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Title: A family of names : Rune-names and Ogam-names and their relation to alphabet letter-names

Issue Date: 2013-06-18

TABLES

Sources of lists of names

Table 1: List of texts with examples of interpretations of Hebrew letter-names¹**A. Interpretations by Origen, Eusebius of Caesaria, Ambrose, Jerome, Hesychius and Cassiodorus (see Tables 6–10)**

No.	Author	Title or manuscript reference	Migne ref.	Other references
O	? Origen (184–254)	Vatican City, BAV, gr. 2125 (s.vi = Codex Marchalianus) (cf. Paris, BN, grec 2617 = Codex Colbertinus)		Klosterman 1903: 135–40 Wutz 1914: 5, 210–31
1	Eusebius of Caesaria (fl. 312–37)	<i>Praeparatio evangelia</i> (lib. 10, c. 5)	PG XXI: 787–90	Müller 1911: 1–27; Mras 1954–6
2	Ambrose (334/9–97)	<i>Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII</i>	PL XV: 1283–598	Müller 1911: 1–27; Thiel 1973: 84 ff
3	Jerome 1 (342/7– 419/20)	<i>De alphabeto hebraico Psalmi CXVIII</i> (in: <i>Epistula XXX</i> , 5)	PL XXIII: 441–5	Müller 1911: 1–27; Thiel 1973: 84 ff
4	Jerome 2 (342/7– 419/20)	<i>De psalterio</i> (in: <i>Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum</i>)	PL XXIII: 871	Müller 1911: 1–27; Thiel 1973: 84 ff; De Lagarde 1870: 48–9
	?Jerome 3 ²	<i>Interpretatio alphabeti hebraeorum</i> (<i>De situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum liber</i>)	PL XXIII: 1365–6	Thiel 1973: 87; De Lagarde 1870: 160
H	Hesychius (ob. 420)	Published as <i>Athanasii, Archiepiscopi Alaexandrae, Interpretatio Psalmorum sive De titulis Psalmorum</i> , ed. Nicolaus Antonellus, Rome, 1746: 375–79; now attributed to Hesychius of Jerusalem	PG XXVII: 1311–12	Mercati 1944: 7–22
B/C	Cassiodorus (485–582)	Vatican City, BAV, lat. 82 (s.ix); 83 (s.x) and lat. 84 (s.xi) = <i>Nonatola Psalter</i>		Salmon 1959: 173–9

B. A selection of later lists largely based on Ambrose and Jerome (see Tables 11 – 14)³

5	Pseudo-Jerome	<i>In Lamentationes Jereminae</i> (? s. vii/ix)	PL XXV: 787–92	Thiel 1973: 88–94
6a		<i>Vespasian Psalter</i> ; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.i (s. viii ^{2/4})		Kuhn 1948; Thiel 1973: 90–118
6b		Vatican City, BAV, Cod. Regin. lat. 11, 177v–187v (s. viii)		Thiel 1973: 90–118
7		<i>Salaberga Psalter</i> ; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 553 (s. viii ¹)		Salmon 1959: 71
8	Paschasius Radbertus (785–860)	<i>In Threnos sive Lamentatione Jeremiae libri quinque (liber 3)</i> (s. ix)	PL CXX: 1142	Thiel 1973: 89–98
9		Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3507, 65r (s. x ²)		Derolez 1954: 221
10		Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 356 pt iii, 42a (s. x ²)		
11	Bruno of Würzburg (c. 1005–1045)	Ps. CXVIII (in: <i>Expositio Psalmorum</i>) (s. xi ^{med})	PL CXLII: 428	Thiel 1973: 91–6, 100
12	Bruno Cartus (c. 1030–1101)	Ps. CXVIII (in: <i>Expositio in Psalmos</i>) (s. xi)	PL CXLII: 1258	Thiel 1973: 91–6, 100
13		London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A xii, 45r (s. xi ^{ex})		Derolez 1954: 225
14		Durham, Cathedral Library, B.II.11, 61r (s. xi ^{ex})		
15		Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 2, 278rv (s. xii)		Thiel 1973: 90–6, 114
16	Anselm of Laon (c. 1050–1117)	Ps. CXVIII (in: <i>Commentarius in Psalmos</i>) (s. xii ²)	PL CXVI: 602–29	Thiel 1973: 91–6, 101
17	Pseudo-Bede	<i>Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum</i> (s. xiii)		Thiel 1973: 91–6, 158
18	Paris 1 (18a) & Paris 2 (18b)	Paris, BN, français 1, 258vb–259ra (s. xiv)		Bonnard 1882: 255–9; Thiel 1973: 102–13
19		Dublin, Trinity College H.2.16/1318, 234b (s. xiv–xv) (= London, British Library, Egerton 88, 71rb (1564))		Calder 1917: 229–31

¹ The numbers refer to the columns in Tables 9, 12 and 13, in which the glosses themselves are listed. The abbreviations BAV and BN represent Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and Bibliothèque Nationale, respectively.

² Not listed separately in Table 9, since the list is identical with no. 4 except that the transcription of the letter-names and their order are as in No. 3, and the gloss on *coph* is *simius* rather than the *uocatio uel auis* of no. 4.

³ This list is by no means exhaustive. Among Anglo-Saxon manuscripts not mentioned here are: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 553 (s. viii¹) (*Salaberga Psalter*); London, Lambeth Palace Library, 427 (s. xi¹) (*Lambeth Psalter*); London, British Library, Stowe 2 (s. xi^{med}) (*Stowe Psalter*); London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii (s. xi^{med}) (*Vitellius Psalter*); Paris, BN, lat. 8824 (s. xi^{med}) (*Paris Psalter*); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 328 (s. xi^{med}) (Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*); London, British Library, Arundel 235 (s. xi^{ex}); London, British Library, Arundel 60 (s. xi²) (*Arundel Psalter*); Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1 (s. xii²) (*Eadwine Psalter*).

Table 2: List of texts with examples of interpretations of Greek and Latin letter-names, and some alphabet poems**A. Greek and Latin alphabet lists**

(The numbers in the lefthand column refer to the columns in Table 16, which lists the glosses)

No.	Author	Title or manuscript reference	References
1	Arn of Salzburg	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 795, 19r (s. viii ⁱⁿ /x)	Berschlin 1988: 88, 90, Plate 2. Bischoff (1966–81: II, 115–20) dates manuscript to s. viii ⁱⁿ
2		Dublin, Trinity College H.2.16/1318, 234a (s. xiv/xv) (= London, BL, Egerton 88, 71rb (1564))	Calder 1917: 229–231
3		Erfurt, Ampl. 2° 10, 125 (s. ix ^{ex} /x ⁱⁿ)	Bischoff 1966–81: II, 253
4 ⁴		Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3507, 65r (s. x)	Derolez 1954: 221
5		Oxford, Bodley Library, Digby 184, 93 (s. xi ² /xii ²)	Bischoff 1966–81: II, 253
6 ⁴		London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A xii, 45v (s. xi ² /xii ²)	Bischoff 1966–81: II, 253, n.34
7		Paris, BN, lat. 4841, 32r (s. ix ^{med})	Bischoff 1966–81: III, 142, n.13

B. Poems on the alphabets

(The text of no. 1 is given in Table 14 (a), the texts of nos. 2 - 4 in Tables 17 (a) – (c))

No.	Author	Title or manuscript reference	References
1 ⁵	Unknown Irishman	Poem on the Hebrew alphabet, Murbach, Gothanus mbr. 1, 17, 3v–4r (s. ix); Vatican City, BAV, Cod. Regin. 339, 49rv (s. x).	Thiel 1973: 90–9 Traube 1896: III, 698–9
2 ⁶	Ausonius (310–395)	<i>De litteris monosyllabis graecis ac latinis</i>	Di Giovine 1996: 81–2, 196–223
3 ⁷	Anonymous Irishman (ca. 630)	<i>Versus de nominibus litterarum (Versus cuiusdam Scoti de alphabeto)</i>	Glorie 1968: 728; Wright and Halliwell 1841–3: I, 164–5
4	As no. 1 above	Poem on the Greek alphabet, Murbach, Gothanus mbr. 1, 17, 3v–4r (s. ix); Vatican City, BAV, Cod. Regin. 339, 49rv (s. x).	Traube 1896: III: 699–700

C. Virgilius Maro Grammaticus's Latin alphabet names

(The names and glosses are given in Table 18)

No.	Author	Title or manuscript reference	References
1	Virgilius Maro Grammaticus (? s. vii ^{med})	Virgilius's "Latin" <i>Metrofia</i> , in his <i>Epitomae</i>	Tardi, Stangl
2		Dublin, Trinity College H.2.16/1318, 234b (s. xiv/xv) = London, British Library, Egerton 88, 71va (1564)	Calder 1917: 231

⁴ These manuscripts are the same as those numbered (9) and (13) in Tables 1 and 12 (b).⁵ The manuscripts containing this poem are: Murbach, Gothanus mbr. 1, 17, 3v–4r (s. ix); Vatican City, BAV, Cod. Regin. 339, 49rv (s. x).⁶ The oldest manuscript containing this poem is Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Lat. F 111 (c. 800), 19v–21v.⁷ The manuscripts containing this poem include: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Q. 33 (s. x), 176; Carnot 55 (s. x), 1; Paris, BN 2773 (s. x), 108b, and 5001 (s. x), 23; London, British Library, Royal 12.C.XXIII (s. x); Cambridge Gg.V.35 (s. xii), 381a; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 10615-10729 (s. xii), 194b, and 9799-9809 (s. xii), 137b.

Table 3: List of texts giving ogam-names with kennings and glosses**A. Manuscripts containing kennings and glosses on ogam-names**

The texts of the kennings and glosses on ogam-names cited in this thesis are based on an edition of the kennings presented by McManus (1988). His sources were manuscripts containing either complete texts or fragments of the tracts known as *In lebor ogaim* [The Book of Ogams] and the *Auraicept na nÉces* [Students' Primer]. An extended list and discussion of the relationship between these manuscripts is provided by Ahlqvist (1982: 22–7). McManus concentrated on the following four manuscripts:

Library	Number	Common title	Abbreviation	Date
Royal Irish Academy	23P12/536	<i>Book of Ballymote</i>	BB	1391
Trinity College, Dublin	H 2.16/1318	<i>Yellow Book of Lecan</i>	YBL	s. xiv/xv
Trinity College, Dublin	H.3.18		H 3.18	s. xvi
National Library of Ireland	G53		G53	s. xvii

B. Passages containing ogam-names and their kennings and glosses as listed in Tables 20, 21 23 and 24

Three series of kennings relating to ogam-names were devised by three authors, who, according to the *Auraicept na nÉces*, were: Morann mac Moin (series A), Mac ind Óc (series B), Cú Chulainn (series C). Series A and B kennings, with glosses, are either incorporated in the relevant tract or listed at the end of the text. Series C versions are only found as lists at the end of a text. In Table 20, each list is given in two columns, with letter equivalents or values to the left, kennings to the right and glosses below. The form and locations are indicated in the table below. The sigla used here to identify the kennings and glosses are as used by McManus (1988), except that his notation of A¹, A², etc., appears as A1, A2, etc.. Also referred to in the present thesis, in Tables 21, 23, and 24, are lists of ogam-names given in the BB manuscript of *In lebor ogaim*, which were cited by Meroney (1949) but not by McManus (1988). The end-lists in this case are written in line across the folio, above ogam signaries, and are reproduced by Calder at the end of his edition in facsimile.

Traditions cited by McManus (Table 20)												
Sigla	MS	Passage in MS	Tract ⁸	Location in text	Published source ⁸	Sigla	MS	Passage in MS	Tract ⁸	Location in text	Published source ⁸	
A1	BB	309a50–310a21	<i>Og.</i>	Text in body	<i>Aur.</i> ll. 5528–614	B1	BB	310a22–310b5	<i>Og.</i>	Text in body	<i>Aur.</i> ll. 5615–67	
A2	H.3.18	34		Columns at end	<i>Anec.</i> , pp. 43–4	B2	H.3.18	34		Columns at end	<i>Anec.</i> pp. 44–5	
A3	G53	3,4–5,21	<i>Og.</i>	Text in body		B3	G53	5,22–7,7	<i>Og.</i>	Text in body		
A4	BB	325a20–325b2	<i>Aur.</i>	Text in body	<i>Aur.</i> ll. 1157–98	B4	G53	20		Columns at end		
A5	YBL (3)	536	<i>Aur.</i>	Text in body	<i>Aur.</i> ll. 4253–308 ⁹	B5	H.3.18	27b30–28a30	<i>Og.</i>	Text in body		
A6	G53	20		Columns at end		C1	H.3.18	34		Columns at end	<i>Anec.</i> p. 45	
A7	H.3.18	26b 22–27b29	<i>Og.</i>	Text in body		C2	G53	21		Columns at end		
Traditions cited by Meroney (Tables 21, 23 and 24)												
	Sigla	MS	Passage in MS	Tract ⁸	Location in text	Published source ⁸						
	Ia	BB	312ab26	<i>Og.</i>	End-list	<i>Aur.</i> pp. 302, 304						
	Ib	BB	312ab27	<i>Og.</i>	End-list	<i>Aur.</i> pp. 302, 304						
	Iib	BB	309a36–49	<i>Og.</i>	Body	<i>Aur.</i> ll. 5511–27						

⁸ *Og.* = *Ogam*, the version of *In lebor ogaim* appended by Calder to his edition of the *Auraicept na nÉces* (see next); line numbers are from Calder's edition. *Aur.* = *Auraicept na nÉces* (Calder, 1917). *Anec.* = *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts*, vol. 3 (ed. Bergin *et al.*, 1910).

