents a number of identifying aspects which are important for the construction of a definition. Firstly, there is the contrast between epigraphical and manuscript runes, which Derolez presents as a juxtaposition between pagan and Christian cultures. Although not explicitly mentioned, it appears that manuscript runes follow on from the epigraphical ones. Secondly, he makes a clear statement about the writers of manuscript runes, dismissing the possibility of a rune-carver in a scriptorium. Connected to this is that manuscript runes are written in book-hand, instead of carved, and he sees no transfer of style except on rare occasions. It is unclear what exactly Derolez means by the word 'style', but he clearly thinks that the way in which runes and runic messages were fashioned differed from the usage of the Roman alphabet.[50] Although this is correct in some cases, there are a number of manuscripts where the runes are written in the exact same style as the surrounding Roman text (for instance, some of the pages containing single runes in Exeter, Cathedral library, MS 3501), and even instances where the book-hand style has been applied to epigraphical inscriptions (for instance the Bridekirk font (E 1 M)).[51] Derolez's ideas of style are also a little problematic, since, due to the brevity of these runic texts, it is difficult to perceive style, let alone style-differences. Finally, he notes three reasons for the existence of manuscript runes: ornamentation, cryptography, or scholarship, and adds that runes usually retain their special character. What exactly constitutes the 'special character' of a rune is again left unexplained, nor is it

[49] Derolez (1954), p. xxiii.
[50] Derolez's idea of a difference in style can be connected to a difference in literacy and perception between runes and Roman letters. For further reading on this topic, see T. Spurkland, 'Scandinavian Medieval Runic Inscriptions – An Interface between Literacy and Orality?' in *Roman, Runes and Ogham: Medieval Inscriptions in the Insular World and on the Continent*, ed. by J. Higgitt, K. Forsyth, D. N. Parsons (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2001), 121-28; C. Fell, 'Anglo-Saxon England: A Three-Script Community?' in *Runrön*, 9 (1994), 119-37.
[51] M. P. Barnes and R. I. Page, *The Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions of Britain* (Uppsala: Institutionen För Nordiska Språk, 2006), pp. 278-85.

clear how this differs from the other alphabets also included in many of these manuscripts.

Yet, with some caution, these elements and the information from the above descriptions can be combined to give a basic definition, or at least an idea of what a definition should comprise. *Runica manuscripta* is a collective term for, according to Derolez, six types of runic texts, written in manuscripts from the eighth century onwards, which are often accompanied by encyclopaedic information such as transliterations and rune-names. These runes are distinct from epigraphical runes, and have an ornamental, cryptographic, or scholarly function. Bauer also adds 'rune-like characters' and materials 'related to runes' written in a manuscript to the equation.

A number of these elements are problematic, however: some elements have not been researched to any great extent (for instance, function), some are unclear (when is a character rune-like?), and some only partially correct (the eighth century only signals the beginning of Anglo-Saxon runic manuscripts). As mentioned earlier, a number of questions concerning the nature of *runica manuscripta* are still left unanswered, and now even more can be added: e.g. is a manuscript containing medieval scholarship on runes but no actual runes also a *runicum manuscriptum* (for example Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS S. Marco 604, which contains information on the runic alphabet but lacks the characters)? Do rune-like characters count as runes and how should they be interpreted? Is the relation with the other alphabets mentioned by Symons of importance to the definition of runic manuscripts?

In order to pave the way for a more concrete and workable definition, it is worth examining a number of these elements in some detail and to point out possible misconceptions or lacunae in our knowledge. In this way, an overview of the main aspects of the study of manuscript runology is also provided.

WHAT IS A RUNIC MANUSCRIPT?

As the above definitions have indicated, there is uncertainty over what a *runicum manuscriptum* is and which kinds of manuscripts the term encompasses: according to Barnes's definition, any manuscript containing a rune is a *runicum manuscriptum*,

whereas Bauer does not even consider the presence of runes a necessity. Determining the nature and limits of this phenomenon, therefore, is the first step towards a definition. A convenient starting point is the six categories mentioned earlier, which Derolez distinguished in his study of the Anglo-Saxon material.

In the first category he includes runes used as additional letters. This is a group of manuscripts containing a select number of runes which have been assimilated into Old English, Middle English, and Old Norse writing. Runes were, next to digraphs or modified letters, used for sounds that had no satisfactory equivalents in the Latin alphabet.[52] The prime examples of this are the runes **þ** (*þorn*), which appears in Old English, Gothic, Old Norse, and some Middle English writings, and **ƿ** (*wynn*), which is found in Old and Middle English texts. These runic letters were used to express respectively /θ/ or /ð/, and /w/.

The second category contains runes as abbreviations for words. As noted in the introduction, every rune had a rune-name in its relevant language, a word for which the rune stood, following the acrophonic principle. For instance, the **f**-rune would stand for *feoh* or *fehu*, meaning 'wealth' or 'cattle'. A number of these rune-names were common words, and therefore, in a small group of manuscripts, these words have been replaced by their corresponding runes. Derolez notes that especially the runes **d**, **m**, **œ** and **w** were used instead of *dæg* 'day', *mann* (*monn*) 'man', *œþel/eþel* 'homeland, country', and *wynn* 'joy, pleasure' in Old English contexts. Similarly, the Norse **m**-rune would occasionally be used instead of *maðr* 'man, human being', and the **f**-rune for *fé* 'cattle, wealth' in Scandinavian materials.[53] These kinds of abbreviations were used in poetry, riddles, annotations, and glossing.[54] A famous example of this type of rune-use is by the poet Cynewulf, who invented a variant of this usage for signing several of his works.[55]

[52] Derolez, p. xxiv.
[53] Ibid., p. xxv; Barnes, p. 161.
[54] For further scholarship on this topic, see for instance the recent studies by Symons, and T. Birkett, *Reading the Runes in Old English and Old Norse Poetry* (London: Routledge, 2017).
[55] Symons, pp. 90-95.

The third category is rather small. It consists of runes used as reference marks in manuscripts, for instance to indicate the passage to which a marginal note refers, or for numbering quires. Derolez writes that the first type of runic reference marks does not require any runological knowledge other than recognition of form. He interprets the second type as deriving from the runic alphabets which were popular during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, because the runes were arranged in the sequence of the Roman alphabet.[56] Whether this then implies a certain knowledge of runes or their characteristics is unclear, and Derolez does not elaborate on the reason(s) behind the usage of runes for functions usually fulfilled by Roman letters or numerals. Although it is possible that the responsible scribes merely copied a runic alphabet found elsewhere in a manuscript, it seems more likely that they had at least an awareness of the sound-values of runic characters. After all, it is easier to play around with an alphabet with which one has at least a passing familiarity.

The fourth category incorporates what Derolez calls 'short notes'. He explains this as follows:

> Runes were occasionally used for writing short notes, such as the scribe's or a reader's name, an expression of pride or gratitude at the completion of a manuscript, a remark on the text, a riddle; sometimes also for an ornamental title page. As far as the material goes, these notes are invariably in Latin. They are hardly proof of the scribe's knowledge of runes: runic alphabets were circulated so widely that many scribes must have had access to them.[57]

He considers two reasons for scribes to write these kinds of messages: the first is that they were attracted to the ornamental character, the second that they used them for their cryptic nature, because only someone with a key alphabet could decipher them.[58]

The fifth category incorporates *fuþorc*s and runic alphabets. This is a large group of manuscripts, dated from the eighth until the early fifteenth century, which comprise lists of runes often accompanied by transliterations and rune-names.

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[56] Derolez, p. xxv.
[57] Ibid., p. xxv.
[58] Ibid.

Derolez only makes a note of *fuþorc*s, because of his focus on the English tradition, but for a more general definition Scandinavian *fuþark*s should also be included here. He also includes in this category the group of manuscripts which contain the treatises: the *isruna* tract, and the *De Inventione Linguarum*.[59]

Derolez's sixth and final group comprises the so-called runic poems. There are four poems of this type: one with Anglo-Saxon runes, one Norwegian, one Icelandic and one containing mixed Old Norse and Continental Germanic runes. The first three are made up of stanzas, one for every rune with its rune-name as the subject-matter. The fourth is also known as the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, and can hardly be called a poem. It is a curious combination of Old Norse runes and rune-names, and Old Low German text. Derolez calls it 'mnemotechnical doggerel' and considers it of more interest for the study of ninth century culture than for runology.[60] The manuscript, St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 878, is, however, an early example of a continental codex containing both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian runes, and is discussed in the catalogue in that capacity [16].

Although these types of *runica manuscripta* are evidently present in the manuscript corpus, the six groups provide a slightly distorted image of the material. If one then takes Bauer's definition into account, the categorisation system leaves an overflowing drawer to be labelled 'miscellaneous'. There are also already a number of issues with some of the categories in themselves, or with Derolez's description of them.

Concerning the first category of 'additional letters', I would argue that these characters no longer count as manuscript runes in this context, since they were likely not recognised as such by those who used them. They were borrowings which lost their properties as runes when used as additions to the Roman alphabet. However, the same runic letters are still runes when used in combination with other manuscript runes, or in a specific, runological context. I do not consider this a particularly useful category, especially since including it would mean that every

[59] Ibid., p. xxvi.
[60] Ibid.

manuscript written in Old English, Middle English, and Old Norse would qualify as a *runicum manuscriptum.* Derolez essentially agrees with this, but provides the following argument for studying them:

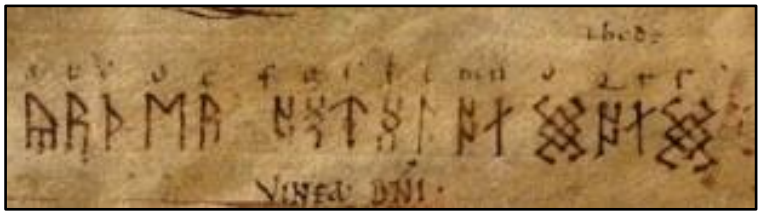
> Of course this sort of runic writing does not tell us much about the character of the runes. These are completely assimilated to Latin letters, and we have some reason to doubt that the scribes always knew what sort of characters they were using. But the introduction of these runes may be an important indication of the general attitude towards runic writing.[61]

Although this is certainly a valid point, the question remains whether it warrants the inclusion of these manuscripts in the *runica manuscripta* group. I do not contest that these letters are runic in form, but as they are clearly not in function, I suggest removing this category, and only including those manuscripts which contain runes because of their runic qualities. The study of these manuscripts may well reveal interesting information about the assimilation of runes into Roman writing, but that does not mean that an analysis of these manuscripts would necessarily contribute to the wider study of runes in manuscripts.

With regard to the fourth category, the major problem concerns the notion of a 'short note'. What exactly constitutes a short note? A number of manuscripts contain a sequence or sequences of runes, which have the appearance of a phrase or a note, but do not hold any meaning (or possibly, this meaning has not yet been discovered). An example of this is London, British Library, MS Additional 47967, fo. 1r, which contains the following runes:

Anglo-Saxon transliteration: **y r þ e r o ŋ t ŋ æ n _ g n _ g**

Scandinavian transliteration: **ü r þ E r _ _ t _ A _ a _ _ a _**



[61] Ibid., p. xxiv.

From the Roman letters above the runes it can be deduced that the transliterator thought that they were written in the sequence of the Roman alphabet. Since the runes clearly do not form an alphabet – the repetition of **r**, **ng**, **o**, **g**, and **a** is an obvious indicator – this manuscript does not belong in the category of alphabets and *fuþorc*s. This then raises a new question: should these categories be based on how the runes are perceived, or what they actually say? I suggest employing the latter as a basis, for a number of reasons: first, it is uncertain if the person who wrote the runes is the same person who transliterated them, as there are many instances of multiple hands working on the same manuscript. It would therefore be uncertain whose interpretation this assessment would be based on. Second, there are a large number of runic texts which are not accompanied by encyclopaedic information or any interpretative annotations. Third, there is as yet no scholarship on the perception of runic material in manuscripts. If the selection is rune-based, however, the question remains whether the above manuscript belongs in the group of the 'short notes'? From Derolez's explanation, it would seem that only notes which have a meaning (in Latin) are part of this group. This leaves out rather a large group of 'meaningless' or undeciphered notes, which do not get assigned a category. Does this mean that they are not manuscript runes?

A second issue is related to runic knowledge: Derolez states that the (meaningful) runic notes do not count as evidence of runic knowledge, because runic alphabets were widely accessible. In correlation with his previous statement concerning runic knowledge, it appears that Derolez is set on eliminating the possibility of runic knowledge in the scriptorium. He does not, however, provide sufficient argumentation to do so. The fact that runic alphabets were relatively common could just as easily point in the opposite direction. It is possible that a number of texts were based on alphabets, but it seems a little unjust towards the medieval scholar or scribe to assume all of them were. Especially in the early period, someone must have known what they were writing down (be it alphabet or text). It is unlikely that every runic note was written by a runic expert, but it is equally unlikely that every runic note was written by an ignoramus. It seems therefore that these notes should not be dismissed as sources for runic knowledge: perhaps a

thorough study of the context in which they appear and their form and correctness may reveal more about the knowledge of their writers.

A final issue presents itself in Derolez's idea of the function of these notes. By stating that the runes were written because of their ornamental or cryptic nature, he again shows his reluctance to accept the concept of a knowledgeable scribe. These two functions can certainly be found in the corpus, but it is perhaps rather short-sighted to assume that every single marginal note and every *probatio pennae* can be explained that way.

About the sixth category, I have previously argued that it makes little sense to create a separate category for the runic poems.[62] From a runological perspective, the first three 'poems' are essentially *fuþarks/fuþorc*s, where the encyclopaedic information has been extended to include alliterating paragraphs on the rune-names. It might therefore make more sense to study these together with the other *fuþark*s*/fuþorc*s and runic alphabets instead of separately, and simply to make a note of the difference in accompanying information.

As indicated earlier, the subdivision of the manuscript material into these six groups of runic writing leaves out many manuscripts which may be worth considering as *runica manuscripta*. For instance, into which category do the runic riddles (for instance in Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501) fall? Where does the chapter on runes in the *First Grammatical Treatise* (Copenhagen, Arnamagnean Institute, MS 242) belong? Where should the *Codex Runicus* (Copenhagen, Arnamagnean Institue, MS 28 8vo) be placed? Clearly, since Derolez focused on the English tradition, there was no need for him to include some of this material, but this should be considered in view of a general definition. Additionally, it is interesting to consider the impact that the inclusion of the Scandinavian material might have on the general picture presented by Derolez. A look at the Scandinavian manuscripts reveals that there is no real difference in the types of material found (there are still alphabets, rune-rows, short texts and single letters), except for the appearance of

[62] A. M. S. Van Renterghem, 'The Anglo-Saxon Runic Poem: A Critical Reassessment', Unpublished MPhil(R) Thesis, (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2014), pp. 59-61.

full texts written in runes such as in the *Codex Runicus*. This would mean that the study of this material would fit within the current framework, yet because of the historical context it would have to be approached slightly differently (see Introduction).

It can be concluded here that there is still a long way to go and that a number of factors still need to be considered before a definition can be reached. Obviously, including 'anything runic' that appears in a manuscript makes the group too large to study, but adopting Derolez's six groups does not appear to be the way forward either. It would seem that a new look at the manuscript material would be beneficial, as well as a revision (at least partially) of Derolez's groups. In order to do so, two types of parameters are useful. The first concerns the criteria for inclusion in the *runica manuscripta* group. I suggest sorting the manuscripts containing runes based on function. By this I do not mean the functions given by Derolez earlier, but instead the rune's function as a specific type of character. By barring the runic texts which do not have a (clear) semantic meaning, a large number of potentially interesting manuscripts are excluded. In order to keep these manuscripts, I propose to include all manuscripts containing runes which were recognised as such by their writers in the group of *runica manuscripta*. This does not imply that the scribe had to be aware that the characters were runes, but merely that they identified them as a different alphabet. There are a number of ways in which scribes indicated the otherness of characters: placing full stops on either side, grouping the characters together, separating them with colour or spacing, etc. In that way, runes which have been assimilated into Roman texts, such as the aforementioned few characters, are excluded.

Rune-like characters and manuscripts which contain texts on runes but without actual runes thus remain. For these I propose the second parameter. If functionality is accepted as the basis for selecting manuscripts, then these 'rune-like characters' and texts on runes should be accepted as *runica manuscripta*. For the former, it could be argued that since they are not in fact runes, they cannot have a runic nature. However, because the scribes considered them runes, they were given the same function as runes in the manuscript, which would then classify the

manuscript as *runicum manuscriptum*. With regard to the latter, they can be interpreted as functioning in service of the runic nature of the characters or alphabet. Both types of material are useful for manuscript runology, as they are sources of information on the knowledge and understanding of runic letters, and of the scribes' perception of the alphabet. However, this material shows a different kind of interest, and is not immediately comparable to the bulk of the 'genuine' runic manuscripts. Therefore, in order to accommodate these, but still make a distinction between both types of runic manuscripts, I suggest no longer using the terms '*runica manuscripta'* and 'manuscript runes' interchangeably.

The grammar of the term *runica manuscripta* suggests that it means 'runic manuscripts', a much wider concept than manuscript runes, which I interpret as the runic characters appearing in manuscripts. I therefore propose to adopt *runica manuscripta* as an umbrella term, including everything which fits within the parameters functional and runic, ranging from the manuscripts without runes which discuss the alphabet, to alphabets, to the *Codex Runicus*. I would then like to introduce the use of a second term for discussing manuscript runes in particular, as a subcategory of *runica manuscripta*, in which I follow Derolez's Latinate idea: *manuscriptae runae*. This group would then signify only those manuscripts which contain the characters. A manuscript like Oxford, St John's 17 [7], for instance, would belong to the *manuscriptae runae* and is a *runicum manuscriptum*, whereas a manuscript like Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS San Marco 604, which does not actually contain runes, would still be a *runicum manuscriptum* because it provides information about the runic nature of the characters. Employing this distinction would add a useful nuance, and simplify comparative studies, such as the one undertaken here.

One important question remains, however: when can a character be considered runic? For this it is necessary to follow the lead of the epigraphical runologists, as thus far no solid conclusion has been reached on how the two subdisciplines of epigraphical and manuscript runology relate to one another, and if the same rules apply to both. It is important to have an understanding of the issue, however, as it influences much of the scholarship on the subject.

DIFFERENCES FROM EPIGRAPHICAL RUNES

> The compilers of these pages seem to have thought of English runes as just another curious script, perhaps a secret one and certainly an uncommon one. Such an attitude, though it may be near that of the carvers of some of the later, bi-alphabetical inscriptions in England, is obviously distant from that of the rune-masters who cut the early Anglo-Saxon runes. Consequently the evidence of the runica manuscripta is suspect, to be used only with caution.[63]

This quotation from Page both connects the function of *runica manuscripta* with the issue of epigraphy versus manuscripts, and demonstrates the general attitude towards *runica manuscripta*. That there is a distinction between manuscript runes and epigraphical runes is obvious, if only because of the material on which they appear. It is remarkable, though, how strongly the differences between both traditions are stressed. Many runologists seem to have taken Page's advice seriously, and show reluctance to accept the *runica manuscripta* material.[64] Derolez remarks, when comparing the epigraphical with the manuscript runes, that 'there seems to be a widespread feeling that the epigraphic runes, those carved on stones, weapons, jewels, and the like, are the "real" ones, and that there is something "unnatural" about the use of runes in manuscripts.'[65] It has been generally accepted that *runica manuscripta* followed on from the epigraphical material, and can be seen as a 'second age' of runic writing, or as Derolez puts it: 'There can of course be no doubt that the appearance of runes in manuscripts is a secondary phenomenon: the inventors and the early users of runic writing can hardly have intended it for recording book-size texts.'[66] Yet there seems to be a persistent need to compare both, and assessments of *runica manuscripta* are thus frequently coloured by the comparison with epigraphy. This is understandable, since the epigraphical tradition preceded the manuscript one and much of our understanding comes from the

[63] Page (1999), p. 62.
[64] It is worth noting here that Page gave this advice in 1973, though it also appeared in the second editon of *An Introduction to English Runes* from 1999. His attitude towards manuscript runes became more nuanced in later publications, but this was not the case for the general perception of the material.
[65] R. Derolez, 'Epigraphical versus Manuscript English Runes: One or Two Worlds?', *Academicae Analecta, Mededeling van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België*, Klasse der Letteren, 45.1 (1983), p. 77.
[66] Ibid., p. 80.

analysis of incised runes. The question is, however, if a continued comparison is really worthwhile.

The main problem seems to be that scholars are unsure how to interpret this material, and are only prepared to examine the manuscripts from an epigraphical perspective. Due to the fascination with rune-names and the manuscript origin of much of the runic lore, however, they cannot ignore the manuscript evidence. This has resulted in two ways of treating this material: the first by runologists who, according to Page, have missed the point that *runica manuscripta* developed their own runic traditions, and try and combine manuscript and epigraphical materials; the second by scholars such as Barnes and Elliott, who try to find connections between epigraphy and manuscripts.[67]

Although Page is right that careless conflation of materials leads to a distorted image, his idea of *runica manuscripta* developing their own traditions is more helpful in answering the main question of when a character can be considered runic. Parsons argues strongly against Page's suggestion that from a common starting-point runes in the scriptorium developed independently, mostly because Page fails to define this starting-point and clearly favours the epigraphical material.[68] Parsons calls this a dismissive attitude, and notes that it leads to a questionable suggestion:

> By portraying the scriptorium full of idle alphabet-fanciers distorting the lore they inherited it is easy to imply a contrastingly romantic view of the epigraphical tradition: this then embodies a pure and genuine runic knowledge, directly passed on from the Germanic ancestors.[69]

According to him, a simple look at the geography and chronology of the traditions invalidates this idea of disparity. Since the earliest continental *runicum manuscriptum* containing Anglo-Saxon runes dates from the eighth century and a codified runic lore is established by the ninth, it would be narrow-minded to assume

[67] Page (1999), p. 62; Elliott, pp. 57-59; Barnes, p. 153.
[68] Parsons (1994), p. 197.
[69] Ibid.

that such a tradition did not exist in the British Isles. It is unlikely that the tradition was maintained completely by Anglo-Saxons abroad, and therefore Parsons concludes that the manuscript tradition existed alongside the epigraphical one, and that both traditions developed simultaneously from the eighth century onwards.[70] Although Parsons is clearly only defending the Anglo-Saxon *runica manuscripta*, he makes an interesting point. If he is correct here, that would imply that the rules for epigraphical inscriptions could also apply to manuscripts. However, as little to no research has been done into the origin and development of the phenomenon, either insular or continental, his observation is rather speculative.

The estimation of the distance between runic writing and carving continues to be a topic of discussion. Elliott, for instance, only became convinced of the possibility that 'the epigraphic inscriptions and manuscript fuþorcs […] are perhaps not so utterly remote from each other' and 'have a common ancestry' when the names of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims inscribed in runes among the Latin inscriptions at the sanctuary of the Archangel Michael at Monte Sant' Angelo were found. The presence of 'authentic Anglo-Saxon runes on the Continent' made, according to him, the Anglo-Saxon export of 'runic *baggage intellectuel*' plausible.[71] Barnes, more recently, stated that 'there are points of contact between manuscript and epigraphic tradition', but at the same time dismissed the possibility that any runic development may have come from the manuscript side.[72] It seems that no conclusion can be reached until the manuscript material has received the same level of careful examination and consideration as carved runes. After all, it would appear that, as Derolez writes,

> […] a systematic contrasting of epigraphic and manuscript runes tends to obscure more issues than it will illuminate. Inscriptions on stones and other materials, and futhorcs in manuscripts, emanate from a common stock of runic lore, and may even occasionally have been the work of one and the same person. The difference between the two media of transmission, which

[70] Ibid., p. 198.
[71] Elliott, pp. 57-59.
[72] Barnes, p. 155.

> we found to loom so large in some discussions of the matter, is due to their different modus operandi, not to their springing from different sources or to their being motivated by different conceptions of the runes.[73]

The aim of the current study is to move toward such detailed study of runic writing by examining a selection of the material, a group of runic manuscripts containing what is so often seen as the basis for the runic texts: alphabets and rune-rows. These *manuscriptae runae* appear most commonly and are most consistent, and therefore lend themselves well to a focus on context, which seems to be the main divider between both types of runes. By looking at this material in detail, it might be possible to lay a foundation both for a more extensive study of manuscript runes and for an informed comparison between the epigraphical and written rune.

However, until then a number of the tools developed by epigraphy will also need to be used for manuscript studies. There is no standard with which to compare the rune-forms in manuscripts, so epigraphy is here used as a basis; this epigraphical standard will be amended or nuanced when the manuscript material indicates deviation. The starting point is thus that a certain form is runic when it resembles a known epigraphical form, unless the frequent occurrence of different forms necessitates their inclusion in the corpus. After all, it should not be forgotten that despite the differences in material and context, both types of research centre essentially around the same alphabet.

[73] Derolez (1983), p. 92.

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING RUNIC ALPHABETS AND RUNE-ROWS

INTRODUCTION

The following pages catalogue all known and existing manuscripts containing runic alphabets which are dated between the eighth and twelfth centuries, and are currently held in English and continental institutions. Every manuscript is provided with a general description of its contents and history, and an analysis of its runic material as well as the context in which the runes can be found. Thirty-nine manuscripts are included in this catalogue, separated into insular and continental categories according to where they are held, and organised chronologically (as much as possible).

Though I have made the catalogue as comprehensive as possible, due to space limitations a number of elements which appear as standard in most manuscript catalogues have been omitted (e.g. type of material, foliation, etc). As the focus is here on the runic alphabets and their surroundings, only those elements relevant to the premise of the thesis have been included. Any additional information about the manuscripts can be found in the catalogues referenced throughout. The rune-rows and runic alphabets have also been highlighted in the contents list of every manuscript, to accentuate them, and to provide a clear overview of their context.

Transliterations of runes can be recognised by the bold font, while elements in languages other than English are in italics; this includes rune-names. Scribal transliterations of values are indicated by single quotation marks. Latin excerpts from the runic treatises (*isruna* and *De Inventione Linguarum*) are included when relevant to the context; they are accompanied by translations.

Cross-references to other manuscripts are indicated by their catalogue number in square brackets. Where manuscripts are not given such a cross-reference, it is because they have been excluded from the catalogue for reasons explained in the Introduction, above.

ALPHABETS AND RUNE-ROWS IN INSULAR COLLECTIONS

1. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, HARLEY MS 3017

Manuscript

This manuscript is a Carolingian miscellany of computistical and astronomical texts, dated to between 862 and 864.[74] The British Library catalogue notes that the manuscript originates from central France, and suggests Fleury or Nevers, but most scholars are convinced that the Abbey of Fleury in Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire is the most likely place of origin.[75] Bischoff mentions Nevers as the likely place of origin, but Borst notes that it was probably based on an older manuscript from Nevers.[76] The manuscript is written in Greek and Latin by multiple hands, using a Caroline minuscule. Contents are as follows:[77]

1. Fo. 1r-v: *Somniale Danielis* (fragment);
2. Ff. 2r-21r: *Calendarium*;
3. Ff. 21v-32v: *Calendarium*;
4. Ff. 32v-42r: *Calendarium* of decennovenal cycles;
5. Ff. 42v-51r: Collection of computistical formulas;
6. Ff. 51v-53r: A text, incipit: *'A terra ad lunam, ut ait Pythagoras'*
7. Ff. 53v-54r: A diagram of the Easter cycle;
8. Ff. 54v-57r: Computistical texts (ff. 54v-57r);

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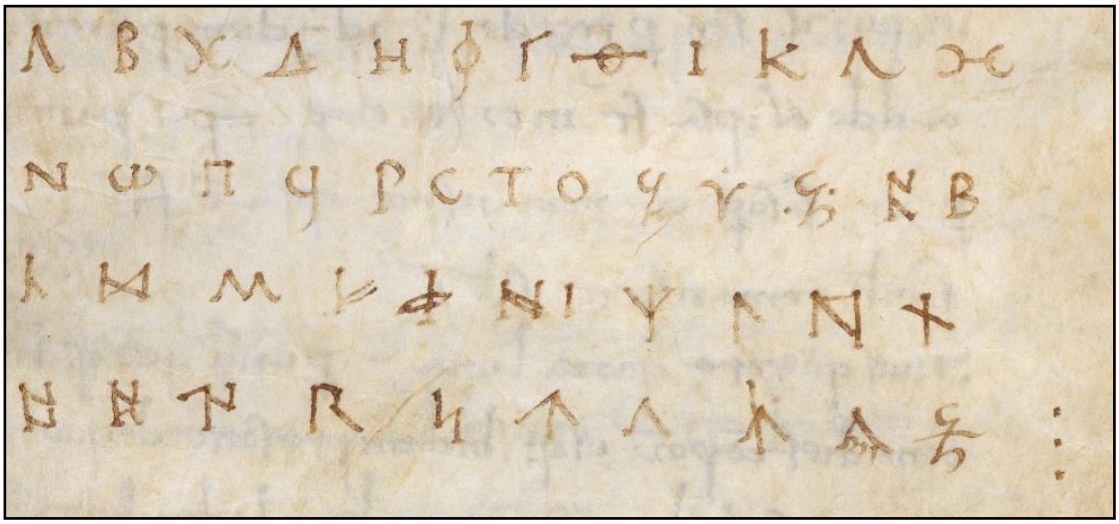
[74] 'Detailed Record for Harley 3017', *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, British Library <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6599> [Accessed July 2016].
[75] Derolez (1954), p. 213; M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 1989), p. 107; A. Borst, *Schriften zur Komputistik im Frankreich von 721 bis 818*, vol. 1, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 21 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2006), p. 244.
[76] B. Bischoff, *Katalog der Festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts: Laon-Paderborn*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), #2466; Borst, p. 244.
[77] 'Harley MS 3017', *Digitised Manuscripts*, British Library <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3017> [Accessed July 2016].

9. Ff. 57v-58r: *'Ratio sphere Pitagore philisophi quam Apuleius descripsit'*;
10. Ff. 58v-61r: Computistical texts; Greek and **runic alphabets**;
11. Ff. 61v-62v: Collection of computistical formulas;
12. Ff. 63r-64v: *'Revelatio Esdrae'*;
13. Fo. 65r: Diagram of the *'annus communis'*;
14. Ff. 66r-113r: Collection of computistical and astronomical excerpts;
15. Ff. 113v-132v: *'Incipit calculatio quomodo reperiri possit quota feria singulis annis XIIIIa vel Pasche ocurrat'*;
16. Ff. 133r-150r: Computistical excerpts;
17. Ff. 150r-153v: Miscellanous excerpts about rivers and numbers;
18. Ff. 154r-181r: Excerpts on astronomy, computus and mathematics;
19. Ff. 181v-182r: *'Confiteor'*;
20. Ff. 182v-190v: Excerpts on computus including a text on atoms;
21. Ff. 53v-180r: Seventeen decorated diagrams:
    - Ff. 53v-54r: The Easter cycle;
    - Ff. 56r, 87v: Wheels of the months with notes of Kalends;
    - Fo. 57v: Consanguinity diagram;
    - Fo. 58r: Sphere of Pythagoras;
    - Fo. 65v: *Annus communis* diagram;
    - Fo. 80r: The phases of the moon;
    - Fo. 88r: *Horologium viatorum*;
    - Ff. 89v, 92v: *Annus - Mundus – Homo* diagram;
    - Fo. 90v: Isidorian zone diagram arranged in circles;
    - Fo. 92r: The four elements;
    - Fo. 94r: Concentric orbits of planets with periods of revolution;
    - Fo. 128v: Wind rota;
    - Fo. 135r: Tidal rota;

- Fo. 151v: A table of Greek alphabets, numerals, and months;
- Ff. 177v-180r: Geometrical diagrams.

The manuscript was bought by Nathaniel Noel (d. 1753), a bookseller employed by Edward Harley (d. 1741), second earl of Oxford and Mortimer, to source and buy books and manuscripts, primarily on the Continent. Based on a note made by Humfrey Wanley (d. 1726), librarian to the Harley family, Edward Harley then bought the codex on 13th August 1724 from Noel. It was added to the Harley collections, which he and his father, Robert Harley (d. 1724), first earl of Oxford and Mortimer, had established. Edward Harley then bequeathed the library to his widow, Henrietta Cavendish (d. 1755) during her lifetime and thereafter to their daughter, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck (d. 1785), duchess of Portland. The Countess and Duchess sold the manuscripts in 1753 to the nation for £10,000 under the Act of Parliament which also established the British Museum.[78]

Runic material



The runes in Harley MS 3017 can be found on fo. 61r. The manuscript contains twenty-six Anglo-saxon runic characters, though not all appear in the standard rune-row. It is unclear whether the three characters before the **a**-rune are part of the runic alphabet here, or still included in the preceding Greek alphabet: the scribe did not use any clear separators, nor did he add rune-names or transliterations. Based

[78] 'Detailed Record for Harley 3017', *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts.*

on the colour of the ink, and perhaps also the dots on either side of the z-like character (perhaps serving as separators?), the second option seems most likely.

The runes here are a little clumsily written and in much the same style as the Greek alphabet, though the scribe has retained the angularity of some runes. They contain some slight serifs. A number of runes stand out:

- The rune representing 'g' here is a closed **j**-rune, but almost seems based on the Greek alphabet ϕ, as they are almost in the same position and very similar in shape. The scribe tried to distinguish them (or perhaps thought them different) by making the bow section in the middle of the character angular for the rune;
- The **m**-rune is incomplete, looking more like a Roman 'n' with a connecting line to the top of the left stem, though the scribe did seem to have an idea of the general shape;
- The rune representing 'q' here is unclear, and looks like a combination of two runes, but could perhaps be based on the **ea**-rune?
- The final two runes, between **u** and the Roman z-like character appear to be a badly drawn form of the **k**-rune (which is normally more rounded) or a Scandinavian **R**- or **y**-rune, and the dotted **u**-rune, which stands for 'y', but again in the Scandinavian rune-row.

Context

The runic alphabet follows two Greek alphabets and precedes Greek numerals. The first Greek alphabet has the names of the letters and two transliterations ('v' and 'o') written above them, the second is a plain alphabet, and the final list of characters is accompanied by Roman numerals. The runic alphabet, however, is bare of any extra information. The scribe provides a separation with a vertical line of dots between the first section (alphabet with names), the second section (two plain alphabets, one Greek and one runic), and the third section (alphabet with numerals). This division is similar to the ones used in epigraphical runic inscriptions, yet based on the Greek context I doubt the association exists here. The first and final alphabets are correct,

but the middle two contain a number of characters which are neither runic nor Greek, most notably the 'z'-like character, which appears three times. It has an elaborate tail and with two dots on either side in the second Greek alphabet, and appears with a cross-bar at the end of the runic alphabet.

The runic alphabet, as part of the alphabet collection, is also found at the end of a number of computistical texts, and before a section on computistical formulae. Preceding the alphabets is a poorly recorded text on Egyptian days, followed by a letter of commendation (*litterae formatae*) addressed to a certain bishop Accus (or Acco). Derolez comments on the context that '[…] the runes seem to have been included because the compiler somehow connected them with the Greek alphabet, and that Greek alphabet belonged to the *regula formatum*.'[79] The lack of distinction between the three alphabets confirms this, as well as the fact that they all appear to have been written by the same hand, and with the same ink used for the preceding computistical texts (starting on fo. 58v). He also notes that this is similar to the Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Cod. Vos. Lat. F 12 δ manuscript, which was also written at Fleury [13].[80]

Since the commendation letter does not contain any names, but refers to other persons with N (standing for *nomen*) or ił‡ (for *ille*), Derolez suggests that it may have been intended as a model, a *regula formatarum* explained by example.[81] The letter contains a number of Greek letters and numerals, for which fo. 61r served as a legend.

2. OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 572

Manuscript

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 572 is a manuscript written in Latin, which comprises one hundred and seven folios from four separate manuscripts: the first

[79] Derolez (1954), p. 212.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid., pp. 214-15.

consists of ff. 2-25, the second ff. 26-40, the third ff. 41-50, and the fourth ff. 51-106. The manuscript contains various theological, devotional, and regulatory texts. The contents can be dated to different times between the ninth and eleventh century and were written in England and Wales.[82] They are as follows:[83]

1. Fo. 1: A single leaf containing most of a *Missa propria Germani episcopi*;
2. Ff. 2-13: *Expositio Missae* probably by Theodulf, bishop of Orléans;
3. Ff. 14-25: The *Liber Thobiae*;
4. Ff. 26-40: Two epistles of Augustine, the second of which is a homily by Caesarius of Arles; Caesarius, *Sermo* 179; Antiphons in honour of Saint Benedict; Latin benedictions with Old English rubrics; two Old English cryptograms; Paschal table for the cycle 836-1367;
5. Fo. 41r: **Fuþark**, **coded runes**;
6. Ff. 41v-47: A Latin conversation lesson with vernacular glosses, *De raris fabulis;*
7. Ff. 47v-50: Antiphons, responsories and verses for a burial office in a Benedictine house with neumes of Winchester type;
8. Ff. 51-83: *Poenitentiale Cummeani* (incomplete);
9. Ff. 83-91: Decrees of Council of Orange and other canons; Hormisdas, *Epistola per universas provincias*; Pseudo-Jerome*, Inquisitio de paenitentia*; Injunctions concerning penitence; Augustine of Canterbury, *Interrogatio* IX and *responsio* of Gregory (from *Libellus responsionum*); Prologue to *Poenitentiale Egberti*;
10. Ff. 91-106v: Sermon by Saint Pirminius.

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[82] Gneuss, # 583-583.3, p. 95.

[83] R. C. J. Marsden, 'The Survival of Ceolfrith's Tobit in a Tenth-Century Insular Manuscript', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 45 (1994), p. 3; Gneuss, #583-583.3, p. 95; F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the Quarto Series* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), vol. 2, 1, #2026.

The first leaf was written in Cornwall in the tenth century, but is not a part of any of the four books.[84] The first manuscript is from the tenth century, probably written in Cornwall. The second is also from the tenth century, but written in Wales or Cornwall by a scribe called Bledian (based on the note '*Bledian scritor huius epistolę rogat Deum misericordię*', fo. 39v), except for the Winchester paschal tables on fo. 40v.[85] Gneuss puts the third manuscript, which contains the runes, in Wales or Cornwall around the tenth century, though notes that some elements can be dated to the eleventh century (antiphons, cryptograms, paschal table), and Madan narrows this down geographically to the Welsh border on palaeographic grounds.[86] The fourth manuscript again can be dated to the tenth century in Wales, though some of the chants are probably from the eleventh or twelfth century. Part of the last manuscript (ff. 91-106) was probably created at the beginning of the ninth century, in the north-east of France. Gneuss estimates that it arrived in England before 1100, while DIAMM suggests before 1000.[87] Parts one and three were likely compiled in Wales and then moved from there to England, probably Glastonbury, in the late tenth century, then through to Winchester in the eleventh century, and finally to St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury at the end of that century. The whole codex eventually arrived at St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, but Marsden remarks that it may not have been in its present form until the second half of the fifteenth century.[88] At that time the contents of St Augustine's Abbey's Library had been catalogued, and only part one appears in the catalogue (n° 129).[89] The codex was presented to the Bodleian Library in 1606 by Ralph Barlow (d. 1631).[90]

[84] Marsden, p. 4.
[85] 'GB-Ob MS. Bodl. 572', *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music*, Bodleian Library <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=497> [Accessed July 2017].
[86] Gneuss, #583-583.3; Madan, #2026.
[87] Gneuss, # 583-583.3, p. 95; 'GB-Ob MS. Bodl. 572', *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music*, Bodleian Library <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=497> [Accessed September 2016].
[88] Marsden, p. 3.
[89] 'GB-Ob MS. Bodl. 572', *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music*.
[90] Ibid.

Runic material



The manuscript shows three rows of runes, two of which are twig-rune *fuþarks*, one an example of the code. In the study of runology, a number of ways in which rune-carvers or rune-writers obscure the meaning of their message have been established. McKinnell, Simek and Düwel note that there are three main methods for encrypting runic inscriptions: the first is by means of anagrams, abbreviations or spatial arrangements; the second by using a code in which one rune stands for another one; the third by writing the text in cryptic runes, which works by indicating the conventional position of each rune within the three *ættir* of the *fuþark* instead of its form.[91] This manuscript is an example of the third method. Page notes on the origin of this phenomenon that from quite an early date Scandinavian rune-masters divided their *fuþarks* into three groups of eight letters each. Icelandic runic scholars in the seventeenth century called these groups *ættir*, coinciding with the Icelandic word for 'families', though for the purposes of runology etymologists prefer to

[91] J. McKinnell, R. Simek, K. Düwel, *Runes, Magic and Religion: A Sourcebook*, Studia Medievalia Septentrionalia 10 (Vienna: Fassbaender, 2004), p. 26.

connect it with the word *átta*, 'eight'.[92] The earliest examples of this *fuþark*-division were found on two bracteates, dated to 450-550, from southern Sweden: Vadstena, Östergötland (ÖG 178), and Grumpan, Västergötland (VG 207).[93] When this system was developed into a cryptographical system, however, is unclear.[94] This scheme presents the position of the runes in the Younger *fuþark* according to the *ættir* division:[95]

	Pos 1	Pos 2	Pos 3	Pos 4	Pos 5	Pos 6
Ætt 3	f	u	þ	ą	r	k
Ætt 2	h	n	i	a	s	
Ætt 1	t	b	m	l	R/y	

These coded runes are transliterated using two numbers divided by a slash: the number of the *ætt* comes first, followed by the position of the letter. For instance: the **f**-rune is denoted 1/1, the **h**-rune 2/1, etc. There are a number of different ways in which the position of each rune within the three *ættir* is used as the basis of a code. The cryptic runes appearing in a manuscript context are the so-called twig runes (Swedish *kvistrunor*) which look like **t**-runes but with multiple branches, ice-runes (ON *ís-runar*) which use a series of long and short **i**-runes to indicate the different codes, *lagorunar*, which use small and large **l**-runes, and *stophrunar*, which use two lines of dots (with the top indicating the *ætt*, the bottom the position). Twig runes seem to have been the most common way of using secret runes in epigraphy, but manuscripts frequently show an overview of the different types of rune-codes, which Derolez calls *isruna*-tracts, based on the fact that the **i**-runes section usually comes first. [96] Examples of this tract can be found in for instance St Gallen MS 270

[92] Page (1999), p. 82.
[93] M. Axboe, K. Düwel, K. Hauck, L. Von Padberg, C. Wypior, *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit*, 2.1 Ikonographischer Katalog (IK 2, Tekst) (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1986), #377, #260.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Adapted from McKinnell, Simek, Düwel, p. 27. A similar system exists for the older *fuþark*, but since the younger is employed here, only this one is given.
[96] Derolez (1954), p. 89.

[18], Brussels MS 9565-9566 [21], Salzburg MS A IX 32 [29], Città del Vaticano Urb. Lat. 290 [33], and Trier MS 61 [35].

The twig runes here are using the above younger *fuþark* code, but in a somewhat altered way. The first *fuþark* (second row) shows the customary three-part division, but starting from the back. The group of the runes is indicated by the branches on the left-hand side of the stem, and division marks are inserted for extra clarity. The second row similarly divides the rune-row, but in this case into five groups, a division which I have not seen anywhere else, but is perhaps reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon twig-runes, called *hahal*-runes in the *isruna*-tracts, which are divided into four groups.[97] Again the branches on the right-hand side indicate the group. The top row of runes serves as an example and should be decoded using the system presented. They can be transliterated and transcribed as follows:

ᚴ ᛋ ᛦ ⁘ ᚦ ᚴ ᛁ ᛏ ᛦ

3/6 2/5 1/5 = 5/3 4/3 3/3 2/3 1/4

k s ʀ/y + þ k i t ʀ/y

This text does not appear to have any meaning, though it is possible that a second layer of encryption has been applied, which scholars thus far have not been able to decipher. The runic section as a whole seems to be some sort of manual for the use of twig-runes, which makes the confusing nature of this example rather strange.

Context

The divided nature of the manuscript complicates the analysis of the context. The runes can be found on fo. 41r, which is technically part of the third booklet of the manuscript. However, the text of the Latin conversation only starts on fo. 41v, and fo. 41r is blank except for the runes written at the bottom of the page. This means that this was likely an empty page at the beginning of part three. The runes were thus either written by a Welsh hand around the tenth century, or added later by an English hand in Glastonbury, Winchester, or Canterbury. The only other manuscript

[97] Ibid., p. 133.

which contains similar twig-runes is British Library, Stowe MS 57 [9], which was written in the Peterborough area, but no connection between the manuscripts has been discovered thus far.

Ker notes that there are three Old English rubrics and two cryptographs on fo. 40r, in the originally blank space at the end of the second of two quires (ff. 26-40). These were written in a tenth-century insular minuscule by a scribe called Bledian and contained texts by or attributed to St Augustine.[98] This material seems to fit in quite nicely with the coded runes, and I am therefore tempted to consider that the runes were added in connection to this material, in Wales in the tenth century. Bledian could thus potentially be the scribe responsible. This corresponds with Madan's suggestion that the runes were added to the foot of an empty page in the tenth century.[99] This would make the context one of religion and computistics. Of course, it is equally possible that this page was left blank and was used at a later point (even in the tenth century), possibly in Winchester or in Canterbury. Canterbury is a strong candidate for this, as a number of other runic manuscripts were collected or written there during the Middle Ages (e.g. British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A. XV).

3. EXETER, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, MS 3507

Manuscript

Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3507 has been dated to the second half of the tenth century, and has connections to Salisbury and Sherborne. Derolez notes that it was probably written in the same scriptorium as the Sherborne pontifical (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 943), and may be a witness of the reform movement of the tenth century.[100] Connor thinks it most likely that the manuscript was created

[98] Ker, #313.
[99] Madan, #2026.
[100] Derolez (1954), pp. 219-20.

at Exeter itself, while Webber suggests Sherborne.[101] The text was probably written by one scribe, but contains glosses by several hands, among which are also two Old English glosses on fo. 98v: *luligines .i. merespin (i.e. mereswin),* and *delphini .i. simones ł seolas*.[102] The contents are as follows:[103]

1. Ff. 1r-3v: Prologue and table of contents for Hrabanus Maurus, *De Computo*;
2. Ff. 4r-56v: Hrabanus Maurus, *De Computo*;
3. Fo. 57r-v: *De aetatibus*;
4. Fo. 58r: A number of short computistical items: *Versus de duodecim mensibus anni*; *Tetrasticon autenticon de singulis mensibus*; *Versus de singulis mensibus*; *Versus de singulis mensibus et signis*; *Versus de duodecim mensibus*; *Versus de cursu anni*; *De octo tramitibus circuli decennovalis*; *Versus de septem dierum vocabulis*; *De septem miraculis manu factis*; *Duo sunt extreme vertices mundi*, etc; *De diebus aegyptiacis*; *Ordo librorum catholicorum in circulo anni legendorum*;
5. Fo. 64v: On pronunciation (ultimately from Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis*);
6. Fo. 65r: A Greek alphabet, with the names of the letters and their meanings, in one column; a Hebrew alphabet, also with the names of the letters and their meanings;
7. Fo. 65v: A Greek alphabet, with the Greek numerals and the values in Roman figures; the Greek numerals for '1000' to 10000' ('3000' omitted); a list of Greek letter names, including those of the numerical symbols;
8. Fo. 66r: **Three runic alphabets**;
9. Fo. 66v: *De concurrentibus*; *De sex aetatibus nominis*;

[101] P. W. Connor, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-century Cultural History* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993), p. 45; T. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c.1075-1125* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 69.
[102] Derolez (1954), p. 220.
[103] Ibid., p. 221.

10. Fo. 67r-v: Isidore of Seville, *De Natura Rerum*. The end is missing, but was there originally, as a note on fo. 76r (lower left) shows: '*Isdem circulus / in fine huius / libelli alia / figura scrip/tus est*'.

To establish Exeter as the place of origin, Connor indicates the connections between five manuscripts, most of which have an Exeter origin, according to him: Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3507; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 149 (ff. 1-139); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 319; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. MS 943.[104] Ker also connects MS 3507 with Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718 via script, and consequently suspects that the manuscript arrived at Exeter at an early date, though its presence can only be established from 1506 onwards.[105] Gameson agrees with this and writes that Exeter MS 3507, Bodley MS 718, and Paris MS 943, were likely all written by the same scribe.[106] The similarities with MS Bodley 718, which Connor thinks was written at Exeter in the tenth or eleventh century,[107] are of interest since it was one of the manuscripts donated to Exeter by Bishop Leofric, who also gifted the Exeter book (MS 3501) to the Cathedral Library, and parallels may indicate a similar origin. Yet Gameson notes here that though there is certainly a connection between these five manuscripts, they 'do not form a coherent, self-sufficient group, and the scribal styles represented in them are demonstrably not localizable to Exeter'.[108] However, there is also a runological connection to be made with London, British Library, MS Vitellius A. XII, another *manuscriptum runicum* [5].[109] With regard to this manuscript,

[104] Connor, pp. 33-47.
[105] Ker, #116*.
[106] R. Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 25 (1996), 135-185, p. 163.
[107] Connor, p. 18.
[108] Gameson (1996), p. 162.
[109] Derolez also mentions that the first alphabet of Phillips MS 3715 'is no doubt related with the first in Exeter MS 3507 [..] and Cotton MS Vitellius […] A 12' (Derolez (1954), pp. 229-30). This manuscript is currently known as the *Mappae Clavicula* or the Phillips-Corning manuscript and is held at the Corning Museum of Glass in Corning, New York. This manuscript falls outside of the purview of the catalogue, but an extensive description and edition (including drawings of the runic material) can be found in C. S. Smith, J. G. Hawthorne, 'Mappae Clavicula: A Little Key to the World of Medieval Techniques', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 64.1 (1974), 1-128.

Ker notes that the contents of Exeter 3507 ff. 10v-65 are nearly identical to ff. 4-77 of Cotton Vitellius A. XII [5], a manuscript by a Salisbury scribe (the same scribe wrote Salisbury Cathedral MS 25, ff. 176v-203, and 128, ff. 25-116, Bodley MS 765, ff. I1/16-19, and Keble College MS 22, ff. 3-4v, 5v-7, 10). Ker noted in 1949 that Vitellius was therefore likely a partial copy of Exeter MS 3507, but revised this opinion later, and concluded that though the contents are very close they contain enough differences to exclude direct copying.[110] Webber suggests a common exemplar for the two manuscripts.[111] Stevens, who analysed the scientific contents of the manuscript, agrees with Webber, saying that 'there are variant readings which make it clear that they must have been copied directly from a single exemplar, not from each other.'[112] He also includes London, British Library, Cotton MS Domitian A. I in this comparison, though this manuscript does not contain any runes or alphabets.[113]

Webber expands on this by saying that Sherborne certainly co-operated with the Exeter community to provide them with exemplars (see for instance Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii. 2. 4), and if Exeter MS 3507, Bodley MS 718 and Paris, BN, MS Lat. 943 were copied at Sherborne, then the exemplar for Exeter MS 3507 may have been a now-lost manuscript which belonged to the community there. It is thus possible that this lost manuscript was borrowed from Sherborne by the Salisbury Canons and served as the exemplar for Cotton MS Vitellius A. XII.[114] An alternative theory is offered by Gameson, who believes that the Sherborne Pontifical was written at Canterbury, specifically at Christ Church, and consequently suggests that, based on stylistic features, MS 3507 and Bodley MS 718 were written there too.[115] Christ Church Canterbury was also responsible for producing London, British Library,

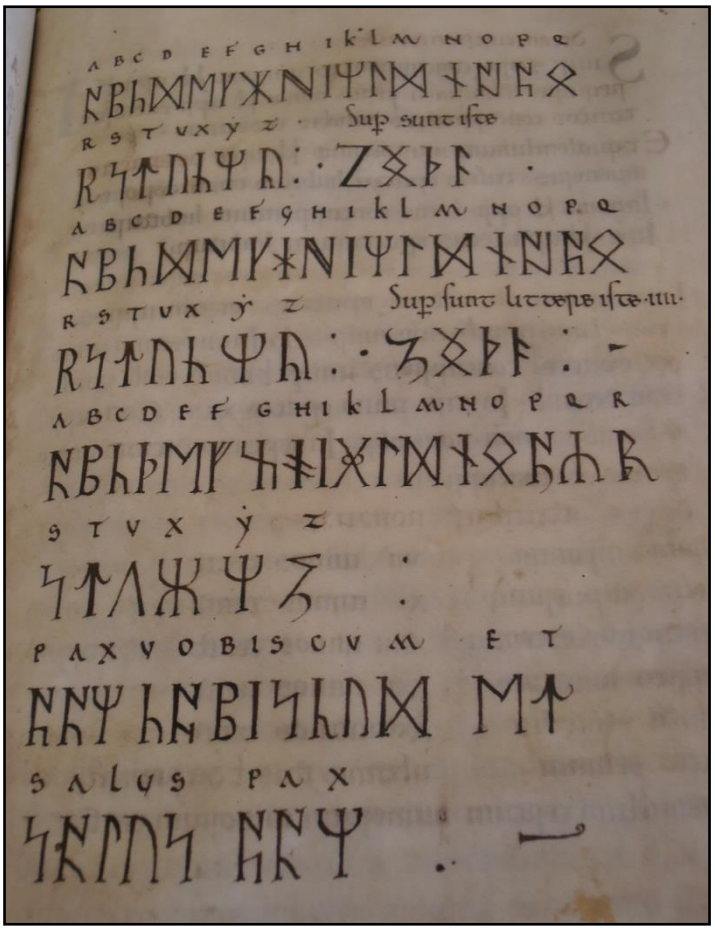
[110] N. R. Ker, 'Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, liii (1949), 153-83, p. 156; N. R. Ker, 'The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library' in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 23-49, pp. 38-39.
[111] Derolez (1954), pp. 226-27; Webber, p. 69.
[112] W. M. Stevens, 'The Figure of the Earth in Isidore's De Natura Rerum', *Isis*, 71.2 (1980), 268-277, p. 275.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Webber, p. 69.
[115] Gameson (1996), p. 177.

Cotton MS Caligula A. IX, an eleventh-century manuscript containing a Scandinavian runic charm, so the scriptorium was not unfamiliar with the script. Both theories are therefore worth considering. Yet, based on the spread of this type of runic material more generally in England (see Development), and the similarities between MS 3507 and Vitellius A. XII, a south-western origin seems perhaps more probable.

Runic material

Exeter 3507 contains ninety-eight Anglo-Saxon runes, split into three alphabets, two sections of 'additional' runes, and the Latin phrase *pax vobiscum et salus pax* in runes. Additionally, there are four dry-point runes at the bottom of the page. The manuscript runes are very carefully drawn and all measure 10 mm. All runes, except for the dry-point ones and the additional groups, were given transliterations. There are some small serifs on the top and bottom of the stem and at the end of the branches.

The scribe clearly put effort in making this a clear and neat alphabet. Although he succeeded, there are still a number of problems with some of the characters. Interestingly, the same mistakes do not happen throughout, with some of the same mistakes occurring in the first two alphabets and the third containing



different ones. The third alphabet therefore likely came from a different source than the first two. For instance, the first two alphabets show the **k**-rune transliterated as 'f', the Scandinavian **m**-rune as 'k' (though it could potentially also be a rounded **x**-rune), the **œ**-rune as 'q', and another Scandinavian **m**-rune as 'y'. It seems that the scribe did not notice that he repeated certain runes: the aforementioned Scandinavian **m**-rune appears twice, as does the **c**-rune for 'c' and for 'x'. One difference between the first and the second alphabet is ᚷ, which is an Anglo-Saxon **g** in the first alphabet, but a Scandinavian **h** in the second (or an Anglo-Saxon **j**). The third alphabet shows a **þ** for 'd', a Scandinavian **o**-rune for 'h', a **k**-rune for 'q', and a **ķ**-rune for 'x'. Some comments on the runes:

- The **h**-rune is shaped more like a Roman letter 'n' in the first two alphabets because the branches end at the bottom of the stem, instead of in the middle; the third alphabet contains a single stem with the two diagonal lines crossing it;

- The ratio between the length of the stem and the branches seems to be a recurrent problem for this scribe. This imprecision makes the **m**-rune look too similar to the **d**-rune;
- The bottom branch of the **o**-rune is exaggerated;
- The **g**-rune comes in three different varieties in this manuscript: the one from the third alphabet stands out most, since it has two branches on the cross-stroke, on the left pointing upwards, on the right downwards. This shape is similar to the one found in continental *runica manuscripta* in the *De Inventione* tracts;
- In the third alphabet, the **r**-rune has an additional small pocket at the bottom of the stem;
- The most obviously out of place character is the one transliterated as **z** in the third alphabet, which does not exist in the epigraphical tradition but also appears in Harley MS 3017, and was likely invented based on the shape of the Roman letter 'z'. The character occurs in the 'additional' category in the first two alphabets, without a transliteration, but is used as **z** in the third alphabet. The transliteration 'z' appears in every alphabet, but accompanies the **y**-rune in the first two alphabets. In the first additional section, this character looks like a Roman letter 'z', whereas in the second it seems like an elaborate form of that letter; the final one with a transliteration appears to be a distorted version of the second, and does not resemble a rune or Roman letter.

As noted, the scribe has separated those runes which he could not place within the Roman alphabet into an additional section at the end of every alphabet. This appears to have been a fairly common practice amongst rune-scribes who alphabetised their material: see for instance Wien MS 1010 [38], Oxford MS Auct. F. 4. 32, and Città del Vaticano, Cod. Urb. Lat. 290 [33], where the 'superfluous' runes are put at the end of the alphabet. Here, the sections containing additional runes are entitled *Super sunt iste* at the end of the first alphabet and *Super sunt littere iste .iiii.* at the end of the

second alphabet. Both sections contain four runes: the Roman z-like character, the **ing**-rune, the **þ**-rune, and the **æ**-rune.

The phrase written in runes at the bottom of the page does not appear to have been based on the alphabets. This is most clearly indicated by the use of ᛘ for 'x'. This character is used for 'y' in all three alphabets. Additionally, the bottom leg of the 'o' is shorter than in any of the alphabets. It would appear that this phrase was then also copied, and presumably from a different source than the alphabet material. Based on the background of this manuscript and its runic similarities with Vitellius A. XII, however, I think that the compilation of this page was likely done by the scribe of the exemplar.

Finally, there is a demarcation at the end of each alphabet: the first alphabet shows three dots in a triangle as an end-mark, followed by the four 'superfluous' runes which end in a single dot; the second alphabet has again the three dots, but the extra runes end in two dots and a short stroke; the third alphabet ends in a large colon; the short message at the bottom terminates with a large colon and a longer horizontal stroke, indicating the end of the page.

Context

The runes take up a full page, and only transliterations and the Latin notes are provided for context. There are, however, four runes scratched into the parchment underneath the body of the text. They are unclear, but can be read as follows: an **l**-rune; the lopsided **g**-rune from the third alphabet, but with an extra branch added to the end of the crossbar on the right-hand side, pointing downwards in an upside down v-shape; the Scandinavian **m**-rune, and the strangely shaped 'z' from the third alphabet. It is difficult to tell whether these scratchings are contemporary or not, but they were likely inserted after the manuscript runes were written. It is noteworthy that apart from the **l**-rune, all of the runes scratched into the pages are mistakes made by the scribe. This suggests that the dry-point rune-writer recognised the runic alphabet and that they either carved these characters to practise them, possibly because they had not seen them before, or to indicate that the characters were odd or wrong. The runes are written haphazardly and do not seem to spell any text or

words. The transliteration, following the values given by the manuscript runes, would be **l g k z** (sequence unclear). It is also possible that these are initials or some sort of code.

The runes appear in a section of the manuscript dedicated to linguistics (in a wide interpretation of the word): the runic alphabets follow a page on pronunciation and a folio containing a Greek and Hebrew alphabet, and Greek numerals. The runic page further accompanies scholarship on computus (the medieval science of calculating the calendar date of Easter) by Hrabanus Maurus and others. Hrabanus Maurus is often associated with runes by modern scholars due to his perceived authorship of the treatise, *De Inventione Linguarum*. The works of other scholars such as Martianus Cappella and Isidore of Seville also appear in this manuscript.

4. CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS 41

Manuscript

This manuscript contains the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.* It has been dated to the eleventh century, with Schipper estimating the middle of the century and Warner 1030-1040. It was written in the South of England, probably in Exeter, by two main hands. [116] Ker notes that it seems likely that the volume was written in two main portions (quires 1-13 and 14-31), which were begun simultaneously.[117] This may be confirmed by the second scribe's own assertion in a colophon on pp. 483 and 484 that he wrote the book 'with his two hands'.[118] Gneuss thinks that the Old English and liturgical marginalia were added at a later time, potentially around the middle of the eleventh century.[119] The manuscript contains both Old English and Latin, but the hand does not differ

[116] 'Manuscript Description: Old English Bede', *Parker on the Web* <https://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=41 > [Accessed September 2016]; Gneuss, #39; R. Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, 2001), #26.
[117] Ker, #32.
[118] Gameson (2001), #26.
[119] Gneuss, #39.

between the languages.[120] The margins of the manuscript have seen a lot of use, and have been employed for the transcription of a number of texts (most notably the Old English text *Salomon and Saturn*). These are of interest here. As noted, the main contents, pp. 1-484, are Bede's *History*, a list of the more notable marginalia follows:[121]

1. P. 2: Old English liturgical rubrics intermittent in the Latin text;
2. Pp. 8, 16, 45: Latin Masses;
3. P. 46: Office for Easter Eve;
4. P. 60: Saints Philip and James; Invention of the Cross;
5. Pp. 61, 75: Antiphons etc for Advent and the Christmas season;
6. Pp. 75, 122: On the Christmas season;
7. Pp. 124, 125, 128, 132: Notices of Saints;
8. P. 130: St John the Evangelist (l. 4);
9. P. 131: *The Innocents*;
10. Pp. 134-139: Offices for Advent in Latin;
11. P. 182: Latin Prayer followed by Anglo-Saxon charm;
12. Pp. 192-194: Office for the Eve and Feast of All Saints;
13. Pp. 196-198: Fragment of *Salomon and Saturn* containing **runic abbreviations**;
14. Pp. 206, 207, 208: Charms (Latin and Old English);
15. P. 208: Corrupt version of the Hymn of Saints Sechnall or Secundinus on Saint Patrick;
16. Pp. 224-225: Office for the Invention of the Cross;
17. Pp. 254-280: Homily, '*Men þa leofestan ic eop bidde 7 eaðmodlice lære'*;

[120] Ker, #32.
[121] 'Manuscript Description: Old English Bede', *Parker on the Web.*

18. Pp. 280-287: Homily on the Assumption;
19. Pp. 287-295: Homily on the Last Judgment, Heaven, Hell, etc;
20. Pp. 295-301: Homily on Ascension Day, Last Judgment, etc;
21. P. 322: Caedmon's Hymn, West Saxon version;
22. Pp. 326, 329, 350: Old English and Latin Charms;
23. Pp. 370-373: Masses for Common of Saints and *Pro Rege*;
24. Pp. 402-417: Homily on Saint Michael;
25. Pp. 436, 448: **Partial runic alphabet**, **runic text**;
26. Pp. 475-477: Responses from Job, and '*de Tobi*', '*de Iudith*', '*Dom. I mensis October usque in Dom. i mensis November*', '*De minoribus prophetis*';
27. P. 478: Responses for Saint Martin;
28. P. 482: Responses for John the Baptist, Peter, and Paul;
29. P. 483: Mass '*Ad Paganorum nos defende periculis*';
30. P. 484-488: Following the end of Bede's text, a homily giving the story of the Passion.

This manuscript is one of the volumes donated by Leofric to Exeter, evidenced by the donation inscription (both in Latin and Old English) on p. 488:

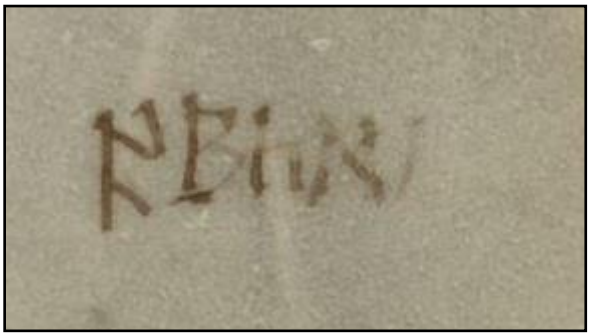
> Hunc librum dat leofricus episcopus ecclesie sancti petri apostoli in exonia ubi sedes episcopalis est ad utilitatem successorum suorum. Si quis illum abstulerit inde, subiaceat maledictioni. FIAT. FIAT. FIAT.
> Đas boc gef Leofric. b. into sce petres mynstre on exancestre þaer se bisceopstol is for (his) saple alisednysse 7 gif hig hþa ut æt brede god hine fordo on þære e[cnis].[122]

[122] 'This book was given by bishop Leofric to the church of the apostle Saint Peter in Exeter where the episcopal seat is for the use of his successors. If one takes this away from this place, he will be subject to evil curses. FIAT FIAT FIAT. This book was given by bishop Leofric to the monastery of St Peter in Exeter where the bishop's seat is for the redemption of his soul & if anyone makes off with it, God will destroy him in [eternity]'. (My translation).

The manuscript is, however, not entered on the list of Leofric's gifts contained in Bodleian MS Auct. D. 2. 16.[123] Connor suggests that part of the manuscript was already written before Leofric's arrival at Exeter, and that the inscription was added later on.[124] J. Joscelyn (d. 1603) used the manuscript, which at the time was part of Archbishop Parker's collection, for his glossary in Lambeth Palace MS 692, ff. 22, 40v, evidence for which are also two notes in his handwriting on p. 66. Parker bequeathed it to Corpus Christi College in 1575.[125]

Runic material

This manuscript contains multiple instances of runic use. Best-known are the runic abbreviations attached to the name Salomon on p. 197, but two marginal notes in runes can also be found on p. 436 and 448: the first one containing alphabet material, the second a runic text. As explained in the introduction, due to the limitations of the thesis only the marginal notes are discussed here. The first note consists of five characters at the bottom of p. 436, and reads **a b c d** (**i**). The first four characters are clear and correct, though the **d**-rune is missing its ascenders and descenders. The fifth character is very faint, but looks like an **i**-rune. Page thinks it could be part of an **e**-rune, which would make sense in the sequence.[126] Birkett notes that these runes were written as *probatio pennae*.[127]



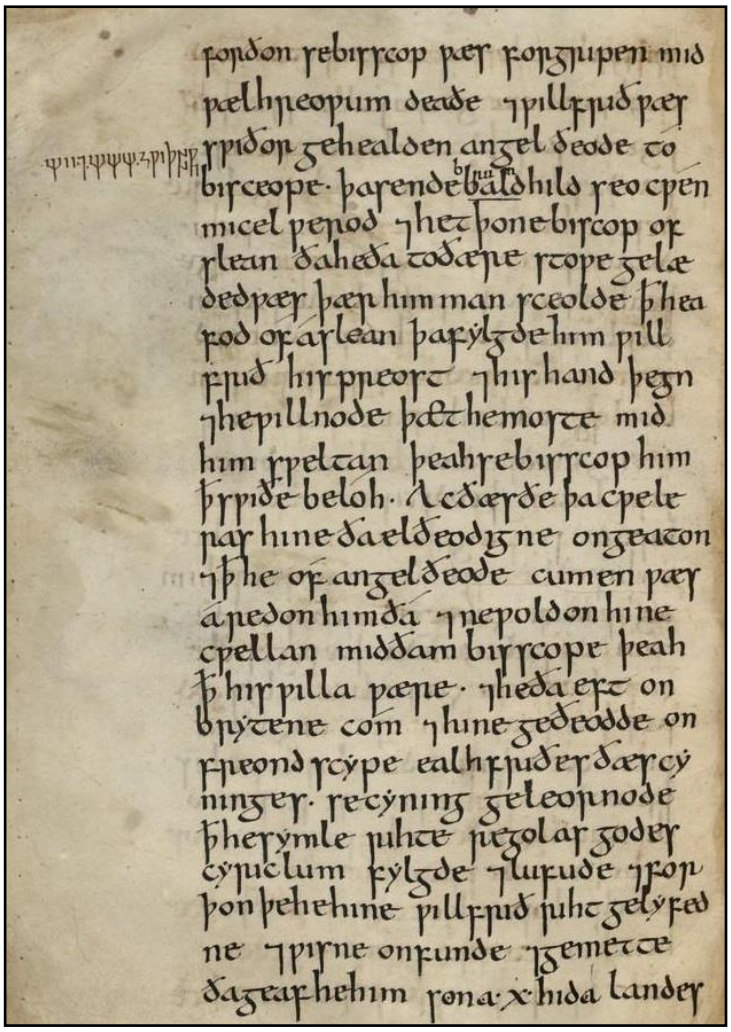
[123] 'Manuscript Description: Old English Bede', *Parker on the Web.*
[124] Connor, p. 13.
[125] Ker, #32.
[126] Page (1999), p. 197.
[127] T. Birkett, 'Correcting Bede's Corrector? A Runic Note in the Margins of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 41', *Notes and Queries*, 59.4 (2012), 465-70, p. 460.



The second note in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 can be found on p. 448 in the left-hand margin, between the third and fourth line. It can be transcribed as **xii. 7. xxx**. **s w i þ o r**. The first two groups of runes appear to be used to form Roman numerals. It is slightly odd that runes are used instead of roman numerals, but that the scribe uses the standard Tironian nota to indicate 'and'. The line is written neatly, but unevenly, going almost diagonally across the margin. Two interesting forms here are the **r**-rune and the **s**-rune. The top of the **r** here is strangely angular and rather similar to the **w**-rune, while the **s**-rune looks almost like a Roman z with a tail. Birkett remarks that a similarly shaped character appears in a *fuþorc* on fo. 320 of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 878 [16] and that the odd shape of the **s** shows that it was little more than a tentative guess at a runic form.[128] The **r**-rune does not appear particularly clumsy to me, as the angular shape and similarities between the *wynn* and the **r**-rune can be found elsewhere (see for instance Harley MS 3017 [1], Domitian A. IX [6], and London, BL, Additional MS 47967). The **s**-rune is interesting, because although it could simply be a correct **s**-rune with an embellishment, it also recalls the z-like characters which appear in manuscripts such as Harley MS 3017 [1], Exeter MS 3507 [3], and Cotton Vitellius A. XII [5].

The use of dotting is striking here, as only the sections which contain the numerals are demarcated, despite the fact that runes are usually also presented in manuscripts with dots on both ends of a word or abbreviation. Perhaps the scribe decided against this to avoid confusion with the numbers. If this is correct, then the message would say 'twelve and thirty more'. The Old English word *swiþor* also

[128] Ibid., p. 466. The runes appear on the verso side, which is not mentioned in the article.



occurs in Roman letters in line three, almost next to the runes, so the runic line appears connected to that statement.

Context

Both the first four letters of the alphabet and the runic note are part of the collection of marginalia surrounding the text of Bede's *Historia*. The partial alphabet appears as a single marginal note on p. 436, and no information on the runes is supplied. The runic note appears twelve pages later, so a connection between the two is uncertain. Page writes that the two notes were written by different hands,[129] but Birkett doubts this, noting that none of the letter forms appear in both notes,

[129] Page (1999), pp. 197-98.

and that the latter inscription is more carefully copied, so it is difficult to reach any conclusions.[130] This is a valid observation, and it should also be kept in mind that the function of the notes is different, as the first one is a pen trial and the second carries a message. Birkett goes on to say that if both texts were written by the same hand, it is possible that the commentator was not confident in his runic abilities and used the space on p. 436 to practise writing the unfamiliar script before committing to his marginal note.[131] This is slightly contradictory, as this presupposes that the scribe had planned ahead to add a runic note, which makes it seem rather odd to practise with characters you are not going to use. Birkett adds that it is likely that the scribe used a runic alphabet as a crib, due to his lack of runic knowledge.[132] If so, this alphabet would likely have had transliterations for ease of use, which would make the writing of irrelevant characters even less logical. The fact that the alphabet material is hardly helpful with reading the text on p. 448, since it consists of only four (discernible) characters, none of which appear in the text, and has no transliterations or rune-names, does make it likely that it is a *probatio pennae*. However, considering the presence of the runic abbreviations, it seems more straightforward to conclude that either one of the MS 41 scribes had some runic knowledge (since it would be rather arduous to source a runic alphabet, practise four characters and then use other ones, for a single marginal comment), or this is a case of two different runic writers, as Page suggested.

The inspiration for writing the partial alphabet likely came from the last words of chapter fourteen of the Bede text, which ends just above the runes: *on leornunge ure stafa*.[133] This is interesting, because, it suggests that there were not written merely to trial a new pen, and also because the use of *ure* 'our' implies that runes were considered a script over which the annotator had some sort of ownership. Page notes on this that '[i]n late Anglo-Saxon Exeter, then, it seems that

[130] Birkett, p. 466.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.
[133] 'On the reading of our letters'. (My translation). Page (1995), p. 124.

runes were known as an alternative script'.[134] This statement was then interpreted by Symons to mean that the runes may have been added by a reader keen to demonstrate the appearance of 'English', specifically runic, letters.[135] Based on the appearance of runic alphabets and runic notes in various manuscripts from across England, it does indeed seem plausible that this can be extended to beyond just Exeter, though whether runes represented 'Englishness' for others than just this reader is unclear.

The context of the second note is even more interesting. Since the note repeats one of the words from the main text, its meaning likely also lies in Bede's writing. It has been suggested that the numerals indicate an emendation or a calculation of some sort. Scholars have noted that there is a line at the bottom of the page referencing Ealhfrið's endowment of ten hides of land to Wilfrid on his return from pilgrimage in Rome. On the facing page, it is noted that he granted this to the Ripon monastery along with thirty hides of land. This note may thus be a correction of this statement.[136] Birkett, however, entertains the idea that the rune-writer was correcting Bede's corrector. On line four the first hand has emended the name of the Frankish Queen Baldhild to Brunhild in an obvious manner by underlining the incorrect element and writing the correct letters above them. Birkett suggests that the runic note indicates that the correction does not make sense historically, since by changing the name of the Queen the time-frame is off by approximately forty-two years, the number indicated by the runes.[137] His reasons for this suggestion are that the runes are positioned much closer to the correction than they are to the ten hides sentence, which is at the bottom of the page. Additionally, the text (also in other manuscripts) notes ten and thirty hides, not twelve and thirty, though the runes could also indicate that the annotator thought this was incorrect.[138]

Birkett also provides a historical reason. The section next to the runes reports events which happen when Wilfrid of Stamford (d. 709), later Bishop of York, is

[134] Ibid., pp. 124-25.
[135] Symons, pp. 23-24.
[136] Birkett, pp. 466-67.
[137] Ibid., p. 469.
[138] Ibid., p. 467.

travelling back to Britain after having spent time in Rome studying with Archdeacon Boniface (d. 754). Wilfrid stops in Gaul on his journey, where he receives the tonsure from bishop Dalfinus (though possibly in fact Archbishop Annemund). Wilfrid's stay is unpleasantly disturbed when the Frankish Queen Baldhild has the Bishop executed. The executioners, however, refused to give Wilfrid the same fate because he was English.[139] This may have caused a problem in the eleventh century, when this translation of Bede was written down, as Queen Baldhild had been canonised as a saint, and her *Vita* noted that she was Saxon and had arrived in Frankia in captivity from overseas. Other evidence indicates that she was in fact well-respected in Anglo-Saxon England, and that the connections with her kingdom of Neustria continued throughout later centuries. It has therefore been suggested that Bede's source, Eddius Stephanus (d. eighth century) who wrote the *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, made up this escape from death to establish Wilfrid's saintly credentials.[140] In the eleventh century, however, Wilfrid, who spent much of his episcopacy in exile, was a less favourable saint, causing contemporary scribes to change the name to Brunhild (d. 613), Queen of Austrasia, who was known for her despotism. Brunhild's final regency ended with her death in 613, while Baldhild's reign began between 655 and 675, which makes a difference of twelve years.[141] It is possible that the runic scribe tried to indicate this historical inconsistency.

It is interesting to consider why the scribe would be employing the runic alphabet for either possible correction. Birkett thinks this is partly to give himself some sort of older authority, based on the link with Anglo-Saxon England and thus with Bede, and partly to conceal his hand and hide the correction from the casual reader.[142] Although this is reasonable, other *manuscriptae runae* demonstrate that using runes was often a way of drawing attention to certain elements, also evidenced by the unnecessary use of the runic abbreviation for *man*/*monn* in this manuscript to highlight the name Salomon. Although it is likely that not every scribe

[139] Ibid., p. 468.
[140] Ibid., p. 469.
[141] Ibid., p. 469.
[142] Ibid., p. 470.

could read runes and that the message was therefore not for every reader, it seems unlikely that the runic annotator was trying to conceal his note.

Another potential reason for the appearance of runes in this section is an association (of sorts) between runes and Wilfrid. His name appears in the Metrical Calendar from York (ll. 22-23), which has been copied into a number of *manuscriptae runae*, such as Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 338 [28] and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius MS 27 (which contains a runic abbreviation).[143] A tenth-century version of this metrical calendar also appears in St John's College, MS 17 [7], which, though it does not mention Wilfrid I of York, also contains runic material. Although it is doubtful that runes were directly associated with Wilfrid, it is possible that the scribe made (or saw) the connection and picked runes for his message. That said, the choice of runes for this text could be a consequence of the appearance of the partial alphabet, or simply because of an association with Bede and the history of England.

5. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON MS VITELLIUS A. XII

Manuscript

London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A. XII is a manuscript consisting of several originally independent manuscripts, most of which were written between the end of the eleventh century and the end of the twelfth century. Contents are as follows:[144]

1. Fo. 3: Computistical memoranda;
2. Ff. 4v-8r: Egbert, *Dialogus ecclesiasticae institutionis*;
3. Ff. 8r-10v: Abbo of Fleury, *De differentia circuli et sphaerae* (part 2: *De cursu septem planetarum*);
4. Ff. 10v-40v: Hrabanus Maurus, *De computo*;

[143] M. Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Bénédictine*, 94 (1984), 326-69, pp. 327, 330.
[144] "IAMS040-001102958", *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts*, British Library <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?fn=search&ct=search&initialSearch=true&mode=Basic&tab=local&indx=1&dum=true&srt=rank&vid=IAMS_VU2&frbg=&vl%28freeText0%29=%22IAMS040-001102958%22&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BL%29> [Accessed October 2016].

5. Ff. 40v-46r: Miscellaneous short texts, and poems mainly computistical;
6. Ff. 46r-63v: Isidore, *De natura rerum*;
7. Fo. 64r-v: Abbo of Fleury, *De duplici signorum ortu vel occasu*;
8. Fo. 65r: Greek, Hebrew and **runic alphabets**;
9. Ff. 65r-71r: Calendar;
10. Ff. 72r-77v: Calendar (imperfect);
11. Ff. 79r-83r: Cummian, *Epistola de controuersia paschali*;
12. Ff. 83r-86v: Bede, *Epistola ad Pleguinam de etatibus seculi*;
13. Ff. 87r-98v: Computistical miscellany;
14. Ff. 109r-134r: Verse miscellany (imperfect), including the works of Serlo of Bayeux, Godfrey of Winchester, Hildebert of Lavardin, Marbod of Rennes, and Hugh the Chanter;
15. Ff. 136r-184v: Bartholomew of Exeter, *De penitencia*;
16. Fo. 184v: *Pater noster*.

The first item has been dated to the fourth quarter of the twelfth century, items two to ten between the fourth quarter of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century, items eleven to thirteen to the second half of the twelfth century, item fourteen to the second half of the twelfth century, and items fifteen and sixteen to the fourth quarter of the twelfth century.[145] According to Gneuss the part containing the runes (ff. 4-77) dates to the eleventh century, whereas the British Library Catalogue indicates a date ranging between the last quarter of the eleventh century and the second half of the twelfth century. [146] Both agree that it was written at Salisbury Cathedral. Derolez thinks that part of it was probably written at Bury St Edmunds, but agrees that the runic section likely originates from the West

[145] "IAMS040-001102958", *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts*.
[146] Gneuss, #398 ; "IAMS040-001102958", *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts*.

Country.[147] He also notes the similarities with Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3507 [3], especially with regard to the computistical texts and Hrabanus Maurus's work.[148] Webber notes that ff. 4-71 were likely copied at Salisbury, and ff. 79-86 were added there in the early twelfth century.[149]

Runic material

On fo. 65r three complete runic alphabets and a short Latin message of twenty-one runes can be seen. It is not necessary here to discuss the runes or transliterations in detail, as, save for a few serifs, they are identical to those in Exeter MS 3507. There is one difference worth noting: at the end of the second alphabet there is again a section with 'additional' runes, which in Exeter does not receive any transliterations. Here however, the final letter, the **æ**-rune, has been transliterated as 'a' and then as 'uu'. This does not happen in the first additional section, where the rune is also drawn less accurately. There are no dry-point runes present here, confirming the idea that these were probably added later to Exeter MS 3507. Though the runes are the same shape, they are slightly more rounded here and the serifs more pronounced. As in Exeter 3507, they are spread equidistant over the line but the division of runes is different. The line ends with the **o**-rune in Vitellius A. XII, whereas Exeter starts on a new line after the **q**-rune in the first two alphabets. While the first line of the third alphabet ends in **r** for Exeter, Vitellius only continues until **p** before beginning a new line.

Context

The hand is similar for the runes and the surrounding material, and definitely the alphabetic material of ff. 44v-46r. This is confirmed by Ryan's observation that ff. 4-71 were written by a single scribe.[150] There is no other material on the page, and

[147] Derolez, p. 222.
[148] Gneuss, #258.
[149] Webber, p. 41.
[150] M. J. Ryan, 'Bishop Ecgberht and his *Dialogus*' in *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church: From Bede to Stigand,* Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, ed. by A. R. Rumble (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), 41-60, p. 44.

hence no immediate context. The runes appear in a section on astronomy and planetary movement. It is possible that the runes were added in on an empty page at a later point, but Derolez hypothesises that the runes may have been part of the collection of Roman and Greek alphabets and numerals appearing under the title *De Vocibus Litterarum* on fo. 44v, and continuing until 45v. He considers that they may have been intended to follow the Greek numerals on fo. 45v but that the scribe lacked space, and opted to use the empty page at the end.[151] Though this is plausible, the runes are written in a different ink and appear separate at first glance. However, I do agree with Derolez that they are written in the same hand, and that runes appear commonly in this type of context. The fact that in Exeter MS 3507 the runes also follow a discussion of the Greek alphabet and Roman numerals is another argument in favour of this hypothesis. In fact, the alphabetic material of Vitellius A. XII is strikingly similar to that of Exeter MS 3507. There is another empty folio before the runic page in the manuscript, which could have been used by the scribe and which would have been closer to *De Vocibus Litterarum*, but judging from its colour, the page is likely not originally from this manuscript, and may not have been present at the time when the runes were added.

The wider contents here again present a mixture of alphabetical and computistical material with Isidore, Abbo of Fleury, and Hrabanus Maurus as the key scholars. This section of the manuscript seems to be related to the visit of the Abbo of Fleury to England from 986 until 988,[152] and contains some of his work. It is possible that some of the runic knowledge in this manuscript is therefore continental in origin, though the clear relationship with Exeter MS 3507, which does not have any overt connection with the Continent, complicates this theory. As noted under Exeter MS 3507, Webber thinks it is likely that they shared a common exemplar.[153] This makes it possible for the runic information to have come from Sherborne, where MS 3507 may have been written.[154]

[151] Derolez (1954), p. 226.
[152] Ibid., p. 222.
[153] Webber, p. 69.
[154] Ibid.

Though Salisbury has an overt connection with Abbo, who is thought to have been interested in runes, Sherborne was not devoid of continental connections during this period. The most obvious example of this is Hermann (d. 1078), bishop of Ramsbury and Sherborne, who moved from the Continent to England early in the reign of Edward the Confessor.[155] According to the chronicle of John of Worcester he came from Lotharingia, but William of Malmesbury notes in his *Gesta Pontificium* that he was Flemish. Grierson considers the first option the most likely, as the name Hermann was more common in Lotharingia than in Flanders and notes that William may have been misled by the fact that Hermann spent part of his career at the abbey of St Bertin in Saint-Omer, which was historically part of Flanders.[156] Hermann became one of Edward the Confessor's chaplains in 1044, and in 1045 he was appointed to succeed the deceased Brihtwold as bishop of Wilton (Ramsbury), a diocese corresponding in extent to Wiltshire and Berkshire. Its see was based at Ramsbury, which was a minor settlement of no economic or political significance and with a small cathedral community.[157] Hermann requested in 1055 that Edward should allow him to take over Malmesbury Abbey as his see church, which was refused; as a result, Hermann left England for Flanders and became a monk at the abbey of St Bertin.[158] In 1058 Hermann was persuaded to return to his diocese, and on the death of Bishop Ælfwold of Sherborne, succeeded him, uniting the two sees of Sherborne and Ramsbury. He encouraged a young monk of St Bertin, Goscelin, to travel to England with him, and this monk later found a home at St Augustine's in Canterbury (where two Scandinavian *manuscriptae runae* were collected: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 572 [2], and London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A. XV), though he maintained ties with Sherborne.[159] In 1075 at the Council of London, Hermann won permission to move his see to a more important site: the borough of Old Sarum (Salisbury).[160] Hermann thus connects Sherborne with the

[155] J. Barrow, 'Hermann (d. 1078)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13084> [Accessed November 2016].
[156] P. Grierson, 'The relations between England and Flanders before the Norman conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 23 (1941), 71–112, p. 101.
[157] Barrow.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.