⁹ For this text Calder also used London, British Library, Egerton 88 (1564), fol. 71v–72r.

Table 4: List of manuscripts giving rune-names

(Dating is largely according to Derolez, 1954 = DRM)

Manuscripts	DRM ref.	Notes and references
1 (a) English <i>futhorcs</i> with rune-names, without <i>isruna</i> tract (see Table 27 (a))¹⁰		
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 795, 20r (s. viii ^{ex} /ix ^m)	52–63	Bischoff (1966–81: II, 115–20) dates manuscript to s. viii ^m but the text on fol. 20r is (?) s. x.
London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A. ix, 10r/11v (s. xi)	3–16	
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 9311–9319, 3v (s. xi)	63–73	
*London, British Library, Cotton Galba A. ii (? s. xi/xii)	34–8; 45–52	Manuscript destroyed by fire in 1865, after being damaged in the Cotton Library fire in 1731. Contents are only known from copies in Hickes's <i>Thesaurus</i> (1705: I, 136).
Oxford, St John's College 17, 5v (s. xi ^{ex} /xii ^m)	26–34; 38–45	Hickes (<i>Thesaurus</i> , 1705: III, 4) refers to this MS as C.27. The <i>futhorc</i> order is unusual.
1 (b) English <i>futhorcs</i> with rune-names plus <i>isruna</i> tract (see Table 27 (b))		
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 270, 52 (s. ix)	90–4	
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 9565–9566, 8r (s. ix ^{ex})	95–102	
Vatican City, BAV., Codex Urbin. lat. 290, 71v (s. x ^{ex} /xi)	106–13	
Trier, Priesterseminar, R.III. 13, 115v (s. xi/xii)	102–6	
2. Scandinavian 16-rune <i>futhorks</i> with rune-names (see Tables 28 (a) and (b))¹¹		
Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Codex Vossianus lat. Q. 83, 24v (s. ix ^m /x)	lviii (fn.)	Two lists. Musset 1965: 111.
*London, British Library, Cotton Galba A. ii (?s. xi/xii)	lviii (fn.)	Copy only; see note above. Musset 1965: 111.
Oxford, St John's College 17, 5v (s. xi ^{ex} /xii ^m)	lviii (fn.)	Two lists. Musset 1965: 111.
Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23P12/536 (= BB), 314 (1391)	lviii (fn.)	Calder 1917: 311–3 (labelled “gallogam”). Musset 1965: 111.
3 (a) Runic alphabets with names not associated with the <i>De inventione</i> text (see Table 29 (a))¹²		
Berne, Burgerbibliothek, 207, 264v (s. viii/ix)	174–92	
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 751, 39v (s. ix ^m)	197–206	
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 19410, 58 (s. ix)	206–12	
New York, Corning Glass Center, Philipps 3715, 64r (s. ix (xii))	219–37	
Vatican City, BAV, Codex Regin. lat. 338, 92v (s. x ^{ex})	237–51	Same as Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Scaligerianus 61, 70v (s. xvi)
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14436, 1r (s. xi ^m)	251–263	Two lists
3 (b) Runic alphabets with names associated with the <i>De inventione</i> text (see Tables 29 (b))¹³		
See list in footnote 14 (s. viii–xiii)	279–378	

¹⁰ Manuscripts with *futhorcs* but no rune-names are: Salzburg, Stift St Peter, a. IX 32 (s. x/xi); St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 878 (s. ix^{med}); and Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 306 (s. x).

¹¹ This is by no means a complete list. A selection of rune-names in later Scandinavian and Icelandic manuscripts is listed in Table 28 (a).

¹² Since DRM, other alphabets with rune-names have been noted in: Modena O.I. 11 (s. ix) (Loretta, 1992); Antwerp, Plantin Moretus, 66 (s. xi) (Derolez, 1964, 1991); Paris, BN, lat. 2740 (s. xiii?) (Bischoff, 1954/1981); Vatican City, BAV, Codex Regin. lat. 1308 (s. x² or xi) (Bischoff, (1981, II: 144). Among the manuscripts containing runic alphabets but no rune-names are: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Codex Vossianus F 12 d (s. ix); London, British Library, Harley 3017 (s. ix); St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 270 (s. ix); Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3507 (s. x); and London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A xii (s. xi²/xii²).

¹³ DRM lists fifteen manuscripts containing the *De inventione* text and rune-names: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. 254 (s. viii/ix-ix); *ibid.*, Aug. 176 (s. ix/x¹); Paris, BN, lat. 5239 (s. x^{med}); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1609 (s. x); *ibid.*, 1761 (s. xii); *ibid.* 1010 (s. xii); Strasbourg, Bibl. nat. et univ., 326 (s. x); Vatican City, BAV, Codex Urbin. 290 (s. xi^m); *ibid.*, Cod. Regin. lat. 294 (s. xi/xii); Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1966 (s. xii¹); Munich, A. Weinmüller (s. xii^m); Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Salem 9.39 (s. xii²); Bamberg, Staat. Bibliothek, Msc. patr. 130/2 (s. xiii^m); London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xviii (s. xiii; xv); and the copy in M. Goldast's *Alamannicarum scriptores aliquot veteres* (1606). St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 876 (s. viii/ix), and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, S. Marco 604 (s. xi^m), contain the *De inventione* tract but no runes or rune-names.

Table 5: Sources containing the rune-poems, as referred to in this thesis

(For a detailed discussion of the sources of the Norwegian, Icelandic and Swedish poems, see A. Bauer 2003a: for the Norwegian poem pp. 113–33; for the Icelandic poem pp. 163–83; for the Swedish poem pp. 209–33.)

Manuscripts	Notes and references
1. The <i>Abeceðarium Nordmannicum</i> (see Table 40 (a))	
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 878, 321 (s. ix ^m)	The ‘poetic’ nature of the <i>Abeceðarium Nordmannicum</i> is debatable.
2. The Anglo-Saxon <i>Runic Poem</i> (see Table 31)	
Anglo-Saxon <i>Rune Poem</i> , *Cotton Otho B. x, 165v (?s. x/xi)	It is not certain whether folio 165 ^v originally formed part of this manuscript. Fire destroyed it in 1731. The contents are known only from copies in Hickes’s <i>Thesaurus</i> . Bauer 2003a: 78–112.
3. The Norwegian rune-poem (see Table 31)¹⁴	
Ole Worm, <i>Rúnþáttur seu Danica Literatura Antiquissima</i> , Amsterdam, 105–7 (1636)	The Norwegian rune-poem probably dates from the 13th century. It is only known from copies. An earlier manuscript was destroyed by fire in 1728. Worm’s is the earliest surviving copy. It contains rune-names. Bauer 2003a: 124–5
Runólfur Jónsson, <i>Lingvæ septentrionalis elementa tribus assortmentibus adstructa</i> , Copenhagen (1651)	Apparently an emendation of Ole Worm’s version. Gives Latin translations of stanzas, with commentary. Bauer 2003a: 128–9.
Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Papp. fol. 64 (part IV), 74 (1686–7)	Copy by Jón Eggertsson. It has no rune-names. Bauer 2003a: 120–3. This is the version that Bauer (2003a: 118–20) uses as the basis for her transcription. I mainly follow this transcription in Table 31.
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, E Donatione Variorum I. Barth. D, 818 (1686–9)	Copy by Árni Magnússon. It has no rune-names. Bauer 2003a: 123–4.
4. The Icelandic rune-poem (see Table 31)¹⁵	
Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 687d 4to (c. 1500)	This copy has no rune-names, but has Latin/Icelandic glosses. Bauer 2003a: 167–9.
Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 461 12mo (1539–58)	Bauer 2003a: 169–71.
Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 749 4to, 25v (s. xvii)	Runes arranged in alphabetical order. Bauer 2003a: 171–2.
Runólfur Jónsson, <i>Lingvæ septentrionaliselementa tribus assortmentibus adstructa</i> , Copenhagen (1651)	Gives Latin glosses on names and a Latin translation of the stanzas. Bauer 2003a: 172–3.
Olaus Verelius, <i>Manductio Compendiosa ad Runographiam Scandicam Antiquam recte intelligendam. En kor underwysing om then Gambla Swea-Gotha Runa ristning. Codex Argent Izvis atgiban ist kunnan Runa þiudangardjos guþs</i> , Uppsala (1675)	Does not reproduce the Icelandic rune-poem as such, but gives paraphrases of each name, with Latin translations. Full text and German translation are given by Bauer 2003a: 173–7.
5. The Swedish rune-poem	
Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vulcanius 106 ¹ (1600)	Swedish rune-names and rune-poem in a letter from Nicolaus Granius (1569–1631) to Bonaventura Vulcanus (1538–1614); see Quak 1987: 81–92; and Bauer 2003a: 209–33.

¹⁴ Versions of the poem based largely on Ole Worm’s edition appear in: Copenhagen, Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 148 8vo (s. xvii^m); Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 738 4to (1680); Copenhagen, Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 413 fol (1732). Versions based on Runólfur Jónsson’s edition appear in: Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 1867 4to (1760); Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 477 8vo (s. xviii).

¹⁵ Later manuscripts containing the Icelandic rune-poem include: Copenhagen, Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 413 fol. (1732); Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 1867 4to (1760); Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 477 8vo (s. xviii); Edinburgh, University Library, 21.6.7 (s. xviii).

Hebrew letter-names

Table 6: The connected sequences of Hebrew letter-names according to Eusebius and Jerome

Texts are from Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* (lib. 10, c. 5), PG XXI: 787–90; and Jerome, *De alphabeto hebraico psalmi CXVIII* (in: *Epistula XXX*, 5), PL XXIII: 441–5 (nos. 1 and 3 in Table 1). The line division and spacing are intended to emphasise the structure and help comparison between the two texts. The transcribed letter-names, glosses and connected sequences are highlighted in bold print.

Eusebius

ἔστι δὲ τὰ πάντα παρ' Εβραίοις στοιχεῖα δύο καὶ ἑκοσιν, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτόν
 ἔστιν Ἄλφ, ὃ μεταληφθὲν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν λέγοιτ' ἂν μάθησις·
 τὸ δὲ δεύτερον Βῆθ, ὃ μεθερμηνεύεται οἶκου·
 τὸ τρίτον Γίμελ, ὃ ἐστὶ πλήρωσις·
 τὸ τέταρτον Δέλθ, ὃ σημαίνει δέλτων·
 τὸ πέμπτον Η, ὃ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ·
 ὁμοῦ δὲ τὰ πάντα ἀπαρτίζει τοιαύτην τινὰ διάνοιαν· μάθησις οἶκου,
 πλήρωσις δέλτων αὐτῇ.
 εἴτα μετὰ ταῦτά ἐστι στοιχεῖον ἕκτον, λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς Οὐαῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν
 ἐν αὐτῇ·
 ἔπειτα Ζαί, ὃ ἐστὶ ζῆ· μεθ' οὗ Ηθ, ὃ ἐστὶν ὁ ζῶν· ἵν' ἡ τὸ ὅλον ἐν αὐτῇ ζῆ ὁ ζῶν·
 μετὰ ταῦτα στοιχεῖον ἑνατον τὸ Τήθ, ὃ ἐστὶ καλή·
 ἔπειτα Ιώθ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἀρχή·
 ὁμοῦ τὰ δύο καλὴ ἀρχή·
 ἐπὶ τούτοις Χάφ, ὃ ἐστὶν ὁ μωσ·
 ἔπειτα Λάβδ, ὃ ἐστὶ μάθε·
 τὸ ὅλον ὁ μωσ μάθε.
 μετὰ ταῦτα τρισκαίδέκατον στοιχεῖόν ἐστι τὸ Μήμ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν·
 ἔπειτα Νοῦν, ὃ ἐστὶν αἰωνία·
 εἴτα Σάμχ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται βοήθεια·
 ἵν' ἡ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰωνία βοήθεια·
 ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ Ἄιν, ὃ μεταληφθὲν σημαίνει πηγὴν ἢ ὀφθαλμόν·
 ἔπειτα τὸ Φῆ, ὃ στόμα·
 εἴθ' ἐξῆς τὸ Σάδῃ, ὃ δικαιοσύνην· ὧν ἡ διάνοιά ἐστι πηγὴ ἢ καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ
 στόμα δικαιοσύνης·
 μετὰ ταῦτα στοιχεῖόν ἐστι Κώφ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται κλήσις·
 ἔπειτα Ρῆς, ὃ ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Σέν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὀδόντες·
 ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ εἰκοστὸν δεύτερον στοιχεῖον καλεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς Θαῦ, ὃ δηλοῖ
 σημεία
 ἔχον δ' ἂν ἡ διάνοια· κλήσιν κεφαλῆς καὶ ὀδόντων σημεία.

Jerome

Aleph interpretatur *doctrina*. **Beth**, *domus*. **Gemel**, *plenitudo*. **Deleth**,
tabularum. **He**, *ista*. **Vau**, *et*. **Zai**, *haec*. **Heth**, *vita*. **Tet**, *bonum*. **Iod**,
principium. **Caph**, *manus*. **Lamed**, *disciplinae* sive *cordis*. **Mem**, *ex ipsis*. **Nun**,
sempiternum. **Samech**, *adjutorium*. **Ain**, *fons* sive *oculus*. **Phe**, *os* ab ore, non
 ab osse dictum intellige, ne litterarum ambiguate fallaris. **Sade**, *justitia*. **Coph**,
vocatio. **Res**, *capitis*. **Sen**, *dentium*. **Thau**, *signa*.

Post interpretationem elementorum intelligentiae ordo dicendus est **Aleph**, **Beth**,
Gemel, **Deleth**, prima connexio est *doctrina domus plenitudo tabularum*; quod
 videlicet doctrina Ecclesiae, quae domus Dei est, in librorum reperiatur
 plenitudine divinorum.

Secunda connexio est, **He**, **Vau**, **Zai**, **Heth**, *ista et haec vita*. Quae enim alia
 potest esse vita sine scientia Scripturarum, per quas etiam ipse Christus
 agnoscitur, qui est vita credentium?

Tertia connexio habet, **Tet**, **Iod**, *bonum principium*: quia quamvis nunc sciamus
 universa quae scripta sunt, tamen ex parte cognoscimus, et ex parte prophetamus:
 et nunc per speculum videmus in aenigmate. Cum autem meruerimus esse cum
 Christo, et similes Angelis fuerimus, tunc librorum doctrina cessabit, et tunc
 videbimus facie ad faciem bonum principium sicuti est.

Quarta connexio est, **Caph**, **Lamed**, *manus disciplinae, sive cordis*. Manus
 intelliguntur in opere, cor et disciplina interpretantur [al. *intelliguntur*] in sensu:
 quia nihil facere possumus, nisi prius quae facienda sunt scierimus.

Quinta connexio est, **Mem**, **Nun**, **Samech**, *ex ipsis sempiternum adjutorium*.
 Hoc explicatione non indiget, sed omni luce manifestus est, ex Scripturis aeterna
 subsidia ministrari.

Sexta connexio habet, **Ain**, **Phe**, **Sade**, *fons sive oculus oris justitiae*: secundum
 illud quod in tertio numero exposuimus.

Septima connexio est, quae et extrema, quod et in ipso quoque septenario numero
 sit mysticus intellectus, **Coph**, **Res**, **Sen**, **Thau**, *vocatio capitis dentium signa*.

Per dentes articulata vox promittitur, et in his signis ad caput omnium, qui est
 Christus, pervenitur, per quem venit ad regnum sempiternum.

Table 7: Passages from Ambrose's *Expositio in Psalmum Davidis CXVIII*, giving his interpretations of the letter-names.

Text as given in PL XV: 1263–604; no. 2 in Table 1.

(The letter-names and their interpretations are highlighted in bold print.)

(973) Prima littera **Aleph** dicitur, cuius interpretatio **doctrina** est. Sollicitus ergo auditur, plenos doctrinae versus esse qui sequuntur debes praesumere.

(981) In quo corrigit juvenor viam suam? Superiorum octo versuum non absurda nobis cecidit disputatio; ideoque et sequentia persequi studium fuit. Et primum litterae secundae, hoc est, **Beth**, interpretatio consideranda est, quae in Latino conversa, **confusio** declaratur. Sed qui viam suam corrigit, non confundetur.

(993) Tertia littera secundum Hebraeos est **Gimel**, quae Latine **retributio** dicitur. Denique in primo statim versu hoc ostenditur. [He cites the first part of verse 17: *Retribue*, inquit, *servo tuo*.]

(1009) Quarta littera secundum Hebraeos **Daleth**, significat latine **timorem**, vel (ut alibi invenimus) **nativitatem**. Sed utrumque potest congruere et convenire sensu. **Nativitas** enim eorum est quae generantur in hoc saeculo, per quam intelligimus corporalia et materialia, quae sunt caduca, et ideo a **timore** non distat; ex corporabilis enim et materialibus nascitur **timor**. Quid enim est **terrena nativitas**, nisi **timor**? [He cites the first part of verse 25: Denique inde coepit versus: *Adhaesit pavimento anima mea*.]

(1018) Sequitur quinta littera **He**, quae latine significat **est**, vel, ut alibi invenimus, **vivo**. Conventi sibi utraque interpretatio. qui enim est, vivit; et qui vivit, est . . . *Iesus autem heri et hodie ipse est et in saecula* [Hebr. XIII.8] . . . Et ideo quia **via** etiam **vita** est secundum illum, qui ait: *Ego sum via, veritas et vita* [John XIV.6], **viam** quaeramus ut **vitam** habere mereamur. [He cites verse 33: Audiamus, inquam, quid dixerit, ut viveret: *Legem mihi constitue, Domine, viam iustificationum tuarum*; and further the last part of verse 37: *in via tua vivifica me*; and verse 40: *in tua iustitia vivifica me*.]

(1033) Sexta littera, **Vau**, cujus interpretatio: **Ille est, et non alius**. Vel cujus interpretatio: **Et ille**.¹⁶ [He cites verse 41: *Et veniat super me misericordia tua, Domine, salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum*] . . . Rogatur ergo ut veniat salutare Dei. **Ille est** qui rogatur, hoc est Dominus Jesus, **et non est alius**, sicut habet litterae interpretatio. Et vel sic non solus Pater rogatur; **Est [et] ille**, hoc est, et Filius qui rogatur et rogatus advenit, et salutare mundo dedit. Ideo *soth r*, hoc est, salvator; idem Jesus, sicut angelus dixit [Matth. I.24] *Qui salvum faciet populum suum*.

(1043) Littera secundum Hebraeos **Zain** significat latine, **duc te**; alibi significat **huc**. Quid sibi velit ista interpretatio non satis liquet, nisi forte et unisquisque se regat, et ipse sui ductor sit. Vel **huc**, id est, quo litterae hujus versiculi vocant, dirigat iter.

¹⁶ Variants in the manuscripts, cited by Migne: (1) *cujus interpretatio sonat vel sic: Non ille: alius interpres: Et non est, ait*. (2) *non ut ille: alius interpres*, etc. (3) *cujus interpretatio est: Et (ut ?) ille alius interpres: Et non est, ait*. (4) *cujus interpretatio est: Est et ille; alius interpres ait: non est alius*. Cf. Paschasius Radbertus (PL CXX: 1159: *Vau sonare videtur*: vel sic non ille, *licet alius interpres dixerit et aut certe et non ille* . . . (1160) *Vau . . . sicut dixi*, et non est interpretatur.

(1056) Octava littera **Heth**, quae interpretatione latina dicitur **pavor, sanctorum pavor** esse consuevit . . . Ipse quoque David ait [Ps. CXV.2]¹⁷: *Ego dixi in pavoro meo*. Religionis enim reverentiam significat magis, quam infirmitatem timoris . . . Sanctus igitur timor domini, quia vere **sanctorum** est **pavor**.

(1079) Nona littera **Teth**, ejus interpretatio est, **exclusio**. Quid est **exclusio**? Numquid sicut domo aliquis excluditur, hospitoque dejicitur, ita qui excluditur a Dei regno, bonis illius fraudatur; sicut illae exclusae virgines, quae secum oleum non tulerunt, et dum venit Sponsus, extinctae sunt facie eorum, atque in emendo oleo, inflammandisque facibus occupatae fecerunt moram et ingresso jam Sponso, introine cupientes leguntur(?) exclusae.

(1086) Incipit littera apud Hebraeos decima **Iod**, quae Latina significatione **confessio** dicitur, vel certe **desolatio**. Nec discors ac dissonans videtur interpretatio. Siquidem qui desolati sunt, citius **confitentur**.

(1103) Incipit undecima littera **Caph**, quae latina interpretatione significat **curvati sunt**: sonus interpretationis ipse nos docet, quid sit curvari; qui enim inclinatur in terram, curvari videtur. Unde ait Propheta sub hac littera: *Paulo minus consummaverunt me in terra*. . . . Curvatur autem qui agit potententiam; eo quod cervicem suam curvet, dum humiliatur ad Dominum, et interiorum magis cervicem, id est, cervicem mentis et cordis. Nam de hac cervice dictum est [Is. LVIII.5]: *qui enim cor suum non flectit, frustra cervicem suam flexerit*. [He then connects this to verse 81: Ideoque tamquam curvatus multo amplius anima as mente quam corpore exorsus est David dicens: *Defecit* (Hebrew *kalah*) *in salutare tuum anima mea, et in verbum tuum speravi*.]

(1114) **Lamed** litterae duodecima incipit, cujus interpretatur **cor**, vel, ut alia interpretatio habet, **servo**.¹⁸ Unde videtur admonere vel **prudenter haec intellegenda** vel **sollicite servanda** praecepta. Nam hoc primus statim versiculus admonet . . . [He cites verse 89: *In aeternum*, inquit, *Domine, permanet verbum tuum in coelo*.] Vides etiam in te permanere debere, quod etiam in coelo permanet as perseverat. **Serva** ergo verbum Dei, et **serva** in **corde** tuo.

(1130) **Mem** littera tertia decima significat in alio interprete **viscera**, in alio **ex ipsis**; et utrumque¹⁹ non discordat a textu. Nam statim primus versus **internorum viscerum** charitatem exprimit, quae utique **ex intimis** procedit **medullis**, et quondam nexu caloris implicatur ossibus.²⁰

(1140) **Nun** littera hebraea est quinta decima, cujus interpretatio est, **Unicus**; vel in alia interpretatione; **Pascua eorum**. Ecce ipse Hebraeorum litterae testificantur Dominum Jesum esse **unicum** Patris **Filium**, Verbum Dei. Denique primo statim versu David de unico Filio Deo dicit [verse 105]: *Lucerna*²¹ *pedibus meis Verbum tuum, et lumen senutis meis*. . . . Litterae autem singulae velut tituli sunt eorum versuum, qui sub iisdem litteris ascribuntur, seriem et continentiam declarantes, sicut his **unicum** significat litteras, et de unigenito Dei Filio, atque ejus aeterni luminis claritate psalmi hujus portio prophetat . . . Nec sane ab ista abhorret etiam illa in alio reperta codice litterae hujus interpretatio. Quae sunt enim **pascua** nostra hoc est fidelium, nisi Christus? In cujus pascuis se locatum Propheta laetatus est dicens [Ps. XXII.2]: *In loco pascuae me collocavit*.

¹⁷ Ps. CXV.2 in the LXX and the Vulgata = CXVI.11 in the AV.

¹⁸ Given Ambrose's following gloss of *serva*, the *servo* must be first person singular of the verb, not the dative of *servus*.

¹⁹ Migne notes (note 77): Ita mss. omnes, paucis exceptis, in quibus lagas tituli instar: Incipit de littera decim tertia, quae dicitur **Mem**, quod sonat in latinum, **ex intimis**, et ut alii, **ignis ex intimis**. Et Hieronymus, **ex ipsis**, quod additum fuisse obscurum non est. Edit. vero praeferabant: **Mem** littera (Rom. edit., Hebraea tertia decima) sonat in latinum, **ex intimis**, vel ut alii, **ignis ex ultimis**. Et utrumque . . .

²⁰ Cf. Lam. I.13.

²¹ The Hebrew word for *lucerna* in this verse is *ner*, but elsewhere (e.g. Gen. XV.17) the word for lamp is *lappid*.

(1157) Incipit **Samech** littera decima quinta, quae interpretationem habet **audi**. Est et alia ejus interpretatio, quae dicitur **firmamentum** . . . Meritoque hanc littera **firmamentum** alii interpretati sunt: quod cum superiore interpretatione concurrat; nisi enim unusquisque **audierit** quid sequi debeat, nemo **firmatur**. In officio igitur **audiendi** omnium **firmamentum** est.

(1170) Incipit littera decima sexta **Ain**, cujus interpretatio est **oculus** sive **fons**. **Oculus** utitur vivendi munere, sed saepe videmus ea quae complacent, et saepe quae displicent; nec in eo **oculi** est vel culpa vel probitas . . . **Oculus** quoque generationis aut **fons** generationis dicitur, quia ex **oculorum** conspectu aut bona, aut adversa generantur.

(1184) **Phe** littera decima septima, quae latine significat **erravi**, sive **os aperui**. Merito ergo lacrymabilis series psalmi subjecta est huic litterae [verses 132-5]: *Respice in me, et misere mihi . . . et non dominatur mei omnis iniquitas . . . Faciem tuam illumina super servum tuum*. [He also cites Lam. II.16: *Aperuerunt in te os suum omnes inimici tui, sibilaverunt, fremuerunt dentibus, et dixerunt: Deglutivimus eam; tamen haec est dies quam sperabamus, invenimus eam, vidimus eam*.]

(1194) Sequitur **Sade** littera decima octava, qua latina interpretatione dicitur **consolatio**. Post more torrentium lacrymas profluentes, et graves fletus doloris, oportebat **consolationem** sequi. [He cites verse 137: *Iustus es, Domine, et rectum iudicium tuum*.²²]

(1209) Incipit littera decima nona **Koph**, cujus interpretatio est **conclusio**; et, sicut alibi invenimus, **aspice**. Distat littera, congruit sensus. Nam qui **concluditur circumspicere se** debet, et causam periculi non dissimulare, maxime cum lethale discrimen sit. [He cites verse 145: *Exclamavi in tot corde meo; exaudi me, Domine*²³ . . . and also Rom. XI.32: Profuit igitur conclusio: *concluit enim Deus omnia in incredulitate, ut omnium misereatur*.]