Continent, as well as Salisbury. It is therefore possible that the exemplar was originally from Sherborne and travelled (perhaps with Hermann or Goscelin) to the Continent and then finally made it to Salisbury for copying. It is of course equally possible that a contextual association was formed between the works of the above scholars and the runic alphabet.

Another reason for looking to the Continent is the script used in the manuscript. Although Salisbury did not have a recognisable house-style, i. e. a distinctive type of script showing a common treatment of letter forms by all scribes in the same scriptorium, the handwriting of most Salisbury scribes is a distinctive form of minuscule derived from the Carolingian minuscule. This type of handwriting differs from the minuscule used in the major monastic scriptoria in England after the Norman Conquest.[161] These small informal hands appear in many eleventh- and twelfth-century continental manuscripts, and for some reason also in Salisbury. Additionally, the Salisbury manuscripts are also similar in size, booklet format, (poor quality) parchment, irregular ruling, and lack of elaborate decoration to their continental contemporaries.[162] Webber notes that many can be shown either to have connections with people who studied or taught at the continental schools, or contain texts studied at those schools.[163] This also seems to be the case for Vitellius A. XII.

6. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON MS DOMITIAN A. IX

Manuscript

Cotton MS Domitian A. IX is a composite manuscript dated between the eighth and the fifteenth century. The British Library catalogue notes that the manuscript can be divided into nine different parts, all of which were written in England: [164]

[161] Webber, p. 9.
[162] Ibid., p. 10.
[163] Ibid.
[164] "IAMS040-001103661", *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts*, British Library <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=0&frbg=&tab=local&dstmp=1416937166131&srt=rank&ct=search&mode=Basic&dum=true&indx=1&vl(freeText0)=%22IAMS040-001103661%22&fn=search&vid=IAMS_VU2> [accessed November 2014].

1. Ff. 2-7: Aldhelm, *Epistola ad Heahfridum*;
2. Fo. 8r-v: Alphabets and a computistical letter addressed to Boniface and Bonus by Dionysius Exiguus;
3. Fo. 9: An imperfect copy of the years 1113–1114 of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*;
4. Fo. 10: **Runic alphabet**;
5. Fo. 11r-v: Extracts of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum;* **runic alphabet and rune-names**;
6. Ff. 12r-17v: Verses on the calendar and other computistical notes; the *Reuelatio beate Hildegardis*;
7. Ff. 18-83: John Thwing of Bridlington, *Versus Prophetiales* with commentary by John Ergom;
8. Ff. 84r-85v: Verse account of those who discovered the Holy Cross, a memorandum on King Edward IV of England (1461–1470, 1471–1483) and names of the lordships held by the duke of York;
9. Ff. 86-109: Augustine of Hippo, *Enchiridion*.

The first part was written in Canterbury during the first half of the eleventh century, the second in England in the second half of the eighth century, and the third originates from the first quarter of the twelfth century. The Scandinavian runic material, in part four, was likely written in Worcester Cathedral Priory around the twelfth century. The fifth part dates to the last quarter of the ninth century or first quarter of the tenth century, and the runes to the last quarter of the eleventh century or first quarter of the twelfth century, written in England (possibly St Paul's Cathedral, London). The sixth and seventh parts were written in the fourteenth century in England. The eighth part dates to the second half of the fifteenth century, and the final part to the first half of the twelfth century.

Although the origin and dating of the different parts of the manuscript have been determined, there is no information on where and at what time this manuscript was compiled. A note in the manuscript and some of the annotations

indicate that the antiquarian Robert Talbot (d. 1558) had dealings with the material.[165] Talbot was part of the circle of antiquarians which Matthew Parker (d. 1575), archbishop of Canterbury, had gathered in the context of creating his famous library. Parker was notorious for (re-)organising and (re-)binding manuscripts to suit his purposes and ideas. Crankshaw and Gillespie therefore think that it is possible that the compilation was by his (or one of his colleagues') hands.[166] The codex was later bought by Cotton and then finally acquired by the British Museum in 1963.[167]

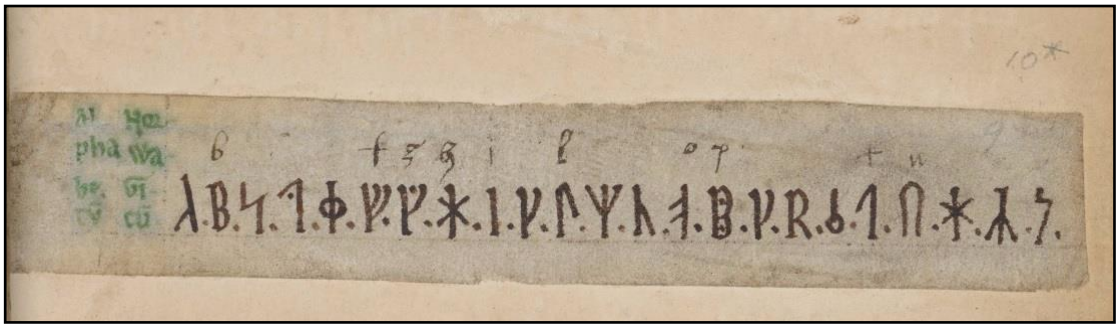
Despite its uncertain origins, the codex was already known as a *runicum manuscriptum* in the seventeenth century when Humfrey Wanley copied it for George Hickes's *Thesaurus*.[168] Its Anglo-Saxon alphabet from fo. 11v appears twice in the work, once as a *fuþorc* and once in an alphabetised form in the runic tables (which are included in the *Grammatica Islandica* chapter). The *fuþorc* is probably best known for its association with the Anglo-Saxon runic poem in the *Thesaurus*. The runic poem was printed in Volume 1 on p. 135 and the Domitian A. IX Anglo-Saxon rune-row from fo. 11v appears on the following page, p. 136. This made scholars such as Hempl believe that the Anglo-Saxon runic poem, which was supposed to be a reproduction of fo. 165 from Cotton Otho B X, was not copied in its original form by Hickes but instead had been supplied with rune-forms from Domitian A. IX by the scholar. Hempl's claim led to a drawn-out debate about the authenticity of the runic poem, during which the Anglo-Saxon runes from Domitian received extensive analysis, yet always in terms of similarity to the runic poem.[169]

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[165] C. E. Wright, 'Robert Talbot and Domitian A IX', *Medium Ævum*, 6 (1937), 170-71, pp. 170-71.
[166] D. J. Crankshaw, A. Gillespie, 'Parker, Matthew (1504–1575)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21327> [accessed November 2015].
[167] 'Cotton Manuscript Domitian A IX', *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts*, British Library <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS040-001103661&indx=1&recIds=IAMS040-001103661&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=0&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1447758523461&srt=rank&mode=Basic&&dum=true&vl(freeText0)=cotton%20domitian%20A%20IX&vid=IAMS_VU2> [Accessed November 2015]; Da Rold, O., T. Kato, M. Swan, E. Treharne, *Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220* <https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Domi.ix.htm> [Accessed November 2015].
[168] Hickes and Wanley (1703-05), vol. 2, p. 239.
[169] For an extensive discussion of this debate and detailed analysis of the Anglo-Saxon runic poem, see Van Renterghem.

Cotton Domitian A. IX is, however, an interesting *runicum manuscriptum* in its own right, and both of its rune-rows (on fo. 10 and fo. 11v) are deserving of attention.

Runic material



Folio 10 is an inserted paper leaf on which a strip of parchment has been pasted. The strip was formerly pasted to the lower margin of the next folio, and contains twenty-three Scandinavian runes, which Derolez dates to the thirteenth century based on the late forms.[170] To the left of the runic alphabet, the words *alphabetum Norwagicum* are written in green ink over two columns. At a later date (sixteenth century, according to Derolez), another hand added the equivalents of ten runes above them.[171] Based on the character of the script of the title at the left, Graham suggests a twelfth-century dating.[172] Barnes states that the appearance of the ᛦ for **y** and ᛯ for **x** or [ɣ] already happens in the eleventh century, but that the forms ᚾ and ᛚ are only commonly seen in the twelfth century. The dotted runes ᛏ and ᛒ are again more indicative of the twelfth century and later in epigraphy, but Barnes also notes that they appear earlier in the English manuscript tradition.[173] Derolez's thirteenth-century date is likely due to an allowance of a century for the spread of the phenomenon from the epigraphical tradition. However, dotted runes were already present in the manuscript tradition, and evidence from manuscripts such as

[170] Derolez (1954), p. 6.
[171] Ibid.
[172] T. Graham, 'Robert Talbot's "Old Saxonice Bede": Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.3.18 and the "Alphabetum Norwagicum" of British Library, Cotton MSS, Domitian A. IX', in *Books and Collectors 1200-1700: Essays presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. by J. P. Carley & C. G. C. Tite (London, 1997), 295-316, p. 306.
[173] Barnes, pp. 92-94.

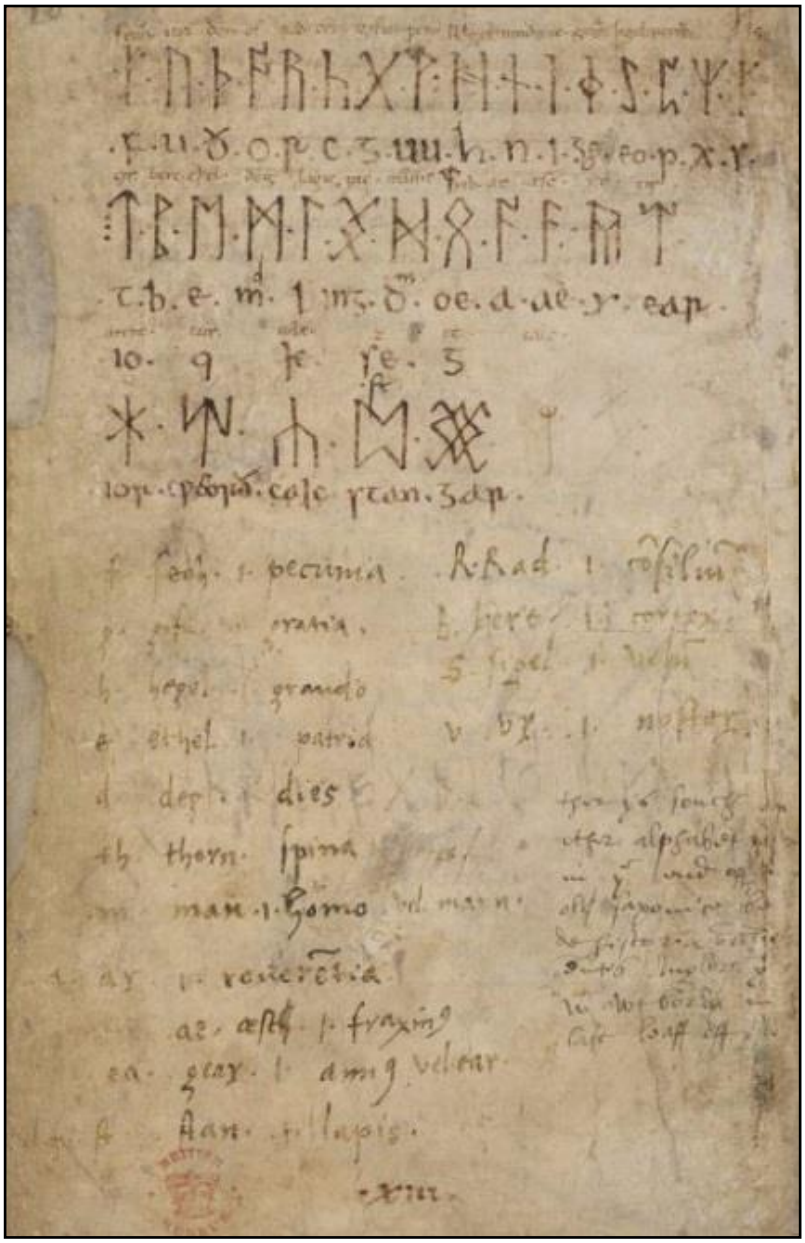
St John's MS 17 [7] and the Byland Bede [10] indicates that knowledge of these innovations travelled fast, making a twelfth-century dating reasonable.

The transliterations written above the runes, **b, f, g, h, l, l, o, p, n** and **u** are all correct. Graham, who postulated that this alphabet was not only referenced by Talbot but also removed from Cambridge, University Library, MS. Kk.3.18 and subsequently pasted into Domitian A. IX by the scholar, recognises Talbot's hand in these Roman characters.[174] There are slight serifs on the **k**, and **r**, but no clear serifs are present elsewhere. A number of characters (e.g. **f**, **g**, and **t**) are heavier at the ends, which is mostly due to pen usage.

Although only a select number of runes have been transliterated, the scribe adhered to the sequence of the Roman alphabet, which helps with identifying mistakes or oddities. The first thing to notice is that the alphabet contains twenty-three runes, which makes sense from a Latin perspective, and also explains why it was necessary to use the dotted runes from a Scandinavian perspective. The letter 'q' is represented by the **k**-rune. The use of two types of **s**, long-stem and short-twig for respectively 'c' and 's', as well as the use of an **h**-rune for 'x', though fairly uncommon in *manuscriptae runae*, distinguish this alphabet as medieval.

The Anglo-Saxon alphabet from fo. 11v contains thirty-seven runes, but more runes can be found on the page. There are approximately eighteen runes scratched into the page using a dry point, but they are faint and difficult to read. Derolez notes that different hands have been at work on the page: the first hand drew the runes, with below each its value, in three lines. Below the last five runes, however, he wrote the names in full, and the values above them. A second, somewhat later hand added the names of the runes not given by the first scribe, writing them neatly above each rune in the first two lines. In the final line, he supplied different names to the first three runes, variant values to the last two, and

[174] Graham, p. 307.



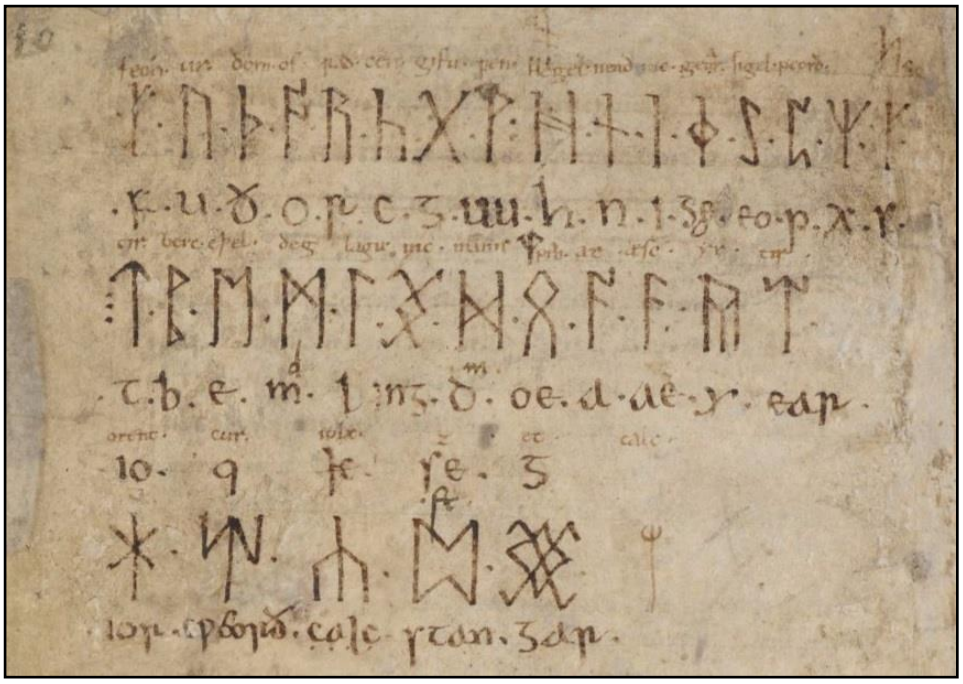
a sixth rune (*calc*). For the dating of these hands Derolez relies on Wright, who assigns both to the eleventh century, and Sisam, who dates the first to the middle of the eleventh century and the second early twelfth century.[175] More recently, Da Rold determined that the main hand of fo. 11 is from the beginning of the tenth century, and a later hand, probably from the eleventh or twelfth century, added most of the runes.[176] Presumably, by the main hand she means the hand responsible for the

[175] Derolez (1954), p. 7.
[176] O. Da Rold, T. Kato, M. Swan, E. Treharne, *Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220* <https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Domi.ix.htm> [Accessed April 2015].

Bede text on fo. 11r. From her analysis, it would seem that both options presented by Sisam and Wright are possible, but she does not discern a second hand in the runic alphabet. Derolez, however, thinks that the second medieval hand intended to correct his predecessor. He also makes note of a third hand of a much later date (possibly the sixteenth century) who added a few more 'corrections'. This hand incorrectly swapped the values 'm' and 'd', but puts a correct transliteration of 'st' above the *stan*-rune.[177] Wright determined that this hand belonged to the antiquary Robert Talbot. This is not Talbot's only interaction with the page, because Ker and Wright also suggested that his hand is responsible for the translation of the rune-names underneath the rune-row. [178] Finally, Talbot also added a note to the page which reads: '*ther ys souch an/other alphabet […] in <u>the</u> end off [m]y / old saxonice be [de] / de historia eccl<u>es</u>ie / gentis Anglor<u>um</u> <u>that/with</u> owt bordes in […] / last leaf off that bo [k]'*. It is unclear which manuscript he is referring to, as out of the five copies of the Old English translation of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* mentioned by Wanley (who is probably our best historical source) only Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 41 [4] contains runes, but only five. Graham, who agrees that these notes were made by Talbot, postulates that the manuscript is Cambridge, University Library, MS. Kk.3.18, another copy of the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia*, which is known to have been in Talbot's possession at that time.[179] He then suggests that the alphabet referred to was originally present on one of the end-leaves of Cambridge, University Library, MS. Kk.3.18, and was cut out by Talbot, and pasted into Domitian A. IX. The runes referred to by Talbot would thus be none other than the Scandinavian alphabet found on fo. 10.[180]

The runes on fo. 11v are mostly angular, with the occasional small serif. In the instances where the scribe appears a little unsure or hesitant the rounding is more pronounced. The runes are mostly correct form-wise, though there are instances where the rune is slightly more elaborate than usual, for instance the **ᚸ**-

[177] Derolez (1954), p. 7.
[178] Wright (1937), pp. 170-71.
[179] Graham, p. 306.
[180] Ibid., p. 308.



rune and the **y**-rune. The **j**-rune, however, no longer has crossing branches, its cross-strokes have been combined to form a bow, a shape which can be seen in many *manuscriptae runae*. There are, however, a number of problems with the transliterations and the sequence of the runes. After the odd **j**-rune, which has been transliterated as '3' and 'g', an **ï**-rune follows, which is transliterated as 'eo', but given the rune-name *sigel*. The second scribe (hand 2) here clearly thought that the first scribe (hand 1) was mistaken in his transliteration and had drawn a variant form of **s**. Sequence-wise, it seems more likely that hand 1 wrote the **ï**-rune and got confused as to its transliteration. The **s**-rune is of a rare English type which is also found on for instance St Cuthbert's coffin and on the Thames scramasax.[181] This form can also be found in Oxford, St John's College, MS 17 [7].[182] Above it the standard type has been written, and the second medieval scribe then added the rune-name *sig*. There seems to be a variant rune above the **œ**-rune, which looks like a badly drawn **x**-rune. Hand 2 added the rune-name *pro*, which is not a known rune-name nor does it make sense in the context. He also recorded the rune-name *mann* for the **d**-rune, which then led hand 3 (Talbot) to change the original – correct –

[181] Page (1999), p. 46.
[182] Derolez (1954), p. 11.

transliteration to **d**. Hand 2 again makes a mistake with the **ea**-rune, which he gave the rune-name *tir* despite the fact that hand 1 had already written the correct rune-name underneath the rune. The rune may have been unknown to hand 2 and the similarity with the **t**-rune may have inspired this decision (though a parallel with the **x**-rune would seem more obvious).

The final five runes are rather chaotic: the runes are not in their usual sequence and the rune-names and transliterations are confusing. The **i͡o**-rune receives both the rune-name *ior* and *orent* (a hapax legomenon). The rune transliterated as 'q' here is not known in this form in epigraphy, but does appear in this form in manuscripts and is distinguished from the **ea**-rune by more developed lateral strokes. The rune-name *cur* (versus *cweorð* by hand 1) is again not very common, but does have parallels in Trier MS 61 [35] which notes *cur* and München CLM Lat. 14436 [31] which records *qur*. The following rune again shows disagreement between the hands: hand 1 wrote the **k**-rune and provided the transliteration 'k' and the rune-name *calc*. The latter was dismissed by hand 2 by underlining it with a dotted line and replacing it with *iolx* above the transliteration. The **s͡t**-rune, which is a fairly rare rune in general, again caused problems. Hand 1 provided the common rune-name *stan*, but the transliteration 'se'; hand 2 added no rune-name but gave the transliteration 'z'; hand 3 finally added the transliteration 'st'. The **ḡ**-rune receives the rune-name *et* by hand 2, which according to Derolez may give us a clue as to where his knowledge of runes came from. The tradition of following the Roman letter 'z' by certain abbreviations (such as *et*) and extra letters became part of the runic tradition and he suggests manuscripts such as St John's 17 [7] and Galba A II as examples, though the same concept can be found in Exeter MS 3507 [3] and Vitellius A. XII [5].[183] I am not entirely sure how this reveals more about hand 2 other than that he came from a Latin tradition, which is probably the case for most runic manuscript scribes. Finally, it seems that hand 2 added his idea of the

[183] Derolez (1954), p. 15.

calc-rune to the alphabet, though he seems to be confusing the rune with the **x**-rune.

The rune-names recorded are as follows: *feoh*, *ur*, *ðorn*, *os*, *rad*, *cen*, *gifu*, *wenn*, *hegel*, *nead*, *ic* (Derolez notes *inc*),[184] *geur/gear*, *sigel*, *peorð*, *sig*, *tir*, *berc*, *eþel*, *deg*, *logu*, *inc*, *mann*, *pro*, *asc*, *æsc*, *ýr*, *tir*, *orent*, *cur*, *iolx*, *et*, *calc*, *ior*, *cweorð*, *calc*, *stan*, *ʒar*.

Context

As a consequence of the miscellaneous nature of the manuscript, it is difficult to create a context which includes both alphabets, especially considering the uncertainties with regard to compilation. It is worthwhile noting here that based on the age of the different parts of the manuscript, ranging from the eighth to the fifteenth century, a sixteenth-century compilation date as I suggested earlier would be possible. Consequently, any analysis of the manuscript context is more revealing about the Elizabethan understanding of the material than about medieval runic knowledge, which makes it irrelevant to the current aim. That said, the immediate context in which the runes appear may still be of interest.

The surrounding material on fo. 10 is similar in nature to the runic material, in the sense that multiple hands can be distinguished in those three folios. It has already been established that the material was written at different times and in different places. There is also some correspondence in contents: the first folio, fo. 8r, contains three alphabets, Chaldean, Egyptian and Greek (according to the manuscript), a fragment of a trilingual glossary, and finally a fragment of the *Epistola Dionysii exigui*, and *Bonifacium primicerum Notariorum*. This is followed by a copy of the years 1113-1114 of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and then the inserted paper leaf with the Scandinavian alphabet. Extracts from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* and the verso page dedicated to the Anglo-Saxon rune-row and names come next. A theme of alphabets, linguistics, and Anglo-Saxon history can thus be identified in this section. The rest of the manuscript seems unrelated to these

[184] Ibid., p. 9.

matters, though ff. 12r-17v contain verses on the calendar and other computistical notes, which, as is becoming clear, is a common context for manuscript runes.

Due to the different hands, the immediate context is not entirely reliable. As already noted, the runes on fo. 10 were pasted in, so as a context there are only the transliterations (which are later) and the words *alphabetum Norwagicum.* If Graham is correct about this alphabet as originating from one of the end-leaves of Cambridge, University Library, MS. Kk.3.18, again no immediate context is available, though it confirms the idea that there is a connection between Bede (and/or his work) and runic alphabets.

On fo. 11v there is also little in the way of contextual material. The excerpts from Bede are from a different date and many of the notes on the page are sixteenth-century. It is not possible to date the dry-point runes, though it seems probable that they were scratched after the alphabet was written, to practise rune-writing as in Exeter 3507 [3]. The alphabet does demonstrate, however, that out of the two medieval rune-scribes the first appears knowledgeable and the second rather less so. This is clearly visible based on the mistakes made by the second scribe, but also based on the correct transliterations and rune-names supplied by hand 1. His selective contribution to the encyclopaedic information surrounding the alphabet is remarkable, and it poses the question why he thought it necessary to add rune-names to the final five runes. The only reason I can suggest is that he somehow considered those runes less common and added rune-names for clarification. This seems a likely explanation, especially considering that these runes are also drawn larger and more distinctly than the rest of the *fuþorc*. It is equally interesting to consider why the second scribe added so much material to the alphabet. Even if the alphabet was of little importance to its original manuscript, hand 2 felt the need to complete it by adding all rune-names. This act of adding extra, 'missing' material is also something that can be seen elsewhere (Stowe MS 57 [9] for instance). It appears that medieval scholars and/or scribes had a fairly set idea of what needed to be included in a runic alphabet (this may also extend to alphabets in general) and felt the need to complete the material. The fact that multiple hands were able to do

so suggests that knowledge about the runes and their rune-names was fairly wide-spread.

7. OXFORD, ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, MS 17

Manuscript

St John's College, MS 17 is a computus manuscript, with extensive auxiliary materials on cosmology, mathematics, medicine, grammar, prognostication, and related topics, written in Latin with some Old English glosses.[185] The manuscript was probably created in Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire, by two main and three assisting scribes, using English Caroline minuscule script. In the thirteenth century, the nineteenth gathering was added. There are no visible medieval press marks or *ex libris* notations, though most gatherings apart from eighteen and nineteen have medieval signature marks.[186] Derolez provides a general dating of late eleventh to early twelfth century, while Wallis settles on an 1110 date with additions from the late thirteenth century,[187] and Ker dates it to 1109-10.[188] The manuscript contains the following material:[189]

1. Fo.1r: Geometry problem;
2. Ff. 1v-2v: Treatise on the four humours; treatise on bloodletting; list of herbs; prognostications of death; weights and measures; medical recipes;
3. Ff. 3r-7v: Materials related to computus: Abbo of Fleury's acrostic in honour of St Dunstan; grammar of numbers; calendar prognostications; note on world-ages; how to calculate embolisms; lunaria; horoscope;

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[185] 'Oxford, St John's College Ms 17 and London, British Library Cotton Nero C.vii fols. 80-84', *The Calendar and the Cloister: Oxford, St John's College MS 17*, McGill University Library, <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17> [Accessed April 2017].
[186] Ibid.
[187] F. Wallis, 'MS Oxford St John's College 17', *Oxford Digital Library*, <http://www.sjc.ox.ac.uk/444/Manuscripts.html> [Accessed October 2013].
[188] N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 189.
[189] H. Morgan, 'Oxford, St John's College Ms 17 and London, British Library Cotton Nero C.vii fols. 80-84', *English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, ed. by O. Da Rold, T. Kato, M. Swan, E. Treharne <http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Ox.SJ.17.htm> [Accessed August 2017].

Coena Cypriani; riddles; **runic, cryptographic and exotic alphabets**; demonstration of cryptography; diagrams showing Easter termini, times of sunrises and sunsets; world-map; table of *feriae*; tables and texts on degrees of consanguinity; taxonomies of knowledge; 'Byrhtferth's Diagram';

4. Ff. 8r-15v: Rota of the tides; Sphere of Life and Death; computus tables; Byrhtferth's Proemium; diagram of the four elements; summary of computus data (computus graecorum); computistical poetry and short lectiones;
5. Ff. 16r-21v: Calendar with martyrology;
6. Fol. 22r-35r: Tables keyed to calendar; tables for Paschal computation; mathematical operations useful for computus;
7. Ff. 35v-40v: Tables and texts on lunar and solar time. Extracts from Isidore of Seville, Abbo of Fleury, and Macrobius;
8. Ff. 40v-41r: Latromathematical prognostication;
9. Ff. 41v-58r: Abacus table and related materials; texts on the abacus; fraction table of Hermannus Contractus and abacus tables; Gerlandus Compotista on the abacus, with other texts; notes and tables; rithmomachia;
10. Ff. 58v-123r: Bede, *De temporibus*; Bede, *De natura rerum* (glossed); Bede, *De temporum ratione* (glossed);
11. Ff. 123r-135v: Helperic, *De computo*;
12. Ff. 135v-157r: Dionysius Exiguus, Letters to Petronius and to Bonifacius and Bonus; Paschal tables (with annals); *Argumenta titulorum paschalium*;
13. Ff. 156r-157v: Texts on the zodiac; *Sortes sanctorum*; ps.-Jerome on the grades of Roman society; ps.-Jerome on the fifteen signs preceding the Last Judgement;
14. Ff. 159v-175r: Verbs and prepositional prefixes; short texts on orthography and prosody; précis of Priscian;

15. Ff. 175v-177v: Recipes; charm against nosebleed; note on an herb; classification and therapy of fevers; principles of pathology; alphabetical list of herbs, with recipes; diseases and remedies.

The marginal notes indicate that the manuscript originally belonged to the Abbey of Thorney.[190] Derolez notes that it was part of the collection of Saint Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, before it was given to St John's College by Hugh Wicksteed.[191] Hart, however, concluded that the manuscript remained at Thorney until around 1450, when it was taken to Oxford by Thomas Gascoigne (d. 1458), who became chancellor of the university. During the next century, it passed through the hands of a succession of Oxford scholars, after which it was acquired by Robert Talbot, rector of Burlingham and prebendary of Norwich, who was a well-known manuscript collector and Old English scholar.[192] Talbot's influence can be found in a number of marginal notes and annotations. He then lent the manuscript to the antiquary John Leland, after whom it passed into the possession of the parson Anthony Anderson.[193] Singer, however, claims that the volume which Leland saw cannot have been identical to the Oxford manuscript.[194] There is no evidence for the whereabouts of the codex after it was owned by Anderson until it was presented to St John's College in the early seventeenth century by Hugh Wicksteed, a Merchant Taylor.[195]

[190] Derolez (1954), p. 26; Ker, p. 189.
[191] Derolez (1954), p. 26.
[192] C. Hart, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at Ramsey' in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by. J. Roberts, J. L. Nelson, M. Godden (Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 1997), 65-88, p. 67.
[193] Hart, p. 301.
[194] J. H. G. Grattan, C. Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine: Illustrated Specially from the Semi-Pagan Text 'Lacnunga'* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 47.
[195] Hart, p. 301.

Runic material



The runic material can be found on fo. 5r, a page containing a collection of alphabets, five of which are runic. In the interest of detailing the manuscript context correctly, all alphabets are given in the order in which they appear on the page, but the focus is on the *fuþorc*s, *fuþark*s and runic alphabets. There are seven columns,

indicated by the double red lines and the decorations at the top. These columns are often subdivided into smaller sections to separate different alphabets, transliterations, and rune-names. The runes appear in the first, third, fourth, fifth and sixth column, and form part of a younger *fuþark*, three *fuþorc*s, and one medieval Scandinavian *fuþark*. The listing of alphabets which follows proceeds from top to bottom and from left to right across the page:

1. The first alphabet is a younger *fuþark* of sixteen characters and an equal number of rune-names and Latin alphabet equivalents. Although the runes are of a good quality, the scribe makes a number of mistakes. A few runes stand out:

- The **b** has an long stem and rather small, very round bows;
- The branches of the **m** are almost closed at the top and look more like bows;
- The scribe transliterates the fourth rune as 'e' and provides transliterations matching the rune-name instead of the rune;
- The order of the runes is uncommon, instead of **i a s t b**, the scribe wrote **i t b s a**;
- The scribe also knew that both ᚱ and ᛦ could be transliterated as 'r', but it is doubtful that he recognised the difference because both were given the same rune-name;

The rune-names given here are *fe, ur, þurs, e, reiðer, coun, hagol, nou, is, tiur, bercon, sol, ar, monr, laur,* and *reiðer*. Wrenn notes that especially the rune-name *tiuR* is of interest here, since it corresponds with the ninth-century codex Leiden, VLQ 83 [19] and he deems it an archaic form, especially considering the age of St John's 17.[196] Both Derolez and Page noticed a resemblance between this alphabet and the Gørlev inscription based on the archaic nature of the runes.[197] The stone, DR 239, has been dated to the Viking Age, and contains the following inscription:[198]

[196] C. L. Wrenn, 'Late Old English Rune-Names', *Medium Aevum*, 1 (1932), 24-34, p. 33.
[197] Derolez, p. 30; Page (1999), pp. 210-11.
[198] 'DR 239', *Runtextdatabas*.

þiauþui : risþi : stin þąnsi : aft uþinkaur : | fuþąrkhniastbmlR : niut ual kums:

þmkiiissstttiiilll (:) iak sata ru--ri(t) | kuni armutR kru(b)

A) Þiuþwi resþi sten þænsi æft Oþinkor <fuþorkhniastbmlR> niut wæl kumbls!

B) *þistill/mistill/kistill, iak satta ru[na]R ret. Gunni, Armundr* ...



The *fuþark* can be seen at the beginning of the second row on the stone. The similarities between the runic alphabets are, apart from presenting the same characters, not overly clear. The St John's alphabet has, as noted above, a number of sequence mistakes; these do not appear in the Gørlev inscription, which follows the standard sequence. The only two points of similarity are the slightly more Anglo-Saxon form of the fourth rune, and the very rounded form of the **m**-rune. Neither of these forms is unique to these runic alphabets, and the shape of the **m**-rune is completely closed in the inscription but not in the manuscript. Additionally, there is also the question of how an eighth or ninth-century inscription would be recorded in a twelfth-century manuscript. Although there was definitely a connection between Scandinavia and Canterbury at that time, contemporary runes would be expected.

2. A fictitious alphabet ending at the letter 'r', with Latin transliterations. Derolez notes that it is almost identical to the *littere caldeorum et sirorum* of Cotton MS Titus D. XVIII.[199]

3. The third alphabet is cryptographic, following the principles of the *Notae Sancti Bonifacii*, where the vowels are replaced by dots. The sphere of Life and Death on fo. 8r uses this alphabet.[200]

4. Letter substitution code: each letter is represented by the one which follows it in the alphabet: 'z' is replaced by 'aa'. This code is used in the second cryptogram on this page, and Byrhtferth may have used it in his Diagram (fo. 7v).[201]

5. Vowel substitution code: each vowel is replaced by the letter following it, e.g. 'a' by 'b', 'e' by 'f' etc.[202]

6. Vowels replaced by one, two, three etc symbols which resemble capital G or perhaps the Arabic numeral 6. Wallis thinks this may be related to an Irish ogham code called *coll ar guta* ('C for a vowel'), and suggests an Irish influence shaping this material, though ogham is not included on the page or in the manuscript. Byrhtferth may also have used this code in his Diagram (fo. 7v).[203]

7. An Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc* of forty-three runes with twenty-seven rune-names and equivalents for the first six runes. Forty-one of these runes run down the column, and two additional ones can be found in a separate row at the bottom of this column. This *fuþorc* encapsulates all form variants of the runes. The rune-names are also repeated, with only a few variations. Derolez remarks that the order of the runes is disturbed, and the names confused.[204] There are a number of notable rune-shapes:

- Three forms appear for 'g'. One of which, the form closest to the **j**-rune, is also, in a more angular shape, used for *æþel* further down the column. Though the

[199] Derolez (1954), p. 31.
[200] Wallis, 'MS Oxford St John's College 17'.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Derolez (1954), p. 31.
[203] Wallis, 'MS Oxford St John's College 17'.
[204] Derolez (1954), p. 31.

second and third form are not technically correct for 'g', it is not uncommon to find these forms transliterated as such;

- The second *sigel*-rune is again of the open type (or confused with a **k**-rune), the third *sigel*-rune seems to be an insular 's';
- The lower leg of the second *peorð*-rune is rounded, the third is similar, but with an extra bow at the back of the stem;
- The *ech*-rune looks like a Roman 'ɣ';
- The second *hægel* is a **ï**-rune;
- The second *yr*-rune looks like an **œ**-rune on its side;
- The *quar*-runes are all unknown rune-forms, though the third does resemble an **ea**-rune;
- The second **ing**-rune is an **x**-rune;
- The final rune combines both an **x**-rune and an upside down **ae**, but this is not a common bind-rune.

The *fuþorc* contains twenty-seven different rune-names, of which fifteen are repeated and four are spelled differently. The rune-names are the following: *feh, ur, þorn, os, rad, coen/cen, geofu/gyfu, is, sigil, sige, peorð, ilx, tyr, beorc, mech, ech, logu/lagu, haegel/haegil, ned, kalc, daeg, oeþel, ac, aesc, yr, ear, quar, ing*. Only the last rune does not receive a name, but is simply transliterated as 'z'. The rune-row does not contain a *wynn*. The six equivalents are on the right-hand side of the rune-names, written by a later hand, possibly Talbot's.[205]

8. Norse *fuþark* of the medieval type, with the names of the first sixteen runes and values of seven additional ones, which are mostly dotted runes. Interestingly, the *wynn*-rune, which is typically Anglo-Saxon, is used for the value of the dotted **u**-rune. This *fuþark* also appears in British Library, Cotton MS Galba A. II, a manuscript which

[205] Graham, p. 308.

is now unfortunately lost, though a copy exists in Hickes's *Thesaurus*.[206] A number of observations on the runes:

- The ink of the **i**-rune has been rubbed out;
- The **æ** has two cross-strokes.

The rune-names appearing here are: fe, ur, þors, os, reð, con, hagol, noð, is, ar, sol, tyr, beor, mander, loer, yr.

9. Alphabet of 'Nemnivius', or Nennius, with Latin equivalents. This alphabet again appears in Cotton MS Galba A. II, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4.32.[207]

10. English *fuþorc*, both runes and values are given. The first five runes are found immediately below the last Nemnivian character, without any separating marks. The remaining thirty-five runes fill the next column. This *fuþorc* can again be found in Galba A. II.[208] All runes are given transliterations, except for those representing *sunt* and *uult*. There are a number of uncommon shapes here as well:

- The **ï**-rune is drawn at an angle and transliterated as 'x';
- The **m**-rune is lacking the bottom halves of the stems;
- The **a**-rune is exaggerated and close to a **p**-rune;
- The dot inside the **y**-rune looks more like a Roman 'y';
- The left branch of the **q**-rune is rounded instead of angular and starts half-way the stem;
- There is an extra branch on the left-hand side of the **k**-rune at the top of the stem;
- There are two *stan*-runes, though the second has a cross-stroke on the inside;

[206] Derolez (1954), p. 31.
[207] Wallis, 'MS Oxford St John's College 17'. Nennius (*fl. c.*770–*c.*810) was a Welsh scholar who is commonly, but most certainly incorrectly, regarded as the author of the early ninth-century Cambro-Latin historical compilation *Historia Brittonum*. D. E. Thornton, 'Nennius (*fl. c.*770–*c.*810)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19892> [Accessed August 2017].
[208] Derolez (1954), p. 32.

- The character transliterated as ‘e’ appears to be two connected letters d (one inverted) and is not similar to a rune; it might be based on two letters c connected by a horizontal stroke, as can be seen on fo. 62v;
- The final **æ**-rune has an extra branch to the left.

Additionally, the **u**-rune is transliterated as ‘c’, the **x**-rune as ‘iu’, the **d**-rune as ‘dd’, the **j**-rune as ‘oe’, and the **œ**-rune as ‘a’. This alphabet is, though good, not of the same quality as the previous ones. Its intention seems to be to collect a number of variant forms, but without any sort of organisation.

11. Derolez describes this as ‘a runic alphabet of a composite nature, mainly based upon the English futhorc’.[209] It closely resembles Hrabanus's ‘Marcomannian’ alphabet.[210] It is a row of thirty-six characters, again displaying a number of variants, but without transliterations. They follow a vaguely alphabetical sequence. A number of notable forms:

- The second **a** is Scandinavian;
- The seventh rune looks vaguely like a **q**-rune or a tilted **ï**-rune;
- The variant **g**-rune resembling the Greek letter *Phi* appears again here;
- The stem is slightly too long on the **q**-rune;
- The **y**-rune contains both a Roman ‘y’ and a dot;
- The elaborate Roman ‘z’ shape appears here (it can also be found in for instance Vitellius A. XII, and Exeter MS 3507);
- Following the ‘z’ there appears to be a bind-rune of **e** and **t**.

12. Exotic alphabet of twenty-two characters with Latin equivalents, closely resembling the ‘Egyptian’ alphabet found in a number of continental manuscripts.[211]

[209] Ibid.
[210] Wallis, 'MS Oxford St John's College 17'.
[211] Ibid.

13. The 'Scythian' alphabet of Athicus Ister. Several variants for some letters suggest a process of conflation. The names of the characters follow the French tradition.[212]

Folio 5v is interesting from both a historical and runological point of view particularly because it contains both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon runic material. The separation between the alphabets suggests that the scribe likely collected them from different sources, and meticulously wrote them down, though it is conceivable that he had some runic knowledge himself. The fact that he recognised the runes as cryptographic and was able to source a variety of alphabets and not get them confused shows that he at least had a sense of what he was working with. This idea is supported by the fact that the information on runes provided in the *runica manuscripta* which survived is scant and rarely clear, and could therefore not have been much help.

Context

Fo. 5r contains seventeen narrow columns in total, which form broader units indicated by the decoration. Thirteen narrow columns form one block on the left-hand side of the page, divided by lines drawn in red ink. Four other columns form the second block on the right of the page, again divided by red ink. On the right of these columns four circles were drawn in red ink, consisting of five smaller circles, again subdivided. These are rotae of Easter lunar limits, and are commonly used in computus.[213] In the left margin a cryptogram is written, which reads *Molis. on. erme. frimot. prici. si. pidis. osti. ridimot*, which, after applying a vowel-substitution code, reads *Miles in arma fremit, prece se pedes iste redemit*. Derolez notes that this is possibly a charm.[214] At the bottom right corner another cryptogram can be found. Each of the six lines of this text demonstrates a different cryptographic technique.

[212] Ibid.
[213] Morgan.
[214] Derolez (1954), p. 30.

The solution to the cryptogram was written out by a sixteenth-century reader on the lower margin of fo. 6r:[215]

> Sodali commite sit consilii clavem vel clavem consilii ista sit commite sodali
> Cum vobis ipsis mysteria vestra notatis
> Non quicumque videt leget et si doctior extet
> Huic nutriti nitens liber discrimine grates
> Ad celare viam qui monstravi tibi tutam.

The page, and by extension the manuscript, suggests a scientific and cryptographic context for the runic material. As evident from the table of contents, the wider context of this page is encyclopaedic, though it is possible to divide the wide range of materials into a number of strands. The strand containing the runes seems mostly related to computus and cryptography. Page writes on this that

> The compiler of this page seems to have thought of English runes as just another curious script, perhaps a secret one and certainly an uncommon one. Such an attitude, though it may be near that of the carvers of some of the later, bi-alphabetical inscriptions in England, is obviously distant from that of the rune-masters who cut the early Anglo-Saxon runes.[216]

It appears indeed that the scribe considered the English runes, and the Scandinavian ones for that matter, as an exotic alphabet, on the same level as the Nemnivian, Egyptian, and Scythian alphabets. The context of the manuscript page with its cryptograms and alphabet-codes also suggests that the scribe included runes in the secretive and cryptographical category. A look at the rest of the manuscript reveals a miscellany intent on collecting as much encyclopaedic knowledge as possible. Further in the computus and cryptographical section a Greek alphabet can also be found on fo. 11v. A number of important scholars also appear throughout St John's 17's pages: Abbo of Fleury, Byrhtferth of Ramsey, Bede, Isidore of Seville, and Macrobius. These scholars frequently appear in connection with medieval science and runes elsewhere.

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[215] F. Wallis, 'Computus Related Materials: 13. Cryptogram 2', *The Calendar and the Cloister: Oxford, St John's College MS 17*, McGill University Library, Digital Collections Program, <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17> [Accessed August 2017].
[216] Page (1999), p. 89.

Byrhtferth's diagram appears close to the runes on fo. 7v, and his connection to the manuscript is of interest. He was a student of Abbo of Fleury at Ramsey, and was likely taught about runes by the scholar. This is visible in one of his notebooks, which contains some of the runes of Leiden, MS Voss. Lat. F 12 δ [13], a manuscript which was written at Fleury in the ninth century. [217] The St John's manuscript is too recent to have been written by Byrhtferth, though it is possible that the latter's work formed the basis for some of its contents. Lapidge follows Baker in his observation that the relationship between the practical computus in St John's 17 and Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* is very close, and that both derive from an earlier compilation of computistical materials.[218] He suggests that Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* was written as an explanatory commentary on that computus.[219] The implication is thus that St John's 17 is a Thorney copy of a collection of computistical materials compiled a hundred years or so earlier by Byrhtferth of Ramsey.[220] It is possible that the runes were part of this material.

8. CAMBRIDGE, TRINITY COLLEGE, MS R. 14. 34

Manuscript

This manuscript contains a copy of the *Liber Pantegni* written by Constantine Africanus. The manuscript was written in the first half of the twelfth century.[221] It originates from Bury St Edmund's Abbey, Suffolk, as confirmed by a note on the top

[217] M. Mostert, 'Relations between Fleury and England' in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)*, ed. by D. Rollason, C. Leyser, and H. Williams (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 185-208, p. 192-93.
[218] P. S. Baker, 'Byrhtferth's Enchiridon and the Computus in Oxford, St John's College 17', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 10 (1981), 123-142, pp. 125, 141-42.
[219] M. Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Bénédictine*, 94 (1984), 326-69, p. 351.
[220] Ibid.
[221] R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), #179, p. 75.

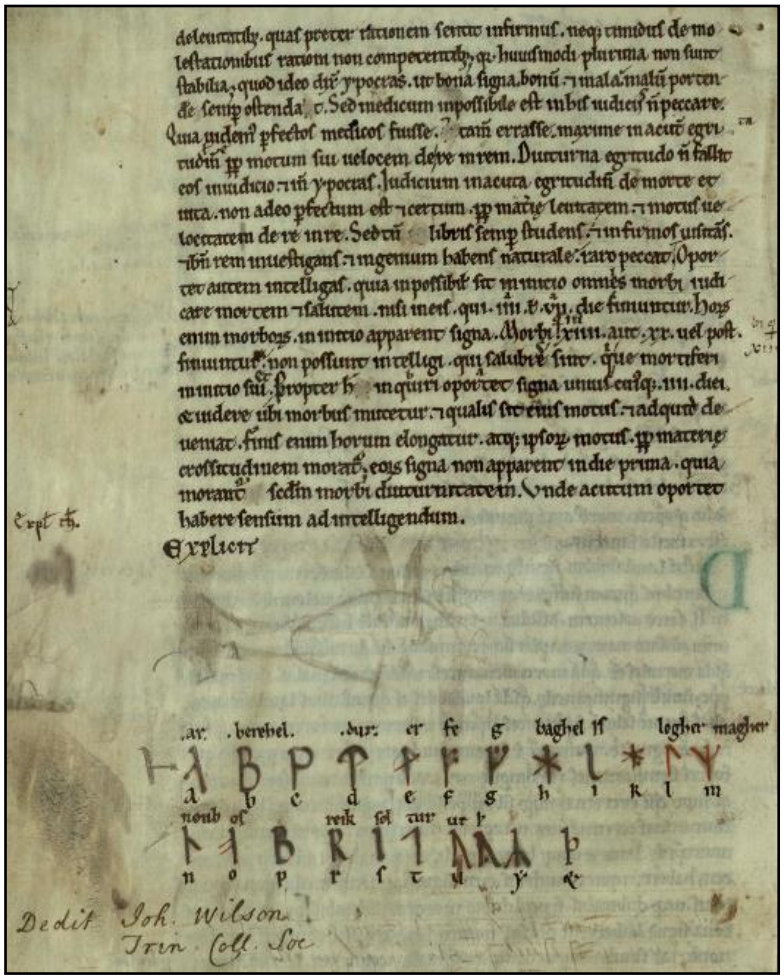
of fo.1: '*Liber monachorum Sancti Edmundi*', the mark M, and '*salutio ad abbatem*'.[222] The contents are as follows:[223]

1. Fo. 1r: Prologue;
2. Fo. 1r-141v: Constantine Africanus, *Liber Pantegni* (I – X);
3. Fo. 141v: **Runic alphabet**.

James notes that the manuscript was donated to Trinity College, University of Cambridge, by one of its fellows, John Wilson, in the eighteenth century.[224] Evidence for this can be found underneath the runic alphabet, where he wrote his signature.

[222] M. R. James, T*he Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900-04), #906.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid.

Runic Material



At the end of the manuscript, following the *Explicit* of the *Liber Pantegni* there is a Scandinavian runic alphabet. The twenty-three runes are written mostly in brown ink, with the exception of **h**, **l**, and **m**, which are coloured red. There are also hints of red ink on some of the other runes, suggesting that they may have been touched up with the red ink by the scribe.

The runes are mostly medieval. A few comments on their form:

- The **k**-rune is used for ‘c’ (which is not uncommon), but ‘k’ is represented by an **h**-rune;
- A long-branch **t**-rune is used for ‘d’;
- The cross-bar of the **e**-rune is rather long and tilted, making the character almost an **æ**-rune;

- The dotted **b** for 'p' is missing the bottom dot;
- The 's' is a single stave, with a dot at the bottom indicating that a short-twig **s**-rune was likely the inspiration but the scribe exaggerated the length of the stem;
- The dotted **u** is transliterated as 'þ';
- The ᛦ transliterated as 'y' indicates that the alphabet likely originated from a West Norse source;
- The scribe left some space before adding a **þ**, which he indicates to be an ampersand.

Transliterations are provided for all runes underneath the characters, but only thirteen rune-names are given. Exceptions are ᚹ, where the scribe wrote **þ** above the rune instead of a rune-name, and ᚠ receives two transliterations, above and below the rune. The **c**-rune, **g**-rune, **k**-rune, **p**-rune, **y**-rune, and **ü**-rune do not receive rune-names. Many of the rune-names are uncommon, so it is possible that the scribe tried to write them down from memory (which would perhaps also explain the select number of them), or used a faulty exemplar. They are as follows: *Ar, berehel, dur, er, fe, baghel, is, logher, magher, noub, os, reik, sol, tur, ur*. The first three rune-names have dots on either side, a commonly used method to indicate that something is different from the main text (often numerals), or to separate the words. Due to the spacing between the runes, this seems somewhat unnecessary, and it is possible that it was for this reason that the scribe only used separators in three instances.

Context

No contextual information is provided on the page, which, aside from the main text only contains the numbering in the margins, John Wilson's signature, a number of now rather faint drawings, and what appear to be names (similar on fo. 142r). Aside

from a glossary of terms in alphabetical order in the lower margins of ff. 1v-3r, no other annotations have been added to the manuscript.[225]

It is unlikely that the runic alphabet was intended as part of the text, though based on the hand it was likely written contemporaneously with the main text. The context within which the rune-writer thought it appropriate to place this alphabet is still interesting. Jacquart and Burnett write that the *Liber Pantegni* was the first fully comprehensive medical text in Latin, and is attributed to Constantine the African, who was a monk of Monte Cassino (d. before 1098/9). The text consists of two parts, each of ten books, as can be seen in this manuscript. The first part of the text is called the *Theorica*, and deals with the theory of medicine; the second part is called the *Practica*, and deals with its practice. The book is originally an adaptation into Latin of the *Kitāb kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya* ('The Complete Book of Medical Art') by ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Majūsī (d. fourth/tenth century). Ibn al-ʿAbbās's work was widely copied in the Islamic world (and translated into Hebrew and Urdu), but only the first part of this manuscript corresponds more or less with the theoretical part of the *Kitāb kāmil āl-ṣinā'a al-ṭibbīya*. The second part, though preserving the structure, appears a patchwork of material from various medical Arabic texts whose translations – according to Jacquart and Burnett – are associated with Constantine and his circle, pre-Salernitan Latin medical texts, and further texts of unidentified origin, with only the occasional chapter taken from Ibn al-ʿAbbās's work.[226] This Arabic context does not appear to have any immediate bearing on the runic alphabet, and if the elements had any connection this may be purely the scribe's own association. That said, a number of *manuscriptae runae* do have a medical association, or appear in a context related to medicine: for instance, Modena, Archivo Storico Diocesano di Modena-Nonantola, O. I. 11 [15] is a medical manuscript, St John's College MS 17 [7] contains lists of medicinal herbs as well as diseases and their remedies, while London, British Library, Royal MS 12 D. XVII is a

[225] *Constantine the African and 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Maǧūsī: The* Pantegni *and Related Texts*, ed. by C. Burnett and D. Jacquart (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), p. 320.
[226] C. Burnett and D. Jacquart, 'Preface' in *Constantine the African and 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Maǧūsī: The* Pantegni *and Related Texts*, ed. by C. Burnett and D. Jacquart (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), vii-ix, p. vii.

copy of Bald's *Leechbook*, and the runes of London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A. XV are part of a group of medical charms.

9. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, STOWE MS 57

Manuscript

This manuscript derives its name from the first folio, where it is called *Scutum Bede Collectiuus. Caufridi de Vfford*. The *Scutum Bede* contains a collection of Latin treatises, moral, grammatical, and historical, in mixed prose and rhyming verse, and a world history in mixed verse and prose, ending with a short history of England to the accession of Henry II. [227] The manuscript is mainly written in Latin with some French and English.[228] It was compiled during the reign of Henry II, between 1154 and 1200. The title reveals its compilation by Geoffrey of Ufford, who is thought to have been a native of Lincoln, and the manuscript displays special interest in Peterborough, St. Guthlac, and Thorney.[229] Half the *Scutum Bede*, a scheme of virtues and vices, is on fo. 1v, the other half was on the next leaf, which is now lost.[230] With regard to the title *Scutum Bede*, Leland mentions a grammatical work called *Scutum Bedæ* among the works falsely attributed to Bede.[231] This title, however, seems only to apply to the grammatical extracts on ff. 1-5. The text is accompanied throughout by a large number of marginal and interlinear glosses, apparently in the same hand, in which various authorities are quoted. The contents are as follows:[232]

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[227] Detailed record for Stowe 57', *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, British Library <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=1161&CollID=21&NStart=57> [Accessed January 2015].
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ker (1957), #272.
[230] Ibid.
[231] J. Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, ed by A. Hall, 2 vols (Oxford: 1708), vol. 1, p. 118.
[232] 'SCUTUM BEDE. Collectivvs Gaufridi de Vfford', *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts*, British Library <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS040-001952838&indx=1&recIds=IAMS040-001952838&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=1&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1424715676559&srt=rank&mode=Basic&dum=true&vl(freeText0)=stowe+ms+57&vid=IAMS_VU2> [Accessed February 2015].

1. Fo. 1v: List of vices, tabulated in four classes with the reason why each should be avoided followed by ten lines of verse;
2. Ff. 2-4r: Exhortation to the study of letters; tables of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin alphabets, and numerals; **fuþark**; Aethicus Ister's alphabet;
3. Fo. 4v: Explanation of certain signs of notation, as the *asteriscus*, *obelus*, etc in verse, with glosses in prose, chiefly from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (I, 21);
4. Fo. 5: Instructions for the pronunciation of letters;
5. Ff. 5v-155r: A compendium of biblical world history;
   - Ff. 5v-6r: Prologue explaining the author's intention;
   - Ff. 6v-8r: Preface explaining the symbolism of the number seven;
   - Ff. 90v-118v: A general chronicle including lists of French and Lombard kings, emperors and popes;
   - Ff. 119v-144r: A chronicle of England preceded by a prologue in verse;
   - Ff. 144v-155r: A treatise on vices and virtues in verse of various metres;
6. Ff. 155v-165r: *Libellus de nominibus naturalium rerum*, a trilingual glossary on lists of animals, plants and stones in Old English, Latin and Old French;
7. Ff. 165v-166r: Medical recipes ending with a verse recipe for healing wounds.

A closer look at the manuscript's historical background allows for a somewhat closer dating: the last pope listed is Alexander III (r. 1159-81), and one of the texts is a chronicle which ends with the coronation of King Henry II in 1154. Thus, it is possible this work was composed in the area of Peterborough in or soon after 1159.[233] The next evidence of ownership is from the seventeenth century: it came into possession of the parliamentarian army officer, Thomas Hatcher (d. 1677), who inscribed '*Tho.*

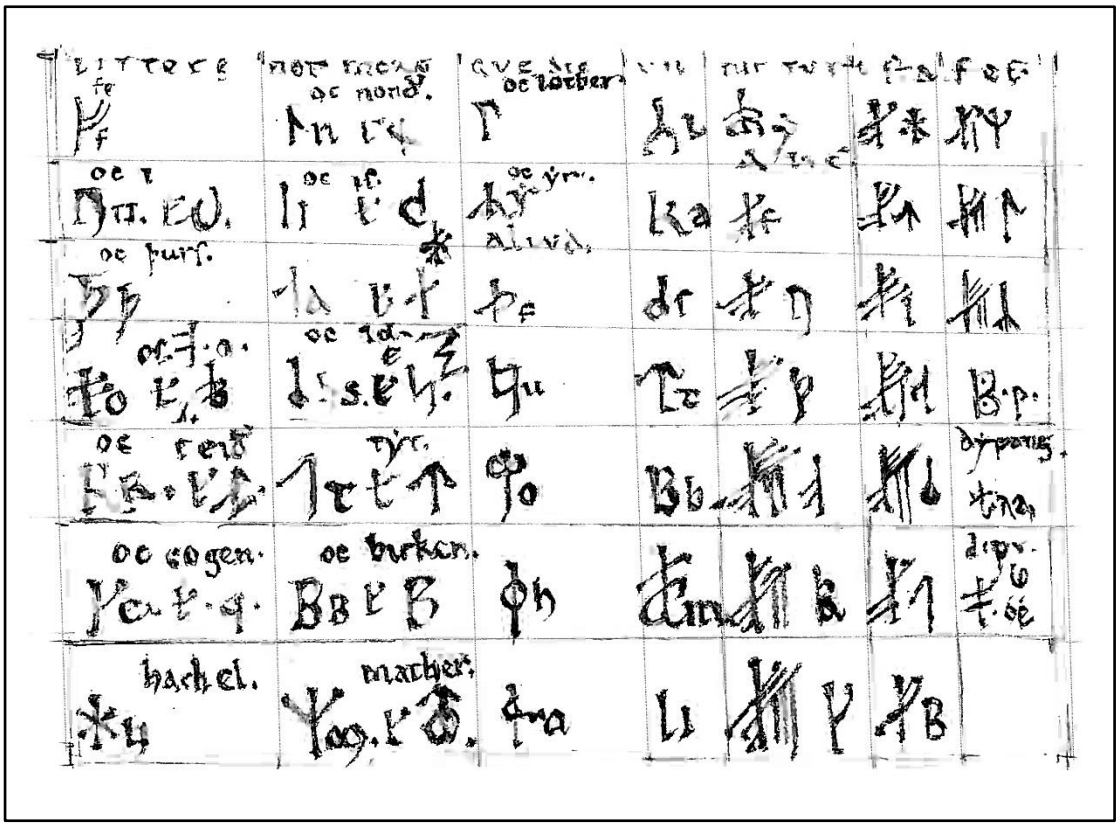
[233] 'Detailed record for Stowe 57', *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*.

Hatcheri liber 1611' on fo. 1. Subsequently, it was owned by the antiquary Thomas Martin of Palgrave (d. 1771) in 1729, whose signature '*Tho. Martin*' is on the inside of the upper cover. He sold the manuscript for £1. 0s. 1d on 19 May 1774 to Richard Gough (d. 1809), another antiquary. He then in turn sold the book on 5 April 1810 to Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville (d. 1839), first duke of Buckingham and Chandos, of Stowe House, near Buckingham. The book was inherited by the second duke of Buckingham and Chandos, who then sold it in 1849 to Lord Bertram Ashburnham (d. 1878), fourth earl of Ashburnham, of Ashburnham Place, Sussex. The subsequent earl of Ashburnham allowed the British Museum to purchase the work, together with 1084 other Stowe manuscripts in 1883.[234]

Runic material

The runic material in Stowe MS 57 can be found on fo. 3v. The page shows a neatly drawn table in red for the frame and vertical lines and green ink for the horizontal lines with forty-nine cells, forty-eight of which contain runes. The first sixteen cells contain runes, transliterations and rune-names, the following thirteen runes and their transliterations, then there are sixteen cipher runes accompanied by their runic equivalents, one cell containing a dotted rune and its transliteration, and finally two cells with runes representing diphthongs. The majority of the runes are from the Scandinavian medieval *fuþork*, but a number of deviations can be found. It is noteworthy that the *fuþork* goes vertically instead of the more common horizontal presentation. The table is entitled '*Litterę Normorum quę dicuntur runstafes*' in rubrics, and two subdivisions appear to have been made, again in red ink, with the word '*aliud*'. The diphthongs have received their own subheadings in black ink. The first subheading separates the main *fuþark* from what appear to be 'extra' or alternative runes, the second announces the cipher runes section. The final three cells, which appear unrelated to the second section, were probably added at another time. The hand and way in which the runes were drawn differ from the main body of material.

[234] Ibid.



Based on the shape of the runes and the handwriting, there was likely one main scribe, and one hand who added material at the end. For all subsequent discussion, I will therefore distinguish between Hand 1, responsible for the main body, and Hand 2, who added the final three cells. The difference between the hands can be made on the basis of the shape of the runes and their handwriting. The shape of the **b**-runes as drawn by Hand 1 is more angular than the dotted **b** by Hand 2, and the lines are thicker. The shape of the transliteration 'p' for instance is similar to the way the 'p' is shaped in subheadings in the following cells, suggesting that they might be written by the same scribe. Hand 1 draws his runes in a way which suggests a certain familiarity with the material: they are neat and show a book-hand character. The frequent use of serifs confirms this idea. The second hand is less careful and seems to have wanted to make a quick note of the runes he felt were missing from alphabet. I would suggest, however, that the hands are roughly contemporary, due to the use of the protogothic script.[235]

[235] 'Detailed record for Stowe 57', *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*.

Hand 1 produces an accurate West-Norse medieval Scandinavian *fuþork*, containing a few oddities. These oddities are mostly found in the alternatives which the scribe adds on the right-hand side of some cells. The runes on the left-hand side appear to be mostly accurate. Some comments on the rune-shapes:

- The scribe has correctly drawn two types of Scandinavian **o**-runes, but the third character looks like a Roman 'b', with an elongated ascender, and two cross-strokes to the left-hand side, which is perhaps where the scribe saw the likeness with the **o**-rune;
- Underneath is a character which should be a variant **r**, but looks like a badly drawn **l**-rune;
- The variant **i**-rune looks more like a Roman 'd';
- The **a**-rune received two correct variants, but another odd character was added in the top corner of the cell, which looks like a scribal abbreviation, but not – to my knowledge – one which can be connected to the **a**-rune;
- The **s**-rune again receives two correct variants, but also a Roman 'z'-like character, which appears relatively frequently in manuscripts, though usually because the scribe noticed the lack of a 'z' when lining up the runic with the Roman alphabet, which is not the case here;
- The **m**-rune at the bottom again receives a variant which combines a **t**-rune and a dotted **e**-rune;
- Under the heading *aliud* again a number of uncommon runes appear. The first of which is a rune which looks like a badly drawn **s**-rune;
- The next two runes display a similar issue, the rune below looks like an **m**-rune but stands for 'o', and the one below that appears in other manuscripts for 'gg', 'm', and 'e', but never for 'h';
- The top two runes in the fourth column are not known shapes;
- The stylised *eth* should not be transliterated as 'm';

- The **y**-rune at the top of the following row has an additional cross-stroke.

The rune-names only accompany the first rune-row (before the first *aliud*) and are therefore likely the work of the first scribe. They are as follows: *fe*, *ur*, *þurs*, *os*, *reið*, *cogen*, *hachel*, *nouð*, *is*, *ar*, *sol*, *tyr*, *birken*, *mather*, *lother*, *yr*. Most of these rune-names are fairly standard, but a few contain spelling variations (*hachel* for *hagal* and *birken* for *biarcan* for instance). *Cogen*, however, is not a rune-name found elsewhere. The origins of the word are unclear, and it may have been invented to match the 'c' of the rune-row. These mistakes suggest that Hand 1, or whoever wrote his exemplar, was not a native Old Norse speaker.

The twig-runes, whose appearance is rare in manuscripts, show an interesting mix of correct runes and scribal creativity. In both columns, the first three twig-runes are correctly drawn, but then the scribe seems to have thought that he was not allowed to draw more than three lines in one direction, so added the remaining ones on the bottom stave. This system, though slightly odd, works for the most part, except for the **o**-rune and **n**-rune. In two cases the scribe got the position of the runes wrong, ending up with 2/3 for the **t**-rune and 2/1 for the **l**-rune.

How the additions by Hand 2 connect to the main body of material is slightly less obvious. The first cell following the cipher runes contains a dotted **b**-rune, correctly transliterated as 'p'. This rune is generally considered part of the medieval *fuþork*, which Hand 1 provides, and there is thus no direct objection to this addition, though none of the other dotted runes are given, which makes one wonder if the scribe was aware of the correspondence. I am inclined to believe that he was, based on the following cell where the scribe appears to have added an **æ**-rune from the Scandinavian medieval alphabet, though this is only clear through its transliteration, because the rune is rather clumsily drawn. The final cell, however, does not demonstrate the same correspondence. The scribe drew an **o**-rune, but transcribed it as 'io' and 'œ', which are diphthongs from the Anglo-Saxon alphabet. The rune, however, is shaped as the medieval Scandinavian **o**-rune, which matches the alphabet, but is not a rune which was omitted by Hand 1. Why the scribe selected

these runes, and not any of the other runes that were missed out by Hand 1, is unclear.

Context

The runes appear as part of the *Scutum Bede* text, as one of the alphabets collected in the linguistic and grammatical section at the beginning of the manuscript. The other material on the page is a Latin *abecedarium* with added Anglo-Saxon letters, which precedes the runes. On the previous page (fo. 3r) there are Hebrew and Greek alphabets and lists of numerals, on the following page a note on grammar and an alphabet entitled *ethyci phylos*, which is likely the Aethicus Ister alphabet. The selection of alphabets is similar to those of the *De Inventione Linguarum*, though without any of the explanatory texts. The main scribe was knowledgeable enough to differentiate between the *fuþark*, the 'additional runes', and the twig-runes, and indicated correctly that they were Scandinavian. He wrote a correct *fuþark*, and it would appear that he understood the principle behind the twig-runes, but he clearly was not a specialist, as indicated by the 'additional' section. It is possible that he was familiar with the Scandinavian rune-row, which he organised into the table, and then saw other runes elsewhere and added them for the sake of completeness. It is thus likely that the first scribe had access of some sort to runic material.

Unfortunately, both scribes are unknown. The manuscript itself states that it was compiled by Geoffrey of Ufford, but it is unclear if he was responsible for writing it as well. Ker found a number of indications that one of the scribes was a native of Lincoln.[236] 'Of Ufford' is probably a good indication of where Geoffrey was from, as records indicate that hereditary surnames derived from specific place-names are unlikely to have existed before the thirteenth century.[237] There are two places called Ufford in England, one in Suffolk and one near Peterborough. In the course of the short history of England written in the manuscript, however, a clear interest in Thorney, Peterborough, and St Guthlac is visible, so Peterborough is perhaps most

[236] Ker, #272.
[237] G. Redmonds, T. King, D. Hey, *Surnames, DNA, and Family History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 41-42.

likely. Yet, taking into account Ker's observation, Lincoln and the Peterborough area are both likely places for the creation of the manuscript. Both areas were part of the Danelaw, and had a Viking history as well as a number of scriptoria, so finding remnants of Scandinavian culture there is not particularly surprising. Lincoln has the most obvious epigraphical connection as it has two Scandinavian inscriptions. The first inscription can be found on the Lincoln bone comb case (E4), probably from the eleventh century, which Barnes and Page think was made by a Swedish carver.[238] The second is an inscription on a rib (E16), likely from the late tenth century, the meaning of which is still unclear.[239] This manuscript is later, but though these inscriptions do not demonstrate a wealth of runic knowledge, they do show a presence of this kind of material in that area.

Another, final, option is Thorney. Thorney lies approximately ten miles outside Peterborough. Thorney abbey produced Oxford, St John's College MS 17 [7], which also contains a number of the runic oddities described above. The *Liber Vitae* of Thorney also lists a great many Scandinavian names mostly from between the tenth and the twelfth century,[240] which Whitelock suggests is evidence for various visits of important Danish chieftains to the abbey, as well as demonstrating a monastic interest in the Scandinavian settlements in the area.[241] Unfortunately, there is no trace of any twig-runes, and the St John's manuscript gives different transliterations for the 'odd' runes.

In addition, there is no way of knowing whether Geoffrey stayed in his native lands, or became a compiler in a faraway scriptorium. The interest demonstrated in the manuscript makes his presence at one of these three scriptoria possible, but by no means obligatory.

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[238] Barnes and Page, pp. 292-95.
[239] Ibid., pp. 334-37.
[240] L. Rollason, *The Thorney Liber Vitae (London, British Library, Additional MS 40,000, fols 1-12r): Edition, Facsimile and Study* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015).
[241] D. Whitelock, 'Scandinavian Personal Names in the Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research*, 12 (1945), 127-53, pp. 128-29, 136.

10. HIGH WYCOMBE, WORMSLEY LIBRARY, THE BYLAND BEDE

Manuscript

The manuscript is called the Byland Bede, and, as the title indicates, contains two of Bede's works: the Latin commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles*, and commentaries on the *Seven Canonical Letters* and the *Prologue* of St Jerome. It was written by one main scribe in Byland Abbey in North Yorkshire, ca. 1150-1175, in a late-Romanesque English Cistercian book-hand.[242] There are a number of occasional markings and notes, which were made by at least three different hands. The catalogue notes that the most recent hand, likely from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, is responsible for the signature '- Bennett' on fo. 79v.[243] I am not convinced that this is correct. The first vowel and the last are shaped differently, making a name like 'Barnett' equally possible. There is some very faint writing just before this name, but only the letters 'Be' and 'f' can be discerned. The contents of the manuscript are as follows:

1. Front flyleaf: Eight Anglo-Saxon abbreviations and idiosyncratic letter forms; **runic alphabet**; thirteen **rune-like characters**;
2. Fo. 1r-v: *Divino in Christo desiderantissimo et uere beatissimo. Accae episcopo*; *beda perpetuam salutem*;
3. Ff. 2-34r: Beda Venerabilis, *Opusculum in Librum Actuum Apostolorum cum Expositione de Nominibus Locorum*;
4. Ff. 34r-101v: Beda Venerabilis, *Expositio in Septem Epistolas Canonicas*.

The codex originates from the library of the Cistercian Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Byland, Yorkshire. This ownership has been noted at the top of fo. 1r: '*Liber Sante Marie De Bellalanda'*. The formation of this Abbey was the result of a

[242] H. G. Fletcher, R. J. D. Harding, B. D. Maggs, W. M. Voelkle, R. S. Wieck, *The Wormsley Library: A Personal Selection by Sir Paul Getty*, ed. By H. G. Fletcher, 2nd edn (London: Maggs Brothers, 2007), p. 8.
[243] Ibid., p. 10.

long process beginning with a group of monks from the congregation of Savigny, led by Abbot Gerald, leaving their first monastery at Furness in Cumbria (established in 1128) to found a daughter monastery in Calder in 1135. This move was unsuccessful as Calder was ransacked by the Scots in 1138, and the monks were forced to return to Furness. However, since Abbot Gerald was unwilling to give up his new title of Abbot to the Abbot of Furness, they were denied entry.[244] The monks sought help from Archbishop Thurstan of York, who pointed them towards the nobleman Lord Roger de Mowbray; he granted them permission to stay at Hood in Yorkshire. The site, however, did not lend itself to the construction of a monastery, and in 1142 the monks were given Byland on the Moor by Lady Gundreda, Lord Roger's mother.[245] They began to build an Abbey, later referred to as Old Byland, and moved there in 1143. Four years later, however, the monks transferred to Oldstead (Stocking), a wasteland also granted by Roger de Mowbray, where they built a small stone church and a cloister, in order to escape the sound of the bells of nearby Rievaulx Abbey. They remained on this site for thirty years before their final move to New Byland near Coxwold in 1177, during which period the community also joined the order of the Cistercians.[246] The manuscript was likely written during this thirty-year period at Oldstead.

The Abbey was later suppressed by King Henry VIII in 1538, and the land was granted to Sir William Pickering, passing subsequently to the Wotton, Stapylton, and Wombwell families.[247] Only twenty-seven manuscripts survive from the Abbey's original collection. Based on the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century inscription, the codex may have belonged to a man named 'Bennett' or 'Barnett' during that time, but there is no further information about this owner. The first known owner was Thomas Bateman of Lomberdale House (d. 1861), from Bakewell, Derbyshire. William Bateman inherited the codex, which was then sold in 1893 during the

[244] J. Burton, *The Historical Account of the Foundations of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, Borthwick Texts and Studies, 35 (York: Borthwick Institute for Archives, 2006), p. 2.
[245] Ibid., p. 11.
[246] Burton, p. xxi.
[247] Fletcher et al., p. 8.

Bateman Heirlooms sale by Sotheby's Auction House. Robert Hoe III (d. 1909) bought the manuscript and after his death it was again sold in 1911 by Anderson Auction House. It came into the possession of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge Junior before it was finally acquired by the Wormsley library in August 1997.[248]

Runic Material

The runic material in this codex is a Scandinavian alphabet of twenty-one runes, a row of eleven runic and rune-like characters, and then a final two characters underneath. The runes of the alphabet are situated in the middle of the front flyleaf beneath a row of Anglo-Saxon characters, and divided into two rows, a-o / p-x. Transliterations are provided in rows above the runes: the first line of transliterations appears on line 6, the first line of runes appears on 7. The second line of transliterations appears between ll. 8-9, followed by the second line of runes. Two more lines of space are left between this second line and a line of eleven runes/rune-like characters. Subsequently, there is another line of empty space, and then two final characters follow. These characters have not received any transliterations or additional information.

The alphabet is clear and well-drawn, but contains an unnecessary amount of dotting. There appear to be two types of dotting: dots in places which are typically dotted (ᚴ , ᛏ for instance) and slightly less distinct dots which the scribe placed above the stems of certain runes (**m**-rune, **e**-rune for instance). The reason for the presence of the second type is unclear, yet the difference between the two types of dotting facilitates recognition of scribal errors: the **a**-rune and the **t**-rune contain distinct dots, so the scribe likely considered those dots to be essential (though the second type of dots can also be seen above their stems). Small serifs appear at the top and bottoms of stems, giving the material a book-hand character and strong similarity to the script used for the Latin text in the codex. The following runes require some comment:

[248] Ibid., p. 10.

- The **a**-rune is dotted on the left-hand side and the branch does not cross the stem. The dot is likely a mistake, but the shape of the **n**-rune indicates an intentional use of short-twig runes;
- The rune transliterated as 'c' is a dotted k-rune, and therefore technically a **g**-rune;
- The **d**-rune has been given two dots on either side of the stem of a double-branched **t**-rune;
- The **g**-rune here is not dotted and therefore technically a **k**-rune;
- For 'k' the same rune is used as for 'g', but the branch is longer and stretches wider;
- The **m** is dotted on the left-hand side between the stem and the left branch;
- The character representing 'o' is interesting here, because the rune is clearly Anglo-Saxon. It is possible that this is an exaggerated Younger *fuþark* **o**, but the upwards curve at the end of the branches suggests otherwise;
- The rune representing 'q' here seems again to be a variant of the **k**-rune, but the serifs at the top are more distinctive, making it similar to an insular 's';
- There appear to be two **s**-runes, long-branch and short-twig. The scribe, however, appears not to have realised the difference or afterwards confused transliterations and placed these in the positions of 's' and 't';
- The following character looks like a **d**, again with two branches, but only one dot on the right-hand side. It is likely that this rune was meant to represent 't', but due to the confusion with the two **s**-runes, this character was transliterated as 'u';
- The final character is a very triangular-looking **u**-rune, which is given the value 'x';
- The alphabet is missing 'y' and 'z', and the runic letters **æ** and **ø** are not represented;

The included runes are not easily classified, though they are likely medieval; this is also indicated by the twelfth-century dating. Two forms are of interest here: ᛏfor 'd' appears around 1060 in Denmark and only in the late twelfth century in Norway,[249] so this would suggest an East Norse influence on the Byland alphabet. A similar conclusion was drawn by Page and Hagland regarding St John's MS 17 [7], which contains the form with a cross-bar rather than dots.[250] The second is the fourth rune of the *fuþark* ('o' here). This rune is interesting as it also presents a problem in the epigraphical inscription from Sockburn (Br E19) in County Durham,[251] which shows an Anglo-Saxon ᚩ-rune as the second letter of the name *Mæl muire,* instead of a suitable Scandinavian rune to match the rest of the inscription. This may of course be a coincidence, but Sockburn is located a mere thirty-five miles north of Byland Abbey, so a connection is possible. Rye, however, determined that the inscription is likely from the tenth or eleventh century, so clearly older than the Byland runes.[252] Both sets of runes, however, may have similar origins and connections with East and West: Rye points out Sockburn's similarities with inscriptions from the Isle of Man and Cumbria, while (at least part of) the community responsible for the Byland codex lived at Furness Abbey in Cumbria for a number of years before moving to the East of the country. In fact, comparison with epigraphy makes it seem likely that the runic knowledge in this manuscript came from Furness (or the North-West more generally) rather than Byland or the North-East. The ᛏappears again in the inscription **dotbrt** on the thirteenth-century altar of the Conishead Priory (E11), which is located approximately 9 miles from the Furness Abbey.[253]

[249] Page (1999), p. 207.
[250] R. I. Page, J. R. Hagland, 'Runica Manuscripta and Runic Dating: The Expansion of the Younger Futhark' in *Innskrifter og datering. Dating Inscriptions*, 8, ed. by A. Dybdahl and J. R. Hagland (Trondheim: Senter for Middelalderstudier, 1998), 55–72, p. 67.
[251] The fourth character of the *fuþark* receives a number of different forms and values within the insular corpus. For the sake of brevity, I will therefore refer to the character as the fourth rune throughout.
[252] E. Rye, 'A new runic inscription from Sockburn Hall, County Durham - E19 Sockburn' (forthcoming).
[253] Barnes and Page, pp. 316-19.

The Bridekirk font (E 1) is also of interest here, since it not only originates from Cumbria, is likely twelfth-century, and contains an inscription in Scandinavian runes, but also contains a number of English book-hand features (Barnes and Page 2006, 281). Like the Byland Bede, it contains the later forms of **ɑ** and **n** and short-twig **s**, as well as the double-branched **t**. The inscription also shows the crossed **t** shape, but Barnes and Page (2006, 281) concluded this to be a bind-rune of **t** and **e**. Although none of these elements are necessarily out of the ordinary, the appearance of 'local' epigraphical features in the manuscript and the appearance of manuscript features in a 'local' inscription during the same time period would seem significant. The font does not in itself shed more light on the manuscript, nor is it possible to immediately connect the two, but the similarities between these three elements do add to the likelihood that the Byland Bede runes have a place in the north-western tradition. Additionally, the font and the manuscript also suggest that in this area the borders between epigraphy and manuscripts were less pronounced. It is possible then that this area knew a heavy Danish influence which affected both carvers and scribes. The St John's MS 17 [7] may have felt a similar influence from the former Danelaw area. The confusion with the fourth rune, however, remains unsolved: the fourth rune used in Conishead is ᛏ, while Bridekirk employs ᚬ for 'o'. Perhaps then the appearance of two Anglo-Saxon fourth runes instead of Scandinavian ones from the same area is merely coincidence, and the scribe made a mistake. This error, however, is indicative of a familiarity with the Anglo-Saxon rune-row, which is worth following up.

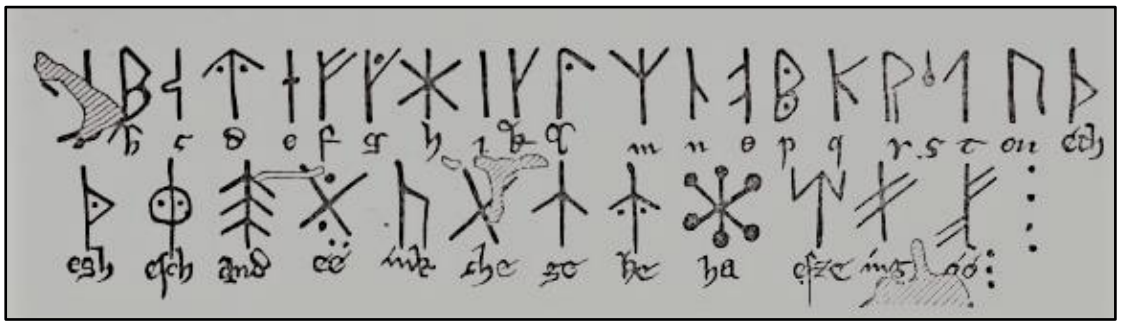
Context

The context here is limited, due to the fact that the alphabet appears on an empty page before the main Bede texts. Except for some Anglo-Saxon characters at the top of the page, the only other context is the line of characters below the alphabet, which is a curious mixture of 'runes' which developed in the manuscript tradition, a number of genuine runes, and a few misinterpreted characters. The final two characters at the bottom are likely the Roman letters 'h' and 'd', but with further unnecessary dotting. These additional characters all appear to be by the same hand,

which uses a rounded script. They are serifed differently than the alphabet, and the colour of ink is slightly lighter, which suggests a different hand, though likely contemporary with the manuscript. The more haphazard structure and lack of transliterations further strengthen this impression. It would seem that this second hand recognised the runic alphabet and added further material. It is worth taking a closer look at these characters as well:

- The first character could be a twig-rune (2/2). It also appears in two continental manuscripts: St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 878 [16] has it for 'k' and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14436 [31] for 'i';
- The second and third character look like they could potentially be division marks, to separate elements in runic inscriptions/texts. It may be that this annotator thought they were runes and included them – this would indicate a lack of understanding of the material. Alternatively, they could also be an Anglo-Saxon **g**-rune and two **i**-runes, but the slightly slanted and nonchalant way of drawing makes this rather unlikely (also in comparison with the **i**-rune from the alphabet, and the fifth character in the additional runes section);
- The fourth and penultimate character could be a (clumsily drawn) Scandinavian **o**-rune, though a similar shape appears for 't' in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 207 [11] for 'in' (rune-name *inc*) in *isruna*-manuscripts;
- The fifth character could be an Anglo-Saxon **g**-rune;
- Then follows either an Anglo-Saxon **m**, or Scandinavian **y**/**R**-rune, again dotted;
- A *wynn*;
- A *þorn*;
- Potentially an **a**-rune, or an exaggerated Scandinavian **e**-rune;
- The final rune of the row could be a poorly drawn **ᛕ̣**-rune, but the same character appears for 'x' in Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3507 [3] and Oxford, St John's College MS 17 [7] (likely due to the similarity with the Roman letter x).