(1221) Incipit littera vicesima **Res**, quae latina interpretatione **caput** dicitur, vel **primatus**. **Caput** est, ut formam generis humani consideremus, quod fovet membra omnia, et dirigit atque implet sensibus. *Sensus enim sapientis in capite ejus* [Eccle. II.14] . . . Christus enim Ecclesiae **principium** est . . . haec humilitas virtutum omnium **caput** est . . . Diximus de **capite**, dicamus et de **primatu**, quod licet sermone distet ac littera, sensu tamen in eadem concurrat intelligentiam.

(1238) Incipit littera vicesima prima **sin**, quae latine dicitur **super vulnus**. **Super vulnus** quid est, nisi medicamentum, quo vulneris acerbitas mitigatur? **Super vulnus** oleum infunditur, ut omnis vulneris emolliatur asperitas. **Super vulnus**, malagma, **super vulnus** alligatura, quibus omne vulnus fovetur . . . Consideremus igitur quid sit vulnus, quid supra vulnus. [verse 161] *Principes persecuti sunt me gratis* vulnus est. [verse 162] *Exsulto ego in verbis tuis, sicut qui invenit spolia multa* super vulnus est, quia verbis Dominicis vulneris dura curantur . . . Medicamentum igitur super vulnus est; quia Dominus Jesus ipse medicus, qui vulnera nostra curavit, infundens vinum et oleum, et alligans vulnera adae illius, qui descendens a Jerusalem, a latronibus vulneratus est.

(1246) Incipit littera **Tau**, quae latina interpretatione significat **erravit**; alia interpretatio habet **consummavit**. Quid est **erravit**? Vigesima secunda littera est, quae apud Hebraeos est ultima. Psalmo autem isto, hoc est centesimo octavo decimo, profectum hominis diximus significari, qui doctrinae moralis magisteriis eruditus deponeret omnem inexercitatae mentis infantiam, assumeret autem veterani consilii scientiam et prudentiae senilis aetatem . . . **erravit**, inquit; non errat, sed **erravit**. Errasse praeterti est temporis, errare praesentis. Qui **erravit**, desivit errare et veterem condemnat errorem . . . Non error igitur, sed **consummatio** est, ut altera docet interpretatio. Consummatio autem perfectio disciplinae est . . . Sequitur versus ultimus [verse 176]: *erravi sicut ovis, quae perierat: vivifica servum tuum*.

²² Ambrose also cites verse 140 and adds: *Ignis ergo hic, sermo Christi est. Ignitum* translates the Hebrew *tsaraph* ‘made red hot’, rendered in the AV as ‘pure’, the allusion being to the refining or purification of gold.

²³ Cf. Lam. II. 19, which develops the theme of crying out to the Lord in the watches of the night.

Table 8: Jerome's *De psalterio* glosses (Jerome 2), as reproduced in P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, pp. 48–9; no. 4 in Table 1.

The letter-names and their glosses are highlighted in bold print.

Abessalom pater pacis. Asaf congregans. **Alef mille siue doctrina. Ain fons siue oculus.**
 Baalfegor habens hiauit siue habens os pellis uel pelliceum. **Beth domus.** Babylon confusio.
 Cades inmutata uel sancta. **Cof uocatio uel auis, sed melius excussio, quam Graeci εκκουμα uocant.** Cedar tenebrae uel moeror.
 Chusi Aethiops. **Chaf manus palma uel uola.**
Deleth pauper uel tabulae uel ianua.
 Ezraitas semen dei. Ermon anathema eius uel anathema moeroris. Efratha frugifera siue equidem uides.
E ipsa uel ista siue suscipiens. Eth uita uel uiuacitas.
Fe os, ab ore, non ab osse, siue laqueus uel decipula.
 Gebal definiens uel disteminans. **Gimel retributio uel plenitudo.**
 Iemini dextera mea. Idithun transsiliens eos siue saliens eos. **Ioth principium uel scientia aut dominator.**
Lameth doctrina uel disciplina.
Mem ex quo uel ex ipsis siue aqua.
Nun foetus uel piscis siue sempiternum.
Res caput.
 Selmon umbra offendiculi uel sentiens siue imago fortitudinis. **Samech firmamentum. Quidam erectionem uel adiutorium siue fulturam putant. Sade regio siue iustitia uel uenatio. Sin dentes.**
Teth bonum.
 Quattuor nomina quae secuntur adspiratione addita proferenda sunt.
 Thabor ueniens lumen uel ueniat lux. **Thau signum uel subter.** Thalaras adpendit principem. Thobel offerre.
Uau et ipse.
 Zebee uictima siue hostia. **Zaith oliua uel fornicatio siue haec.**
 De alfabeto Hebraeorum plenius in ea epistula, quam supra CXVIII psalmum ad sanctam Paulam scripsi, aestimo disputatum.

Table 9 (a)-1: Hebrew letter-name glosses by Eusebius, Ambrose and Jerome, with possible Hebrew equivalents and translations

A = letter-name transcription; B = gloss; C and D = transliteration and translation of possible Hebrew word (see Table 9 (b) for square Hebrew equivalents)

(1)				(2)				(3)				(4)				O(rigen)
Eusebius				Ambrose				Jerome 1				Jerome 2				Codex Marchalianus
A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	(Codex Colbertinus) ²⁴
ἄλφ	μάθησις	<i>alaph</i>	learn	<i>aleph</i>	<i>doctrina</i>	<i>alaph</i>	learn	<i>aleph</i>	<i>doctrina</i>	<i>alaph</i>	learn	<i>alef</i>	<i>doctrina</i>	<i>alaph</i>	learn	αλγα μάθησις ἢ τελείωσις (ἀδιφὰ διδασκαλία)
βῆθ	οἴκου	<i>bayith</i>	house	<i>beth</i>	<i>confusio</i>	<i>bosheth?</i> <i>balal</i>	confusion confusion	<i>beth</i>	<i>domus</i>	<i>bayith</i>	house	<i>beth</i>	<i>domus</i>	<i>bayith</i>	house	βηθ οἶκος, ἐν αὐτῇ (βιτ οἶκος)
γίμελ	πλήρωσις	<i>gemul</i> <i>gamal</i>	recompense requite	<i>gimel</i>	<i>retributio</i>	<i>gemul</i> <i>gamal</i>	recompense requite	<i>gimel</i>	<i>plenitudo</i>	<i>gemul</i> <i>gamal</i>	recompense requite	<i>gimel</i>	<i>retributio</i> <i>plenitudo</i>	<i>gemul</i> <i>gamal</i>	recompense requite	γιμλ πλήρωσις, ἀνώτερον (γαμελ πλήρωσις ἀνωτέρα)
δέλθ	δέλτων	<i>deleth</i>	tablet	<i>daleth</i>	<i>timor</i> <i>natiuitas</i>	<i>dak</i> <i>dor</i>	broken generation	<i>deleth</i>	<i>tabularum</i>	<i>deleth</i>	tablet	<i>deleth</i>	<i>pauper</i> <i>tabulae</i> <i>ianua</i>	<i>dal</i> <i>deleth</i> <i>dal,</i> <i>deleth</i>	poor tablet door	δελθ δέλτοι, ὑψηλότερος
ἦ	αὐτή	<i>hi</i>	she, it, the same	<i>he</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>hayah</i> <i>hava(h)</i> <i>uiuo</i>	be be live	<i>he</i>	<i>ista</i>	<i>hi</i>	she, it, the same	<i>e</i>	<i>ipsa</i> <i>ista</i> <i>suscipiens</i>	<i>hi</i>	she, it, the same sustain, keep alive	—
οὐαυ	ἐν αὐτῇ	?	(in it)	<i>uau</i>	<i>ille est et</i> <i>non alius,</i> <i>et ille</i>	<i>va-zeh?</i> (υἱός)	and he son)	<i>uau</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>va</i>	and	<i>uau</i>	<i>et ipse</i>	<i>va-zeh</i>	and he	ουαυ ἐν αὐτῷ
ζαι	ζῆ	?	(lives)	<i>zain</i>	<i>duc te,</i> <i>huc</i>	<i>zoth</i>	this, that (m)	<i>zai</i>	<i>haec</i>	<i>zoth</i>	this, that (f)	<i>zaith</i>	<i>oliua</i> <i>fornicatio</i> <i>haec</i>	<i>zayith</i> <i>zanah</i> <i>zoth</i>	olive go whoring this, that (f)	— (ζᾶν ζῆ)
ἦθ	ὁ ζῶν	<i>chai</i>	alive	<i>het</i>	<i>pauor</i>	<i>chittah</i> <i>chath</i>	terror fear	<i>heth</i>	<i>uita</i>	<i>chaiyim</i> <i>chai</i>	life alive	<i>eth</i>	<i>uita</i> <i>uiuacitas</i>	<i>chayim</i> <i>chai</i>	life alive	— (ἦθ ζῶν)
τήθ	καλή	<i>tob</i>	good	<i>teth</i>	<i>exclusio</i>	? <i>tul</i>	cast out	<i>teth</i>	<i>bonum</i>	<i>tob</i>	good	<i>teth</i>	<i>bonum</i>	<i>thob</i>	good	τηθ καλόν

²⁴ The O(rigen) entries are based on the Codex Marchalianus, with variants from the Codex Colbertinus added in brackets (see under O in Table 1).

Table 9 (a)-2

Table 9 (a)-2: Hebrew letter-name glosses by Eusebius, Ambrose and Jerome, with possible Hebrew equivalents and translations
A = letter-name transcription; B = gloss; C and D = transliteration and translation of possible Hebrew word (see Table 9 (b) for square Hebrew equivalents)

(1)				(2)				(3)				(4)				O(rigen)
Eusebius				Ambrose				Jerome 1				Jerome 2				Codex Marchalianus
A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	(Codex Colbertinus)
ἰωθ	ἀρχή	jah?	Jehovah	iod	confessio, desolatio	yadah yaash	confess despair	iod	principium	jah?	Jehovah	ioth	principium, scientia, dominator	jah? yad yad	Jehovah knowledge dominion	ἰωθ ἀρχή
χάφ	ὅμως	ki	nevertheless	kaph	curvati sunt	kaphaph	are bowed down	caph	manus	kaph	palm of hand	chaf	manus, palma, uola	kaph	palm (hollow) of hand	χαφ ὅμως
λᾰβδ	μάθε	lamad	learn	lamed	cor servo	leb lebed	heart of a servant	lamed	disciplinae cordis	lamad leb	learn, teach heart	lameth	disciplina, doctrina	lamad leqach	learn, teach doctrine	λαμδ μάθε
μῆμ	ἐξ αὐτῶν	me-hem	from them	mem	ex intimis, (uiscera), ignis ex ultimis	meim	bowels	mem	ex ipsis	me-hem	from them	mem	ex quo, ex ipsis, aqua	me-hem me-hem mayim	from which from them water	μημ ἐξ αὐτῶν
ν οὐν	αἰωνία	nun	continuation	nun	unicus pascua eorum	nin naar naah naveh	(only) son child pasture sheepecote	nun	semp-iternum	nun	continuation	nun	foetus, piscis, semp-iternum	nin? nephesh	son, 'fish' continuation	νουν αἰῶμα
σάμχ	βοήθεια	samak	uphold	samech	audi, firmitamentum	shama samak	hear uphold	samech	adiutorium	samak	uphold	samech	firmamentum, erectionem, adiutorium, fulturam	samak samak	uphold uphold (a prop)	σαμξ βοήθεια
ἄιν	πηγὴν ἢ ὀφθαλμόν	ayin	well, eye	ain	oculus, fons	ayin	eye, well	ain	fons, oculus	ayin	well, eye	ain	fons, oculus	ayin	well, eye	αιν πηγὴ ἢ ὄρασις ἢ ὀφθαλμός (αιν ὀφθαλμός)
φη	στόμα	peh	mouth	phe	errai, os aperui	pathah pathach	be deceived opened	phe	oris	peh	mouth	fe	os, laqueus uel decipula	peh pach	mouth gin or snare	φη στόμα (φίτ στόμα)

Table 9 (a)-3: Hebrew letter-name glosses by Eusebius, Ambrose and Jerome, with possible Hebrew equivalents and translations

A = letter-name transcription; B = gloss; C and D = transliteration and translation of possible Hebrew word (see Table 9 (b) for square Hebrew equivalents)

(1)				(2)				(3)				(4)				O(rigen)
Eusebius				Ambrose				Jerome 1				Jerome 2				Codex Marchalianus
A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	(Codex Colbertinus)
σάδη	δικαιο- σύνην	<i>tsedeq</i>	justice	<i>sade</i>	<i>con- solatio</i>	<i>saad</i>	comfort	<i>sade</i>	<i>iustitiae</i>	<i>tsedeq</i>	justice	<i>sade</i>	<i>regio,</i> <i>iustitia,</i> <i>uenatio</i>	<i>sadeh</i>	field, country justice hunting	σαδη δικαιοσύνη
κῶφ	κλήσις	<i>qara</i>	call	<i>koph</i>	<i>conclusio,</i> <i>aspice</i>	<i>naqaph?</i> <i>qashab?</i>	inclose ²⁶ give heed	<i>coph</i>	<i>uocatio</i>	<i>qara</i> <i>qol</i>	call voice	<i>cof</i>	<i>uocatio,</i> <i>auis,</i> <i>excussio ~</i> ἔκκρουμα	<i>qara</i> <i>qol</i> <i>'oph</i> <i>noqeph</i> (κλήσις?) <i>qir</i>	call voice bird shake out enclosed) wall	κῶφ κλήσις ἁγιασμοῦ (κῆφ κλήσις)
ῥῆς	κεφαλή	<i>resh</i>	head	<i>res</i>	<i>caput,</i> <i>primatus</i>	<i>resh</i> <i>rosh</i>	head chief, beginning	<i>res</i>	<i>capitis</i>	<i>resh</i> <i>rosh</i>	head chief, beginning	<i>res</i>	<i>caput</i>	<i>resh</i> <i>rosh</i>	head chief, beginning	ῥῆς ὁρατός, ἀρχηγός ἢ κεφαλή
σέν	ὀδόντες	<i>shin</i>	teeth	<i>sin</i>	<i>super</i> <i>uulnus</i>	<i>shemen?</i>	ointment	<i>sen</i>	<i>dentium</i>	<i>shen</i>	tooth	<i>sin</i>	<i> dentes</i>	<i>shen</i>	tooth	(σέν ὀδόντες)
θαῦ	σημεῖα	<i>tav</i>	mark, sign	<i>tau</i>	<i>consum-</i> <i>mauit,</i> <i>errauit</i>	<i>tam</i> <i>tamim</i> <i>taah</i> <i>tou, toi</i>	perfect complete go astray error, wandering	<i>thau</i>	<i>signa</i>	<i>tav</i>	sign, mark	<i>thau</i>	<i>signum,</i> <i>subter</i>	<i>tav</i> <i>tachath</i>	sign, mark under beneath	θαυ σημειονῆ κλήσις (θύηρ σημειονῆ κλήσις)

Table 9 (b)

Table 9 (b): Square Hebrew transcriptions of words probably used by Eusebius, Ambrose and Jerome to source their alphabet letter-names as listed in Table 9 (a)

Author: E = Eusebius; A = Ambrose; J1 = Jerome 1, in the letter to Paula; J2 = Jerome 2, in etymologies of Hebrew names

Letter	Author	Hebrew	Transliterated	Translation	Letter	Author	Hebrew	Transliterated	Translation	Letter	Author	Hebrew	Transliterated	Translation
א	E,A,J1,J2	אלף	alaph	learn	ט	A ?	טול	tul	cast out	ע	E,A,J1,J2	עין	ayin	eye, well
	J2	אלף	eleph	thousand		E,J1,J2	טוב	tob	good	פ	E,J1,J2	פה	peh	mouth
ב	E,J1,J2	בית	bayith	house	י	A	ידה	yadah	confess		J2	פח	pach	gin or snare
	A	בשת	bosheth	confusion		A	יאש	yaash	despair		A	פתח	pathach	opened
	A	בלל	balal	confusion		E,J1,J2	יה	jah?	Jehovah		A	פתח	pathah	deceive
ג	E,A,J1,J2	גמול	gamal	deal bountifully		J2	יד	yad	knowledge	צ	A	סעד	saad	comfort
	E,A,J1,J2	גמול	gemul	recompense		J2	יד	yad	dominion		E,J1,J2	צדק	tsedeq	justice
ד	E,J1,J2	דלת	deleth	tablet, door	כ	E	כפה	ki	although, nevertheless		J2	ציד	tsayid	hunting
	J2	דל	dal	door		A	כפה	kaphaph	be bowed down		J2	שדה	sadeh	field, country
	J2	דל	dal	poor		J1,J2	כף	kaph	(palm of) hand	ק	A,J2	נקף	naqaph?	inclose ²⁷
	A	דך	dak	broken down		A,J1	לב	leb	heart		A,J2	נקף	noqeph	shake out
	A	דור	dor	generation		A	לעבד	l-ebed	of a servant		E,J2	קרא	qara	call
ה	E,J1,J2	היא	hi	she, it, the same		E,J1,J2	למד	lamad	learn, teach		J2	קול	qol	voice
	A	היה	hayah	be		J2	לקח	leqach	doctrine		A	קשב	qashab?	give heed
	A,J2	חיה	chayah	live, sustain, keep alive		A	מעים	meim	bowels		J2	עוף	'oph	bird
ו	J1	ו	va	and		E,J1,J2	מהם	me-hem	from which/them		E,A,J1,J2	ראש	rosh (resh)	head, chief, beginning
	A,J2	וזה	va-zeh	and he		J2	מים	mayim	water	ש	A	שמן	shemen?	ointment
ז	J2	זית	zayith	olive	נ	A,J2	נין	nin	(only) son		A,J1,J2	שן	shen	tooth
	J2	זנה	zanah	go whoring		A,J2	נער	naar	child	ת	A	תמם	tamam	perfect
	A,J1,J2	זאת	zoth	it, she, that		E,A,J1,J2	נון	nun	continuation		A	תמים	tamim	complete
ח	A	חת	chatath	be afraid		A	נאה	naah	pasture		A	תעה	taah	go astray
	A	חת	chath	fear		A	נוה	naveh	sheepcote		A	תעו	tou	error, wandering
	A	חתה	chittah	terror		J2	נפש	nephesh	living creature (fish)		A	תעי	toi	error, wandering
	E,J1,J2	חיה	chayah	live	ס	A	שמע	shama	hear		E,J2	תו	tav	sign, mark
	E,J1,J2	חי	chai	alive		E,A,J1,J2	סמך	samak	uphold		J2	תחת	tachath	underneath
	E,J1,J2	חיים	chaiyim	life										

**Table 10 (a): Comments on Psalm CXLIV in Latin translation
from Hesychius's *De titulis Psalmorum*²⁵**

The quotations from the verses of the Psalm are from Jerome's vulgate translation

Line	Hesychius's comments	Correspondences found in: ²⁶
1.	Glorificabo te Deus Pax meus, qui docuisti me scientiam nomen <i>Aleph</i> versui adscriptum nam interpretatur <i>doctrina</i> .	A, E, J1, J2.
4.	Secundum singulas actiones lucis tuae glorificabo te in corde meo, hoc enim syllaba versui apposita: <i>Beth</i> enim interpretatur <i>domus</i> , quae est cor	E, J1, J2.
7.	Thorax meus in bello Dominus, & usque in finem laudabilis est in corde meo: hoc enim significat nomen <i>Gamel</i> versui adscriptum; interpretatur enim <i>thorax</i> , quod est Dominus noster, quemadmodum dixit Apostolus.	See comments in §1.1.5.
9.	Qui geniti sunt ex gratia tua admirabuntur mandata tua: nomen enim <i>Deleth</i> versui appositum interpretatur <i>generatio</i>	A.
10.	Syllaba versui adscripta, quae <i>He</i> dicitur, interpretatur <i>Area</i> , quae est Dominus, atque etiam interpretatur <i>suscipite</i> : Popule igitur, (simul conjugens syllabae interpretationis hunc sensū invenies,) Dñs est, suscipite. Propterea etiā versus hoc ipsū significat dicens: quia Deus es, praedicabunt te.	<i>Suscipite</i> : cf. J2. <i>Area</i> : cf Egyptian <i>h</i> [courtyard], hieroglyphic: □. ²⁷
11./12.	Splendorem gloriae faciei tuae narrabunt, quando transformatus es ante eos, & mirabilia tua, quae fecisti in adventu tuo narrabunt in: mundo interpretatur <i>Vau in ipso</i> , hoc est in adventu & in mundo enim	E.
13./14.	Et virtutem mirabilium tuarum curationum dicent in Evangelio, & immensam tuam misericordiam narrabunt: nomen enim, quod versui adscribitur dicitur <i>Zain</i> , quod <i>misericordia</i> interpretatur	?
16.	Et conversationem, qua converatus es in mundo, ediscentes in ipsa vivent. Nam syllaba versui adscripta, quae dicitur <i>Chet</i> enim interpretatur <i>stupor</i> : Stupor habuit, & habet omnes, quod Deus est, & cum hominibus in terra conversatus est.	?A; <i>chatath</i> = be amazed, be afraid.
19.	Bonus Dominus erga omnes homines.	A, E, J1, J2. <i>Teth</i> not explicitly glossed here.
21.	Confitebuntur omnes homines, quoniam tu es Dominator omnium; hoc enim significat nomen <i>Joth</i> versui adscriptum, quod interpretatur <i>dominans</i> .	J2.
22.	Et spiritu viventes, & laborantes in operibus iustitiae glorificabunt te. Nam <i>Cham</i> versui appositum interpretatur <i>calor</i> , & <i>labor</i> , hoc est calorem fidei, & laborem Sanctorum in hoc mundo significat.	<i>Labor</i> : cf J1's <i>in opere</i> ; Hebrew <i>cham</i> = <i>calor</i> .

²⁵ Published as *Athanasii, Archiepiscopi Alaexandrae: Interpretatio Psalmorum sive De titulis Psalmorum*, in: Antonelli, ed., 1746: 375–79; also in PG XXVII: 1311–12. The text is now attributed to Hesychius of Jerusalem, d. 450 (Mer cati 1944: 7–22). Ps.CXLIV = Hebrew Bible and AV Ps. CXLV.

²⁶ A.= Ambrose; E. = Eusebius; J1 = Jerome's *connexiones*; J2 = Jerome's *De psalterio* glosses.

²⁷ Faulkner 1991: 156, s.v.

Line	Hesychius's comments	Correspondences found in:
23./24.	Et aeternum supplicium annuntiabunt: nomen siquidem adscriptum hoc significat, quia Sames interpretatur virga , hoc est cruciatus . (= ? Lamed)	Cf Hebrew <i>malmaḏ</i> [goad]. ²⁸
27./28.	Sine fine, Et super omnes credentes verbo Evangelii, & super non credentes. (= ? Mem) ²⁹	But <i>sine fine</i> = <i>sempiternum</i> = <i>nun</i> in J1, J2.
29.	Verax, firmus, immutabilis in iis, quae definivit in iudicio: hoc enim significat syllaba; quae dicitur Sam , hoc est stabilivit , & etiam interpretatur illic , hoc est in iudicio. (= ? Nun)	But <i>stabilivit</i> : cf <i>adiutorium</i> = <i>samech</i> in J1, J2. Hebrew <i>sam</i> = <i>illic</i> .
32.	Et surgere facit omnes prolapsos in faciem, hoc est in corda sua, & infirmatos in peccatis: syllaba enim apposita, quae dicitur Cham , sustentaculum interpretatur, perinde ac si diceret subjicit se ipsum Dñs. (= ? Samech)	<i>Susentaculum</i> seems to be a gloss on <i>samech</i> , cf <i>fulturam</i> in J2.
33./34.	Corda omnium credentium in te gratiam recipiunt. (Text of verse 15: Oculi omnium in te sperant, ...) Et tu, cum mens eorum quiescit ab omni mundana cura, & concupiscentia, illuminus eos scientia praeceptorum tuorum. (= Ain)	A, E, J1, J2. <i>Oculi</i> in the verse relates to <i>ain</i> , which is not glossed.
35.	Abundanter donando gratiam Sancti Spiritus omni homini, qui adhaeret voluntati tuae: Phe enim interpretatur os , hoc est insufflans ipsum in faciem Sanctorum, & dicens: <i>Accipite Spiritum Sanctum</i>	E, J1, J2.
36.	Non onerosus in omnibus praeceptis suis: nam graves non sunt. (Text of verse 17: Justus Dominus in omnibus viis suis .) (= Sade)	E, J1, J2. <i>Sade</i> is not glossed as such.
38.	Si solùm viderit aliquem, qui clamaturus sit ad eum, statim advenit ipse ad illum: syllaba enim dicta Coph interpretatur sonus , hoc est clamor	E, J1, J2.
40.	Syllaba versui apposita, quae dicitur Res interpretatur caput , & visibilis : salus igitur est timentibus eum, & notus ipsis rursum Dominus erit.	<i>Caput</i> : A, E, J1, J2.
42.	Syllaba versui apposita, quae est Sem , interpretatur nomen : nomen igitur Domini invocatum super diligentes eum custodit illos.	<i>Visibilis</i> : ?
44.	Syllaba versui adscripta, quae vocatur Thau , interpretatur signum , & inclinatio aut consummatio : gloriam igitur Crucis suae, & consummationem saeculi in Psalmo, inquit, narrabo.	Hebrew <i>sem</i> . = <i>nomen</i> . <i>Signum</i> : E, J1, J2. <i>Consummatio</i> : A. <i>Inclinatio</i> : ?

²⁸ Semitic *lamdu* [goad] is cited as letter-name; Healey 1990: 18.

²⁹ According to Barton and Muddiman (2001: 403–4): ‘The n verse is missing from the M[asoretic] T[ext], but is supplied by the Qumsan scroll and the LXX and Syriac versions. It is included after v. 13 in all the modern English versions.’ Hesychius probably followed the LXX.