Identifying the source(s) for these additional runes is not straightforward, as none of the surviving *manuscriptae runae* contain all or even some of these characters together as a unit. The collection gives the impression that the annotator went through a number of runic manuscripts and picked out runes which differed from the alphabet. This is possible, if somewhat impractical. The type of characters points towards an Anglo-Saxon source, as most of them appear in Anglo-Saxon *manuscriptae runae*, or are Anglo-Saxon. The most straightforward answer would therefore be that the annotator found his material in one of the 'additional' sections, such as appear in Exeter, MS 3507 [3], Cotton MS Vitellius A. XII [5], or Stowe MS 57 [9]. However, none of the runes for which parallels have been found in other manuscripts appear in these additional sections. Clearly, a certain degree of variation exists between these sections, so it is possible that a manuscript existed with these characters but is now lost. In fact, a number of these forms or forms similar to them do appear in a fourteenth-century manuscript from Whalley Abbey, Lancashire.[254]



This manuscript, Additional MS 10374, also contains a Scandinavian alphabet and 'additional' section of characters, though fewer mistakes were made and the alphabet uses ᛋ for 'c' and ᛁ for 's'. There is not enough overlap between the alphabets and additional characters for this to be a copy of the Byland Bede. Additional MS 10374 also contains a number of transliterations which the Byland codex does not. This indicates the existence of a separate exemplar and further

[254] T. D. Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe* (Manchester: 1872), p. 81; K. Holman, *The Northern Conquest: Vikings in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Signal, 2007), p. 191.

annotation of this material. The rune-forms and the consideration that a second hand added the additional characters in Byland, possibly taken from an Anglo-Saxon *runicum manuscriptum*, suggest that the Byland Bede was likely the first manuscript to contain this material. To find so many of these characters and a similar alphabet again in the fourteenth century is unlikely to be coincidence. Considering the popularity of Bede, it is not inconceivable that the Byland manuscript and its runes were copied afterwards. This copy (or even a copy of that copy) may then have been the exemplar for the Whalley manuscript. Holman, who first remarked on the similarity between MS 10374 and Conishead due to the appearance of the dotted **t** in both, could not find a direct connection between the monasteries of Whalley and Conishead.[255] It may be that there is no direct connection, but that the appearance of this alphabet is a result of copying between manuscripts. This could have been motivated by the recognition of the rune-forms as local elements, considering that MS 10374 contains various charters and documents related to Whalley Abbey, its history, and its surroundings. It is therefore unlikely that the transliterations appearing in the Whalley manuscript bear any relevance to the Conishead inscription, as Holman thought.[256]

One more element appears which may add further depth to the discussion about the origin of the alphabet: at the top of the page nine characters appear which are clearly taken from insular Roman script. The first character is *þorn*; then *wynn*; then a Tironian nota (dotted again); then *eth*; followed by the Anglo-Saxon abbreviation for *þæt*; the letter 'h' (which seems the odd one out); then *yogh* + e, so '*ge-*', which is often found at the beginning of Old English (and some Middle English) verbs; and then finally the insular 'r'. The scribe appears to have been interested in the vernacular way of writing, despite (or perhaps due to) his own writing in Latin. At a twelfth-century date, this may have been an effort to preserve the English way of writing against the backdrop of Anglo-Norman social dominance, or an Anglo-Norman scribe showing an interest in the English language and/or script. A similar

[255] K. Holman, *Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions in the British Isles: Their Historical Context*. Senter for Middelalterstudier, 4 (Trondheim: Tapir, 1996), p. 84; Holman (2007), p. 191.
[256] Holman (1996), p. 84.

selection of Anglo-Saxon letters can be found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 9666 [34]. The reason behind the preservation of the material there is likely to be scholarly curiosity, however.

As noted, the institution responsible for producing the manuscript was part of the Savigny order (though officially Cistercian at the point of production), which originated in northern France on the borders of Normandy, Brittany, and Maine.[257] The nationality of monks who moved to Cumbria initially and then arrived at Byland over time was therefore likely Norman French, especially considering that Furness and Lancashire were given to Stephen de Blois, a Norman Lord, by King Henry I in 1120.[258] De Blois was also responsible for founding the Savigniac house at Furness.[259] Additionally, at a twelfth-century date Anglo-Norman was widely spoken in England. Consequently, it is certainly conceivable that the monks were speakers of French or Anglo-Norman, and that a number of them received their education on the Continent. The reason behind a number of oddities in the manuscript may therefore be due to the scribe's continental background. This also means that he may have been familiar with the *De Inventione Linguarum* tradition, which could explain the use of Scandinavian **k** for 'c', a commonly found characteristic of the runic alphabet in the tract. It could be argued that this is also a feature of the alphabetised younger *fuþark*, but there is only one example of this remaining, Paris, BN, MS Lat. 9666 [34], and this manuscript lacks the letter 'k', making any conclusions rather difficult.

The motivations behind the rune-row and insular characters in this manuscript may therefore not differ as much from Paris, Lat. 9666 as originally thought: the inclusion of this material may show an interest in English (local) culture, perhaps fuelled by Bede and his reputation as a scholar of the history of Britain. The association with Bede may have prompted the Anglo-Norman scribe to write down

[257] Burton, p. vii.
[258] W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation 1000-1135* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), pp. 200-02.
[259] E. King, 'Stephen (*c.*1092–1154)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26365?&docPos=29&backToResults=list=yes> [Accessed April 2017].

the English characters and attracted thoughts of runes and alphabet collections, which were then sourced locally. This could indicate that the manuscript was in fact written in the North-West and later brought to Byland Abbey, where it received its ownership mark. The fact that Scandinavian runes were readily available, as also demonstrated by the post-Conquest epigraphical inscriptions, further confirms the persistence of the Scandinavian language and identity in the North of England.[260] It also suggests that at this point in time epigraphy and runic manuscript writing were not that far removed from one another.

[260] R. I. Page, *Runes and Runic Inscriptions* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), p. 189.

ALPHABETS AND RUNE-ROWS IN CONTINENTAL COLLECTIONS

11. BERN, BURGERBIBLIOTHEK, MS 207

Manuscript

This manuscript originates from the Abbey of Fleury, in Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, France. Derolez writes that it was probably written between 779-797 by an insular (possibly Irish) scribe, using a hybrid of Celtic and continental writing.[261] The scribe uses the Fleury abbreviation for *tur*, but wrote in a hybrid minuscule, which Lowe calls a curious type of mixed minuscule.[262]Lindsay, however, found slight but consistent variations in the script, and therefore suggested two hands, while Boyer even considered three.[263] The dating of the manuscript is based on the decennovennial table for AD 779-797; there is a dot by the year 792, though this may be coincidence.[264] It also contains Irish glosses, and additions were made to it in the tenth century.[265] It is the oldest grammatical manuscript produced in Fleury, containing the works of the main Latin writers of the Classical period and early Middle Ages. The contents are as follows:[266]

1. Fo.1r: Table of contents for Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae* (III, 231);
2. Fo. 1v: List of contents, in hexameter;
3. Fo. Ar-v: Bede, *De Computo vel Loquela Digitorum*;
4. Fo. Av-Bv: Greek alphabet, Hebrew alphabet, three (pseudo-)**runic alphabets** followed by a row of seven groups containing **three runes or rune-like characters**, **list of rune-names**, Aethicus Ister's alphabet, ogham-alphabets,

[261] Derolez (1954), p. 175; B. Bischoff, *Palaëographie des Roïmischen Altertums und des Abendlaïndischen Mittelalters* (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1979), p. 115.
[262] E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: France, Paris*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), #568.
[263] W. M. Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, vol. 16 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), 2, pp. 61-65; B. B. Boyer, 'A Paris Fragment of Codex Bern 207', *Classical Philology*, 32.2 (1937), 113-120, p. 113.
[264] Derolez (1954), p. 175.
[265] M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 1989), p. 63.
[266] O. Homburger, *Die Illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern* (Bern: Burgerbibliothek Bern Verlag, 1962), pp. 32–39.

collection of exotic alphabets (fragmentary, containing a number of **runes**, 'Egyptian' and 'African' letters), grammatical excerpts, five and a half lines of various alphabets with Latin transliterations, *probationes pennarum*;

5. Fo. Br: *De Declinatione* (excerpt);
6. Fo. Bv: Porphyrius Optatianus, *Carmen 25*; Paschal cycle; Paschal arguments;
7. Fo. 2r: Decorative title page containing **text in runes**;
8. Ff. 2v-10v: Donatus, *Ars Minor*; *Declinationes impersonalis verbi*;
9. Ff. 10v-11r: Donatus, *Ars Maior* (I, 2-3);
10. Fo. 11r-v: *De Accidentibus*;
11. Ff. 11v-12v: Maximus Victorinus, *De Finalibus syllabis* (incomplete);
12. Ff. 13r-17r: Donatus, *Ars Maior* (I, 56; III, 1-6);
13. Ff. 17r-18v: *De Partibus orationis*;
14. Ff. 18v-77v: Julianus Toletanus, *Ars Grammatica*;
15. Ff. 77v-80v: Servius Honoratus, *De Centum Metris*;
16. Ff. 80v-81r: Porphyrius Optatianus, *Carmen* (15, 25);
17. Ff. 81r-101r: Julianus Toletanus, *De Partibus Orationis*;
18. Ff. 101r-112r: Donatus, *Ars Maior* (II, 1-17);
19. Ff. 112r-113r: *De Littera*;
20. Ff. 113r-123r: *Ars Dieziana*;
21. Ff. 123r-127r: *Ars Minor Donati*; *Ars Petri* (excerpt);
22. Fo. 127r-v: *De Nominibus Mobilibus*;
23. Ff. 127v-129v: *Ars Compendaria*;
24. Ff. 130r-140r: Asper Minor, *Ars Grammatica*;
25. Ff. 140r-148r: Sergius, *Explicationes de Prioribus Donati*;
26. Ff. 148r-168r: Petrus Pisanus, *Ars Grammatica*;

27. Ff. 168r-194v: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (excerpts);

28. Fo. 194v: *Cursus lunaris*;

29. Fo. 195r-v: *Ars Compendaria*;

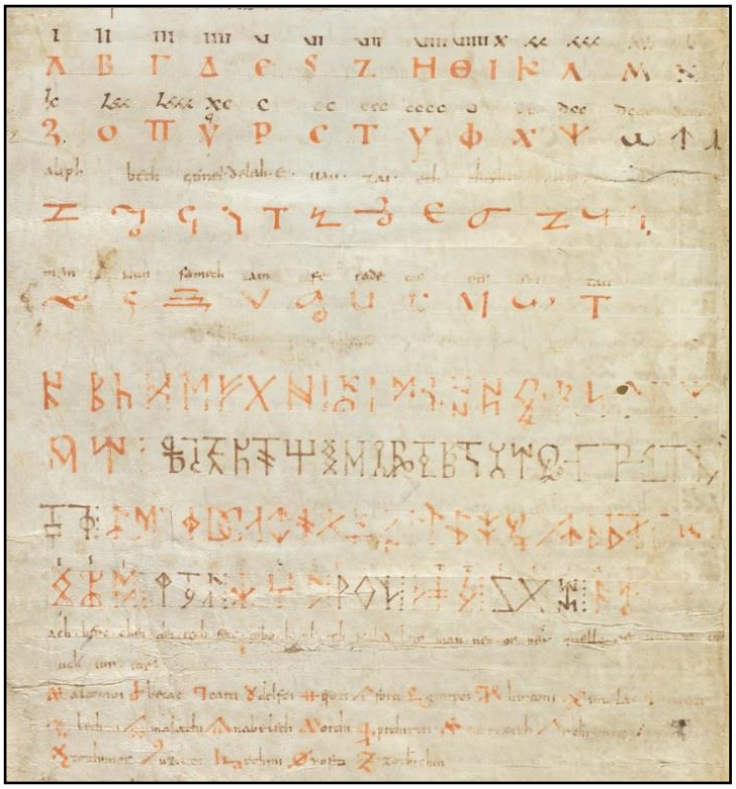
30. Fo. 195v: *De Definitione Mutarum Consonantium* (tenth-century addition).

The manuscript likely stayed at Fleury until 1552, indicated by its appearance as number 112 in the catalogue from that time.[267] Like many Fleury manuscripts, this codex came into the possession of the humanist Pierre Daniel (d. 1603), as is evidenced by notes in his hand on ff. 80r-81r, 116v, and 121r. Afterwards, during its travels, the manuscript was divided up into two parts: the first part is now the Bern codex, containing 197 folios, and the second is currently part of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 7520 (ff. 1-24), and consists of twenty-four folios.[268] The Bern part of the manuscripts came into ownership of the French diplomat, historian, and philologist Jaques Bongars (d. 1612).[269] When the latter died it came into the hands of the banker and jeweller René Gravisset from Strasbourg (d. 1633), whose son Jacob (d. 1658) gave it to the municipality of Bern in 1628.[270] These final twenty-four folios also contain grammatical material:[271]

1. Fo.1r-v: Terentius Scaurus, *Fragmentum Parisinum*;
2. Ff.1v-9r: Probus, *De Catholicis*;
3. Ff. 9r-22v: Alcuin, *De dialectica*;
4. Ff. 22v-23r: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (2,30,14);
5. Ff. 23r-24v: Bede, *De schematibus et tropis*.

[267] Homburger, p. 39.
[268] B. Bischoff, B., *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausname auf wisigothischen): Aachen-Lambach*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), p. 116, #551a.
[269] Lowe (1950), #568.
[270] Derolez (1954), pp. 174-75.
[271] 'Latin 7520', *Archives et Manuscrits*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc33963c/ca100> [Accessed December 2016].

Runic Material



The manuscript contains three sets of runes: a number of runic/pseudo-runic alphabets on ff. Av and Br, and then a text using a number of these runes on a decorative page, fo. 2r. Dealing firstly with the alphabets, three can be distinguished on fo. Av, separated by the vertical dots which are commonly used as word-dividers in runic inscriptions, as well as by colour. The first and third alphabet are red, the second is written in brown ink. After this follows a final row of runes split into seven groups of three runes, which are again separated by word-dividers and different colours (groups 1, 3, 5 and 7 in red; 2, 4, 6 in brown). Only the first alphabet is in fact runic, but the other 'alphabets' contain characters which appear to have been based on those of the rune-row.

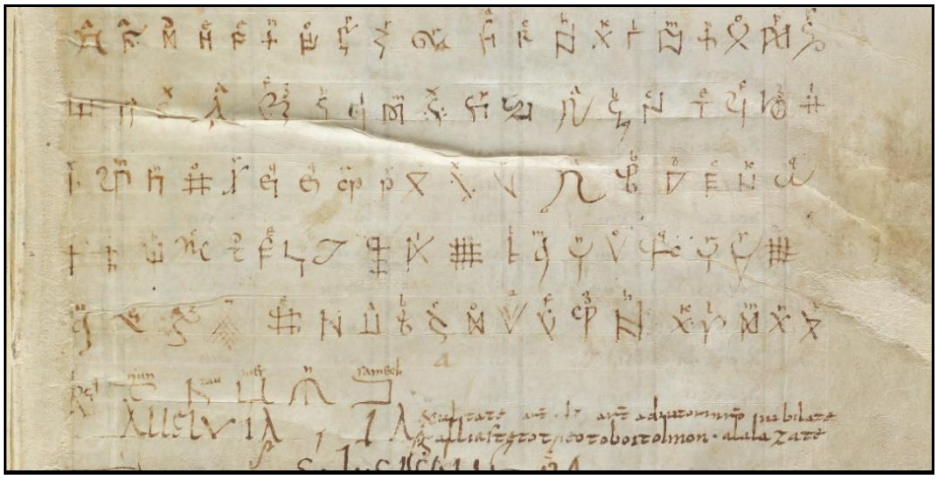
The first alphabet contains twenty-four well-drawn and mostly correct Anglo-Saxon runes, though the **k**-rune shows two additional small branches on the right-hand side of the stem, making the rune look like a combination of a Roman 'k' and the **k**-rune. The rune which is supposed to represent 'q' here is likely based on the capital Roman 'q', but looks more like a heart-shape with the number four attached. In the second alphabet a **p**-rune, **ea**-rune, and an **ng**-rune can be recognised. The

third alphabet sports a correct **e**-rune, **g**-rune, **l**-rune, and **b**-rune. Two runes appear which look similar to the Scandinavian **a**-rune and **o**-rune. This seems unlikely considering the eighth-century dating of the manuscript. This third alphabet shows a **d**-rune, which, though not actually correct, also occurs in St John's MS 17 [7]. The final line of (pseudo-)runes appears to collect all characters which have the same transliteration. These transliterations are then written above the runes, in the opposite colour of the rune-like characters (red for brown and inversely): the first group contains the characters for 'i', the second for 'o', the third for 'g', the fourth for 'v', the fifth for 't', the sixth for 'i' again, and the seventh for 'a'.

Only these final seven groups have been given values, which means that only a select number of characters from the preceding two pseudo-runic alphabets can be identitied with any certainty. However, the first row of runes suggests that they were written in alphabetical order, which makes it likely that the other two rows have received the same treatment. This can also be checked against the runic message (see below), which employs these runes for its text. The rune-names are provided alphabetically in one and a half lines, without their relevant runes. They are as follows: *ach, berc, chen, deio, e3ch, fe3c, gobo, hagil, ish, kalod, logo, man, net, os, per, quello, ret, sigil, ti, u[r], uch, vir, ear*. The use of the *yogh* here is suggestive of an insular scribe.

On fo. Bv more alphabets appear spread over six rows, most of them appear to be invented, but a strong resemblance to the runic alphabet can be noted. They are all written in brown ink, and little of the colourfulness of the alphabets on fo. Av can be detected. Derolez calls this collection 'an unsightly jumble of characters' and rightly remarks that 'if the equivalents were not indicated above most of them, it would hardly be possible to identify more than a dozen.'[272] Especially the first row

[272] Derolez (1954), pp. 188-89.



contains a number of characters which are clearly runic, but, as in fo. Av they can also be found spread throughout the other alphabets. Derolez made a note of all characters which may have a runic origin. They can be seen in the image below:[273]

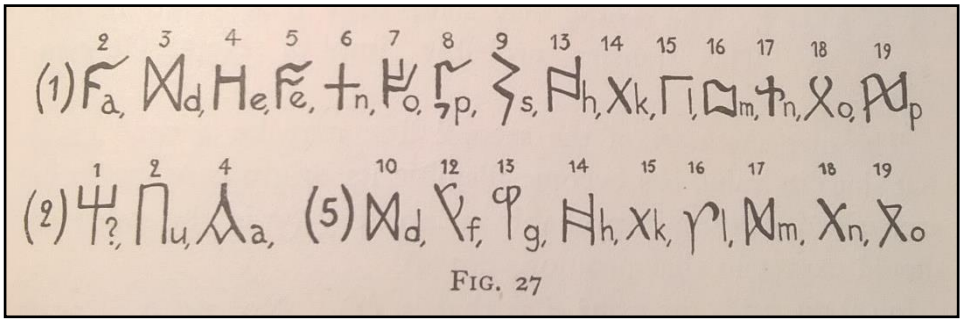


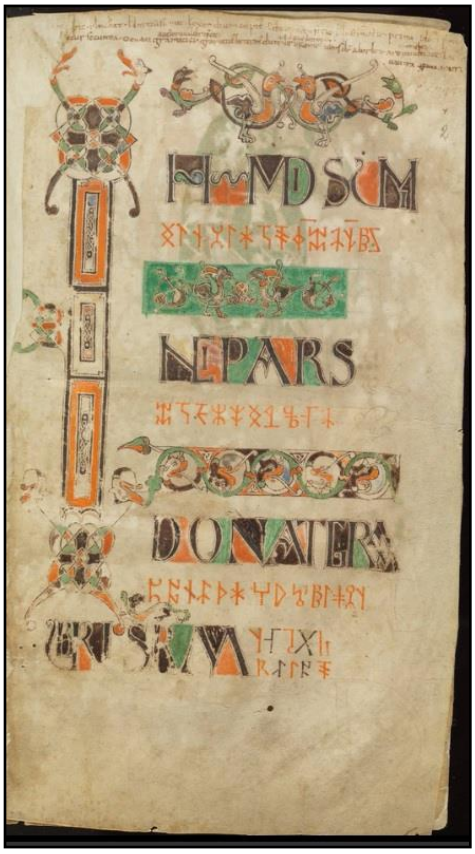
FIG. 27

Though the origin of most of these characters is clear, it seems unlikely that they came from the same alphabet, as there are two characters for 'o' and for 'e' for instance. Derolez drew the same conclusion and writes that 'at any rate these runes seem to have nothing to do with those on fols. [Av] and 2r; they can hardly be due to the same compiler'.[274] The final line contains a number of words above the characters instead of transliterations, which may be intended as rune-names though they are not generally recognised as such: *njun*, *rau*, *nier*, *ramech*.

Fo. 2r is the third page with runic material, and here the runes are part of an ornamental page. Three rows of runes (or pseudo-runes) in a red ink appear, divided

[273] Derolez (1954), p. 189.
[274] Ibid., p. 191.

by ornamental letters and animal knot decoration. A final number of runes appears at the bottom of the page, written in both red and black, similar to the alphabets on fo. Av. All runes seem to have been planned out neatly, and are all of the same size, except for the final row of runes, which seems slightly less neat, and the characters differ in size (as well as colour).



The scribe seems to have selected slightly haphazardly from all four rows of fo. Av, with only five runes from the real runic alphabet, eighteen from the second row, thirteen from rows three and four.[275] The text rendered by the ornamental Roman letters above the runes is as follows:

In nomine dei summi
Incipit ars
Donati Grammatici
Urbis Romae[276]

The same text appears to have been written in runes and can be transcribed as follows:[277]

in nomine dei summi
incipit ars
donati grammatici
urbis
romae

Though it is clear that it was the intention of the scribe to provide a runic transcription of the Roman letters, the decorative capitals do not function as transliterations as such, as the texts are abbreviated differently. There are a number of inaccuracies regarding the runes as well: it is possible to transliterate the runic

[275] Ibid., p. 183.
[276] 'In the name of the almighty God, [here] begins the Art of Grammar by Donatus of the city of Rome' (My translation)
[277] Ibid., p. 182.

text using the rune-rows provided on fo. Av, assuming that they were all written in alphabetical order. This system works perfectly for the first row, but from the second row onwards a number of problems start occurring.

- The third character of the second row of runes,which can be seen in the second alphabet, is missing a branch to the left on the bottom of the stem;
- The fifth character of the third line of runes does not appear in any of the alphabets, but looks similar to a Roman 'd', or perhaps a badly drawn *þorn*. The transliteration as 't' could work with both, but *þorn* is perhaps more obvious;
- The character used for 'i' is in both cases the **j**-rune from the runic alphabet. However, this shape can also be found in the third group of variants for 'g'. A variation, with the bottom half of the stem missing, can be seen in the third alphabet representing 'i'. In the latter case, the rune is quite faded, so it may be that the stem was originally there, or simply that the scribe forgot to draw it;
- The **s**-rune in the third line ends in a small circle, which does not appear in any of the alphabets. This may just be a decorative feature added to the standard runic **s**. The value given to this character, however, is 'a';
- A short stroke descending from the top ruling follows the **s**-rune. It could potentially be an apostrophe, or some sort of punctuation, though its function is unclear;
- The character used for the 'c' in the third line, and 'r' in the fourth line is the same: both are possibly variants of two different runes, the 'c' from the third alphabet, and the 'u' from the fourth group (without the right-hand branch).

More generally, the scribe uses a variety of shapes to represent the same Roman letters, making even internal comparison difficult. The most obvious example of this is in the first line where two characters representing 'n' follow sequentially as the second and third in the row, but two different characters are used. There are also fewer abbreviations in the runic text than in the Roman writing, yet two abbreviation marks can be found in the runic text, and none in the capitals. It should

be noted that there are more than two abbreviations, but the shortening of the word *grammatici* is not indicated. The aforementioned small character could possibly be an indicator of the abbreviation, but if that were the case, it should be situated after the tenth, b-like, character, and not before. Additionally, it could not indicate both abbreviations in the word. Further, the large decorated capital 'i', which is used as the first letter of the first two lines, does not apply to the runes, which have the **i** included at the front.

Context

The different alphabets, groups, and rune-names all appear within the immediate context of an alphabet collection. On fo. Av the end of the Bede's *De Loquela Digitorum* appears, followed by a Greek alphabet with the numeral values of the letters, a Hebrew alphabet with the names of the characters, and then the runic and pseudo-runic alphabets. Finally, at the bottom of the page, follows Aethicus Ister's alphabet, with the names of the characters.[278] The alphabets included are reminiscent of the *De Inventione Linguarum* tradition, though no explanatory texts have been included. The presence of Bede's work leads to an association with computus. The *De Loquela Digitorum* is part of Bede's larger work *De Temporum Ratione*, and deals with a manner of calculation using the fingers. The larger work is aimed at time calculation, and the construction of a Christian calendar (i.e. computus).[279] Below the runic material, some scribbles in Latin follow. Some appear to be remnants from an older text, but a number are in the hand of the alphabet-scribe. Finally, a fragment of grammar, *quaedam declinationum agnitione*, follows. On the verso side of the folio there is a description of the paschal cycle and, in a late hand, a marginal entry of four verses of Optianus Porphyrius.[280]

[278] R. Derolez, 'Ogam, "Egyptian", "African" and "Gothic" Alphabets: Some Remarks on the Codex Bernensis 207', *Scriptorium*, 5.1 (1951), 3-19, p. 10.
[279] Beda Venerabilis, *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. by F. Wallis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. xvi.
[280] Boyer, p. 115.

Grémont notes on this manuscript that the runic alphabets indicate a complex relationship with the insular and Nordic civilisations.[281] The runes are predominantly Anglo-Saxon, so his statement is perhaps not entirely correct, yet the mixture of continental and insular writing styles and runic material does point to a complex relationship. Additionally, fo. Br displays a series of ogham writings. Derolez determined these to be an ogham alphabet organised in the Latin alphabetical order followed by five lines of a similar pattern, all containing a series of symbols with consecutively one, four, five, two, and three vertical strokes separated from one another by a different ogham symbol.[282] He suggests that the lines may have some sort of connection with cryptography.[283] The ogham material is also written on top of an older text, which is faint but still legible. Derolez concludes that the Bern manuscript shows traces of an intimate knowledge of the ogham script, and therefore suggests that the Fleury scribe responsible for this manuscript may have been Irish.[284]

The larger context is slightly more complicated: the manuscript in general is a grammatical compilation, but the current manuscript differs from when it was written in the eighth century. Earlier catalogues indicate that the alphabet pages were not in the same position as they are now. Derolez notes that a later binder moved ff. 257 and 264 to the beginning of the codex in order to create more unity by putting all the alphabet material together and by placing it close to the decorative page, fo. 2r, which uses the characters.[285] The most recent cataloguers have indicated this by numbering them as fo. Ar-v and fo. Br-v. The rubbing on fo. Av, and the fact that at the bottom of the folio a loose strip of parchment has been replaced with paper indicates that the page has suffered, and was probably originally at the end of the manuscript. It is interesting to consider whether this was done before or

[281] B. Grémont, 'Les anciens manuscrits de Fleury', *Bulletin Trimestriel de la Société Archéologique et Historique de l'Orléanais*, 2 (1962), 266-281, p. 274.
[282] Derolez (1951), p. 6-8.
[283] Ibid., p. 9.
[284] Ibid., p. 11.
[285] Derolez (1954), p. 177.

during the division of the manuscript into Bern 207 and Paris 7520, as separating these folios from the rest also meant that the end of the Bede text was separated from its main body. The separation may, however, be accidental, as a number of quires are missing from the original manuscript. Boyer has determined that the Paris folios were likely ff. 212-35 in the original, and that ff. 257 (B) and 264 (A) are a remnant from the final four quires, which are missing.[286]

If this is the case, then it is possible that the runes and other alphabets were added as an afterthought, or perhaps by a different person. This seems unlikely, however, as a number of runes also appear on fo. B, and the Av runes also reappear on fo. 2r. Additionally, Boyer notes that both fo. A and B are in the same script as the main manuscript, and Derolez thinks that there is no reason for doubting that these elements belong together.[287] The repetition of the ink colours, and the use of the same characters also links them to the alphabets from fo. Av. Due to the Av's position at the end of the manuscript, it is possible, as Derolez suggests, that the scribe first wrote out these alphabets on some spare space at the end of the codex before using them for the ornamental page to Donatus's *Ars minor*.[288] It would explain why the same colours were used, as the scribe may have been preparing the decorative page. This then confirms the earlier hypothesis that the runic instances on fo. Av and fo. 2r were written by the same scribe, and the runes from fo. Br by another, which clarifies the difference in style and organisation of the series of alphabets. It does not, however, explain why mistakes were made against the Av runes on fo. 2v.

It is difficult to determine the relationship between the two instances of runic alphabets, due to the four or more quires missing in between the Paris fragment and the two remaining leaves.[289] Most scholars assume that all of the material is connected somehow, confirmed by the fact that the Easter Tables on Bv are used for

[286] Boyer, p. 120.
[287] Derolez (1954), p. 182.
[288] Ibid., p. 181.
[289] Boyer, p. 120.

the eighth-century dating by many scholars.[290] It is possible that, as Derolez notes, the Irish nationality of the scribe is responsible for the confusion: the scribe may have had an accurate knowledge of the ogham alphabet, but only vague ideas about runes. He may have compiled all alphabets from a poor exemplar, but was not knowledgeable enough to disentangle all characters into proper alphabetised rows.[291] It is equally possible that this is due to the alphabets being written by different scribes. Perhaps the scribe responsible for Av was slightly more up to date on runes than the scribe with the ogham knowledge, who wrote fo. Br. That said, it seems unlikely that either scribe had a great familiarity with the material.

Finally, Rand also suggested a textual connection between this manuscript and the Leiden MS Vos. Lat. Q 83 [19],[292] and Derolez notes the correspondences with the alphabets from München CLM 14436 [31].[293]

12. WIEN, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, MS 795

Manuscript

MS 795 is famous in its own right, because it contains an important collection of Alcuin's letters, compiled during his lifetime and potentially by his pupil Arn (d. 821), as well as an interesting collection of Gothic material. Based on the Arn connection the manuscript has been dated to the end of the eighth century (798-799), though von Grienberger and Derolez are convinced that the Gothic and runic material were tenth century additions.[294] Bischoff notes rather succinctly that they are mistaken, but that ff. 200-05 are likely of a later date.[295] The manuscript was

[290] O. Homburger, *Die Illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern* (Bern: Burgerbibliothek Bern Verlag, 1962), pp. 32–39, ed. by F. Mittenhuber <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/bbb/0207/Mittenhuber> [Accessed December 2016].
[291] Derolez (1954), p. 192.
[292] E. K. Rand, 'A Vade Mecum of Liberal Culture in a Manuscript of Fleury', *Philological Quarterly*, 1 (1922), 258-77.
[293] Derolez (1954), p. 181.
[294] T. Von Grienberger, *Die Germanischen Runennamen: Die Gothischen Buchstabennamen*, vol. 1, 21 (1896), 185-224, p. 185; Derolez (1954), p. 54.
[295] B. Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit: Die Vorwiegend Österreichischen Diözesen*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980), pp. 115, 118.

written by a large number of hands in various scripts, though mostly uncials.[296] Many of the hands are reminiscent of the script used in the Abbey of Saint-Amand, in Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, in the North of France, though Bischoff also distinguishes a number of insular and Irish hands.[297] It would thus appear that some of the materials in the codex were written outside of Salzburg, and then brought to the city (presumably by Arn), where more material was added. Most pertinent here is the addition of the runic material, possibly by a Salzburg scribe called Baldo.[298] The contents are as follows:[299]

1. Ff. 1v-4v: Alcuin, two letters to Arn;
2. Ff. 5r-18v: Orthographical treatise, sometimes attributed to Alcuin;
3. Fo. 19r-v: A Greek syllabary; Roman numerals;
4. Fo. 20r: ***Fuþorc***; an incomplete Gothic alphabet; in the lower margin a cryptogram;
5. Fo. 20v: Gothic alphabets;
6. Ff. 21r-58v: Augustine, *Quaestiones in evangeliis Matthaei et Lucae*;
7. Ff. 59r-83v: Augustine, *Sensus in epistola Pauli ad Romanos*;
8. Ff. 84r-148v: Excerpts from patristic works (Jerome, Augustine, etc);
9. Ff. 148v-149r: Alcuin, *De hoc quod dicit apostolus ad Corinthos*;
10. Ff. 149v-150v: Alcuin (?), *De epistola ad Titum;*
11. Ff. 150v-183v: Alcuin, *Epistolae;*
12. Ff. 184r-191v: *Notitia ecclesiarum Urbis Romae*;
13. Ff. 192r-197v: Alcuin, *Epistolae;*
14. Ff. 197v-199r: Angilbertus, *Epistolae tres*;

[296] Ibid., p. 115-17.
[297] Ibid., p. 117.
[298] Ibid., p. 118.
[299] Ibid., pp. 54-55.

15. Ff. 199r-199v: *Epistola ad Candidum Romana abeuntem*;

16. Ff. 200r-203v: Charlemagne, letter to Alcuin.

The codex belonged at some point after its inception to the Cathedral Library of Salzburg, as it is listed as no. 160 in the catalogue from 1433. In 1806, the Salzburg books were moved to the Hofbibliothek of Vienna, where the manuscript was known as Codex Salisburgensis LXXI, then id. 140, and no. 3527, before receiving its current shelf mark.[300]

There has been an ongoing discussion concerning the pages containing the alphabets, summarised most recently by Rotsaert,[301] who notes that most scholars concur that these were independent entries, added during the course of the early ninth century, on pages which had stayed blank.[302] Sickel notes that ff. 5-20 were written by hand ε, which is different from that of the corrector (hand δ),[303] while Lowe writes that fo. 20v was written by the same hand as the corrector's, which he suspects might be Baldo's.[304] Unterkircher decided that ff. 5r-20r were written in the same hand, but 20r by a different hand, which definitely did not belong to the corrector.[305] He does not exclude intervention by Alcuin himself. Bischoff notes that ff. 5r-19v were written by hand 3 (Sickel's ε) who wrote part of the Greek alphabets and reappears for instance on ff. 126r-133v, but Bischoff attributes fo. 19r-v (the other part of the Greek material) and fo. 20r-v to Baldo, who is known as the main corrector of the codex.[306] He thinks it likely that the material was added at a later date, since Baldo was working in the middle of the ninth century.[307]

[300] Ibid., p. 54.
[301] M.-L. Rotsaert, 'Gotica 'Vindobonensia': Localisation, Sources, Scripta Theodisca', *Codices Manuscripti*, 9 (1983), 137-150, p. 137-38.
[302] Ibid., p. 137.
[303] T. Sickel, *Alcuinstudien*, Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 79 (1875), p. 471.
[304] E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, vol. 10 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), #1490.
[305] F. Unterkircher, *Die Datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Bis Zum Jahre 1400* (Wien: Bo̊hlau, 1969), pp. 31-32.
[306] Bischoff (1980), pp. 115-18.
[307] Ibid., p. 119.

Rotsaert notes a resemblance in structure and contents between Città del Vaticano MS 290 [33] and Wien MS 795, but also writes that the rune-name '*fue*' instead of *fé* or *fech*, which both appear in Wien, creates a difference.[308] She thinks that the doublet is inspired by the presence of the Gothic material, or is due to dialectal reasons, which would oppose Bischoff's hypothesis that this scribe is from Saint-Amand.[309] She also notes a number of similarities in the way the interpolation of the 'a' in the fifth rune-name, and the shape of the 'h' in both runic and gothic alphabets are written; these similarities do not appear on fo. 20v, and would thus suggest a different scribe for that page. She concludes that based on the linguistic forms of the rune-names, the writer of the Roman text accompanying the runes was unlikely to be English, but the corrector may have had an insular origin.[310] The idea of a scribe from Saint-Amand partly derives from the assumption that at that time the *runica manuscripta* tradition was limited to the French territories, as most of the datable material from that period originates from this area. Although this is true, Reichenau and St Gallen also produced similar material during the early period. Finally, Rotsaert concludes that although an origin of Saint-Amand for the runic material is possible, the codex was compiled in Salzburg and the Gothic material created in the area of Ravenna.[311] Bischoff thinks that the alphabet material is from Saint-Amand based on the handwriting and hypothesises that the runic (and Gothic) material may have been independent entries by Baldo. The monk could have picked up the knowledge on his travels and have written the material based on what he remembered, or he perhaps travelled with the codex to Rome, potentially while accompanying his Archbishop Liupram, and entered the material on the way there at Ravenna.[312]

Alternatively, since Arn was bishop of Salzburg at the time the first part of the manuscript was written (hence this is the expected place of origin for the

[308] Rotsaert, p. 138.
[309] Ibid. p. 139.
[310] Ibid.
[311] Ibid., pp. 140-41.
[312] Bischoff (1980), p. 119.

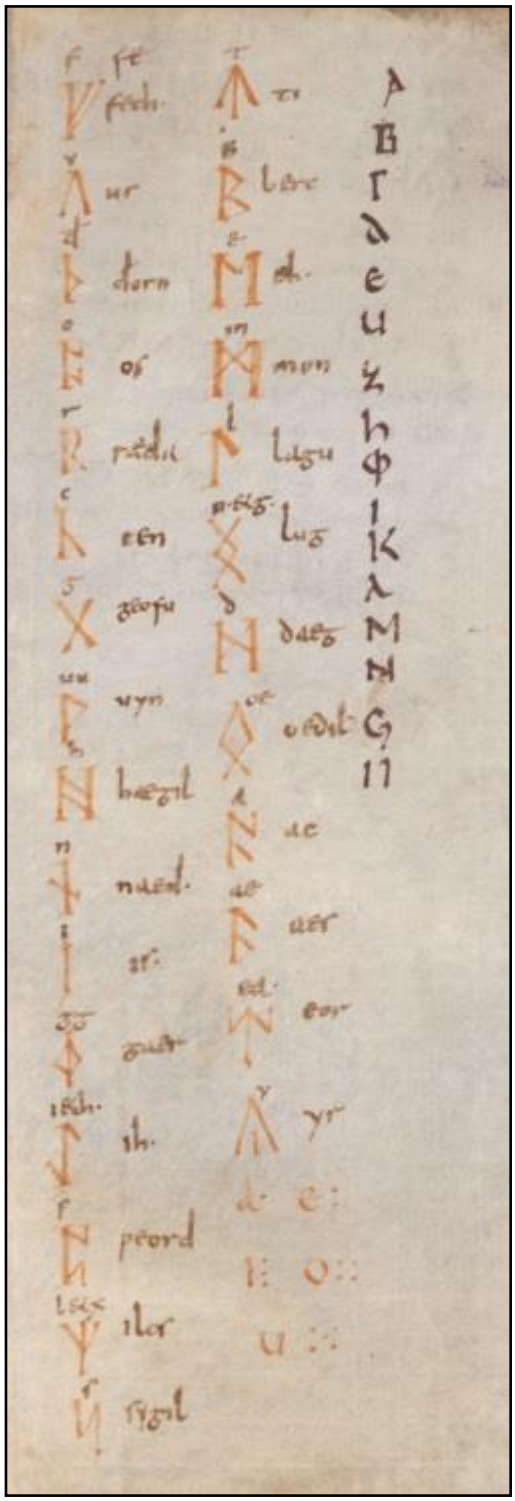
manuscript, though there is no additional evidence), it is possible that the collection of Alcuin material was made in France at the request of Arn, who was Abbot of Saint-Amand from 782.[313] He could then have taken the texts on his travels, and added them to the library of Salzburg when he became Archbishop there. This does not, however, explain Baldo's involvement.

Runic material

The runic material here consists of an Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc* containing twenty-eight runes on fo. 20r, accompanied by transliterations and rune-names, written in two columns. As in Bern MS 207, the material is written in two colours: the runes are written in red, with the rune-names and transliterations supplied in black ink. This use of ink is identical to the preceding pages, which contain a Greek syllabary and Roman numerals, though the darker ink is more dark brown than black on fo. 19. The black ink of the alphabets corresponds with the Gothic material on fo. 20v, but the presentation of the material is different (i.e. no red ink for the letters). This explains von Grienberger's theory that this material was added later, also confirmed by the difference in handwriting and colour of fo. 20. It is possible, however, that the folio was already in the manuscript (despite the difference in colour), potentially only containing the cryptogram, since the second scribe took some trouble to copy the structure of the preceding pages for the runic page, which would have been difficult if the page had been inserted independently at a later point. Either way, the second scribe clearly intended for the material to correspond in some way with the alphabet and numeral material of the eighth-century manuscript.

Aside from the **r**-rune, all runes are angular, and excellently drawn. Some runes contain serifs at the top and bottom of the main stave, but this is not a consistent feature. All characters are well-executed, and correct. The rune-row contains the usual encyclopaedic information, transliterations and rune-names. Most of the transliterations are correct and placed above the rune, though the scribe appears to have added a variant rune-name instead of transliteration above the **x**-

[313] Derolez (1954), p. 54.



rune, and added both transliterations and variant rune-names above the **i**-rune, and **ŋ**-rune. The rune-names are as follows: *fe*; *fech*; *ur*; *ðorn*; *os*; *rada* (with a correction to *ræda*); *cen*; *geofu*; *wyn*; *hægil*; *naed*; *is*; *gaer*; *ih* (*i&h* above the rune for transliteration); *peord*; *ilcs* (*l&x* above the rune); *sigil*; *ti*; *berc*; *eh*; *mon*; *lagu*; *lug* (*n&g* as transliteration); *daeg*; *oeðil*; *ac*; *aer*; *eor*; *yr*. *Fe* may have been added later,

as the colour of the ink is slightly darker. Most of these forms are standard and, according to Derolez, likely of Anglian origin.[314] The forms *naed* and *gaer* stand out, they could be mistakes for *nead* and *gear*, or could be explained as rendering /ē/ (*nēd*, *gēr*).[315] This makes sense for *gēr*, which appears in the *isruna* manuscripts, but the *nēd* only appears in one other manuscript, St John's MS 17 [7]. *Ilcs* may be an odd spelling of the more common *il(i)x*. The provision of *lug* as a rune-name for **ŋ** is unique, and likely due to bad copying of *ing*; the confusion may have been caused by the preceding *lagu*.

Context

Following the *fuþorc* in the second column, there are four vowels which are equated with a number of dots (one dot for a, two for e, three for i, four for o, and five for u). This seems to follow the *notae sancti Bonifatii* principle, a medieval cryptographic device.[316] The theme of cryptography is also continued at the bottom of the page, where a cryptogram was written, though it has been partially cut off when the codex was bound. As noted, this may have been on the page before the runic material, and is therefore not necessarily relevant, though the association between runes and cryptography has been indicated elsewhere. Interestingly, the *notae Bonifatii* and cryptograms also appear in Oxford, St John's College, MS 17 [7], though these may just have been part and parcel of the general medieval cryptographical practice. Finally, an incomplete Gothic alphabet is written in black ink next to the runes on the right-hand side. There does not appear to be any correspondence between both alphabets, as the sequence of characters is different and it is slightly awkwardly positioned in the middle of the page.

The wider context of the runes in this manuscript is that of an alphabet collection and Alcuin's (or at least attributed to him) orthographical treatise, which is followed by the Greek syllabary and Roman numerals. The *fuþorc*, though alone on the page with the partial Gothic alphabet and the small instances of cryptography, is

[314] Ibid., p. 61.
[315] Ibid.
[316] Ibid., p. 55.

followed by another page with a Gothic alphabet, and then some exercises are given where the previous materials are to be used to create codes, before a text by Augustine begins. This may suggest that the runes, though adjusted to fit in with the alphabet series, are part of a section focused on cryptography, rather than linguistics.

The connection with Alcuin (d. 804) is interesting, as he came from Northumbria, where a number of epigraphical runic inscriptions have been found, and travelled and worked on the Continent at the time when the first *runica manuscripta* began to appear.[317] His works also appear elsewhere in conjunction with runic alphabets, and Derolez notes that the prototype for the Wien *fuþorc* likely came from Northern England, though Rotsaert thinks it originated from Mercia.[318] It is conceivable that Alcuin had an interest in this material, though there is no direct evidence that he acted as an intermediary here. He may have passed on the interest to his student, however, or become associated with the alphabet in some other way.

13. LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, CODEX VOSSIANUS LATINUS F 12 Δ

Manuscript

This manuscript is one of six parts which form the Codex Vossianus Latinus F 12 δ. The main manuscript is a miscellany with all parts coming from different origins, though it is likely that they were gathered in Fleury.[319] The part containing the runes consists of ff. 35-42, and was written in the ninth century in France, in the area of Orléans, probably also in Fleury.[320] The contents are as follows:[321]

[317] D. A. Bullough, 'Alcuin (c.740–804)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/298> [Accessed Aug 2016].
[318] Derolez (1954), p. 62; Rotsaert (1983), p. 64.
[319] Mostert (1989), p. 92.
[320] Ibid.
[321] 'VLF 12 D', *Digital Sources*, Universiteit Leiden <https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl/R/KNBA1BXJLR8HKMUB45GNCTLFG3D2CQ3KHFSRDQUG5DQCS21A65-02138?func=results-jump-full&set_entry=000537&set_number=000207&base=GEN01-WHS> [Accessed January 2017]; Derolez (1954), p. 193.

1. Fo. 1r-v: Fragment *Ex actis synodi Romane III sub Symmacho papa. an. 501*; Fragment of the *epistulae Iustini imperator ad Hormisdam papam*;
2. Fo. 2r: Fragment from Isidore, *Commentarius in Leviticum* (XIII); *Index capitum conciliorum*;
3. Ff. 2v-3r, 5v-6r: Fragment of the *edicti Constantini imp. constitutum sive Donatio*;
4. Fo. 3v: *Concilii Nicaeni decretum de epistulis formatis una cum litterarum computo et litteris numeros experimentibus*; **runic alphabet**; Greek alphabet;
5. Fo. 4r: *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Galliae*;
6. Ff. 4v-6v: Excerpt from Polemius Silvius, *Laterculus provinciarum imperii Romani*;
7. Fo. 7v: *Divisio orbis terrarum theodosiana*;
8. Fo. 8r: Notes by same hand from fo. 7v: '*maim.bertuse scric*' and '*maimbert*'; *probationes pennarum* by multiple hands.

There is an old ex libris on fo. 7r which is partly erased, but which Derolez takes to establish the ownership of Fleury.[322] The manuscript likely stayed in Fleury until the seventeenth century, after which, according to the catalogue from 1716, it was acquired by Pierre Daniel Huet (d. 1721), a humanist from Orléans who is known to have possessed many of Fleury's manuscripts.[323]

[322] Derolez (1954), p. 192.
[323] Ibid.

Runic material



Twenty-three runes appear on fo. 3v in the form of an alphabet. They are divided into four rows: a-g/h-n/o-t/u-z, and appear at the top of the right-hand column of the page. The alphabet is clearly intended to be Anglo-Saxon, though a number of runes are missing and some mistakes were made. The runes are written clearly and neatly in a book-hand, evidenced by the many serifs added to the branches and stems. The scribe seems to have been especially interested in the runes with upwards branches, as they are more angular than the other runes, and frequently show more branches than strictly necessary. A few comments on the rune-forms:

- The rune representing 'd' looks more like a Latin cursive 'b' than a rune, but is likely a *þorn* here with the bottom part of the stem missing;
- The scribe wrote a correct (if slightly lopsided) Anglo-Saxon **x**-rune, but transliterated it as 'e', though Derolez thinks it may also be a badly drawn **f**-rune which was shifted one place backwards;[324]
- The Greek letter *phi* is used for 'f';

[324] Ibid., p. 194

- The form of the rune transliterated as ‘g’ is unusual: it looks like a Roman capital letter s with a cross-bar. The shape is likely based on the Roman cursive ‘g’;
- The ‘h’ rune looks like a Roman h;
- The shape of the rune transliterated as ‘k’ is problematic: the stem has three branches (plus one extra branch attached to the first branch), which are pointing upwards instead of downwards. It is possible that the scribe here got confused between ᛦ and ᛯ;
- The **m**-rune lacks descenders;
- The closed **j**-rune is given the value ‘o’;
- The rune following ‘o’ appears to be a **j**-rune without the top part of the stem, transliterated as ‘p’;
- The character transliterated as ‘q’ is not a known rune, but was clearly adopted from the Greek numerals which can be found underneath the runic alphabet;
- The rune standing for ‘t’ is drawn as an Anglo-Saxon **m**-rune but with a connecting stroke at the top between the two stems;
- The character representing ‘u’/‘v’ is a Roman v, and has a little decorative stroke to the right which seems to have been erased;
- The **x**-rune is exaggerated and could be an **ea**-rune (Derolez reads it as such),[325] but if one takes a little exaggeration into account it could be correct;
- The rune representing ‘y’ is in fact an **x**- rune but with an extra little side-branch;
- The rune ‘z’ is more commonly found as a variant of the Anglo-Saxon **h**-rune.

It is clear from the above section that whoever was responsible for writing the runes was not practised at this, and had little knowledge of the nature of the characters.

[325] Ibid., p. 196.

He borrowed a number of characters (or at least their general forms) from the set of Greek numerals, which are of a much better quality, and confused both shapes and transliterations. The alphabet seems to be in such a poor shape that I think it unlikely that this was merely a bad copy. Rather, it is probably due to a keen yet uninformed scribe. This poses the question, however, why this scribe thought it necessary to write this alphabet since he clearly had only a limited idea of what it was supposed to look like.

Context

Although the skill of the scribe can be determined based on the runes and transliterations, there is little other information available for contextualisation. The manuscript page itself may reveal the reason for the presence of the runes, however. The first, left-hand column of fo. 3v contains the text of the Nicene decree on the *litterae formatae*.[326] In the second column a Greek alphabet appears underneath the runic alphabet, where every Greek character is matched with a Roman numeral. The appearance of this type of alphabet after the main text is common for the *litterae formatae*, and some of the Greek letters also appear in the text, as a type of shorthand for the numerals.[327] The appearance of runes in connection with this text is less common, but there is another example in a ninth-century manuscript from Fleury: London, British Library, Harley MS 3017 [1].

The alphabets in the two Fleury manuscripts differ, and are clearly not written by the same scribe. There is little overlap in the mistakes, though both alphabets contain an s/z-like character with a cross-bar, and the horizontal connection bar, though in Harley this is for a single-barred **h**, while the Leiden scribe connects the stems of the **m**-rune. Both runic alphabets are written in a way which is quite similar to the Greek alphabet, though only Leiden actually incorporates Greek characters. It seems safe to assume here, that the alphabets were created

[326] Ibid., p. 193.
[327] K. A. De Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1973), p. 26.

independently, yet the association between the *litterae formatae* and both alphabets, or perhaps just between the Greek and runic alphabet, is interesting.

Derolez notes that the runic alphabet was probably written on top of an erasure. Although I concede that the manuscript looks slightly paler and perhaps more rubbed in this place, I am not entirely sure there was an erasure beforehand. The vellum does not seem significantly thinner or scraped.[328] He thinks that this erasure explains why the Greek alphabet is second in place, instead of first, which is more common.[329]

With regard to the wider context, aside from the appearance of Isidore's work, there is little which has any bearing on the runic material. It is worth noting, however, that this section of the manuscript (ff. 37v-39r) was written by the same hand. Mostert notes that this hand most likely also wrote part of Bern, Burgerbibliothek 45, ff. 1-60.[330] He also writes that there are similarities in script with another Bern manuscript (Burgerbibliothek, MS 36) from the ninth century.[331] Since both manuscripts also originate from Fleury, it confims that the scribe was working there for some time during the ninth century. Since no direct connections (aside from geographical location) can be found between Harley MS 3017 [1] and Leiden MS VLF 12 δ it may thus have been the case that the association between the runes and the Greek alphabet and/or *litterae formatae* was part of the Fleury scholarly culture.

The manuscript does contain a colophon at the end, but unfortunately this appears to have been written by the hand responsible for fo. 7v, which is different from the runic material. It is therefore not possible to connect the runes with the name Maimbert from fo. 8r.

[328] Derolez (1954), p. 194.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Mostert (1983), p. 92.
[331] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

14. BRUSSEL, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS 9311-9319

Manuscript

This manuscript dates to the early ninth century and was likely written in the area of the abbey of Saint-Amand in France, in a small minuscule hand.[332] A German origin was also suggested at one point.[333] A number of later elements have also been added: the summary of contents on fo. 3v is likely fourteenth-century, the hymn on fo. 3r tenth-century, and a number of corrections were made between the tenth and the eleventh century. There is some disagreement on whether the Tironian notes preceding the runes should be dated to the ninth or tenth century.[334] The contents are as follows:[335]

1. Ff. 1r-2v: *Comentarii Notarum Tironianarum* (fragment);
2. Fo. 3r: Hymn to the Virgin Mary;
3. Fo. 3v: Summary of contents; A **fuþorc**;
4. Ff. 4r-37r: Isidore, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*;
5. Ff. 37r-44v: Isidore, *Liber proemiorum de libris novi ac veteris testamenti*;
6. Ff. 45r-56v: Isidore, *Vita vel obitus sanctorum qui in Domino precesserunt*;
7. Ff. 57r-66v: Isidore, *Allegoriae in sacram scripturam*;
8. Ff. 67r-89v: Isidore, *De natura rerum*;
9. Ff. 90r-105v: Isidore, *Differentiae*;
10. Ff. 106r-107r: Isidore, *De solestitio*;
11. Ff. 107v-116v: Isidore, *De proprietate sermonum vel rerum*;
12. Ff. 117r-123v: Isidore, *Doctrina et fides ecclesiastica*;
13. Ff. 124r-128r: *Glosae spiritales iuxta Eucherum episcopum*;

[332] Bischoff (1998), #728.
[333] Derolez (1954), p. 64.
[334] Ibid., p. 65.
[335] Ibid.

14. Fo. 128v: *Synonyma Ciceronis*.

It is uncertain what happened to the manuscript for much of the period after its compilation. It surfaced in Antwerp during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the library of its Jesuit community, indicated by the pressmark W. 180, and the note *Bibliothecae PP. Societatis Iesu Domus Professae Antuerpiensis Lodouicus Nonnius Medicinae Doctor observantiae testandae ergo L. M. D. D*. written on the initial parchment fly-leaf.[336] Ludivicus Nonnius, or Luis Nuñez (d. 1645), was a physician, naturalist, and Latin author and poet living in Antwerp (his father, Alvarez Nuñes, a well-known physician from Spain, emigrated from Spain to Flanders in the 1550s).[337] The fly-leaf also contains a note by Heribertus Roswey, who was a famous Jesuit controversialist and precursor of Bollandus in the field of hagiography.[338] It is unclear whether he owned the manuscript at some point, or merely borrowed and consulted it. The manuscript was then sent to Paris during the French occupation of Belgium, but after Napoleon's fall it was returned and incorporated in the Royal Library as no. 155 in the catalogue. Later on, when an inventory of the library was made, it was listed as MS 9311-9319.[339]

Runic Material

The runic material here is a *fuþorc* on fo. 3v, consisting of thirty-one runes with rune-names and transliterations. This includes the **n**-rune which is written twice, and two runes which are difficult to read because the folio was trimmed at some point to fit the codex, with the result that the bottom two runes and rune-names were sliced in half. The runes are written carefully in an angular way, but reveal the differences in thickness which are typical for writing with pen or quill. They are written on the right-hand side vertically on the page, though the *fuþorc* is still oriented horizontally. The runes received a rune-name above the character, and a transliteration below. The handwriting and ink-colour differs a little between the two added elements,

[336] Derolez (1954), pp. 63-64.
[337] L. J. Bruce-Chwatt, 'Ludovicus Nonnius, M. D., 1553-1645', *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Science*, 60.9 (1984): 938–943, pp. 938-939.
[338] Derolez (1954), p. 64.
[339] Ibid.

however. The runes are quite large, mostly between 6-8mm, and of a good quality. They are written in the correct sequence until the **l**-rune, which is followed by the **œ**-rune instead of **ŋ**. The runes from then on are in an unusual order, but still correct. This *fuþorc* also contains the **j**-rune with bows instead of crossing branches.

It should be kept in mind when examining the runes here that they may have been difficult to read at some point, evidenced by the rather wide-ranging readings in early editions. To solve this a chemical reagent was applied to the material, but



with the result that even more of the writing was obscured.[340] Van Langenhove had the worst of the stains removed in the 1920s, and, though some parts are still a little dark, the readings are now fairly certain.[341]

Of the two halved runes, the rune on the second row is clearly a **ḡ**-rune, based on its distinctive shape and the preserved transliteration. The final rune on the first row is unclear, however. Based on the only letter of the rune-name still visible, it should be an **e**-rune, but the shape looks like a stem with possible branches on the right-hand side. The **e**-rune also already appears elsewhere in the *fuþorc*. Alternatively, it could be the **æ**-rune, which is missing from the rune-row, but the rune-name does not seem to start with 'æ'. Derolez agrees that this final rune may be **æ**, and transcribes the short stroke remaining of the transliteration as 'a'. Although this would make sense, I do not think it looks similar enough to the preceding 'a' for that to be correct.[342]

A second row of runes starts after the Roman letter 'x', which may serve as an indicator of place or possibly a separator here. They are written in a smaller and

[340] Ibid., p. 68.
[341] G.-Ch. Van Langenhove, 'Brusselse Runen: De Isidori Runen', *Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques*, 7-10 (1923), 214-238, p. 214.
[342] Derolez (1954), p. 68.

more cursive way than the first row, and are possibly by a different hand. The row contains four runes, which are not included in the first and main row. It is possible that these characters were added by a second scribe. This raises the question of when this material was added: did this second scribe add the material which was cut off by the compiler to the row below, possibly using the cut-off strip of parchment? Derolez thinks this is unlikely, as he then would have included the rune-names as well. Additionally, the table of contents written next to the runic material has been dated to the fourteenth century based on the handwriting, and this has then been put forward as the date of compilation.[343] Consequently, if the scribe copied from the removed strip from the folio, the final four runes and transliterations would have been written in a fourteenth-century hand, but that does not appear to be the case. Derolez offers two solutions to this problem: the first is that the first scribe (whom he calls scribe A) wrote the runes from **f** – **æ**, and the second scribe (B) added **y** - **ḡ** of his own accord, after which the codex was trimmed. The second scenario is that scribe A wrote a *fuþorc* of thirty or thirty-one runes, of which the final five or four were lost; B then inserted the missing runes, after which the folio was trimmed for a second time.[344]

Though it is difficult to know which of the above options is most probable, a closer look at the transliterations of the second row reveals that one scribe was responsible for all transliterations. Based on the handwriting, the hand responsible for the rune-names was slightly older, evidenced by the use of the open 'a' (rather than the minuscule 'a') and the generally more archaic appearance of the script.[345] The runes already indicated that there are two hands at work, one likely earlier than the other, since the second hand supplied the missing runes. It seems likely then that the second hand supplied both transliterations and the final four runes. The second hand is also demonstrably the more knowledgeable, based on the appropriate transliterations and additions.

[343] Ibid., p. 66.
[344] Ibid., p. 68.
[345] Ibid., p. 67.

This confirms that the rune-names were part of the initial *fuþorc* and may be considered a (possible) reflection of a ninth-century scribe's rune-knowledge. The rune-names are as follows: *fech, ur, thorn, os, rad, ken, geuo, uung, hagal, not, is, iar, inc, pert, ilix, sigil, ti, berc, hec, man, lago, hinc, dag, othil, ac, e*[...]. Van Langenhove, in the first study of the runes of this manuscript, says about the names that they look like the scribe wrote them phonetically. He thinks that this can be explained in two ways: either the scribe was not a native Old English speaker (but probably knew or spoke a Germanic language), and was told the names which he then copied as he heard them; the other option is that it was an English scribe who worked on the Continent and tried to write the words phonetically so they would be understandable for non-native readers.[346] Derolez adds that it is unlikely that a continental scribe wrote the names under dictation, but rather that he made a conscious effort to substitute continental forms for the English rune-names. As for the origin of the scribe, he suggests that he was familiar with Middle or Low Franconian, while his exemplar must have been Anglian or Mercian.[347]

Context

As noted above, it seems that the first section, ff. 1r-3v, was not originally part of the manuscript. This can be seen in the difference in handwriting as well as the fact that the folio containing the runes was cut to fit the codex at a later point. The runes were thus not an initial part of the manuscript, further indicated by the difference in ink. This difference in colour may of course be due to the use of the reagent. The runes are also written vertically, instead of horizontally (as in, they are on their side), a structure which does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript. As the table of contents next to the runic material has been dated to the fourteenth century, it is possible that the first part of the manuscript was merged with Isidore during that century and the table was then written to unite the manuscript. Based on this, Derolez concludes that the structure of the manuscript does not allow a connection

[346] Van Langenhove, p. 227.
[347] Derolez (1954), p. 73.

between Isidore and the runic material. He thinks that it is more likely that their appearance was prompted by the Tironian notae on the preceding pages.[348] Although this may be true, it is equally possible that the association between runes and Isidore, which frequently appears, was made by the fourteenth-century scribe, as *runica manuscripta* were still produced at that time.

Therefore, the main context to consider here is the page itself, and perhaps also the preceding material. The handwriting does not encourage comparison with the Tironian notae, but it is possible that, as Derolez suggested, the runes were inserted because of this material. There does not appear to be any obvious way to connect them, however. Fo. 3v originally contained a table, probably a square divided into 25 by 27 columns. The squares contained letters of some sort, but the whole table was erased at a later date. It is unclear if this was before or after the runes were added. Derolez notes that the table may have had a computistical meaning, or was possibly an acrostic poem.[349] Based on the contexts observed in other *manuscriptae runae*, the first option seems most likely. The fourteenth-century summary is the only other element on the page.

The manuscript originates from the Abbey of St Amand in Saint-Amand-les-Eaux in France, but the main part was likely written by a scribe whose dialect belonged to the Germanic language group (Franconian). Since the runic knowledge of the second hand is more easily demonstrable, Derolez thinks he may have been Anglo-Saxon.[350] The composite nature of the manuscript allows for the possibility that the first three folios were written in a Germanic-speaking context, and were later (possibly in the fourteenth century) added to the French Isidore text. It is of course equally possible that the parts were written by scribes of different nationalities working in the Abbey of St Amand, though perhaps more of an adaptation to the local language would be expected if the use of the phonetic spelling was intended to make the material more accessible. There are no other *manuscriptae runae* which are demonstrably from Franconia, but it is not

[348] Ibid., p. 66.
[349] Ibid., p. 65.
[350] Ibid., p. 73.

inconceivable that a prominent monastery such as Fulda contained information on runes, or employed scribes with runic knowledge (both local and Anglo-Saxon).

15. MODENA, ARCHIVO STORICO DIOCESANO DI MODENA-NONANTOLA, MS O.I.11

Manuscript

This codex likely stems from the North of Italy (Nonantola or Bobbio have been suggested), and was written in two parts by multiple hands in pre-Caroline and Caroline script.[351] The first part contains a colophon '*dehinc usque ad xxvii cristianissimi et piissimi domni carolo magni regis francorum et langobardorum in Italia*' which provides a dating of 801. Though there is no such datable information in the second part, the script (a North-Italian pre-Caroline minuscule) appears younger than that of the first part, which has prompted a dating of the first quarter of the ninth century.[352] The first part (ff. 1-21v) contains Isidore's *Chronicon*, while the second is a collection of medical texts (ff. 22-163). The second part, where the runes can be found, is written by two scribes. The first hand wrote the majority of the material, while the second added in Hippocrates's *Aphorisms* (ff. 25r-36v).[353] He ends this section of the manuscript with an *explicit* in Greek. Seebold thinks this indicates the influence of Irish learning,[354] which may be the case, and perhaps this was added as a sort of tribute to Hippocrates's nationality. The contents are as follows:[355]

1. Ff. 1-21v: Isidore, *Chronicon*;
2. Ff. 22r-24v: Medical recipes (probably incomplete);
3. Ff. 25r-36v: Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* (5.20-7.86);

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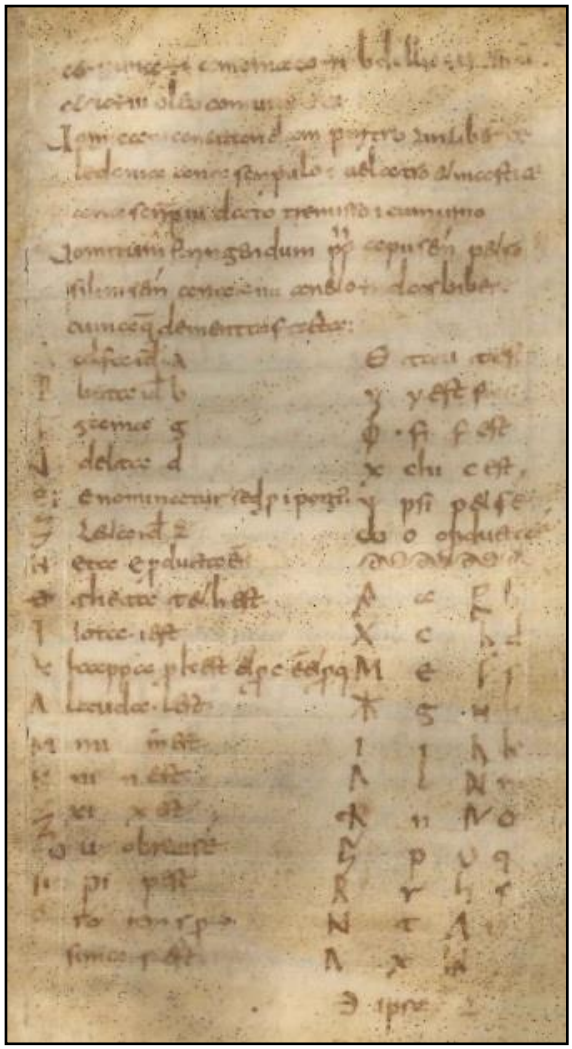
[351] E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: Italy, Ancona-Novara*, vol. 3 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1938), #368.
[352] E. Seebold, 'Neufunde von Runenalfabeten in Manuskripten' in *Das* Fuþark *und seine Einzelsprachlichen Weiterentwicklungen*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 51 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 408-13, p. 408.
[353] Ibid., p. 409.
[354] Ibid.
[355] L. Piccinini, 'Rune Anglosassoni in un Codice Latino (Archivio Capitolare di Modena, O. I. 11), *Romanobarbarica*, 12 (1992), 173-188, pp. 174-75.

4. Ff. 37r-72r: Medical recipes;
5. Fo. 72r: Greek alphabet, **runic alphabet**;
6. Ff. 72v-85v: Apuleius, *De Medicaminibus Herbarum Liber*;
7. Ff. 85v-87v: List of medicinal herbs and various recipes;
8. Ff. 88r-103v: Medical recipes.

Though the script indicates the North of Italy, there is no certainty over the origin of the codex. Piccinini writes that the Modena Archive contained many manuscripts from Nonantola and Bobbio, making these the likely places for the origin of the manuscript. [356] It appears to have been recorded for the first time in 1818, in the catalogue of the Archivio Capitolare di Modena.[357]

[356] Ibid., p. 187.
[357] Ibid., p. 176.

Runic material



The runic material here is an Anglo-Saxon alphabet of twenty-three characters divided over two columns, with two accompanying columns of transliterations. They are positioned on the right, on the bottom half of fo. 72r. The structure of the material is slightly odd here, as despite the vertical orientation the sequence is still to be read horizontally. So the **a**-rune appears in column one, the transliteration 'a' is found in column two, the **b**-rune in column three, and the transliterations for that character in column four. The alphabet is written in a casual, bookhand style, but is of a good quality. A few oddities can be noted, however:

- The **g**-rune is used for 'c' (perhaps again a confusion between g and k?);

- The rune for 'd' is unclear. Seebold thinks it is a *þorn* which is lacking the bottom part of the stem,[358] but both branches are slightly thicker at the bottom suggesting an ending to the stroke. It also looks similar to the **k**-rune further down the column. The **c**-rune may have been put in the wrong column and partnered up with 'd' by accident;
- The **j**-rune is again used for 'g';
- The cross-strokes on the **h** are horizontal;
- The **c**-rune is used for 'k';
- The **m**-rune is missing its descenders;
- The cross-bar on the **n**-rune is again exaggerated as in Città del Vaticano, Vatican Library, MS Reg. Lat. 294 [36];
- The **o** only has one branch instead of two;
- The rune for 'q' is unclear, and is reminiscent of a square Roman o. Seebold thinks the form may be based on the **ŋ**-rune or the older *fuþark* **o**. There is no evidence of the older *fuþark* appearing in manuscripts, so the latter seems unlikely;
- The **d**-rune (without its ascenders and descenders) is given for 't' here. This is rather rare, and Seebold notes that this can only be expected in languages which experienced the second consonant shift, such as Upper German. The appearance of this here may show an influence of Langobardic;[359]
- There are two **u**-runes, the first correctly transliterated as 'u', the second as 'x';
- The 'z' here is again an **ea**-rune.

The scribe does not provide any rune-names or further information on the runes.

[358] Seebold (2006), p. 409.
[359] Ibid., p. 410.

Context

The runic alphabet appears here in conjunction with a Greek alphabet. It is clear from the information provided that the scribe was more familiar with Greek than with runes. Both alphabets are divided over two main columns, which are mostly devoted to the Greek characters. These receive names as well as transliterations, though in a slightly less orderly fashion than the runic material. The alphabets are divided by an ornamental line almost half-way down the second main column drawn in the same ink.

The presence of these two alphabets is rather unexpected, since the second part of the manuscript is devoted to medical materials. It is possible that they were put in because there was an empty space. They are in the middle of a section which collects medical recipes, and it is possible that there was a gap which the scribe decided to fill in with alphabets. The runes are written in the same colour ink as the surrounding material, and the values are clearly written by the same hand. This suggests that, despite the seemingly unrelated nature of the alphabet material, they were put in by the same scribe.

In addition to Seebold's suggestion that the use of Greek to write Latin words indicated an Irish influence, Lowe notes that the lack of decoration (only one crude initial at the beginning of the *Chronicon* (fo. 1v)) is suggestive of insular models.[360] Piccinini, however, points out that Bobbio Abbey had demonstrable links with St Gallen, which was a large cultural centre and has also produced a number of *manuscriptae runae*.[361] The earliest runic manuscript which is demonstrably from St Gallen is Brussel, KBR, MS 9565-9566 [21], which dates to the late ninth-early tenth century, so O. I. 11 is slightly early to fit in with that tradition. However, this alphabet may still have originated from St Gallen in the sense that the information may have come from there, or the scribe, and this may then also explain the insular features,

[360] Lowe, #368.
[361] Piccinini, p. 187.

since a number of insular scribes were working in the St Gallen scriptorium. Alternatively, it should also be noted that both places are on or very near to the pilgrimage routes to Rome, which were established in the ninth century.[362] The information could therefore also have come from Anglo-Saxon scholars on their way to the Holy City.

16. ST GALLEN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK, MS 878

Manuscript

Sankt Gallen MS 878 is probably one of the best-known *manuscriptae runae*, partly due to the presence of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, and partly because of its author: it is also known as the *Vademecum* of Walahfrid Strabo (d. 849), and was likely written by this Abbot of Reichenau himself.[363] It also contains the earliest copy of Hrabanus Maurus's work on computus.[364] The manuscript can be dated to the ninth century and shows signs of multiple hands from Reichenau, Fulda, and Aachen,[365] as well as Strabo's writing over an extended period of time, possibly between 823 and 849.[366] Kottje, however, gives it a general date of 825.[367] Bischoff distinguished four different variations of Strabo's handwriting in the document, all datable to the early ninth century, and identified five different parts which were collected and/or copied by him.[368] He notes that the first collected part was pp. 178-241; the second pp. 5-177; the third pp. 242-322; the fourth pp. 322-51; and the fifth pp. 352-94. The empty pages were later filled by the main scribe: p. 240, and pp.

[362] D. J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), pp. 43-44.
[363] Derolez (1954), p. 74.
[364] W. M. Stevens, 'Fulda Scribes at Work: Bodleian Library Manuscript Canonici Miscellaneous 353' in *Cycles of Time and Scientific Learning in Medieval Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 482 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1995), vol. 6, 287-317, p. 287.
[365] Borst, p. 291.
[366] B. Bischoff, 'Einen Sammelhandschrift Walahfrid Strabos (Cod. Sangall. 878)' in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1967), 34-51, p. 48.
[367] R. Kottje, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften mit den Werken des Hrabanus Maurus* (Hannover: Hahnische Buchhandlung, 2012), #1014.
[368] Bischoff (1967), pp. 36-41.

302-05 about the chronograph, and pp. 306-07 with the *Historia Tripartita*, which was then continued on p. 378. The second, third, and fourth parts were also worked on at later points.[369] The contents are as follows:[370]

1. Pp. 5-18: Donatus, *Ars Minor*;
2. Pp. 18-32: An adaptation of *De Nomine* from Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae*;
3. Pp. 32-49: Priscian, *De Verbo*;
4. Pp. 50-69: Donatus, *Ars Maior*;
5. Pp. 70-71: Latin Poems;
6. Pp. 72-79: Donatus, *De Voce*;
7. P. 79: Donatus, *De Barbarismo*;
8. Pp. 80-82: Donatus, *De soloecismo*;
9. Pp. 82-83: Donatus, *De XII vitiis*;
10. Pp. 83-85: Donatus, *De Metaplasmo*;
11. Pp. 85-86: Donatus, *De Schematibus*;
12. Pp. 86-90: Donatus, *De Tropis*;
13. Pp. 91-130: Bede, *De Arte Metrica*;
14. Pp. 131-148: Bede, *De Schematibus et Tropis*;
15. Pp. 148-170: Priscian, *Institutio De Nomine et Verbo*;
16. Pp. 170-177: Grammatical extracts, Isidore, *Etymologia*e VI, 2; *De XII signis* (poem);
17. Pp. 178-240: Hrabanus Maurus, *De Computo*;
18. Pp. 240-241: On Weekdays and the XII signs;

[369] Ibid., p. 41.
[370] Derolez (1954), pp. 75-76; G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle: 1875), pp. 307-09; Bischoff (1976), pp. 38-41.

19. Pp. 242-276: Bede, *De natura rerum*;
20. Pp. 277: *Excerptum de libro Albini magistri* (no text);
21. Pp. 278-302: *Abbreviatio chronicae* (until 809 AD), time calculation from Adam until the birth of Christ, Computistical extracts;
22. Pp. 303-315: Excerpts from Orosius, Cassiodorus's *Historiae*, and Jerome, *Epistola* 73;
23. Pp. 315-320: Excerpts from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (*De Accentibus*, *De Figuris Accentuum*, *De Posituris*, *De Litteris*);
24. Pp. 320-321: A Hebrew alphabet, a Greek alphabet, an **Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc***, the **Abecedarium Nordmannicum**;
25. Fo. 322-323: *Disputatio de vera philosophia Albini magistri* (= first half of Alcuin, Grammatica);
26. Pp. 324-327: Calendar which mentions Bonifatius and Wilibrord (possibly from Fulda or its surrounding area);
27. Pp. 327-334: *Epistola Ipogratis ad Antiochum et Antonium de IV origine membrium et de saumenta ciborum et potum*; recipes (with OHG glosses), Latin proverbs;
28. Pp. 335-339: *Epistola Karoli regis ad Albinum magistrum*;
29. Pp. 340-344: Alcuin, *Grammatica*;
30. Pp. 344-348: Computistical and astrological items;
31. Pp. 348-350: Seneca, *Epistola ad Lucillo*;
32. P. 350: Blank;
33. Pp. 352-366: *Epistola Antimi medici inlustri ad Titum imperatem et ad Teodericum regem Francorum*;
34. Pp. 366-368: On bloodletting;
35. Pp. 386-370: *De mense novembrio*, *De pomis*;
36. Pp. 370-373: *De vino dulce faciendo*;

37. Pp. 373-374: *De Melancolia*;
38. Pp. 374-375: *De observatione anni ut incolomitas custodiatur*;
39. Pp. 375-378: *Hippocrates archiater Antigono regi*;
40. Pp. 378-391: Excerpts from the *Storia ecclesiastica* and Orosius, a charm (p. 390, lower margin);
41. Pp. 392-393: Recipes;
42. P. 394: Leonine sayings in verse, and a passage on declension.

Not much is known about the history of the manuscript. Bischoff notes that the earliest mention of the codex is in the 1457 catalogue from the Chur Cathedral library. Afterwards it was present in the library of the Swiss statesman and historian Aegidius Tschudis (d. 1572), before arriving at the St Gallen library.[371] Its authorship of course suggests an origin at Reichenau, though the calendar of pp. 324-327 was likely written at Fulda, where Strabo stayed between 827 and 829.[372]

Runic Material



The manuscript contains two rune-rows, which can both be found on p. 321. The first is called '*Anguliscum*' by the scribe, the second received the heading '*Abecedarium Nordmannicum*'. The *Anguliscum fuþorc* is neatly written and easy to read, though two types of ink seem to have been used: brown ink for the majority of

[371] Bischoff (1967), p. 36.
[372] Ibid., p. 48.

the runes, but black ink for the title, three words written in runes on the same line as the title, and the final five runes of the *fuþorc*. The *Abecedarium* is more difficult to read, as the page was placed at the end of the manuscript for some time and suffered wear. By the nineteenth century it had become nearly illegible, especially the *Abecedarium* text, and in 1828 the St Gallen librarian, Ildefons von Arx (d. 1833), decided to treat it with a reagent which made the letters more legible. This worked, though only for a short time, and it later on caused dark stains which made discerning the original letters problematic.[373] The discussion of the *Abecedarium* will here therefore be based on earlier copies of this *fuþark*.

The forty-two Anglo-Saxon runes here are of a remarkable quality, and very carefully drawn over three rows. Notable forms are as follows:

- The third rune should be a *þorn*, but the bow does not seem to be closed. The character is covered by a dark stain, so this may be due to poor legibility (Derolez notes nothing out of the ordinary here), or perhaps a simple oversight on the part of the scribe;
- The closed **j**-rune appears again;
- The character in the position of the **x**-rune has branches pointing downwards as well as upwards, and resembles an exaggerated **j**-rune;
- The second character on the third row looks similar to a twig-rune. München, CLM 14436, which also contains this rune, shows it as a variant **k**-rune and gives it the rune-name *calc*;[374]
- The sixth character on the third row looks like half a **j**-rune, but Derolez thinks it is simply a runified Roman 'k'.[375]

The final five runes are in a different colour ink, and more clumsily written than the rest of the *fuþorc*. Both Derolez and Bauer state that they recognise a second hand

[373] A. Bauer, *Runengedichte: Texte, Untersuchungen und Kommentare zur Gesamten Überlieferung* (Wien: Fassbaender, 2003), p. 58.
[374] Derolez (1954), p. 81.
[375] Ibid., pp. 79-80.

here,[376] though there is no great contrast in the handwriting and the same black ink was also used for the title and three runic words. The runes appear to be simply repeating a number of the previous characters, and perhaps correcting one: the correct **x**-rune is written here. It seems unlikely that the scribe came back to repeat his earlier work, but it may be that this is a continuation of the preceding six runes, which are – with the exception of the strange runic letter 'k' – also repetitions of runes written in the above two rows and definitely the work of the main scribe. The **ŋ**-rune has also been repeated twice on the row below. This may also have been done by the second hand (the ink is faint, so it is difficult to tell), who was clearly not familiar which this shape, considering that both repetitions are quite clumsy.

There are three short words written in runes on the same line as the heading, in a smaller format than the *fuþorc*. If Derolez is correct about the Roman-runic 'k', then these could possibly spell out three rune-names: **e ɑ r**, **e ɑ** K, and K **ɑ l c**. The first and last words are well-known rune-names, but the second is not known as such. It is possible that this is an alternative spelling of *eac*, 'also',[377] but it is unclear why the scribe would render this in runes. It is interesting to note that every letter of these words was transliterated into a rune, instead of using the **ea**-rune for the diphthong, as is common in epigraphy. Derolez suggests that this is likely due to the fact that the scribe was continental, which he thinks is confirmed by the spelling of rune-names in runes, something which is only found in one other continental *runicum manuscriptum*, Leiden, VLQ 83 [19].[378]

[376] Derolez (1954), p. 80; Bauer (2003), p. 64.
[377] Derolez (1954), p. 80.
[378] Ibid., p. 79.

The continental origin of the scribe is perhaps even clearer in the following poem, which enumerates the runes and rune-names of the younger *fuþark*. Though the quality of the poem is questionable, it is often included with studies of the runic poems because it is perceived as fulfilling a similar mnemonic function. The text itself is written in both High and Low German, perhaps suggesting a scribe from an area where both types of German appear. Derolez determined that the runes are

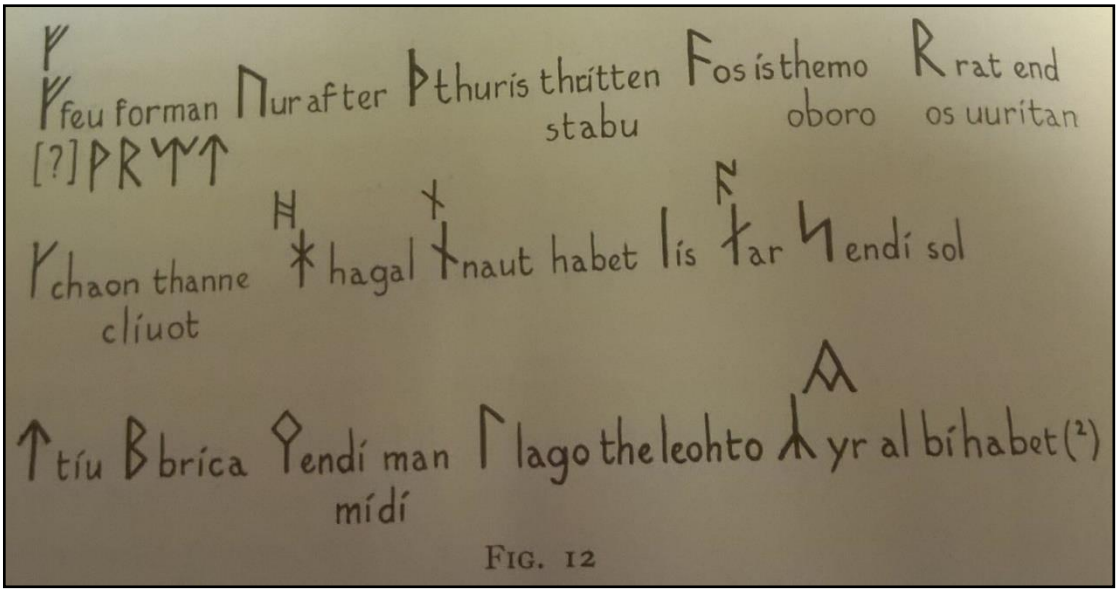


FIG. 12

probably ninth-century, and Danish in origin.[379] Bauer agrees with this assessment, and points out that the alphabet is similar to the *fuþark* appearing on the Danish ninth-century Gørlev stone (DR 239) and the Malt stone (SJy 38), especially due to the unusual form of the **m**-rune (see St John's MS 17 [7]).[380] These stones are often seen as representative of the transitional phase between the older and the younger *fuþark*. Generally it is accepted that the younger *fuþark* in this Danish form (called '*Normalruner*') came into existence around 900, but its appearance in a manuscript from before 849 has sparked a discussion about whether this dating is incorrect.[381]

[379] Derolez (1965), p. 32. Due to the damaged state of the original, Derolez's drawing is provided here (Derolez (1954), p. 78).
[380] Bauer (2003), p. 66.
[381] T. Birkmann, 'Der Codex Sangallensis 878 und die Entwicklung der Runenreihen im Jüngeren Futhark' in *Alemannien under der Norden*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, vol. 43, ed. by H. Beck, D. Geuenich, H. Steuer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 213-223, p. 221.

The idea is that if the runes appear in a manuscript of that date, they must have 'normalised' in epigraphy by 800 at the latest for the forms to have reached Germany from Denmark.[382] Birkmann justly remarks that objectively a distance of approximately 1000 km can easily be covered in a year, but since the earliest inscriptions indicating connections between Denmark and the Continent (the wooden sticks from Hedeby for instance) can be dated to the first half of the ninth century (until 840),[383] and potentially the Gørlev and Malt inscriptions as well, the information in the St Gallen codex is remarkably current, having had only about ten years to travel there.[384] He therefore thinks that the dating may have to be pushed back a little, to give this information at least fifty years (but perhaps more realistically seventy or eighty years) to travel.[385]

However, and Birkmann also admits this, it is not necessary for whoever carried this information to Reichenau to have actually seen any of these monuments.[386] Although these are the clearest examples of this runic reform, it is not difficult to conceive that earlier examples existed and have now been lost. That said, there is no need for an alphabet to have fully developed before this information could be carried elsewhere to be recorded. The person responsible for carrying this information may just have seen one of the transitional alphabets and remembered it when asked about his runic knowledge. Hence, the issue here appears to be that the speed with which information and learning travelled during the Middle Ages is generally underestimated or misunderstood. This should probably be addressed first before committing to any drastic changes of time-lines. That said, however, Stoklund has already pointed out that the time-frame of dating epigraphical inscriptions in Denmark needs to be updated. She points out that typical features of the younger *fuþark* can already be found earlier and suggests a general

[382] Bauer (2003), p. 66.
[383] T. Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes and Runic Inscriptions*, trans. by B. Van der Hoek (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 75-76.
[384] Birkmann, p. 222.
[385] Ibid., p. 221.
[386] Ibid.

starting point of 800.[387] There would then give the material plenty of time to travel to the Continent.

Aside from the **m**-rune, the runes present a common Viking Age rune-row. The **m**-rune has a square shape at the top of the stem instead of the usual three branches. All runes are followed by rune-names, which are all part of a line of alliteration. The rune-names given here are *feu, ur, thuris, os, rat, chaon, hagal, naut, is, ar, sol, tiu, brica, man, lago, yr*. A number of these are recognisably Old Norse, such as *ur, os, hagal, naut, sol, man*, and *yr*, but some are unknown or more closely related to the English tradition, such as *lago*, or *rat* (cf. *lagu* and *rad*).[388] Derolez also notes that *thuris* may go back to ON *þurs* or OE *þurs* (though neither is a common name for the rune), *chaon* may be the Germanic form of the ON *kaun*, and *brica* may be a form of ON *birca(n)*, which appears in the rune poems as *biarkan*.[389]

Further, there are a number of Anglo-Saxon runes, which appear above the **f**, **h**, **n**, **a**, and **y**-runes. The scribe (potentially) appears to have been comparing a number of runes between the two rune-rows. From the way this has been done, it would seem that the scribe worked from an Anglo-Saxon perspective. This is indicated by the word **w r e ɑ t**, written in runes below the first two words of the poem. Derolez notes that the meaning and function of this word are unclear, but Bauer thinks that it is possibly a form of the OE verb *writan*, 'to write' (ind. pret., third sg).[390] Regardless, the use of the **w**- and **ea**-rune are clear indicators of the Anglo-Saxon rune-row. Bauer comments here that the Old Norse elements are dominant, and that the remaining rune-names were supplied from a continental tradition: the scribe tried to provide Old Norse rune-names, but slipped up a few times and inserted Old English or German words.[391]

This manuscript is the only instance where the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian rune-rows are compared, despite both alphabets occurring next to one another in

[387] M. Stoklund, 'Chronology and Typology of the Danish Runic Inscriptions' in *Runes and their Secrets* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 355-83, pp. 364-67.
[388] Derolez (1965), p. 33.
[389] Ibid.
[390] Derolez (1954), p. 79; Bauer (2003), p. 66.
[391] Bauer (2003), p. 69.

other manuscripts. This is a clear indication of interest in the material on the part of the scribe. It is possible this was simply a comparison with the preceding runes, but the difference in titles indicates at least an awareness of different origins. Bauer writes that the comparison between ᛦ and ᛣ is of interest, because both characters are used to represent the value 'y' here. In the ninth century both of these runes appear to have had the same rune-name in both writing systems, though their values were different: in Old Norse the sound-value was [r] or [ɻ] from the Germanic [z] (transliterated as ʀ), while the Anglo-Saxons used it for 'y'. The 'y'-value has only really been attested from the eleventh century onwards in Scandinavian runic inscriptions, so the rune-name would only from then on follow the acrophonic principle.[392]

Symons notes on the function of the *Abecedarium* that it possibly served as a mnemonic aid, to help students learn the order and perhaps also the names of runic characters.[393] She writes that it could serve as an aide-memoire due to its easy alliteration (though not the standard pattern found in the other rune poems), and the fact that the poem includes the position of the runes in their *fuþark* sequence.[394] Unfortunately, there is little evidence that this caught on as a mnemonic tool.

Context

The immediate context of the runes is an alphabet-collection, indicated by the two different types of runes, as well as the Greek alphabet with letter names, Roman numerals, and a separate section for the diphthongs, which precedes the runes on the page. Before these, on p. 320, there is a Hebrew alphabet with letter names as well. This collection follows on the tail of a selection from Isidore's work the *Etymologiae*, more specifically the chapter on *de litteris*, 'about letters'.

The runes are part of a *vade mecum*, which is intended to be a collection of material kept at hand for frequent consultation, as a handbook or reference book. As

[392] Ibid., p. 65.
[393] Symons, p. 165.
[394] Ibid., p. 166.

a consequence, the information contained in the book by definition appertains to the person(s) using it and is therefore frequently arbitrary. St Gallen 878 is almost encyclopaedic in its knowledge span, and fairly well-organised. This reveals little about the context of runes, other than that they counted as encyclopaedic knowledge and featured as an important enough element to include in a study of alphabets, third in the sequence following Hebrew and Greek, which both had a biblical value. The great variety of knowledge included in the *vade mecum* reveals much about the person responsible for its composition, who apparently thought runes should be part of the information he needed for frequent consultation.

The rune-rows and surrounding material indicate that the person responsible for the runes was likely continental, or at least using a continental source. If Bischoff's analysis of the different stages of Strabo's handwriting is correct, then the alphabet material was likely written by the scholar himself.[395] From Strabo's life as well as from the manuscript it has become clear that it (or at least part of it) has spent some time at the Abbey of Fulda (Hessen, Germany). He was there during Hrabanus Maurus's abbacy, which may also be where he learned about runes, considering Maurus's (supposed) interest in the material.[396] Based on the handwriting, the alphabet material was written at a late stage in the production of the manuscript, which suggests that this was after Strabo had already returned to Reichenau, making it possible for Maurus to have passed on this information.[397] Derolez considered the same possibility, but doubts that the latter was responsible for teaching Strabo runology. He notes that even if the *De Inventione Linguarum* was written by Maurus (which was believed for most of its history),[398] the runic lore present in the tract is of a far inferior quality than the runic material in St Gallen 878.[399] It may therefore be necessary to look more closely at the Abbey of Reichenau to discover the source of Walahfrid Strabo's runic knowledge.

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[395] Bischoff (1967), p. 40.
[396] R. Collins, 'Alcuin' in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, ed. by W. M. Johnston, C. Kleinhenz (London: Routledge, 2000), 23-24, p. 24.
[397] Bischoff (1967), p. 45.
[398] P. Lendinara, 'Wulfila as the Inventor of the Gothic Alphabet: The Tradition in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', *General Linguistics*, 1, 32.4 (1992), 217-25, p. 222.
[399] Derolez (1954), p. 83.

17. MÜNCHEN, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, CLM 19410

Manuscript

CLM 19410 is a teacher's compendium containing a wide range of materials. It has been suggested that it was compiled for the Benedictine monastery of Tegernsee, Germany.[400] Bischoff observes that the codex was mostly written by one Bavarian hand at different times around the middle of the ninth century.[401] The presence of a collection of texts from Passau and the epitaph for one of their famous scribes, Hrotrohc, suggests a possible connection with the German city.[402] Pages 61 and 62 to 65 are by another, contemporary hand, while pp. 63 and 65 to 66 were produced by a hand from the beginning of the ninth century. The material on Eio was presumably added in the tenth century at Ilmmünster.[403] Contents are as follows:[404]

1. Pp.1-14: Dialogue with questions and answers on the nature of man and biblical and religious subjects;
2. Pp.14-23: *Joca Monachorum* dialogue;
3. Pp. 24-36: Latin – Old High German Glosses; Collection of sayings, admonitions, and religious and moral excerpts;
4. P. 36: *Regula S. Benedicti*;
5. Pp. 37-38: Bible glosses (excerpts from a biblical commentary that goes back to Theodore and Hadrian);
6. Pp. 38-39: *Due sunt civitates in mundo*;
7. Pp. 39-41: *Sancte Sator*, with Old High German gloss;

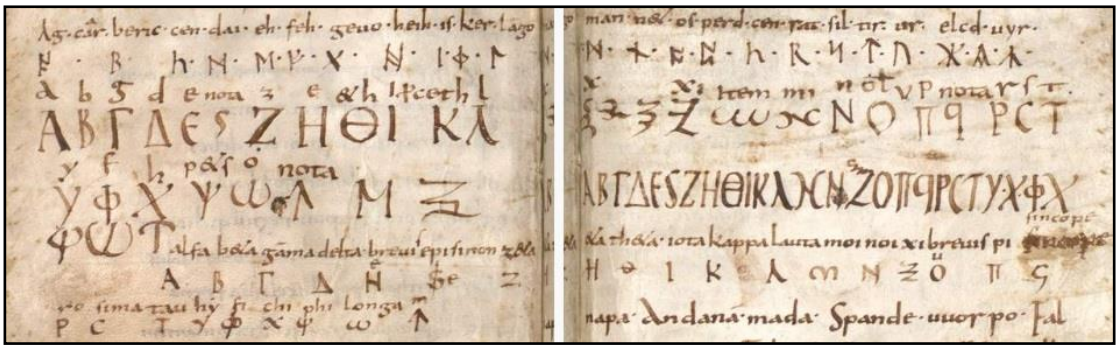
[400] G. Breuer, 'Volkssprachliche Elemente in einem lateinisch-alhochdeutschen Glossar aus der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 108, 3-4 (1992), 219-227, p. 219.
[401] Breuer, p. 219; B. Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit: Die Bayerische Diözesen*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960), p. 163.
[402] Bischoff (1980), p. 191; Bischoff (1960), p. 155.
[403] M. Gretsch, H. Gneuss, 'Anglo-Saxon Glosses to a Theodorean Poem?' in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. by K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard, 2 vols (London: University of Toronto Press, 2005), vol. 1, 9-46, p. 17.
[404] Ibid., pp. 17-20.

8. Pp. 41-51: Collection of seven formula letters and records;
9. Pp. 51-54: Alcuin, *Carmen* 55.1-2;
10. Pp. 54-57: A syllogue of Roman inscriptions, consisting of poems and epitaths;
11. Pp. 57-58: Six lines of Latin prose;
12. Pp. 58-59: **A runic alphabet**; three Greek uncial alphabets;
13. P. 60: Isidore, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* with glosses;
14. Pp. 61-62: Arno, *Encyclica ad synodale colloquium in Rispah*;
15. P. 62: Fragment of a letter from Eio of Ilmmünster to Urso (probably the patriarch of Aquileia 802-812);
16. Pp. 63-65: Ephraem Syrus, *De iudicio et compuntione*;
17. Pp. 65: Epitaph for Eio; Epitath for Archbishop Riculf of Mainz (787-813);
18. P. 66: Epitaph for the scribe Hrotrohc;
19. P. 67: Letter of pupil to his teacher; Hartwig (bishop of Passau), *Letter to Kroso*;
20. P. 68: Blank except for two scribbles.

Not much is known about the manuscript after it was written, though there is a fifteenth-century *ex libris* mark of the Abbey of Tegernsee with a brief note on the contents on the verso of the flyleaf at the beginning of the manuscript. Although the hand has been identified as Bavarian, there are no other obvious connections with this monastery. Bischoff discovered that the main hand responsible for writing this codex also wrote the ninth-century Old High German to Latin glosses on the *Regula Pastoralis* text by Pope Gregory I in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 18550, a codex which has also been traced to Tegernsee, making this a likely place of origin.[405]

[405] Bischoff (1960), pp. 159, 163.

Runic Material



The runic material here appears on pp. 58-59, and is spread horizontally over both pages. The Anglo-Saxon runes are alphabetised: on p. 58 runes a-l appear, and on p. 59 m-z. They are written in a chaotic manner, with varying space in between the characters and in different sizes. They are separated by single dots, and above them their respective rune-names are written, also separated by dots. The material appears to have been written by the same hand responsible for the other items on these pages.

Despite the untidy way in which the runes are drawn, they are remarkably correct, with only a few confusions to be noted:

- The **j**-rune with bows appears again here, but in the place of 'k' and is given the rune-name *ker*;
- The **c**-rune appears twice, once for 'c' and once for 'q', and is in both instances given the name *cen*;
- The final three runes are only given two rune-names, and only the **y**-rune is correct from an alphabetising point of view: the **j**-rune is given for the 'x', and the 'z' is represented by the **k**-rune.

The rune-names are as follows: *Ag, ca<a>r, beric, cen, dai, eh, feh, geuo, heih, is, ker, lago, man, net, os, perd, cen, rat, sil, tir, ur, elcd, uyr*. It appears something must have gone wrong in the distribution, since the **a**-rune has received two rune-names, but one is missing at the end. Derolez comments that the scribe must have misunderstood his exemplar, and mistook the suprascript 'a' as an indicator of the

value. It is likely that *ca<a>r* was originally the name for the rune standing for 'z'.[406] A similar mistake occurs in Città del Vaticano MS Reg. Lat. 338 [28], where the **ḡ**-rune is used for 'z' and given the rune-name *gaar*. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 751 also contains the rune-name *zar*, but the characters in this alphabet are so distorted that only a few runic characters are vaguely recognisable, making the runic validity of this material questionable.[407] That said, the rune-names included here are of a fairly good quality, so perhaps this should not be dismissed as a mistake outright. Derolez notes that there are two possibilities here: either Old English *gar* became Old High German *car*, and was then adapted according to the acrostic principle to *zar*, or else Old High German *car* (whatever meaning the scribe may have given to the word, if any) may have been pronounced /tsar/. This could then with a more current spelling become *zar*.[408] The problem here is of course that there is no **ḡ**-rune, and the transliteration 'z' has been given to the **k**-rune. Derolez concludes then that to fill the place of the 'z' one rune was used and then combined with the rune-name of another.[409] This is plausible, and it seems likely that the rune-name was picked because it usually appears at the end of the alphabet, which the scribe could have interpreted as the position for 'z'. The appearance of the **k**-rune is interesting, but can perhaps be explained in the same way: it is possible that a scribe with little runic knowledge confused the **ea**-rune, which would also appear at the end, and the **k**-rune, though I am hesitant to call the scribe an ignoramus here. Perhaps the reason is more straightforward: his exemplar contained the rune-name but not the rune and he supplied it with one following the acrophonic principle.

The rune-names further contain a number of oddities, which can mostly be explained by their adaptation to Old High German phonology and spelling. The *heih* rune-name is likely a mistake, however, and should probably be *heil*, the palatalised

[406] Derolez (1954), p. 209.
[407] For this reason this alphabet (which can be reconstructed out of the various cryptographs contained in the manuscript) has not been included here.
[408] Derolez (1954), pp. 209-10.
[409] Ibid., p. 210.

form of *heg(i)l*.[410] Taking into consideration the phonological changes it seems likely that the alphabet originated from the Upper German area, which would be consistent with an origin in Tegernsee, though perhaps Ilmmünster would also be a possibility. Derolez further notes that the underlying *fuþorc* had likely come from the Anglian territory rather than from Kent. He connects the alphabet to St Gallen MS 878 [16], the last alphabet of Exeter MS 3507 [2], and München, CLM 14436 [31].

Context

The runes here appear on the fourth and last quire of the first part of the manuscript. They start from the sixth line, and are followed by three Greek alphabets, the first of which has values, the final one names. The remaining available space of the quire is covered by glosses drawn from Isidore's *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*.[411]

The wider context for the runic material is, as noted, a teacher's compendium, similar to St Gallen MS 270 [18]. The contents of St Gallen, however, seem more formal than those of MS 19410, something which is also reflected by the presentation of the runes and their accompanying material. The first part of this manuscript (until p. 60) seems related to translation and language studies, culminating in the runic and Greek alphabets, which again appear in conjunction with elements from Isidore's work.

The connection with St Gallen, though perhaps more as a continuation of practice than actual copying of St Gallen material, is worth looking into further here. Breuer notes that the monastery in Tegernsee was founded by St Gallen between 746-56, and from then on grew into a well-known centre for monastic life with a famous library, and art and scribal school.[412] It is therefore not inconceivable that the inclusion of runes in teaching compendia, and perhaps also by extension teaching, originally came from St Gallen and was continued in Tegernsee. Or,

[410] Ibid., p. 212.
[411] A. Zironi, 'Marginal Alphabets in the Carolingian Age' in *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New Perspectives in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, ed. by P. Lendinara, L. Lazzari, C. Di Sciacca (Porto: Gabinete de Filosofia Medieval, Faculdade de Letras, 2011), 353-369, p. 366.
[412] Breuer, p. 219.

alternatively, since both manuscripts date to the ninth century, that the monasteries retained close links and that there was an exchange of (educational) books, and perhaps even teachers. This would also further confirm the Tegernsee monastery as the place of origin for the manuscript.

18. ST GALLEN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK, MS 270

Manuscript

St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 270 was written in the second half of the ninth century by one hand in a Carolingian minuscule. The origin of the manuscript is uncertain: Derolez suggests St Gallen, but remarks that Bischoff thought that the handwriting showed insular influences, and that the manuscript does not appear in the St Gallen catalogues before 1461.[413] The runic material is, however, very similar to that of Brussel, KBR, MS 9565-9566 [21], which was written in St Gallen, so perhaps a Swiss origin should not be excluded.[414] Additionally, it has also been established that St Gallen employed a number of insular scribes, which could explain the differences in handwriting.[415] Contents are as follows:[416]

1. P. 3: Table of contents;
2. Pp. 4-38: Alcuin, *De Dialectica*;
3. P. 38: *Socrates non disputat*, and a poem;
4. Pp. 39-45: Cassiodorus, *De musica disciplina*;
5. Pp. 45-50: Cassiodorus, *De definitionibus*;
6. P. 50: Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*;
7. P. 51: Poem on the winds;
8. P. 52: A **fuþorc**, a **runic alphabet**, and an **isruna tract**;

[413] R. Bergmann and S. Stricker, *Katalog der Althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 518-19.
[414] R. Derolez, R., 'Anglo-Saxon Runes in Switzerland', *English Studies*, 43 (1962), 297-306, pp. 302-03.
[415] Derolez (1962), p. 298.
[416] Bergmann and Stricker, pp. 518-19.

9. Pp. 53-54: Excerpt from Isidore, *Etymologiae* (II);
10. Pp. 55-56: Explanations of rhetorical terms;
11. P. 57: Greek-Latin glosses and further explanations of grammatical terms;
12. P. 58: Clarification of names from the Bible, the Gospel of Matthew; Glossary with clarification of names from the Gospel of Luke;
13. Pp. 60-67: Greek-Latin glosses;
14. Pp. 67-68: Hexameter; Excerpts; Proverbs;
15. Pp. 69, 70: Empty.

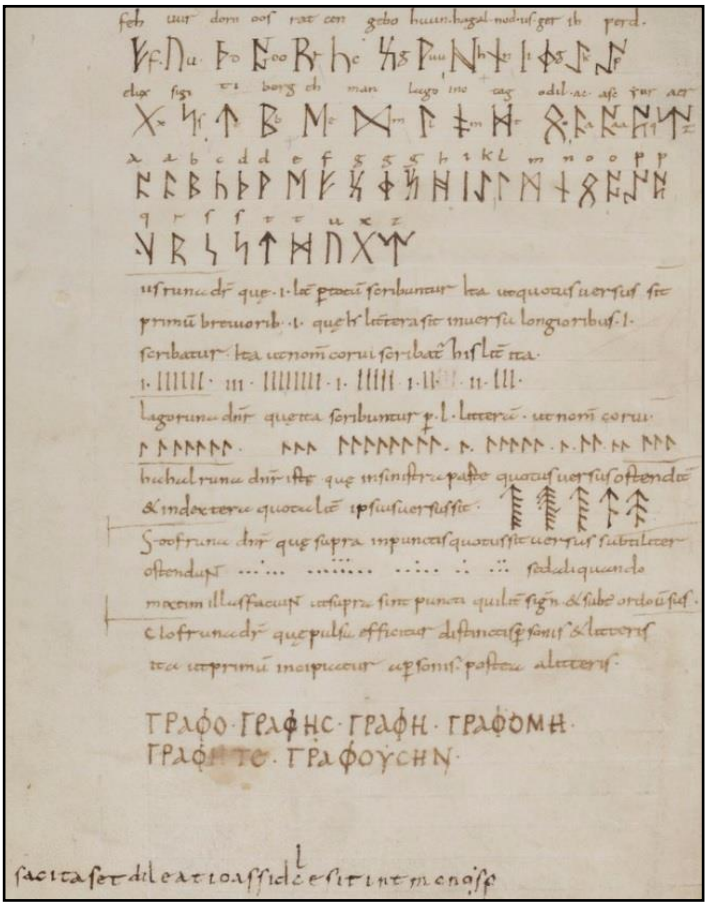
Not much is known about the manuscript after it was written. It was in St Gallen in the fifteenth centrury and stayed there until the nineteenth: Bruckner writes that the list of contents was written by K. Kolb, who was a librarian at St Gallen in the nineteenth century.[417]

Runic Material

There are three types of runic material in this manuscript. They take up the entirety of p. 52: a *fuþorc* with transliterations and rune-names, followed by a runic alphabet with transliterations and variants, and then an *isruna* tract containing the *isruna*, *lagoruna*, *hagalruna*, *stofruna*, and *clofruna* codes with explanations. This cryptographical text is called *isruna tract* by Derolez after the first device (usually of five) based on the **i**-rune.[418] The runes are drawn neatly in a large hand and contain clear serifs. They are larger than the encyclopaedic material surrounding them and the *isruna* tract, where only the *hagal*-runes stand out.

The *fuþorc* is divided into two lines: f-p / x-z, but is not entirely in the common sequence. As appears elsewhere, there is a separate section which contains the 'variants', or the runes for which the scribe believed that there were multiples for the same sound. There are only two unusual elements with regards to the shape

[417] A. Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica: Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica, Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz: St. Gallen*, vol. 3, 2 (Genf: Roto-Sadag, 1938), p. 90.
[418] Derolez (1954), p. 89.



of the runes: the bottom leg of the rune transliterated as ‘p’ points towards the left instead of the right, and what is supposed to be the **ŋ**-rune (transliterated here as ‘in’) looks like a younger *fuþark* **o**-rune. A few more oddities appear with the transliterations and consequently the rune-names. The rune-names are as follows: *feh, uur, dorn, oos, rat, cen, gebo, huun, hagal, nod, iis, ger, ih, perd, elix, sigi, ti, borg, eh, man, lago, inc, tag, odil, ac, asc, yur, aer*. They are written above the matching rune and transliteration, except for the penultimate rune on the first line, which is a **ï**-rune, but is transliterated as ‘k’ and given the rune-name *ih*. This is likely due to the fact that the shape is derived from the **ï**-rune and therefore takes that rune’s place in the rune-row. Similarly, the **ea**-rune is transliterated as ‘z’ and received the name *aer*, and *yur* is given for a **p**-rune and ‘q’ transliteration. There is correspondence between the transliteration ‘x’ and rune-name *elix*, but both are wrongly attributed to the **g**-rune. The appearance of the letter at the end of the rune-name is due to a lack of words starting with ‘x’, a common exception to the

acrophonic principle, and this is likely also the reason why the *huun* rune-name corresponds with the transliteration 'uu'.

The *fuþorc* clearly functions as an example to help understanding of the coding system of the *isruna* tract, evidenced by the comma-like marks after the **w**-rune and the **s**-rune, which are effectively dividing the alphabet into the three sections needed for the code. Although the sequence of the *fuþorc* is a little muddled from *tag* onwards, the principle of the rune-code can still be demonstrated.

The second group of material is alphabetised and appears to have been an attempt to clarify that multiple runic characters could be transliterated in the same way. This section is obviously flawed, and repeats a number of mistakes from the *fuþorc* while adding a number of its own:

- Both the **a** and **ae**-rune are transliterated as 'a';
- The **w**-rune is slotted in with the **þ**, and both are transliterated as 'd' (likely due to the similarity in shape);
- The **g**-rune which looks like an **s**-rune with a diagonal cross-bar is repeated twice here;
- The **ï**-rune for 'k' is repeated here;
- The **p**-rune which was previously transliterated as 'q' is put under 'p' in this alphabet;
- The character transliterated as 'q' looks like a backwards Scandinavian **k**-rune (though Scandinavian influence is probably unlikely here), but does not appear in the preceding *fuþorc*;
- Under 's' two runes appear, the first of which is less angular than the second;
- 't' again contains the **d**-rune, 'x' again the **g**-rune, and 'z' the **ea**-rune.

The *isruna* tract follows the *fuþorc* and alphabet. Although there is no general information on runic codes as such, each type of rune-code is explained by a short note in Latin, and then demonstrated with an example word. The tract can be transcribed as follows:

Iisruna dicitur quae .i. littera per totum scribuntur ita ut quotus uersus sit / primum breuioribus .i. quae haec littera sit in uersu longioribus .i. / scribatur . ita ut nomen corui scribatur his litteris ita.[419]
i. IIIIII . iii . IIIIIIII . i . IIIII . i . II . ii . III .
Lagoruna dicuntur quae ita scribuntur per .l. litteram . ut nomen corui.[420]
l . LLLLLL . lll . LLLLLLLL . l . LLLLL . l . LL . ll . LLL
Hahalruna dicuntur iste quae in sinistra paste quotus uersus ostenditur / & in dextera quota littera ipsius uersus sit.[421] 1/6 3/7 1/5 1/2 2/3
Soofruna dicuntur quae supra in punctis quotus sit versus subtiliter / ostendunt 1/6 3/8 1/5 1/2 2/3 sed aliquando / mixtim illas faciunt ut supra sint puncti qui litteram significant. & subtus ordo uersus.[422]
Clofruna dicitur quae pulsa efficitur distinctis personis & litteris / ita ut primum incipiatur a personis . postea a litteris.[423]

The different sections of the tract are divided by roughly drawn horizontal lines at the beginning and end of the texts. The examples for the *isruna* and *lagoruna* are written on the next line, while those of the *hagalruna* and *stofruna* (here *soofruna*) are on the same line of their explanatory text. There is no example present for the *clofruna*. From the description of the *clofruna*, it seems to have been a system close to modern Morse code, using tapping to indicate the line number and position of the runes. It is, however, unclear what the involvement of the 'person' is, and how the code works exactly. Derolez imagines it to require two different tones or sounds, one for the groups and one for the runes, but finds it difficult to imagine how it would have worked in practice.[424] It thus appears to be a cryptocheironomic instead of a

[419] 'They are called *Isruna*, whereby .i. character is written for the whole and in that manner [indicates] which number of line it would be. The first one is the shorter .i., whereby the following letter in the line is written longer .I. It is in this way that the word 'ravens' is written using these characters.' (My translation).
[420] 'They are called *Lagoruna* which are written in this way with the .l. character. The word 'ravens' as follows.' (My translation).
[421] 'They are called *Hahalruna*, where in the left part the number of the line is indicated, and in the right which number of letter itself it would be.' (My translation).
[422] 'They are called *Soofruna*, where on the top in dots the number of the line would be and underneath the letter is shown […] but sometimes these are mixed so that the top dots indicate the letters. & the bottom ones the number of the line.' (My translation).
[423] 'They are called *Clofruna* which bring about knocks for distinct persons and letters, in this way so that the first is begun by a person, thereafter by a letter.' (My translation).
[424] Derolez (1954), pp. 134-35.

cryptographic system like the other types presented by the tract.[425] This explains the lack of a written example.

There are a few mistakes in the Latin: *dicitur* instead *dicuntur* in the *Isruna* section, *ostenditur* which could be *ostendit* or *ostendunt* and *paste* for *parte* in the *Hahalruna* text, and *subtiliter* for *subtus litera* in the *Soofruna* section.[426] Additionally, the *hahalruna* example does not spell *corui*, but *ctrui*, because the second character only contains seven branches on the right-hand side instead of eight.

Context

Though the runes take up most of p. 52, two small notes were added at the bottom of the page, the first one in Greek, likely written by the same hand in the same ink. The second is in Latin, and in a different ink and hand. The Greek message can be transcribed as follows: *ΓΡΑΦΟ . ΓΡΑΦΗC . ΓΡΑΦΗ . ΓΡΑΦΟΜΗ . ΓΡΑΦΗΤΕ . ΓΡΑΦΟΥCΗΝ*. These are all forms of the verb *γράφω*, 'to write'.[427] The Latin line reads *facitasetdileatioassid<i/l>cesitintmono:sf*, and makes little sense.

The runes are clearly written by the scribe responsible for most of the manuscript, and the extensive nature of the material suggests that they were an intentional part of the material. The manuscript itself appears to be educational in nature, containing the works of a number of well-known medieval scholars such as Alcuin, Cassiodorus, and Augustine. Additionally, the glosses, and clarification of grammatical terms, and biblical names following the runes are also suggestive of didactic purposes. Derolez came to the same conclusion and suggests that the codex may have been a teacher's manual, based on the fact that it contains material which was taught in the later stages of the *trivium* (dialectics, rhetoric) and also some of

[425] R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Secret Languages of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), pp. 37-39.
[426] Derolez (1954), p. 94.
[427] Ibid., p. 92.

the *quadrivium*.[428] It is interesting to consider whether this means that runic codes were also taught in the medieval classroom. Derolez thinks this is unlikely, especially considering that p. 52 is at the end of a quire and may thus have been used as a stopgap.[429] I do not think this is necessarily relevant: especially in comparison to the many runic texts which have been slotted haphazardly into empty spaces, this page gives the impression that the scribe or scholar was interested in the material. It is possible that this was taught, though probably not as a main subject, in connection with other alphabets (Greek for instance) or cryptography.

19. LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, CODEX VOSSIANUS LATINUS Q 83

Manuscript

VLQ 83 is an Eastern French manuscript dated to the third quarter of the ninth century. Pierre Daniel (d. 1603), who produced its first edition noted that it was written at Fleury, Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire.[430] The manuscript is only small, and contains one main text, probably written by two hands in Caroline minuscule.[431] The contents are as follows:[432]

1. Fo. 1*v: Verses from George Buchanan added by Pierre Daniel;
2. Ff. 1r-23r: *Comoedia quae dicitur Querolus*, or Plautus's *Aulularia*;
3. Fo. 23r: fragment of the *Lex convivalis*;
4. Fo. 24v: **Runic alphabet**.

[428] Ibid., p. 94. These are the stages of the medieval education in the liberal arts, with the *trivium* being the preparatory stage containing three elements (grammar, logic, and rhetoric), followed by the *quadrivium* stage which contains arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.
[429] Derolez (1954), p. 94.
[430] Mostert (1989), p. 100.
[431] Bischoff (1998), #2228.
[432] De Meyier, p. 193.

The *Querolus* or *Aulularia* was an anonymous Latin play from Late Antiquity, which has survived in only a few codices, VLQ 83 being one of them.[433] In the seventeenth century, the manuscript belonged to Isaac Vossius's (d. 1689) collection, which was then purchased by the University of Leiden in 1710.[434]

Runic material

Ninety-five runes can be found on fo. 24v, all belonging to the Scandinavian younger *fuþark*. They can be found on the final page of the manuscript and have through use over time been rubbed, which has left them rather faded. The library inserted the transcription by Hendrik Kern in 1872 next to the alphabet for comparison; where the runes are no longer legible, this transcription has been relied on here.



The runic material is spread over three rows, the first two providing runes accompanied by rune-names, also written in runes on the right-hand side of the rune, and transliterations above the characters. The final line only shows runes and their transliterations above them. The sequence in which the runes appear, however, is uncommon: the order agrees neither with the *fuþark* nor the

[433] J. Küppers, 'Zum 'Querolus' (p. 17.7-22 R.) und Seiner Datierung', *Philologus*, 123, 1-2 (2016), 303-323, p. 303.
[434] T. Seccombe, 'Vossius, Isaac (1618–1689)', rev. F. F. Blok, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28356> [Accessed December 2016].

alphabetised versions which regularly appear in runic manuscripts. The order of the first two lines is **t b m l ʀ f u þ /ɑ r k h n i ɑ s**, which Derolez notes is the third *ætt* placed at the front of the alphabet, followed by the first, and then the second.[435] This is odd, even from a epigraphical point of view, where the sequence is frequently reversed (third, second, and then first *ætt*) for cryptographic purposes. The third row is even more strange, as it is derived from a sequence used in Latin grammar: **b k d t - f l m n r r s - ɑ e i u – h**. Derolez explains that Latin grammar often divided letters (or the sounds they represented) into *mutae*, *semivocales*, *vocales*, and 'h' as the *aspirationis nota* (see for instance the grammarian Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae* I, 8-10), and that this sequence is applied here to the runes and their transliterations.[436]

The runes themselves are of a good quality, and written in an angular way. The runes are again Danish '*normalruner*' as in St Gallen MS 878, indicated by the closed **m**-rune, and the Roman capital 'd'-shape of the *þorn*.[437] For an insight into the runic knowledge of the scribe, the rune-names are of interest here. The rune-names are given twice: once in runes, and once transcribed in Roman letters above the runes. The appearance of rune-names written in runes is rare, and perhaps somewhat contradictory to the acrophonic principle. Additionally, the rune-names written in runes and those in Roman letters do not always correspond exactly. They are as follows (the runic rune-names on the top row, the Roman underneath):

> **tiuʀ**, **biɑrcan**, **mɑnʀ**, **lɑukʀ**, **ir**, **fiu**, **urʀ**, **þhurs**, **ɑus**, **rɑiþu**, **kaun**, **hakal**, **nauþʀ**, **is**, **ar**, **sulu**
> *iu*, *biercan*, *manr*, *lauer*, *ir*, *fiu*, *urr*, *dhurs*, *aus*, *reidu*, *caun*, *hagal*, *naudr*, *is*, *ae*, *soulu*

The difference between them may be due partly to the poor state of the manuscript (now and when it was transcribed in the nineteenth century), but the insertion of 'e'

[435] Derolez (1965), p. 34.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid.

in various places as well as the addition of the 'o' to **sulu** may indicate that the conception of this alphabet may be more complicated than it seems. Derolez comments that there is no specific sense to be made of the spelling of the rune-names which would indicate an Anglo-Saxon or Continental Germanic background of the scribe, and could explain the slight changes to the rune-names.[438]

There are a number of possible scenarios here: the first is that the scribe merely copied the rune-names poorly. Logically, it is most likely that the scribe would make mistakes against the runic material, as it would probably be least familiar to him. The rune-names written in runes are, however, closest to the 'standard' rune-names. A second possibility is that the scribe copied the alphabet and rune-names from somewhere else, and then transliterated the rune-names himself, inaccurately. This suggests then that he was perhaps not very familiar with the material. Adding the final line of runes to the equation makes the situation more complicated. The runes and runic rune-names are of a good quality, and the re-division of the runes into the Latin grammatical categories shows, if not intimate knowledge, at least a good insight into the alphabetical value of the rune-row, yet the transliterations do not always correspond, which is contradictory. A closer look at this final line, however, may offer a third solution. In the section on the vowels, the scribe transliterated the ᚾ-rune as 'e', and then used this transliteration for every character with this shape (and similar shapes, hence the *lauer* instead of **lɑukʀ**). He must have had some knowledge of rune-names, however, because he writes *hagal* correctly, even though its runic form is spelled with the **k**-rune. In fact, he must have been familiar with the **h**-rune, because he adopts the correct shape for the Latin grammatical compilation, and not the one with two extra branches which is used in the rune-names **þhurs** and **hąkąl**. It seems therefore most likely that the scribe copied the runes and runic rune-names from elsewhere, and decided to expand upon the alphabet by adding the Roman rune-names, and the runes and transliterations in their grammatical categories.

[438] Ibid., p. 35.

Context

Mostert writes in his catalogue that the runes here are not part of the original codex, in the sense that a tenth-century hand erased eight lines on fo. 24v and replaced them with a series of runes.[439] The idea of the tenth-century hand is of interest here, and seems likely based on the supposed age of the runic alphabet, as the rune-names are written in Caroline minuscule, which was already commonly used before the tenth century.[440] As noted in the discussion of St Gallen MS 878 [16], Danish younger *fuþark* runes already appeared in the middle of the ninth century in a continental manuscript, and it is therefore not necessary for the runic passage to have been inserted a century later than the manuscript was written. Though it is unlikely that the runes were added to the manuscript by the same scribe who copied the *Aululariа*, St Gallen MS 878 indicates that the runic knowledge was already present and travelling around the Continent during that time. This does not exclude a tenth-century addition, but also does not necessitate it.

The presence of the erasure, however, is unmistakable. From the perspective of assessing runic knowledge, this is interesting, because erasing a page is rather more work than merely adding a runic alphabet in an empty space as is the case in many other *manuscriptae runae*. It is of course also possible that the erasure predates the runes. Additionally, the scribe went to great lengths to not only add another row of runes and transliterations, but also to transliterate the rune-names. It would therefore seem that the insertion of this alphabet material was worth some effort to the scribe. Even if, as Derolez suggests, and has been indicated above, there was an intermediate stage in between the conception of the runes and this manuscript,[441] it is still rather an elaborate section to copy and then expand upon.

The wider context here is probably not relevant, considering the erasure, the potential time diference, and the fact that the main contents of the manuscript are a late Antique Latin comedy. At first sight, the page containing the runes appears to be

[439] Mostert (1989), #343.
[440] Bischoff (1998), #2228.
[441] Derolez (1965), p. 35.

an end-leaf which was mostly empty, as the final line of the comedy, *Aulularia plauti explicita feliciter*, appears on fo. 24r. On the page itself the runes are the only element which is still vaguely legible, but there are some faint marks from the previous text which was erased. At the top of the page there appears to be a *probatio pennae* which says *qui erunt*. Underneath, above the runes, there appear two lines of writing, which were probably also rubbed out over time. These were treated with a chemical reagent at some point to make them legible again, but this unfortunately makes them impossible to read now as they are heavily stained. It is possible to make out some vaguely rune-like shapes in these two lines, so it may be that they contained more runes.

Though the manuscript context is rather unhelpful here, the origin of the manuscript is significant, as Fleury produced a number of runic manuscripts. Additionally, the fact that this manuscript contains the same type of runes as St Gallen 878 [16] may be of significance. Derolez notes that '[i]f on the one hand we find no hint of an Anglo-Saxon or Continental Germanic background, we are entirely at loss as to the actual link between Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (supposing the runes were written there) and Denmark'.[442] It may be unnecessary to find such immediate connection, however, as many of the larger and more influential monasteries of the Frankish empire would have had a lively exchange of books. The Scandinavian material may therefore originate from monasteries such as Reichenau who note a number of Scandinavian visitors from early onwards,[443] or was a consequence of the conversion efforts in Scandinavia.

[442] Ibid.

[443] See for instance the Scandinavian names in Reichenau's confraternity book. H.-P. Naumann, 'Die Altnordischen Personennamen im Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau' in *Verborum Amor, Studien zur Geschichte und Kunst der deutschen Sprache. Festschrift Stefan Sonderegger*, ed. by H. Burger (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992), 701-30.

20. GENT, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS 306

Manuscript

MS 306 has been dated to between the ninth and the tenth century and probably originates from Mainz.[444] Old quire marks indicate that the codex was originally made up of two parts, but the parts were clearly meant to form a unit: the number of lines and ruling corresponds, and the yellow colour used to decorate capitals and highlight elements in the first part also appears in the second.[445] The codex was written by multiple hands. The dating has been disputed: De Saint-Genois notes a late tenth-century date while Derolez recognised a number of archaic features which indicated an earlier date.[446] He believes that the writing should not be dated later than the second half of the ninth century. [447] Bischoff agrees with him and narrows it down to the last quarter of the ninth century.[448] Derolez also discerns an insular influence, for instance in the abbreviations.[449] The contents are as follows:[450]

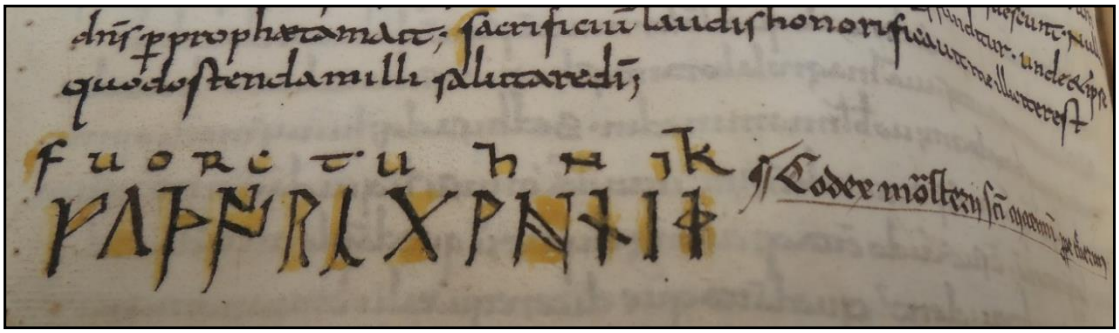
1. Ff. 1-2: ornamental pages containing the pressmark of St Maximin, and a pressmark B. 7 with the fourteenth-century inscription *Haec continentur in hoc uolumine / bede in parabolas Salomonis libri tres / bede de factura templi Salomonis expositio allegorica*;
2. Ff. 1-63v: Bede, *In Parabolas Salomonis Libri Tres*;
3. Fo. 62r: Alcuin, Letter to Charlemagne;
4. Fo. 63v: Partial **fuþorc**;
5. Ff. 64-109: Bede, *Allegorica Expositio de Structura Templi Salomonis*;

[444] J. De Saint-Genois, *Catalogue Méthodique et Raissonnée des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Ville et de Université de Gand* (Gent: Annoot – Braeckman, 1849-1852), #548; Bischoff (1998), #1371.
[445] Derolez (1954), p. 84.
[446] De Saint-Genois, #548.
[447] Derolez (1954), p. 84.
[448] Bischoff (1998), #1371.
[449] Derolez (1954), p. 84.
[450] De Saint-Genois, #548; Derolez (1954), pp. 84-85.

6. Ff. 109-110: A Latin Elegy on the death of a cuckoo;
7. Fo. 111: A letter sent by Peter, Doge of Venice, to the Emperor Henry and one Hi(l)obertus, Archbishop (in a later hand).

The codex contains an early ownership mark from St Maximin in Trier, and was likely in the possession of the monastery's library from an early date, potentially already in 882.[451] It appears in the St Maximin library catalogue as number 183 (see fo. 1r).[452] On fo. 1r there is a more recent pressmark B. 7 from the fourteenth century. Bischoff notes that there is evidence that the codex was at St Maximin's until at least the fifteenth or sixteenth century.[453] The manuscript arrived in Ghent around 1800 and became part of the private collection of librarian P. Lammens (d. 1836), who then donated it to the Town and University Library, afterwards the University Library, in 1818.[454]

Runic Material



The twelve runes in this manuscript can be found on fo. 63v; they form the first part of an Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc*, from f – j (or g). The runes are drawn large and angular, but with an unsteady or hesitant hand (see for instance the stems on ᚦ or ᚹ). They are serifed at the top. There are no mistakes in the rune-forms, though the **c**-rune is rather oddly drawn. Derolez also thinks that the **r**-rune is open, as the one on St Cuthbert's coffin, but I do not think this is correct. There is black ink in the middle of

[451] Bischoff (1998), #1371.
[452] De Saint-Genois, #548.
[453] Bischoff (1998), #1371.
[454] Derolez (1954), p. 84.

the letter, but it is faint, probably as a consequence of the character being filled in with the yellow ink.

The scribe also provided transliterations above the runes, again coloured in with the yellow ink. These are written in a curious mixture of uncials and half-uncials, and do not always correspond with the runes: they do not align with them properly, and there is no transliteration for *þorn*. A few further comments:

- The **g**-rune is given the value 't';
- The closed **j**-rune is here transliterated as 'k';
- The omission of 'þ' likely pushed the other transliterations back: while ᚦ is infrequently transliterated as 'j', 'g', 'k' is not what is expected here. Derolez thinks these mistakes may be due to an ignorant scribe, who got confused because of the script: he thinks that the 't' accompanying the **g**-rune may be the scribe's interpretation of the insular 'g' of his exemplar, and that the absence of the **þ**-transliteration may have been overlooked due to the similarity between the 'o' and the insular 'd' (a common transliteration instead of 'th').[455] It is also possible that the scribe was not fully paying attention and forgot to add the descender to his uncial g.

Derolez considers the appearance of the value 'k' for the **j**-rune significant, suggesting that the scribe, who was continental, interpreted the Old English rune-name *ger* /jēr/ as Old High German *ger* or *ker*, from which he derived the value 'k'.[456] This may be correct, since München, CLM 19410 [17] contains the same mistake. However, in this case this suggests that the scribe's exemplar contained rune-names which the scribe did not copy, which seems rather odd. Derolez's reasoning implies that the scribe copied from an insular exemplar, and did rather a poor job, copying only part of the *fuþorc* and being rather arbitrary in his transliterations. I think that in this case this is probably an accurate conclusion, considering the rather jumbled rune-row and its presence at the end of a letter of Alcuin. It does not seem far-

[455] Ibid., p. 85.
[456] Ibid., p. 86.

fetched to imagine that a rune-row may have followed Alcuin material in an insular manuscript, considering his nationality and possible association with the script. Runes in conjunction with Alcuin letters and material can also be found in Vienna MS 795 for instance [12]. However, if one accepts this idea, it also means that this scribe would have interpreted the rune-names of the exemplar and turned them into values which made sense in Old High German. Considering the sloppy nature of the values and the fact that only part of the *fuþorc* was included, I think it is unlikely that the scribe did anything other than copy. It may thus be that this scribe was copying a continental copy of this text, where some of the runic material was present, but had already got lost in translation or was damaged.

Context

The text of Alcuin's letter ends on line sixteen and then there is an empty line before the values between lines seventeen and eighteen; the runes follow on line nineteen. The runes are definitely a contemporary part of the manuscript, indicated by the yellow ink which is used throughout the manuscript to highlight capitals or headings. Derolez notes that it is probable that the runes were written by the same hand responsible for Alcuin's letter,[457] and based on the handwriting of the transliterations and appearance of the same ink, I agree with this conclusion. It is interesting to consider the use of the yellow with the runes here, as it seems to highlight their 'otherness'. The scribe only employs yellow for headings and capital letters elsewhere, so the presence of the colour in such abundance suggests that the scribe considered the runes special in some way.

The immediate context for this material is, as mentioned previously, Alcuin's letter, but on the right-hand side of the *fuþorc* a note appears in a later hand, which says *Codex monasterii sancti maximini prope trueriis*. It is interesting that this note appears at the end of the Alcuin letter and right next to the alphabet, but this may merely be a consequence of the fact that there was empty space there rather than St Maximin's asserting its ownership of the Alcuin and/or runic material.

[457] Ibid., p. 85.

From a wider contextual point of view the presence of Bede is significant. Not only does his work also appear as context for runes elsewhere (Bern 207 [11], St Gallen 878 [16], Salzburg A IX 32 [29], and Città del Vaticano 290 [33], to name a few), but the specific text copied in this manuscript, *On the Proverbs of Solomon*, was one of the texts which Saint Boniface, papal legate and one of the early English missionaries to Germany, requested from the Archbishop of York in the eighth century.[458] In fact, there was a large demand for copies of Bede's works to be produced in English scriptoria and then exported to continental monasteries.[459] It is possible that one of these English scribes at some point added a *fuþorc* to this material, which was then copied, or that a continental scribe made the connection between the English material and the runic alphabet. Bede's writings became increasingly popular during the ninth century, with continental scriptoria taking a leading role in distributing the work locally after they received the exported copy.[460] His popularity then peaked during the Carolingian era, when his works became a central part of the educational and literary revival.[461] This distribution pattern suggests that it is a distinct possibility that an originally insular manuscript was copied (and the runic material modified by an Old High German speaker), and arrived as a continental copy on the desk of this scribe for further distribution. The selectiveness and mistakes in transliteration may thus be due to the movement of the manuscript through time. This, however, does not help determine whether the manuscript was in fact produced in Trier, or another German monastery.

21. BRUSSEL, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, MS 9565-9566

Manuscript

Manuscript 9565-9566 is part of the group of manuscripts containing *isruna* tracts. There has been discussion regarding the origin of the codex: in 1952, Derolez

[458] J. A. Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond' in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2010), 201-215, p. 205.
[459] Ibid., pp. 204-05.
[460] Ibid., p. 206.
[461] Ibid., p. 201.

considered the codex to have been written in the Benedictine Abbey of St Laurent in Liège.[462] In 1954, however, he writes that Bischoff confirmed that the hand of the runic page (8r) showed characteristics typical of the St Gallen scriptorium.[463] It is, however, unclear whether he also considers the rest of the codex to have been compiled there. Préaux examined this issue, and concluded that the main text by Capella also originated from St Gallen. He based this conclusion on the use of Ennius's couplet (this manuscript follows the tradition of the *Noces* by the St Gallen scholar Notker, whose work also appears in other *manuscriptae runae*: Wien MS 1609 [22] and L'Arsenal MS 1169 [26]), a number of didactic works which also frequently appear in St Gallen manuscripts, the similarities with St Gallen MS 270 [18], and the presence of the Dubthach diagram (see below).[464] The manuscript is supposedly the product of the compilation of two different manuscripts (MS 9565 and MS 9566), but both Raucq and Derolez note that this is due to a later misunderstanding.[465] The contents of the first part of the manuscript can be interpreted as introductory to the main text by Martianus Capella, and are, based on the handwriting, written not much later than the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*. This, and the similarity with the handwriting on the rune-page, suggests that this introduction was also written by a St Gallen scribe.

The handwriting indicates a late ninth-century or early tenth-century origin, though with a number of tenth-century variants, and even later (twelfth-thirteenth century) glossing appears.[466] The first part of the manuscript, containing the runic material, was likely written by two contemporary scribes using two types of ink: one brown, for instance on ff. 3v, 4r-v, 11r-v, 12r, and one black, e.g. on ff. 5r-v, 6r-v, 10v,

[462] R. Derolez, 'Dubthach's Cryptogram: Some Notes in with Brussels MS 9565-9566', *L'Antiquité Classique*, 21.2 (1952), 359-375, pp. 373-74.
[463] Bischoff (1998), #731; Derolez (1954), p. 95.
[464] J.-G. Préaux, 'Un Nouveau Manuscrit de Saint-Gall: Le Bruxellensis 9565-9566', *Scriptorium*, 10 (1956), 221-228, pp. 227-28.
[465] E. Raucq, 'Die Runen des Brüsseler Codex N° 9565-9566', *Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren, en Schoone Kunsten van België: Klasse Der Letteren*, 3.4 (1941), 3-26, p. 8; Derolez (1952), p. 366.
[466] Bischoff (1998), #731.

12v, 13r (up to the diagram, the note underneath is again in brown ink).[467] Details of the contents are as follows:[468]

1. Ff. 1r-3r: Subdivisions of philosophy, *theoretica* (1r), *practica* (1v,2r), *logica* (2v), *spiritualis* (3r), with diagrams;
2. Ff. 3v-4v, 12r, 11r: Subdivisions, definitions and diagrams relating to *rhetorica;*
3. Fo. 5r-v: *De Phisica* with diagrams, subdivisions, and definitions;
4. Ff. 5v-6r: Subdivisions of *dialecta* with diagrams;
5. Ff. 6r-7v: Subdivisions of *Aethica* with diagrams;
6. Fo. 8r: **fuþorc** with **isruna tract**;
7. Ff. 8v-9v: Computus table (in the right-hand margin of fo. 9r a short text, possibly an explanatory note, has been erased);
8. Ff. 9v, 10r: Two computus tables, the first one showing the relation between the months and the constellations of the zodiac;
9. Fo. 10v: A concordance of Greek and Latin numerals with the letters of the Latin alphabet in vertical columns;
10. Ff. 11r-12r: Diagrams on *Iuridicialis*, *omnis controversia*, and *partes rethoricae*;
11. Fo. 12v: Definitions of *Phisis*, *natura*; diagrams;
12. Fo. 13r: Enigmatic lines, Dubthach's cryptogram;
13. Ff. 13v-196: Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (the end of one quire appears to be missing, making the text end abruptly).

There is no record for this manuscript's existence until after the thirteenth century. The codex contains two pressmarks, with the later one containing the note *Sti Laurentii in c Leodii*. There appears to have been a third mark in the top right corner

[467] Derolez (1952), p. 366.
[468] Ibid., pp. 361-65; Derolez (1954), pp. 96-97.

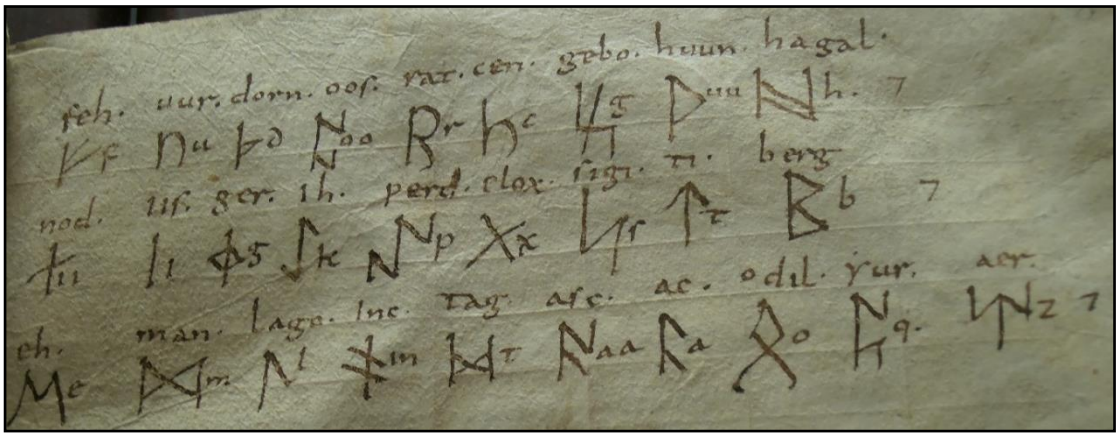
of fo. 1r, which is now illegible due to the trimming of the leaf. The pressmark confirms the connection with St Laurent's Abbey in Liège, but the manuscript is not mentioned in any of the catalogues from the twelfth and thirtheenth centuries,[469] suggesting that the manuscript was only acquired by the Abbey at a later time.[470]

There is a note on the verso side of the first of the paper fly-leaves written by a nineteenth-century hand which says '*In Bibl. Meermania III, p. 120 n˚ 693: Joannis Scoti (Eriginae) expositio in Martianum Capellam. Jn. Membr.: saec. XI, fo. 31, quorum prius est la[ce]rum. p.*' Raucq writes that it is unclear what is meant by this note, since this catalogue does not mention the codex anywhere.[471] The catalogue is from the library owned by Gerard (d. 1777) and Johan Meerman (d. 1815), who were Dutch politicians, legal scholars, and book collectors, living in Den Haag.[472] I was able to find the entry, though the recording of MS 9565-9566 is puzzling, as it suggests that the manuscript was part of this Dutch collection in the eighteenth century.[473] The current manuscripts librarian of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, L. Reynhout, remarked in our correspondence that there is also an eighteenth-century mark from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. He notes that the Saint Laurentius Monastery was closed down in 1794 and that most of its manuscripts were sent to Paris during the French Revolution. After the Congress of Vienna (1815) they were returned to Brussels, and put in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne, which would later become the Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België. It seems likely that this was also the case for this manuscript, though it does not explain the appearance of the manuscript in the Meerman collection.

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[469] Derolez (1952), p. 360.
[470] Derolez (1954), p. 95.
[471] Raucq, p. 6.
[472] M. van der Burg, 'Meerman, Johan', *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1780-1830/lemmata/data/Meerman> [Accessed February 2017]; *Bibliotheca Meermanniana sive catalogus librorum impressorum et codicum manuscriptorum quos maximam partem collegerunt viri nobilissimi Gerardus et Joannes Meerman morte dereliquit Joannes Meerman ... quorum publica siet auctio die VIII sqq. Junii, anni MDCCCXIV, Hagae comitum in aedibus defuncti* (De Haag: B. Scheurleer, 1824).
[473] *Bibliotheca Meermannia*, p. 120.

Runic material



Like the St Gallen 270 manuscript, the runic material here consists of a *fuþorc* with names and values, and the *isruna* tract containing the c*lophruna*, *isruna*, *lagoruna*, *hahalruna*, and *stophruna* sections with examples and explanations. There is no alphabetised list of runes, however. The runes are drawn in a large fashion, and not very tidily: the characters are not fitted to match the lineation. The *fuþorc* is divided up into three rows consisting of two groups of nine and one group of ten runes, and clearly serves as clarification for the tract. This division, which also appears in other *isruna* tracts, differs from the normal division of the Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc*, which is usually 8:8:8 + 4. This division can be found in St Gallen 270 [18] for instance. Derolez thinks that the scribe of the tract was aware of this deviation and specifically reorganised the *fuþorc* to make sure that his example worked on all counts.[474] This awareness is shown by the fact that the **œ**, given the value 'o', has been moved from the twenty-fourth place to the twenty-sixth. The letter 'o', as used in the common tract example *corui*, was indicated by the 3/8 formula, but by essentially expanding the groups this would no longer work. The solution would be to either move the **œ**-rune, or change the formula. The former can be seen here, but later tracts such as Città del Vaticano, Cod. Urb. Lat. 290 [33], and Trier, MS 61 [35] opted for changing the formula.[475] It should be noted that the change here means that the code for 'i' is

[474] Derolez (1954), p. 101.
[475] Ibid.

no longer correct: it should be 2/2 instead of 2/3, but this appears to have escaped the attention of the scribe.

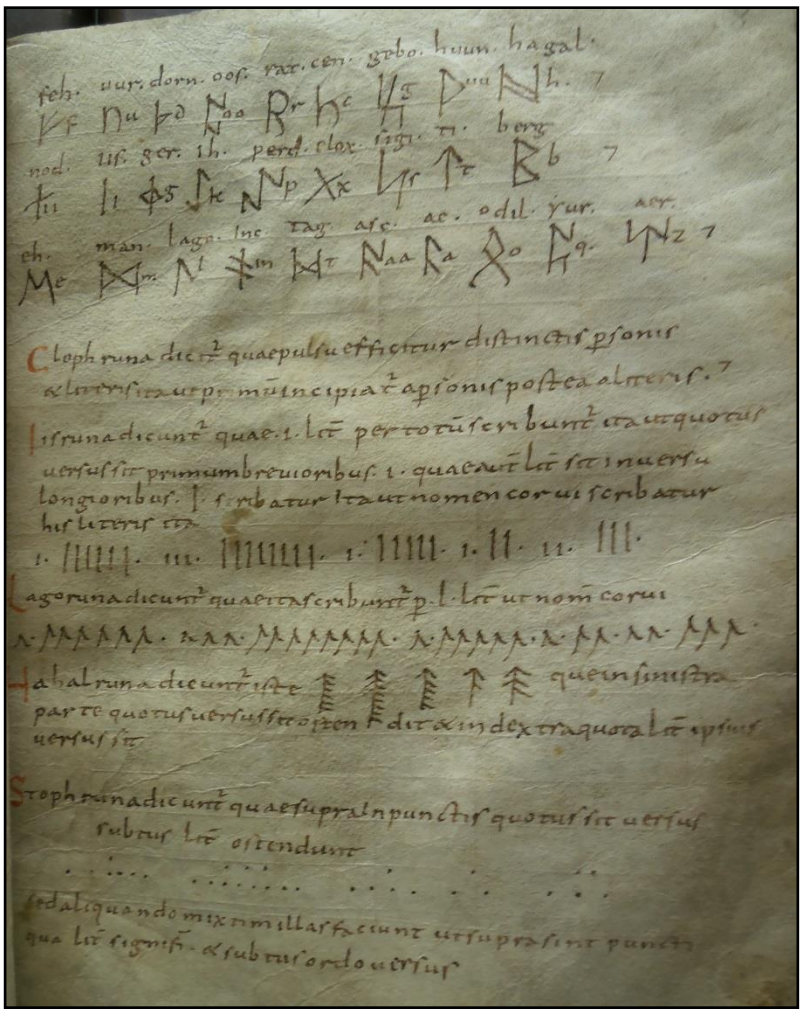
The similarities with the St Gallen manuscript have been noted by a number of scholars. The runes are identical, so no further comment is needed here. The change to the sequence of the runes in order to make the example fit the redistribution is interesting here, because not only did the ᛟ change position, but the *asc* was also moved in front of the *ac*-rune. The rune-names of the Brussels manuscript are as follows: *feh, uur, dorn, oos, rat, cen, gebo, huun, hagal, nod, Iis, ger, ih, perd, elox, sigi, ti, berg, eh, man, lago, inc, tag, asc, ac, odil, yur, aer*. St Gallen shows the same ones, but has *elix* and *borg* instead of *elox* and *berg*. A more obvious difference between the manuscripts can be found in the tract itself. Most notably, the sequence of codes is also disturbed, with the *Clophruna* section coming first. This manuscript also calls the coded rune of the fifth section (fourth in St Gallen) the *Stophruna*, while St Gallen notes '*Soofruna'*. There are some differences between the abbreviations and spellings in the two versions of the text.

> Clofruna dicuntur quae pulsa efficitur distinctis personis / & litteris ita ut primum incipiatur a personis postea a litteris.[476]
> Iisruna dicuntur quae .i. littera per totum scribuntur ita ut quotus / uersus sit primum breuioribus .i. quae autem littera sit in uersu / longioribus .I. scribatur ita ut nomen corui scribatur / his litteris ita.[477]
> i. IIIIII . iii . IIIIIIII . i . IIIII . i . II . ii . III .
> Lagoruna dicuntur quae ita scribuntur per .l. litteram . ut nomen corui.[478]
> l . LLLLLL . lll . LLLLLLLL . l . LLLLL . l . LL . ll . LLL
> Hahalruna dicuntur iste 1/6 3/8 1/5 1/2 2/3 que in sinistra / parte quotus uersus sit ostendit / & in dextera quota littera ipsius / uersus sit.[479]
> Stopfruna dicuntur quae supra in punctis quotus sit versus / subtus litteris ostendunt.
> 1/6 3/8 1/5 1/2 2/3

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[476] 'They are called *clofruna* which bring about knocks for distinct persons & letters, in this way so that the first is begun by a person, thereafter by a letter.' (My translation).
[477] 'They are called *isruna*, whereby .i. character is written for the whole and in that manner [indicates] which number of line it would be. The first one is the shorter .i., whereby the following letter in the line is written longer .I. It is in this way that the word 'ravens' is written using these characters.' (My translation).
[478] 'They are called *lagoruna* which are written in this way with the .l. character. The word 'ravens' as follows.' (My translation).
[479] 'They are called *hahalruna*, where in the left part the number of the line is indicated, & in the right which number of letter itself it would be.' (My translation).

sed aliquando mixtim illas faciunt ut supra sint puncti / qua litteram significant. & subtus ordo uersus.[480]



The positions of the examples also differ: the example for the *hagal*-code appears in the middle of the text, while the *stophruna* example appears on a separate line underneath the first half of the explanation. Based on the above observations it is possible that both scribes were working from the same exemplar, but neither tract is likely to be an exact copy. Out of the two, the Brussels scribe probably took the most liberties. The *corui* examples, however, are correct for all codes in Brussels, so the mistake in the *hahal*-section does not appear. This would indicate that the mistake was due to the St Gallen scribe, and not the exemplar.

[480] 'They are called *stopfruna*, where on the top in dots the number of the line would be and underneath the letter is shown […] but sometimes these are mixed so that the top dots indicate the letters. & the bottom ones the number of the line.' (My translation).

Context

The context of the runes is slightly complicated here, since the first part of the manuscript (ff. 1-13v) was compiled incorrectly. It is possible to discern some pencil figures in the left bottom corner of some recto pages; these marks were likely intended for the binder. From those, Derolez deduced that ff. 11-12 were originally positioned between ff. 4 and 5.[481] By putting these folios into their original position, the computistical and alphabetical material forms one group. The *fuþorc* and *isruna* tract constitute the beginning of this section, and are followed by tables of computus, and the Greek and Latin numerals (and code).

The page appears well-embedded in the manuscript visually, but also fits in well content-wise with the intended arrangement. Fo. 13r contains Dubthach's cryptogram, for which the solution to the code is provided on fo. 10v: if the folios are rearranged in the manner suggested by Derolez, ff. 10v and 13r face one another. Derolez looked further into the origin of the cryptogram, which is of interest here: Dubthach's cryptogram also appears in a number of other manuscripts, most notably Bamberg, MS Class 6, fo. 109v, which contains a letter from which it can be derived that a group of Irishmen, who left their homeland (potentially due to Viking invasions), were living at the court of Mermen or Mermin (Merfyn Frych, d. 844), in Wales. One of these Irishmen, called Dubthach, travelled to the Continent and from there sent a cryptogram to his countrymen. They deciphered it using annals (which presumably contained Greek numerals) and in the name of his three companions, Caunchobrach, Fergus, and Dominnach, Suadbar took the cryptogram plus its instructions to their master Colgu, so that he might teach it to other Irishmen intent on travelling to Mermin's court, so they would not be embarrassed because of their ignorance.[482]

The cryptogram appears here again, although without the letter explaining the historical circumstances as in Bamberg. It is possible that it and perhaps also the runic tract, which is located close to it in the manuscript and is also cryptographic in

[481] Derolez (1952), p. 365.
[482] Derolez (1954), p. 99.

nature, is still connected to Ireland, however. The monastery at St Gallen was named after an ecclesiastic called Gallus (d. 651?), who is reported to have been Irish by both Wetti (d. 824) and Walahfrid Strabo. Although the validity of these sources has been questioned, partially because the name Gallus is unlikely to be Irish, there are also no grounds for a Romano-Frankish origin.[483] Regardless of whether there is any truth in this claim, later Irish visitors were said to go to the monastery to visit their compatriot, a number of Irish monks appear in the St Gallen Confraternity Book, and the St Gallen library contains a large number of valuable Irish manuscripts.[484] Interestingly, the oldest of these manuscripts written in Irish script were small fragments of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (St Gallen, MS 1399a), a work which is frequently accompanied by runic material. Richter notes that these fragments have been dated to the mid-seventh century, but were probably not written at St Gallen. This suggests that they were written in Ireland and imported to the Continent.[485] It offers the possibility that the Irish brought both the runic material (through insular connections) and the Isidore material to the Continent and may have been responsible for their association.

Liège, in turn, also has its own Irish connection through the figure of Sedulius Scottus (d. 860) and his followers. Scottus spent most of his time between 848 and 858 in the Abbey in Liège, having found benevolent protectors in the bishops Hartgar and Franco.[486] Although, based on the dating and lack of mention of this manuscript in the catalogues, he was unlikely to have brought this manuscript to Liège, he and his companions appear in a large number of manuscripts all over the Continent (e.g. St Gallen MS 48, Bern MS 363, St Gallen MS 904, Leiden VL 67), often in conjunction with the Irishmen mentioned in relation to the cryptogram: there is undoubtedly some connection between the Scotti of Liège and the group of Irishmen behind the

[483] M. Richter, 'St Gallen and the Irish in the early Middle Ages' in *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin*, ed. by M. Richter and J.-M. Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 65-75, pp. 66-67.
[484] Richter, p. 67, 71.
[485] Ibid., pp. 67-68.
[486] Derolez (1952), p. 373; Derolez (1954), p. 155.

St Gallen cryptogram.[487] Préaux agrees with this and notes that in 850 the priest Marcus arrived at St Gallen at the same time that Sediulius Scottus moved to Liège.[488] Marcus is mentioned as one of the notable monks of Irish descent (together with his nephew Moengal/Marcellus) by Ekkehart IV (d. 1056) in his *Casus sancti Galli*.[489] He also notes that the codex may have been sent to Liège by request, or travelled with one of the *Scotti* circle from one scriptorium to another.[490] This of course leaves the question of why it was not included in the catalogue, but it is not unheard of that manuscripts are simply overlooked during cataloguing (at any point in time). Regardless, it might be worthwhile to keep this Irish (and potentially runic) connection between Liège and St Gallen in mind. Links between the former monastery and the ecclesiastical centres in Trier and Braunweiler have also been established, and these places both also produced *isruna* tracts.[491]

22. WIEN, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, MS 1609

Manuscript

Manuscript 1609 (also known as Theologisca 732) has been dated to the late ninth or early tenth century (880-920), and was produced in the Domkapitel in Freising, Germany.[492] It is a theological compilation written in Caroline minuscule, possibly by a scribe called Sigihard.[493] The runes, as part of the *De Inventione Linguarum*

[487] Derolez (1954), p. 156.
[488] Préaux, p. 228.
[489] R. Flechner and S. Meeder, *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London: Palgrave, 2016), p. 212
[490] Préaux, p. 228.
[491] Derolez (1952), p. 374.
[492] H. Menhardt, H., *Verzeichnis der Altdeutschen Literarischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 13 (Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1960), p. 51; Kottje (2012), #1267.
[493] Menhardt, p. 51; N. Daniel, *Handschriften des Zehnten Jahrhunderts aus der Freisinger Dombibliothek* (München: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1973), p. 72.

treatise, are written by a separate hand, yet appear to have been part of the codex from the beginning.[494] Contents are as follows:[495]

1. Ff. 1v-2r: *De pronuntiatione singularum litterarum ope organorum hominis* (from Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis* (III, 261));
2. Ff. 2r-3v: *De Inventione Linguarum* (Incl. **runic alphabet**);
3. Fo. 4r: *De Divisione Musicae Artis, Enumeratio musarum cum provincial singularum* (both from Isidore, *Etymologiae*);
4. Ff. 4r-8v: *Sequuntur tropi et prosulae Sangallenses cum neumis*;
5. Ff. 9r-17v: Notker Balbulus, two letters;
6. Fo. 18r: *De nominibus Salomonis*;
7. Ff. 18r-53r: Salomon III (abbot of St Gallen and Bishop of Constance), *Liber Formularum*;
8. Ff. 53r-54r: *Epigrammata octo argumenti ethici*;
9. Fo. 53r: Poem on the five senses;
10. Fo. 55r-v: Definitions of *crepusculum*, *vesper*, *canticinium*, etc;
11. Ff. 55v-63v: Excerpts from letters by Hieronymus and others;
12. Fo. 64r: Notker Balbulus, *Epistola ad cancellarium Liutwardum* (fragment);
13. Ff. 64r-68v: Methodius Olympius, *Sermo de Regno Cantium*;
14. Ff. 69r-v: A Germanic poem '*Leich*' containing a paraphrase of Psalm 138.

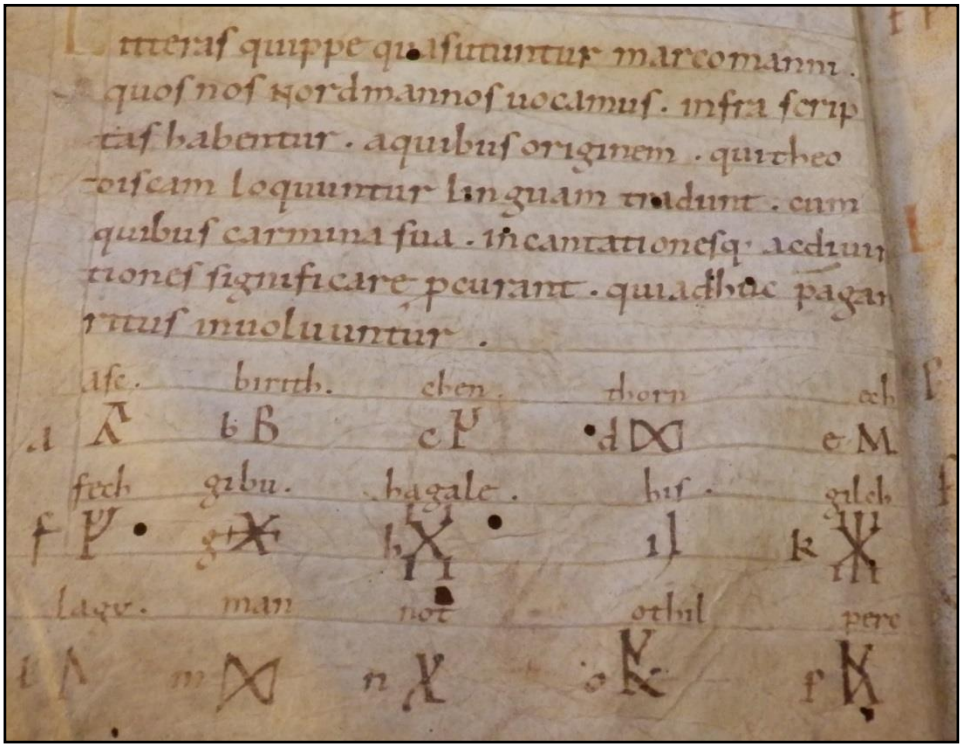
The codex was likely brought from Freising to Vienna by Wolgang Lazius (d. 1565) during his travels through Southern Germany in 1551.[496] It later came into the

[494] Derolez (1954), p. 296.
[495] 'Cod. 1609 Han', *ÖNB-Hanna-Katalog* <http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/MCXCPVEAP2LQLQHGVSIVBMPVG5UDXUXTCERTDV2JYKJSPYTR7H-01697?func=full-set-set&set_number=012538&set_entry=000002&format=999> [Accessed February 2017]; *The Theory of Music: From the Carolingian Era up to 1400*, vol. 1, ed. by J. S. Van Waesberghe, P. Fischer, C. Maas (München – Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1961), pp. 39-40.
[496] Menhardt (1960), p. 51; Daniel, p. 71.

possession of Hugo Blotius in 1576 (d. 1608), whose ownership mark can be found on fo. 1r, before it arrived in the Viennese court library, where it was bound in 1755.[497]

Runic Material

The runic material here consists of an incomplete alphabet, which can be found on fo. 3v as part of the copy of the *De Inventione Linguarum* tract. Fifteen runes from the Anglo-Saxon rune-row can be seen at the bottom of the page, spread over six lines and accompanied by transliterations and rune-names.



The runes are written in a neat round hand with a number of serifs added. Some comments on the runes:

- The **c**-rune is upside down, making it look like a Scandinavian **k**-rune (this also occurs in Wien MS 1761 [32]);

[497] C. Meyer, *The Theory of Music VI: Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c. 1500. Addenda, Corrigenda. Descriptive Catalogue*, in collaboration with G. di Bacco, P. Ernstbrunner, A. Rausch, C. Ruini, vol. 5 (München: G. Henle, 2003), p. 68.

- The **d** and **m**-runes are missing their ascenders and descenders, making them look identical;
- The rune transliterated as 'h' appears to be a combination of runes: It has two short stems attached to the bottom of the stem, and looks more like a **g**-rune;
- A character similar to the h-rune appears for 'k'. It would seem that the intention was to create a gutteral **k**-rune (as confirmed by the rune-name), but the character is an exaggerated **j**-rune with overlong serifs;
- The rune in the position of 'g' is a tilted **j**-rune;
- The two 'arms' of the **p** are touching;
- The cross-arm of the **n** is too long and pointing upwards to the right, making the letter look like a lopsided Roman X;
- The *eþel*-rune appears to have a slight additional cross-stroke going through the bottom branch and pointing upwards.

The rune-names are as follows: *asc, birith, chen, thorn, ech, fech, gibu, hagale, his, gilch, lagu, man, not, othil, perc*. They correspond mostly with the transliterations, except 'd' for *thorn*, and 'k' for *gilch*. This is common, however, as both pairs are linguistically close and often take one another's place. The interchangeability of **g** and **k** suggests that the scribe spoke Old High German, which corresponds with the idea that the codex was produced in Freising.

The runes here are clearly integrated in the first part of the codex: they are part of the *De Inventione Linguarum* tract, and written by the same hand responsible for their introductory text, and the rest of the tract. This is obvious in the shaping of the values, but also in the way in which the runic characters are drawn. The rune-names appear thinner and smaller than the main text and the values, but on closer study reveal the same handwriting idiosyncrasies.

Context

The contextual material for the runes is first and foremost the *De Inventione Linguarum* tract. The tract is incomplete, however, ending halfway through the runic alphabet. It is unclear what happened to the rest of the treatise, but it was likely lost at some point before the codex was acquired by Lazius, as Derolez makes a convincing argument that Lazius used this manuscript as a source for his work *De Gentium Aliquot Migrationibus* from 1557 (the most obvious element is the fact the Lazius's runic alphabet only reaches the letter 'p', as this alphabet does).[498] Fortunately, the explanatory text on the runic alphabet was preserved; it reads as follows:

> Litteras quippe quas utuntur marcomanni. quos nos Nordmannos vocamus. infra scriptas habentur. a quibus originem. qui theodiscam loquuntur linguam tradunt. cum quibus carmina sua. incantationesque ac diuinationes significare procurant. qui adhoc pagani ritus inuoluuntur.[499]

Clearly, there are number of historical problems with this text, as the alphabet underneath is Anglo-Saxon and is therefore not related to the Northmen or (Old High) German-speaking people (at least not at the time of the creation of this text, in the first half of the ninth century). As can be seen in Paris, MS Lat. 5239 [25] and others, this confusion appears in all *De Inventione* texts on runes. It appears that the author of the tract made a mistake, which was then copied by subsequent scribes.

Aside from this text, a number of other alphabets are also included in the tract. After the closing lines of the Martianus Capella text on pronunciation, a Greek alphabet follows on fo. 2r with the name and corresponding Greek numeral for each letter written above, as well as Latin equivalents and Roman numerals. This is followed by the text on the Greek alphabet. The next alphabet is Hebrew, where again a text on the alphabet is provided and then the characters, which all receive a

[498] Derolez (1954), p. 295, pp. 297-98.
[499] 'The letters which are used by the Marcomanni, which we call the Northmen, are written below. From them descend those who speak *Theodisc*, and with these they signify their songs, incantantions, and divinations, to take care of the pagan rituals with which they surround themselves'. (My translation).

value and name. The third alphabet is introduced by an explanation of the Latin alphabet, but is in fact Aethicus Ister's alphabet with names and values. The fourth and final alphabet is the runic one.

Although the codex was compiled at a later date, the tract is surrounded by works from scholars whose works commonly occur as contextual material to runes. The text preceding the tract here is the extract on pronunciation by Martianus Capella, from his *De Nuptiis*, which also appears in Exeter MS 3507 [2], Bern MS 207 [11], and Brussels MS 9565-9566. Further, parts of Isidore's *Etymologiae* appear again, as well as writings by Notker, who can also be found in Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal MS 1169 [26]. Notker's presence again points towards St Gallen, and in this case there is also the presence of the *Liber Formularum* by Salomon III, who was abbot of St Gallen and Bishop of Constance to confirm a possible connection.[500] Menhardt also noticed this, and writes that although paleographical and linguistic elements point towards Freising as the place of origin of this manuscript, a lot of the contents of this manuscript appear to be derived from St Gallen manuscripts.[501] Daniel, however, says that nothing points to the influence of the school of St Gallen, though she also points out that there are no definitive characteristics which connect the manuscript to the school at Freising either. Her argument is slightly unclear, but she appears to be talking about the script, not necessarily the contents.[502] Derolez also notes that he thinks that the *De Inventione* text may have a Swiss origin.[503] How this material ended up in Freising is not too difficult to imagine, as Salomon III was the brother of Waldo, who was Archbishop of Freising from 884-920, and both brothers had been monks in St Gallen.[504] Although Bischoff does not comment on the connection with St Gallen, he does confirm that, like the works of Otfrid which were written by the presbyter Sigihart for Waldo, it is possible that this manuscript

[500] W. Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern, München: Francke Verlag, 1980), p. 96.
[501] Kottje, #1182.
[502] Daniel, p. 71.
[503] Derolez (1954), p. 296.
[504] H. Menhardt, H., 'Die Überliefering des ahd. 138 Psalms', *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur*, 77, 2-3 (1940), 76-84, p. 80.

was created by Waldo's circle.[505] Schmitz writes that the manuscript, because it contains the Germanic adaptation of Psalm 138, may have been part of a (temporary) surge of interest in the vernacular in Freising: perhaps the inclusion of the *De Inventione* was part of that interest?[506]

23. KARLSRUHE, BADISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK, MS AUG. PERG. 254

Manuscript

Karlsruhe, MS Aug. Perg. 254 is a composite manuscript dated to the early ninth century.[507] Derolez notes that it was likely written at Reichenau Abbey based on its appearance in the early catalogue.[508] This is confirmed by Längin who writes that the manuscript is likely number 56 in the Reichenau Catalogue II b, which was compiled between 823 and 838, under abbot Erlebald.[509] Bischoff, however, thinks that the codex is made up of two parts from different origins. He gives a Western German origin for the first part (ff. 1-71) and a ninth-century date, while the second half (ff. 72-213), containing the runes, was composed in the North of Italy, likely Novara.[510] This second part of the codex was written by multiple hands in a minuscule script, and again contains material from different times. The *Orolegium* text is probably from between the eighth and the ninth century, while the *Litany* dates to the early ninth. The runic material is given a tenth-century date by Bischoff.[511] Contents are as follows:[512]

1. Fo. 1r: *Annales Augienses Brevissimi* (*posteriores*);
2. Ff. 1v-71v: (Pseudo-)Gregory the Great, *Expositio Evangeliorum*;

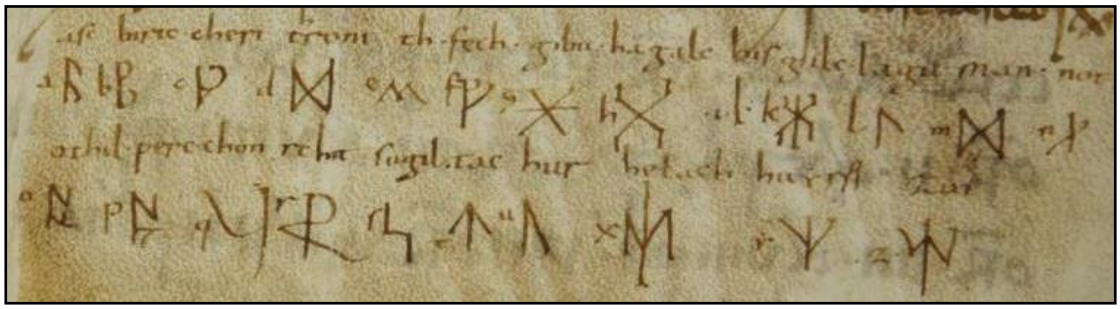
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[505] Bischoff (1980), p. 220.
[506] W. Schmitz, *Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte,* Germanistische Lehrbuchsammlung, 52 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984), p. 28.
[507] Bischoff (1998), #1734
[508] Derolez (1954), p. 320.
[509] T. Längin, 'Runen aus Reichenau' in *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau, Erinnerungsschrift zur Zwölfhundertsten Wiederkehr des Gründungsjahres des Inselklosters 724-1924*, ed. by K. Beyerle (München: Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1925), 699-702, p. 700.
[510] Bischoff (1998), #1735.
[511] Ibid.
[512] A. Holder, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe (neudruck mit bibliographischen Nachträgen): Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, vol. 5, 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970-1974), p. 573.

3. Ff. 72r-152v: Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*;
4. Ff. 153r-211r: A collection of homilies ending with Methodius, *Revelationes*; **a runic alphabet**;
5. Ff. 211v-212r: *Incipit orolegium dierum*;
6. Fo. 212v: *Incipit letania kyrieleison*;
7. Fo. 213v: Hebrew-Greek-Latin glosses.

Not much is known about the codex after its conception. It bears a later ownership mark ('*Liber Augie Maioris*') of the Reichenau Abbey, so it was present in this library at some point. If the early catalogue entry indeed designates this manuscript, it is possible that the first part of the manuscript was written in Reichenau (which is technically in the South-West of Germany), and was then merged with the earlier material which had come from Italy in the ninth century. Alternatively, the Reichenau library was simply responsible for binding two books together which it had received from elsewhere. The tenth-century date of the runes then makes it possible for this to have been a local addition. The codex was then transferred to Karlsruhe in the early nineteenth century following the secularisation of the diocese of Constance in 1803.[513]

Runic Material



The runic material can be found on fo. 211r, and consists of an Anglo-Saxon runic alphabet with transliterations and rune-names. The runes are fairly large, with smaller transliterations appearing on the left, and rune-names above. The rune-

[513] F. X. Bishof, 'Konstanz (Fürstbistum)', *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D8561.php> [Accessed January 2017].

names are divided by dots, and the runes and transliterations by spaces. The alphabet is spread over two lines: a – n / o – z. The runic characters are written in a hasty, book-hand manner, and though there are only few mistakes to be found, the material is unclear in places. A few comments on the rune-forms:

- The rune representing 'a' here is an **æ**-rune with an extra serif pointing inwards;
- For 'c' a Scandinavian **k**-rune is used;
- Only slight ascenders can be seen on the **d**-rune, the descenders are omitted;
- The rune for 'g' appears to be a mixture of the **g**- and **j**-runes, while the rune for 'h' looks more like a correct **g**-rune;
- The **k**-rune is used for 'k';
- The **m**-rune is missing its descenders;
- The character associated with 'q' here is exaggerated and unclear: it looks like a reversed **k**-rune. This is not a known variation of the **q**-rune;
- The **r** is exaggerated and sloppy, and the line forming the bows unnecessarily crosses the stem twice;
- The **x**-rune has unnecessary secondary branches pointing downwards. The following rune, again, is a correct representation of the **x**-rune, but is transliterated as 'y' here.
- The rune transliterated as 'z' is probably an **ea**-rune.

The rune-names are as follows: *asc*, *biric*, *cheri*, *t*(h)*rom*, [e]*ch*, *fech*, *gibu*, *hagale*, *bis*, *gile*, *lagu*, *man*, non, *ochil*, *perc*, *chon*, *rehit*, *sugil*, *tac*, *hur*, *helach*, *huyryl*, *zui*. Due to the untidy hand and some wear it is not always easy to read the rune-names, and there is some confusion about the rune-name for the **x**-rune (here transliterated as 'y'). Längin read *hurry*, which Derolez notes is unlikely to be correct. He concludes that the word must be *huyry*, based on comparison with the forms *huyri* (Wien MS

1761 [32], Heidelberg MS Salem 9.39 [39] and *huiry* (Karlsruhe MS Aug. Perg. 176).[514] Derolez is aware of what looks like a ligature and the upward stroke at the end of the word, but decides that the 'y' is simply followed by an upward stroke of no meaning, because his other option, an s+t ligature, has no parallels elsewhere. The end of this word is indeed rather unclear; it may also be that this is a badly drawn letter 'l'. Although this does not explain the ligature, there is a parallel with names such as *ochil* and *sugil*.