Table 10 (b): Digest of the commentary on Cassiodor's *Expositio Psalmorum* in the *Explanatio* sections of the *De titulis Psalmorum* text attributed to Bede³⁰

References to letters and interpretations are highlighted in bold print

118. Per totum hunc psalmum universalis sanctorum chorus loquitur, qui ab initio mundi fuerunt sive sunt, sive futuri esse creduntur; inter quos reperiuntur apostoli, prophetae, martyres, confessores, ecclesiastici ordines et omnes qui sancta Domino integritate famulantur. Est autem hebraeis elementis tali ordine depictus ut ab unaquaque littera octoni versus incipiant.

1. Quorum prima littera **aleph** interpretatur **doctrina**, in qua immaculatis in via Domini beatudo aeterna promittitur.
2. Exponit fidelis populus in sermonibus Domini quibus delectationibus perfruatur, ostendens se esse **domum Domini** et **receptaculum mandatorum eius**, cuius mysterium **secunda littera** continet.
3. Postulat populus sanctis, qui in terra incolae sunt, **retribui gratiam** quam in primo parente amiserant, sed et persecutoribus eorum restituendum dicit esse quod agunt.
4. Plebs fidelis **paupertate mundana** constricta, **januam** in se veris divitiis aperit, frequentique meditatione quasi **tabulas** sua praecordia Dei mandatis exhibet.
5. Beata plebs expetit, ut in lege Domini eius debeat munere custodiri; et bene **suscipiens** appellatur quae dicit: da mihi intellectum. **Ipsa** quoque iure vocatur, quae in eadem semper intentione persistat.
6. Postulat congregatio sancta salutare Domini sibi debere concedi, ut inimicos de tanta remuneratione confundat, et in lege Domini assidua meditatione proficiat. **Ipse** ergo **Dominus atque Salvator vau** litterae vocabulo designatur, **idem ipse** videlicet, cui dicitur: **tu autem idem ipse es**, id est aeternus.
7. Chorus sanctorum, spem promissionum Domini sensibus nostris commendans, asserit fideles adversa mundi **sustinere** quibus aeterna vita promittitur; quae **olivae** nomine exprimitur, quia et hic sanctorum facies exhilaratur **in oleo** et illic **Spiritus Sancti** aeterna visione pinguescit. Nomen autem **fornicationis** congruit peccatoribus derelinquentibus legem Domini.
8. Agmen beatum desidera videre faciem Domini. quia eius mandatis noscitur obsecutum. Et quia hoc desiderium in resurrectionis gloria perficietur, **octava littera vitae** vocabulo gaudet.
9. Populus beatus gratias agit humiliatum se fuisse, ut ad justificationes Domini perveniret, nomenque litterae praesentis exponens, **bonum** suum se dicit idem verbum Dei humiliter meditari.

³⁰ This text is taken from Salmon, 1959: 173-9. His sources were: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 82 (N. Italy, s. ix), lat. 83 (s. x or earlier), and lat. 84 (Nonatola, s. x). The texts in these manuscripts are a digest of the *Explanatio* sections of the *De titulis Psalmorum* text (a commentary on Cassiodor's *Expositio Psalmorum*) in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14397 (s. ix), and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12273 (s. x). The *Explanatio* text is published in PL XCIII: 1052–81, but in a different form. The highlighting in bold print is my own.

10. Cohors gloriosa petit intellectum mandatorum sibimet debere concedi, ut verae vitae munere perfruatur. Et recte **scientia vel principium** nuncupatur litteris, in qua fideles ab illo capiendi quaerent intellectum, a quo vivendi sumpserunt exordium.
11. Peregrinus in hac terra populus nimium desiderium suum in adventu Domini confitetur, enumerans quantam superborum insecutionem pertulerit. Cuius **mentis devotio** per **caph** litteram designatur, quae **manus** interpretatur, per quam **opera vel cordis vel corporis** exprimuntur.
12. Plebs coelestis virtutem Domini describens, dicit omnia temporalia posse finiri; mandata vero eius nequaquam terminum reperire, quorum **disciplinae** subdita proclamat.
13. Populus beatus prophetarum atque evangelii meditatione proficiens, super docentes se ac seniores asserit se divina intellexisse mandata. Quod ergo **mem** interpretatur **ex quo**, significat ex quo affectu dulcedinis, id est **ex intimo** dicat: quomodo dilexi legem tuam. Quod vero dicitur **ex ipsis**, significat ex ipsis Domini mandatis eorundem concipiendum amorem.
14. Cohors beata, animae suae pedibus, **Dominici verbi lumen** radiare congaudens expetit retributiones Domini perpetuas, ob quas haec littera **semiterni** nomen accepit. Porro quod **piscis** interpretatur, ostendit eum qui **in fluctibus saeculi lumen verbi requirit**.
15. Catholicum examen iniquos odio sibi fuisse dicit, legem vero Domini se dilexisse, petens ut ab eo susceptum mala saeculi evadat, nomenque litterae exponit cum dicit: **Adiuva me**.
16. Membra Domini in aeternum viventia petunt sacrae Incarnationis adventum; ille enim est **fons vivus** qui quaeritur, iste **oculus mundus** qui quaerit.
17. Sanctus populus asserit **se aperuisse os** suum et adtraxisse spiritum, ut eius audiat oratio. Et ideo littera vocabulum **oris** accepit, in qua parvulus quisque et humilis introitum cordis **aperit** et spiritu divinae caritatis imbibit.
18. Cohors sanctorum carnis suae triumphatrix, secundum huius litterae nomen **justitiam** Domini confitetur, et eloquia eius **ignita** continua se dicit dilectione venerari.
19. Reverentissimus chorus, juxta huius litterae nomen, in toto corde suo **clamat** as Dominum, justificationes eius sedulus exquirens.
20. Populus vitiorum victor se petit vivificari, quoniam mandata Domini summo studio exquisivit; **principium** quoque **verborum Domini** testatur esse veritatem, et hoc est **caput**, quod littera praesens ostendit.
21. Sanctorum coetus persecutiones saevientium, pro caritate Domini, sibi dicit esse gratissimas. **Dentes** autem quos huius litterae nomen exprimit, vel sanctorum intellige, qui Dominum laudant, vel persecutorum, de quibus dicitur: Filii hominum, dentes eorum arma et sagittae.
22. Sanctorum chorus, adventum Domini Salvatoris desiderans, petit ut ovem **perditam** revocare pietatis suae muner dignetur. Ipse est enim nobis omnium **consummatio** virtutum, quem quicumque videre meruerit, nil ultra quaerere opus habebit. Ipsius est **signum**, quo redempti canimus: **Signatum** est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine.

Table 11-1: Some later lists of glosses on Hebrew letter-names, largely based on Jerome

Name	(3) Jerome 1	(5) Pseudo-Jerome	(4) Jerome 2	(10) Cambridge	(11) Bruno of Würzburg
<i>aleph</i>	doctrina	doctrina	doctrina, mille	mille uel doctrina	doctrina
<i>beth</i>	domus	domus	domus	domus	domus
<i>gimel, gemel</i>	plenitudo	retributio uel plenitudo	retributio, plenitudo	retributio uel plenitudo	tributio uel plenitudo
<i>daleth, deleth</i>	tabularum	tabulatum	pauper, tabulae, ianua	pauper uel ianua	pauper uel tabulae uel ianua
<i>he, hae, e</i>	ista	ista	ipsa, ista, suscipiens	ipsa uel istas uel suscipiens	ipsa uel suscipiens
<i>uau, uaf</i>	et	et	et ipse	et ipse	et ipse
<i>zain, zai</i>	haec	haec	oliua, haec, fornicatio	oliua uel fornicatio siue haec	oliua uel fornicatio
<i>zaith</i>	uita	uita	uita, uiuacitas	uita uel uiuacitas	uita
<i>heth, eth</i>	bonum	bonum	bonum	bonum	bonum
<i>teth</i>	principium	principium	principium, scientia, dominator	scientia uel principium aut dominator	scientia uel principium
<i>caph</i>	manus	manus	manus, palma, uola	manus palma uel uola	manus
<i>lamed, lameth</i>	disciplinae, cordis	disciplina, cordis	doctrina, disciplina	doctrina uel disciplina	disciplina

Table 11-2: Some later lists of glosses on Hebrew letter-names, largely based on Jerome

Name	(3) Jerome 1	(5) Pseudo-Jerome	(4) Jerome 2	(10) Cambridge	(11) Bruno of Würzburg
<i>mem</i>	ex ipsis	ex ipsis	ex quo, ex ipsis, aqua	ex quo uel ex ipsis uel aqua	ex quo uel
<i>nun</i>	sempiternum	sempiternum	foetus, piscis, sempiternum	feta siue pisces uel sempiternum	sempiternum uel piscis
<i>samech, sameth, zamech</i>	adiutorium	adiutorium	firmamentum, erectionem, adiutorium, futuram	firmamentum licet quondam erectionem uel adiutorium futurum ...?	adiutorium
<i>ain, ahin</i>	fons, oculus	fons siue oculus	fons, oculus	fons siue oculus	fons siue oculus
<i>phe, fe</i>	oris	oris	os, laqueus uel decipula	ab ore non ab osse siue laqueos uel decipula	os (ab ore non ab osse)
<i>sade, zadi</i>	iustitiae	iustitia	regio, iustitia, uenatio		iustitia
<i>coph</i>	uocatio	uocatio	uocatio, auis, excussio	regio siue iustitia	uocatio
<i>res, resh</i>	capitis	capitis	caput	caput	caput
<i>sin, syn, sen</i>	dentium	dentium	dentes	dentes signum uel sup(er)	dentes
<i>thau, tau, thaf</i>	signa	signa plurali, numero	signum, subter	... ?	signum uel consummatio

Table 12-1: Some later lists of glosses on Hebrew letter-names, largely based on Ambrose

Name	(2) Ambrose	(7) Salaberga	(8) Paschasius Radbertus	(12) Bruno Cartus	(16) Anselm of Laon	(9)/(13) Exeter/Vitellius
<i>aleph</i>	doctrina	discit uel [...]	doctrina	doctrina	doctrina	doctrina
<i>beth</i>	confusio	confusio	domus; sec. aliam interpr.confusio	confusio	confusio	confusio
<i>gimel, gemel</i>	retributio	angustia	retribution uel plenitudo	retributio	retributio	retributio
<i>daleth, deleth</i>	timor, natiuitas	timor	iuxta quandam interpr. timor	timor	timor	timor uel natiuitas
<i>he, hae, e</i>	est, uiuo	uiuam	uiuo uel est	uiuo uel est	uiuo uel esse	est uiuo
<i>uau, uaf</i>	ille est et non alius, et ille	et	sonare uidetur uel sic, non ille, licet al. interpr. dixerit et aut certe et non ille	ille uel ille est	ipse	sexta littera cuius interpretatio 7 ille alius interpretes 7 non est ait
<i>zain, zai, zaith</i>	duc te, huc	duc te	duc te; iuxta quosdam: huc	duc te uel huc	ductae	significat duc te uel huc
<i>heth, eth</i>	pauor	inerrat	uita, ut diximus, uel iuxta alios: pauor	pauor	pauor	pauor
<i>teth</i>	exclusio	errauit	exclusio uel bonum	exclusio uel bonum	bonum uel exclusio	exclusio
<i>ioth, iod</i>	confessio, desolatio	desolatio	principium aut desolatio	principium	principium uel scientia	confessio uel desolatio
<i>caph</i>	curuati sunt	turbati sunt	manus; sec. al. interpr. curuatus	curuati sunt	incuruatus	curuati sunt
<i>lamed, lameth</i>	cor, seruo	seruo	disciplina u. cordis aut certe seruo	cor siue seruus	seruitutis. cor	cor uel seruo

Table 12-2: Some later lists of glosses on Hebrew letter-names, largely based on Ambrose

Name	(2) Ambrose	(7) Salaberga	(8) Paschasius Radbertus	(12) Bruno Cartus	(16) Anselm of Laon	(9)/(13) Exeter/Vitellius
<i>mem</i>	ex intimis, ignis, ex ultimis	uisum	ex intimis u. ex ipsis et, ut alii dicunt, ignis ex ultimis	uiscera uel ex ipsis	uiscera	uiscera, in al. ex ipsis
<i>nun</i>	unicus (filius), pascua eorum	inimicus	sempiternum; interpre.: al. unicus aut certe pascua eorum	unicus uel pascua eorum	unicus uel pascua	unicus uel in al. interpr. pascua eorum
<i>samech, sameth, zamech</i>	audi, firmamentum	audi	audi uel firmamentum sonare uidetur noster interpre.: adiutorium	audi siue firmamentum	firmamentum uel adiutorium	audi, firmamentum
<i>ain, ahin phe, fe</i>	oculus, fons errauit, os aperui	fons errauit	oculus uel fons oris; iuxta alios: errauit s. os aperui	oculus errauit	oculus error	oculus uel fons errauit
<i>sade, zadi</i>	consolatio	consolatio	consolatio uel iustitia	iustitia siue consolatio	consolatio	consolatio
<i>coph</i>	conclusio, aspice	aspice	uocatio; iuxta al. interpr.: conclusio siue aspice	conclusio uel aspice	conclusio	aspice
<i>res, resh</i>	caput, primatus	caput	caput aut capitis uel primatus	caput siue primatus	caput	conclusio uel caput uel primatus
<i>sin, syn, sen</i>	super uulnus	uulnus	dentium; alii: super uulnus	super uulnus	super uulnus	super uulnus
<i>thau, tau, thaf</i>	consummauit, errauit	erra	signa; a. interpre.: errauit uel consummauit; consummatio	errauit siue consummauit	consummatio	errauit uel consum(a)uit