Context

The runic material was probably added after the main text was written. Based on the handwriting from the rune-names this cannot have been much later, however: Derolez estimates no later than the second half of the ninth century.[515] Lägin, who first edited the runes in this manuscript, notes that there is some resemblance between the handwriting of the rune-names and that of the first ordered entries, where Bishop Hartrich is named as a deceased brother, in Reichenau's *Liber Confraternitatum*.[516] He appears to be referring to fo. 15v-4 of the manuscript, Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. Hist. 27. I doubt that this is the same hand responsible for the rune-names, because although they may be similar in age and script, there is a notable difference in how the rune-scribe shapes the letters g, h, and r. There is, however, a hand which is quite similar to the rune-names, and which uses the same colour ink (although that is likely coincidence) in this book, on fo. 14r-1.[517] The names written by this hand appear at the top of the page, and are *Tuato, Haclauuart, Theoto, Theotrih, Kaganhart, Cundram, Meginuuart, Uuolfho, Uuolfhart, Kerolf, Hermo Adelman, Aba adelburga, Kernoli, Kerhart*, and *Managoli*. This section of the manuscript dates to the ninth century,[518] so if Derolez's dating is accurate, it is

[514] Derolez (1954), p. 322.
[515] Derolez (1954), p. 320.
[516] Längin, p. 700.
[517] 'Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. Hist. 27 – Reichenauer Verbrüderingsbuch / f. 14r-1', *e-codices* <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/zbz/Ms-Rh-hist0027/14r-1/0/Sequence-1171> [Accessed January 2017].
[518] M. L. Cunibert*, Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich: Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, vol. 1 (Zürich: 1952), pp. 257-58.

technically possible that the same person was responsible for the runic alphabet and these names.

There is, however, no other evidence for a connection between these manuscripts, other than this perceived similarity in handwriting. Bischoff's later dating of the material also casts further doubts. Regardless, it does not reveal much more about the scribe responsible for the runes. The names written by this hand all appear to be continental, though a continental origin was already suggested by the spelling of the rune-names. It thus seems likely that the scribe was continental as well. St Gallen 878 [16] was also produced in Reichenau, which suggests that there was runic knowledge in the abbey. This may be due to the presence of Anglo-Saxon clerks or monks, but the treatment of the material suggests that continental scribes had also taken an interest.

Although the runes were added separately, it is still worth examining the context of the material. The alphabet was likely added to fo. 211r because there was an empty space at the end of Methodius's *Revelationes*, so the immediate context may not be of much use. Looking at the manuscript as a whole, it should be noted that the section before the homilies contains Isidore's work *De Eccleciasticis Officiis*, so the runic material appears again in conjunction with the scholar. At the end of the manuscript there is also a short paragraph of Hebrew-Greek-Latin glosses which has been added by a second hand in a different colour ink. The hand of the glosses and the alphabet look similar, but I do not think both elements were written by the same scribe. That said, it is interesting that the three biblical languages were added in another empty space considering that they often appear in conjunction with runes in the *De Inventione* tradition.

24. STRASBOURG, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE ET UNIVERSITAIRE, MS 326

Manuscript

This manuscript has been dated to the tenth century, and is likely from the area of Limoges or Angoulême.[519] The contents are close to those of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 5239 [25], another tenth-century manuscript, which notes gifts to the Abbey of Saint Martial at Limoges on fo. 3r, making Limoges perhaps the most likely option as the origin of both manuscripts.[520] Liuzza more recently gives Angoulême as the place of origin, and a date between the tenth and eleventh century for the manuscript.[521] He cites Wickersheimer as his source, yet his suggestion was for a tenth-century date.[522] Kottje and Borst, however, think both places are possible (likely due to their proximity); the former gives a tenth-century date, the latter around 1000.[523] The contents are as follows:[524]

1. Ff. 1r-10r: Bede, *De Natura Rerum*;
2. Ff. 10r-82v: Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*;
3. Ff. 83r-104r: Bede, *Chronicon sive de sex huius saeculi aetatibus*;
4. Ff. 104v-107r: *Adbreviatio Chronae*;
5. Ff. 107r-109r: Isidore, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum*;
6. Ff. 109v-110r: *De Inventione Linguarum* (including a **runic alphabet**);
7. Ff. 110v-111v: Bede, *De Arithmeticis Propositione Liber*;

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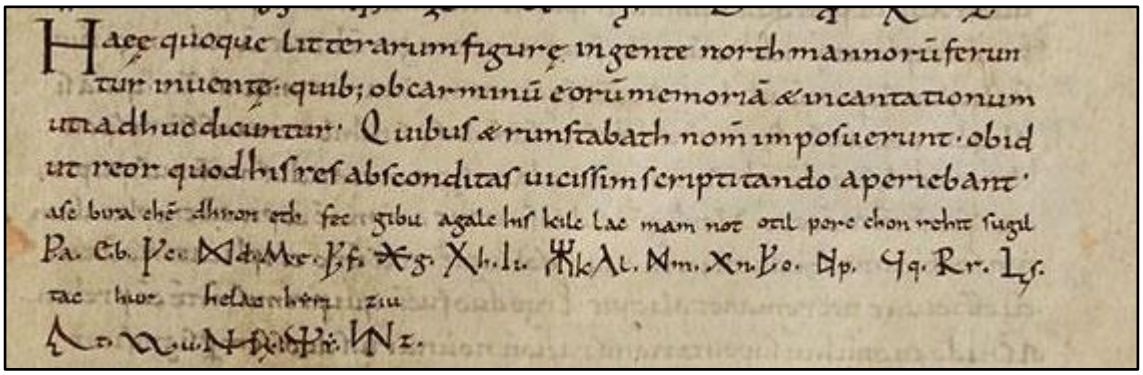
[519] Derolez (1954), p. 332.
[520] Ibid., pp. 329-30.
[521] R. M. Liuzza, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics: An Edition and Translation of Texts from London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), p. 70; E. Wickersheimer, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Universitaire et Régionale de Strasbourg, Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, vol. 47 (Paris: Plon – Nourrit, 1923), #CXVI.
[522] Wickersheimer, p. 143.
[523] Kottje (2012), #1029; Borst, p. 294.
[524] Derolez (1954), pp. 333-34; 'Manuscrits latins. Bedæ venerabilis et S. Isidori Hispalensis opuscula', *Gallica*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France < http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10224563x/f1.item.zoom> [Accessed March 2017].

8. Fo. 112r-119r: Astronomical tables;
9. Ff. 119v-127r: *De Nominibus Ventorum*;
10. Ff. 127r-129r: *De Praesagiis Tempestatum*;
11. Ff. 129r-130r: *Genera numerorum in sensibus secundum augustinum*;
12. Ff. 130v-131r: *De fusione metallorum*;
13. Ff. 131v-133r: Macrobius, *De Mensura et Magnitudine Terrae*;
14. Ff. 133r-144v: Cappela, *De Mensura Lunae* (*De Nuptiis*, VIII);
15. Ff. 144v-159r: Astronomical and computistical items;
16. Ff. 159r-164r: *Computatio Circuli Magni*;
17. Ff. 164v-167r: *De Divisionibus Temporum* (Bede, *Epistola ad Wictheda* – incomplete);
18. Ff. 168r-171v: Aratus, *Prognostica* with commentary;
19. Ff. 171v-172v: *De annis domini in quibus tanta dubitacio est inter calculatores*;
20. Ff. 173v-184v: Calendar followed by astronomical tables;
21. Fo. 185r-v: Poems on the months, signs of the zodiac, etc;
22. Ff. 186r-190v: *De differentiis dierum et noctium per circulum anni*;
23. Ff. 191r-194r: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (V);
24. Ff. 194r-197v: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (III);
25. Ff. 197v-199v: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (XIII);
26. Ff. 199v-200r: *Dies Aegyptiaci*;
27. Ff. 200r-201v: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (IX).

It is not known how and when the manuscript came into the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire (formerly the Bibliothèque Universitaire et Régionale). Derolez notes a pencil mark at the end of the codex which may indicate

that it was acquired through exchange. The note is 'T 227' and he suspects the T may stand for *Tausch*, 'exchange'.[525]

Runic Material



The runic material here is an Anglo-Saxon runic alphabet of twenty-three characters, which appears as part of the *De Inventione Linguarum* treatise on fo. 110r. The alphabet has not received as much space as the other alphabets in the treatise, due to which the characters are pressed together, though it is neatly written. The material is not of a particularly good quality, with a number of odd forms demonstrating a lack of understanding. It received rune-names above, and transliterations on the right-hand side. Some comments on the rune-forms:

- The character for 'a' is a Roman capital P;
- The character for 'b' looks like a Roman lower-case e;
- The Scandinavian **k**-rune for 'c';
- The **d**-rune is missing its ascenders and descenders;
- The second branch of the **f**-rune is at the bottom of the stem instead of underneath the first branch;
- The 'g' is again a tilted **j**-rune;
- 'h' is here a correct **g**-rune;
- 'k' is represented by the **ķ**-rune here;

[525] Derolez (1954), p. 332.

- The character for 'l' is more similar to a Roman capital A or a Greek λ than a rune;
- The **m**-rune is missing its descenders;
- The character for 'o' is identical to the one given for 'f';
- The legs of the **p**-rune are connected by a vertical stroke;
- The character for 'q' is a Roman q but open at the top;
- 's' looks like a stem with strong serifs and a tail on the right-hand side;
- The character for 't' is possibly an artistic interpretation of a dotted **u**-rune, but clearly not an actual rune;
- 'u' is depicted as two curved lines, which is again not a known rune-form;
- The scribe made 'x' into an elaborate version of the **ea**-rune, which occurs elsewhere, but this time the serifs on either side of the branches are turned into stems;
- A rounded **x**-rune is given for 'y';
- The **ea**-rune is again used for 'z'.

The alphabet here shows a few of the variant forms which apparently had become standard for the *De Inventione* material, but the other runes demonstrate a clear lack of understanding regarding the shapes of runes. These shapes also appear in Paris MS 5239 [25], but not elsewhere, and therefore presumably originate from a uniquely French exemplar from St Martial, or were written by the same scribe, considering the age of both manuscripts.

The rune-names are as follows: *asc*, *bira*, *che*, *dhron*, *eth*, *fec*, *gibu*, *agalc*, *his*, *kilc*, *lac*, *mam*, *not*, *otil*, *perc*, *chon*, *rehit*, *sugil*, *tac*, *hiur*, *helac*, *hyri*, *ziu*. It is possible that *agalc* is a simple misspelling or copying mistake, and was intended to be *agale*, which is the more common form, but the scribe forgot the cross-bar on the e. Also, the intended word is likely *man* instead of *mam*.

Context

The runic material appears in its usual position in the *De Inventione* treatise. It starts on fo. 109v with the Hebrew text and alphabet; followed by the Greek text, alphabet, and numerals; and the Latin text and alphabet, where the letters have been given rather odd numerical values. On fo. 110r the tract continues with Aethicus Ister's text and alphabet, and then the runic material. All of the alphabets are given names and transliterations, except the Latin alphabet, and the Aethicus one is missing values. Finally, there are five columns at the bottom of fo. 110r which contain Roman numbers and corresponding Greek numerals. The explanatory text accompanying the runes reads as follows:

> Haee quoque litterarum figure in gente northmannorum ferun/tur invente. Quibus ob carminum eorum memoriam & incantationum / uti adhuc dicuntur. Quibus & runstabath nomen imposuerunt. Ob id / ut reor quod his res absconditas uicissim scriptitando aperiebant.[526]

The Old English meaning of *run* as 'secret' appears here in the writer's belief that the runes were used for uncovering secrets. On a more practical level, the scribe thought runes functioned as aides-mémoire for songs and incantations and were still in use. There are a few peculiarities in the Latin, such as the word *haee*, which is likely a spelling mistake, and, more notably, *runstabath*, which should likely be *runstavas* or *stabas*. This confirms the earlier suspicion that the scribe responsible for this material was largely ignorant of what the alphabet was or meant. I suspect that the scribe here was merely a copyist and not responsible for producing any of the runic material.

The manuscript in general contains many contextual elements also found elsewhere in connection with runes: Bede's works, Isidore's writings (especially the *Etymologiae)*, and general themes of computistics, science, and astrology.

[526] 'These forms of letters are said to have been invented by the people of the Northmanni; It is said that they still use them to commit songs and incantations to memory. They gave the name runstabas to them. I believe that they were written often in order that hidden things would become uncovered in turn.' (My translation). It is worth noting here again that the alphabet is Anglo-Saxon, yet the runes are attributed to the Northmen (see p. 185).

25. PARIS, BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, MS LAT. 5239

Manuscript

This manuscript dates to the middle of the tenth century and was written by several (possibly twelve) hands from the scriptorium at the Abbey of St Martial at Limoges after an exemplar from 844-847.[527] The manuscript contains a small chronicle of St Martial until 930, and the *Circuli decemnovenalles* run until the year 952, which confirms both the place of origin and the dating.[528] The contents are as follows:[529]

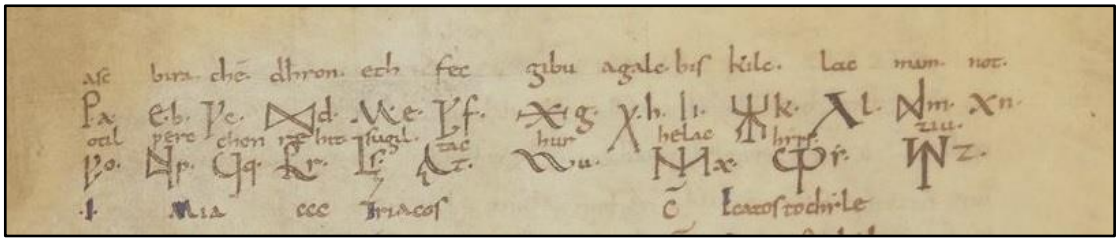
1. Ff. 1r-3r: Fragments on winds, climates, weather; Greek-Latin glosses; *dies aegyptiaci*; instructions for bloodletting;
2. Fo. 3r-v: Obits (by a later hand); gifts to Saint-Martial;
3. Ff. 4r-6r: Dionysius Exiguus, *De Ratione Paschalis*;
4. Ff. 6r-20v: Bede, *De Temporum Ratione* (47);
5. Ff. 20v-21r: Annals for St Martial 830-930, continued by later hands 1025-1520;
6. Fo. 22r: *De differentia cometarum* (ff. 22v, 23 are blank but partially lined for the tables);
7. Ff. 32r-96r: Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*;
8. Ff. 96r-116v: *Ratio calculandi*, *primo de diebus mensium*, and other computistical and astronomical items;
9. Ff. 116v-119v: Bede, *Epistola ad Wictheda de paschae celebratione*;
10. Ff. 119v-125v: Jerome, *Paschalis quem beatus*;
11. Ff. 126v-128v: Computistical tables;
12. Ff. 129r-135r: Calendar;

[527] Kottje, #897; Borst, p. 269.
[528] J. Vezin, 'Les Manuscrits Témoins des Relations entre Fleury et Saint-Martial de Limoges' in *Abbon, un Abbé de l'An Mil*, ed. by A. Defour and G. Labory (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 405-14, p. 409.
[529] Derolez (1954), pp. 330-31.

13. Ff. 135r-138v: Computistical tables;
14. Ff. 138v-144v: *De nominibus ventorum*; *versus de ventorum nominibus ac speris subpositis*; rotae with winds, lunar phases, tides; astronomical items; rotae with four elements, four humours, etc; *orologium viatorum*;
15. Ff. 145r-162v: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (V, III, XIII);
16. Fo. 162v: *Dies Aegyptiaci*; instructions for blood-letting;
17. Ff. 163v-166v: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (IX);
18. Fo. 166v: *Petosiris nechepos regi salutem*;
19. Fo. 167r: Greek letters with their numerals;
20. Ff. 169r-193v: Bede, *Chronicon sive de sex huius saeculi aetatibus*;
21. Ff. 193v-196r: *Adbreviatio Chronicae*;
22. Ff. 196r-199v: *Argumentum ad annum mundi inveniendum*; *computacio circuli magni pasche*;
23. Ff. 200r-204v: *Cursus lunaris de diebus singulis per xviiii annos*, with tables;
24. Ff. 204v-211v: *cursus lunae unicuique per decem et novem annos*, with other cumputistical and astronomical items and tables;
25. Ff. 212r-214r: *Versus de singulis mensibus, versus de duodecim signis*, etc;
26. Ff. 215r-225v: The signs of the zodiac, with explanations;
27. Ff. 225v-231v: Aratus's prognostics, with commentary;
28. Ff. 231v-232r: Deeds to Saint-Martial (later hands);
29. Ff. 233v-234v: *Argumentum quot sit luna per decem et novem annos*, table, and other computistical items;
30. Ff. 235r-236r: *De Inventione Linguarum* (incl. **runic alphabet**);
31. Ff. 236v-238r: [*V*]*eteris questionis nova solutio* (later hands); a deed (later hand);
32. Ff. 238v-239v: *Dies Aegyptiaci*; Isidore, *Etymologiae* (IX).

The construction of this codex appears to have been rather chaotic: a number of texts are repeated, and many pages were left blank and were then used by later writers.[530] Most obvious is the repetition of the *Dies Aegyptiaci*, which occurs three times. Although the codex was written by several hands which change frequently, and of which some are archaic and some suggestive of insular influence, it seems likely that the material was compiled at the same time.[531] It is unclear how the manuscript travelled from Limoges to Paris.

Runic Material



The runic material is an Anglo-Saxon runic alphabet of twenty-three characters, which appears as the final alphabet in a *De Inventione Linguarum* tract at the top of p. 236v. They are not given much space, but were drawn neatly and clearly. The scribe appears confident, despite the slightly exotic appearance of his characters. They are almost identical to those in Strasbourg MS 326 [24]. A few comments on their shapes:

- The character for 'a' is a Roman capital P;
- The character for 'b' looks like a Roman lower-case e;
- The Scandinavian **k**-rune for 'c';
- The **d**-rune is missing its ascenders and descenders;
- The second branch of the **f**-rune is at the bottom of the stem instead of underneath the first branch;
- The 'g' is again a tilted **j**-rune;

[530] Ibid., p. 331.
[531] Ibid., p. 330.

- ‘h’ is here a correct **g**-rune;
- ‘k’ is represented by the **ḳ**-rune here;
- The character for ‘l’ is more similar to a Roman capital A than a rune;
- The **m**-rune has one ascender pointing upwards on the right stem, but no descenders;
- **n** is a Roman x;
- The character for ‘o’ is identical to the one given for ‘f’;
- The legs of the **p**-rune are connected by a vertical stroke;
- The character for ‘q’ is a Roman q but open at the top;
- **r** has a bow at the top and a curved line crossing the stem as the bottom branch;
- ‘s’ is a Roman L with a **s**-shaped serif at the bottom of the branch;
- The character for ‘t’ is possibly an artistic interpretation of a dotted **u**-rune, but not an actual rune;
- ‘u’ is depicted as two curved lines, which is again not a known rune-form;
- The scribe made ‘x’ into an elaborate version of the **ea**-rune, which occurs elsewhere, but this time the serifs on either side of the branches are turned into stems;
- A rounded **x**-rune is given for ‘y’;
- The **ea**-rune is again used for ‘z’.

The rune-names are as follows: *asc*, *bira*, *chē*, *dhron*, *ech*, *fec*, *gibu*, *agale*, *his*, *kilc*, *lac*, *mam*, *not*, *otil*, *perc*, *chon*, *rehit*, *sugil*, *tac*, *hur*, *helac*, *hyr*[*i*], *ziu*. Since these are also very similar to Strasbourg, the same possible confusions can be noted.

Context

The immediate context of the runes is again identical to the Strasbourg manuscript, with the alphabets in the same order, and followed by Roman figures and Greek

numerals. The rune-names are the same as well, as is the text on the runes. The initials for the texts here are decorated with blue and red ink, which is not the case for Strasbourg. Though this suggests quite strongly that the alphabet material came from the same source, the difference in handwriting and decorations excludes the same scribe. The similarities between the manuscripts are obvious, but the contents of MS Lat. 5239 are not identical to Strasbourg MS 326. The overarching theme of the materials is the same, however, as both codices have an interest in computus, medieval science, and astrology. Both Bede and Isidore make an appearance, and some of their works even overlap (the *Etymologiae*, the *Chronicon*, and *De Temporum Ratione* most notably). The *Dies Aegyptiaci* also makes multiple appearances. The position of the treatise in the manuscripts seems arbitrary, though in both cases it is close to Isidore's works. This may be coincidence, yet the inclusion of *De Inventione* material was probably not, especially considering that the scribes used the same source to copy this material. It would also seem likely that the aforementioned themes of computus, science, and astrology were connected to the study of alphabets somehow, at least in the area of Limoges, but the relationship can also be seen elsewhere (see for instance Bern MS 207 [11], Brussel MS 9565-9566 [21], Città del Vaticano MS UL 290 [33], and München MS 14436 [31] to only give a few continental examples). Perhaps alphabet-studies, with *De Inventione Linguarum* as its prime example, were seen as part of the larger curriculum for medieval science?

Vezin makes the suggestion that this codex can be included in a group of manuscripts from Saint-Cybard of Angoulême and Saint Martial which received the attentions of the monk Adémar de Chabannes, who was a historian and grammarian. He thinks that a note on fo. 19 may be of his hand.[532] This is important because many of Adémar's manuscripts contain pen drawings which are based on illustrations from Fleury. A number of the drawings of the constellations are very similar to paintings included in a mid-ninth-century manuscript from Fleury (Paris,

[532] Vezin, p. 409.

BN, MS Lat. 5543). The illustrations of both manuscripts demonstrate the same iconography, though the Limoges scribe was happy to merely copy the silhouettes of the painted constellations with his pen.[533] Borst adds to this that he thinks that MS 5239 and 5543 share the same exemplar.[534] This is interesting of course, as Fleury produced a number of the early *manuscriptae runae*. It is possible that the origin of this material (exemplar) was therefore Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire and that it was merely copied at Limoges (or Angoulême).

26. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ARSENAL, MS 1169

Manuscript

This manuscript is known as the tropary of the church of Autun. On fo. 55v '*sancte Nazarii, tu illum adiuua*' is noted:[535] Saint Nazarius was the patron saint of the Cathedral of Autun before the bones of Lazarus of Marseille were translated thence in 1079, and the Cathedral was dedicated to this saint in 1132.[536] It was written between 996 and 1024 in Autun by multiple hands.[537] This dating is based on acclamations for Robert II, King of France (996-1031) and Walter, Bishop of Autun (d. 1024) on fo. 22v.[538] The manuscript contains two types of neumes, from France and Lorraine (this region was only annexed by France in the eighteenth century). The Lorraine neumes were written by one hand, while at least five hands contributed to the French neumes.[539] It is a small but finely made manuscript which contains a number of elaborate miniatures depicting scenes from the life of Christ and various saints.[540] The contents of the manuscript are as follows:[541]

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[533] Ibid.
[534] Borst, p. 269.
[535] M. Bernard, *Répertoire de Manuscrits Médiévaux Contenant des Notations Musicales: Bibliothèque Parisiennes Arsenal, Nationale (Musique), Universitaire, école des Beaux-Arts et Fonds Privés*, vol. 3, ed. by S. Corbin (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1974), p. 36.
[536] H. Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (München-Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1964), p. 111.
[537] 'Tropaire de l'église d'Autun', *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52000516z/f84.item.zoom> [Accessed February 2017].
[538] F. Steenbock, *Der Kirchliche Prachteinband in Frühen Mittelalter von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1965), p. 65.
[539] Bernard, p. 36.
[540] Steenbock, p. 65.
[541] Derolez (1954), p. 248; Bernard, pp. 36-37.

1. Ff. 1r-56r: *Tropi cum Laudibus*: The tropes for the liturgical cycle, from Christmas to Michaelmas;
2. Fo. 22r: Acclamations for Robert, King of France, and Walter, Bishop of Autun; acclamation tropes;
3. Fo. 39r: (inserted in this cycle) a brief extract on music; a Latin text written with Greek and pseudo-Greek characters;
4. Fo. 39v: A **runic alphabet** in the left-hand margin; in the right-hand margin a Roman capital alphabet; tropes *Viri Galilei: Terrigenis summis adfatur* (on the Ascension);
5. Fo. 49r: A fragmentary prosary.

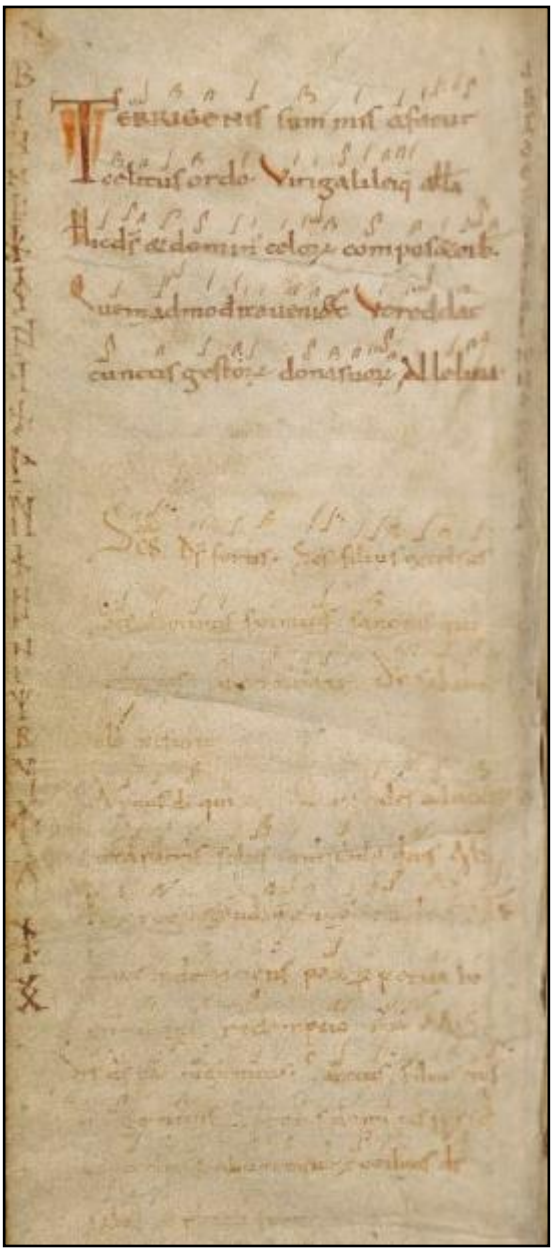
The manuscript does not have any ownership marks, and it is unclear where it was held before it became part of the Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal.[542] Gautier examined this manuscript in the late nineteenth century, and helped with its early catalogue description, so it was likely already in the library by that point.[543]

Runic Material

The runic material on fo. 39v consists of a single alphabetised rune-row. The runes are somewhat faint, due to their position on the page and wear and tear, but can be read without too much difficulty. The scribe wrote them in a large and ornamental way, in the same colour ink used for the trope text next to the alphabet. The runes look neat and elaborate, especially since they are technically written in the margin. The exception to this is the penultimate rune which looks like a double-barred **n**-rune or a Younger *fuþark* **o**-rune (see [18] and [21]), and is in the position of 'y'. The sequence of the runes, since they are supposedly following the Roman alphabet, is slightly confusing:

[542] Husmann, p. 110.
[543] Ibid.

- The **i**-rune takes the position of ‘c’. It is possible that some confusion has occurred with the short-twig **s**, but no other Scandinavian characters appear in the alphabet;
- There appear to be two forms of the **j**-rune (though frequently transliterated as ‘g’ in the manuscript tradition);
- There are two **n**-runes, one in the correct position and one in the position of ‘j’;
- The position of ‘q’ features an **x**-rune;The *ing*-rune is in the position of ‘z’.



The Roman alphabet across from the page may have been intended to serve as values for the runes. This is unclear because the characters are not on the same line/height, and the Roman characters are smaller than the runes. Derolez is convinced that these two elements belong together, however, and thinks that the discrepancy is due to a miscalculation by the copyist. [544] If so, then the presence of the two **j**/**g**-runes confuses the sequence and from 'h' onwards all values have been shifted one place backwards. As a consequence, there is no rune for 'z', but the scribe appears not to have noticed. It is unclear whether this is due to a lack of attentiveness, or due to the exemplar. Derolez thinks that this alphabet may have been derived from an expanded English *fuþorc*.[545] This is certainly possible, but poses the question of why the alphabet was shortened. The scribe may have seen one of those expanded *fuþorcs*, and then wrote it in alphabet-form from memory, which could explain the strange double-barred rune and the *ing*-rune for 'z'.

Context

Establishing a clear context for the runes here is difficult. There seems no obvious connection between the tropes and the runes, but the runic material may have been put in through association with the Greek material, as seen elsewhere. However, Derolez notes that the Roman-Greek mixture from 39r was inserted,[546] and the runes do not appear to have been written in the same hand. Indeed, the runes are possibly by the same hand as the upper five lines on fo. 39v, based on the colour of the ink.[547] The decorative quality of the capital letters also seems to be reflected in the way the runes are fashioned. It is more difficult to determine if the Roman characters were written by the same scribe, mostly because they are quite faint. The letters near the top of the page are the clearest and they do have the same colour and ornamental character as the runes (they are written as capitals), so it seems

[544] Derolez (1954), p. 249.
[545] Ibid., p. 251.
[546] Ibid., p. 248.
[547] Ibid., p. 249.

likely that all three of these elements were part of the same production. This seems to be the only material which bears any relation to the runic alphabet. That said, the presence of this alphabet material is interesting, considering the highly ornamental quality of the manuscript. Palazzo suggests that the manuscript was written for a special occasion (perhaps a visit of the sovereign to the cathedral),[548] which makes the appearance of the runes stand out even more.

From a historical point of view, it is interesting to consider how these runes arrived in Autun, as this is the only known manuscript from this area. To complicate matters, Derolez points out that the 'k' in this manuscript is represented by a **g**-rune, which he thinks suggests a High German origin of the alphabetiser. I think this is rather far-fetched, since his reasoning behind this statement is based on exaggerated serifs.[549] At first sight, the runic form which takes the place of 'k' looks identical to **n**, but closer inspection shows that the slanting cross-stroke has longer serifs in 'k' than in **n**. This led to the assumption that the *k*-rune is in fact a **g** of the type found in the *isruna fuþorc*, in which the outer ends of the broken line have been reduced to serifs. Although there is indeed a difference in the size of the serifs, the serifing is inconsistent throughout the alphabet, and on this character both serifs point downwards, whereas the left arm of the cross-stroke on the *isruna* **g** points consistently upwards in the tracts.

There is another connection which may be worth exploring: a number of the tropes contained within the manuscript can be attributed to Notker (d. 912), who was a famous medieval musician working in St Gallen.[550] Notker's material can be found in many medieval manuscripts, mostly originating from monasteries which were dependent on St Gallen, but Clark notes that they only occurred sporadically in

[548] E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1993), p. 77.
[549] Derolez (1954), p. 250.
[550] C.-A. Cingria, 'La Civilisation de Saint-Gall' in *Oevres Complètes* (Lausanne: Editions l'Age d'Homme, 1968-78), 109-223, p. 208.

England, France, Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands.[551] The prose *Eia recolamus* is one of the earliest works of Notker, and appears in only a few codices.[552] It seems therefore significant that the text is present in this manuscript on fo. 27r-v, and may suggest a close connection with St Gallen. Earlier rune-rows have already demonstrated the importance of St Gallen as a centre of runic knowledge, and it is possible that the runes accompanied the musical knowledge (and perhaps also the Greek material?).

Finally, Derolez also notes that the runes from this alphabet may have been the characters which inspired the 'Saracen' alphabet included in the fourteenth-century *Travels of John Mandeville*.[553]

27. CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BARB. LAT. MS 572

Manuscript

Città del Vaticano, MS 572 contains works by Gregory the Great and some grammatical material. The contents can be dated to the eleventh century, though the codex contains notes on donations from the twelfth century.[554] The origin of the manuscript is the St Salvator Monastery on Monte Amiata in the North of Italy. This is demonstrated by one of the donation texts in favour of Abbot Rainerus, the head of the St Salvator Monastery in the twelfth century, and the monogram BNZ along with the writing '*D. Bonizo – Me occide'*, on fo. 1.[555] This monogram is the signature of the monk and priest Bonizo, who is well attested in the manuscripts of Monte Amiata, though there is no abbot or librarian of that name recorded at the

[551] J. M. Clark, *The Abbey of St Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), p. 189.
[552] The manuscripts in question originate from St Gallen itself, and from Einsiedeln, Saint-Evroult and Epternach, which, as Cingria points out, are not major centres. Cingria, p. 208.
[553] R. Derolez, 'Uit de Geschiedenis van de Runen: Van Agambertus tot Mandeville', *Handelingen van de Zuidnederlandse Maatschappy voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 5 (1951), 40-57, p. 55.
[554] 'Barb.lat.572', *Manuscripts Catalogue*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=present> [Accessed March 2017].
[555] M. Gorman, 'Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata in the Eleventh Century', *Scriptorium*, 56.2 (2002), 225-93, p. 254.

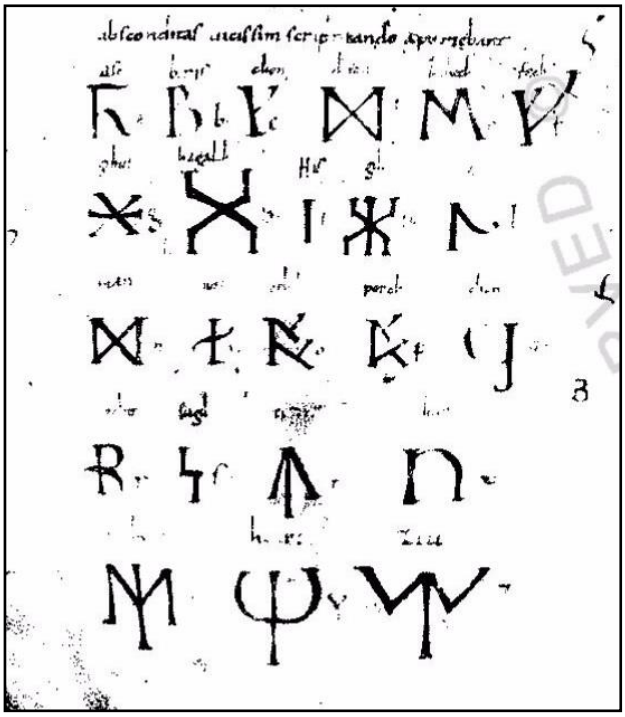
monastery. It is possible that he was the master of the scriptorium at the Badia Amiatina.[556] Regardless, it appears that Bonizo was involved in creating an *opera omnia Gregorii* in three volumes, which can currently be found in the manuscripts Città del Vaticano, BAV, Barb. Lat. 572-74.[557] This manuscript is thus the first in this series. The contents are as follows:[558]

1. Ff. 1-128r: Gregory, *Homiliae in evangelium*;
2. Fo. 128r: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (I, 3, 4); Bede, *Graecorum et Aegyptiorum inepte unus pro alio sumuntur*;
3. Fo. 128r-v: *De Inventione Linguarum* (incl. **runic alphabet**);
4. Ff. 129r-204r: Gregory, *Dialogi*;
5. Ff. 204r-258v: Gregory, *Regula Pastoralis*;
6. Fo. 258v: *Donatio pro anima*; *Donatio quarumdam terrarum in favorem abbatis Rainerii, monasterii S. Salvatore*.

There is no information on how the manscript became part of the Vatican collection.

[556] Ibid.
[557] Ibid.
[558] 'Barb.lat.572', *Manuscripts Catalogue*.

Runic material



The manuscript contains an Anglo-Saxon runic alphabet, as part of an incomplete *De Inventione* tract on fo. 128v. It can be seen at the left bottom corner of the page, and contains five rows of runes. The runes are drawn clearly and are large in format. They are accompanied by transliterations on the left, and rune-names above. Unfortunately, I was only able to consult a rather poor copy of the page, and though the runes are fairly clear, not all of the accompanying information was legible. The following description may therefore be incomplete. A few comments on the runes:

- The **c**-rune is again a Scandinavian **k**;
- The **g** is again the standard *De Inventione* tilted **j**-rune;
- The rune for 'h' is larger than the surrounding forms, and is very similar in shape to the **ķ** which follows two runes later, though lacking the stem;
- The **ķ** is in the position of 'k', but is given a rune-name starting with 'g' (the transliteration is not legible);
- **m** is again missing its descenders;

- The upwards pointing branches of the 'o' attach in the middle of the downward branches instead of at the end;
- The rune for 'p' is identical to the **o**-rune;
- The rune for 'q' is unclear, but appears to be the elaborate form of the Roman q as seen in Wien MS 1761 (though it is difficult to tell here if the top of the letter is closed);
- The final three runes are again the elaborate form of **ea**, the rounded **x**, and finally the **ea**-rune for 'z'.

There are twenty-three rune-names to accompany an equal number of runes. Only few of these are legible, however. They are as follows: *asc*, *biri[..]*, *chen*, *d[o]r[n]*, *[..]wel*, *fech*, *ghu[..]*, *hagall*, *his*, *gibu*, *perch*, *chen*, *s[u]gil*, *hur*, *h[u]ri*, *ziu*. Most forms also appear elsewhere (frequently in other *De Inventione* alphabets), though the *ghu[…]* is unique. It may be that this is again the rune-name *gibu*, but it is difficult to be certain due to the poor legibility.

Context

As in most *De Inventione* texts, an explanatory text accompanies the runes here. Unfortunately, the manuscript has been damaged in this area, and the stitching to mend the cut in the page runs through the rune-text. From what can be made out the text appears to be the same as in Strasbourg MS 326 [24], and Paris MS 5239 [25].[559] I was able to make an approximate reconstruction of the text with the help of these manuscripts:

> Haec [quoque] literarum figurae in gente nordmannorum / feruntur pro [...] inventiae; quibus ob carminum eorum me/moriam et incantationu uti adhuc dictuntur; quibus et runstaba / nomen imposuerunt, ob id, reor, quod his res / absconditas vicissim scriptando aperiebant.

[559] London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D. XVIII and Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS S. Marco 604 also contain this text, but have not been included in this catalogue because they were either too recent (Titus D. XVIII), or lacked actual runes (MS S. Marco).

The *De Inventione* tract starts on fo. 128r, halfway down the second column on the right, with a Latin alphabet and numerals with accompanying text. A second text, on the Hebrew alphabet, follows. The tract continues on the next page with a Hebrew alphabet which precedes the runes, and a Greek alphabet which follows it, both with transliterations and names. This material is all clearly written in the same hand. After the Greek alphabet follow two more alphabets marked as Chaldean and Egyptian by their headings. These look different from the *De Inventione* material, and were possibly even added at a different time, since the characters are slighter and the ink even fainter. It is difficult to tell whether these two have also been written by the same scribe, but the hand is definitely contemporary. The alphabet collection is accompanied by the names of the months in Assyrian, Greek, and Egyptian and their translations into Latin (from Isidore's work).

From a manuscript perspective, the presence of the alphabet material is rather odd, as it seems unconnected to the contents of the works of Gregory the Great which form the main body of the codex. Based on the position of the material, it seems likely that the scribe added the alphabet material to fill the remaining space on the folio before a new folio was started for the *Dialogi*. It is also possible that the empty space was only noticed when the codex was bound, and the material added to fill the void at a later point. Although the poor quality of the manuscript makes it difficult to be certain, the hand responsible for the alphabet material appears slightly different and the ink lighter in colour than the main text, suggesting a later addition, though likely by a contempory hand.

28. CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, MS REG. LAT. 338

Manuscript

The codex consists of two parts, written approximately a century apart. The first part (ff. 1-63) dates to the ninth century, the second (ff. 64-126), which contains the runes, dates to the late tenth century, though further annotations were made in the eleventh century. Derolez notes that part B was likely written by an English scribe on

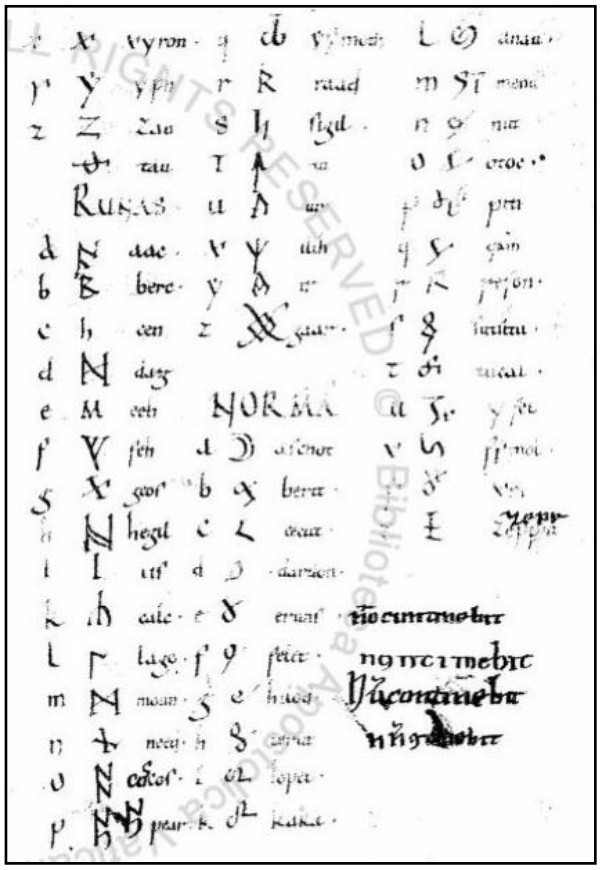
the Continent (Northern France), and in Carolingian minuscules.[560] Bannister also notes a possible German origin.[561] Lapidge agrees with the Northern French origins, and follows Wilmart's dating of early eleventh century.[562] Approximately a century later a reader added a number of small notes: an Old English charm against fever (fo. 91r), a note on bloodletting (fo. 111v), a prayer or antiphon for travellers (fo. 114r), and a number of short notes.[563] The contents are as follows:[564]

1. Ff. 1-63v: *Leges Ribuaria et Salica*;
2. Ff. 64v-67r: A fragmentary calendar of English origin called the *Martyrologium Bedae*;
3. Ff. 67v-88r: Amalarius, *Eclogae de Officio misase*;
4. Ff. 88v-89v: *De decem praeceptius vel de decem plagis*;
5. Ff. 90r-91r: *Horologii descriptio*; *De mensura pedum in unoquoque mense quae pertinet ad distinctionem horarum*;
6. Ff. 91v-93r: *De Inventione Linguarum* (incl. **a runic alphabet**);
7. Ff. 93v-96r: Excerpts from a sacramentary;
8. Ff. 96v-107r: Pontifical benedictions;
9. Ff. 107r-108r: Liturgical items (antiphons and formulae);
10. Ff. 108v-115r: Prudentius, *Breviarum Psalterii*;
11. Fo. 114r: *Oratio vel antiphona de itinere agendo, neumis e part suprascriptis*;
12. Ff. 115v-124v: Monastic hymnary.

[560] Derolez (1954), p. 238.
[561] H. M. Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani de Paleografia Musicale Latina*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1913), vol. 1, p. 11.
[562] M. Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Bénédictine*, 94 (1984), 326-69, p. 335.
[563] W. Stokes, 'The Anglo-Saxon Prose and Glosses in Rome', *Beiträge zur Kunde in der Indogermanischen Sprachen,* 17 (1891), 144-45, pp. 144-45.
[564] Wilmart, p. 258-63.

Like Reg. Lat. 294 [36], this codex was owned by Alexandre Petau, and later became part of Queen Christina of Sweden's collection, who then donated her books to the Vatican Library.[565] A final note of interest here is that this alphabet was copied by the nineteenth-century scholar Rasmus Rask, who used it to help transcribe the Gallehus horn, after having been recommended to look at the manuscript tradition by the German palaeographer U. F. Kopp.[566]

Runic Material



Città del Vaticano, BAV, Cod. Reg. Lat. 338 contains a *De Inventione Linguarum* text with an extensive collection of alphabets, on ff. 91v-93r. The runic alphabet appears on the final page and is Anglo-Saxon. It contains twenty-four runes, and so eliminates some of the less well-known Old English characters. The tract is written by one hand, and the runes look like they were drawn without hesitation, with slight

[565] Derolez (1954), p. 237.
[566] K. M. Nielsen, 'Rasmus Rask om de Ældre Runer', *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1971), 120-45, p. 126.

serifs, and in an angular style compared to the Roman writing. They do not, however, stand out from the other 'foreign' characters.

The material is divided into two columns, a-p / q-z, which are drawn in dry-point. Transliterations are provided in the first column, and then the runes and rune-names follow in the second. Single dots are used to separate the rune-names from the transliterations in the next column, but this is not consistently done. The alphabet is of a remarkable quality and only contains minor mistakes of a mostly stylistic nature:

- The **c**-rune is fainter than the others, and looks similar to the scribe's minuscule 'h';
- The **f**-rune is tilted diagonally towards the left and completely angular;
- The scribe seems to have made a small correction on the length of the left leg of the **h**-rune;
- The **q** looks like a rounded upside-down **t**-rune (this form also appears in Leiden, VLF 12 δ [13], though there it seemed to be filling in the 'q' spot with a character copied from the preceding Greek alphabet);
- There is a little cross-stroke going through the left leg of the **u**-rune;
- Two short branches have been added at the bottom of the **y**-rune, pointing inwards;
- The **ġ**-rune is written correctly here, but transliterated as 'z'.

Rune-names are as follows: *aac*, *berc*, *cen*, *dæg*, *eeh*, *feh*, *geos*, *hegil*, *iis*, *calc*, *lago*, *moun*, *need*, *cos*, *pear*, *yymoth*, *raad*, *sigil*, *tu*, *ur*, *ilih*, *ir*, *gaar.* There appear to be a number of misspellings in the rune-names: the *eeh* name is uncommon, and could represent the length of the vowel, or be a mistake for *ech*; *moun* may be a misspelling of *monn*; *cos* may derive from *oos*; *tu* should probably be spelled *tii*, and

ilih ilix.[567] The spelling of a number of the rune-names suggests to Derolez that they may be of Anglian origin.[568] The rune-name *yymoth* is remarkable: Derolez connects it with the name for the character for 'q', *quimot*, which appears in the Chaldaean and Assyrian alphabets in the tract, and also notes the similarities with *qymith* and *quimit* from Domitian A. IX [6] and München 14436 [31].[569] The **ġ** for 'z' has appeared a number of times, and Derolez thinks that the *gar*-rune at some point even took over the role of the 'z' in runic manuscripts. The reason for this is unclear and linguistically confusing, but may go back to a confusion between insular g and z (which produces some consistency problems), or the fact that the letter was near the end of the rune-row and therefore a convenient choice. It is also possible that the letter was simply picked by one scribe as a replacement for 'z' and spread through copying, or that a number of scribes noticed the problem with 'z' and happened to go for this character (for their own reasons) and this use may just be coincidental. After all, there were only a limited number of runes left to pick from for 'z', and guttural g may not have been recognised as a (separate) sound by many scribes.

Context

The *De Inventione* tract again forms the context for the runic material. In contrast to the other alphabets on these pages, the runes (and the following alphabet, called '*NORMA_*') are not provided with an explanatory text, but merely with a title written in large capitals. In this case *RUNAS*. The tract contains a number of alphabets with accompanying texts, transliterations and names which precede these alphabets: two Hebrew alphabets (with different texts), a Greek alphabet, a Chaldean, an Assyrian, and an Egyptian alphabet.

It is tempting to read the final heading as *Nordmannorum* or *Nordmannicum*, but the characters are not exactly runic. There are a number of character names

[567] Derolez (1954), p. 242-44.
[568] Ibid., p. 247.
[569] Ibid., p. 244.

which are vaguely reminiscent of rune-names, but not enough to deem this a runic alphabet (Scandinavian or otherwise). Harder attempted to prove that this alphabet was based on a runic alphabet, by eliminating and shifting a number of letters in the names of the characters.[570] He obtained a more or less full list of rune-names, and if the eliminated letters are then read together they form a warning *Tuto te peto* / *tu totum muta* / *ne fide te foppet*. Unfortunately, in order to obtain this result, Harder had to reconstruct some rune-names, which do not appear in any version of the *De Inventione* alphabet which was his starting point.[571] That said, it is not impossible that this alphabet was based on runes, in the same way that the Nemnivian alphabet of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F. 4. 32 is based on runes, but if so, the scribe is unlikely to have based it on the rune-row alone.

On the page there are a number of scribbles by an untrained hand, trying to write '*non continebit*' with varying degrees of success. Similar scribbles are made on fo. 92v, but with a different colour ink (a similar brown to that used by the original scribe, while the annotator of fo. 93r uses black) noting 'bcdefghik' in the left margin, and 'ysa'? 'ng' next to the explanation on the Egyptian alphabet. This hand also appears to have made some annotations and corrections: repeating the name of the 'z' rune just above the original, the name of the **o**-rune just in front of the original rune-name, and the **p**-rune before the rune-name. There seems to be no clear reason behind this notation, nor any kind of consistency.

The presence of the *De Inventione* text in the wider context of the manuscript is slightly surprising, seeing as it is (the second part at least) a collection of different religious texts. There is one 'scientific' text which precedes the alphabets, on how to read a sun-dial, but other than that none of the frequently recurring texts or scholars appear. The Old English notes are of too recent a date to be of relevance, but their presence may be related to the runes, and perhaps also the metrical calendar on ff. 64v-67r. Lapidge notes on this calendar that the

[570] H. Harder, 'Zur Frage der Hrabanischen Alphabete', *Archiv*, 163 (1932), 187-204.
[571] Ibid., p. 188.

redaction here is French, but the text of the calendar originates from York.[572] This would perhaps explain the presence of a runic alphabet on its own, but seems tenuous as a link with the *De Inventione* tract. That said, the runic material does appear to be of a much better quality than the surrounding alphabets. Regardless, the calendar does suggest a French origin (instead of a German one) for the manuscript, and, combined with the Anglian origin of the rune-names, perhaps an insular scribe or exemplar. Gneuss also recognises an English element in his study of the liturgical material in this manuscript.[573] As an aside, it can also be remarked that a similar metrical calendar appears in St John's MS 17 (ff. 16r-21v) [7], which may be partly based on the French redaction of the York calendar.[574] Although both manuscripts are unlikely to be related, it does attest to the movement of this material back and forth between England and the Continent.

29. SALZBURG, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK ST PETER, MS A IX 32

Manuscript

The manuscript Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St Peter, MS A IX 32 is interesting due to its extensive and detailed *isruna* tract. The manuscript was likely written in Cologne in the early eleventh century,[575] and written by several hands. [576] Its contents are mainly canonical:[577]

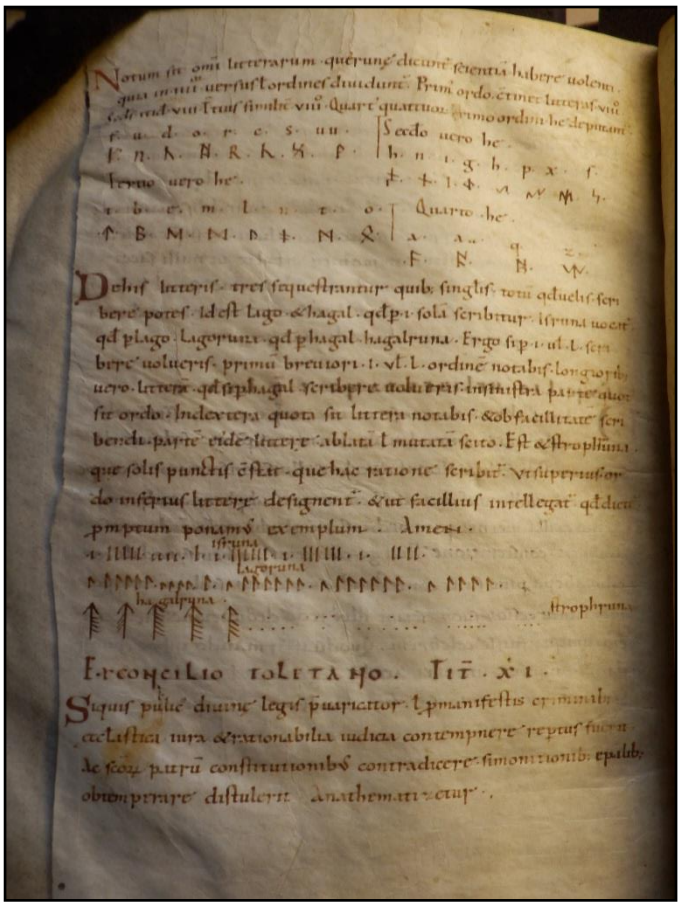
1. Fo. 1r: Summary of contents;

[572] M. Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Bénédictine*, 94 (1984), 326-69, pp. 335-36.
[573] H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology' in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 91-141, p. 119.
[574] Lapidge (1984), p. 348.
[575] Kottje, #988.
[576] G. Phillips, 'Der Codex Salisburgensis S. Petri. IX.32: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der vorgratianischen Rechtsquellen', *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Classe*, 44 (Wien: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1863), 437-510, pp. 437-38.
[577] Phillips, pp. 439-41; Derolez (1954), p. 114.

2. Fo. 1v: *Formata*, sent by Bishop Ruodbert of Metz (d. 905) to Archbishop Wilibert of Cologne (d. 889);
3. Ff. 2-94: Cresconius, *Concordia Canonum*;
4. Ff. 95-120r: A collection of canons from Spanish and Gallic councils;
5. Fo. 120r: Excerpts from Bede, *De remediis peccatorum*;
6. Ff. 121-153: Hrabanus Maurus, *Liber Canonum*;
7. Fo. 153r: Canon of the council of Tribur;[578] Letter from Pope John X;
8. Ff. 154-156: Seven excerpts from Augustine and Gregory;
9. Fo. 156: Canons of the council of Tribur;
10. Ff. 157-161r: *Canones Synodi Romanorum ad Gallos episcopos*;
11. Ff. 161r-170: *Diversa sententiae Canonum*;
12. Ff. 170-171r: *Praecepta S. Clementis Episcopi*;
13. Ff. 171r-172r: Excerpts from Isidore;
14. Fo. 172r: *Ex decretis Vigilii papae*;
15. Ff. 172r-194r: Hinkmar of Laon, *Pittaciolus;*
16. Ff. 194r-198: *Ex dictis sanctorum Patrum*, etc;
17. Ff. 198—204r: Collection of Canons;
18. Ff. 204r-208: *Conventus Ticinenis*;
19. Ff. 208-212: *Capitula Angilramni*;
20. Fo. 213: *Decretale* of Hadrian II;
21. Ff. 213-224: A collection of sixty-one chapters of canons;
22. Fo. 223r: **Fuþorc**, **isruna tract**;
23. Fo. 224r: *Regula formatarum*.

[578] Present-day Trebur, Hessen, Germany.

Runic material



Twenty-eight runes in *fuþorc* sequence can be found on fo. 217v, preceded by a text on the runes, and followed by a paragraph explaining the use of runes in cryptography and the *isruna* tract with examples. The focus here is on the *isruna* tract, and as usual the *fuþorc* serves to explain the cryptography, yet the *fuþorc* is allotted more space and is neatly and deliberately executed whereas the *isruna* tract has only little space and appears squeezed in between the explanatory text, and the following paragraph entitled *Exconcilio Toletano Titus. xi*. This is especially clear with the *stophruna* code, where the title is written after the example, instead of above it as with the other examples. The structure and the organisation of the tract on the page are strikingly different from the other tracts, which may suggest that this manuscript contains an independent version. This is confirmed by the different accompanying texts and the absence of a *clopfruna* code, which does appear in other *manuscriptae runae* containing codes.

The hand is the same for the previous and following work. Though there is little doubt about this, it is worth noting that the page containing the runes is somewhat paler and more wrinkled than the other pages, and the lower margin has been cut off, which is not the case anywhere else. Both the runes and the transliterations receive a full stop on the right-hand side to separate them, even though there is plenty of white space. There are a number of deviating forms:

- An extra vertical leg is added to rune for 'h', which is technically an **n**-rune;
- The closed **j**-rune appears for 'g';
- The second rune transliterated as 'h' (four runes to the right of the first one) is – according to Derolez – a carelessly drawn *eoh*-rune inclined to the right, which can also be found in other *manuscriptae runae*. The transliteration as 'h' also appears elsewhere (St John's MS 17 [7] has 'h', Wien MS 795 [12] has 'i' and 'h'), though some manuscripts give 'k' as its value;[579]
- The **p** is in a similar tilted condition;
- The odd shape of the **x** is similar to the one in Wien MS 795 [12], and Derolez also notes the similarity to Città del Vaticano MS Urbin. Lat. 290 [33];[580]
- **m** is missing its descenders;
- The **i**-rune is drawn a lot smaller than the other runes;
- **n** has a double cross-bar, a form which occurs for **ŋ** elsewhere;
- The **d**-rune, without its ascenders, is given for 't';
- Both ᚬ and ᛟ are transliterated as 'o';
- The **a** is transliterated as 'aa';
- The transliteration of 'q' is given to a (correct) **p**-rune;
- The **ea**-rune has received 'z' as a value.

[579] Derolez (1954), p. 116.
[580] Ibid.

There are no clear serifs or obvious intention to decorate the letters, which is likely due to the script-variety in which the runes and surrounding text are written. Finally, the sequence in which the runes appear here is problematic, especially with the presence of a number of double letters (t, n, h, o). This problem is solved by the scribe by using a different example word, *racco*, which only requires those letters which happen to be on the correct spot.

Context

This manuscript contains an elaborate context for the runic material. The runes are prefaced by an explanatory Latin text, which reads as follows:

> Notum sit omni litterarum, quae runae dicuntur, scientiam habere uolenti, quia in iiii versus vel ordines diuiduntur. Primus ordo continent litteras VIII. Secundus itidem VIII. Tertius similiter VIII. Quartus quattuor. Primo ordini hae deputantur.[581]

Then follows the *fuþorc*, which, as the text indicates, is separated into four different sections. These sections are indicated with the words:
'*Primo ordini. hae deputantur*', '*secundo vero hae*.', '*Tertio vero. hae.*', '*Quarto .hae*.'
Following the rune-row is a text introducing the system of the coded runes, or the *isruna* tract, as is the case here:

> De his litteris. tres sequestrantur quibus sing[u]lis totum quod uelis. scribere potes. Id est lago & hagal. quod per i solam scribitur. Isruna vocatur. quod per lago. Lagoruna, quod per hagal. hagalruna. Ergo si per .i. vel .I. scribere volueris, primum breviori .i. vel .I. ordinem notabis, longioribus vero. litteram, quod si per hagal. scribere volueris, in sinistra parte quotus sit ordo. In dextera, quota sit littera notabis. & ob facilitate scribendi partem eiusdem litterae. ablatam vel et mutatam scito. Est & stroph[r]una, quae solis punctis constat, quae hac ratione scribitur, ut superius. ordo inferius litterae

[581] 'It is known of all these letters, which are called runes, that there is a science to them, from which follows that they are divided into four rows or sequences. The first row contains eight letters. The second in the same way eight. The third similarly eight. The fourth four. The first sequence is counted here'. (My translation).

> designentur, & ut facillius intellegatur, quod dicitur, promptum ponamus exemplum. AMEN.[582]

Though the text in essence gives the same information as the other *isruna* treatises encountered, the wording is different, as well as the fact that it is merged into one text instead of the usual shorter explanations for every code.

Finally, the *isruna* tract follows, containing *isruna*, *lagoruna*, *hagalruna*, and *strophruna*. They are given here with their numerical values and corresponding letters:

- *Isruna*: 1/5, 4/1, 1/6, 1/6, 1/4 – **r ɑ c c o**
- *Lagoruna*: 1/5, 4/1, 1/6, 1/6, 1/4 – **r ɑ c c o**
- *Haghalruna*: 1/5, 4/1, 1/6, 1/5, 1/4 – **r ɑ c r o**
- *Strophruna*: 1/5, 4/1, 1/6, 1/6, 1/4 – **r ɑ c c o**

Three out of the four codes spell *racco* as an example word, except for the *haghalruna* which spells *racro*, which is likely a mistake. Derolez thinks that *racco* is likely a personal name, perhaps a nickname or a pet name of someone with a name beginning with *Ragin*-. He considers it possible that this was the name of the scribe.[583] Phillips remarks that because the example word used in the other *manuscriptae runae* is *corvi*, *racco* might also mean 'raven', via the word *graculus*, though that technically denotes a jackdaw, not a raven.[584] Neither option is

[582] 'From these letters three are separate which you can write as single units for a whole [word] if you want. These are *lago* & *hagal*. Those which are written with a single i are called isruna. Those with lago, lagoruna. Those with *hagal*, *hagalruna*. Therefore if you wish to write with .i. or .I., with the first shorter .i. or .I. you will mark the sequence, and the actual letter with the longer one. If you wish to write those with *hagal*, whatever [sequence] number is ranked on the left part. On the right, the number of the letters is noted. & for ease of writing the same part you should know to move and/or remove letters. It is the *strophruna*, which consists of only dots, which here are written in computation, so that the upper of the sequence is designating the lower letters, & for ease of understanding, as is said, we have provided clear examples. AMEN'. (My translation).

[583] Derolez (1954), p. 117.

[584] Phillips, p. 510. The OED notes that the jackdaw (*Corvus monedula*) is one of the smallest of the crow family, and the scribe's mistake is therefore perhaps understandable ('jackdaw, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/100509?redirectedFrom=jackdaw> [accessed August 2016].

particularly convincing, but the difference in example word reinforces the idea that this *isruna* tract was an independent creation.

Looking at the wider context of the runes, it would appear at first sight that they are placed rather haphazardly in the manuscript. Phillips suggests that the runic material is in some way related to the *regula formatarum* which appears on fo. 224r, but then calls this unlikely.[585] Following up on this, Derolez draws attention to the fact that *regula formatarum* also appears in conjunction with runes in Leiden MS VL 12 δ [13], and Harley MS 3017 [1].[586] The exact link between the types of material is unclear, but as in Harley MS 3017, Greek elements appear in the text. In Harley 3017, the Greek alphabet was written in conjunction with the runes, but this is not the case here. However, a Greek alphabet and corresponding Roman numerals can be found on fo. 1r, so the same information is present though distributed differently in the manuscript. In addition to the *regula formatarum*, works of Bede, Isidore, and Hrabanus Maurus also make an appearance in the manuscript.

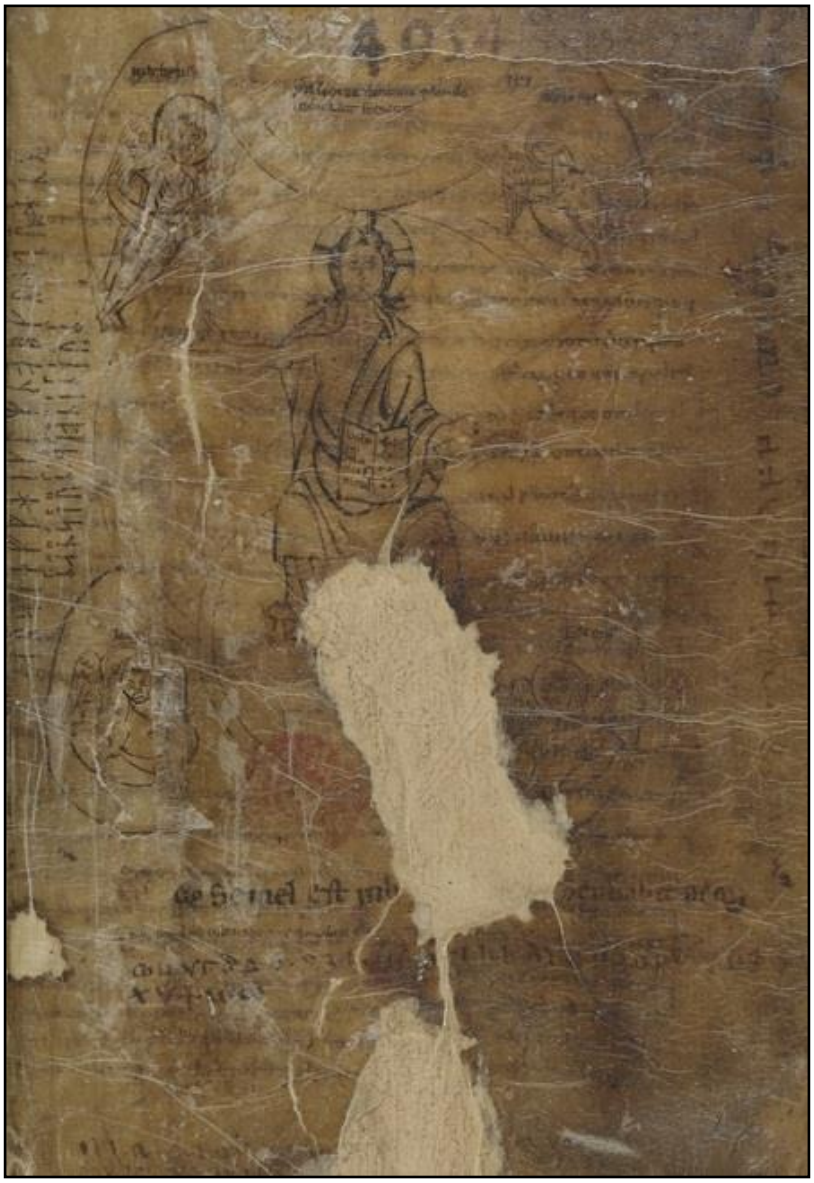
30. PARIS, BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, MS GREC 375

Manuscript

This manuscript is unique as a *manuscriptum runicum* because it is the only runic manuscript written in Greek. Not much is known about this codex, but it was likely written in 1022. Devreese determined that it was written in Greek but by a Western hand, and suggests that it was the work of a scribe who had moved from the South of Italy to Cologne. [587] The Bibliothèque Nationale de France manuscript catalogue adds that the manuscript was copied by a monk and priest called Hélie (Helias).[588] Berschin tentatively suggests that the centre where the codex was written may have

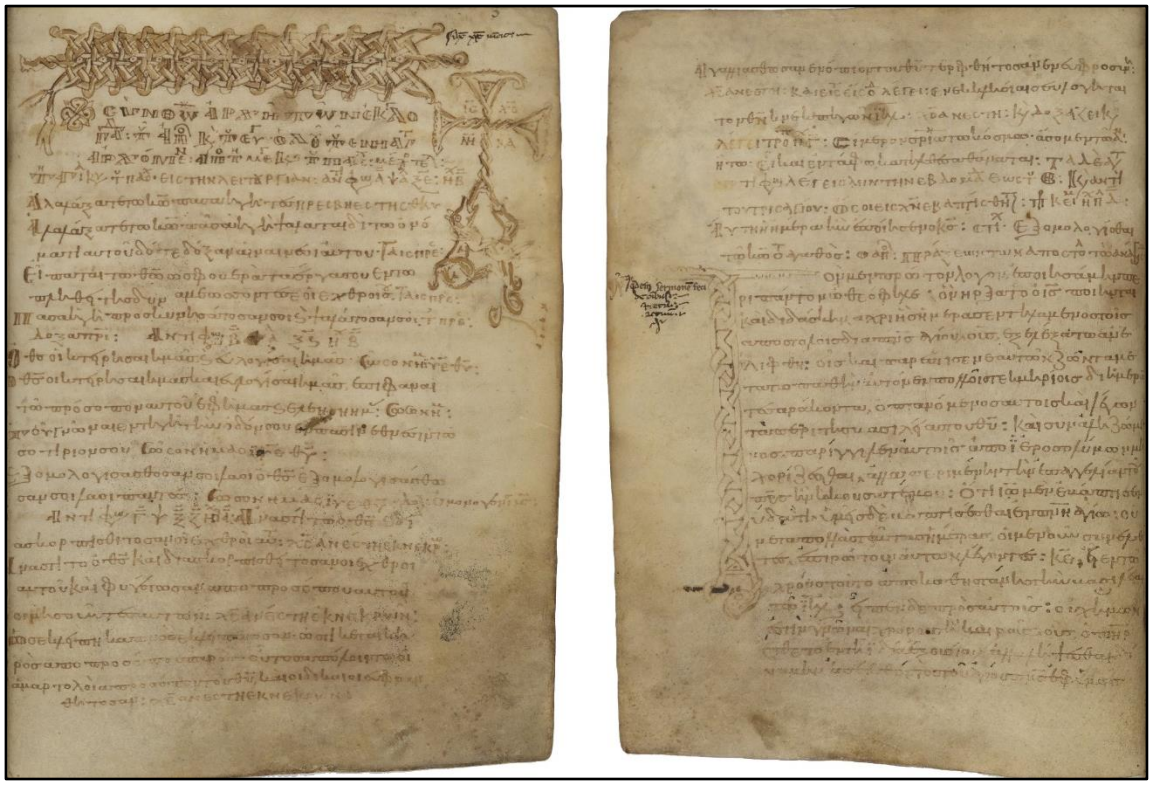
[585] Phillips, p. 508.
[586] Derolez, (1954), p. 115.
[587] R. Devreese, *Les Manuscrits Grecs de L'Italie Méridionale* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955), p. 33.
[588] 'Grec 375', *Archives et Manuscrits*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc23411w> [Accessed February 2017].

been the scriptorium of St Gereon in Cologne.[589] It then travelled from Cologne to the library of St Denis in Paris.[590] A runic alphabet and text can be found on the front flyleaf, next to a drawing of Christ and the four evangelists and various other small notes. No table of contents is available for this manuscript, though it appears to contain religious works, some of which were written by Saint John Chrysostom.



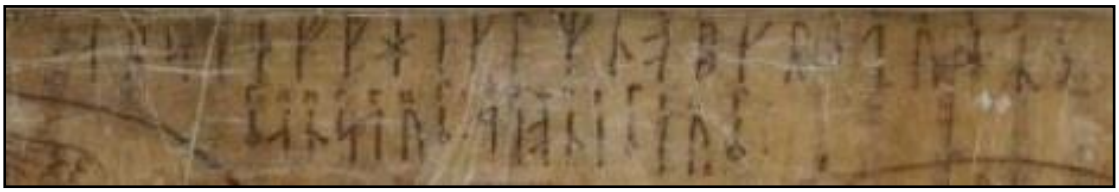
[589] Berschin, p. 235.
[590] Ibid., p. 49, 56-57.

The manuscript was likely already present at St Denis during the High Middle Ages.[591] Several entries indicate St Denis's ownership, and there is a Latin note '*Odo divina permissione abbase beati Dionysii in Francia*' which further confirms this.[592] It is possible that the Odon the note refers to is Abbot Odon IV, who was abbot of St Denis in the early thirteenth century.[593] A note on fo. 6r suggests that the manuscript may have also passed through the hands of a bishop from the Monastery of Great Lavra, built on Mount Athos in the South of Italy.[594] This may mean that the codex was written in Italy, and then sent (perhaps with the monk Helias) to Germany afterwards. After its stay at St Denis, it came into the hands of the collector and historian Jacques Auguste De Thou (d. 1617), based on the appearance of his signature on the verso side of the final flyleaf, and subsequently the politician Jean Baptiste Colbert (d. 1683) in the seventeenth century, in whose catalogue it is number 4954.[595]

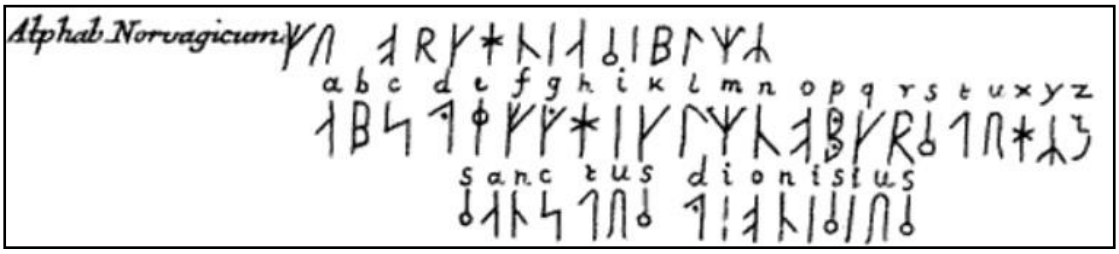


[591] Berschin, p. 57.
[592] Ibid.
[593] Devreese (1955), p. 33.
[594] *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs : Le fonds Coislin*, vol. 2, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits, ed. by R. Devreesse, M.-L. Concasty, C. Astruc (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1945), p. 360.
[595] 'Grec 375', *Archives et Manuscrits*.

Runic Material



The runic material here is located on fo. 1r, and consists of a Scandinavian runic alphabet, and a short text. The runes appear in the upper left corner of the page, and are written vertically (the image has been rotated here for convenience of reading). The page containing this material has been damaged quite severely and this makes the reading difficult. The runes were originally given transliterations but most of those have been lost by cutting of the page, likely for binding or rebinding. They are still visible above the final six runes, however, and above the runic text. A few remnants appear above the **o** and **p**. The copy of the runes made by De Montfaucon (d. 1741), however, shows that more than just the values have been cut off.[596]



Above the alphabet an incomplete *fuþark* can be seen. It lacks the *þorn*, and the **t**-rune is missing its branch. It is possible that some of these mistakes are due to De Montfaucon's copying or the damage, but it is noteworthy that **þ** does not appear in the alphabet or the text while the **t**-rune is written correctly in the alphabet. It is possible that the writer was not acquainted with the sound, potentially because he was not familiar with Old Norse.

[596] B. De Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca, sive de Ortu et Progressu Litterarum Graecarum* (Paris: 1708), p. 293.

The alphabet is of a remarkable quality and contains few unusual characters. Based on the shape of the runes, they likely belong to a medieval rune-row. A few small things can be remarked:

- The long-stem **s**-rune is used for 'c';
- The rune for 'd' is difficult to read due to the damage, and only a stem is visible. What remains of the top of the rune is suggestive of a branch on the left-hand side. A look at the short text confirms this theory, a dotted **t**-rune appears there for 'd'.
- The **k**-rune is used for 'q';
- A short-twig **s**-rune is used for 's' here; the rune ends in an exaggerated dot;
- The rune for 'x' here has the shape of an **h**-rune, again pointing to a West Norse origin;
- The final rune, for 'z', is unfortunately illegible; De Montfaucon's version shows an almost *yogh*-like z, which also appears in a number of insular manuscripts, such as Harley MS 3017 [1], Exeter 3507 [3], and Vitellius A. XII [5], which, remarkably, all contain Anglo-Saxon runes;

The runic text consists of two words, spelling out the name ***sanctus dionisius***. The runes provided in the alphabet and *fuþark* above the text are employed to form the text.

Context

The runes appear on the front page, which I suspect initially only contained the imagery of Christ and the four angels, which seems appropriate considering the religious contents of the codex. It was afterwards used for scribbling and a variety of notes, including the runic material. The page is severely damaged, so it is difficult to determine the contents of these writings. As far as I can see, none of the hands on the page are similar to the values or even the way in which the runic letters are drawn. This suggests that the runes were probably added at a later time. Since the runes refer to Saint Dionysius (d. ca. 250), it can be assumed that they were written

during the time the codex spent at St Denis in Paris, as the Latin form of Saint Denis is *Sanctus Dionysius/Dionisius*. It has been suggested that the codex was at St Denis around in the High Middle Ages, likely by the thirteenth century, but there is no certainty about when the codex arrived at the monastery. Based on the handwriting of the values, the runes were probably written around the twelfth or thirteenth century, but with so few characters legible it is difficult to draw conclusions with any certainty. It would appear that this material was added as some sort of elaborate ownership mark by a monk at St Denis, and should thus probably be considered within the French tradition of runic writing, together with the Scandinavian material produced at Fleury.

The wider context of the runes here consists of the biblical material written in Greek. Although there is likely no direct content-relation, Derolez rightly wonders whether the insertion of this runic ownership mark was prompted by the fact that the manuscript text was Greek, since Greek and runic alphabets are often found in conjunction. He notes that the coupling of the alphabets is found too often to exclude this possibility.[597]

31. MÜNCHEN, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, CLM 14436

Manuscript

CLM 14436 is interesting from a runological perspective because it contains evidence of three different runic traditions. It was partially written by Hartwic, who was a monk at the Abbey of St Emmeram in Regensburg, in the first quarter of the eleventh century.[598] The manuscript has mostly been studied as a source for (the history of) medieval science. It contains interlinear and marginal glossing. The contents are as follows:[599]

1. Fo. 1r: Seven alphabets, including **runic alphabets**; Rhetorical schemes;

[597] Derolez (1965), p. 37.
[598] Derolez (1954), p. 252.
[599] E. Klemm, *Die Ottonischen und Frühromanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), p. 38; Derolez (1954), pp. 252-53.

2. Ff. 1v-9v: *Rhetorica ad Herennium*;
3. Ff. 10r-13r: Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*;
4. Ff. 13r-32v: Macrobius, *Commentarii In Somnium Scipionis* (I, 1-14.20);
5. Ff. 32v-33v: *Epistolae Senecae et Pauli*, *Vita Senecae*;
6. Fo. 34r: Fragment on the quantity of syllables;
7. Fo. 32v: A text on metrics;
8. Ff. 35r-58r: Macrobius, *Commentarii In Somnium Scipionis* (I, 14.21 – II, 9);
9. Ff. 58v-61v: Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* (excerpts);
10. Fo. 61v: Catalogue of books;
11. Ff. 62r-66r: Boethius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen* (follows after ff. 67v-82v);
12. Fo. 67r: Empty;
13. Ff. 67v-82v: Boethius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen*;
14. Ff. 83r-108r: Continuation of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*;
15. Ff. 108v-112v: Iulius Severianus, *Praecepta Artis Rhetoricae*;
16. Ff. 112v-113r: Iulius Victor (?), *De Memoria*;
17. Fo. 113v: Finger calculus (after Bede, *De Temporum Ratione* 1,1);
18. Ff. 114r-115r: Gerbert, *De Numerorum Divisione*;
19. Ff. 115v-116v: Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, IV; Commentary on Gerbert's *Regula Abaci*;
20. Fo. 117r-v: Herigerus, *Regularum* (I);
21. Fo. 118r: Rhetorical fragment;
22. Ff. 118v-119r: Hartwic of St Emmenram, *Vita Emmerammi*.

Based on the colophon by Hartwic, it is clear that the manuscript was written in St Emmeram, yet the manuscript does not appear in its early library catalogues. It is recorded, however, in the Abbey's later catalogue written by the Prior and Librarian Dionysius Menger (d. 1530), dated to 1500/1501, under the shelfmark R 19. It was

moved to the Munich library in 1811.[600] Lattin notes that there is evidence of its use from early on: the monk Arnold, for instance, made the manuscript the basis of his verses on the *Miracles of St Emmeram* in the early eleventh century,[601] and in 1532 Johann Turmar (Aventius) (d. 1534) published fo. 113v (Bede) including the hand positions.[602]

Runic Material

The runic material can be found on fo. 1r, and is part of a series of alphabets organised in vertical rows, similar to St John's MS 17 [7], though less elaborate and ornamental. There are seven columns of characters, above each of which is written the name of the alphabet. From left to right, the names are: *Hebraice*, *Syriace*, *Ara*[...], *Egyptiace*, *Gothorum*, and *Chaldaice*. The third name is difficult to read, due to moisture damage, but it likely indicates that the alphabet is supposed to be Arabic. Of the first two the tops of the words are damaged as a consequence of cropping. These titles, are, however, mostly incorrect, since at least two runic alphabets and a number of rune-like characters can be observed (and no Arabic letters). The runes have been collected under the Syriac and Arabic nomers, so the second and third columns. Values are written to the left-hand side of the runes, and rune-names to their right. The runes are drawn carefully and neatly, though there appears to be some smudging in the second column, but that might be due to age or damage. A few remarks on the Syriac column:

[600] Klemm, p. 38.
[601] P. J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 158.
[602] H. P. Lattin, 'The Eleventh Century MS Munich 14436: Its Contribution to the History of Co-ordinates of Logic, of German Studies in France', *Isis*, 38, 3-4 (1948), 205-225, p. 209.



- The **ea**-rune has been used as 'e', though the rune-name is still *ear*, so it technically follows the acrophonic principle;

- The **f**-rune has an extra horizontal branch at the bottom of the stem;

- Two runes are given for 'i', one standard, and one 2/2 twig rune. The coded rune, if following the *Isruna* tract division used in Brussels MS 9565-9566 (9-9-10) [21], does indeed designate an **i**-rune. It is strange, however, that this is included in the alphabet, especially with the rune-name *calc*, which usually accompanies a **k**. That said, the shape also appears in St Gallen MS 878 [16] and in the 'special character' section of the Byland Bede [10].

- There are two characters for 'k', but neither is correct. The first appears to be a variant of the closed **j**-rune (the stem stops at the bottom of the circle), the second is like a Scandinavian **k**-rune but with an extraneous upward branch on the left side;

- The **m** is missing its descenders;

- The **œ**-rune is used for 'o', it has also been given the name *odil*, which usually corresponds with **œ**;

- The **p**-rune and the **q**-rune have been swapped;

- The **r** is oddly shaped: Derolez thinks the scribe started writing the **s**, but then realised his mistake and changed it to **r**;[603]

- The **x**-rune is correct but has rather large serifs, which make it look almost like an **ea**-rune;

[603] Derolez (1954), p. 256.

- The 'y' has received the rune-name *inc*, but the character is a stem with two diagonal cross-bars (which can be seen for *inc* in Brussels 9565-9566 [21] and St Gallen 270 [18] for instance). The choice of **ŋ** to fill the place of 'y' is not unique, it also occurs in L'Arsenal MS 1169 [26] for instance.

The shape of a number of the runes suggest that this material was copied from an *isruna* tract.[604] This is especially clear in the shape of the **g**, the **p** and **q** swap, and the odd shape of the **ŋ**, which only appears in the tract. Derolez also notes that the shape of 'x' is likely from a *De Inventione* alphabet.[605] The rune-names for this column are as follows: *ac, berg, cen, dorn, ear, feb, gebo, hagal, is, calc, ker, ki, lago, man, nod, odil, perd, qur, rat, sigo, tac, uur, elux, inc*. Most names occur frequently, except for *ki*, which may be an unfinished *kilc*.

The second column was likely copied from elsewhere and contains a number of different runes (or the same runes but with different values and rune-names):

- There are two runes for 'a' here: the first one is in fact an **æ** (with the correct rune-name for **æ**), while the second one is a **ġ**;
- Out of the two runes for 'b', the second one is correct, while the first looks rather like a Greek Π: Derolez thinks that this might be going back to a Swedish-Norwegian **b**-rune, but as this is not exactly a common shape that seems rather unlikely;[606]
- The closed **j**-rune is here used for 'd';
- The standard **j**-rune is used for 'e';
- The **f** is rather blotchy and unclear: whatever can be made of the shape seems unlikely to have been correct, however, though the rune-name appears in St Gallen 878 [16];

[604] Ibid., p. 254.
[605] Ibid., p. 262.
[606] Ibid., p. 257.

- The rune for 'g' is not entirely clear either, but seems to have an additional horizontal stroke;
- The **h** looks Scandinavian rather than Anglo-Saxon;
- The 'i' is not a known rune. Derolez suggests that the **ŋ**-rune might have been the prototype for this shape;[607]
- The 'k' is a gutteral **k**-rune here;
- 'l' has an additional small branch at the bottom;
- Two runes are given for 'n': it is possible that one is the reversed form, or that the first is a Scandinavian **a**-rune and the scribe became confused due to the similarity. The reversed form also appears for 'n' in Wien MS 1609 [22], suggesting that the possibility of reversal was known to scribes, or alternatively, that the confusion between the two forms had been perpetuated through copying;
- The **q** is missing its bottom branch;
- The **r** crosses the stem, creating a bow on the left side of the stem. A similar rune appears in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS aug. Perg. 254 [23];
- The shape used for 's' is a **p**-rune. It is drawn larger here than the correct **p**-rune higher up in the column, but the scribe is not exactly consistent with the size of the characters, so this is probably not significant;
- The 't' is represented by **l**;
- The rune used for 'x' is **j.**

A number of the runes here appear to stem from a *De Inventione* alphabet: most obviously, the shapes for **g**, **k**, and **r** were borrowed. The rune-names for this alphabet are *asc*, *caar*, *b<i>rca*, *berih*, *caon*, *doro*, *eor*, *feu*, *geuo*, *heil*, *ios*, *keir*, *lin*,

[607] Ibid., p. 258.

men, *naut*, *net*, *os*, *pern*, *quar*, *tir*, *sol*, *tau*, *ur*, *elx*. Some of these rune-names appear to have been borrowed from the Scandinavian tradition: *birca*, *caon*, *naut*, and *sol* clearly go back to the Norse *biarkan*, *kaun*, *nauþr*, and *sol*.[608]

Finally, the 'Alanic' alphabet also contains a number of runic or rune-like characters, but it appears to be a compilation of all the characters the scribe could not fit in his other alphabets. Although its runic value is limited it does reveal some information about the way the scribe treated the material. Most of the runic characters in this alphabet have some sort of similarity with the Roman alphabet. Adding to that the occasionally odd choices for letters (**ea** for 'e' and **æ** for 'a', for instance), it would seem that Hartwic avoided using the Roman-like runes, possibly stemming from a misconception that these were less 'runic' (which is odd, considering the names of the alphabets he provides).

It seems fair to conclude here that the collection of runic material presented in Munich CLM 14436 is eclectic, and likely stems from a combination of *manuscriptae runae*. It is possible that Hartwic had an extensive collection of runic manuscripts at his disposal, or that he (selectively) copied from a manuscript which was similar to St John's 17 [7]. Derolez adds that he must have had access to an alphabet similar to that of Munich MS 19410 [17], though there are too many differences for 19410 to actually have been his exemplar.[609]

Context

The runes in this manuscript are clearly part of an alphabet collection, and perhaps a larger language-related picture, considering the rhetorical schemes and writings on rhetoric on the page and subsequent folios. From the discussion of the runic material above, however, it has also become clear that the scribe was not a connoisseur by any means. The strange mixture of runes and rune-names and their identification as Syriac and Arabic makes this quite evident. The mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian material is interesting, because it suggests that the scribe had quite a

[608] Derolez (1965), p. 37.
[609] Derolez (1954), p. 262.

range of material available for his compilation. It must also mean that all of the possible alphabets, tracts, and *fuþorcs* were without any explanation or information, a situation which I think goes against the odds. As this catalogue has demonstrated, there are a number of alphabets which appear without a heading or information, but this is generally not the case for the *isruna* or *De Inventione Linguarum* treatises. Although, as Derolez says, it is possible that Hartwic merely provided a copy from elsewhere, the question of the origin of this material also applies for whoever wrote his exemplar.[610] One option is that Hartwic or his predecessor began copying an alphabet which had been given the wrong name, and then later on added from different alphabets and tracts, but decided against changing his earlier language identification, or forgot to do so.

The alphabet material is part of a scientific context, and is accompanied by astronomical content (Macrobius for instance) and natural history, as well as works on computus and rhetoric. It is possible that some of these works were imported via insular connections. Lattin writes that the Irish were well-acquainted with the works of Macrobius, and that Irish monks working in France were using them. Some of his works also appear in Bede's *Disputatio Praetexti et Hori*.[611] Additionally, there is also evidence that Sedulius Scottus, an Irishman named in connection with Liège and the runes in St Gallen, was familiar with this work. The scientific context for runic material can be seen elsewhere, and the appearance of Bede's work *De Temporum Ratione* is again common in the presence of runes.

Due to the colophon, it is fairly straightforward to determine the wider context of the runic material here. Derolez determined that the runic material was likely copied by Hartwic himself,[612] and though Bischoff does not mention the alphabet material specifically, he writes that this scribe was likely responsible for ff.

[610] Ibid., p. 263.
[611] Lattin, p. 212.
[612] Derolez (1954), p. 252.

1-33, and ff. 83-119.[613] Considering the wide variety of material included here, it is worth looking further into the background of its scribe. Hartwic, who worked at St Emmeram in Regensburg, had studied for some time in Chartres under the famous scholar Fulbert (d. 1029), and possibly also stayed in Reims. After his stay in France, he returned to Regensburg with several volumes of texts which he had collected during his travels.[614] Bischoff writes that the contents of CLM 14436 reflect the common study programme taught by the French schools at the time, and that part of the codex (ff. 34-82) was written by multiple hands which he determined to be tenth-century and Northern French. This agrees with Lattin's study of the codex, which demonstrates how it displays the results of the educational organisation effected by Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester II, d. 1003) at the Cathedral School of Reims.[615] One of the hands distinguished by Bischoff also shows insular, possibly Irish, influence. This hand also appears in CLM 14370, on fo. 43r for instance, which Bischoff deems to be connected with CLM 14436. [616] The latter part of CLM 14370 (from fo. 42 onwards) was also written in the North of France during the tenth century. The manuscript is of some interest, because it contains the *Epistolae ad Hincmarum* by Hrabanus Maurus, whose works appear with some frequency in *manuscriptae runae*.[617] It is plausible that part of CLM 14436 was written in France and acquired by Hartwic during his studies. He then brought it to St Emmeram and added material to it there.[618]

This raises an interesting question: where did Hartwic find his sources for the runic material? The evidence seems to point to Northern France, which had a runic tradition starting from the eighth century; this is further confirmed by the presence

[613] B. Bischoff, 'Litterarische und Künstlerische Leben in St. Emmeram' in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1967), 77-115, p. 82.
[614] Klemm, p. 39.
[615] Lattin, p. 205.
[616] Bischoff (1967), pp. 82-83.
[617] 'BSB-Hss Clm 14370', *MDZ/Digitale Biliothek*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00046557/images/index.html?id=00046557&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=127> [Accessed March 2017].
[618] Lattin, p. 212.

of the insular scribe and the connection with CLM 14370. Derolez also notes that some of the Gothic letters appearing in this manuscripts closely resemble letters in the three alphabets of the Fleury manuscript Bern MS 207 [11].[619] Furthermore, there is correspondence which demonstrates that Gerbert of Reims had a distinct interest in Macrobius, and Lattin determined that the list of books on fo. 61v did not pertain to the teaching at Chartres. The list is essentially a minimum reference list for teaching, almost identical to the one Gerbert must have used at Reims (based on the eleventh-century manuscripts kept at the Cathedral School in Reims).[620] The runes were likely written down in St Emmeram, however, as a number of elements (rune-names such as *ker*, or *caon* for instance) are suggestive of a German speaker (and perhaps meant for a German audience). This may be Hartwic's influence, or he may have taken his material from both French and German sources, making this a truly valuable runic manuscript.

32. WIEN, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, MS 1761

Manuscript

Wien MS 1761 (also known as Theologisca 863) is an encyclopaedic codex likely used for educational purposes. It is written in Latin, but contains Old High German and Old English in its many glosses. It has been dated to the middle of the eleventh century, but there is some uncertainty about its place of origin:[621] Derolez and Lapidge indicated an origin of Mondsee in Austria,[622] but Bischoff suggested that it may originate from Lorsch in Germany.[623] Hoffmann confirms this by pointing out that the main hand uses a script which is mirrored in the Oudalricus-peccator-group

[619] Derolez (1951), p. 16.
[620] Lattin, p. 223.
[621] 'Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1761', *Bibliotheca Laureshamenis Digital* <http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/onb_cod1761> [Accessed March 2017]
[622] Derolez (1954), p. 300; M. Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 15 (1986), 45-72, p. 72.
[623] B. Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik Beiheft (München: 1974), p. 134.

and the secondary hand in the older letter collection from Worms, both of which are eleventh-century and connected to Lorsch.[624] The codex thus was written by one main hand and added to by multiple hands: it comprises two originally independent manuscripts (ff. 1-63, and ff. 97-183) to which other items were added. The runic material appears to have been part of the original material. The contents are as follows:[625]

1. Ff. 1r-63r: Glosses on the Pentateuch;
    - Ff. 1r-2v: *In Hieronymi prologum in Pentateucho*;
    - Ff. 2v-27v: *In Genesim* (incomplete);
    - Ff. 27v-44v: *In Exodum*;
    - Ff. 45r-53v: *In Leviticum*;
    - Ff. 53v-59r: *In Numeros*;
    - Ff. 59v-63r: *In Deuteronomium*;
2. Ff. 64r-96r: Glosses on the Old Testament;
    - Ff. 64r-90v: *Commentarius in Deuteronomii* (XXXII-XXXIV);
    - Ff. 90v-91r: *In Hieronymi prologum in libro Iosue*;
    - Ff. 91v-92r: *In librum Iosue*;
    - Ff. 92r-96r: *In librum Iudicum*;
    - Fo. 96r: *In librum Ruth*;
3. Ff. 97r-125v: *Glossae rerum variorum*;
    - Fo. 97r-v: Martianus Capella, *De pronuntiatione litterarum* (III, 261);
    - Ff. 97v-105r: *De inventione linguarum* (incl. **runic alphabets**);
    - Ff. 105r-v: Alphabeta cryptographica;

[624] H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im Ottonische un Frühsalische Schreibschulen*, vol. 1, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften, 30.1 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1986), p. 223.
[625] 'Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1761', *Bibliotheca Laureshamenis Digital*.

- Ff. 105v-108r: Jerome, *De sensu mystico litterarum Hebraicarum* (30, 5-12);
- Ff. 108r: Isidore, *De tribus talentis* (*Etymologiae*, XVI, 25, 22);
- Fo. 108v: *De inventoribus*;
- Ff. 108v-109r: *De ventis*;
- Fo. 109r-v: *De mensibus*;
- Ff. 109v-110v: *De IV virtutibus principalibus*;
- Ff. 110v-112r: Medical recipes;
- Fo. 112r-v: Jerome, *De IV Mariis* (120,4,5);
- Fo. 112v: Isidore, *De X nominibus Dei* (*Etym*. VII, 1, 1-17);
- Ff. 112v-113r: Isidore, *De diis gentium* (*Etym*. VIII, 11, 1-2);
- Fo. 113r-v: Augustine, *De aedificatione templi* (*De Trinitate*, IV, 5, 9);
- Ff. 113v-114r: *Nomina Musarum*;
- Fo. 114r: Isidore, *De divisione musicae artis* (*Etym*. III, 19, 1)
- Ff. 114v-116v: *De cognatione*;
- Ff. 116v-117r: *De locis caritatis*;
- Fo. 117r-v: Explanations of *isagoga*, *natura*, *persona*, "*perihermeniae*", and *categoriis*;
- Fo. 117v: Isidore, *De opere sex dierum* (*Etym*. V, 39, 1);
- Fo. 118r-v: *De ornatu ecclesiae*;
- Fo. 118v: *De aedificiis*;
- Ff. 118v-119v: *De vasis*;
- Ff. 119v-120v: *De ferramentis*;
- Ff. 120v-121r: *De culturis terrae*;
- Fo. 121r-v: *De animalibus*;

- Ff. 121v-122v: *De vestimentis*;
- Fo. 122v: *De ornamentis mulieribus*;
- Ff. 123r-125v: Excerpts from Isidore, *Etymologiae*;

4. Ff. 126r-183v: Glosses to the Old Testament;

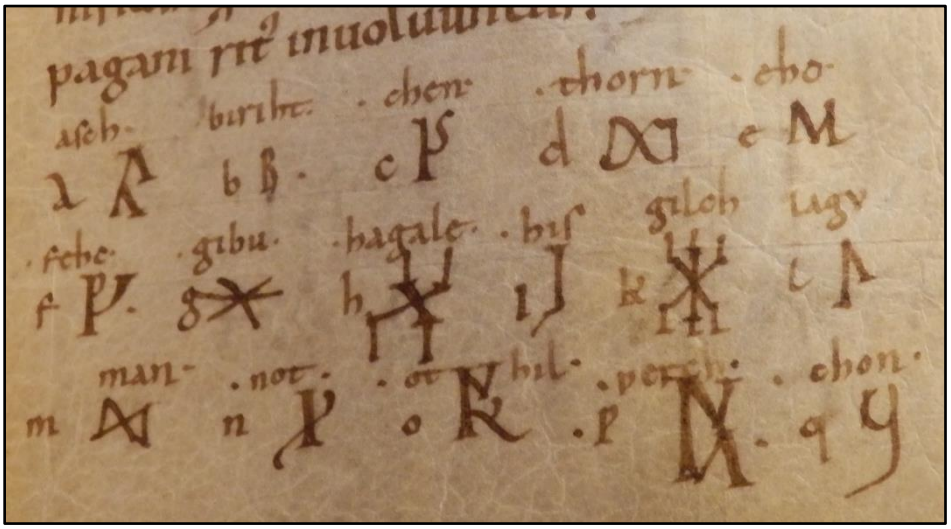
- Ff. 126r-164r: *In librum Regnum* (I-IV);
- Ff. 164r-168r: *In librum Paralipomenon* (I-II);
- Ff. 168r-v: *In Hieronymi prologum in libris Salomonis*;
- Ff. 168v-176v: *In Proverbia*;
- Ff. 176v-177v: *In Ecclesiastes*;
- Ff. 177v-181r: *In Canticum canticorum*;
- Ff. 181r-183v: *In Sapientiam*;

5. Ff. 184r-214v: Glosses to the New Testament;
6. Ff. 214v-216v: Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* (I, 14-23);
7. Ff. 217r-2413v: Glosses to the Psalms, Hebrews, and Apocalypse.

Not much is known for certain about the provenance of the manuscript until the seventeenth century. The ownership mark on fo. 1r *Ex libris Sebastiani Tengnagel, I. V. D. et Caes Biblioth*. shows that it was owned by Sebastian Tengnagel (d. 1636), who was prefect of the Imperial Library in Vienna from 1608 until 1636.[626] Steinmeyer notes that the binding is suggestive of Mondsee. As this binding is dated to the fifteenth century, it is possible that the codex was in possession of the monastery around that time.[627]

[626] Derolez (1954), p. 299.
[627] E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen*, vol. 4 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1898), p. 643.

Runic Material



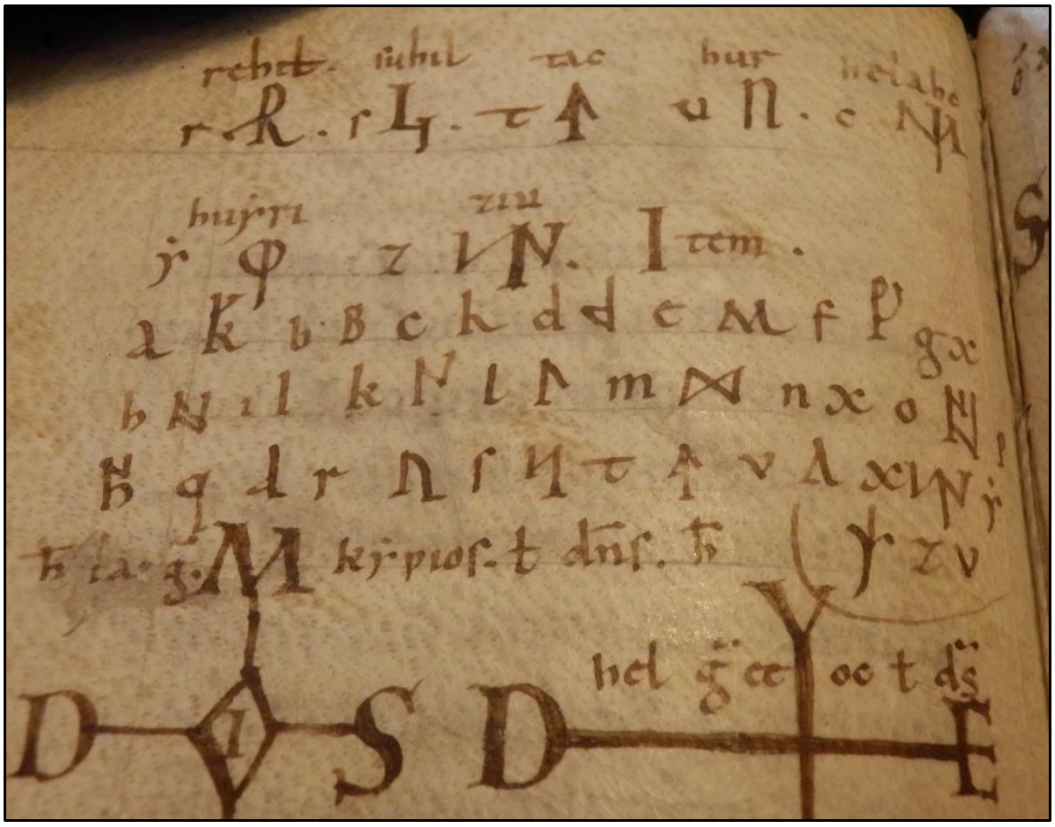
Codex 1761 contains two Anglo-Saxon runic alphabets of twenty-three runes, one as part of the *De Inventione Linguarum* tract with an introductory text, and a second following this alphabet, containing a number of different rune-forms. They appear on fo. 100r-v. The first alphabet has been given rune-names above and transliterations on the left, while the second only has values on the left of the characters. The runes differ between the two alphabets: the *Inventione* runes look irregular, and are drawn in a nonchalant fashion. The sizes of the runes differ significantly within the alphabet. The rune-names and some of the runes are separated by dots. The second alphabet, which appears to have been added as a variant of the first, indicated by *Item*, does not have the same sharpness as the first and almost blends in with the transliterations, which may be due to being fitted into a tighter space. The shapes are much more consistent, though the runes still differ in size (see for instance the **a**-rune, **f**-rune, **o**-rune, and **s**-rune). The scribe apparently miscalculated the space he would need for his alphabet, and added the final three characters at the bottom right-hand side, below the third line. He added a curved line to separate this material from the diagrams below. The shapes of the *Inventione* are discussed first here:

- The Scandinavian **k**-rune again appears for ‘c’;
- The **d**-rune is missing its ascenders and descenders;
- The first branch of the **f**-rune is closed, creating a bow;

- The **g**-rune is again a horizontal **j**-rune;
- The rune for ‘h’ is overly elaborate, and has additional branches at the end of the stems. It is unclear here whether this form is based on the **j**-rune or the **ġ**;
- The **o**-rune looks like it was initially written as an **a**-rune, but then corrected by the addition of a slight upwards slant in the middle of the bottom descender. A similar correction appears in Wien, MS 1010 [38], but none of the other ideosyncrasies of that alphabet appear here, eliminating the idea of copying;
- The rune for ‘k’ is a gutteral **ḳ**;
- The character for ‘q’ is not a rune, but appears to be an elaborate version of a Roman **q** (but not closed at the top);
- The top branch of the **r** forms the pocket, but then crosses the stem unnecessarily;
- After ‘u’ follows a rune commonly found in this type of alphabet, an elaborate **x**-rune, but it is transliterated ‘c’ here, which not only does not make sense alphabetically, but this transliteration has not appeared elsewhere;
- The ‘y’ looks like a Greek letter *phi*;
- The alphabet ends with a correct **ea**-rune, which has been transliterated as ‘z’.

The rune-names are as follows: *asch*, *biriht*, *chen*, *thorn*, *eho*, *fehc*, *gibu*, *hagale*, *his*, *giloh*, *lagu*, *man*, *not*, *othil*, *perch*, *chon*, *rehit*, *suhil*, *tac*, *hur*, *helahe*, *huyri*, *ziu*. The misspelled *fehc* (which should be *fech*) also appears in Wien MS 1010 [38], but a number of the other odd forms such as *helahe*, *huyri*, and *suhil* are unique to this manuscript. Additionally, a few of the names appear in the wrong places: *helahe* appears with the transliteration ‘c’, *huyri* accompanies ‘y’, *giloh* is the rune-name for ‘k’ here, and ‘q’ and *chon* are again partnered.

Fewer odd forms appear in the second alphabet, but some of the runes are missing and have been replaced by Roman letters:



- The corrected **o**-rune from the first alphabet is here also used for ‘a’;
- The Scandinavian **k**-rune for ‘c’ is repeated;
- The rune for ‘d’ is the Latin letter again, but with a more angular bow;
- The **f** again has the extraneous loop on the main stave at the top;
- The **m** is missing its descenders;
- The **n**-rune is not provided, and a Roman x is written instead;
- After the **p**-rune, three Roman letters appear, q, d, and r, which have no accompanying runes;
- Two **u**-runes appear, the first following the Roman ‘r’ transliteration, the second in the correct spot in the sequence. Derolez thinks that the first **u** here is the representation of the ‘r’, noting the Dahmsdorf and Britsum inscriptions as evidence. I have not encountered any ‘open’ **r**-runes in

runic manuscripts, and this rune is clearly a **u**-rune here. It seems more likely to be a mistake than a reference to epigraphy;

- 'x' is represented by an **ea**-rune;
- 'y' is represented by an **x**-rune;
- 'z' again does not get a rune, but a Roman letter v.

Context

The context for the first alphabet is the usual *De Inventione* text, while the second alphabet is introduced by the word *Item*, which establishes the connection between them. The text is fairly standard and reads as follows:

> Litteras quippe quas utuntur / Marcomanni . quos nos nordman/nos vocamus infra scriptas haben/tur. a quibus originem. qui theo/discam locuntur lingua tradunt / cum quibus carmina sua . incan/tationesque ac divinationes sig/nificare procurant. quia adhuc / pagam ritu involuuntur.[628]

The runic alphabets appear near the end of the tract, and are preceded by two Greek alphabets, a Hebrew alphabet, a Latin alphabet, and Aethicus Ister's alphabet, all with names and equivalents. The runes are followed by monograms of various names (ff. 100v-102r), the Caesar cipher with an accompanying text (fo. 104r-v), a key for cryptic writing based on Greek figures (fo. 105r), and finally a ficticious cryptic alphabet and another key for cryptic writing.[629] Bischoff comments on this that the cryptography following the runes is of a similar type to the material associated with Dubthach and his cryptogram (see Brussel, MS 9565-9566 [21]).[630] The *De Inventione* tract is also more extensive than the others examined in this catalogue. On the basis of the second runic alphabet, it seems likely that the scribe added material to the tract which he considered related or useful in this context.

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[628] 'The letters which are used by the Marcomanni, which we call the Northmen, are written below. From them descend those who speak *Theodisc*, and with these they signify their songs, incantantions, and divinations, to take care of the pagan rituals with which they surround themselves'. (My translation).
[629] Derolez (1954), pp. 301-02.
[630] B. Bischoff, 'Das Griechische im Abenländischen Mittelalter' in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1967), 246-75, p. 258.

It is difficult to be certain due to differences in size and the difficulties with comparing different alphabets, but there is little consistency in the tract, almost as if one scribe wrote the texts, and another added in the alphabet material. This would also explain why there is so often a lack of space, and why the texts are very neat and orderly while the characters in the alphabets are inconsistent and appear rather nonchalant. The text on the Caesarian cipher, however, is clearly written by a different hand than the alphabet texts. This fits with the wider context of this material, since the manuscript was a collection of material for educational purposes, and multiple hands (teachers?) may have added to the collection. Some of the incoherence in the treatise may be explained by bad planning on the part of the scribe. The association with cryptography is, however, interesting, even if the material was added at a later time.

33. CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, CODEX URBINAS LATINUS MS 290

Manuscript

This manuscript is known for containing the *annales Brunwilarenses*, and once belonged to the Abbey of St Nicholas in Braunweiler near Cologne.[631] It is a teacher's compendium with material for the different parts of the Quadrivium education.[632] There is some discussion surrounding the dating: Derolez writes that the runes are contemporary with their surroundings, which are dated between 988 and 1028, based on the Easter tables on ff. 7v-12v. The Vatican Library Manuscript Catalogue, however, notes a date of 1001-1300 for the manuscript,[633] while Lapidge and Baker go for a late eleventh-century date, and Kottje for the late tenth to eleventh

[631] Derolez (1954), p. 106.
[632] A. von Euw, 'Sammelhandschrift mit astronomisch-astrologischen Texten, Annalen der Benediktinerabtei Brauweiler' in *Für Königtum und Himmelreich: 1000 Jahre Bischof Meinwerk von Paderborn* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2009), 428-29, p. 428.
[633] 'Urb. Lat. 290', *Manuscripts Catalogue*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana <http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.290 > [Accessed August 2017].

century.[634] Most recently, Von Euw and Borst give the date for this manuscript as the second half of the eleventh century.[635] This confusion may be due to the composite nature of the codex and the presence of multiple hands. Contents are as follows:[636]

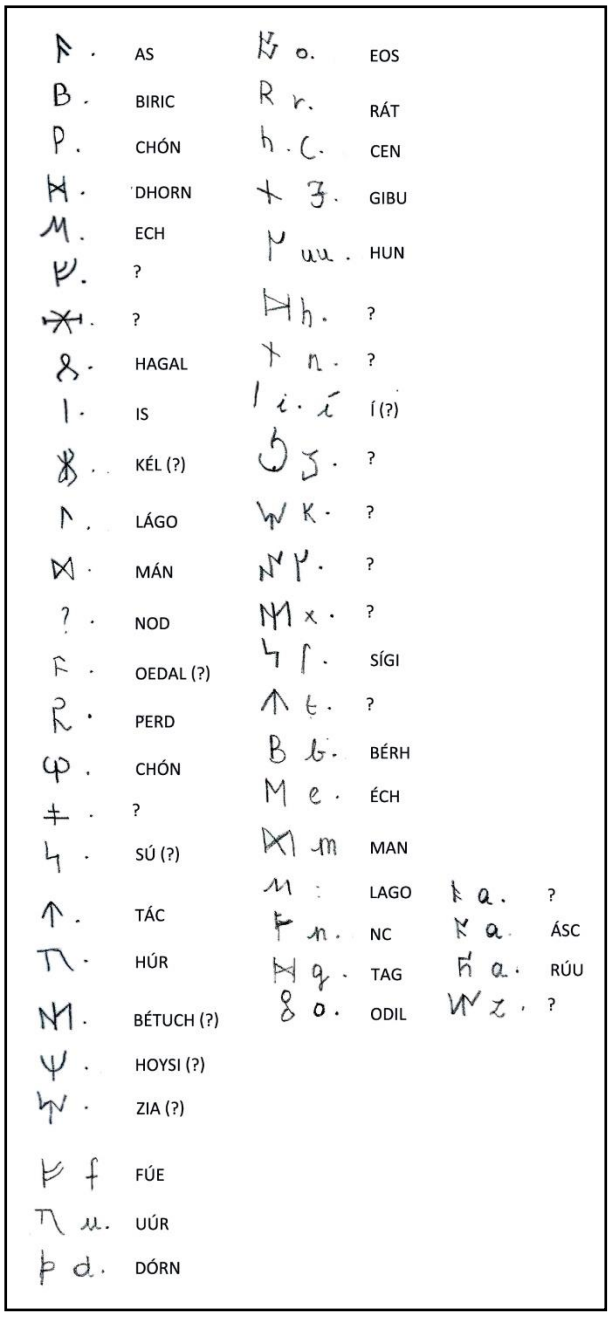
1. Ff. 1v-2r: Bede, *Computus vulgaris qui dicitur ephemeris*;
2. Ff. 2v: Pythagoras, *Ratio Spere* – Latin interpretation by Apuleius;
3. Ff. 3r: *Epistula Pitosiris ad Necepsum*;
4. Ff. 3v-4v: Fannius Rhennius, *De ponderibus et mensuris*;
5. Ff. 7r-10r: Tables of the *Cycli decemnovennales* with annalistic notations referring to Braunweiler;
6. Ff. 12v-29r: Hermann von Reichenau (?), *Computus*;
7. Ff. 29v-32r: Bede, *De Temporum Ratione* (I);
8. Ff. 32r-51r: Verses on the months, zodiac signs and days of the week;
9. Ff. 51v-62: Helpericus of Auxerre (or Abbo), *Computus*;
10. Ff. 62v-63v: Astronomical excerpts;
11. Ff. 64-71r: Dionysiac cycles with annalistic notes referring to Braunweiler;
12. Fo. 71v: Alphabets (including **runes**), numerals.

It is unclear how the manuscript arrived in Italy, but the codex was first catalogued in the Urbinate collection under the shelfmark 288.[637] The binding is stamped with gold ornaments and the arms of Pope Pius VI and Cardinal-Bibliothecary F. X. de Zelada and indicates that the codex was in the Vatican in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[638]

[634] M. Lapidge and P. S. Baker, 'More Acrostic Verse by Abbo of Fleury', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 7 (1997), 1-27, p. 3.
[635] von Euw, p. 428; Borst, p. 309.
[636] 'Urb. Lat. 290', *Manuscripts Catalogue*; Derolez (1954), pp. 106-07; von Euw, pp. 428-29.
[637] Derolez (1954), p. 106.
[638] Ibid.

Runic Material

The runic material in this manuscript can be found on the final folio of the manuscript, fo. 71v. The fifty-three runes are written in two columns on the right-hand side of the page, and in the middle of the page two sections of an *isruna* tract appear: *isruna* and *hagalruna*. The runes are Anglo-Saxon, and appear alphabetically in the first column, and in the *fuþorc* sequence in the second (most right-hand side). The tract here does not follow the usual horizontal structure and no divisions are visible within the rune-row, which makes it unclear if the runes serve as example material, though it is likely. The main problem here, however, is that the page contains a large number of alphabets, which makes the whole chaotic and difficult to read. Added to that is the fact that the page has been rubbed quite severely, especially on the right-hand side, with very faint runes and rune-names as a consequence. The text on the preceding page has become also visible over time (potentially due to moisture), further complicating the reading. For this reason, I have also supplied a drawing of the runes.



The runes are written in red ink, while the rune-names and *isruna* tract are written in the brown ink used throughout most of the page. The use of red ink is interesting, as elsewhere in the manuscript it is used to write capitals and rubricate headings, and thus draw the eye to certain places. This is common practice, but, as in Gent 306 [20], suggests that the runes (and the values for the *fuþorc*) were meant to stand out in some way. There is some use of red ink on the page, but since it is mostly used to rubricate headings, the runic letters stand out more clearly. The *isruna* tract is written larger than the surrounding material, but the hand looks similar to the one responsible for the Greek material. The handwriting of the alphabet and rune-row is difficult to distinguish due to the damage to the manuscript, but it appears to be the same hand.

The alphabet and *fuþorc* are not neatly divided as in St Gallen MS 270: after the alphabet finishes three more characters from the *fuþorc* appear before it continues in a second column. Remarkably, there are also differences in shapes and rune-names between the two collections of runes. This may partly be due to problems with legibility. The alphabet does not contain any transliterations, presumably because the reader is supposed to know the sequence of the Roman

alphabet, but is given rune-names, while the *fuþorc* is given both. The alphabet contains a number of odd shapes and incorrect transliterations; they are as follows:

- A *wynn* is given for 'c';
- A tilted **j**-rune is given for 'g';
- The rune-name *hagal* appears next to the **œ**-rune;
- The form for 'k' is odd and probably intended to be **ᛕ**, but poorly executed;
- The rune for 'm' is missing its descenders;
- The rune for 'q' appears to be an **ea**-rune, though Massmann thinks there is only one upwards branch here;[639] it is also given the rune-name *chon*;
- The rune in the position of 'r' is obscure, and only two branches crossing a stem horizontally can be derived from the shape. Massmann suggests one curving branch crossing the stem at the top and bottom;[640]
- The final three runes of the alphabet all appear to be variations on the **ea** or **x**-rune, though Massmann gives two different shapes for the rune-names *beluch*/*heluch* and *hoysi*.

The rune-names here, as far as they are legible (and supplemented by other scholars' readings),[641] are as follows: *as*, *biric*, *chon*, *dhorn*, *ech*, *fech*(?), *gibu*, *hagal*, *is*, *kel/kel*, *lago*, *man*, *noth*, *othil*, *perc*, *chon*, *reh*(t), *sugil*, *tac*, *hur*, *beluch*/*heluch*, *hoysi*, *zia*. *Kel/kol* and *hoysi* are unique forms, but could potentially be misspellings of *kalc,* or *kilc* and *huyri*. However, these forms are most common in the *De Inventione* alphabets, and do not appear in any other *isruna* treatises.

A few notes on the second alphabet:

- The **w**-rune is not closed at the top;

[639] H. F. Massmann, 'Runen aus Rom und Wien', *Germania* 16 (1871), 253-58, p. 255.
[640] Ibid.
[641] Derolez (1954), p. 319.

- The value 'g' is given to a rune which looks a lot like an **n**-rune, though both Derolez and Massmann think the slanting stroke is longer than usual. [642] There is no **n**-rune in the rune-row, however, so this may just be a mistake;
- The **h**-rune is correct but a little distorted, though this may be due to damage;
- The closed **j**-rune appears again, but the stem does not cross the circle at the bottom. The value here is 'g';
- The 'k' value accompanies an **ea**-rune, though Derolez thinks it may be a *yogh* here, which I do not see;[643]
- Two types of **p** appear to be given, one with the bottom branch pointing towards the left instead of the right (a form which appears elsewhere in *manuscriptae runae*) and a standard form missing the bottom branch;
- The **x**-rune has been given two additional branches;
- The **l**-rune looks like a Roman capital R;
- The **d**-rune is given the value 'g', but this may be due to later retouching;
- The rune in the place of **œ** appears to be a minuscule g;
- 'q' is given a correct **p**-rune;
- 'z' is represented by the **ea**-rune.

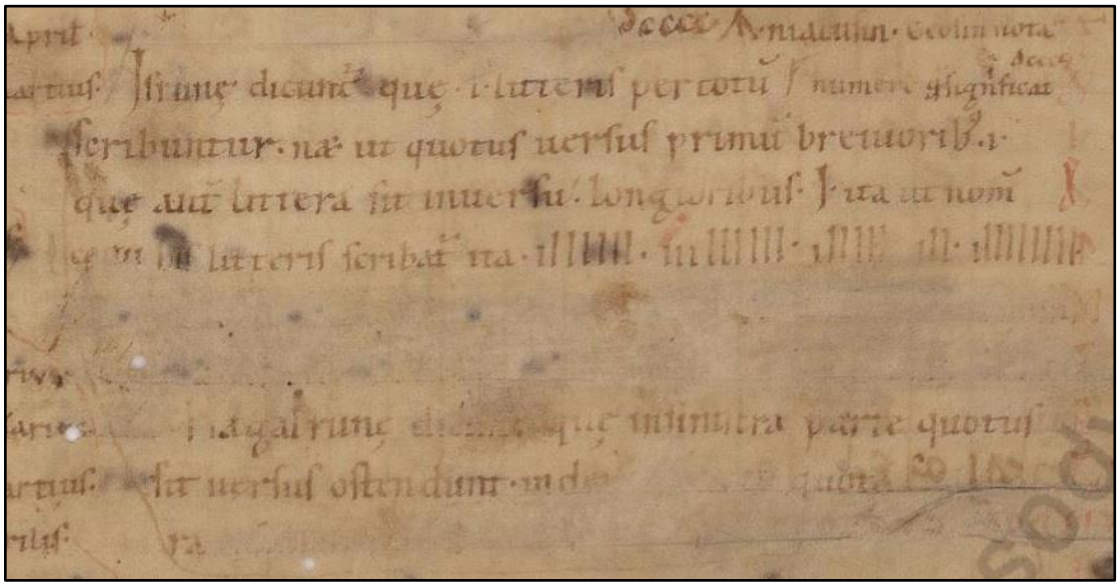
The runes from **l** onwards seem to have been touched up by a later hand, though not always correctly. The final rune, however, seems to have escaped this fate for some reason, despite being quite faint. The rune-names are as follows: *fue, uor, dorn, eos, rat, cen, gibu, hun, haga, nol* (?), *iis, gar* (?), *kan* (?), *peod, xelux* (?), *sigi, tu, berh, ech, man, lago, nc, tag, odil, asc, ruu*, *aer*. Many of the rune-names in the middle of the rune-row are difficult to read, so there is little point in commenting on their spelling here. Interesting rune-names are *nc*, however, and *ru[u]*, which are difficult

[642] Ibid.; Derolez (1954), p. 110.
[643] Derolez (1954), p. 110.

to connect with any of the known rune-names. Perhaps *nc* was intended to be *nod*, but part of the word was damaged or forgotten by the scribe?

Based on this information it would seem that the runic alphabet and the *fuþorc* were taken from two different sources. Whether the intention was to demonstrate the possible variations, or if it was merely a consequence of ignorance on the part of the rune-scribe, is unclear. The scribe clearly recognised the similarities between the groups of runes, or he would not have put these together, but it is not obvious how much of the material he actually understood. This is stressed by the fact that the rune-names and values often do not correspond.

Context



The contextual material is extensive here, due to the presence of both a *De Inventione Linguarum* text as well as part of an *isruna* tract. The text of the *isruna* tract is similar to those found in other *manuscriptae runae*, with a few small differences, and part of the *hahalruna* section erased. It is unclear why the erasure happened, but it seems unlikely that the text extended much further. It probably only contained the rest of the *hahalruna* text and perhaps the example as well. The texts are as follows:

> Iisruna dicuntur quae .i. litteris per totum scribuntur; n& ut quotus uersus primum breuioribus .i. quae autem littera sit in uersu longioribus .i. ita ut nomen / quae his litteris scribatur ita.[644] i. IIIIII. iii. IIIIII. i. IIIII. i. II. i. IIIIIIII. Hagalrune dicuntur quae in sinistra parta quotus/ sit uersus ostendunt. in dex[tera] […] quota […]/ ra […].[645]

The example given for the *isruna* section is different from the one which is usually provided, which is 1/6 3/8 1/5 1/2 2/3. The 3/8 gives **œ** instead of **o**, which can also be seen in the five cryptograms of the Trier MS 61 [35] manuscript. This implies that the first two runes of the third *ætt* have been added to the second *ætt*, which means that the code is based on an 8:10:10 subdivision. Derolez thinks that the similiarity with the Trier manuscript can also explain the 1/8, which gives 'uu' or 'w'. In Trier 61 the example reads *coruus* not *corui* as seen previously. It is thus possible that the scribe here tried to emulate that, but forgot to add the **s**-rune, or conflated Trier's 1/2 and 2/8 codes.[646] It is also interesting that the text is here called *hagalruna* instead of the more common *hahalruna*, this is likely due to the rune-name.

The material from the *De Inventione Linguarum* treatise is what makes this manuscript special as a *manuscriptum runicum*. It appears on the right-hand side of the manuscript and is squeezed next to a Greek alphabet. The text goes as follows:

> Literas sequentes cum minio colore nota/te nordmanni in suis usitant/ carminubus & vocantur apud eos/ rune. Sunt autem nonnulli qui opi/nantur quod quando gothi &/ uuandali gentes de finibus/ nordmannorum egredientes/ per germaniam & italiam ad/ mare uenientes perque illud/ transuecti in affrica consiste/bant. crescente apud eos christi/ ana religione. christiani ex parte/ effecti. doctores eorum tam nouum/ quam uetus

[644] 'They are called *isruna*, whereby .i. character is written for the whole; [and] in that manner [indicates] which number of line it would be. The first one is the shorter .i., whereby the following letter in the line is written longer .I. It is in this way that the name is written using these characters.' (My translation).
[645] 'They are called *hahalruna*, where in the left part the number of the line is indicated. in the right which number [of the letter][…].' (My translation).
[646] Ibid., p. 112.

testamentum in suam/ linguam hoc in theotiscam uel / in theotonicam conuerterunt / cum istis litteRiS.[647]

This text is more extensive than the usual explanatory text on runes. It presents two elements: the first, like the more common text, attributes the Anglo-Saxon runes to the Northmen, and the second appears to be discussing the Gothic alphabet, noting that the script used for the translation of the Old Testament was runic. This passage is unparalleled in any other *De Inventione* text, and explains the migrations and settlement of the Goths and Vandals. It even references the translation of the Bible, and is thus clearly aimed at explaining the Gothic alphabet. Bishop Wulfila is not mentioned by name, however, despite his status as the inventor of the alphabet.[648] This is remarkable, since this fact is mentioned by well-known scholars such as Isidore and Cassiodorus,[649] who may have provided the information for this passage. Perhaps the *doctores* here is an indirect reference to this scholarship?

The runes and their associated material appear in a clearly alphabet-rich environment. On fo. 71v three Greek alphabets appear, the first with the names of the letters and their numeral values in Roman figures, the second with Greek numerals and their numerical value in Roman, and the third running over two columns, followed by a short text from *De Inventione* on the Greek letters. There is also a pseudo-Greek alphabet with the names of the letters and their Latin equivalents, and on the left-hand side of the page the months appear in Hebrew and Greek (the passages are entitled *De mensibus Hebreorum*, and *De mensibus Graecorum*). A later hand added another Greek alphabet with majuscule and minuscule forms with the names and letters in medieval Greek. Derolez notes that

[647] The following letters written with red colour are used by the Northmen in their songs and called runes by them. There are some who believe that when the Gothic and Vandal people went from the the frontiers of the Northmen and came via Germany and Italy to the sea, they carried this [alphabet] across to halt in Africa. Among them Christianity came into being, from which [part] Christians were produced. Their learned men then translated the new and old testament into their language, so into *Theodisc* or *Theotonic*, with these letters.
[648] Lendinara (1992), p. 222.
[649] Ibid., pp. 219-20.

the order is disturbed and a number of the letters are missing.[650] At the bottom of the page the stamp of the Biblioteca Apostolica can be seen.

The wider context of the manuscript appears to be one of medieval science: it contains works on computus, astrology, astronomy, philosophy, paschal cycles, as well as a number of annalistic notes related to Braunweiler. Bede appears, as well as texts written by scholars from St Gallen and Reichenau, known centres for the production of runic texts. Additionally, this manuscript contains a copy of Abbo's *Computus* on fo. 1r.[651] Obviously, there are a number of copies of this work which do not contain runes, but considering Fleury's early interest in runes and Abbo's dealings with the material, the runic knowledge may well have travelled with this work.

34. PARIS, BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, MS LATIN 9666

Manuscript

This manuscript has been dated to the eleventh century (1051-81), and was written in Latin at the Benedictine Abbey of Echternach (diocese of Trier) during the abbacy of Regimbert, as indicated by a note on fo. 1v, which also reveals the names of the two scribes: '*Regimberto abbati Rauangero quoque et Ereboni scriptoribus requies aeterna donetur Amen Si quis abstulerit Anathema sit Amen*'.[652] Avril and Rabel write that though most of the manuscript is written by these two principal scribes, ff. 38-39 are written by a third hand similar to Ravangerus's, and whose writing resembles that of the hand responsible for the Uppsala Gospels (Bibl. Univ. Cod. C 93).[653] The

[650] Derolez (1954), p. 108.
[651] Lapidge and Baker, p. 3.
[652] F. Avril and C. Rabel, *Manuscrits Enluminés d'Origine Germanique*, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1995), pp. 38-39. 'Bestow eternal rest on the Abbot Regimbert and on the scribes Ravangerus and Erebonus. Amen. May he who steals [this book] be cursed. Amen.' (My translation).
[653] Avril and Rabel, p. 39. This codex dates to between 1051-56 and was also written at Echternach (M. Hedlund, *Katalog der Datierten Handschriften in Lateinischer Schrift vor 1600 in Schweden*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977), p. 13.

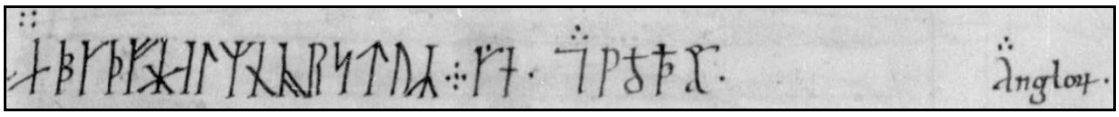
manuscript is best known for containing the Roman history by Orosius. The contents are as follows:[654]

1. Ff. 1v-170v: Orosius, *Historiae Adversus Paganos*;
2. Ff. 171r-179v: Isidore, *Chronica Maiora*;
3. Ff. 180r-181r: *Versus De Provinciis Partium Mundi*;
4. Fo. 181r: **Runic alphabet**.

The manuscript likely remained in Echternach until at least the early sixteenth century. Flamagne dated the Echternach mark of ownership and summary of contents starting with '*Continet'* on fo. 1r to ca. 1506-1508,[655] though Liebaert dates it to the thirteenth century.[656] Afterwards it was in the hands of Jean-Baptiste Maugerard (1815), a Benedictine monk at the monastery in Verdun who worked as a librarian, historian, and bibliographer, in the late eighteenth – early nineteenth century.[657] He collected eighty-six manuscripts from Echternach and Orbais in the literary depot in Luxemburg, which were confiscated by the French in 1802 and sent to the French National Library.[658] It then became part of the Département des Manuscrits et Archives Modernes and was numbered 497, before receiving its current shelfmark.[659]

[654] L. B. Mortensen, 'The Diffusion of Roman Histories in the Middle Ages: A List of Orosius, Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, and Landolfus Sagax Manuscripts', *Filologia Mediolatina*, 6-7 (2000), 101-200, p. 143.
[655] T. Falmagne, 'Trier, Cataloguer et Interpréter les Fragments Médiévaux', *Das Mittelalter,* 14.2 (2009), 57-69, p. 58.
[656] P. Liebaert, 'Notice Sur 43 Manuscits d'Echternach Conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', *Hémecht*, 37.1 (1985), 53-73, p. 60-61.
[657] 'Jean Baptiste Maugerard (1735-1815)', *Digital Reference Catalogue*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France <http://data.bnf.fr/10697870/jean_baptiste_maugerard/> [Accessed February 2017].
[658] Falmagne, p. 58.
[659] 'Latin 9666', *Archives et Manuscrits*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc77656b> [Accessed February 2017].

Runic Material



The runic material here is a Scandinavian alphabet at the end of the manuscript, on fo. 181r. It is written two lines below the end of the main text *Versus De Provinciis Partium Mundi* by what appears to be a contemporary hand. The sequence appears to be alphabetical, but some characters are missing, and two have been separated, likely due to the fact that they are dotted. The sequence can be tranliterated as follows: **ɑ b k þ f h i l m n o r s t u ʀ ⁘ g e**. There are no outright mistakes in the alphabet, except for the odd sequence and absences, but the runes do appear rather elongated. This is mostly visible in the **b**-rune, where the stem is overlong. The way the **o** is drawn and the use of ᛦ for 'y' are interesting here. Derolez remarks that although Jacobsen and Moltke write that the use of **R** for 'y' is typical of the fourth period (after 1100), the handwriting of the codex, including the marginal annotations accompanying the runes, can hardly be of a much later date.[660] Another reason not to date the material much later is the shape of the **o**-rune, the direction of whose branches are more reminiscent of the younger *fuþark* than the medieval one. Similarly, the **t** also has both of its branches. Though it is difficult to estimate the significance of the **R**-rune for 'y' here, it is possible that this alphabet is evidence of the transition from younger *fuþark* to medieval, which fits well with its eleventh-century dating.

The marginal notations are of interest here as well. Above the first character of the alphabet, four dots have been written. These dots seem to function as an asterisk and refer to a text written in the left margin, which says *Danorum*. In the right-hand margin a similar note appears which says *Anglorum*. This note also has a three-dot reference mark, which refers to the five characters following the runic alphabet, separated from it by a dot on each side. These five characters are typical of insular writing: the tironian nota, *wynn*, *eth*, the abbreviaton for *þæt*, and ligature a

[660] Derolez (1965), p. 36.

and e (æ). Derolez points out that the presence of these characters and the way in which they have been appended to the runic alphabet are similar to the procedures used by English alphabetisers.[661] The separation and inclusion of 'odd' characters is indeed quite common, but the listing of these characters in conjunction with a Scandinavian runic alphabet is also strongly reminiscent of the Yorkshire manuscript, the Byland Bede [10]. These notes are the only encyclopaedic material included here, as no rune-names or values are included.

The use of these dots as reference marks is unusual. Although the separation mark between the dotted and undotted runes is commonly used, mostly in epigraphy, the asterisk-like dots are almost like the *notae Bonifatii*. I have not seen them used elsewhere in runic manuscripts, but they may just be a play on the five dot cross used as a separator for the runes. The separation of the insular characters with single dots on the other hand is very common, as this method is used in manuscripts to separate runes and numbers from the body of the (Roman) text (as in the Old English literary *manuscriptae runae*) and in many alphabets to separate values and/or runes.

Context

Aside from the notes and the insular characters on either side of the alphabet, not much of the immediate context here appears relevant to the runes. They were written at the end of the main text, and are followed by two lines in a later, Gothic Textura hand.

> Tam anno domini 1444 stetit mundus . 6641 annos. Et iste liber habet .719 Annos post dictaminis sui complectionem.[662]

The text appears to note its binding in 1444, though it notes the date of composition as 725, which seems unlikely. Avril and Rabel also found an erased ex-

[661] Ibid., p. 36.
[662] 'In the year of the Lord 1444 the world has stood for 6641 years. And this book has been sewn 719 years after its composition'. (My translation).

libris mark from St Willibrord, which is legible under UV light and appears underneath the runes.[663] St Willibrord was the patron saint of Echternach.

This codex contains texts by Orosius and Isidore, which also occur in other runic manuscripts. This specific Isidore text, however, is not one which has appeared in conjunction with runes elsewhere, though his name and association with alphabets may be enough for the connection. Orosius's text also appears as a background to runic writing in two English manuscripts: Stowe MS 57 [9] and Additional MS 47967. Of these two, Stowe also contains Scandinavian runes.

Derolez notes on this alphabet that transmission via England seems to be implied, though without giving any reason for this statement.[664] The presence of the insular characters does seem to be indicative of this, but the scribe may have found these elsewhere, considering the popularity of insular scribes and scriptoria in the Middle Ages. The contents are not specifically connected with the British Isles either: Orosius gives some information on their geography and history (in connection to the Romans) which was used by Bede in his *Historia*, but Britain is in no way the focus of his work.[665] There does, however, appear to be a historical connection between Echternach and England (and perhaps also Ireland). Most obvious is the connection with Willibrord, a native Northumbrian and emigré to Ireland who travelled to the Continent in 690 with eleven companions to convert the Frisians, and founded the monastery of Echternach between 697 and 698.[666] Netzer also demonstrates that the connections with the insular world continue after the first production of manuscripts into the eighth century, especially with the monastery at Lindisfarne, as evidenced by for instance the Maaseik, Trier, and Freiburg Gospels.[667] Throughout

[663] Avril and Rabel, p. 39.
[664] Derolez (1965), p. 36.
[665] D. Scully, 'Bede, Orosius and Gildas on the Early History of Britain' in *Bède le Vénérable*, ed. by S. Lebecq, M. Perrin, O. Szerwiniak (Villeneuve: Institut de Recherches Historiques du Septentrion, 2005), 31-42, p. 31.
[666] N. Netzer, 'Willibrord's Scriptorium at Echternach and Its Relationship to Ireland and Lindisfarne' in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. by G. Bonner, D. Rollason, C. Stancliffe (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989), 203-212, p. 203.
[667] Ibid., p. 212.

the eighth century Echternach was a home for Anglo-Saxon and Irish pilgrims and monks, but there is less obvious evidence for their presence in the eleventh century. Hen notes, however, that the scriptorium grew immensely in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries, and reached its peak in the eleventh century. During the abbacies of Regimbert (1051-81) and Thiofrid (1081-1110) it was a prolific centre of intellectual activity, which makes the presence of Anglo-Saxon works and/or scholars a distinct possibility.[668] McKitterick is also of the opinion that Echternach retained its English connection after Willibrord's death in the intermediate period, citing an account of his life commissioned from his kinsman Alcuin by his successor as abbot of Echternach, and a small group of manuscripts in late insular script likely written at the Abbey from the early ninth century as evidence.[669]

The historical evidence allows for an insular influence, but Liebaert in his study of the manuscripts from Echternach in the French National Library writes that a number of manuscripts contain a similar colophon to Lat. 9666, placing them in Regimbert's time and revealing the names of scribes. Based on the style of handwriting and decoration, the other manuscripts from Regimbert's abbacy were also written by this group of scribes.[670] The scribes are called Volkerus, Theodericus, Ruotpertus, and Ravangerus and Erebonus for Lat. 9666.[671] These names all appear to be Continental Germanic. This does not exclude the possibility that they could have received the information from an insular scribe in the scriptorium, but makes it unlikely that the codex was written by an insular hand.

Perhaps it is advisable then to look towards the St Maximin Abbey in Trier, which also produced runic writing: in 973 Emperor Otto I, at the request of Count Siegfried of Luxembourg, sent forty monks from St Maximin to reform Echternach according to the Cluniac model.[672] A similar event happened in the fifteenth century,

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[668] Y. Hen, 'Echternach, Luxembourg' in *Encyclopaedia of Monasticism*, vol. 1, ed. by W. M. Johnston (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 421-22, p. 421.
[669] R. McKitterick, 'The Diffusion of Insular Culture in Neustria between 650 and 850' in *Books, Scribes, and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms 6th – 9th centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 395-432, p. 429.
[670] Liebaert, p. 70.
[671] Ibid., pp. 58-59.
[672] Hen, p. 421.

but this is unlikely to have had an impact on this manuscript. St Maximin's connection with England has been explored under Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 306 [20].

35. TRIER, PRIESTERSEMINAR, MS 61

Manuscript

Trier, Priesterseminar, MS 61 is also known under its older shelfmark R. III. 13. It is a manuscript from St Matthias Abbey in Trier, and has been dated to the late eleventh century.[673] The volume consists of different parts dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, and contains works by Sedulius and Solinus.[674] These parts are A: ff. 1-38; B: ff. 39-101; C: ff. 102-115; D: 116-121; and E: 122-137. Derolez notes that A, B, and C seem to belong closely together (possibly written by one hand), and can be dated to the late eleventh century. Part D is from the thirteenth century and part E from the fourteenth.[675] Marx also notes that the final part of the manuscript was originally independent and added later (perhaps when it was bound in the fifteenth century?).[676] It contains marginal and interlinear glossing in Latin and German and includes a glossary, which comprises a number of Old English elements.[677] It likely served an educational purpose in the Abbey.[678] The contents are as follows:[679]

1. Ff. 1r-38v: Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*; Sedulius, *Hymnus* (I, 1-5);
2. Ff. 39r-100r: C. Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*;
3. Ff. 100v-102v: Notes on forecasting the weather and seasons;
4. Ff. 102v-114r: Latin – German glossary;

[673] C. P. E. Springer, 'The Manuscripts of Sedulius: A Provisional Handlist', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 85.5 (1995), i-xxii + 1-244, p. 101.
[674] Springer, p. 101.
[675] Derolez (1954), p. 103.
[676] J. Marx, *Handschriftenverzeichnis der Seminar-Bibliotheken zu Trier*, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Trierische Geschichte und Denkmalpflege, 4.13 (Trier: Trierische Archiv, 1912), p. 50.
[677] Ker, # 36.
[678] W. Jungandreas, 'Die Runen des Codex Seminarii Trevirensis R. III. 61', *Trierer Zeitschrift*, 30 (1967), 161-69, p. 161.
[679] Springer, p. 101; Derolez (1954), pp. 103-04.

5. Ff. 114v-115r: Notes on Ss. Dionysius of Paris, Rusticus, and Eleutherius;
6. Fo. 115v: A **fuþorc** and the ***isruna* tract**, followed by Greek numerals;
7. Ff. 116r-121v: Marbod, *Liber Lapidum*;
8. Ff. 122r-137v: Peter Riga, *Aurora* (incomplete).

After its production in St Matthias' Abbey, the manuscript stayed in Trier, but spent some time at the St Maximin Monastery (as evidenced on ff. 1r, 1v, and 122v),[680] before eventually joining the collection of the Bischöfliches Priesterseminar.

Runic Material

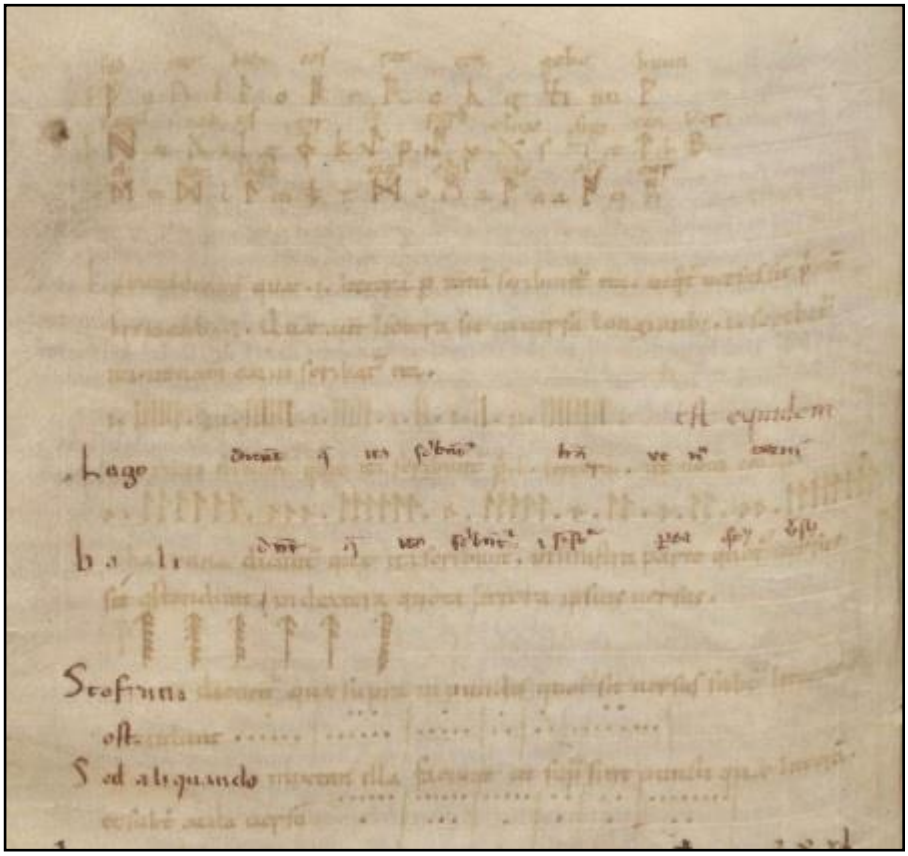
The runic material on fo. 115v includes an *isruna* tract containing *isruna*, *lagoruna, hahalruna and stophruna* sections, preceded by the usual list of runes in the *fuþorc* sequence. This list is subdivided into three rows of respectively eight, ten, and nine runes. The runes are accompanied by transliterations on the left-hand side and rune-names above each character. The ink used for the runic material was a rather light brown, which seems to have faded even further over time. A later hand retraced a few unclear words (or letters), and in places added an interlinear gloss. The ink is similar to that of the Greek section at the bottom of the page, but the handwriting makes it unlikely to have been the same hand.

The rune-row is of a good quality and clearly written. A few comments on the runes:

- The **h** has a Roman n shape;
- The shape of 'n' and 'x' is very similar, and is more like a Roman X than a runic character;
- The closed **j**-rune is used for 'g';
- 'k' is represented by **q**;
- The bottom leg of the **p**-rune points towards the left;

[680] Derolez (1954), p. 103.

- **m** is missing its descenders;
- **ŋ** is again presented as a stave with two diagonal cross-strokes towards the bottom right. No rune-name is provided here, but the transliteration is *in*;
- *odil* is given for 'o' here;
- A **p**-rune stands for 'q' and given the rune-name *cur*.



The rune-names are a little out of the ordinary: some rune-names are missing final letters, or end on a different letter from those usually found in the *isruna* tract, or, in case of the 'z', are missing altogether. Derolez thinks that this might be due to an exemplar which was difficult to read, or perhaps partly damaged.[681] The names are as follows: *fed*, *uur*, *doro*, *cos*, *rat*, *cen*, *gebo*, *huun*, *hagal*, *nod*, *iis*, *ger*, *ch*, *perd*, *elux*, *sigi*, *tan*, *ber*, *eh*, *man*, *lagu*, *tag*, *odil*, *hac*, *asc*, *cur. Fed*, *doro*, *tan* and *ber* are the most obvious examples of mistakes here, and replace the more common *feh*, *dorn*, *ti(r)*, and *berc*.

[681] Derolez (1954), pp. 104-05.

The text also contains a few mistakes, which may be due to the damaged exemplar, or perhaps just an inattentive scribe (which would explain the grammatical mistakes). Most obvious here is the lack of the c*lophruna* section. The Latin text is also more abbreviated than the other treatises, so it may be that the scribe produced a rather nonchalant copy. The text is essentially the same as in the others, but with a few errors and differences mostly of a grammatical or word-sequential nature:

> Iisruna dicuntur quae .i. litteram per totum scribuntur ita ut quotus uersus sit primum / breuioribus .I. quae littera sit in uersu longioribus .i. scribatur . ita ut nomen corui scribatur ita.[682]
> i. IIIIII . iii . IIIIII . i . IIIII . i . II . i. II . ii . IIIIIIII .
> Lagoruna dicuntur quae ita scribuntur per .l. litteram . ut nomen corui.[683]
> l . LLLLLL . lll . LLLLLL . l . LLLLL . l . LL . l . LL . l . LL . ll. LLLLLLLL .
> Hahalruna dicuntur quae ita scribuntur . in sinistra parte quotus uersus / sit ostenditur in dextera quota littera ipsius uersus.[684]
> 1/6 3/6 1/5 1/2 1/2 1/8
> Stofruna dicuntur quae supra in punctis quotus sit versus subtus litteris
> Ostendunt 1/6 3/6 1/5 1/2 2/8
> sed aliquando mixtim illas faciunt ut supra sint puncti quae litteram / et subtus ordo uersum.[685]

Following the last phrase are the *stophruna*, but shown in their reverse (upside down) notation. One of the main things to note here is that the examples are different from those in the previously discussed *isruna* tracts. This is partly due to the different division of the runes in the *fuþorc* (8-10-9), which necessitated different codes, but also because the example here is *coruus* instead of *corui*. The scribe may have copied the explanatory text from elsewhere, but made up his own examples to fit the division of the rune-row, since the Latin explanation still presents *corui* as the

[682] 'They are called *isruna*, whereby .i. character is written for the whole and in that manner [indicates] which number of line it would be. The first one is the shorter .i., whereby the following letter in the line is written longer .I. It is in this way that the word 'ravens' is written using these characters.' (My translation).
[683] 'They are called *lagoruna* which are written in this way with the .l. character. The word 'ravens' as follows.' (My translation).
[684] 'They are called *hahalruna*, where in the left part the number of the line is indicated, and in the right which number of letter itself it would be.' (My translation).
[685] 'They are called *stofruna*, where on the top in dots the number of the line would be and underneath the letter is shown […] but sometimes these are mixed so that the top dots indicate the letters and the bottom ones the number of the line.' (My translation).

example. In the *hahalruna* section, however, he misses a branch on the last twig-rune and ends up with a 1/8 code instead of a 2/8. Considering the poor copying skills he displays elsewhere, the new example may also have been part of his exemplar.

Context

The runic material on this page is accompanied by a number of annotations and a section containing the Greek alphabet and numerals separated from the tract by a two-line gap. Marx writes that after the Dionysius text on fo. 115r fifteen verses of poetry follow as a supplement to Solinus. The explanation of *verschiedener Zeichen und Zusammenstellung der griechischen, lateinischen und hebräischen Zahlenzeichen*, which appears also to include the runic material, is written by a contemporary hand according to him.[686] I would go even further and say that the runic material was likely written by the same hand responsible for the poetry, considering the use of the same colour of ink, and the similarity in writing style. The Greek passage was added independently of the runes, however, and can be dated to the fourteenth century.[687] Although the fact that runes may still have been associated with Greek alphabets and numerals in the fourteenth century is interesting in itself, it does not reveal much about the contemporary context.

Derolez concluded in 1954 that in this manuscript the relation between the runes and the rest of the contents appeared quite accidental and that likely it was merely added to a blank page, in a similar way to the Greek material.[688] After reviewing the manuscript in 1999, however, he noted the use of the cryptic devices throughout the codex: in the upper margin of fo. 39r there is a line of *isruna*, on fo. 39v a line in *lagoruna*, on 40r *hahalruna*, on 40v *stophruna*, and on fo. 41r inverted *stophruna*.[689] These five lines of coded runes form a complex cryptogram which

[686] Marx, p. 51.
[687] Derolez (1954), p. 104.
[688] Ibid., p. 106.
[689] R. Derolez, 'Runica Manuscripta Revisited' in *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, ed. by A. Bammesberger (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1991), 85-106, p. 96.

appears to refer to the text beginning on fo. 39r, Solinus's *De situ orbis terrarum et de singulis mirabilibus quae in mundo habentur*. Using the *fuþorc* on fo. 115v, the following text can be deciphered:[690]

(…) sunolduc (?) / dei seruus / gunc codicem qui dicitur / solins poli(.)isot / conpatrauit / feliciter ciaqgd(?)

Not all elements are clear, especially since the *isruna* line on fo. 39r has faded in places. It appears to be a type of Latin colophon mentioning Solinus and the codex. Although its exact meaning is unclear, it does indicate a unity within the codex, as it connects both the Solinus text (ff. 39r-100) and the section which contains the *isruna* tract (ff. 101-115v). The connection with Solinus is not too far-fetched, since he was a well-known Roman grammarian from the third century.[691] His work here is scientific, however, but that again is not an uncommon context for runic material.

The runes further appear in a context which contains familiar elements, such as the glossary and the scientific material on the weather and the seasons. Additionally, the manuscript contains the *Carmen Paschale* by Sedulius Scottus, the Irish scholar who has been mentioned earlier in connection to the scriptoria of Liège and St Gallen [21]. Finally, as noted above, some Old English elements have been noted in the glossary part of the manuscript, mostly with regard to word choice and abbreviations. Though these elements are not in themselves commonly found as runic contexts, their insular associations and even type of material (grammatical, scientific) makes it possible for the scribe to have encountered runic material, especially if he was copying the works from different manuscripts.

[690] Ibid., p. 96.
[691] G. M. Cohen, T*he Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa* (London: The University of California Press, 2006), p. 4.

36. CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, MS REG. LAT. 294

Manuscript

Città del Vaticano MS Reg. Lat. 294 has been dated between 1076 and 1125.[692] The manuscript was written by one scribe (aside from fo. 21v, which shows another but likely contemporary hand), probably in Bavaria, and potentially in the Cistercian monastery of Langheim.[693] The same scribe also made marginal additions (e.g. on fo. 29v the Old High German names of the months), and a seventeenth-century reader clarified a number of unclear titles through transcription.[694] Wilmart's catalogue also mentions a fifteenth-century hand, which has written the pronunciation of every verb in the margins.[695] Contents are as follows:[696]

1. Fo. 1r: Inscription of possession;
2. Ff. 1v-2v: *De Inventione Linguarum* (incl. **runic alphabet**);
3. Ff. 3r-4r: Isidore, *Epistulae* (9-13);
4. Ff. 4r-110v: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (ends at book XIX).

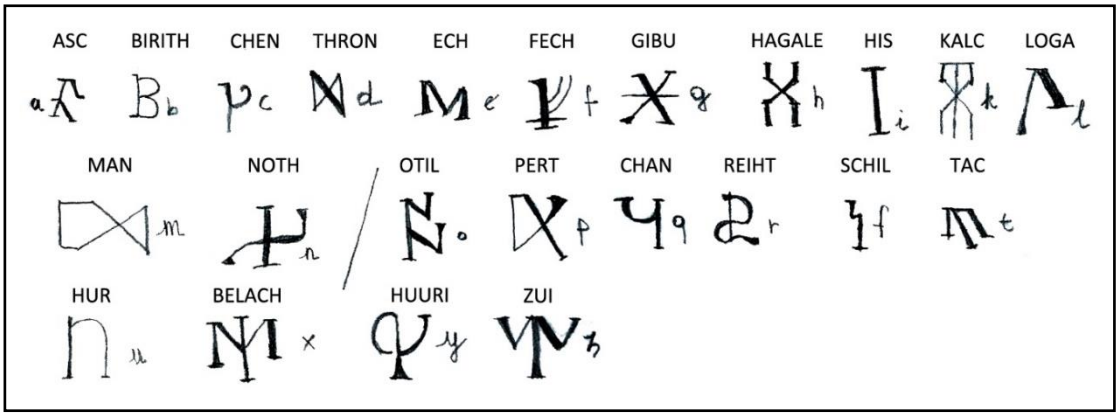
The manuscript once belonged to the Cisterian Monastery of Langheim near Bamberg, as indicated by the inscription on fo. 1r ('*Liber sancta Marie i[n] lanchheim*') from the thirteenth century.[697] Considering the Bavarian hand, the manuscript was probably created there as well. In the seventeenth century, it was in possession of the Antwerp humanist Alexandre Petau (on fo. 3 is noted '60.N.Pet. 1656' and below: '*Volumen LX. Non Petaúianum*'). Later it was found in Queen Christina of Sweden's collection (no. 1896 or 1898), as a part of which it was then incorporated into the Vatican Library.[698]

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[692] 'Reg. Lat. 294', *Manuscripts Catalogue*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=shortDetail> [accessed September 2016].
[693] A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, II (Rome: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1937-1945), p. 127.
[694] Derolez (1954), p. 313.
[695]Wilmart, p. 127.
[696] Ibid., pp. 125-27.
[697] Ibid., p. 313; 'Reg. Lat. 294', *Manuscripts Catalogue*.
[698] Derolez (1954), p. 313.

Runic material

The runic material in this manuscript is part of a *De Inventione* tract, and consists of twenty-three Anglo-Saxon runes over two rows: a – n / o – z. As the number of runes present suggests, the alphabet follows the Roman alphabet strictly and makes no concessions for the extra characters in the Anglo-Saxon rune-row.



The runes are written in a fairly decorative manner, which includes serifs at the ends of most stems and straight branches. The scribe also wrote transliterations on the right-hand side, except for ‘a’, which stands on the left, and rune-names above the characters. As with most alphabets, there are a few oddities and incongruities to be found:

- The Scandinavian ‘k’ rune appears again for ‘c’;
- The **d** is missing its descenders;
- The ‘g’ is a **j**-rune, but tilted on its side;
- The **ķ**-rune appears with a closed top for ‘k’;
- The **m**-rune is distorted and almost rectancular on the left-hand side;
- The crossing branch of the **n** is exaggerated and the shape is reversed again (see [22] and [31]);
- Something similar as with ‘m’ happened to the **p**-rune, which almost looks like a square ampersand. This shape also appears in St John’s 17 [7] for ‘y’;
- The stem on the **t** is uncommonly short;

- One of the curved branches of the 'y' (which is probably based on the shape of **x**) points downwards instead of upwards;
- The 'h' is rather elaborate and has the shape of a Roman X with an additional ascender and descender on each branch. The shape is reminiscent of the **ŋ**-rune appearing in for instance Cotton MS Galba A. II, Cotton MS Otho B. X, Exeter MS 3507 [3], Cotton MS Domitian A. IX [6], and St John's 17 [7] (St John's 17 also has variations of this shape representing 'o', 'au', and '*ego*');
- The **ï**-rune seems like a backwards Scandinavian **k**-rune, which is not a shape seen elsewhere in *De Inventione* rune alphabets;
- The cross-stroke of the **r**-rune goes through the stem, creating a bow at the back (similar to Karlsruhe Aug. Perg. 254 [23] and München CLM 14436 [31]).

Rune-names are as follows: *asc*, *birith*, *chen*, *thron*, *ech*, *fech*, *gibu*, *hagale*, *his*, *kalc*, *loga*, *man*, *noth*, *otil*, *pert*, *chan*, *reiht*, *sihil*, *tac*, *hur*, *belach*, *huuri*, *zui*. Their spelling clearly demonstrates that the scribe (or whoever produced his exemplar) was a German speaker. Most names are fairly common, though *thron* is likely a mistake for *thorn*, and *reiht* and *huuri* have not been encountered before. *Belach* may be a misspelling of the more common *helach*.

Above the alphabet a rubricated title was added, likely identifying the alphabet. It is no longer legible, but a second hand transcribed these faint writings on the page (for both the runes and the Aethicus Ister alphabet). Derolez dates this hand to the seventeenth century.[699] According to this second hand the red writing says *Litere quibus utuntur marcomanni id est nortmanni a quibus originem trahunt qui theodiscam loquuntur*, which is an abbreviated version of the usual explanatory note on runes in the *De Inventione* treatises (see [22]). Derolez, who in the 1950s apparently was still able to read the red writing, writes that the seventeenth-century hand made two changes to the original text, changing *northmanni* to *nortmanni*, and *locuntur* to *loquuntur*.[700]

[699] Ibid., p. 313.
[700] Ibid., p. 315.

Context

The immediate context is again the *De Inventione Linguarum*. The alphabets included in the treatise are as follows: a Hebrew alphabet with names and variant forms, a Greek alphabet with the inscription *litere grecorum*, with names and transliterations in some places, a cursive Greek alphabet (*Litere uulgares grecorum*) with values and three names, a list of Greek diphthongs (*dyptongi grecorum*), the case system in Greek, and the articles in Greek. Then follows the runic alphabet. Subsequently, there are two more items on fo. 1v: the Aethicus Ister alphabet with names, and notes on the declension of the names of letters and numerals.[701] On fo. 2r follow in two columns: a Hebrew alphabet with equivalents, a Greek alphabet including the numerical symbols which were omitted on the previous folio, Greek numerals, cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, *adverbiales*, *disperti/ui*, *singularis*. On fo. 2v again three columns appear, but they are only partially filled with *ponderales*, *complicatiui* and *aduerbia ex his*. The rest of the page is blank. The order of the alphabetical elements is unusual here, and the Roman numeral material, which is usually included in this treatise, is missing.

Although not always clear due to the ornamental quality of the alphabet material, there seems no reason to suspect that the runes were not written by the same scribe responsible for the rest of the manuscript. Derolez writes that the presence of the runes as part of the alphabet collection may be due to the scribe's wish to have a blank first page (potentially to include the drawing which was clearly intended to reflect the contents of the manuscript). [702] Since the *Epistolae* began on a recto side, the easiest way to obtain this blank first page was to add one leaf (which equals two folios). This would then leave three pages (1v, 2r-v) empty to be used for various notations. The scribe then filled these with alphabets which he may have considered useful to go with the *Etymologiae*. By this point, it appears that the connection between runes and Isidore's works (primarily the *Etymologiae*, for obvious reasons) was quite firmly established.

[701] Ibid.
[702] Ibid., p. 314.

The wider context is here clearly Isidore of Seville's works. Derolez does note here that the runes cannot be called Isidori-runes, in the sense that they are not really part of Isidore's *Etymologiae* material: the scribe added the *De Inventione Linguarum* tract as a supplement to the work. This is in contrast to for instance St Gallen MS 878 [16] where the runes are written following the chapter from the *Etymologiae* called *De Litteris* and are considered part of the examples. The term Isidori-runes seems to have been quite popular with earlier scholars such as Van Langenhove, but its value is rather limited. It only really indicates a small distinction within a not very large group of manuscripts containing both runes and the works of Isidore of Seville.

37. NÜRNBERG, GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, MS 1966

Manuscript

This manuscript was composed in the second half of the twelfth century in the Benedictine Abbey of Neresheim.[703] The work is written in Latin by multiple (possibly only two?) hands using Caroline minuscule.[704] The contents are as follows:[705]

1. Fo. 1r: Memorial verses;
2. Fo. 1v: List of Latin words;
3. Ff. 1v-120r: Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* (6-10);
4. Fo. 120v a-b: *Virtutum et vitiorum conflictus*;
5. Fo. 120v b: *Liber sententiolarum*;
6. Ff. 121v a-122r a: *De Inventione Linguarum* (incl. **runic alphabet**);
7. Fo. 122r-v: List of Greek numerals with corresponding Roman figures;
8. Fo. 122v: Initially blank but a German poem and two lines of Latin were added (*Summa Theologiae*).

[703] Kottje, #671.
[704] Derolez (1954), p. 308.
[705] H. Hilg, *Die Lateinischen Mittelalterlichen Handschriften: Hs. 17a-22921*, Kataloge des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg, 2.1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), pp. 30-31.

After its creation, the manuscript was rebound under Abbot Ulrich II de Roden in 1419 in Neresheim. The monastery's mark of ownership, which can be found on fo. 1r, also dates from the fifteenth century. The codex has been dated based on an entry in the library catalogue from 1721 (currently München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS CLM 1379), which notes its date of origin as 1164. There is one other stamp of ownership on fo. 1r, which gives a date of 1853. This may have been from the library of Hans Philipp Werner Freiherr von und zu Aufseß (d. 1872) who owned the codex before it was placed in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in 1864, which he founded.[706]

Runic Material

I was not able to consult the manuscript myself, so the description of the runic material here is based on Derolez's drawings.[707] He, unfortunately, did not include the text on the runes, though he notes that it is of the German type.[708] A few comments on the runes:

- The top and bottom of the loops of the **b**-rune are not closed;
- 'c' is represented by the Scandinavian **k**-rune;
- **d** lacks its descenders and ascenders;
- The tilted **j**-rune appears for 'g';
- The Roman X-like rune used for 'h' is quite thin and has serifs pointing inwards;
- The **ḳ**-rune used for 'k' is closed at the top, and the bottom two branches are looped inwards;
- The stem of the **l**-rune is quite short, giving the impression of a **u**-rune;

[706] Derolez (1954), p. 308.
[707] Ibid., p. 360.
[708] Ibid., p. 346.

- The **m**-rune, which is again missing its descenders, is accompanied by an extra vertical stroke (**i**-rune?) on its right-hand side. This also occurs in Vienna MS 1010 [38];
- The **p**-rune has again been given a horizontal stroke in the middle, similar to Vienna MS 1010;
- The **r**-rune looks odd, and is closer to the Latin abbreviation mark for '*per*' or '*pre*' than a rune, again similar to Vienna 1010;
- Rather pronounced serifs have been added to the **s**-rune at top and bottom;
- **t** looks like a dotted **y**-rune due to exaggerated branches;
- The **u**-rune has been drawn as a Roman capital D;
- **x** has its standard *De Inventione* shape, but with large serifs at the top and bottom of the stem.

The rune-names are as follows: *asc*, *birith*, *chen*, *thron*, *ehc*, *fech*, *gibul*, *hagal*, *his*, *glic*, *lagu, man*, *not*, *othil*, *perch*, *chon*, *rehit*, *siugil*, *tac*, *hur*, *helac*, *hurn*, *ziu*. Though these names are of a good quality, it appears that the scribe was not very practised at writing runes, or had a poor exemplar. The manuscript shows correspondence with Vienna MS 1010 [38], both in runes and rune-names. The Vienna manuscript is older, however, so it could have served as an exemplar. This seems rather unlikely, as none of the other manuscript contents overlap and the runes in Vienna 1010 [38] are of a much better quality.

Context

The runic material is again part of the *De Inventione Linguarum* treatise. The *De Inventione* text begins on fo. 121v a with the text on the Hebrew alphabet, followed by seven letters. The remaining letters follow on fo. 121v b, with the text on the Greek alphabet, the alphabet itself, and a key to the substitution variety of the *notae sancti Bonifatii*. The last element on that page is the text on the Latin alphabet, which is continued on fo. 122r a and accompanied by a majuscule and minuscule alphabet. Above the latter the Roman numerals from I – XXIII are given, which serve

as another key to a cryptographical system. Finally, there is the text on Aethicus Ister's alphabet followed by the relevant alphabet, and then the runes and their text.[709]

The runes seem to be part of the section of the manuscript which is interested in cryptography and alphabets. Although this serves as a straightforward and common context for the runic alphabet, it seems unrelated to the main contents of the codex, which is Pope Gregory's *Moralia in Job*. The additional material appears at the beginning and end of the codex. This is possibly to fill up some blank space, for which alphabet material appears to have been quite popular.

The origin of the codex is of interest, since no other runic manuscripts originate from Neresheim. It is geographically quite close to Regensburg, whose St Emmeram Abbey produced München, CLM 14436 [31]. It does, however, show no correspondences with this manuscript. Derolez notes on the text that it matches the texts which were most commonly copied in Germany, so it seems likely that the scribe's source of information was one of the German monasteries.[710] The link with Austria suggests that this should probably be expanded to German-speaking monasteries.

38. WIEN, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, MS 1010

Manuscript

Codex 1010 (also known as Theologisca 346) dates to the second half of the twelfth century and may have been written in the Augustinian monastery of Sankt Florian in

[709] Ibid., p. 309.
[710] Derolez (1954), p. 345.

Upper Austria.[711] It was written in a minuscule script by multiple hands.[712] Its contents are as follows:[713]

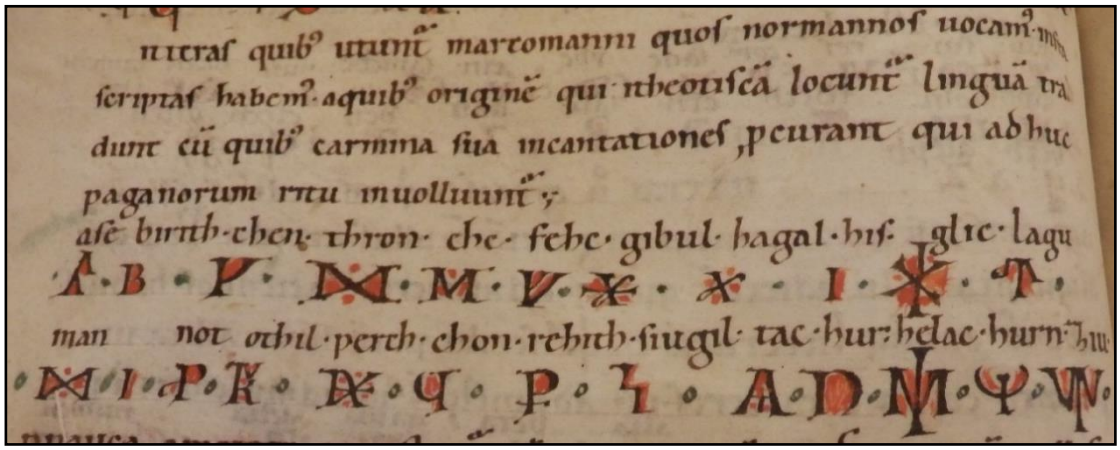
1. Ff. 1r-10v: Caecilius Cyprianus, *Epistola*;
2. Ff. 10v-18v: Augustinus, *De disciplina christianorum*;
3. Ff. 18v-23v: Martinus of Braccara, *Libellus de virtutibus cardinalibus seu formula honestae vitae*;
4. Ff. 23v-35r: Ansbertus (abbot of St Vincent), *Sermo de cupiditate*;
5. Ff. 35v-62r: Augustinus, *Soliloquia*;
6. Ff. 62r-63v: Baudemundus Blandiniensis, *Vita S. Amandi* (excerpts);
7. Ff. 63v-64v: The Passion of St Columbus;
8. Ff. 65r-73v: St John Chrysostom, *Physiologus*;
9. Ff. 74r-89v: Pseudo-Jerome, *Epistola de assumptione s. Mariae ad Paulam et Eustochium*;
10. Fo. 90r-v: *De Inventione Linguarum* (including **a runic alphabet**);
11. Ff. 90v-91r: *Verba de vocibus animalus*;
12. Ff. 92r-117v: Ambrosius, *De Paradiso*;
13. Ff. 117v-118v: Ambrosius, *Disputatio de servanda animae puritate*;
14. Fo. 119r-v: *De Salomone ex operibus patrum*;
15. Ff. 120r-124v: Ambrosius, *De Paenitentia*;

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[711] Kottje, #1261.
[712] H. J. Hermann, *Die Deutschen Romanischen Handschriften. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*: *Die Illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann Verlag, 1926), p. 185.
[713] 'Cod. 1010', *ÖNB Hana Katalog*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek <http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/V62KT1FPS4KE4PT2NX7326G2BQGBX2NUIAKU2THC3NAE4TQL84-02327?func=short-refine-exec&set_number=010518&request_op=AND&find_code=WSG&request=1010&x=76&y=10 > [Accessed March 2017].

16. Ff. 125r-133r: Ambrosius, *De Mysteriis*;
17. Ff. 133r-163r: Ambrosius, *De Paenitentia*;
18. Ff. 163r-165v: Ambrosius, *De Sacramentis*;
19. Ff. 165v-166v: *Collationes decalogi cum decem plagis Aegipti* (fragment).

The manuscript was kept in Sankt Florian in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, indicated by the marks on fo. 1r and fo. 78r. Hermann also notes that the old foliation is by a hand from Sankt Florian,[714] and Derolez thinks that it was bound there in the fourteenth century.[715] As early as 1576 it belonged to the Imperial Library in Vienna.[716]



Runic Material

The manuscript contains twenty-four Anglo-Saxon runes on fo. 90v as part of a *De Inventione* text. The runes are written in an elaborate style with thick stems, many serifs at the extremities, and decorated with red ink. That said, the size and distance between the runes is rather variable. They are separated by green dots, which adds to the overall decorativeness of the material. Interestingly, though serifs appear on most characters in the tract, they are more distinctive on the runes than on other alphabets of the text, but on par with the Roman alphabet. This could suggest that

[714] Hermann, p. 185.
[715] Derolez (1954), p. 310.
[716] Ibid.

the scribe was comfortable enough with the rune-row to add decorative features. The scribe also provided rune-names above the runes, separated by black dots, but no transliterations. There are a few deviating forms:

- The **æ**-rune (and accompanying rune-name *asc*) are used for 'a' here;
- The rune for 'c' is again shaped like the Scandinavian **k**-rune;
- The **d**-rune is missing its ascenders and descenders;
- The stem of the **f**-rune has been shortened;
- There are two runes for 'g': the first shows the tilted **j**-rune, the second shows a correct **j**-rune. The actual **g**-rune is given the rune-name *hagal* and follows the first 'g'.
- The **m**-rune is missing its descenders;
- There is an **i**-rune in between **m** and **n**, which is out of place and has not been given a rune-name;
- The cross-stroke on the **n** is very elaborate;
- There is an extra serif on the descending leg of the **o**-rune, which seems to be a correction of the initial form, and without which it would be an **a**-rune;
- The **p**-rune is disjointed and has an additional horizontal stroke which makes the character look like a combination of Roman D and a **j**-rune;
- The rune for 'r' is the Latin abbreviation for *per-* or *pre-*;
- The **t**-rune looks like a dotted **y**;
- The final four runes have all been given rune-names starting with 'h', the first appears to be a **u**-rune, the second the elaborate **ea** (or **x**)-rune also seen elsewhere, the third is rounded and most similar to Scandinavian **m**, the final one is a clear **ea**-rune.

The rune-names are as follows: *asc*, *birith*, *chen*, *thron*, *che*, *fehc*, *gibul*, *hagal*, *his*, *glic*, *lagu*, *man*, *not*, *othil*, *perch*, *chon*, *rehith*, *siugil*, *tac*, *hur*, *helac*, *hurn*, *hiu.* They do not always match the runes, however. For instance, the **e**-rune is drawn correctly, but given the rune-name *che*, which may be a misspelling of *ech*. In fact, it seems like

the scribe played with the rune-names, sometimes presenting all the right letters but in the wrong sequence (*fehc* for *fech*), and other times adding letters (*his* for *is*, *hur* for *ur*, *perth* for *pert*, *siugil* for *sigil*, etc). For **ą**, the rune-name *chon* is given. *Glic* is a rune-name not seen elsewhere. It is interesting to note that the shape of the 'h' on *hiu* looks different from how the others are written. This may be a later correction.