Table 13-1: Some later, mainly English lists of glosses on Hebrew letter-names, based on mixed Ambrose, Jerome and other sources³¹

Name	(14) Durham	(6a) Vesp. Psal	(6b) Vat. Reg.	(15) Cambridge	(18a) Paris 1		(18b) Paris 2		(17) Pseudo-Bede 1	(17) Pseudo-Bede 2
					Latin	English	Latin	English		
<i>aleph</i>	mille uel doctrina	D(eu)S	D(eu)S	deus	deus	god	doctrina	teching	mille uel doctrina	tentationum
<i>beth</i>	domus	filius	filius	filius	filius	sone	uita	lif	domus uel	habitationum
<i>gimel, gemel</i>	retributio uel plenitudo	consolatio	consolator	uox	uox	voiz	plenitudo	plentee	plenitudo	uel retributio
<i>daleth, deleth</i>	pauper uel tabulae uel ianua	iudicium	iudicium	timor	timor	drede	tabellarius	tabler	tabulae aut pauper	tabulatum seu ianua
<i>he, hae, e</i>	ipsa uel ista uel suscipiens	uia salutis	uia salutis	uia salutis	uia	waye	ista	yis	esse uel uiuere	ipsa uel ista siue suscipiens aut susceptio
<i>uau, uaf zain, zai zaith</i>	et ipse uel haec oliua uel fornicatio	passio elementum mundi	passio alimentum mundi	ipse doctrina	salutis doctrina	of helche teching	signa uita	tokenes lyf	haec uel ipsa seu ductae uel huc seu oliua aut fornicatio (eorum)	ipse aut ille ista uel haec
<i>heth, eth teth</i>	uita uel uiuax bonum	uita bonum	[missing] bonus	narratio bonus	narracio bonus	telling gode	[missing] [missing]	[missing] [missing]	uita uel subter seu bonum	pauor uel infra aut exclusio
<i>ioth, iod</i>	scientia uel principium uel dominator	IHS XPS DS	Iesus	principium	principium	beginning	principium	beginning	scientia uel principium seu dominatio dei	scientia uel principium siue dominator aut dominatio
<i>caph</i>	manus palpa uel disciplina	fructus manuum	fructuum manuum	operatio	operacio	werching	manus	hend	incuruans uel incuruatio	uola uel palma seu manus
<i>lamed lameth,</i>		doctrina	doctrinam	sermo	sermo	worde	disciplinam	ler[n]ing	Lamech, quando est uel adiutorium siue	nomen litterae: futura erectio aut firmamentum

³¹ The letter-names in no. 6a read: *aleph, beth, camel, deleth, eli* (=he), extra letter-name, *uali* (=uau), glossed *non habet*, *;nau* (=uau), *zae, eta, thet, iuth, tap* (=caph), *lab, mem, nun, samech, ena, coph, res, sen, tau.* In no. 18b, Thiel suggests (1972: 108, 112) that the *uita* gloss on *zai* belongs to the following (missing) letter *heth*. In the Carolingian poem on the Greek alphabet in Table 17 (a), Greek ζῶν (=*zeta*) is glossed in one of the manuscripts as *vitam*.

Table 13-2: Some later, mainly English lists of glosses on Hebrew letter-names, based on mixed Ambrose, Jerome and other sources³²

Table 13 -2

Name	(14) Durham	(6a) Vesp. Psal	(6b) Vat. Reg.	(15) Cambridge	(18a) Paris 1		(18b) Paris 2		(17) Pseudo-Bede 1	(17) Pseudo-Bede 2
					Latin	English	Latin	English		
<i>mem</i>	ex quo uel ex ipsis uel aqua	medulla	medulla	unicus	unicus	oneliche	sine cordis ***	wytouten cord	a quo uel ex ipsis	uiscera uel ex ipsis
<i>nun</i>	foetas uel pisces uel semiternum	mens	mens	sensus	sensus	wyt	semp- iternum ***	everlastend	foetus uel piscis siue unicus aut sempiternitas	pascens eos uel pascua eorum
<i>samech, sameth, zamech</i>	firmamentum licet quidam erectionem uel adiutorium fulturam ...?	resupinatio siue requies	resumptio s. requietio	adiutorium	adiutorium	helping	unus ***	on	fu[l]tura uel adiutorium aut	erectio siue firmamentum
<i>ain, ahin</i>	fons uel oculus	oculos	oculus	uiuus	[missing]	[missing]	[missing]	[missing]	fons uel	oculus
<i>phe, fe</i>	os ab ore non ab osse uel laqueus uel decipula	[missing]	bycca	os	os	mouth uel bon	sine oculis ***	withouten ezen	disciplina uel os (ab ore)	siue error aut decipula
<i>sade, zadi</i>	regio uel iusticia	[missing]	dentio hoc quod tendi- tur	consolatio	consolacio	confort	os iusticie ***	mouth of rithful- nesse	regio uel iustitia aut	siue consolatio ueneratio
<i>coph</i>	uocatio	uox	uox	uocatio	uocacio	cleping	uocacio	cleping	uocatio uel conclusio	siue auis aut executio
<i>res, resh sin, syn,sen</i>	caput dentes	principium uiae rectae	principium uitae	caput iusticia	capitis iustiticia	of heued rythful- nesse	capitis dentium	of ye heued of then	caput uel dentes uel abundantia seu super uulnus aut amphora tentationis	patientia dentes uel dentosi seu supra paruulos aut amphora tentationis
<i>thau, tau,thaf</i>	signum uel subter	mansuetus	mansuetus	fortitudo	fortitudo	strenthe	[missing]	[missing]	consummans uel consummator aut	consummatus seu consummatio

³² In no. 18b the glosses between *mem* and *sade* (marked ***) have been disrupted; also Thiel suggests (1972: 108, 112) that the *uita* gloss on *zai* belongs to the following (missing) letter *heth*. In the Carolingian poem on the Greek alphabet in Table 17 (a), Greek ζωνν (= *zeta*) is glossed in one of the manuscripts as *vitam*.

**Table 14 (a): Carolingian poem on the Hebrew alphabet letter-names by an unknown Irishman,
as published by Traube 1896: 698–9**

(Greek orthography as transcribed by Traube)

ΟΡΟΘΕCΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΘΕCΙC ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΝ ΕΒΡΑΕΙΚΟΝ

- Adam primus homo, *doctrinam* commonet *aleph*.
Beht domus exprimitur signans CXHNωMa piorum,
Gemel sermonum retinet ΠΛΗΡΟΜα datorum.
Deleth sumptus aquae, *tabularum* ΥΠΟΔΙΓΜα restaurat.
5 *He* quod *gramma* sonat, ΡωΜαΕICTI dicitur *ista*.
Vau ΚΕΦΑΛΗ constat Machabei codicis ecce *et*.
Zai dupliciter vocitatur et *haec* et *oliva*.
Heth, ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ victorum praedicat in qua.
10 *Teth* bonum opus merito muneratio larga sequetur.
Ioth bene *principium* est, bis quino ΠΗΜαΤε lex est.
Kaph, te XHP decimam post littera prima caraxat.
Lameth amen *disciplinam* recitare videtur.
Mem sonat *ex ipsis*: mandatis scilicet almis.
Nun plane *aeternum* vero ΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜαΤε lampat.
15 *Sameth* enim *auxilium* nostro sermone vocatur.
Am ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟC [ΠΗΓΗ et] Iudaeus sermo recludit
- Fe* felix fulget doctorum CTωMa quod est *os*.
Sade iustificatorum ΔΙΚΕωMa relucet.
Koph electorum est sincera *vocatio* dicta.
20 *Res*, ΚΕΦΑΛΗ, *caput*: en sunt hae tres ordine linguae.
Sen dentes replicat, quos Graecus dicit ΟΔΟΝΤεC.
Tau signum CTαΥΡΟΥ vel *consummatio* fertur.
Haec elementa bis undeno conscripta tenore,
Si fuerint sociata, velut pia poscit amussis,
25 Ordine proficuo septenum stemma relucet,
Quod capiti Christo cunctorum convenit atque
Ecclesiae natis, quos sanguis purgat amomi
Ante creaturam noti persimplicis agni.
Hos nunc versiculos annorum dedicat ordo,
30 Quo baptizari voluit sine ΠΤεΓΜαΤε Christus
ΤεΤεΛεCΤε ΕΡΓΟΝ ΕΝΓΡΑΠΤωΝ

Manuscripts: M=Murbach, Gothanus mbr. 1,17, 3v–4r (s. ix); V=Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 339, 49rv (s. x). All glosses are from V.

Notes: Title glossed: *praepositio et expositio liter(arum) Ebrai(carum)*

Greek	Gloss	Greek	Gloss	Greek	Gloss
2. σκηνωμα.	<i>habitaculum</i>	12. χειρ.	<i>manus</i>	18. (Sade)	<i>iustitia</i>
3. πληρωμα.	<i>plenitudo</i>	11. ρηματε.	<i>verbo</i>	δικαιωμα	<i>meritum</i>
4. ψπδειγμα.	<i>similitudo</i>	14. προσταγματε.	<i>appositione</i>	21. οδοντες	<i>dentes</i>
5. ρωμαιοστι.	<i>latini</i>	16 οφθαλμος	<i>πηγη. oculus</i>	30. For: παισματα ?	
	<i>terrestris</i>			31 τετελεσται ε.	<i>finit opus</i>
				εγγραπτων	<i>inscriptionum</i>

**Table 14 (b): Hebrew alphabet in the *Yellow Book of Lecan* version of the *Auraicept na nÉces*,
 Dublin, Trinity College H.2.16/1318, 234b (s. xiv/xv)
 (Calder 1917: 229–31); see Table 1, no. 19**

Hebrew	Latin gloss	Irish gloss
<i>aleph</i>	doctrina	forcetul
<i>beth</i>	domus	tech
<i>gemel</i>	plenum	lan
<i>deleth</i>	tabalarum	clair
<i>hee</i>	ista	andssou
<i>uau</i>	prinncess	tigerna
<i>sdai[n]</i>	hec	is he
<i>heth</i>	uita	beutha
<i>teth</i>	bonum	maith
<i>ioth</i>	prinncipium	tossach
<i>cap</i>	manus	lamh
<i>lamiach</i>	sum cordis	disciplina

Hebrew	Latin gloss	Irish gloss
<i>mem</i>	excipsis	uaitib
<i>[n]un</i>	sempiternum	co suthain
<i>samet</i>	adiutorium	furtacht (ith .i. ri)
<i>[a]in</i>	fons sum, oculus	topur no suil
<i>fe</i>	osa ab ore non ab osse	(on bel 7 ni on chnaim)
<i>sade</i>	iusticia	coir
<i>cop</i>	uocacio	gairm
<i>res</i>	capites	cend
<i>sen</i>	dentium	fiaccla
<i>tau</i>	signa	comarda

Greek and Latin letter-names

Table 16: Some examples of Greek and Latin alphabet lists
(The numbers above the manuscript references are the numbers given in Table 2 (a))

	(1) Vienna 795		(2) Aur. 4181–205		(3) Erfurt		(5) Oxford, Digby 184		(4) Exeter /(6) Vitellius		(7) Paris, BN 4841	
Letter	Name	Gloss	Name	Value/gloss	Name	Gloss	Name	Gloss	Name	Gloss	Letter	Gloss
A	alpha	mia	alpa	i	alfa	agricola	alfa	agricola	alfa	agricola	A	auris
B	beta	dia	beta	ii	beta	uetus	beta	uetus	beata	beatitudo	B	brachium
Γ	gamma	tria	gama	iii	gamma	uirga	gamma	uirga	gamma	uirga correctionis	C K Q	caput
Δ	dilta	tessera	della	4	delta	correctionis	delta	correctionis	delta	bonitas	D	dens
E	e	penta	erision	u	eta	et hec	e breuis	hec	e	latitudo	E	olfactus
F	episinon	exa									F	facies
Z	zeta	ebda	steta	ui	zeta	scientia	zeta	scientia	zeta	pretiositas	G	genu
H	hita	ogda	eta	uii	ita	filiorum	eta longum	filiorum	eta	edificatio	H	omo
Θ	thita	nia	teta	8	teta	possessio	theta	possessio	theta	ignis obscuras		
I	iota	deca	iota	ix	iota	in	iota	in	iota	auris siue arum	I	index
K	cappa	ecusi	kapa	x	cappa	populis	cappa	populis	cappa	prudentia		
Λ	lauta	trinta	luta	xx	lapda	mee	labda	mee	lauta	ignis	L	labium
M	mi	serenta	imos	xxx	my	legis	mi	legis	moy	templum	M	manus
N	ni	pententa	oz	xl	ny	exclamatio	ni	exclamatio	noy	retributio	N	nasus
Ξ	xi	exenta	csi	lx	csi	doctrinae	xi	doctrinae	csi	multiplicitas		
O	o xielu (?)	ebdenta	phi	lxx us oo	o	omnis	o breuis	omnes	v.	corona	O	occulus
Π	pi	ogdenta	i	lxxx us q co (?)	pi	exultans	pi	exultans	pi	gratia	P	pectus aut pes
Ϟ	copin	enunenta	um	lxl us								
P	ro	ecaton	ro	centum us	ro	figura	ro	figura	ro	lucerna	R	renes
Σ	simma	diacusin	sima	centum ono us	simma	signorum	simma	signorum	simma	ius orationis	S	sura
T	thau	triacusin			tau	amicorum	tau	amicorum	tau	edificium	T	timpus
Υ	eu uel ui	tetracusin	uu	tri cent	y	amor	uui	amor	v	.i. potestas austrum uel	V	venter
Φ	fi	pentecusin	chi	cuic.c.us	fi	totus	fi	totus	fi	scintilla		
X	hi	exacusin	Φ	nai cet us	chi	circulus	chi	circulus	chi	oculos species		
Ψ	psi	eptacusin	uiioo	se(cht) [c.] us	psi	laus	psi	laus	psi	consiliorum		
Ω	o longu	ogdacusin	tau	o(cht) cet	o	mirabilis	w tomega	mirabilis	oo	finis		
Ⲱ	sincope	niacusin										

**Table 17 (a): Carolingian poem on the Greek alphabet letter-names by an unknown Irishman,
as published by Traube 1896: 699–700**

(Greek orthography as transcribed by Traube)

ΚαΤαΛΟΓΟC ΓΡαΜΜαΤΟΝ εΛΛΗΝωΝ.