Context

The primary context for the runes is the *De Inventione* text preceding the runic alphabet. The text is similar to Vienna MS 1609 [22] but slightly shorter (it omits the part about divination) and the Latin is more heavily abbreviated. The first letter of the note was supposed to be rubricated, as in the other sections of the tract, but the rubricator seems to have forgotten to insert the L.

> []itteras quibus utuntur Marcomanni quos nordmannos vocamus . infra scriptas habemus . a quibus originem qui theodiscam loquuntur linguam tra dunt cum quibus carmina su. Incantationes procurant. qui adhuc paganorum ritu inuoluuntur;[717]

The runic section appears on the second page of the treatise. The first page, fo. 90r, contains the Hebrew alphabet with names and values and its text; the Greek alphabet with names, numerical value in Latin numerals, equivalents, and its text; the text on the Roman alphabet followed by the alphabet, majuscules and minuscules; and then finally the text on the Aethicus Ister alphabet. On the second page, fo. 90v, the alphabet of Aethicus appears plus names and transliterations. Then follow the runes, a text on monograms, and the *Voces Variae Animantium* text, which continues onto fo. 91r. All alphabets received transliterations apart from the runic one. This may be simple omission, but the scribe was likely aware of this, because the runic alphabet is also the only one with green dots separating the runes, and these fill up the space in between the characters which elsewhere is used for transliterations. This suggests that the runes were copied from an exemplar which

[717] 'The letters which are used by the Marcomanni, which we call the Northmen, are written below. From them descend those who speak *Theodisc*, and with these they signify their songs and incantantions, to take care of the pagan rituals with which they surround themselves'. (My translation).

did not have any values. It is possible that the scribe was familiar enough with the other alphabets to add the equivalents himself, but not confident enough to do so for the runes. Alternatively, his exemplar contained values for all alphabets but the runic one and the scribe simply solved this by adding the green dots, which contradicts the idea of the decorative features demonstrating a familiarity with runes, as discussed in Gent MS 306 [20].

The *De Inventione* material appears on an independent bifolium, which makes it difficult to be certain that it was an intended part of the manuscript from the beginning. The handwriting clearly demonstrates that it was written by a contemporary hand, and Derolez concluded that it likely belonged to the bulk of the codex when it was bound in the fourteenth century. He thinks that it may have been part of the original codex from an early date, because the runes from München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 6291 closely resemble those from MS 1010, and are also found close to the *Physiologus* by Chrysostom. He thinks this cannot be a coincidence and that both texts must have a common ancestor.[718] Additionally, work by the same scholar can also be found in MS Grec 375 [31], though the runes are Scandinavian.

Except for Chrysostom, it is difficult to see any connection between the contents of the manuscript and the *De Inventione*. Most of the works included here are religious in nature, and the alphabet material as well as the text on the voices of animals seems unrelated. A fourteenth-century date for its inclusion may therefore not be that far-fetched, but the reason behind this decision is difficult to fathom at this point.

[718] Derolez (1954), pp. 310-11. CLM 6291 does not contain a runic alphabet and has therefore not been examined here.

39. HEIDELBERG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK, MS SALEM IX.39

Manuscript

This manuscript originates from the Cistercian monastery at Salem, Baden-Württemberg, Germany.[719] It has been dated to the late twelfth century, and was written primarily by one scribe in an early Gothic minuscule hand. Ff. 1r-2r and 133rb-134rb are exceptions to this and were likely written by two contemporary hands.[720] The contents are as follows:[721]

1. Ff. 1r-2r: The names of the apostles; abbreviations using the *De Inventione Linguarum*; Regional and world map; Latin words and *De Inventione* abbreviations in the shape of crosses;
2. Ff. 2v-12v: Isidore, *Epistola ad Braulionem*;
3. Ff. 12v-23v: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (I-III);
4. Ff. 23v-31v: Isidore, *De Natura Rerum*, *Etymologiae* (V, IV, V);
5. Ff. 32v-66v: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (VI-IX);
6. Ff. 66v-67v: (Pseudo-)Bede, *Horologium*;
7. Ff. 67v-131r: Isidore, *Etymologiae* (X-XX);
8. Ff. 131r-133r: Greek-Latin glossary;
9. Ff. 133r-134v: *De Inventione Linguarum* (incl. **runic alphabet**);
10. Fo. 134r: Pen trials by various hands from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Hebrew alphabet written backwards (Werner suggests as a charm);[722]
11. Fo. 134v: Empty.

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[719] Kottje, #360.
[720] W. Werner, *Die Mittelalterlichen Nichtliturgischen Handschriften des Zisterzienserklosters Salem* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000), p. 247.
[721] Ibid., pp. 248-50.
[722] Ibid., p. 250.

The manuscript was written in Salem, indicated by similarities in decoration with Cod. Salem X. 10, which also originates from Salem and has been dated to the late twelfth century,[723] and the bookbinder rolls, which are encountered on other Salem book covers.[724] The monastery seems to have held on to the book until at least the eighteenth century, as demonstrated by the various bookmarks: on fo. 134r *Liber S. Marie in Salem. Vocabularium* appears, dated to the fourteenth century; on fo. 2va *B Mariae in Salem* was written during the seventeenth century; and on fo. 4rb the same note appears in an eighteenth-century hand. Finally, it also contains Salem's catalogue signatures *MSS 178* and *MS 337*.[725]

Runic Material



The runic material here consists of an Anglo-Saxon runic alphabet of twenty-three runes, divided over four lines. Every rune is separated from the next by a vertical dotted line, and rune-names and transliterations are both given above the runic character: the values immediately above the rune, the rune-names above the values.

[723] Ibid., p. 302.
[724] Ibid., p. 248.
[725] Ibid., p. 248.

The latter are separated by single dots on either side, while the rune-names received a single dot on the right.

The runes are drawn large and clear with small decorative serifs, and are evenly spaced. Together with the Latin alphabet they look the best planned of all alphabets on the page. The runes themselves are of a very good quality. They require only a few comments:

- The second branch of the **a**-rune ends at the same level of the stem, the top branch also does not curve up, resulting in a more **æ**-like shape;
- 'c' is again represented by a Scandinavian **k**-rune;
- The **d** is missing its ascenders and descenders;
- The rune for 'g' is a tilted **j**-rune;
- The **h**-rune is missing its stem and has additional branches at the top and bottom;
- The **m**-rune is missing its descenders;
- The **n**-rune is again reversed and its cross-stroke rather ornate;
- The two branches of the **p**-rune touch;
- The character for 'q' appears to be a backwards Scandinavian **k**;
- The **r** again forms a little pocket at the back, and the cross-stroke is almost like a flourish, giving the character a slightly unbalanced look.

The rune-names are as follows: *asc*, *birith*, *ch[e?]n*, *thorn*, *ech*, *fech*, *gibu*, *hagalc*, *his*, *gilc*, *lagu*, *man*, *not*, *othil*, *pert*, *chon*, *rehit*, *suhil*, *tac*, *hur*, *helach*, *huyri*, *ziu*. Although the rune-names contain a number of oddities, there are none which do not appear elsewhere. Derolez comments on the 'remarkably genuine forms' of the runes, especially considering the age of the manuscript. He also notes that insular influence (or at least insular peculiarities) can be found in the Heidelberg text, and therefore concludes that the *De Inventione Linguarum* must have been copied from rather an

old, and probably insular exemplar. This makes the manuscript quite valuable as a source. [726]

Context

The *De Inventione* text was likely added by a different but contemporary hand. Derolez also thinks that the monograms on ff. 1r and 2r were supposed to follow after the tract as in Wien MS 1761 [32] and 1010 [38], but that the scribe ran out of space. He therefore inserted them at the front.[727] The main text of the tract appears on fo. 133v, starting, uncharacteristically, with the Greek alphabet with equivalents, names, and numerals. The text on the alphabet follows it. Subsequently, there is the text on the Hebrew alphabet, and the alphabet itself with names and values on the next page. Then the normal sequence continues with the Latin text, and alphabet with names, and the material on the Aethicus Ister alphabet. The runes follow in the second column of fo. 133v. They are followed by the text on the *notae Iulii Caesaris*, the punctuated *notae sancti Bonifatii*, the text on the *notae Bonifatii*, the substitution variety of these notae, and finally an alphabet with the numerical values of the letters.[728] The text explaining the runic material here appears above the alphabet, and goes as follows:

> Litt<u>er</u>e <qu<i>ppe> quib<u>us</u> utunt<u>ur</u> marcomanni quos nos nodmannos voca[mus] / Infra sc<i>pie habent<u>ur</u> . a quib<u>us</u> origine<u>m</u> qui theodiscam locunt<u>ur</u> / l linguam traduntur cum quibus carmina sua incantationesque / ac divinationes significare procurant . qui adhuc pagani / ritus inuoluuntur.[729]

A different hand has made a few corrections in what appears to be an attempt to fix spelling and grammar. Why the 'i' was inserted above *scpie* is unclear, as other texts show *scriptas* as the (grammatically) correct term. The emendation therefore did little to correct the word.

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[726] Ibid., pp. 307-08.
[727] Ibid., p. 306.
[728] Ibid., p. 307.
[729] 'The letters which are used by the Marcomanni, which we call the Northmen, are written below. From them descend those who speak *Theodisc*, and with these they signify their songs, incantantions, and divinations, to take care of the pagan rituals with which they surround themselves'. (My translation).

The material surrounding the tract is familiar, with Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Bede's writings on computus, and a Greek-Latin glossary filling the other pages of the manuscript. The contents of the manuscript unfortunately cannot explain how this manuscript was written in Salem as an isolated case. If Derolez is right, however, and the tract has insular origins, then perhaps it travelled with the Bede material?

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

This chapter analyses the material collected in the catalogue with the aim of examining the origin and development of runic alphabets and rune-rows in medieval manuscripts between the eighth and the twelfth centuries. By studying the context, it also investigates why scribes included runes in their manuscripts and why annotators thought to add them. The first part investigates this contextual material in order to explore how the runic material was perceived by those writing and/or reading it, and how runes became part of the manuscript culture. The second part of this chapter looks at development: how did manuscript runes evolve over the four centuries studied here, and did the way in which they were perceived change over this period? This part will also look at where and when runes were written and determine whether the location or time-period of production can be linked to the development and/or context of these rune-rows and alphabets.

ORIGIN

Mistakes and odd forms aside, the nature of the runic alphabets and rune-rows is essentially the same in most manuscripts. Yet the way in which this material has been contextualised by the scribes (or the context to which it was added by annotators) differs and in that sense no two manuscripts are the same. However, as the tables of contents and the discussions of context have indicated, certain types of contexts do appear in multiple manuscripts. This may be coincidental in a number of cases, or simply due to the fact that the authors of the recurring texts were popular throughout the period; some parallels, conversely, may also appear because of the genre of material in which runes are included, and some because of an association, perceived or otherwise, with runes by the scribes or scholars. The latter two instances are of particular interest here.

The material which appears in the immediate vicinity of the runes is predominantly alphabetical in nature. For the insular material the most frequently found alphabet is Greek, with Hebrew following in second place. The Greek alphabet continues to dominate in the continental manuscripts, but a wider range of

alphabets appear here. The *De Inventione* treatise is the most prominent alphabet collection on the Continent and generally contains Greek and Hebrew alphabets, Roman (and occasionally Greek) numerals, Aethicus Ister's alphabet, and runes. Occasionally, more 'exotic' alphabets can be found near runes as well, such as the (so-called) Egyptian, Syriac, and Chaldaic alphabets, or the slightly more 'local' Gothic and ogham alphabets. Other material which appears in close conjunction is often cryptographic in nature; most obvious are the *isruna* tracts, but it is not rare to find cryptograms, or elements to do with the obscuring of meaning close to rune-rows or runic alphabets.

On a larger scale, a number of overlapping themes and texts can also be discerned. Nearly half of the *manuscriptae runae* discussed here have a connection with religious time measurement or computus. Frequently, these computistical texts are part of a larger group of encyclopaedic texts or appear as an encyclopaedic theme within a manuscript. The texts included here are authored by scholars such as Macrobius, Donatus, Alcuin, Martianus Capella, Hrabanus Maurus, and Abbo of Fleury. There are also clear associations with Isidore of Seville, most notably his work the *Etymologiae*, as well as with the Venerable Bede. It is worth looking at these different groups of contexts separately, to see what they reveal regarding the perception of runes.

Alphabet Collections and the *De Inventione Linguarum* Treatise

As noted above, the most commonly found material surrounding runes in medieval manuscripts is other alphabets. These range from a single Greek alphabet to a large collection of 'exotic' alphabets. The appearance of alphabets, also outside of *manuscriptae runae*, is a recurring phenomenon in medieval manuscripts, both in England and on the Continent.[730] To determine the position of the runic material in this corpus, it is important first of all to consider this tradition or the interest in alphabets within the context of contemporary medieval scholarship.

[730] Dekker, p. 81.

The primary source for alphabets and alphabet knowledge in the Middle Ages was Isidore of Seville (d. 636), who discussed alphabets in his influential work the *Etymologiae*. Isidore was born in Cartagena in Spain in 560, but his family moved to Seville after the city was captured by Byzantine troops. He was brought up and educated in Seville by his older brother Leander after the death of their parents, likely in the monastery school where Leander was abbot.[731] Leander became Bishop of Seville before 580 and on his death was succeeded by Isidore. Isidore became one of the leading churchmen in the country and presided over important church councils in Seville (619) and Toledo (633).[732] More important for the matter at hand, however, is Isidore's scholarship, for which he was already much admired during his life. Though it is not necessary to discuss all of his writings here, it is important to note that Isidore drew on pagan authors as well as the Church Fathers, for instance Martial's *Epigrammata*, Tertullian's *De Spectaculis*, and Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*.[733] This may partly explain the impact of his works: during most of the early Middle Ages (until the eleventh century), knowledge coming from non-Christian authors was regarded with suspicion,[734] but using a well-known and respected Christian figure as a source circumvented this problem. Due to the distance between the Church and the knowledge of the Greek and non-Christian scholars after the fall of the West Roman Empire, works like Isidore's *Etymologiae* were also one of the few places where the more extensive scientific works of Antiquity could be accessed, even if they were presented in abbreviated form. Isidore was a prolific author and wrote at least eighteen works, some of which consisted of multiple books. The most impressive of these works is the *Etymologiae*, an encyclopaedic work in which Isidore tries to provide a summary of all universal knowledge of his time. This includes a discussion of alphabets and their inventors.

[731] S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, O. Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 7.
[732] Ibid., p. 7.
[733] Ibid.
[734] Warntjes (2010), p. xxxiii.

The section on alphabets appears in the first book of the *Etymologiae*, *De Grammatica*. Isidore discusses the common letters of the alphabet, *De Litteris Communibus*, in section iii, and adds a specific explanation of the etymology of the Roman alphabet in section iv. Section iii discusses the importance of letters, because they '[…] are the tokens of things, the signs of words, and they have so much force that the utterances of those who are absent speak to us without a voice'.[735] Isidore further notes that alphabets and letters were invented for the sake of remembering information. The alphabets he discusses here are Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syrian, Chaldaic, and Egyptian. His discussion centres around the connection between all of these languages: he thinks that Latin and Greek letters seem derived from Hebrew, and concludes that Hebrew is the mother of all languages and letters. This language came from Moses who needed it to write down his Laws. The Syrian and Chaldaic alphabets came from Abraham and were made to conform to the Hebrew alphabet in number and sounds, though they differ in shapes.[736] The Egyptian letters were devised by Queen Isis, daughter of Inachus, when she came from Greece to Egypt, and passed them on to the Egyptians.[737] Finally, Latin letters were brought to the Italians by the nymph Carmentis, a minor Roman deity associated with prophecy. Carmentis again has a Greek connection, because Isidore stresses that she was originally called Nicostrate, who was a Greek nymph.[738] Based on the wording of these sections, it is slightly unclear if Isidore considers all of these alphabets invented, or merely the Egyptian one. He also cites the existence of Chaldaic, Syrian, and Egyptian letters without reporting any graphemes, in contrast to his extensive explanation of Greek and Latin letters.[739] It may thus be that he found these alphabets in his studies of the non-Christian authors, but was not familiar enough with them to provide a full description. His main reason for connecting these alphabets appears to be the fact that they all contain twenty-two letters, which is

[735] Barney et al., p. 39.
[736] Ibid., p. 40.
[737] Ibid.
[738] Dekker, p. 101.
[739] Zironi, pp. 355.

the number of canonical books in the Old Testament (hence the derivation from Hebrew).[740]

Isidore does not actually include runes in his discussion, yet the impetus to study alphabets clearly comes from this work. The *Etymologiae* was an important and popular work in the Middle Ages, because it was a successful bridge to the Christian appropriation of secular disciplines and prompted a new approach to biblical study.[741] Carlson notes that during the Carolingian period, there was increased copying, compilation, and transmission of linguistic treatises incorporating secular education because it was understood as a necessary path for a deeper spiritual understanding: this was due to Isidore's work.[742] The diffusion of knowledge about the existence of languages other than those used in the superscription of Jesus's Cross (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin), also called the *linguae sacrae*, followed from this in the Early Middle Ages.[743] Not only was his work responsible for making alphabet studies popular, sections from it can also be found near alphabet collections and rune-rows or alphabets, and the type of alphabets discussed in his work are also those most frequently found close to runes (mostly Greek, Hebrew, and Latin). It also explains why the interest in non-Western alphabets is mostly limited to Chaldaic, Syrian, and Egyptian. Dekker notes that many of the alphabet collections found in medieval Western manuscripts can be interpreted as illustrations of Isidore's account of the origins of writing. The Isidorian framework demanded that they be modelled on Hebrew and Greek examples, and start with the letter A, with each letter having a name and a numerical value.[744] This then also explains the common format for most of the runic material: runes are most frequently found alphabetised with rune-names and values (though the values are

[740] E. Seebold, 'Die Iren und die Runen: Die Überlieferung Fremder Schriften im 8. Jahrhundert als Hintergrund zum ersten Auftreten von Manuskript-runen' in *Theodisca: Beiträge zur Althochdeutschen und Altniederdeutschen Sprache und Literatur in der Kultur des Frühen Mittelalters* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 10-37, p. 12.
[741] L. Carlson, 'Adoption, Adaptation, & Authority' in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, ed. by A. Fear and J. Wood (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 209-30, p. 222.
[742] Carlson, p. 222.
[743] Zironi, pp. 354-55.
[744] Dekker, p. 102; Barney et al., pp. 41-42.

Roman letters instead of numerals) The popularity of the *Etymologiae* explains the interest in alphabetical material, yet not how runes became part of these clusters of alphabets, which mostly focused on the sacred languages.

As an aside, it should be noted that although the *Etymologiae* is clearly of great importance to the study of alphabets in manuscripts, as well as establishing their relevance as part of scientific research and even religious considerations, this is not the only work of Isidore found close to runic material. Three other works of his commonly appear in *manuscriptae runae*, most frequently in the continental codices: his *Chronicon*, a historical work concerned with the creation of the world until Isididore's own time; *De Natura Rerum*, a cosmology dealing with astronomy, meteorology, natural phenomena, and the conventions of time-keeping and calendars;[745] and *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, which discussed contemporary liturgy and church practices.

In his study of alphabets in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, Dekker notes that the appearance of runes within the Christian, biblical history of writing is likely due to the appearance of the alphabet in the treatise *De Inventione Linguarum*.[746] Although he is correct that this was the first systematic inclusion of runes next to the *linguae sacrae*, and it certainly became the inspiration for the writing of many runic alphabets, the treatise does not present the first instance of runes appearing in conjunction with other alphabets. The earliest runic alphabet which has survived is Bern MS 207 [11], dated to the late eighth century. It contains a sequence of alphabets following Bede's *De Loquela Digitorum* (part of his work on computus, *De Temporum Ratione*): a Greek alphabet, Hebrew alphabet, three (pseudo-)runic alphabets, a list of rune-names, Aethicus Ister's alphabet, ogham-alphabets, and a collection of exotic alphabets. The exotic alphabets are fragmentary and confused, but a number of runes and characters which appear under the heading 'Egyptian' and 'African' in later manuscripts can be recognised.[747] It would seem that the selection of alphabets here is based on the *Etymologiae*, but more material was

[745] Barney et al., pp. 8-9.
[746] Dekker, pp. 103-04.
[747] Derolez (1954), p. 176.

added. The presence of the Aethicus Ister alphabet suggests that this kind of collection may have served as an example or inspiration for the later *De Inventione Linguarum* tract. Also, at the end of the eighth century, another alphabet collection containing runes appears which pre-dates the *De Inventione*: Wien MS 795 [12]. This manuscript contains a Greek syllabary, Roman numerals, a *fuþorc*, and Gothic alphabets. The Greek and Roman material again reminds of Isidore, but the runic and Gothic material appears to have been the scribe's own initiative.

In the early ninth century the continental material demonstrates a definite association between the Greek and runic alphabets, as the pairing appears frequently (see for instance [1], [13], [16]), and continues over time. There does not seem to be any overt connection between those two alphabets, but the link may again be due to Isidore's explanation of the etymology of alphabets. Although he clearly states that Hebrew is the mother of all alphabets, he traces many of the alphabets through Greece. It may be that scholars by analogy assumed that runes were therefore also likely to be related to the Greek alphabet and presented both together for the sake of comparison, or to demonstrate the runes' relation with one of the *linguae sacrae*.

It is also in this early ninth-century period that the treatise *De Inventione Linguarum* comes into existence. The earliest manuscript containing this tract is St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 876, written around 800 in St Gallen.[748] Similar to some of the other *De Inventione* manuscripts, this codex contains grammars, including the *Ars Major* and *Ars Minor* by Donatus, a compilation of the two Donatus grammars by Peter of Pisa, the work *De Metris des Mallius Theodorus*, and the *Ars Grammatica* by Diomedes. Additionally, it also contains both Bede's *De Arte Metrica* and *De Schematibus et Tropis*.[749] The *De Inventione* treatise is in its most simple form a

[748] 'Cod. Sang. 876', *E-codices* <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0876> [Accessed April 2017]. This manuscript has not been included in the catalogue because the runic alphabet is missing (it may have been erased). A vague runic text appears at the top of the page, though it is unclear whether it bears any relation to the missing alphabet.
[749] 'Cod. Sang. 876'.

discussion of alphabets, usually the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Aethicus Ister's, and runic alphabets. The selection of these alphabets is again by no means revolutionary, as demonstrated by an eighth-century manuscript from Limoges or Bourges, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 528, to which in the ninth century the Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Egyptian and Aethicus Ister alphabets were added, probably by a hand from Saint-Denis.[750] The lack of the runes and presence of different alphabets suggests that this collection was not copied from the *De Inventione* treatise. This manuscript, as well as the two aforementioned early alphabet collections have a French origin (Fleury, Saint-Amand, Saint-Denis): it may thus be that the interest in alphabet collections originated there in the late eighth century, and then travelled to the German-speaking areas where the treatise was composed. Seebold's research indicated that the appearance of the first Gothic alphabets was also the work of French alphabet collectors, and that the alphabets appearing in German manuscripts were generally based on works such as Wien, MS 795 [12].[751]

The first edition of the tract, produced in 1606 by Melchior Goldast (d. 1635), gave the material its name: he provided the title *De Inventione Linguarum ab Hebraea usque ad Theodiscam, et notis antiquis*.[752] Scholars usually attribute the tract to Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), a Frankish Benedictine monk and theologian who was Abbot of Fulda from 822 to 842, and Archbishop of Mainz from 847 to 856.[753] The fullest discussion of this material, with a focus on the runes, is by George Baesecke. He notes that this material was originally entitled *De Inventione Litterarum* and not *Linguarum*,[754] and considers the material the result of the activity of two scholars between the late eighth and early ninth century: Hrabanus Maurus and Alcuin. Baesecke believes that Hrabanus Maurus compiled the treatise based on material from Isidore, to which he added a number of other alphabets.[755] Dekker in

[750] Seebold (2000), p. 26.
[751] Ibid.
[752] M. Goldast, *Alamannicarum Rerum Scriptores Aliquot Vetusti* (Frankfurt: W. Richter, 1606).
[753] S. Haarländer, *Rabanus Maurus zum Kennenlernen* (Mainz: Bistum Mainz, 2006), pp. 17-57.
[754] G. Baesecke, 'Das Abecedarium Nordmannicum' in *Kleinere Schriften zur Althochdeutschen Sprache und Literatur* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1966), 237-48, p. 241.
[755] Ibid., pp. 240-41.

turn specifies that the author of the *De Inventione* combines Isidore's information on the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin alphabets with that of Jerome, *De Formis Hebraicum Litterarum*, and then added the Aethicus Ister and runic alphabets himself.[756] Occasionally, as in Wien MS 1761 [32] and 1010 [38], and Nürnberg MS 1966 [37], the treatise also includes a number of cryptographic alphabets and monograms.

As to the origin of the runes, Baesecke proposes that they were brought to the Continent by Boniface when he travelled there for his conversion missions. Alcuin, however, was likely responsible for teaching Hrabanus the alphabet when the latter was studying under the scholar at Tours (801-04).[757] Yet there is no explicit evidence for Maurus's authorship, since the only source for this attribution is Goldast, and he does not provide any evidence for this claim. Derolez concluded that the treatise was likely first written in Germany in a centre with Anglo-Saxon influences. Fulda has frequently been put forward as a suitable option, mostly because of its interest in Germanic culture. Again, there is little solid evidence for this, as Fulda was not the only monastic centre with such an interest, and the rune-names only indicate a general High German origin.[758] One of the arguments in favour of Fulda is the idea that the explanatory text for the runes was based on Tacitus's *Germania*, of which only Fulda had a copy in the early ninth century, yet Derolez thinks that the links between both texts are tenuous at most.[759] It is worth noting here that Isidore's works appear frequently near alphabets, making the association (as made by the scribes) easy to see. Other works of Hrabanus Maurus also appear, such as *De Computo*, *Liber Canonum*, and *De Institutione Clericorum*, yet they only appear in six *manuscriptae runae*, and only one of these also contains the *De Inventione* [32]. This suggests that there was no general association between this treatise and the scholar in the minds of medieval scribes. Interestingly, the earliest manuscript to contain Hrabanus's *De Computo* is St Gallen MS 878 [17], Walahfrid

[756] Dekker, p. 103.
[757] Baesecke, pp. 239, 244-45.
[758] Derolez (1954), p. 374.
[759] Ibid., p. 376.

Strabo's *vademecum*. Due to its alphabet collection (including the earliest Scandinavian rune-row), this manuscript is often compared to MS 876 and the tract. Derolez, however, assessed both texts and notes that generally speaking the runes in Strabo's work are of a better quality and their shapes closer to epigraphy, making the assumed transmission from Hrabanus Maurus to Walahfrid Strabo unlikely.[760] This, and the uncertainty regarding Maurus's authorship, eliminate the *terminus ante quem* of 849 (the death of Walahfrid Strabo), and allow for a freer dating (Baesecke had suggested between 801-19) of the first half of the ninth century.[761] It also means, in conjunction with the manuscripts discussed above, that the late-eighth and early-ninth centuries show a general interest in alphabet collections, and that runes were a part of this even before the creation of the *De Inventione* treatise. The treatise is therefore not quite unique, but rather a formal collection of (some of) the scholarly tendencies of its time, which happened to become very popular.

Treffort notes on this that the treatise is indeed of its time, but still a singular work, because it pushes beyond the boundaries of Christianity.[762] The Carolingian period (751-888), and most specifically its cultural renaissance, had a significant impact on linguistics and the study of script. This started mostly with a reform of Latin accompanied by the appearance of a new script, the Caroline minuscule. The greater uniformity supported the distribution of manuscripts, and more manuscripts began to travel between important scriptoria.[763] This renaissance also had a profound effect on the educational system, with as a result that scholars and teachers began to look for copies of important texts from Antiquity, or needed multiple copies of certain works (mostly religious in nature) for teaching purposes. This led to busy scriptoria and a focus on the written word which is likely the root of the interest Carolingian scholars had in the invention and the historical development of the art of writing.[764] This idea of the invention of alphabets is important here: the Carolingians were interested in tracing the historical figures responsible for the

[760] Ibid., p. 377.
[761] Derolez (1954), pp. 377-78; Baesecke, p. 247.
[762] Treffort, p. 53.
[763] Ibid., p. 44.
[764] Ibid.

emergence of new writing systems, which may have been connected to specific circumstances, or have arisen from the adaptation of a pre-existing system. This explains why a fictional alphabet such as that of Aethicus Ister was of interest here and was incorporated into the alphabet collections. For the Carolingians, writing represented a formulaic system of human origin, closely related to a culture and a language, which was able to be transferred, adapted, and transformed according to necessity. This interest again accounts for the appearance of alphabet collections in the late-eighth century and for the popularity of the *De Inventione* treatise. It perhaps also explains why the Aethicus Ister and runic alphabet were added to the original *linguae sacrae* (plus the other alphabets mentioned by Isidore): the extensive interest in alphabets as a writing system may have subdued the religious context provided by Isidore, or the Carolingians interpreted this material more as a cultural product, the study of which they perceived to be part of a holistic examination of the Universe created by God.

It is worth looking at the *De Inventione* treatise in some more detail, since it is the only instance where some context is given for runes as an alphabet. The aim of the treatise was likely educational, which would explain the provision of historical context; it may have been a manual to be used in schools.[765] Kottje found seventeen surviving manuscripts containing the treatise, but notes that there are are likely more to be found.[766] Eleven of these contain the runic section:

#	Shelfmark	Place of Origin	Date	Alphabets included (in sequence)
22	Wien MS 1609	Freisingen	9-10th c	Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Aethicus, runic
24	Strasbourg MS 326	Limoges	10th c	Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Aethicus, runic

[765] Derolez (1954), p. 281.
[766] Kottje (2012), p. 257.

#	Shelfmark	Place of Origin	Date	Alphabets included (in sequence)
25	Paris MS Lat. 5239	Limoges	10th c	Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Aethicus, runic, Roman figures, Greek numerals
28	Città del Vatticano, Cod. Reg. Lat. 338	Northern France	10-11th c	Hebrew, Greek, Chaldean, Assyrian, Egyptian, *Norma_*, runic
27	Città del Vatticano, Cod. Barb. Lat. 572	Monte Amiata	11th c	Latin, Hebrew, runic, Greek (Chaldean, Egyptian)
32	Wien MS 1761	Lorsch	11th c	Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Aethicus, runic, Caesar cipher, cryptic
33	Città del Vatticano, Cod. Urb. Lat. 290	Braunweiler	11th c	Greek, pseudo-Greek, the months in Hebrew and Greek, runes
36	Città del Vatticano, Cod. Reg. Lat. 294	Langheim	11-12th c	Hebrew, Greek, runic, Aethicus, Hebrew, Greek
37	Nürnberg MS 1966	Neresheim	12th c	Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Aethicus, runes, notae Iulii Caesaris, notae sancti Bonifatii
38	Wien MS 1010	Sankt Florian	12th c	Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Aethicus, runic, monograms

#	Shelfmark	Place of Origin	Date	Alphabets included (in sequence)
39	Heidelberg MS Salem IX.39	Salem	12th c	Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Aethicus, runic, *notae Iulii Caesaris*, *notae sancti Bonifatii*.

Table I: Manuscripts containing the runic section of the De Inventione treatise

A number of manuscripts also contain these alphabets, but not the explanatory texts: Stowe MS 57 [9] for instance, and Bern MS 207 [11]. The relation with Bern MS 207 is uncertain, however, because, as noted earlier, it predates the conception of the tract as edited by Goldast, and contains a number of alphabets which are not usually included (though it does have the Greek, Hebrew and runic alphabets). München CLM 14436 [31] contains a number of the runic forms but not the structure or explanatory material. It is unclear whether Stowe MS 57 should be considered a *De Inventione* manuscript: the presence of Hebrew, Greek, Aethicus, and runic alphabets suggests that it may have been based on it, yet the runes are Scandinavian and more sophisticated than the material usually included in the treatise. It may be that the scribe had seen such a treatise, and decided to recreate the collection of alphabets – without the explanatory texts – based on his own knowledge, as happens in London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D. XVIII. The twelfth-century date also indicates that it is more likely to show the exchange of ideas and texts between England and the Continent than to represent a thus far unnoticed *De Inventione* tradition in England. This tract appears only to have been produced on the Continent, with Stowe 57 as a possible exception.

The fact that this treatise does not appear in England at an early date may also be related to this exchange of books and ideas between England and the Continent: a wealth of texts and manuscripts were produced in the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century, amongst which was the *De Inventione* treatise. The same period, however, saw only little activity in English scriptoria as a consequence of the many Viking invasions and wars during that time. This situation began to

improve after the accession of King Alfred, who strongly promoted literacy and encouraged a cultural revival.[767] It is likely for that reason that runic manuscripts only start being produced in the tenth century, and considering the historical circumstances perhaps not entirely surprising that the first *manuscriptum runicum* from the British Isles contains Scandinavian runes [2]. It is interesting, however, that despite the influx of manuscripts from the Continent in the one hundred years following Alfred's accession,[768] no *De Inventione* tracts were imported or copied, at least none that survived. Indeed, the runic alphabet or rune-rows are not even associated with any alphabets other than Greek until the late eleventh century (with Cotton MS Vitellius A. XII [5] as the earliest example). It would thus appear that the Carolingian interest in writing and script did not make a big impression in Anglo-Saxon England, and that the alphabet material only began to be imported and/or noticed after the Conquest.

This ties into a second observation, which is that the tract was most popular during the eleventh century, though it covers the entire period under investigation here, from its conception onwards. This is also then when the more 'exotic' alphabets begin to make an appearance as part of the treatise, essentially expanding the alphabets included or associated with the tract. Generally, this also seems to be the point where the structure of the treatise becomes less rigid. Derolez (and Goldast's edition) shows that the 'normal' sequence is Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Aethicus Ister, and runes,[769] yet the above table reveals that just over half of the manuscripts do not adhere to this sequence. However, if the earliest manuscript (St Gallen MS 876) and the related manuscripts (Stowe MS 57 [9], and St Gallen MS 878 [16]) are included, a pattern appears. The first manuscripts from the beginning of the ninth century, MS 876 and 878, contain the sequence with Hebrew first, a sequence which is sustained until the early eleventh century, with Wien 1609 [23] as the sole exception starting with the Greek material. In the eleventh century, the sequence

[767] R. Gameson, 'The Circulation of Books between England and the Continent, c. 871-c.1100' in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, vol. 1, ed. by R. Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 338-72, p. 347.
[768] Ibid., p. 347.
[769] Derolez (1954), p. 307.

seems to become freer and the scribes become more imaginative in their treatment of the material. It may be that at this point the roots of the tract in Isidore's discussion of the origins of alphabets and languages had been forgotten. This difference in sequence does not appear to be related to the location of production, though it is worth noting that the only tract to begin with the Latin alphabet appears in the only such manuscript to have been produced in Italy.

A different type of distinction can be made based on location, however. As noted in the catalogue, there are two different texts explaining the origin of and context to the runic alphabet in the *De Inventione* treatise. This applies to all alphabets included, not just the runes, though the runic material is used here as an example.[770] The first type of explanation is the shortest, and reads as follows:

> Litteras quippe quibus utuntur Marcomanni, quos nos Nordmannos vocamus. infra scriptas habemus (a quibus originem qui Theodiscam loquuntur linguam trahunt); cum quibus carmina sua incantationesque ac diuinationes significare procurant qui adhoc pagani ritus inuoluuntur.[771]

This is the standardised version of the A-type text, provided by Derolez; [772] this text, as can be noted throughout the catalogue, appears with grammatical and spelling variations in St Gallen 876, Wien MS 1609 [22], Wien MS 1761 [32}, Nürnberg MS 1966 [37], and Wien MS 1010 [38]. A second, longer version (the B-type) reads as follows:[773]

> Hae quoque litterarum figurae in gente Northmannorum feruntur invenae. Quibus ob carminum eorum memoriam et incantationum uti adhuc dicuntur; quibus et runstabas nomen imposuerunt, ob id, ut reor, quod his res absconditas uicissim scriptitando aperiebant.[774]

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[770] For a detailed comparison of all explanatory texts, see Derolez (1954), pp. 349-53.
[771] 'The letters which are used by the Marcomanni, which we call the Northmen, are written below. From them descend those who speak Germanic, and with these they signify their songs, incantations, and divinations, to take care of the pagan rituals with which they surround themselves'. (My translation).
[772] Derolez (1954), p. 354.
[773] Ibid.
[774] 'These forms of letters which are said to have been invented by the people of the Northmanni; It is said that they still use them to commit songs and incantations to memory. They gave the name

This text appears, again with grammatical and spelling variations, in Strasbourg MS 326 [24], Paris MS 5239 [25], and Città del Vaticano, Barb. Lat. MS 572 [27]. The reason for the existence of two different texts appears to be geographical, as all manuscripts containing the first version were written in monasteries in the German-speaking areas of the Continent, while the second text appears in two manuscripts with a French origin, and one from Italy. Perhaps the division should thus not be made between Germany and France, as Derolez suggested,[775] but between Germanic and Romance-speaking areas. It is of course also possible that the scribe responsible for writing Barb. Lat. 572 used a French exemplar, but from a geographical point of view, the division should probably be widened for the sake of correctness.

The second version only came into existence approximately a century after the first: the first and shortest text accompanied the early material produced in a German-speaking environment, but the second text was written around the middle of the tenth century, and is thus likely derived from the German version. It is possible that this text was conceived in the area of Limoges in France, since the first two manuscripts originate from there, but considering the close relation of the two French manuscripts it is equally possible that both used the same exemplar which was written elsewhere (Fleury was suggested in the catalogue) and travelled to Limoges. There is no specific runic connection with this area, though the popularity of the Abbey of St Martial in the Middle Ages could account for the presence of this knowledge, especially considering the early production of runic manuscripts in French monasteries such as Fleury and Saint-Amand. There are fewer manuscripts of the B-type than of the A-type,[776] but this may be due to the date when it was conceived. The surviving manuscripts seem to indicate that the production of runic manuscripts in the French-speaking parts of Western Europe severely diminished after the ninth century: only four manuscripts were produced between the tenth

runstabas to them. I believe that they were written often in order that hidden things would become uncovered in turn'. (My translation).

[775] Derolez (1954), p. 345.

[776] Ibid., pp. 345-46, 354-55.

and twelfth centuries. Two of those are the aforementioned manuscripts from Limoges/Angoulême, one contains the *De Inventione Linguarum* but without the explanatory text [28], and one a short runic text (Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 637). It is interesting to note, however, that the A version only appeared in the German-speaking areas of the Continent, while version B also spread to Italy. This is demonstrated not only by Barb. Lat. MS 572, but also by Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, S. Marco MS 604, which, like St Gallen Ms 876, contains the *De Inventione* tract on fo. 105r-v and all explanatory texts, but no runes. In the San Marco case the explanatory text is shortened, but it is clearly of the B variety. This manuscript is dated to the early eleventh century by Derolez, though the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana catalogue suggests a twelfth-century date, and was written in Naples.[777] There is no clear connection between the Italian manuscripts: both manuscripts contain excerpts of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, but since many *manuscriptae runae* do so, this is unlikely to be significant. Although it is difficult to speak of an Italian tradition based on two manuscripts, there does appear to have been some interest in the material, or at least in alphabet studies. Even though the B text is later and appears in fewer manuscripts, it continued to be copied until quite late: another copy of the tract with a B-type text appears in a fourteenth-century manuscript from England, London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D. XVIII. This manuscript uses the framework and some of the contents of the *De Inventione* tract to construct a *Liber Alphabetarius*, with material gathered from different sources. This collection of alphabets is bound up with a number of Middle English texts, so the context does not reveal much regarding the sources for the material, unfortunately.

The difference between the versions is rather striking: though both attribute the alphabet to the Northmen, only the Romance version reveals its name. The Germanic version appears to focus on the language aspect of the material, noting the linguistic connections between the Northmen, the Marcomanni, and speakers of Germanic. The text is also clearly interested in the pagan and magical characteristics

[777] 'S. Marco MS 604', *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Digital Repository* <http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AVsVbrhCkUprGCn5XwQR&c=S.Marco%20604#/book> [Accessed May 2017]; Derolez (1954), pp. 343-45.

of the alphabet. The Romance explanation focuses more on the function and the practical use of the material, noting its mnemonic employment. Interesting here is also the explanation that runes were written in order to reveal secrets or 'hidden things', which is close to the definition for the Old English word *rūn*. The use of the term Marcomanni in version A is of interest, because it is uncertain who is meant by this, and because the texts puts them on par with the Northmen. To add to the confusion, they are also indicated as the ancestors of the speakers of Germanic. The scholars who have investigated this curious statement all seem to think that it is unlikely that this ninth-century treatise would attribute the alphabet to a Germanic tribe from Antiquity: Marcomanni generally denotes a group of Germanic tribes who settled north of the Danube and are best known for their fourteen-year-long war with the Romans under Emperor Marcus Aurelius in the second century of the common era.[778] Grimm gave as a reason for his doubts the idea that the author of the *De Inventione* treatise (Maurus according to him) would not have equated the origin of the German language (*Theodisca Lingua*) with these tribes.[779] Baesecke points out that there is no evidence of runes used for divination in the history of Germany, and that the author clearly did not know of anything similar from a German context, otherwise he would not have used Anglo-Saxon material. Hence he must have been thinking of Nordic heathens.[780] Although these arguments do not exactly dissuade one from looking in the direction of the Marcomanni as the Germanic tribe, Derolez remarks that a number of early historians such as Frechulf from Frankia (c. 830) and the Goth Jordanes (c. 550) thought that at least the Goths, but probably all Germanic people, came from Scandinavia.[781] The *De Inventione* author may thus have made the connection that way. Derolez believes that there is some connection with Denmark to be found, as information about Denmark must

[778] H. Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic People*, trans. by T. Dunlap (London: University of California Press, 1997), p. 35; Derolez (1954), pp. 355-56.
[779] W. Grimm, *Ueber die Deutsche Runen* (Göttingen: 1821), p. 150.
[780] Baesecke (1966), p. 242-43.
[781] Derolez (1954), p. 356.

have reached Germany by the eighth century, quite likely through the Christian conversion missions which had started as early as the days of St Wilibrord (d. 739).[782]

There is little reason to discredit this theory, as this seems the most straightforward solution, and there are plenty of good contemporary records of the German conversion missions to Denmark in the ninth century.[783] It is therefore not inconceivable that this kind of information reached important monastic centres such as St Gallen and Fulda. The monks at Fulda, in any case, were definitely aware of the existence of the Northmen (and the Danes specifically) in the ninth century, since they are mentioned frequently in their annals.[784] However, it is difficult to tell to what extent this awareness of the Viking invaders, which was wide-spread in ninth-century Europe, influenced a wider interest in the Scandinavian culture. The obvious problem here of course is that the runes in the treatise are in most cases not Danish. However, as has been noted, the incorporation of runes in alphabet collections appears to precede the *De Inventione* treatise. The author of the treatise may have married information he found in the works of Isidore and Jerome, and the *Cosmographia*, with information about current events which he received from travellers or ecclesiastics involved in the conversion movement. He then added this information to the runic material he had close at hand. This inclusion of contemporary knowledge is not strange or unique: Seebold also notes that a second version of the Hebrew alphabet (the first originating from Jerome and Isidore) surfaced in the ninth century, with character-forms which could only have been provided by contemporary Jews.[785]

This raises the question of how these Anglo-Saxon runic alphabets became part of the manuscript culture, especially considering that the manuscripts which contain the first alphabets and rune-rows all have a northern French origin, rather

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[782] Ibid., pp. 356-66.
[783] L. Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianisation of Scandinavia', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 24 (1995), 213-49, p. 214.
[784] *The Annals of Fulda*, Ninth-Century Histories, vol. 2, trans. and ed. by T. Reuter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992). Interestingly, the entry for 891 clearly indicates that the monks understood that the Northmen were a group which consisted of different people, as they describe the Danes as the 'most powerful people among the Northmen' (p. 122).
[785] Seebold (2000), p. 12.

than the expected English one. Logically, the information on Anglo-Saxon runes must have originated in England, since epigraphical inscriptions were still produced then (though not in great numbers). As a consequence, it has generally been assumed that the early material travelled to France with the English missionaries and their entourage. Seebold, however, examined the early manuscripts and came to the conclusion that the dissemination of this material likely started through and was stimulated by the Irish missionary activity on the Continent.[786] It may not be necessary to make a strong distinction here, as Irish here should probably be understood as those who were part of the Irish religious and scholarly culture.[787] Brown notes that it is better to use the term insular rather than English versus Irish where books and writing are concerned, at least between the end of the Roman occupation of Britain in the early fifth century and the Viking invasions of the ninth century. This is due to reciprocal influencing and a lively exchange of books (and scholars) between the Celtic and the Anglo-Saxon areas.[788]

Seebold thinks that the influx of runic knowledge into Ireland may have been a result of the Northumbrian presence in parts of the Irish-speaking world,[789] but it is not inconceivable that monks from other parts of England were educated in the Irish monasteries, especially considering the great Irish involvement in the conversion movement. It should be pointed out that the missionary activity was not aimed at France, which had already been converted during Roman times (Gregory of Tours records a third-century date).[790] Rather, these were missionaries passing through Northern France towards the German territories on their way to Rome, or alternatively to the Western Merovingian Empire.[791] Another way in which the Irish

[786] Ibid., p. 14.
[787] Ibid.
[788] M. P. Brown, 'Writing in the Insular World' in *CHB*, vol. 1, 121-66, p. 121; On the exchange of books see for instance H. McKee, 'The Circulation of Books between England and the Celtic Realms' in *CBH*, vol. 1, 338-43.
[789] Seebold (2000), p. 14.
[790] Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, trans. by O. M. Dalton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), pp. 20-22.
[791] Seebold, p. 30.

component of the missionaries could have picked up this knowledge is on their way to the Continent from Ireland: McKee writes that Irish scholars tended to use England as a staging-point on a longer journey and that 'it seems to have been common for Irish scholars to cross Wales or Cornwall, and then southern England, on their way to the European mainland'.[792] The catalogue has indicated that all of these areas also at some point produced *manuscriptae runae* (e.g. [2], [5], [6]). However, the main reason for attributing this distribution to the Irish missionaries is that the surviving manuscripts indicate that the scholars in Irish scriptoria were interested in alphabets from an early date.

Following Jerome's example, the study of the etymology of Bible names and trilingual terminology became popular in the Early Middle Ages. The Irish scribes and scholars quite quickly developed the custom of providing certain biblical terms in all three languages.[793] They were also the ones who began the transmission of the Hebrew alphabet after Jerome and Isidore's works reached them, and their writings reflect the attention paid to the *linguae sacrae*. This interest seems to have developed into a wider tendency to play with alphabets: the clearest example of this is their practice of replacing Roman letters with Greek or Hebrew ones when they needed them to stand out (a practice which spread and is also visible in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* for instance).[794] The use of foreign characters as an *Auszeichnungsschrift* also extended to the runic alphabet. It is unclear when this practice began exactly, but the earliest evidence can be found in Lichfield, Cathedral Library 1 (*The Saint Chad's Gospels*) from the late eighth century which shows a heavy Irish influence (though it was potentially produced in Wales). This manuscript uses a number of capitals which are runes or stylised as runes.[795] Seebold also mentions the *Book of Kells* (Dublin, Trinity College, MS A. 1.6) and the *Vespasian Psalter* (London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A. I) as evidence of this practice.[796] Of course, the use of single runes or rune-like characters does not

[792] McKee, p. 342.
[793] Seebold (2000), p. 13.
[794] Ibid., p. 11, 14.
[795] Ibid., pp. 14-15.
[796] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

necessarily lead to the production of runic alphabets or rune-rows, but it is hardly a stretch: in many cases the correct use of single runes suggests knowledge of the entire rune-row.

This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the first *runicum manuscriptum* with an Anglo-Saxon alphabet, Bern MS 207, also contains a collection of high quality ogham material and shows Irish influence in the script. The influence of Ireland and its connection with Isidore has also been remarked upon in connection to Brussel, MS 9565-9566 [21]. Zironi also points out that the stronger the Irish influence in a certain monastery or monastic centre, the more intense the copying of alphabetical series in manuscripts appears.[797] This suggests that through the contacts with England and the Anglo-Saxon runic tradition, Irish-trained monks would have learned runes and carried this knowledge through to Continental Europe at a time when the Carolingian Renaissance made continental scholars particularly interested in this type of material. It may even be that these Irish (and insular more generally) monks in their conversion efforts brought the knowledge of the runic alphabet and its function from Denmark to the continental monasteries.[798] In some cases, the information on the runes may not have translated into a realisation of the differences between the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian rune-rows, however. They may have offered the more familiar Anglo-Saxon one as an example instead. That said, some more attentive missionaries could have picked up the Scandinavian *fuþark*, which would explain the conception of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* [16], for instance.

Computus and Medieval Science

As noted earlier, due to Isidore's specifications many of the runic (and other) alphabets contain Roman alphabet transliterations and acrophonic names. However, a large number of the alphabets included in the *De Inventione* also received

[797] Zironi, pp. 353-69.
[798] Abrams, p. 216.

numerals. This happens most commonly for the Greek alphabet, where every letter is given a number. The inclusion of these numbers is likely due to the influence of Bede, who presents this practice in the first chapter of his well-known work *De Temporum Ratione*.[799] Bede is another author whose works are frequently found near runes. This may be due to his nationality, his reputation as the historian of Anglo-Saxon England, or his use of alphabets to help with computus calculations. The fact that Bede includes alphabets in this work is interesting, because computus is a frequently occurring context for runic alphabets and rune-rows. The association with this context may date to early in the tradition, since it appears in the early manuscripts. Additionally, some of the Isidorian materials which frequently appear near runes also discuss computus or are related to time measurement. It is useful to examine this context further, since it may provide insight into the further development and perception of runes in manuscripts. A first important observation here is that the computus is often part of a larger corpus of scientific texts: these are works examining topics ranging from weather forecasting to medical treatises. Out of all the different scientific materials in the *manuscriptae runae* examined in the catalogue, there appear to be most texts dedicated to the science of computus, yet it is worth looking at the scientific element more broadly and seeing how computus (and runes) functioned within this context.

The period between the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century and the arrival of Greek (and Arabic) scientific texts through Muslim channels from the eleventh century onwards has often been regarded as a 'dark' time for Western science.[800] This is mostly because of the focused interest in astronomy and pure mathematics (especially in fields such as geometry and numbers theory), and because the knowledge about those disciplines was mostly constructed based on random information from the works of Calcidius, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Isidore, and Pliny.[801] This view is not technically incorrect, but it

[799] Seebold (2000), p. 11.
[800] I. Warntjes, *The Munich Computus: Text and Translation – Irish Computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede and its Reception in Carolingian Times* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), p. xxx.
[801] Ibid.

holds only if one focuses on the quadrivium; it does not take into account the science of computistics, which was popular indeed during the (mostly early) Middle Ages. It should be remembered that during this period sciences were studied from a purely Christian point of view, in an environment which had little influence from and was often suspicious of non-Christian authors and their knowledge. Warntjes notes that it is therefore not a surprise that the traditional sciences were studied only rudimentarily, primarily as helpful sub-sciences to the only true Christian science of computistics.[802]

The invention of the science of computistics is a result of the decision by the Christian church in the second century that Easter could not be celebrated on the same day as the Hebrew *pasch*, nor on a fixed Julian calendar date. Instead the feast should be held on the Sunday after the first full moon in spring, which necessitated the development of mathematical and astronomical methods to determine this date.[803] This 'science' started out as a minor subfield of the main disciplines of mathematics and astronomy in Late Antiquity, and became popular through the spread of Christianity. Its scientific dominance until the eleventh century is partly because after the fall of the West Roman empire there was little contact with the Greek speaking world (limiting the influx of texts and personal expertise), and partly because the Bishops of Rome were eager to learn this new science, so they would no longer be dependent on the earlier centres of science, mainly Alexandria, for this important date. This Christianisation of society also impacted these centres of science, and in the Middle Ages monasteries became the hubs of scientific research rather than secular institutions such as Alexandria.[804]

Although the aim of computus was clearly to identify the date of Easter, Warntjes notes that after the sixth century, when Dionysius Exiguus (d. 544) made the Alexandrian Easter table available to the West, the science began losing its very narrow definition. [805] From the middle of the seventh century onwards, computistics

[802] Warntjes (2010), p. xxxiii.
[803] Ibid., p. xxxii.
[804] Ibid.
[805] Ibid., p. xxxiv.

developed into a synthesis of everything even remotely relevant to time reckoning, covering every aspect of theoretical and applied time measurement. This included for instance finger-counting, arithmetic, basic astronomical theory, tracts on the units and divisions of time, descriptions of the history of workings of the lunar and solar calendar, algorithms for the calculation of chronological data, and theories about tools for time measurement. In fact, in the early Middle Ages, science seems almost synonymous with computistics. Considering its importance and wide-spread nature, it is therefore not surprising to find so many manuscripts with computus in the catalogue. It does, however, suggest that many runic manuscripts were devoted (partially or wholly) to science. From this follows the question of whether the runic material was then also considered part of this medieval scientific knowledge in some way. In order to examine this question, it is useful to consider these manuscripts as a group. The following table contains all manuscripts which include scientific material alongside runes:

#	Shelfmark	Dating	Place of Origin	Type of material	Manuscript context
1	Harley MS 3017	9th c	Fleury	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet	Computistical and scientific material;
3	Exeter MS 3507	10th c	Sherborne	Anglo-Saxon Alphabets	Hrabanus Maurus, *De Computo*; Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis*; Isidore, *De Natura Rerum*; computistical items;
5	Vitellius A. XII	11-12th c	Salisbury	Anglo-Saxon Alphabets	Abbo of Fleury, *De Differentia circuli et sphaereae*; Hrabanus Maurus, *De Computo*; Bede, *Epistola ad Pleguinam*; computus;

#	Shelfmark	Dating	Place of Origin	Type of material	Manuscript context
					religious and literary items;
6	Domitian A. IX	12th c	Worcester London	Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon Alphabets	Aldhelm, *Epistola ad Heahfridum*; Alphabets; computus; calendars; Anglo-Saxon chronicle; Augustine of Hippos, *Enchiridion*;
7	St John's College MS 17	12th c	Thorney	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet, *fuþark*, *fuþorc*	Computus, cosmology, mathematics, medicine, grammar, prognostication; excerpts from Isidore, Abbo of Fleury, and Macrobius; Bede, *De Temporibus*; Bede, *De Natura Rerum*; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*; Helperic, *De Computo*; Dionysius Exiguus, *Epistola;*
8	TC, MS R. 14.34	12th c	Bury St Edmunds	Scandinavian Alphabet	Constantine Africanus, *Liber Pantegni*;
9	Stowe MS 57	12th c	Peterborough	*Fuþark*; twig-rune *fuþark*	Grammatical extracts including Isidore, *Etymologiae*; compendium of biblical world history;

#	Shelfmark	Dating	Place of Origin	Type of material	Manuscript context
					trilingual glossary; medical recipes;
11	Bern MS 207	8th c	Fleury	Anglo-Saxon Alphabets	Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis*; Bede, *De Computo*; Donatus, *Ars Maior et Minor*; Isidore, *Etymologiae*; grammatical and rhetorical texts; cosmology;
13	Leiden MS F 12δ	9th c	Fleury	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet	Isidore, *Commentarius in Leviticum*; Polemius Silvius, *Laterculus*; computistical texts; legal and geographical texts;
14	Brussel MS 9311-9319	9th c	St Amands	Fuþorc	Hymn to the Virgin Mary; works by Isidore;
16	Modena O. I. 11	9th c	Nonantola/ Bobbio	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet	Isidore, *Chronicon*; Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*; Apuleius, *De Medicaminibus*; Medical recipes;
17	St Gallen MS 878	9th c	Reichenau	Fuþorc, abecedarium	Donatus, grammatical works; Priscian, grammatical works;

#	Shelfmark	Dating	Place of Origin	Type of material	Manuscript context
				nordmannicum	Isidore, *Etymologiae*; Hrabanus Maurus, *De Computo*; Bede, *De Natura Rerum*; Alcuin, *Grammatica*; computistical texts; astrological items; historical texts; medical items;
22	Brussel MS 9565-9566	9-10th c	St Gallen	Fuþorc	Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis*; computus; philosophical and rhetorical materials; Greek and Latin numerals; Dubthach's cryptogram;
23	Wien MS 1609	9-10th c	Freisingen	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet	Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis*; Isidore, *Etymologiae*; Notker Balbulus, Letters; Salomon, *Liber Formularum*; grammatical and religious items;
24	Strasbourg MS 326	10th c	Limoges	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet	Bede, De Natura Rerum; Bede, De Temporum Ratione; Bede, Chronicon;

#	Shelfmark	Dating	Place of Origin	Type of material	Manuscript context
25	Paris MS Lat. 5239	10th c	Limoges	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet	Dionysius Exiguus, *De Ratione*; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*; Bede, *Epistola*; Computus; scientific items; *Dies Aegyptiaci*; Isidore, *Etymologiae*; Bede, *Chronicon*; calendars and astrological items;
28	Città del Vaticano, Cod. Reg. Lat. 338	11th c	Northern France	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet	Legal and religious items; time measurement and calendars;
31	München CLM 14436	11th c	Regensburg	Anglo-Saxon Alphabets	Rhetorical, grammatical and computistical items; Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*; Macrobius, *Commentarii*; Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis*; Boethius, *In Porphyrii*; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione;*
33	Città del Vaticano, Cod. Urb. Lat. 290	11th c	Braunweiler	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet	Abbo of Fleury, *Computus*; Hermann von Reichenau, *Computus*; Bede, *De*

#	Shelfmark	Dating	Place of Origin	Type of material	Manuscript context
					Temporum Ratione; Computistical, astronomical, and metrical items;
35	Trier MS 61	11th c	Trier	*Fuþorc*, Anglo-Saxon short text	Sedulius, *Carmen*; Sedulius, *Hymnus*; notes on forecasting the weather; Latin-Germany glossary; literary items;
39	Heidelberg MS Salem IX. 39	12th c	Salem	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet	Isidore, *Epistola*; Isidore, *Etymologiae*; Isidore, *De Natura Rerum*; Bede, *Horologium*.

Table II: Runic manuscripts containing scientific texts

The first element which stands out is the high number of manuscripts: over half of the *manuscriptae runae* examined contain texts of a scientific nature. This does not mean that all of these are necessarily scientific, as there are a number of manuscripts which include only one or a few texts related to an element of science. Trier MS 61 [35] for instance only contains one text on weather forecasting. That said, out of the twenty-one manuscripts collected here, nineteen contain texts related to time measurement or computistics. The popularity of this material, however, makes it difficult to tell whether this is significant. Many of these manuscripts appear slightly haphazard collections of information, and that is problematic in this case, since it makes it difficult to establish whether the runic material was part of this scientific information, or relates to the material in a different way. Consequently, it is necessary to think about how manuscripts were

constructed in this time, and if there is any method to the madness, before analysing the connection further.

A quick look at the tables of contents provided with each manuscript shows that the majority of them contain multiple different texts and materials. This is not unusual for medieval manuscripts, and even became the norm for most of the period examined here, especially in the case of instructional manuscripts. Lendinara writes that the classical world only knew the unitary book, as in a book containing the work of a single author, or occasionally more works by the same author. The miscellaneous book emerged in Late Antiquity, containing a range of texts by different authors.[806] The early Middle Ages were also characterised by the use of these types of manuscripts, which often contained the works of different writers as well as different genres. In some cases, these texts were put together due to similarity in content or form, in others they were juxtaposed. These manuscripts differ from their ancestors in that they reproduced entire texts instead of the excerpts found in the books of Late Antiquity. These texts would then be organised in a hierarchical structure. Some manuscripts only became miscellaneous over time, as minor texts were added to the main ones, either in the margins or in blank spaces or in additional quires added in the same scriptoria.[807] In general, however, it appears that the less organised (which Lendinara calls 'disorganic') manuscripts, which were common during the late Antique period, started appearing again after some time, and by the eighth century miscellaneous manuscripts were mere vessels for a large number of heterogenous texts.[808] These codices were also the basis for teaching during that period, so the compilations often reflect the entire spectrum of early monastic culture and those elements considered important for education.[809]

The miscellaneous codex survived the Carolingian Renaissance, but became richer and more specifically aimed at education. The late eighth and ninth centuries

[806] P. Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts in England: The Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Codices and the Early Norman Ones' in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence*, ed. by P. Lendinara, L. Lazzari, M. A. D'Aronco (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 59-114, pp. 59-60.
[807] Ibid., pp. 60-61.
[808] Ibid., p. 61.
[809] Ibid., p. 71.

produced various handbooks, manuals, compilations, and 'abbreviated' standard texts, often with a strong focus on language and grammar. As noted in the previous section, the interest in runes and other alphabets likely came with this focus. The connection with computus could be explained by the educational purpose of these books: Warntjes notes that the study of computus, grammar, and exegesis formed the three central pillars of Christian learning.[810] This may then also explain the occurrence of alphabets in a religious context. Purely religious surroundings for the runic alphabet are the rarest context, with only five manuscripts incorporating runes in a manuscript dedicated entirely to religious matters. Most of these manuscripts are later, with Paris Grec MS 375 [30] from the eleventh century, and the Byland Bede [10], Nürnberg MS 1966 [37], and Wien MS 1010 [38] from the twelfth century. Only Karlsruhe, MS Aug. Perg. 254 [15] is from the early period (ninth century); the manuscript also contains glosses in Hebrew-Greek-Latin and thus clearly focuses on the religious, which makes the inclusion of runes more conspicuous. All of these manuscripts, except for the Byland Bede, which is also the only English manuscript, contain Anglo-Saxon runes.

That said, the collective nature of most of the *manuscriptae runae* resulted in the inclusion of religious items in many of them. It is not infrequently the case that scientific, grammatical, and religious materials are found next to one another, confirming Warntjes's statement. This is significant and suggests that the connection between the materials should not only be examined on this small a scale: though many of these manuscripts may have a didactic purpose, Christian learning would by no means be limited to education. Dekker notes on the same topic that 'it is the symbolic reflection of divine order that explains the association between alphabets and the encyclopaedic notes and computus material with which they often occur'.[811] He writes that like the notes and texts which focus on numbers and measurements, alphabets could be interpreted as illustrations of the same divine world order that

[810] I. Warntjes, 'Computus as Scientific Thought in Ireland and the Early Medieval West' in *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion*, ed. by R. Fletcher and S. Meeder (London: Palgrave, 2016), 158-78, p. 159.
[811] Dekker, p. 108.

was explained in time reckoning or computus. The connection also went both ways, since computus used both letters and numbers to do its calculations. Alphabets were seen as tools for writing languages and making calculations, but were equally used to understand (or learn to understand) the divine order. Their structure and connection with encyclopaedic information such as acrophonic names, transliterations, numbers and biblical symbolism (mostly in the case of the *linguae sacrae*) made them into elements which were contemplated for inspiration and instruction.[812]

Although the inclusion of alphabets in grammar, and grammar within the study of divine order explains how this material connects on a broader level, it is interesting to establish how the connection between alphabets, especially the runic one, and computus came to the attention of early medieval scholars, who were for the most part cut off from the Late Antique studies of these phenomena. The frequent appearance of both subjects (alphabets and computus) in conjunction may also be a consequence of how the material began its transmission. Irish scholars seem to have played a pivotal role in the dissemination of the different computistical models and traditions in the early Middle Ages. Their influence was most prominent during the Carolingian Renaissance, making it possible that these scholars and works were the vessels for both types of material, and that they became associated at an early date. From the beginning of the study of computus after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, different Easter tables were used to calculate the date for the holiday, which caused confusion and disagreement among early scholars. The two most influential tables in the post-Roman era were the *Latercus* by Sulpicius Severus (d. 425) and the Victorian (commissioned by Pope Leo I's (d. 461) archdeacon, Hilarius (d. 468), from Victorius of Aquitane (d. fifth century)),[813] which were then surpassed in the Latin West during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries by a table from Alexandria, which, as noted earlier, was introduced (by means of a translation from 525) by Dionysius Exiguus and is therefore called Dionysiac.[814] The Irish scholars

[812] Ibid.
[813] C. Corning, 'Columbanus and the Easter Controversy: Theological, Social and Political Contexts' in *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion*, ed. by R. Fletcher and S. Meeder (London: Palgrave, 2016), 101-115, p. 103.
[814] Warntjes (2016), p. 159, 161.

first adopted the *Latercus* table, which may have reached the island as early as 431 and stayed popular for the next few centuries. It is unclear which table the Continent used at that time, but the synod of Orléans determined that the Victorian reckoning was to be used throughout the Frankish empire in 541. When Columbanus began his mission to Gaul, he therefore brought a potentially 'new' system with him. This mission, and the missionary experiences in Anglo-Saxon England revealed this discrepancy in computistical systems to Rome. As a consequence, the Pope ordered a campaign to rectify these heretical practices.[815] This led to southern Ireland adopting the Victorian tables for approximately seventy years (until 700), while the North of Ireland and Britain continued to use the *Latercus*. This does not mean that the Dionysiac tables were unknown in this part of the world, however, as many comparisons between the Victorian and Dionysiac tables were composed during that period and transmitted from the Irish monasteries to the Continent.[816] The latter eventually became dominant, a process which in the insular world began most clearly in Northumbria, which at the time was controlled by the Irish. Rome formally adopted the Dionysiac tables in the 640s, which prompted the synod of Whitby to abandon the *Latercus* of the northern Irish churches, adopt the Dionysiac reckoning, and expel the traditionalist Irish monastics.[817]

Yet even the Dionysiac tables were likely made popular due to Irish efforts. The oldest instance of the Dionysiac Easter table which survives is the famous table of Willibrord. He was educated by Wilfrid, who was responsible for advocating the Dionysiac table at the synod of Whitby. Willibrord then left his native Northumbria to continue his studies in Ireland under Ecgberth at the monastery of Ráth Máelsigi. Ecgberth was also an important figure in this debate, since he was responsible for converting the last followers of the *Latercus* in the congregation of Iona. Willibrord's Irish and Northumbrian background and education is significant because he left Ireland for a conversion mission to Frisia in 690, and in that way imported the new

[815] Ibid., p. 162.
[816] Ibid., p. 165.
[817] Ibid.

system for time reckoning into Frankia, which still followed Victorius.[818] Willibrord was followed by many other insular scholars/missionaries in such a way that these scholars from c. 680 until 730 laid the foundation for the scientific strand of the Carolingian Renaissance of the eighth and ninth centuries.[819] Additionally, because of a longer tradition of computistical studies, the insular scholars also invented the genre of the computistical textbook, which was again hugely influential on the Continent, especially during the period 750-60. Afterwards these books were replaced by Bede's writings (e.g. *De Temporibus* (703) and *De Temporum Ratione* (725)), which dominated the scientific thinking of the ninth century and continued to be influential throughout most of the Middle Ages.[820]

As it was suggested earlier that the Irish missionary activity to the Continent contributed to the developing interest in alphabets and language, and considering the early Irish interest in Isidore (who also discusses both elements), it is possible that both types of knowledge were transmitted in the same period. This may explain the association from an early point onwards, because, though runes clearly count as an alphabet, it is unlikely that they would have been mistaken as one of the *linguae sacrae*. The fact that they came from the same sources which provided the tools and tables for time reckoning and other religious matters, may have put them in a more favourable light and aided the dissemination of the runic alphabet on the Continent.

A closer look at the table of runic manuscripts above reveals that computus texts (and scientific texts in general) were copied for the entirety of the four centuries included in this examination, yet English scholars and scribes only really started including runes and scientific texts in the same codices from the late tenth century onwards. The majority of the insular books containing both elements are dated to the twelfth century, suggesting that this may have been a continental tradition originally which then moved to England. This is confirmed by a look at the material from the Continent, which shows a concentration in the ninth and tenth centuries, with only one manuscript from the twelfth century. This is interesting,

[818] Ibid., p. 166.
[819] Ibid., p. 168.
[820] Ibid., p. 169.

because though much of the computus material comes from an insular source and Anglo-Saxon runes clearly originate from the same place (except for the Frisian element), there seems to have been little association between the two elements in England or Ireland during the early dissemination period. Since the insular origins are demonstrable for both types of material, the association must have therefore been made by the continental scholars receiving the information rather than the insular scholars providing it. The material would then have been imported (back) into England in the tenth century. Considering the monastic reforms (as part of the Benedictine Reform) of the time and the increased movement of books and scholars between England and the Continent at that time, this is a likely scenario. It is worth noting that the English scientific manuscripts were not mere copies of the continental ones, however: the *manuscriptae runae* containing scientific texts from the Continent only include Anglo-Saxon runes, whereas the English material is more diversified: an equal number of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon alphabets and rune-rows can be counted. This provides an interesting insight into the knowledge of the runic alphabet possessed by English scribes, especially considering the twelfth-century date of the manuscripts. Almost all of these manuscripts (except for Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 14.34 [8]) are collections of a variety of material, and are thus often almost encyclopaedic in nature. It would seem that the aim of the compilers of these manuscripts was to give an overview of scientific knowledge, and considering the continental treatment of these alphabets, it is not surprising that they included alphabet studies as a part of this.

Isruna and Cryptography

The connections between runes and computus, and by extension medieval science, are thus explicable on historical and educational/pedagogical grounds. There is, however, a final type of context which does not fit so neatly into the Trivium: runes are also frequently found as part of cryptographical texts or in contexts dedicated to cryptography. The idea of runes as an alphabet connected with secrecy was clearly alive with rune-scribes, as demonstrated in the explanatory texts from the *De Inventione* treatise, and manuscripts containing coded runes such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 572 [2], and London, British Library, Stowe MS 57 [9].

This idea also lived on in the context of the runic alphabet, even if the runes themselves were not necessarily coded. For instance, it is not uncommon to find cryptograms or cryptographic alphabets in various languages alongside the runes, or in the same manuscripts. At least thirteen manuscripts show an interest in or affinity with cryptography or have had cryptographic elements added to them as annotations. The most obvious instance of cryptography involving runes is the *isruna* tract, which explains different ways of using runes to produce codes based on the position of a rune in the *fuþorc*.

The use of codes and cryptographic systems to obscure information is not a medieval invention by any means. Rather, medieval codes, as seen in the *isruna* treatise for instance, belong to a long tradition of disguised messages, of which evidence has been found as far back as the second millennium BC. The history of cryptography began with simple symbol substitutions by Ancient Egyptians in inscriptions on funerary monuments and became more complicated over time; it seems to have developed similarly in most ancient civilisations (except for the Chinese).[821] In the West, the first cryptographic system was devised by the Spartans for military purposes, called a 'skytale'. To explain the development of the code as used in the *isruna* tract, the work of the Greek writer, Polybius (d. c. 118 BC), is of interest: he devised a system which arranged the letters of the alphabet in a square and numbered the rows and columns, resulting in each letter being represented by two numbers. This device is commonly called a checkerboard, and is still used by modern cryptographers, as well as likely being the base for the *isruna* code.[822]

Julius Caesar developed a cryptographic system which occasionally appears in conjunction with runes, most frequently as part of the *De Inventione* tract. The Caesar alphabet or cipher disguised messages by replacing every letter with the letter standing three places ahead in the (Roman) alphabet, so a would become d, and b would be replaced by e, for instance.[823] Another code sometimes found near

[821] D. Kahn, *The Codebreakers: The Story of Secret Writing* (New York: Scribner, 1996), p. 71-73.
[822] Kahn, pp. 82-83.
[823] Ibid., p. 84.

runes is the Augustan cipher, employed by the first emperor of Rome, which simply substituted the letter required by the next one in the alphabet, except for x, which was denoted by aa.[824]

As some of the *manuscriptae runae* have demonstrated, these systems were still known and used during the Middle Ages, and it is against this background that the various medieval cryptographic scripts should be seen. Kahn mentions coded runes (including *isruna*), various ogham codes, the *notae sancti Bonifatii*, the syllabic system of the tyronian notes (which technically originated in Antiquity, as it was devised by Tullius Tyro (d. 4 BC), one of Cicero's freed slaves), Hildegard von Bingen's cipher, and Dubthach's diagram as examples of codes used and/or invented during the Middle Ages. He concludes, however, that

> [i]n the Europe of the Latin alphabet – from which modern cryptology would spring – cryptography flickered weakly. With the collapse of the Roman empire, Europe had plunged into the obscurity of the Dark Ages. Literacy had all but disappeared. Arts and sciences were forgotten, and cryptography was not excepted.[825]

Not only is the general statement on the Middle Ages misconceived (to say the least), but Kahn's perception of the use of ciphers and codes during the period also appears to be erroneous, considering the high number of manuscripts Bischoff collected in his work on the non-diplomatic codes of the Middle Ages.[826] Although the codes used in the Middle Ages perhaps do not show a high level of complexity, they were certainly popular, especially those which employed different alphabets. Bischoff demonstrates a number of different uses of codes, ranging from the use of the Latin alphabet for substitution and positional codes, to numerical codes, and codes using Greek, Hebrew, Aethicus Ister's alphabet, runes, and a combination of all these alphabets.[827] It would seem then that the gathering of these alphabets in the *De Inventione* treatise may not only have been intended for those scholars

[824] Ibid.
[825] Ibid., p. 89.
[826] B. Bischoff, *Die Nichtdiplomatischen Geheimschriften des Mittelalters* (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus, 1954).
[827] Ibid., pp. 2-9.

interested in language and letters or as part of medieval learning, but also for those interested in cryptography. The appearance of alphabets, even haphazardly, seems to be more multifunctional than initially expected.

This is not the place to give a full overview of all the alphabet codes used in medieval manuscripts, but it is worth noting that runic cryptography does not only denote cryptographic systems such as those the *isruna* tract contains or can be found on epigraphical inscriptions such as the Rök stone (Ög 136). Indeed, simply using runes instead of Roman letters, mixing them with other alphabets, or writing them together with other codes was seen as a way of adding a layer of secrecy to the text or message. A good example of this can be found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 326, a manuscript from Christ Church Canterbury, dated between the second half of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh, which contains a colophon written in both Anglo-Saxon runes and the *notae sancti Bonifatii* on p. 140. This type of active engagement with runes as a cryptographic tool, however, is more frequently found in runic texts than in alphabets and rune-rows. Within the manuscripts examined here the use of runes for cryptographical purposes is most obvious in the *isruna* tract, where it is explained rather than used (though there are a number of examples).

The manuscripts containing this treatise are as follows, and based on these the use of the treatise can be further analysed:

#	Shelfmark	Dating	Place of origin	Contextual material
18	St Gallen MS 270	9th c	St Gallen (?)	Donatus, grammatical works; Priscian, grammatical works; Isidore, *Etymologiae*; Hrabanus Maurus, *De Computo*; Bede,

				De Natura Rerum; Alcuin, *Grammatica*; computistical texts; astrological items; historical texts; medical items;
22	Brussel MS 9565-9566	9-10th c	St Gallen	Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis*; computus; philosophical and rhetorical materials; Greek and Latin numerals; Dubthach's cryptogram
29	Salzburg MS A IX. 32	11th c	Cologne	Canons; Bede, *De Remediis*; Hrabanus Maurus, *Liber Canonum*; excerpts from Augustine and Gregory; excerpts from Isidore;
33	Città del Vaticano, MS Urb. Lat. 290	11th c	Braunweiler	Abbo of Fleury, *Computus*; Hermann von Reichenau, *Computus*; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*;

				Computistical, astronomical, and metrical items; *De Inventione*;
35	Trier MS 61	11th c	Trier	Sedulius, *Carmen*; Sedulius, *Hymnus*; notes on forecasting the weather; Latin-German glossary; literary items.

Table III: Manuscripts containing the isruna treatise

Only five manuscripts containing this tract survive, and the structure of the treatise is similar in every manuscript: a *fuþorc* is presented and followed by the different types of codes plus an example. There is usually also an indication of the division of the *fuþorc*. Derolez notes that it is possible to distinguish two different versions of the tract: four of the manuscripts are likely derived from one prototype, and Salzburg MS A IX. 32 from a different one.[828] Based on some small differences, two groups of related manuscripts can also be found within the first group: St Gallen MS 270 and Brussel MS 9565-9566 are likely related, as are Trier MS 61 and Città del Vaticano, MS Urb. Lat. 290. Derolez's observation is largely confirmed by geography: the first two manuscripts were likely written in St Gallen, while the latter two have an Eastern German origin. Braunweiler and Trier are approximately eighty miles apart from one another, making the exchange of knowledge between the two monasteries likely and straightforward. The dates of composition are also similar: the Swiss manuscripts are both from the late ninth or early tenth century, and the German ones from the late eleventh. That said, it is slightly odd that Salzburg MS A. IX. 32 would be derived from a different prototype, especially considering that it was produced in Trier in the early eleventh century. One would expect this manuscript to

[828] Derolez (1954), p. 90.

have served as an example (or exemplar) for the later two manuscripts, yet that does not appear to be the case.

The main difference between the four tracts and Salzburg is the way in which the explanatory text has been compiled and the example words used. The texts of the four related manuscripts can be standardised as follows:[829]

> Iisruna dicuntur quae i littera per totum scribuntur; ita ut quotus uersus sit primum breuioribus i, quae autem littera sit in uersu longioribus I scribatur, ita ut nomen corui scribatur his litteris ita. [830]
>
> Lagoruna dicuntur quae ita scribuntur per l litteram ut nomen corui. [831]
>
> Hahalruna dicuntur istae, quae in sinistra parte quotus uersus sit ostendunt, et in dextera quota littera ipsius uersus sit. [832]
>
> Stopfruna dicuntur quae supra in punctis quotus sit versus, subtus litteram ostendunt; sed aliquando mixtim illa faciunt, ut supra sint puncti qui litteram significant, et subtus ordo uersus. [833]
>
> Clopfruna dicitur quae pulsu efficitur distinctis personis et litteris, ita ut primum incipiatur a personis, postea a litteris. [834]

The Salzburg manuscript contains similar material, but the explanation of the tract is provided in one large paragraph instead of in multiple paragraphs:

> De his litteris. tres sequestrantur quibus sing[u]lis totum quod uelis. scribere potes. Id est lago & hagal. quod per i solam scribitur. Isruna vocatur. quod per lago. Lagoruna, quod per hagal. hagalruna. Ergo si per .i. vel .I. scribere volueris, primum breviori .i. vel .I. ordinem notabis, longioribus vero.

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[829] Ibid., pp. 120-21.
[830] 'They are called *Isruna*, whereby .i. character is written for the whole and in that manner [indicates] which number of line it would be. The first one is the shorter .i., whereby the following letter in the line is written longer .I. It is in this way that the word 'ravens' is written using these characters'. (My translation).
[831] 'They are called *Lagoruna* which are written in this way with the .l. character. The word 'ravens' as follows'. (My translation).
[832] 'They are called *Hahalruna*, where in the left part the number of the line is indicated, and in the right which number of letter itself it would be'. (My translation).
[833] 'They are called *Stopfruna*, where on the top in dots the number of the line would be and underneath the letter is shown […] but sometimes these are mixed so that the top dots indicate the letters. & the bottom ones the number of the line'. (My translation).
[834] 'They are called *Clopfruna* which bring about knocks for distinct persons and letters, in this way so that the first is begun by a person, thereafter by a letter'. (My translation).

> litteram, quod si per hagal. scribere volueris, in sinistra parte quotus sit ordo. In dextera, quota sit littera notabis. & ob facilitate scribendi partem eiusdem litterae. ablatam vel et mutatam scito. Est & stroph[r]una, quae solis punctis constat, quae hac ratione scribitur, ut superius. ordo inferius litterae designentur, & ut facillius intellegatur, quod dicitur, promptum ponamus exemplum. AMEN.[835]

Although the cryptographic system described in both types is clearly the same, it would appear that the Salzburg scribe made more of a summary than a copy of the tract. It may be that he wrote the tract from memory, which would explain the additional material and paraphrasing. Derolez thinks that a number of the inconsistencies in the Salzburg tract indicate a copy, however.[836] Regardless, the construction of this possible earlier exemplar may have progressed in this way. This would also explain the use of a different example. As noted in the standardisations above, the example used as a demonstration of the rune-codes is the plural nominative *corui*, 'ravens'. This is the example used in the earliest two manuscripts, Brussels and St Gallen, while the later Trier and Città del Vaticano use the nominative singular *coruus*. Salzburg, however, uses the word *Racco*. As noted in the catalogue, this may be a name or a related type of bird. It would thus seem that the Rhine area produced two independent *isruna* treatises, which may account for the popularity or usefulness of this material in that area.

There does not appear to be a distinction in contents between the manuscripts containing the treatise and the other *manuscriptae runae*. This may be due to the fact that further coding was not necessary for cryptographic use. There are also no clear differences between the manuscripts containing the different versions of the treatise: the majority contains a collection of scientific and/or

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[835] 'From these letters three are separate which you can write as single units for a whole [word] if you want. These are lago and hagal. Those which are written with a single i are called isruna. Those with lago, lagoruna. Those with hagal, hagalruna. Therefore if you wish to write with .i. or .I., with the first shorter .i. or .I. you will mark the sequence, and the actual letter with the longer one. If you wish to write those with hagal, whatever [sequence] number is ranked on the left part. On the right, the number of the letters is noted. & for ease of writing the same part you should know to move and/or remove letters. It is the strophruna, which consists of only dots, which here are written in computation, so that the upper of the sequence is designating the lower letters, and for ease of understanding, as is said, we have provided clear examples. AMEN'. (My translation).

[836] Derolez (1954), p. 119.

educational works, though the material in the Salzburg codex is mainly religious and that of the Trier codex mostly literary in nature.

As the table has already indicated, the *isruna* tract, like the *De Inventione Linguarum*, is clearly part of a continental tradition. Nevertheless, the association with cryptography appears widespread. It is worth grouping the manuscripts containing cryptography in conjunction with runes, other than the *isruna*-tract, to see if any correspondences can be found there.

#	Shelfmark	Dating	Place of origin	Cryptographic material
2	Oxford, MS Bodley 572	10th c	Wales (?)	Coded runes, Old English cryptograms
7	Oxford, St John's MS 17	12th c	Thorney	Cryptographic alphabets (*notae sancti Bonifacii*, letter substitution codes, etc), demonstrations of cryptography, Byrhtferth's Diagram
9	London, Stowe MS 57	12th c	Peterborough	Twig-rune *fuþark*
11	Bern MS 207	8th c	Fleury	Ogham cryptographical material
12	Wien MS 795	8th c	Saint-Amand (?)	Cryptogram, *notae sancti Bonifatii*
22	Brussel MS 9565-9566	9-10th c	St Gallen	Dubthach's Diagram
32	Wien MS 1761	11th c	Lorsch	Cryptographic alphabets
37	Nürnberg MS 1966	12th c	Neresheim	Substitution variety of the *notae sancti Bonifatii*;

	cryptographic system using Roman numerals.

Table IV: Runic manuscripts containing cryptography

Interestingly, out of the thirteen instances of cryptography (including the *isruna* tract) only three are from the British Isles. This includes the only two instances of coded runes, which are Scandinavian *fuþarks* from the British Isles demonstrating the use of twig-runes. The one other manuscript, Oxford, St John's MS 17, contains the most extensive collection of cryptographic materials. The table also indicates that the manuscript contains a number of materials also found in some of the continental manuscripts. Considering the connections with Abbo of Fleury via Byrhtferth, and the twelfth-century date of the manuscript (see below), this is hardly surprising. It should be noted here that the cryptographic material in these manuscripts appears in two formats, the applied and the collected. The first comes mostly in the form of cryptograms or diagrams, while the second is similar in format to the rune-rows and alphabets in the sense that the material is demonstrated in the alphabet format. An example of the first can be found in Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Salem IX. 39 [39]; examples of the second are for instance the *notae sancti Bonifatii*, which are presented as an alphabet where the vowels are replaced by dots in St John's MS 17, and the ogham cryptographic material, which is presented in a section like the other alphabets appearing in Bern MS 207. The cryptographic alphabet variety is most common, and appears to have been collected in much the same way as the alphabet material. This then poses the question of whether these alphabets were collected as part of the study of cryptography, or if this material was collected as alphabet material with a linguistic aim, because of its relationship with language and letters.

These manuscripts demonstrate that the association between runes and cryptography was widely spread, both geographically and chronologically. Both in England and on the Continent, approximately one third of the manuscripts display this association in one form or another. Except for the *isruna* material, it is difficult to find any clear relation between the other manuscripts; though some of them contain the same type of material, there is little evidence for copying between any of

them. That said, the computistical contents of Bern MS 207 [11] and St John's MS 17 [7] are similar, though this is probably due to the Fleury connection. This suggests that the connection is wider than merely a number of manuscripts with a common ancestor, and the reason for the appearance of this material in conjunction may be a matter of wider medieval culture. This interest in cryptography does not necessarily mean that medieval scholars had a large amount of information to conceal. Rather, it would appear that this material, as well as the alphabets, is part of a wider spectrum of medieval science. The medieval interest in alphabets has been explained earlier, and it may be that in the same way that healing charms were included in medical works, cryptographic alphabets were considered as part of the study of alphabets. After all, the study of the occult, which extended to symbols and cryptography, was part of the medieval scientific endeavour.[837] Alternatively, many of these codes work with a number-to-letter ratio, which may have appealed to the computistically- and mathematically-oriented scholars as well. Based on the above discussion, I would therefore suggest that many alphabet collections serve a double function: the various alphabets included in them would useful to those with a linguistic interest in the alphabets (both religious and 'exotic'), as well as to those who would want to use them for cryptographic (and possibly occult) purposes.

DEVELOPMENT

The analysis of the various runic contexts has given an indication of how runes came to be included in manuscripts and the historical circumstances in which this may have happened. It is clear from the catalogue that this was not a short-lived tradition, and it is therefore worthwhile to examine how the writing of this material evolved until the end of the twelfth century. This section examines the development of the runic material, with a focus on how these runes changed over time, and on whether the development differed in the various locations which produced the manuscripts. The most straightforward way of doing this is by examining the rune-forms and rune-names and placing them on the map and a historical time-scale.

[837] P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *The Occult in Mediaeval Europe, 500-1500: A Documentary History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 5.

In the tables below all rune-names and rune-forms (in standardised format) present in the examined *manuscriptae runae* are collected. The material has been divided into Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian and then subdivided into alphabets and rune-rows with the aim of establishing differences and correspondences. Due to the large volume of Anglo-Saxon material, this material has been spread over three tables (A-C). The manuscript shelf-marks are given as well as the dating and the place of production in order to pinpoint the material in time and space, and to trace development and potential copying. These tables are not exhaustive: a small number of characters are not included, when they are only found once and bear little resemblance to runes, or when it is uncertain if they form an integral part of the alphabet or rune-row in the manuscript. The dark grey cells indicate the appearance of a particular character or shape in the manuscript, whereas the light grey cells indicate the appearance of the character but under a different rune designation. For manuscripts which contain rune-names the relevant cell for the form contains the rune-name. The rune-names in bold indicate that a different rune-form or transliteration is given in the manuscript.

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark: Harley MS 3017	Exeter MS 3507	Cambridge MS 41	Cotton Vitellius MS A. XII	St John's College MS 17	Bern MS 207	Leiden MS F 12 δ	Modena MS O. I. 11	München CLM 19410
		9th c, Fleury	10th c, Sherborne	11th c, Exeter	11-12th c, Salisbury	12th c, Thorney	8th c, Fleury	9th c, Fleury	9th c, Bobbio/ Nonantola	9th c, Tegernsee
a	ᚪ	■	■	■	■	■	Ach	■		Ag
a	ᚫ					■				
a	ᚬ								■	
b	ᛒ	■	■	■	■	■	Berc	■	■	Beric
c	ᚳ	■	■	■	■	■	Chen	■	■	Cen
d	ᛞ	■				■	Deio			
d	ᛞ		■	■	■					
d	ᛞ									Dai
d	ᚦ		■		■			■		
e	ᛖ	■	■		■	■	E3ch		■	Eh
f	ᚠ	■	■		■	■	Fe3c	■	■	Feh
f	ᚠ		■		■					
g	ᚷ						Gobo		▨	Geuo
g	ᚸ		■		■				■	
g	ᚹ	■				■		■		

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark: Harley MS 3017	Exeter MS 3507	Cambridge MS 41	Cotton Vitellius MS A. XII	St John's College MS 17	Bern MS 207	Leiden MS F 12 δ	Modena MS O. I. 11	München CLM 19410
		9th c, Fleury	10th c, Sherborne	11th c, Exeter	11-12th c, Salisbury	12th c, Thorney	8th c, Fleury	9th c, Fleury	9th c, Bobbio/ Nonantola	9th c, Tegernsee
g	ᚷ					■				
g	ᚸ		■		■					
g	ᚹ					■				
h	ᚻ	■	■		■	■	Hagil	▨	■	Heih
h	ᚼ		■		■					
h	ᚽ					■				
h	ᚾ							■		
i	ᛁ	■	■		■		Ish	■	■	Is
i	ᛄ					■				
i/j	ᛇ					■				
j	ᛃ					■				
k	ᛉ	■	■		■			■		
k	ᛋ					■	kalod			
k	ᛚ								■	
k	ᛦ									Ker

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark: Harley MS 3017	Exeter MS 3507	Cambridge MS 41	Cotton Vitellius MS A. XII	St John's College MS 17	Bern MS 207	Leiden MS F 12 δ	Modena MS O. I. 11	München CLM 19410
		9th c, Fleury	10th c, Sherborne	11th c, Exeter	11-12th c, Salisbury	12th c, Thorney	8th c, Fleury	9th c, Fleury	9th c, Bobbio/ Nonantola	9th c, Tegernsee
l	ᛚ	■	■		■	■	Logo	■	■	Lago
m	ᛗ		■		■	■	Man	▨		Man
m	ᛞ		■		■			■	■	
n	ᚾ	■								
n	ᚾ	■	■		■	■	Net	■	■	Net
n	ᚾ									
o	ᛟ	■	■		■	■	Os		■	Os
o	ᛟ		■		■					
o	ᛟ							■		
p	ᛈ	■	■		■	■	Per		■	Perd
q	ᛩ		■		■					
q	ᛩ	■								
q	ᛩ		■		■					
q	ᛩ					■				

		Shelfmark								
Values	**Rune-forms**	Harley MS 3017	Exeter MS 3507	Cambridge MS 41	Cotton Vitellius MS A. XII	St John's College MS 17	Bern MS 207	Leiden MS F 12 δ	Modena MS O. I. 11	München CLM 19410
		9th c, Fleury	10th c, Sherborne	11th c, Exeter	11-12th c, Salisbury	12th c, Thorney	8th c, Fleury	9th c, Fleury	9th c, Bobbio/ Nonantola	9th c, Tegernsee
q	ᛶ						Quell o			
q	ᚳ									Cen
r	ᚱ						Ret			Rat
s	ᛋ						Sigil			Sil
s	ᛯ									
t	ᛏ						Ti			Tir
t	ᛞ									
u	ᚢ						U[r]			Ur
x	ᛯ									
x	ᚳ									
x	ᛯ									Elcd
x	ᛉ									
x	ᛘ						Uch			
y	ᚣ						Vir			Uyr

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark: Harley MS 3017	Exeter MS 3507	Cambridge MS 41	Cotton Vitellius MS A. XII	St John's College MS 17	Bern MS 207	Leiden MS F 12 δ	Modena MS O. I. 11	München CLM 19410
		9th c, Fleury	10th c, Sherborne	11th c, Exeter	11-12th c, Salisbury	12th c, Thorney	8th c, Fleury	9th c, Fleury	9th c, Bobbio/ Nonantola	9th c, Tegernsee
y	ᛘ									
z	ᛉ									
z	ᚹ									
z	ᛣ						Ear			
z	ᛦ									
	ᛝ									
	ᚦ									
	ᚽ									

Table V: Anglo-Saxon alphabets A

		Shelfmark									
Values	**Rune-forms**	St Gallen MS 270	Wien MS 1609	Karlsruhe MS Aug. Perg. 254	Strasbourg MS 326	Paris MS Latin 5239	Paris L'Arsenal MS 1169	Città del Vatticano MS Barb. Lat. 572	Città del Vatticano MS Reg. Lat. 338	München CLM 14436	Wien MS 1761
		9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Freising	10th c, Reichenau	10th c, Limoges	10th c, Limoges	10-11th c, Autun	11th c, Monte Amiata	11th c, North of France	11th c, Regensburg	11th c, Lorsch
		Isruna	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*
a	ᚨ		Asc	Asc	Asc	Asc		Asc	Aac	Ac	Asch
a	ᚪ									Asc	
b	ᛒ		Birith	Biric				Biri[.]	Berc	Berg, berih, **birca**	Biriht
b	e				Bira	Bira					
c	ᚳ								Cen	Cen, caon	
c	ᚴ		Chen	Cheri	Che	Che		Chen			Chen
d	ᛞ								Dæg		
d	ᚦ		Thorn	T<h>ro m	Dhron	Dhron		D[o]r[n]			Thorn

		Shelfmark									
Values	**Rune-forms**	St Gallen MS 270	Wien MS 1609	Karlsruhe MS Aug. Perg. 254	Strasbourg MS 326	Paris MS Latin 5239	Paris L'Arsenal MS 1169	Città del Vatticano MS Barb. Lat. 572	Città del Vatticano MS Reg. Lat. 338	München CLM 14436	Wien MS 1761
		9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Freising	10th c, Reichenau	10th c, Limoges	10th c, Limoges	10-11th c, Autun	11th c, Monte Amiata	11th c, North of France	11th c, Regensburg	11th c, Lorsch
		Isruna	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*
d	ᚦ									Dorn, doro	
d	ᚹ										
e	ᛖ		Ech	[e]ch	Eth	Eth		[..]wel	Eeh		Eho
e	ᛏ									Ear	
e	ᛠ									Eor	
f	ᚠ		Fech	Fech	Fec	Fec		Fech	Feh	Feb, **feu**	Fehc
g	ᚷ								Geos		
g	ᚼ										
g	ᛃ										

		Shelfmark									
		St Gallen MS 270	Wien MS 1609	Karlsruhe MS Aug. Perg. 254	Strasbourg MS 326	Paris MS Latin 5239	Paris L'Arsenal MS 1169	Città del Vatticano MS Barb. Lat. 572	Città del Vatticano MS Reg. Lat. 338	München CLM 14436	Wien MS 1761
		9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Freising	10th c, Reichenau	10th c, Limoges	10th c, Limoges	10-11th c, Autun	11th c, Monte Amiata	11th c, North of France	11th c, Regensburg	11th c, Lorsch
Values	**Rune-forms**	*Isruna*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*
g	ᚷ		Gabu	Gibu	Gibu	Gibu		Ghu			Gibu
g	ᚸ									Gebo	
g	ᚹ									Caar	
h	ᚻ								Hegil	Hagal	
h	ᚼ									Heil	
h	ᚽ		Hagale	Hagale	Agale	Agale		Hagall			Hagale
i	ᛁ		His	Bis	His	His		His	Iis	Is	His
i	ᛇ									Ios	
i	ᛈ									Calc	
j	ᛂ										

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark									
		St Gallen MS 270	Wien MS 1609	Karlsruhe MS Aug. Perg. 254	Strasbourg MS 326	Paris MS Latin 5239	Paris L'Arsenal MS 1169	Città del Vatticano MS Barb. Lat. 572	Città del Vatticano MS Reg. Lat. 338	München CLM 14436	Wien MS 1761
		9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Freising	10th c, Reichenau	10th c, Limoges	10th c, Limoges	10-11th c, Autun	11th c, Monte Amiata	11th c, North of France	11th c, Regensburg	11th c, Lorsch
		Isruna	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*
k	ᛉ									Ki	
k	ᚲ								Calc		
k	ᛣ		Gilch	Gile	Kilc	Kilc		Gibu		Keir	Gilch
k	ᛜ									Ker	
l	ᛚ		Lagu	Lagu	Lac	Lac			Lago	Lago, lin	Lagu
m	ᛗ								Moun		
m	ᛞ		Man	Man	Mam	Mam				Man, men	Man
n	ᚾ								Need	Nod, net	

		Shelfmark									
Values	**Rune-forms**	St Gallen MS 270	Wien MS 1609	Karlsruhe MS Aug. Perg. 254	Strasbourg MS 326	Paris MS Latin 5239	Paris L'Arsenal MS 1169	Città del Vatticano MS Barb. Lat. 572	Città del Vatticano MS Reg. Lat. 338	München CLM 14436	Wien MS 1761
		9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Freising	10th c, Reichenau	10th c, Limoges	10th c, Limoges	10-11th c, Autun	11th c, Monte Amiata	11th c, North of France	11th c, Regensburg	11th c, Lorsch
		Isruna	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*
n	ᚾ			Non							
n	ᚷ		Not		Not	Not					Not
o	ᚩ			Ochil	Otil	Otil			Cos	Os	Othil
o	ᚭ		Othil								
o	ᛟ									Odil	
p	ᛈ		Perc	Perc	Perc	Perc		Perch	Pear	**Qur**, pern, **sol**	Perch
p	ᛸ									Perd	
q	ᛩ			Chon							
q	ᛧ								Yymoth		

		Shelfmark									
		St Gallen MS 270	Wien MS 1609	Karlsruhe MS Aug. Perg. 254	Strasbourg MS 326	Paris MS Latin 5239	Paris L'Arsenal MS 1169	Città del Vatticano MS Barb. Lat. 572	Città del Vatticano MS Reg. Lat. 338	München CLM 14436	Wien MS 1761
		9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Freising	10th c, Reichenau	10th c, Limoges	10th c, Limoges	10-11th c, Autun	11th c, Monte Amiata	11th c, North of France	11th c, Regensburg	11th c, Lorsch
Values	**Rune-forms**	*Isruna*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*
q	ᛩ				Chon	Chon		Chen			Chon
q	ᛴ									Quar	
r	ᚱ			Rehit	Rehit	Rehit			Raad	Rat	Rehit
r	ᛲ									Ur	
s	ᛋ			Sugil				Sugil	Sigil	Sigo	Suhil
s	ᛯ										
t	ᛏ			Tac	Tac	Tac			Tu	Tac, tau	Tac
t	ᛞ										
u	ᚢ			Hur	Hiur	Hiur		Hur	Ur	Uur, ur	Hur

		Shelfmark									
		St Gallen MS 270	Wien MS 1609	Karlsruhe MS Aug. Perg. 254	Strasbourg MS 326	Paris MS Latin 5239	Paris L'Arsenal MS 1169	Città del Vatticano MS Barb. Lat. 572	Città del Vatticano MS Reg. Lat. 338	München CLM 14436	Wien MS 1761
		9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Freising	10th c, Reichenau	10th c, Limoges	10th c, Limoges	10-11th c, Autun	11th c, Monte Amiata	11th c, North of France	11th c, Regensburg	11th c, Lorsch
Values	**Rune-forms**	*Isruna*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*
x	ᛉ			Helach	Helac	Helac				Elux	Helahe
x	ᛘ								Ilih		
x	ᚷ										
x	ᚼ									Elx	
y	ᚬ								Ir		
y	ᛘ			Huyryl	Hyri	Hyr[i]		H[u]ri			Huyri
Y	ᚿ									Inc	
z	ᛉ			Zui	Ziu	Ziu		Ziu			Ziu
z	ᛯ								Gaar		
	ᛝ										

Values		Shelfmark									
	Rune-forms		St Gallen MS 270	Wien MS 1609	Karlsruhe MS Aug. Perg. 254	Strasbourg MS 326	Paris MS Latin 5239	Paris L'Arsenal MS 1169	Città del Vatticano MS Barb. Lat. 572	Città del Vatticano MS Reg. Lat. 338	München CLM 14436	Wien MS 1761
		9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Freising	10th c, Reichenau	10th c, Limoges	10th c, Limoges	10-11th c, Autun	11th c, Monte Amiata	11th c, North of France	11th c, Regensburg	11th c, Lorsch
ᚠ	*Isruna*										
	Inventione				*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*	*Inventione*		*Inventione*

Table VI: Anglo-Saxon alphabets B

		Shelfmark				
		Città del Vaticano, MS CUL 290	Città del Vaticano, MS Reg. Lat. 294	Nürnberg MS 1966	Wien MS 1010	Heidelberg MS Salem IX. 39
		11th c, Braunweiler	11-12th c, Lichtenfels	12th c, Neresheim	12th c, Sankt Florian	12th c, Salem
Values	**Rune-forms**	*Isruna*	*Inventione*	*Inventione*	*Inventione*	*Inventione*
a	ᚨ	As	Asc	Asc	Asc	
b	ᛒ	Biric	Birith	Birith	Birith	Birith
c	ᚴ	Chon	Chen	Chen	Chen	Chen
d	ᛞ	Dhorn	Thron	Thron	Thron	Thorn
e	ᛖ	Ech	Ech	Ehc	Che	Ech
f	ᚠ		Fech	Fech	Fehc	Fech
g	ᚷ		Gibu	Gibul	Gibul	Gibu
h	ᚷ		Hagale	Hagal	Hagal	Hagalc
h	ᚺ	Hagal				
i	ᛁ	Is	His	His	His	His
j	ᛃ				Glic	
k	ᚲ	Kel	Kalc	Glic		Gilc
l	ᛚ	Lago	Laga	Lagu	Lagu	Lagu

		Shelfmark				
Values	**Rune-forms**	*Isruna*	*Inventione*	*Inventione*	*Inventione*	*Inventione*
		11th c, Braunweiler	11-12th c, Lichtenfels	12th c, Neresheim	12th c, Sankt Florian	12th c, Salem
		Città del Vaticano, MS CUL 290	Città del Vaticano, MS Reg. Lat. 294	Nürnberg MS 1966	Wien MS 1010	Heidelberg MS Salem IX. 39
m	ᛗ	Man	Man	Man	Man	Man
n	ᚾ	Nod			Not	Not
n	ᚷ		Noth			
n	ᚮ			Not		
o	ᛟ	Œdal	Otil	Othil	Othil	Othil
p	ᛈ	Perd	Pert			Perc
p	ᛯ			Perch	Perch	
q	ᛩ	Chon	Chan	Chon	Chon	Chon
r	ᚱ		Reiht			Rehit
r	ᚯ			Rehit	Rehith	
s	ᛋ	Su[…]	Sigil	Siugil	Siugil	Suhil
t	ᛏ	Tac	Tac			Tac

		Shelfmark				
Values	Rune-forms	Città del Vaticano, MS CUL 290	Città del Vaticano, MS Reg. Lat. 294	Nürnberg MS 1966	Wien MS 1010	Heidelberg MS Salem IX. 39
		11th c, Braunweiler	11-12th c, Lichtenfels	12th c, Neresheim	12th c, Sankt Florian	12th c, Salem
		Isruna	*Inventione*	*Inventione*	*Inventione*	*Inventione*
t	ᛏ			Tac	Tac	
u	ᚢ	Hur	Hur	Hur	Hur	Hur
x	ᛉ	Betuch	Belach	Helac	Helac	Helach
y	ᛘ	Hoysi	Huuri	Hurn	Hurn	Huyri
z	ᛉ	Zia	Zui	Ziu	Ziu	Ziu

Table VII: Anglo-Saxon alphabets C

		Shelfmark										
Values	**Rune-forms**	Cotton MS Domitian A IX	St John's College MS 17	Wien MS 795	Brussel MS 9311-9319	St Gallen MS 878	St Gallen MS 270	Gent MS 306	Brussel, MS 9565-9566	Salzburg, MS A IX 32	Trier MS 61	Città del Vaticano MS CUL 290
		11-12th c, London	12th c, Thorney	8th c, Saint-Amand	9th c, Saint-Amand	9th c, Reichenau	9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Mainz	9-10th c, St Gallen	11th c, Köln	11th c, Trier	11th c, Braunweiler
							Isruna		*Isruna*	*Isruna*	*Isruna*	*Isruna*
f	ᚠ	Feoh	Feh	Fech/fe	Fech		Fech		Feh		Fed	Fue
u	ᚢ	Ur	Ur	Ur	Ur		Uur		Uur		Uur	Uur
þ	ᚦ	Đorn	Þorn	Đorn	Thorn		Dorn		Dorn		Doro	Dorn
o	ᚩ	Os	Os	Os	Os		Oos		Oos		Cos	Eos
o	ᚭ											
r	ᚱ	Rad	Rad	Rada/ ræda	Rad		Rat		Rat		Rat	Rat
c	ᚳ	Cen	Cen, coen	Cen	Ken		Cen		Cen		Cen	Cen
k	ᚲ		Kalc									
g	ᚷ	Gifu	Geofu, gyfu	Geofu	Geuo							
g	ᚸ						Gebo		Gebo		Gebo	Gibu
g	ᚹ		Geofu									

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark										
		Cotton MS Domitian A IX	St John's College MS 17	Wien MS 795	Brussel MS 9311-9319	St Gallen MS 878	St Gallen MS 270	Gent MS 306	Brussel, MS 9565-9566	Salzburg, MS A IX 32	Trier MS 61	Città del Vaticano MS CUL 290
		11-12th c, London	12th c, Thorney	8th c, Saint-Amand	9th c, Saint-Amand	9th c, Reichenau	9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Mainz	9-10th c, St Gallen	11th c, Köln	11th c, Trier	11th c, Braunweiler
							Isruna		*Isruna*	*Isruna*	*Isruna*	*Isruna*
g	ᚸ		Geofu	Gaer	Iar		Ger		Ger		Ger	
w	ᚹ	Wenn		Wyn	Uung		Huun		Huun		Huun	
h	ᚻ	Hegel	Hægel/ hægil	Hægil	Hagal		Hagal		Hagal		Hagal	
n	ᚾ	Nead	Ned	Naed	Not		Nod		Nod		Nod	
i	ᛁ	Ic	Is	Is	Is		Iis		Iis		Iis	I[…]
k	ᚳ			Ih/ech	Inc		Ih		Ih		Ch	
j	ᛄ	Gear										
p	ᛈ	Peorð	Peorð	Peord	Pert							
p	ᚴ						Perd		Perd		Perd	Ruu
x	ᛉ		Ilx	Ilcs/ leax	Ilix							
x	ᛪ											
x	ᚷ						Elix		Elox		Elux	

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark										
		Cotton MS Domitian A IX	St John's College MS 17	Wien MS 795	Brussel MS 9311-9319	St Gallen MS 878	St Gallen MS 270	Gent MS 306	Brussel, MS 9565-9566	Salzburg, MS A IX 32	Trier MS 61	Città del Vaticano MS CUL 290
		11-12th c, London	12th c, Thorney	8th c, Saint-Amand	9th c, Saint-Amand	9th c, Reichenau	9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Mainz	9-10th c, St Gallen	11th c, Köln	11th c, Trier	11th c, Braunweiler
							Isruna		*Isruna*	*Isruna*	*Isruna*	*Isruna*
s	ᛋ		Sigil	Sigil	sigil		Sigi		Sigi		Sigi	Sigi
s	ᛌ	Sigel										
s	ᛎ	Sig	sigel									
t	ᛏ	Tir	Tyr	Ti	Ti		Ti		Ti		Tan	
b	ᛒ	Berc	Beorc	Berc	Berc		Borg		Berg		Ber	Berh
e	ᛖ	Eþel	Mech	Eh	Hec		Eh		Eh		Eh	Ech
e	ᛂ		Ech									
m	ᛗ			Mon	Man				Man			
m	ᛘ	Mann										
m	ᛞ						Man				Man	Man
l	ᛚ	Lagu	Logu/ lagu	Lagu	Lago		Lago		Lago		Lagu	Lago
ŋ	ᛝ	Inc	Ing	Lug/ eag	Othil							

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark										
		Cotton MS Domitian A IX	St John's College MS 17	Wien MS 795	Brussel MS 9311-9319	St Gallen MS 878	St Gallen MS 270	Gent MS 306	Brussel, MS 9565-9566	Salzburg, MS A IX 32	Trier MS 61	Città del Vaticano MS CUL 290
		11-12th c, London	12th c, Thorney	8th c, Saint-Amand	9th c, Saint-Amand	9th c, Reichenau	9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Mainz	9-10th c, St Gallen	11th c, Köln	11th c, Trier	11th c, Braunweiler
							Isruna		*Isruna*	*Isruna*	*Isruna*	*Isruna*
ŋ	ᛝ						Inc		Inc			
d	ᛞ	Deg	Dæg									
d	ᛞ			Dæg	Dag		Tag		Tag		Tag	Tag
d	ᛞ		Ech									
oe	ᛟ	Pro	Oeþel	Oeðil	Hinc		Odil		Odil		Odil	Odil
oe	ᛟ		Oeþel									
a	ᚪ	Asc	Ac	Ac	Ac		Ac		Asc		Asc	Asc
ae	ᚫ	Æsc	Æsc	Ær			Asc		Ac		Hac	
y	ᚣ	Yr	Yr	Yr								
y	ᛦ						Yur		Yur			
ea	ᛠ	Tir	Ear	Eor			Aer		Aer			
io	ᛡ	Orent/ ior										

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark										
		Cotton MS Domitian A IX	St John's College MS 17	Wien MS 795	Brussel MS 9311-9319	St Gallen MS 878	St Gallen MS 270	Gent MS 306	Brussel, MS 9565-9566	Salzburg, MS A IX 32	Trier MS 61	Città del Vaticano MS CUL 290
		11-12th c, London	12th c, Thorney	8th c, Saint-Amand	9th c, Saint-Amand	9th c, Reichenau	9th c, St Gallen	9-10th c, Mainz	9-10th c, St Gallen	11th c, Köln	11th c, Trier	11th c, Braunweiler
							Isruna		*Isruna*	*Isruna*	*Isruna*	*Isruna*
q	ᛩ	Cur/ cweorð										
q	ᛢ											
q	ᛕ										Cur	
st	ᛋ	Iolx/ calc										
st	ᛐ	Se/ stan										
st	ᛝ											
ʒ	ᚸ	Et/ ʒar										
	ᛘ	Calc										
	ᛯ											

Table VIII: Fuþorcs

		Shelfmark				
Values	Rune-forms	Cotton MS Domitian A IX 12th c, Worcester	Cambridge, TC, MS R. 14.34 12th c, Bury St Edmunds	High Wycombe, Byland Bede 12th c, Byland	Paris, MS Grec 375 11th c, Paris	Paris, MS Latin 9666 11th c, Echternach
a	ᚨ		Ar			
a	ᚩ					
a	ᛆ					
b	ᛒ		Beherel			
c	ᚳ					
c	ᚴ					
d	ᛞ					
d	ᛏ		Dur			
d	ᛐ					
d	ᚦ		Et			
e	ᛖ		Er			
f	ᚠ		Fe			
g	ᚷ					
h	ᚼ		Baghel			
I	ᛁ		Is			

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark				
		Cotton MS Domitian A IX	Cambridge, TC, MS R. 14.34	High Wycombe, Byland Bede	Paris, MS Grec 375	Paris, MS Latin 9666
		12th c, Worcester	12th c, Bury St Edmunds	12th c, Byland	11th c, Paris	11th c, Echternach
k	ᚴ					
k	ᛣ					
l	ᛚ		Logher			
m	ᛘ		magher			
m	ᛙ					
n	ᚾ		Noub			
n	ᚿ					
o	ᚯ		Os			
o	ᛝ					
o	ᛟ					
p	ᛒ					
q	ᛩ					
r	ᚱ		Reik			
s	ᛌ		Sol			
s	ᛋ					

Values	Rune-forms	Shelfmark				
		Cotton MS Domitian A IX	Cambridge, TC, MS R. 14.34	High Wycombe, Byland Bede	Paris, MS Grec 375	Paris, MS Latin 9666
		12th c, Worcester	12th c, Bury St Edmunds	12th c, Byland	11th c, Paris	11th c, Echternach
t	ᛏ		Tur			
t	ᛏ					
u	ᚢ		Ur			
x	ᛉ					
y	ᚣ		þ			
y	ᛦ					
z	ᛊ					

Table IX: Scandinavian alphabets

		Shelfmark					
Values	**Rune-forms**	Oxford, MS Bodley 572	Oxford St John's MS 17	London, Stowe MS 57	St Gallen MS 878	Leiden, VLQ 83	Paris, MS Grec 375
		10th c, Wales	12th c, Thorney	12th c, Peterborough	9th c, Reichenau	9th c, Fleury	11th c, Paris
f	ᚠ		Fe	Fe	Feu	Fiu	
u	ᚢ		Ur	Ur	Ur	urR	
þ	ᚦ		Þurs	Þurs	Thuris	Þhurs	
a	ᚨ		e, os				
o	ᚬ			Os			
o	ᛃ						
o	ᛇ				Os	Aus	
r	ᚱ		Reiðer, reð	Reið	Rat	Reiþu	
r	ᛦ						
k	ᚴ		Coun, con	Cogen	Chaon	Caun	
g	ᚵ						
h	ᚼ		ha3ol, hagol	Hachel	Hagal	Hagal	
n	ᚾ		Nou, noð	Noud	Naut	Nauþr	

		Shelfmark					
Values	**Rune-forms**	Oxford, MS Bodley 572	Oxford St John's MS 17	London, Stowe MS 57	St Gallen MS 878	Leiden, VLQ 83	Paris, MS Grec 375
		10th c, Wales	12th c, Thorney	12th c, Peterborough	9th c, Reichenau	9th c, Fleury	11th c, Paris
n	ᚾ						
i	ᛁ		Is	Is	Is	Is	
ŋ	ᛜ						
e	ᛖ						
a	ᚪ		Ar	Ar	Ar	Ar	
a	ᚫ						
s	ᛋ		Sol	Sol	Sol	Sulu	
s	ᛌ						
t	ᛏ		Tiur, tyr	Tyr	Tiu	Tiur	
t	ᛐ						
d	ᛑ						
b	ᛒ		Bercon, beor	Birken	Brica	Biarcan	
p	ᛓ						

		Shelfmark					
Values	**Rune-forms**	Oxford, MS Bodley 572	Oxford St John's MS 17	London, Stowe MS 57	St Gallen MS 878	Leiden, VLQ 83	Paris, MS Grec 375
		10th c, Wales	12th c, Thorney	12th c, Peterborough	9th c, Reichenau	9th c, Fleury	11th c, Paris
m	ᛘ		Monr, mander	Mather			
m	ᛙ				Man	Manr	
l	ᛚ		Laur, loer	Lother	Lago	Laukr	
R	ᛦ		Reiðer, yr	Yr	Yr	Ir	

Table X: Fuþarks and Fuþorks

A first, straightforward observation is that the majority of *manuscriptae runae* with alphabets and rune-rows contain Anglo-Saxon material (thirty-one out of thirty-nine manuscripts). Within this type of material, alphabets are also clearly dominant over *fuþorcs* (twenty-four alphabets versus eleven rune-rows). The Scandinavian material on the other hand is more balanced in numbers of *fuþarks* and alphabets (five alphabets and six rune-rows). It should be kept in mind here that some manuscripts contain multiple alphabets or rune-rows. The high number of rune-forms shows that the runic knowledge circulating in medieval monasteries was by no means unified, especially in the early period. On the other hand, the rune-names, with a few exceptions, are all relatively similar. This is rather remarkable, especially considering the movement of some of the Anglo-Saxon alphabets through time and the fact that this material was written and interpreted by scribes with various native languages in a Latinate environment. It is also clear that most of the *manuscriptae runae* were produced on the Continent, despite its lack of contemporary epigraphical tradition. The previous analysis has already suggested that there are differences in development between England and the Continent, and that on the Continent different traditions arose within the different language areas (i.e. the *De Inventione* information on the alphabets). This is further indicated by these tables, and it is therefore useful to examine the two traditions separately first to form a clear image of the development in each area. This will allow for a clearer comparison and a general overview.

The Continent

A first point of interest, when examining the two traditions, is the distribution of runic material. On the Continent, the large majority of *manuscriptae runae*, nineteen in total, contain Anglo-Saxon alphabets, while there are only eight *fuþorc*s. The Scandinavian component is even smaller: only two Scandinavian runic alphabets and three *fuþark*s have been found.

It would seem that the origin of the continental tradition, and of the phenomenon more generally, can be found in France, more precisely the Monastery of Fleury in Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, where the earliest manuscript, from the eighth

century, was produced. Fleury produced two more Anglo-Saxon runic alphabets ([1], [13]), and one Scandinavian rune-row [19], in the ninth century, but no other *manuscriptae runae* were written there in later centuries. The early period appears to be dominated by French scribes, as the earliest two *fuþorcs* ([12], [14]) originate from Saint-Amand, a monastery in Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, in the North-East of France. The interest in this material in the Germanic-speaking parts of mainland Europe does not begin much later, however, as indicated by three ninth-century manuscripts from the South of Germany (Bavaria) and Switzerland ([16], [17], [18]). Unlike the French manuscripts, the German material was produced at multiple scriptoria in the second half of the ninth century. Tegernsee (potentially), St Gallen, and Reichenau all produced one runic manuscript during that period, but the latter two continue to produce material into the tenth century. In fact, St Gallen and Reichenau are the only Germanic scriptoria to have produced more than one *runicum manuscriptum*. Hence, while the Romance tradition centres on certain scriptoria, the Germanic one appears more dispersed. This is true for the early period, as well as more generally for the continental tradition.

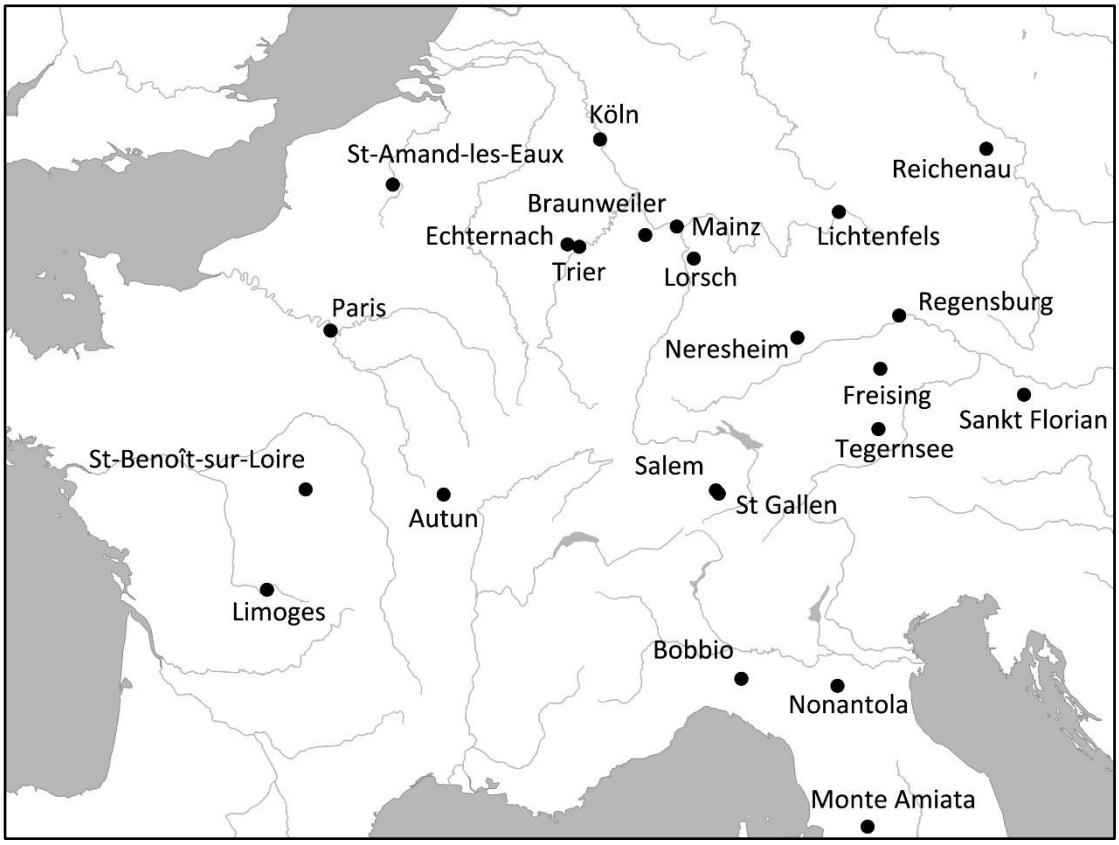
One manuscript from the ninth century stands out with regard to location: Modena MS O. I. 11, which is the only codex to originate from the North of Italy. Its alphabet is fairly standard, though the use of the **d**-rune for 't' is distinctive. This only occurs in two other manuscripts: the Fleury manuscript Leiden MS F 12 δ [13] and St Gallen MS 270 [18], from Switzerland. I am inclined to attribute this alphabet to the French tradition, partly because production was more plentiful in France than in St Gallen at that time, and partly because the **d**-rune is lacking its ascenders and descenders, which is also the case in the Leiden manuscript, but not so in the St Gallen one. This may suggest that the information for the St Gallen manuscript originated from Fleury. Based on the different rune-forms given for the same Roman values, however, it is probably the case that the scribe collected material from a number of sources, one of which may have been from Fleury.

The Germanic tradition continues to develop in the late ninth and early tenth century, while there appears to be a hiatus in the French production: material only appears in France again around the middle to late tenth century. It is unclear, based

on such a small sample of manuscripts, whether this gap is simply due to a lack of surviving sources, or because no runes were written. Interestingly, all the material found during this period (late ninth and tenth centuries) in both areas is Anglo-Saxon, and, with one exception (Paris, L'Arsenal, MS 1169 [26]), part of an *isruna* or *De Inventione* treatise. The Karlsruhe Aug. Perg. MS 254 [23] only presents a single runic alphabet, yet comparison with the contemporary material reveals that this alphabet was likely copied from a *De Inventione* treatise, since it presents all of the same rune-forms, and only a few differently spelled rune-names. The geographical spread of the material is fairly similar to the early period: the French manuscripts appear in clusters (in the Limoges area and Autun), while the German ones are more widely spread. In both cases runic writing happens in the same general area, however: Limoges and Autun are both located in central France, while Freising, Reichenau, and St Gallen are in or close to Bavaria. The only outlier here is the Gent MS 306 [20], which may have been written in Mainz. Unfortunately, this *fuþorc* is only partial and does not contain any significant or erroneous forms which might give further insight into its runological history.

While between the late ninth and the early eleventh century only seven manuscripts with Anglo-Saxon runes were produced, the eleventh century proved to be a very productive period for *manuscriptae runae* of all kinds. Five Anglo-Saxon alphabets, two *fuþorcs*, two Scandinavian alphabets, and one *fuþark* were all written during this century. The number of alphabets and rune-rows seems to be divided fairly evenly between the Romance and Germanic areas, though the Germanic-speaking areas produced more manuscripts. The three French manuscripts make up the tail-end of the Romance runic tradition, and were written in central Italy and the North of France. The production of Germanic alphabets and rune-rows appears more grouped at this point in time: Echternach and Trier were part of the same diocese, while Braunweiler and Lorsch are located close to one another. Köln and Regensburg are the outliers, though Regensburg is in the South-West of current-day Germany, while Köln is located in the East like the other monasteries and located at a shorter distance.

Finally, four more manuscripts were produced in the late eleventh and the twelfth century on the Continent. All of them contain Anglo-Saxon runic alphabets within the context of the *De Inventione* treatise. They were written in different scriptoria, but again in the same general area: Lichtenfels, Neresheim and Salem are all in Bavaria, while Sankt Florian is in the nearby part of upper Austria.



Map I: Production of Manuscriptae Runae on the Continent

A few general conclusions can be drawn from this timeline and the geographical overview. The first is that the tradition manifested itself rather differently in the Romance and Germanic areas. The Romance areas produced thirteen manuscripts: six of these were produced in the early period (eighth and ninth centuries) in Fleury and Saint-Amand, then three more in the tenth century in central France, and two in the eleventh century in the North of France again. It is unclear how the two Italian manuscripts fit within this framework, but since they match the French tradition form- and content-wise, the likely explanation is that the monasteries in Monte Amiata and Bobbio or Nonantola were visited by scholars or pilgrims on their way to Rome who were either French, or had passed through the French monasteries. There are eighteen manuscripts from the Germanic-speaking

parts of the Continent, and as noted, they are widely spread, with only St Gallen and Reichenau as centres which have produced multiple *manuscriptae runae*. There does not seem to be a specific focal point for the interest in this material, though it appears to have been popular in the southern part of Germany (present-day Bavaria) and nearby areas in Switzerland and Austria in the period before and after the eleventh century. During the eleventh century, the western area closer to France appears to have been the most productive.

The second conclusion is that there was not an equal spread of alphabets versus rune-rows and Anglo-Saxon material versus Scandinavian, in time and in space. As already remarked, the Anglo-Saxon alphabet material is most common and can be found fairly evenly spread geographically for the entire period. Anglo-Saxon rune-rows appear only in two manuscripts from one single scriptorium in France, Saint-Amand, but are otherwise only written by scribes at Germanic scriptoria (three in the Southern region (including Switzerland), and three in the Eastern area). These *fuþorc*s are also only produced until the eleventh century. As for the Scandinavian material, only two Scandinavian alphabets were written on the Continent, both dated to the eleventh century: one in Paris and one in Echternach. Finally, the corpus contains three *fuþark*s: two of which are dated to the ninth century, one was written at Reichenau, the other at Fleury. The third one appears in the same eleventh-century Paris manuscript which contains the single Romance Scandinavian alphabet: Paris, MS Grec 375 [30].

Perhaps unsurprisingly considering the large number of treatises, continental scriptoria were also clearly of a mind to conform to Isidore's requirements: nearly all of the Anglo-Saxon alphabets they produced contain rune-names, with only five manuscripts found without. One of these should perhaps not be included because the manuscript (St Gallen MS 270 [18]) contains both an alphabet and a *fuþorc* and the rune-names are provided only with the *fuþorc*, which was written first. Out of the four remaining alphabets without rune-names, three are from the ninth century, and only one from the late tenth – early eleventh century (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1169 [26]). Interestingly, the first *runicum manuscriptum*, Bern MS 207 [11], does contain rune-names, though they are not placed above or near to the

different runes as is customary; instead they appear in a separate row underneath the material. The practice of connecting names to specific characters was known to the scribe, however, since he demonstrates it elsewhere on the page. In general, rune-names are most frequently associated with alphabetised Anglo-Saxon runes: out of the eight *fuþorc*s, five have rune-names, while there are no Scandinavian runic alphabets with rune-names, and only two *fuþark*s. Regarding transliterations, similar observations can be made: all continental *manuscriptae runae* contain them except for five (potentially six) manuscripts. Out of these manuscripts, three are Anglo-Saxon and from the early period, and two are Scandinavian (one *fuþark* [19] from the ninth century, and one alphabet [34] from the eleventh). The sixth manuscript is L'Arsenal MS 1169 [26], but it is unclear if the Roman letters across the page from the alphabet were intended as transliterations. St Gallen MS 878 [16] contains both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian material, with pencil transliterations added by a much later hand.

Although no real pattern can be distinguished in the scribes' decision to exclude rune-names or transliterations, it can be noted that most of the 'exceptions' are from the early period. This is not particularly surprising, as the tradition was still developing. Similarly, there is a lot more variation in rune-forms and spelling of the rune-names in the early period. After the ninth century, a gradual move towards standardisation can be noted, though a true standardised alphabet on the Continent can only really be found from the late eleventh century onwards. The time-frame suggests that the reason behind this was that there was less active knowledge of runes around: scribes did not attempt to reconstruct alphabets from memory but relied on the treatises to copy them. This would then imply that the slightly more confused alphabets and rune-rows of the eighth and ninth centuries are the most accurate representations of early medieval runic knowledge in the scriptorium.

This notion of active knowledge is interesting to consider in conjunction with the possible origin for the *runica manuscripta* phenomenon. If runic alphabets were structured after the Isidorian tradition, as seems likely, they required values and names. The contents of the first manuscript with rune-names, Bern MS 207 [11], suggest an insular source for this information, and this is confirmed by the use of the

yogh character in *e3ch* and *fe3c*. The Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions of that period, however, do not contain either type of encyclopaedic information. The table also reveals that there is a fair bit of variation in the rune-names. Yet, there is not enough variation to doubt a pre-existing tradition of rune-names, or reason to credit the Irish scholars with the invention of these names. The most straightforward solution to this conundrum is that the Irish missionaries borrowed the rune-names from an already established tradition (potentially Northumbrian) and then imperfectly reproduced them when writing them down in Bern MS 207 and other early manuscripts. Additionally, it should also be taken into consideration that local scribes may have written the rune-names down under dictation, or after having heard them, which may explain different spellings and the 'adjustment' to the local languages as noted in the catalogue.

The move towards standardisation in the tenth century is perhaps not surprising considering that almost all of the material written during that time was part of a treatise. After all, a treatise is more likely to be copied as a whole. Consequently, the provision of rune-names and transliterations for the Anglo-Saxon material also became more standardised and then finally an integral part of the material by the late eleventh – early twelfth century. These treatises contained the most streamlined and standardised material, and are responsible for most of the consistency in transmission. It is interesting to examine their chronology and locality as well, though this image overlaps partly with the overview presented above. The *isruna* tract appears from the ninth century onwards, presenting predominantly Anglo-Saxon rune-rows, though it also includes alphabets in two manuscripts ([18], [33]). The production of this material, however, appears to stop in the early tenth century and then picks up in the eleventh only to halt completely at the end of that century. Although there is no obvious reason for the break (except for perhaps a simple lack of surviving manuscripts), it is possible that the influx of the non-Western scientific works in the eleventh century (see above) caused the production of this material to halt. New scientific knowledge and types of calculus may have caused a loss of interest in earlier cryptography or simply replaced it with 'newer' methods of hiding information. Remarkably, the *isruna* treatise appears to have been an entirely

Germanic undertaking, with no surviving manuscripts from the Romance-speaking areas, or the insular world.

The *De Inventione Linguarum* treatise, as noted, comes into existence in the ninth century and represents approximately 25% of the corpus here. It becomes increasingly popular over time, until it is the only runic material still copied on the Continent in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. This treatise, more so than the *isruna* tract, is likely to have been the cause of the standardisation of the runic material because it was copied so frequently in connection with medieval science or learning. Interestingly, this treatise is also not represented in all branches of the runic manuscript tradition, but appears only on the Continent. Its appearance in both Germanic and Romance language areas is elaborated upon in the section on alphabet collections. The importance of this treatise for the spread of the tradition and medieval runic knowledge in general should not be underestimated. This can quite clearly be seen in its impact on the rune-forms and rune names appearing in manuscripts. Considering the length of the tradition and how often these forms were copied, it is likely that they were considered runic by most medieval scholars and were part of their repertoire of characters.

It is not possible to examine every single deviating rune-form which appears in continental manuscripts here, but a few shapes which appear frequently or consistently are worth commenting on in relation to the treatises. Interestingly, the *De Inventione* treatise again carries the sole responsibility for these forms. The *fuþorc*s included in the *isruna* tract do not differ significantly from *fuþorc*s which appear outside of the tractate. There are only really two characters which are irregular in this rune-row: ‘q’ and ‘st’. ‘q’ appears only twice in the continental tradition, in two eleventh-century East-German manuscripts ([29], [36]), and is given the form of **p**, ᛕ. It receives two different forms, however, in each of the insular manuscripts containing this form. ‘St’ only appears once in a continental manuscript, in Brussel MS 9311-9319 [14], and is given the shape of **k**, ᚳ. More odd forms appear in the Anglo-Saxon alphabet material, where scribes use different forms to represent ‘g’, ‘q’, ‘x’, ‘z’ and even ‘n’ (although the odd form for the latter only

occurs during the twelfth century). More notable are a number of forms which appear in the *De Inventione* tradition:

- The Scandinavian **k** for 'c'. Derolez thinks that this character is likely of Old Norse origin,[838] though it could also be an inverted Anglo-Saxon **c**-rune. The origin of this letter is confusing, since the rune-name is consistently a variant of the Old English *cen* (often aspirated to create *chen*, *chon*, *che*, etc). The inverted **c**-rune thus appears most logical, but how it came to be inverted, and why only in this particular treatise, is unclear;
- The form for 'd', ᛞ, is not uncommon, but is also the same shape used for 'm' in the treatise, making this a confusing choice. This form was likely born out of scribal inexactitude, and perpetuated through copying;
- There are approximately six different rune-forms used for 'g', often based on linguistic confusions (/h/, /j/ and /ġ/ all appear transliterated as 'g'). There is one form which is typical of the *De Inventione*, however: ᚸ.The origin of this form is again uncertain. Derolez thinks it is possibly a simplified version of **ġ**, but it is also similar to the Scandinavian **h**-rune, or the Anglo-Saxon **j**.[839]
- The rune use for 'h' is very close in shape to the Anglo-Saxon **g**-rune, and was likely originally based on it;
- Similarly, the rune used for 'k' in *De Inventione* is somewhere in between a **g**-rune and a Scandinavian **h** or Anglo-Saxon **j**. It looks most similar to ᛯ but without the pockets, which would be an understandable mistake, if it were not for the fact that the rune-name is most frequently a variant of *gilch*, and only occasionally begins with the acrophonically required k. It may therefore originally be based on ᚸ;
- The **n**-rune in the twelfth-century *De Inventione* manuscripts became Anglo-Saxon **g**, or Roman capital X;

[838] Derolez (1954), p. 362.
[839] Ibid., p. 364.

- The ‘q’ is often a problem in Anglo-Saxon runic alphabets, despite the fact that a character exists for this sound. A tendency towards representing it as ᛋ can be noted in the Romance *De Inventione* manuscripts from the tenth century onwards;
- ‘x’ and ‘z’, which are also problematic for alphabetisers since these characters do not appear in Old English, are both frequently represented by *ear*, ᛠ;
- Finally, the rune for ‘y’ becomes the Scandinavian **m**, ᛘ, perhaps based on the shape of the Anglo-Saxon **x**, ᛪ.

It is clear that many of these forms or shapes are due to an alphabetiser who was unable to distinguish between the various gutturals which were part of the Old English *fuþorc*. Since the early *De Inventione* manuscripts indicate an Old High German origin, this is perhaps not surprising. It also appears that his recollection of the shapes – or his skill at copying – was flawed, and a number of different shapes with similar sound values were confused. The fact that these mistakes or odd runes are perpetuated suggests that the rune-shapes were frequently copied by scribes who did not notice these irregularities, were not confident enough in their knowledge to fix them, or perhaps felt compelled to copy truthfully. The irregularities within the rune-names, however, indicate somewhat more of an awareness there, likely because they were written in Roman letters. Frequently adjustments towards the local language can be noted (see for instance München CLM 14436 [31]).

The above analysis has outlined the steady development of runic alphabets and rune-rows on the Continent, and how the format (which includes runes, rune-names, and transliterations) became widespread. The focus here, however, has been predominantly on the Anglo-Saxon material; this is partly because this type of *manuscriptae runae* were dominant on the Continent, and partly because, through the *De Inventione*, Anglo-Saxon runes appear to have become the standard for how a runic alphabet was supposed to look. The Scandinavian material, however, does not quite fit in with the general image; this is most obvious in its exclusion from the treatises, though it frequently conforms to the Isidorian standards.

There is little surprise in finding Scandinavian runes in insular scriptoria after the ninth century due to the Viking invasions and settlement, but the situation is less straightforward on the Continent. As noted, only two Scandinavian alphabets were written on the Continent, one in Paris [30] and one in Echternach [34], both dating to the eleventh century. At that date, it is difficult to determine where exactly the material came from, as it could have been brought by scholars travelling from Scandinavia to the North of France or the Kingdom of Germany, or by travellers coming from the British Isles. Paris does not present much of a riddle, however: its history with the Scandinavians begins rather dramatically in 845, when the city was first attacked by the Vikings.[840] Although this is unlikely to have resulted in any runic writing workshops, the Viking invasions, which continued along the river Seine until the tenth century, then later developed into settlement. These settlements eventually became the Duchy of Normandy.[841] A Scandinavian presence was thus clearly felt until the eleventh century in the north of France, and it would not be surprising if some of their knowledge and culture arrived at Saint-Denis, which was an important monastic centre throughout the Middle Ages. The runic knowledge may thus have been local, or have arrived there from Scandinavia as a consequence of the local Scandinavian presence. Another way in which the material could have arrived at Saint-Denis was through the pilgrims' route from England to Italy, which ran through the city.[842] Echternach is less clear, since it lies between the two main pilgrims' routes through Continental Europe: from England to Italy, and from Scandinavia to Italy. However, as mentioned in the discussion of Paris, MS Latin 9666 [34], the monastery was founded by the Anglo-Saxon missionary Wilibrord (d. 736) in the late seventh and early eighth century. Whether the insular connections continued is not entirely clear, yet during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the

[840] J. L. Nelson, 'The Frankish Empire' in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, ed. by P. Sawyer (Oxford: 1997), 19-47, p. 19.
[841] L. Mazet-Harhoff, 'The Incursion of the Vikings into the Natural and Cultural Landscape of Upper Normandy' in *Viking Trade and Settlement in Continental Western Europe*, ed. by I. S. Klæsøe (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2010), 81-122, p. 81.
[842] Birch, p. 42.

Abbey's scriptorium became very popular and a prolific centre of intellectual activity.[843] It is therefore not too difficult to imagine that its popularity attracted visitors from Scandinavia and/or the insular world.

Two more manuscripts with a Scandinavian rune-row exist, both from the ninth century, one from Reichenau [16] and one from Fleury [19]. The previously mentioned Paris manuscript [30] also contains a rune-row, but the origin of this material has already been discussed. The monks of Fleury became acquainted with the Vikings when their monastery was attacked and burned down three times during the second half of the ninth century (in 854, 865, and 879).[844] It is again rather difficult to imagine that this resulted in runic writing, however, so the suggestion of the presence of insular scribes at the scriptorium presents perhaps a more realistic scenario. An Anglo-Saxon witness to the culture of these invaders could feasibly have imported this information into the Abbey. The writing of Scandinavian runes in Reichenau during that period had likely a more peaceful origin: the Scandinavian names in its confraternity book suggest that the monastery was visited frequently throughout the Middle Ages by Scandinavian pilgrims. Naumann counted approximately 740 names with a possible Scandinavian origin from between the tenth and twelfth centuries.[845] This is slightly late for the St Gallen MS 878 *fuþark*, however, so either pilgrims began travelling to Rome earlier, or the suggestion made above that the information travelled with the converters is correct here. Both options are possible, and there are a number of instances where Danish kings were baptised in the ninth century (Harald Klak for instance (d. 852)), but Sanmark believes that their influence was probably minor.[846] Christianity did not really gain a

[843] Hen, p. 421.
[844] Mostert (1989), p. 24.
[845] Naumann, p. 780.
[846] A. Sanmark, *Power and Conversion: A Comparative Study of Christianization in Scandinavia*, Occasional Papers in Archaeology, 34 (Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, 2004), p. 81.

strong hold in Denmark until the baptism of Harald Gormsen (Bluetooth) in 960, though he allowed Christian preaching from 958 onwards.[847]

Looking at the small number of Scandinavian alphabets and rune-rows, it is clear that these instances are more likely to be the result of coincidental encounters than an active interest in this material specifically. They present instances of interest which are closer to the way Anglo-Saxon scribes treated this material than the continental ones (see below), yet in most cases are still presented in the same types of contexts (i.e. alphabet collections, Isidore's works, religious materials). Therefore, although the Scandinavian runes were clearly not put on the same level as the runes of the alphabet treatises which were so popular during the Middle Ages, they are still very much part of the same medieval tradition.

England

Looking again at the distribution of material, England presents quite a balanced case: it produced five rune-rows and seven alphabets, and an equal quantity of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian material (six instances of each).[848] This is not a particularly surprising situation, since the presence of the Anglo-Saxon epigraphical tradition would have established a familiarity with the rune-row (or at least more of a familiarity than the continental scribes are likely to have had) and the Viking invasions and subsequent settlements as well as the Anglo-Saxon element of the Scandinavian conversion movement would have provided insular scriptoria with the necessary information. Yet while there is more variation in types of material, there is less encyclopaedic information present with the runes. Most notable is that there are distinctly fewer rune-names in the Anglo-Saxon material from the British Isles: none of the alphabets contain rune-names, and only two *fuþorcs* do. Proportionally,

[847] M. H. Gelting, 'The Kingdom of Denmark' in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus',* c. *900-1200*, ed. by N. Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 73–120, p. 80.

[848] It is important to note here that the term England is used because it is the most appropriate and neutral term to indicate the locations of production of this group of manuscripts between the eighth and twelfth centuries. However, it should be kept in mind that one manuscript (Oxford MS Bodley 572 [2]) may have been produced in Wales, though it is uncertain whether the runes were added in Wales, or in England at a later time.

there are more rune-names in the Scandinavian material, as one alphabet and three rune-rows provide this information. Though there are instances of runes appearing without transliterations in both locations, this is relatively more common in the insular manuscripts. The typical runic alphabet with transliterations and rune-names is thus more representative of the continental tradition than of the insular one. However, in both instances, the 'bare' alphabets and rune-rows are from the beginning of the tradition.

The lack of manuscripts with rune-names from England during the early period is of interest: rune-names only begin to appear as an encyclopaedic feature in the twelfth century. This in itself would confirm the theory that rune-names originated on the Continent as a feature of alphabet studies, considering the movement of alphabet collections between England and Continental Europe. Yet although rune-names were not written down in the same way as on the Continent before the twelfth century, they must have been known in the insular scriptoria. From the tenth century onwards, a number of manuscripts appear in England which contain runes used as abbreviations for their rune-names (for instance Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501; London, British Library Cotton MS Nero D. IV; Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A. IV. 19; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 41). This suggests that the names were known well enough for scribes to use them for cryptic games in the riddles (Exeter MS 3501) or to save themselves some writing time in the glosses (*The Durham Psalter*: Durham MS A. IV. 19; *The Lindisfarne Gospels*: Cotton MS Nero D. IV). The tenth-century dating is consistent with the rise of interest in this material in England, however, and provides enough time for this material to cross the Channel. The exception to this is of course the Anglo-Saxon runic poem, which does provide rune-names and transliterations. This would then suggest that the more recent dating of the Anglo-Saxon runic poem to the tenth century is most likely correct.[849]

The dating of written runic material from England is of interest in general, because the production of runic manuscripts starts later than on the Continent. The

[849] For a summary of the debate surrounding the dating of the poem, see Van Renterghem, pp. 25-26.

surviving manuscripts suggest that the tradition only began in the tenth century, with Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 572 [2] as the earliest remaining example. However, despite the fact that the continental scriptoria had already produced nearly two centuries' worth of *runica manuscripta*, only two manuscripts from England (and potentially Wales) have survived from that century; three if the Anglo-Saxon runic poem is included. The inclusion of runes in manuscripts only became more frequent from the late eleventh century onwards, and appears most often in twelfth-century codices. These later manuscripts are also the ones which contain the rune-names for both rune-rows and alphabets and in both languages. This time-line is quite remarkable, as it suggests that there was hardly a runic manuscript tradition until after the Norman Conquest. This would mean that the idea of writing down runic alphabets was not an established tradition which was exported to the Continent, but rather the reverse. The knowledge about runes was likely insular, yet it seems that the idea of writing the characters down and the form of the notation was imported to England.

A continental origin may then also explain the late start of the insular tradition. Gameson writes that '[t]he political unification of England and Normandy in 1066 notwithstanding, the most substantial body of bibliographical traffic in [the period c. 871 – c. 1100] as a whole was with northern France and Flanders, the areas closest to the English coast'.[850] As noted in the Continental section, the production of *manuscriptae runae* began in France, but did not continue for the entire period. Over half of the eighth- and ninth-century material is French, and three more manuscripts appear in central France in the tenth century, while only one manuscript was written in the eleventh century. There are no runic manuscripts from France dated to the twelfth century. Gameson further notes that it is possible that a number of books from elsewhere, which arrived in England, may have been filtered through the North of France and Flanders. Indeed, the scriptoria from these areas seem to have exerted the greatest influence on late Anglo-Saxon script and decoration, and it is in these works that the influence of Anglo-Saxon manuscript art was felt first.[851] These areas

[850] Gameson (2012), p. 372.
[851] Ibid.

were prolific in their *manuscriptae runae* production in the ninth century, but did not produce any runic material after that time (except for the single eleventh-century manuscript, Città del Vaticano, MS Reg. Lat. 338 [28]). If the movement of books to England from other areas on the Continent went via these areas, it is not unimaginable that the passing through different local monastic centres before crossing the Channel may have caused some delays to the transmission. This may then explain why the tradition was only slowly picked up by insular scribes in the tenth century, but it remains unclear why none of this material was copied in these local centres.

Of course, this presents the problem of why there is no material from the ninth century in England, considering the frequent exchanges of books between the two places. Historically, the ninth century was a difficult time for England, which was plagued by wars between the different Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and by the Viking invasions. Unsurprisingly, few books were produced during that period. After King Alfred's accession to the West Saxon throne in 871, the movement of books and scholarship picked up, but mostly from the Continent towards England.[852] The Carolingian fondness for alphabets, however, despite the generous production of alphabet collections on the Continent, did not affect England in the same way. The alphabet collections of Exeter MS 3507 [3] and Cotton MS Vitellius A. XII [5] suggest that the concept had become known to English scribes (again from the tenth century onwards), but it somehow never became quite as popular as on the Continent. One possible reason is that the insular scriptoria did not experience the same intellectual developments and interests of the Carolingian Renaissance, and that the alphabet collections which may have been present in some of the Continental works which were brought over simply did not interest them. However, this view may be skewed by the runic angle here and the continental notion of alphabet collections. Dekker writes that alphabets are a recurring phenomenon in manuscripts produced and owned in Anglo-Saxon England from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. They appear

[852] Ibid., p. 347.

written in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, runes, and fantastical letters. He does note, however, that they are frequently found on their own or in clusters of two.[853] It would thus seem that alphabets appear in a different way in Anglo-Saxon material, in the sense that they have the function of encyclopaedic notes rather than appearing in the treatise- or list-style which was popular on the Continent. The appearance of this material (though not runic) from the eighth century onwards makes it difficult to decide whether there was a native interest in alphabets. The eighth-century date suggests that some of the Carolingian interests may have found their way to the insular world, but perhaps in a diluted form. An overview of all manuscripts containing alphabets produced in England or on the Continent would be able to provide an answer to this question, but that falls outside of the purview of this thesis.

Taking this into consideration, it is rather odd then that runes were only introduced in the tenth century as encyclopaedic notes or otherwise in insular manuscripts. Dekker thinks that the reason why they included this material was because of associations with Woden or Odin, who supposedly invented runes. He references Bremmer's theory that in the minds of the Anglo-Saxons, there may have been a parallel with other gods who invented letters such as the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth. Thoth was also linked to the biblical figure Enoch, who is mentioned as the inventor of writing in one of the Latin analogues to the Solomon and Saturn dialogue.[854] Dekker thinks that these associations may have given the Anglo-Saxons the idea to place their own native writing tradition with 'special' characters next to the *linguae sacrae*.[855] Though this is not impossible, there is a slightly more straightforward possibility that this information was sourced from the works of the alphabet-focused continental scribes, which had begun including runes and other 'exotic' alphabets within the biblical tradition. Due to the fact that this practice only really became common in the late ninth century on the Continent, and

[853] Dekker, p. 81.
[854] R. H. Bremmer, 'Hermes – Mercury and Woden – Odin as Inventors of Alphabets: A Neglected Parallel' in *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, ed. A. Bammesberger (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1991), 409-19, pp. 418-19.
[855] Dekker, pp. 104-05.

the communications between both locations only really became frequent in the tenth century, it is not surprising that it may have taken some time before it was introduced to and picked up by Anglo-Saxon scribes.

The Conquest then brought large quantities of information with it and gradually increased the import of books and book-production, which may have prompted the English scribes to take more of an interest in this type of material.[856] The context of the runes reveals that this may be a consequence of the connection with sciences or encyclopaedic material more generally. The twelfth-century manuscripts all contain some type of scientific work, frequently computus-related (though this was also the case for the earlier manuscripts Exeter MS 3507 [3] and Cotton MS Vitellius A. XII [5]), and often also works by Bede. In fact, every manuscript except for Exeter MS 3507 and Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 14. 34 [8] contains texts by Bede, both from his scientific and historical writings. Due to the small number of manuscripts, it is difficult to tell whether his presence is significant in any way. Westgard writes that Bede's works became well-known within a few generations after his death, both in Britain and Ireland, and all over Continental Europe. He became established as an authority figure during the Carolingian era, when his works were carefully copied and preserved by a multitude of scriptoria.[857] During the ninth century, when 'disruption and neglect appear to have led to the loss of many manuscripts of his works that must have been present in the libraries of eighth-century Northumbria', many of Bede's works were then exported to the British Isles by the Carolingians.[858] Considering the frequent appearance of Bede in the early *manuscriptae runae* and the connection between computus and alphabets, it is not unlikely that some of these works would have contained alphabets, possibly even runes. This may be one of the ways in which the idea of the written rune was

[856] R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman* England *(c.1066-1130)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 5-6.
[857] J. A. Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond' in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. by S. DeGregorio (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 201-15, p. 201.
[858] Westgard, pp. 201-02.

introduced in England. Westgard further notes that the wide availability of Bede's writings during the Carolingian era made their *en masse* copying and spread during the twelfth century possible. Based on the surviving manuscripts, this appears to be when the popularity of the scholar peaked.[859] The evidence of medieval library catalogues indicates that Bede's writings ranked with the works of the Latin Fathers in importance in the average twelfth-century book collection.[860] This could indicate two things: first, if the later Bede material was copied from Carolingian examples, this could explain why alphabet collections (which included runic material) became popular during the twelfth century in England. Second, it may also suggest that the presence of Bede was merely due to his popularity during that time and that there was no real link to runes other than the scientific connection explored earlier in this chapter.

The appearance of runes in insular manuscripts also differs in other ways from their continental equivalents. The same level of standardisation that can be seen in the continental (mostly Anglo-Saxon) material does not appear here. The closest instances are the twelfth-century manuscripts which contain the Isidorian elements, and include runes and other alphabets in collections. In fact, the pre-1100 Anglo-Saxon runic material from England contains almost the same level of haphazardness and large number of rune-forms as the early continental material. It was considered in the continental analysis that this may indicate a larger degree of authenticity. Although perhaps counterintuitive, it seems more likely that a scribe relying on his memory makes mistakes against rune-forms and rune-names than a scribe merely copying another manuscript. This scenario definitely does not exclude mistakes, but it is easy to end up with approximations of shapes and names when recollecting an alphabet. This could also explain the situation here, yet this great level of variety is not consistent: there is less variety of form to be noted in the *fuþorcs* than in the alphabetised versions. The same result comes out of a comparison of the Scandinavian alphabets and *fuþarks*. However, in the case of the Scandinavian rune-rows and alphabets, a lot less variation appears. The alternative

[859] Ibid., p. 202.
[860] Ibid.

forms which do appear can often also be linked to the date of the runes and a number of contemporary changes which were happening to Scandinavian runes in epigraphy. In the eleventh century in Scandinavia the younger *fuþark* began to evolve and develop into the medieval rune-row, which was then used until c. 1450.[861] Barnes also notes that writings in this alphabet are numerous, and appear to have been very common in the twelfth and thirteenth century.[862] This is the case for Scandinavia as well as the British Isles, as demonstrated by epigraphical finds. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that these alphabets, with some evidence of growing pains, would appear in manuscripts of the twelfth century. In fact, the lack of many alternative forms here may suggest a short distance between the epigraphical tradition and runic writing in manuscripts.

[861] Barnes, p. 99.
[862] Ibid.



Map II: Production of Manuscriptae Runae in England (and Wales)

Generally, however, it appears that, though the impulse of writing down runic alphabets may not have been insular per se, insular scribes did rely on their knowledge of the native alphabet rather than mindlessly copying the continental material. This is perhaps also confirmed by the fact that the original sequence of the runic alphabet is preserved much more frequently. An interesting case in point is

Stowe MS 57 [9], which contains a list of alphabets which is very similar to the continental treatises, but instead of the standard Anglo-Saxon alphabet, provides a *fuþark* and twig-runes.

A final element worth discussing is the geographical movement of the insular material. The continental section established that the interest in runes was not stationary, but moved from monastery to monastery. This in itself is hardly surprising since many books travelled for copying or study purposes, but as explained, the interest appears also to have been regional and moved to different areas over time. As seems to be the trend with the insular material, there is a lot less cohesion between the places of production. The various *manuscriptae runae* with alphabets and rune-rows written in England were produced in different scriptoria, and no two were written at the same monastic centre. Even Exeter MS 3507 [3] and Cotton MS Vitellius A. XII[5], which are clearly related, were not produced in the same monastery, though Sherborne and Salisbury are near to one another. Looking at the material collectively, it can be observed that the Anglo-Saxon material was all produced in the South of England, with three alphabets from the South-West and two rune-rows from the South-East. The South-Eastern ones are the most recent, and also the only ones to contain rune-rows. Although there are too few manuscripts to draw any substantial conclusions, the spread of material suggests that Anglo-Saxon alphabets originated in the areas closest to the Continent (and perhaps frequently passed through by travelling scholars), while the eastern material may have been more heavily influenced by its vicinity to the Danelaw area. This suggestion of polarisation is less present within the Scandinavian material, as it is more widely spread: the earliest manuscript is from Wales, and dates to the tenth century, while the other five manuscripts, which all date to twelfth century, were written in various locations throughout England. Three are from the South-East, just below the Midlands, while the Worcester alphabet (Cotton Domitian A. IX [6]) and Yorkshire Byland Bede [10] are the outliers. The influence of the Danelaw may again be a factor, though there is no clear distinction between the production of rune-rows and alphabets here.

The Byland Bede is worth some further comment, however, since it is the only manuscript written in the North of England. This is somewhat surprising since a fair number of epigraphical runic inscriptions are northern and there is ample evidence of Scandinavian settlement in the North of England.[863] As the description explains, the circumstances of the production of the manuscript and the contemporary type of runes, however, agree with the presence of Scandinavian settlements in that area and the influence of Anglo-Norman monks in the twelfth century.[864] Yet it is remarkable that no similar manuscripts have been found thus far, and that there is no material from the North from before the twelfth century. Afterwards, in the thirteenth century, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius I (better known as the Junius *Orrmulum*) was created in Lincolnshire, and in the fourteenth century London, British Library, Additional MS 10374 in Lancashire, but all in all it seems that the runic interest in the North was rather limited, and only really began to take shape in the twelfth century.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be noted that though rune-writing itself may have been a result of the Irish fascination with Isidore, the phenomenon spread quite widely, and that the diverse areas dealt with runes in rather different ways, motivated by language, by general intellectual tendencies, and by their levels of active runic knowledge. Yet perception may not have differed that much across the board: despite the predilection for alphabet collections on the Continent versus the more casual encyclopaedic note in England, the contexts for the material are roughly the same. This implies that runes were not just playthings of the bored scribe, or doodles copied from a previously written alphabet found somewhere, but had become a genuine part of the tradition of learning in the Middle Ages. This is probably the most important parallel to remember, yet a few others are worth mentioning. The

[863] See for instance Barnes and Page (2006) for an overview of the Scandinavian inscriptions in Britain. It must be said here that the distribution of the Scandinavian inscriptions does not correlate very well with the distribution of settlements, as indicated by place-names.
[864] Fellows-Jensen notes the appearance of Scando-Norman place-names, containing a Norman personal name and the Scandinavian *–by* from the late twelfth-century onwards. G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 1985), p. 5.

treatment of the Scandinavian material for instance, is similar in both locations, as is the habit of writing alphabets (runic and otherwise) to fill empty pages. A final similarity which needs some further explanation is the fact that both in England and on the Continent (though perhaps more so in the Germanic speaking areas than the Romance ones), the production of manuscript runes increases quite dramatically in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although the Carolingians are likely responsible for the distribution and popularisation on a larger scale, the majority of the manuscripts were produced in the later period. The late twelfth century represents the peak of rune-writing, after which it drops dramatically.

It is likely that this popularity is related to historical events rather than the alphabets and rune-rows themselves. Davis writes that the eleventh and twelfth centuries were marked by a dynamic enthusiasm for monasticism, and that during this period a series of attempts were made to define, institutionalise and live the perfect monastic life. As a consequence of this movement hundreds and thousands of new monasteries were founded.[865] With the attention paid to monasteries during this conversion movement (conversion in the sense of men becoming monks), and the many groups of monastic officials travelling to establish the policies of reform, it is not surprising that scholarly culture flourished equally. For England especially the late eleventh and early twelfth century is the point at which a vast stream of information enters the islands as a consequence of the Norman Conquest. Afterwards, they became a more intrinsic part of Europe, and shared in many of the transitions which Western Europe went through in the twelfth century. The twelfth century in itself was a period of great change, hence the epithet of the 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance'; in many ways it was influenced by changes which had already begun in the eleventh century, but culminated then.[866] Although these changes happened in many areas of life, Swanson writes that the new educational structures which were generated during the long twelfth century amounted to a fundamental

[865] R. H. C. Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe*, 3rd edn (Harlow: Pearson, 2006), p. 284-85.
[866] R. N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 12.

institutional change, which would then later on lead to the birth of the first universities.[867] During this time education gradually moved from monks and monasteries to the secular clergy in the cathedral and urban schools. Though the monastery libraries and scriptoria remained important as cultural centres, most of the new ideas and texts were produced in the cathedral schools, which developed quickly throughout the second half of the eleventh century.[868] Reynolds and Wilson remark here that 'to the north the main scene of intellectual activity had shifted to Norman France and Norman England, with Bec and Canterbury to the fore, though it took the English schools a long time to catch up on those of France'.[869] They also write that the Renaissance of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries consolidated the gains of the Carolingian revival, and that authors central to medieval education or agreeable to the taste of the time simply poured from the scriptoria.[870]

It is interesting to consider how this impacts on the production of runic material. Though an increase of rune-writing, with a noticeable Carolingian influence, is certainly visible in England, only two sets of manuscript runes survive from eleventh-century Northern France ([28], [30]) and none were produced in the twelfth century. Perhaps the influx of new materials had already tempted a number of scribes away from the older material?[871] Additionally, the period shows a tendency towards the systematisation of acquired knowledge, which affected all disciplines, including grammar. As a consequence, instead of the wider reading which was included in the educational miscellanies of the early Middle Ages, more practical manuals were produced and the new grammars and rhetorics which were written during this period became much more scholastic in nature.[872] This may explain why manuscripts from Northern France, which was at the forefront of this movement, no longer display an interest in the runic alphabet. This organisation of

[867] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[868] L. D. Reynolds, N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 111.
[869] Ibid.
[870] Ibid., p. 115.
[871] Ibid., p. 112.
[872] Ibid., p. 116.

knowledge may have led to the elimination of haphazard alphabets written in the margins or on empty pages, or the inclusion of 'exotic' alphabets in grammars may no longer have seemed relevant to the scholastically minded scribe. This scenario may also explain why after the twelfth century only few *manuscriptae runae* were produced: the copying of Carolingian manuscripts, which had continued in the Germanic areas of the Continent and England, ground to a halt to make space for new materials and systematisation of the old. The fact that the final burst of rune-writing on the Continent shows mostly copying of the *De Inventione Linguarum* treatise and introduces a standardised Anglo-Saxon runic alphabet could certainly be confirmation of this. However, further research into the post-1200 *manuscriptae runae* is needed before any conclusions can be drawn.

CONCLUSION

In the introduction, a number of questions were asked regarding the nature of the phenomenon of runes written in manuscripts. The introduction also indicated the lack of knowledge about the runic manuscript tradition as a whole, and more specifically of where it originated, how it developed, and what its function was in medieval scholarship. These questions were then put forward as the focal points of the thesis. In the first chapter, a definition for the concept of *runica manuscripta* was sought and found lacking, while the problems with too close an association with or too large a separation from the epigraphical side of the discipline were explained. The catalogue, in its sheer size, not only updated the pre-existing descriptions of the manuscripts included in this study, but added new ones (most notably the Byland Bede [10]; Modena, MS O. I. 11 [15]; and Città del Vaticano, Barb. Lat. MS 572 [27]), and provided full descriptions of some of the lesser-known runic manuscripts (e.g. Cambridge, MS R. 14. 34 [8]; Paris, MS Grec 375 [30]; and Paris, MS Latin 9666 [34]). Additionally, it also exposed the wealth of information associated with manuscript runes. The detailed discussions of the runes and the context allowed for the establishment of differences and similarities between the various manuscripts, and for the recognition of certain patterns and copying tendencies. These trends were then analysed in the final chapter, where a broader historical and geographical framework was developed.

The findings from those early chapters and the catalogue were then used to answer those initial questions, and to draw general conclusions regarding the tradition of writing alphabets and rune-rows in the period from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. It has been suggested that Seebold's hypothesis that the tradition of runic writing originated in Irish scriptoria is likely correct, and that most of the interest in the material came from a fascination with Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*; especially the section on the origin of alphabets spoke to the scribes' imagination. Though the notion of rune-writing itself may have been the result of one group's interest, the phenomenon spread quickly and widely through the Irish contribution to the conversion movement and their frequent travels throughout Europe. This dissemination was further aided by the Carolingian interest in alphabets and their

inventors. Not long after, the runic alphabet was included in the treatise *De Inventione Linguarum*, and the popularity of this alphabet collection helped the spread of runic material significantly. The examination of the material surrounding the runes also indicated that through the inclusion in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, the importance of grammar as part of the Trivium, and the Carolingian idea that including languages and alphabets in the wider study of the universe would provide a deeper understanding of religion, runes became associated with medieval learning (religious and otherwise) and science. Additionally, their specific sequence also lent itself well to cryptography. This meant that the material was included in these, and wider encyclopaedic and educational contexts, and was transported to different scriptoria and introduced to various scribes under this guise.

It became clear that once the tradition was established, the diverse areas dealt with runes rather differently; this was often influenced by the local vernacular, by intellectual trends, and by the presence or absence of active runic knowledge. The interest in this material was present on the Continent in both the Romance- and Germanic-speaking areas, though their ideas about runes differed, as did their linguistic perception of the rune-names. Yet, despite that, the rune-forms do not show any significant differences, and the same mistakes were perpetuated in both linguistic areas. Additionally, in spite of the movement of the material, the contexts in which alphabets and rune-rows are found remain roughly the same throughout the period. The differences also become less pronounced during the late eleventh century and twelfth century, especially on the Continent, when much of the material was the product of copying and the Renaissance of the twelfth century inspired a movement towards standardisation.

It is safe to say that this general image is somewhat unexpected, especially the position of England in the distribution pattern. Though the knowledge of the rune-row likely originates from England (with Northumbria as the potential main source), its own tradition of rune-writing appears to have followed the continental initiative, and never developed to quite the same extent. That said, its closer connection with the initial production of the material did provide rune-rows and alphabets with a closer affinity to the epigraphical tradition. A similar observation

can be made about the Scandinavian material on the Continent: because it was not commonly copied, its appearance is closer to epigraphy, as evidenced by its susceptibility to contemporary changes in the rune-row. Though this is perhaps surprising, at first sight the influx of European scholarship seems also to have caused the production of runic manuscripts in Scandinavia. Further research on this topic is needed before any concrete conclusions can be drawn, but there appears to have been a tendency in those areas with a history or tradition of rune-carving to only adopt rune-writing at a later stage.

The above analysis of course only presents a preliminary, basic image of the material and its movement, as a few caveats need to be taken into account. The most obvious caveat is that this is based on a selection of the surviving evidence and it is uncertain how representative this is of the entire tradition. Additionally, even from this selection a number of manuscripts are missing, many because they have simply not survived, and some because they survive only as copies. For instance, the runes of British Library, Cotton Otho B. X, and Cotton Galba A. II were copied in Hickes's *Thesaurus*, yet Wanley does not give any indications as to their dating (though the Anglo-Saxon runic poem is generally given a tenth-century one) or place of origin.[873] Also, determining the place of origin of a manuscript is not an exact science: though the appearance of multiple manuscripts in the same areas is a good indicator of a local interest, some of the outliers may be due to incorrect analysis of the origin of the manuscript. Additionally, it is difficult to determine when runes were written, especially if the manuscript lacks encyclopaedic information on them. For instance, though it seems likely that Oxford MS Bodley 572 [2] was written in Wales, the runes may also be the product of one of the English monasteries through which it passed, which may skew perception of the material. Regardless, the analysis of the remaining material provided an interesting, if preliminary, insight into the tradition, which also has wider implications.

Looking at the place of this study within the wider discipline of manuscript runology, the discussion of the limitations of the concept of *runica manuscripta* in

[873] Hickes and Wanley, vol. 2, pp. 232, 190-91.

the first chapter is valuable for further study of the topic. Studies which include runes in manuscripts often start with defining or re-defining the concept, and/or determining which types of manuscripts or manuscript runes are included in their definition. Unsurprisingly, not every study constructs the same definition, and as a consequence, many scholarly discussions of this material happen at cross-purposes. Of course, a more detailed study is needed to provide a proper definition, as well as further specification of which types of written runes are included in it. The need for nuancing argued for here, and the subcategorisation provided by the term *manuscriptae runae*, however, are a step in the right direction.

Following on from that, this study also provides the opportunity for examining some of the current uses of manuscripts within runology. Manuscripts have often been used as repositories of information on runes in a general sense; this means that epigraphical runologists have often used them to supply information which is not present in carved inscriptions. For instance, rune-names are rarely mentioned in epigraphy, yet their existence is widely accepted, and they are often used as short-hand for specific runes (i.e. the *wynn*-rune, the *þorn*-rune, etc). The evidence for the existence of rune-names from an early date is in the manuscript tradition, however. Research has been done on the linguistic origin of the rune-names, yet little interest is shown in how this material came to reside in manuscripts. This study has indicated that it was likely a consequence of Isidore's statement on the necessary features of an alphabet: he required the presence of the characters of the alphabet, Roman transliterations, and names. It has also collected all of the rune-names from the eighth until the twelfth century, and shown that they were susceptible to local variation, as well as the inevitable scribal error. Yet despite this, there is no reason to doubt that all of these names had a common source. The manuscript tradition therefore not only delivers the rune-names, it also provides evidence for a pre-existing phenomenon of rune-names.

Mapping out the way in which the runic alphabets and rune-rows, the only type of runic material to consistently contain rune-names, evolved has demonstrated their interconnectedness. It has also cast some doubts over the use of certain manuscript sources for rune-names. The Anglo-Saxon runic poem, for

instance, has often been used as a measure for the standard of rune-names. Cotton MS Otho B. X was the first known insular manuscript to contain rune-names, yet it was not the first manuscript to contain English runes or rune-names. Additionally, since the manuscript perished in the Cottonian fire in 1731, only a copy remains to provide the names. This copy in George Hickes's *Thesaurus* is a compilation of different materials and may therefore not be entirely representative. That is not to say that these rune-names are not of a good quality, but merely that this specific manuscript is a strange reference point. It would seem more sensible to consider the earlier material, which is likely closest to the rune-names known to eighth-century Anglo-Saxons, or perhaps, to eliminate local influences, an abstraction of the most commonly appearing rune-names.

Of course, rune-names are only a small part of runology, but the reliance on manuscripts for the provision of this information also indicates why the manuscript tradition is important for the field: it contains a context for the runes, and sometimes even a contemporary explanation of the material. Carved inscriptions, unlike manuscript writing, only possess a limited context, so while the location of a rune-stone, or the find of a rune-stick in the remains of a church are telling and interesting, they only give an insight into the fact that runes were used in such a location, or allow for a connection between the text and the place. The context study here has shown that runes were not just playthings or scribal fancy, but became a genuine, though certainly not central, part of medieval learning. It has also demonstrated how much people outside of carving communities knew about this phenomenon, and hence how far the impact of this alphabet reached. Having an idea of context and perception is important, of course, for the study of alphabets and rune-rows, but can also be used for a comparison of the functions of runic texts, and the use of runes in the manuscript tradition more generally. It may also help interpret those epigraphical inscriptions which show a book-hand influence, such as the Bridekirk font. So, although this study only examines a small number of runic manuscripts and its results are thus only representative of part of the *manuscriptae runae* tradition, its examination of the contextual material has shown the value of

having an insight into contemporary perception, and the use of context as a tool for a better understanding of the material.

Future avenues of research may therefore be found in analysing the contexts of the many runic texts which were not included in this study, and in testing whether the same texts and materials continue to appear in manuscripts produced after the twelfth century. Expansions on the current study are also possible by including manuscripts which are not currently held in Europe (for instance, New York, Corning Museum of Glass, MS 5), or, especially in light of the possible origins of the tradition, examining the appearance of runes in the Irish manuscript tradition (for instance, British Library, Additional MS 4783). Due to the nature of this study, many elements were briefly mentioned as part of the overview, or were necessary to build the framework, but would benefit from a more in-depth investigation. As noted in the analysis, there has not been a general study of alphabets in Western medieval manuscripts, both in alphabet collections and as encyclopaedic notes. Such a study would be useful to reveal the frequency with which runes appear, and thus their position and importance within this context. It is also possible that by collecting the manuscripts with alphabets a few undiscovered *runica manuscripta* may be found, since only few cataloguers recognised or made a note of the appearance of runes. On a smaller scale, a more detailed analysis of the rune-forms and rune-names would also benefit the field, as would a more thorough investigation of the places which produced multiple *manuscriptae runae*. On a larger scale, the usefulness of a similar study for the runic manuscripts from Scandinavia has also been indicated.

The value of this study, however, has not just been in creating a framework for future research into runic manuscripts, or for exposing a large number of questions which still need answered. It has demonstrated the vitality of the *runica manuscripta* tradition, and with that the fact that runic knowledge was perpetuated in medieval scriptoria for most of the Middle Ages. It has also confirmed that this tradition was not just a derivation from epigraphy, but has its own importance for the study of runology as well as for the wider scholarship of medieval intellectualism. These manuscripts are important and worth further investigation, not because they are store-houses for information to be used to fill up the gaps left by epigraphy, but

because medieval scribes decided continuously for six centuries that the runic alphabet was worth copying and worth saving for readers, for teachers, and for future scholars.

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