Quattuor his nunc versiculis perpende, magister, Tres in personis, unum in deitate potentem: αΛΦα patrem signat, quoniam caput esse videtur; ΒΗΤα patris genitum aeterna ratione figurat;	ΜΥ cosmo horrendum cataclysmum fudit avito.
5 ΓαΜΜα simul certe depingit ΠΝΕΥΜα beatum. ΔεΛΤα triūin personarum communicat agmen. εΛεΙΜωΝ mundi custos, miserator et orbis ΖωΗΝ anthropis iustis concesserat aīmam; ΗΤα quidem vitiis socias tres iungit et aptat.	15 ΝΥ summam annorum iubilei format amati ΞΙque gradum viduae moderatur rie secundum. Ο proprio caeli determinat orbe figuram. ΠΗ fidei atque operis speciem confirmat αΝωΘεΝ. Ρω dextra centum meminit levaque refutat.
10 ΘΗΤα gerit signum mortis quo vita triumphat ΙωΤα quod est Christus legis qui conditor extat. ΚΑΠΠα bis en denos sibi vendicat arte Pelasga.. ΛαΥΤα ter et decadem summis gestare probatur.	20 CΙΜΜα notat CωΤΗΡ, salvat qui cuncta creata. ΤαΥ crucis est CΙΜΙΟΝ, quo credimus esse redempti, Υ tñibus ambiguam notulis vitam manifestans. ΦΥ: genus humanum ΦΙΛαΞΟΝ, ktismatis auctor; ΧΡΙCΜαΤε perfusum mereatur regna polorum. 25 ΨΙ geminos apices ego litera sola rependo. ω finis perfecta iugans et iuncta resolvens.

Manuscripts: M=Murbach, Gothanus mbr. 1,17, 3v–4r (s. ix); V=Vatican City, BAV, Cod. Regin. 339, 49rv (s. x).

Notes: Title glossed: *numerus litterarum Gr(a)ecarum*. Interpretations in square brackets are my own additions to Traube's notes.

Lemma	Interpretation	Lemma	Interpretation
1 – 5. αΛΦα, ΒεΤα, ΓαΜΜα	[Cf. the Father, Son and Consolator interpretations in list nos. 6 (a) and (b), 15 and 18 (a) in Table 13]	10. Θ	Θ(ανατος) [i.e. the letter signifying death verdict]
7. εΛεΙΜωΝ	['merciful, compassionate']	11. Ι	Ι(ησους). [Cf. list nos. 6 (a) and (b) in Table 12]
8. ΖωΗΝ	Glossed <i>vitam</i> (in V)	14. Μ	40 (days and nights; Gen. VII, 12)
9. Η	8 [Traube interprets this line as 'eight' vices opposed by the three virtues of faith, hope and charity.]	15. Ν	50 (years in a jubilee; Lev. XXV, 11)
		17. Ο	Ο(υρανός)
		18. Π	Π(ιστις), Π(οιησις)

Table 17 (b): Ausonius's poem *De litteris monosyllabis graecis ac latinis*
from the *Technopaegnion*, ed. Di Giovine (1996: 81–2; 196–223)

Poem	Letter	Device	Notes
		see §1.2.3)	
Dux elementorum studiis viget in Latiis	A	(a), (b)	The ideas of first and last attached to A and Ω were not specifically Christian. Hebrew; <i>alluph</i> , a near-homonym of <i>aleph</i> , was used in the sense of <i>dux</i> , but there is no indication that A. was aware of this.
et suprema notis adscribitur Argolicis	Ω.		
ε ta quod Aeolidum, quodque e valet, hoc Latiare	E.	(b), (e)	
praesto quod E Latium semper breve Dorica vox	ε.		
hoc tereti argutoque sono negat Attica gens	O.	(c), (e)	The Greek ου as a negation.
ω quod, et O, Graecum compensat Romula vox	O.	(b)	
littera sum, Iotae similis vox plena, iubens	I.	(b), (c)	Latin <i>i</i> , imperative of <i>ire</i> .
Cecropiis ignota notis, feralis sonans	V.	(b), (c)	
Pythagorae bivium, ramis pateo ambiguis	Y.	(d)	Cf. §1.2.1.
vocibus in Grais numquam ultima conspicior	M.	(b), (e)	
zeta iacens, si surgat, erit nota, quae legitur	N.	(d)	Cf. Quintillian, XII, x, 31.
Maeandrum flexusque vagos imitata vagor	ξ.	(d)	
dividuum Betae monosyllabon Italicum	B.	(b)	
non formam, at vocem Deltae gero Romuleum	D.	(b), (d)	
hostilis quae forma iugi est, hanc efficiet	Π.	(d)	Is this a reference to D-shaped writing-tablets?
Ausonius si Pe scribas, ero Cecropium	P.	(b), (d)	
et Rho quod Graeco, mutabitur in Latium	P.	(b)	
malus ut antemnam fert vertice, sic ego sum	T.	(d)	
spiritus hic, flatu tenuissima vivificans,	H.	(e)	A. is extending the grammatical sense to a metaphorical concept of breath as the source of life.
haec tribus in Latio tantum addita nominibus,	K;	(b), (c), (e)	
praevaluit post quam, Gammae vice functa prius,	C,	(b)	The <i>titulum</i> on C not only turned the letter into a G-shape, but also turned the sound-value back to the original [g] represented by <i>gamma</i> .
atque alium pro se titulum replicata dedit	G.	(b)	
ansis cincta duabus erit cum Iota, leges	Φ. ³⁴	?(d)	It is not clear what letter A. means, but its position among the last five letters suggests he meant <i>phi</i> .
in Latio numerus denarius, Argolicum	X.	(b), (f)	
haec crucis effigies Palamedica porrigitur	F.	?	Di Giovine suggests Greek <i>tau</i> , but T (Latin?) has been given above. Some editors emend <i>crucis</i> to <i>gruis</i> .
coppa fui quondam Boeotia, nunc Latium	Q.	(b)	
furca tricornigera specie paene ultima sum	Ψ.	(d).	Most editors emend the <i>cappa</i> of the manuscript to <i>coppa</i> .

³⁴ The assignment of letters to the last five lines is disputed; see Di Giovine 1996: 215–23. My choice of *F* differs from Di Giovine's suggestion of *T* (see §1.2.3).

**Table 17 (c)-1: *Versus de nominibus litterarum (Versus cuiusdam Scoti de alphabeto)*
according to the recension of Baehrens (1879– 83, vol. 5: 375–8)**

5	A	Principium uocis ueterumque inuentio mira Exsecrantis item dira interiectio dicor. Nomen habens domini sum felix uoce pelasga;	40	N	Vox sum certa sonans, qua res monstratur adesse; Tollere me multi quaerunt de nomine frustra; Vim quoque sic solitam mitto de carmine perdens
	B	Principium libri, mutis caput, alter et ordo, Tertia felicitis uere sum syllaba semper; Si me graece legas, uiridi tum nascor in hortor		O	Littera saepe choris en sum signata canentum; Curro uias multas, manibus sed fixa manebo; Perque meam formam saeculorum uertitur ordo.
10	C	Principium caeli, primis et luna figuris; Et me clerus amat, legeris si graece, latinus; Littera sum terrae pedibus perscripta quaternis.	45	P	Me sine nulla potest hominum concordia cerni; Nota potentis eram plebis perscripta columnis, Sic quoque nota fui patrum bis scripta piorum.
	D	Ablati casus uox sum et pars septima linguae, Omnipotentis habens nomen, cum 'us' bannita iuncta; Sum medium mille et ueterum mala nota deorum.		Q	Sola mihi uirtus uocalem iungere quintam; Qua sine non nascor, ego hanc occido nefande; Quapropter iuste memet spreuere quaternae.
15	E	Pars ego mutarum uere uocalis habebor; Altera deceptae quondam sum syllaba matris; Pars quoque sum plena et uocis pars quinta latinae.	50	R	Est nomen durum, sed uirtus durior illo; Idcirco placuit me non mollire Camenis; Nota tamen fueram populos uincentis et orbem.
	F	Semisonans dicor, liquidis ut muta ministro; Nescio quid causae est, cur me sic odit Hebraeus. Nox perit et tenebrae, si me de flumine tollas.		S	Nota fui patrum, propriae et uirtutis in odis; Sed modo iam melius domini sum nota secunda; Et me Phoebus amat posuitque in origine lucis.
20	G	Si solam legeris, tunc clarus Caesar habebor; Si duplicem legeris, Romanus praesul habebor; Post me quinta sonat paruum uocalis in ore.	55	T	Angelus en uoluit poni me in fronte gementum, Cetera turba neci miserae dum tota dabatur; Te precor, haec legitans proprio me sed nomine signa.
	H	Nomen habens uacuum fragilem deporto figuram; Non nisi per uersus in me manet ulla facultas; Hoc tantum ualui linguis spiramina ferre.		V	Forma manet semper, uirtus mihi sed uariatur; Vtraque sum uere nullo discrimine formae; Nec me Graecus habet, scriptam sed me duo complent.
25	I	Sum numerus primus, iuuenum contentio magna; Spreta figura mihi est etiam, sed mira potestas; Me tamen haut dominus uoluit de lege perire.	60	X	Forma mihi simplex, sed certe dupla potestas; Aere me puro perscribit penna uolantis; Per me saepe patet numerus de lege sacratus.
	K	Dux ego per priscos primae uocalis habebor, Meque meo penitus pepulerunt iure moderni; Nunc caput Afrorum merui uel mensis haberi.		Y ³⁵	Nomine sum duplex, sed graeco robore simplex, Ac typica in membris tribus, ut Samius bene sensit, Infima dans pueris, at dextra ac laeua sapitis.
30	L	Si me graece legas, totam sine sorde uidebis, Nec frustra, quoniam per carmina saepe liquesco; Sed tamen agricola in curuo me uertice portat.	65	Z	Littera sum graeca, duplex, sed more liquentum; Deficio currens per carmina sicuti simplex; Saepe etiam sibilans inter dentes morientum.
	M	In metris iugiter cum sim uocalibus esca, Suadeo de Musis tollas me, non genetrice, Ne atra figura tuos tenebris offuscet ocellos.			

³⁵ The stanzas on Y and Z are not recorded in all manuscript versions of the poem.

Table 17 (c)-2: Notes on the *Versus cuiusdam Scoti de alphabeto*, based on the *Expositio praescripti alphabeti* in the manuscript Chartres, Carnot. 55, fol. 1, published by Omont (1938: 436–40)

(The notes in square brackets have been added, not being in the *Expositio*. For a key to the devices, see §1.2.3.)

Line	Letter	Device	Notes
1	A	(a), (c), (e)	A is not only the first letter of the alphabet, but also the first sound made by a new born baby. <i>Nomen...domini</i> : Greek <i>alpha</i> as in <i>Ego sum A et Ω</i> . For <i>Exsecrantis ... interiectio</i> see: <i>Et dixi: A, A, A, domine deus!</i> [Jer. I.6; XIV.13; Ez. IV.14; XX.49].
4	B	(a), (b), (c)	<i>Be</i> is first syllable of <i>beatus</i> , the first word of the Psalms; it is second in the alphabet. <i>Beatus</i> (~ <i>felix</i>) is trisyllabic. Greek <i>beta</i> = Latin <i>beta</i> [beet]. [B is also the first letter of Greek βιβλος [book] , and <i>be</i> is the first syllable of Hebrew: <i>bereshith</i> [in the beginning].
7	C	(b), (d), (e)	C is initial of <i>caelum</i> . Greek <i>kappa</i> = Latin <i>cappa</i> [clerical hood] . C as shape of the new moon and the print of a horse's hoof.
10	D	(c), (e), (f)	<i>De</i> is Latin preposition, governing the ablative; it is the first syllable of <i>deus</i> ; as a Roman numeral it represents 500; it was an abbreviation for <i>daemon</i> , <i>diabolus</i> and (pagan) <i>deus</i> .
13	E	(c)	E is added to most consonants to form their Latin names: <i>be</i> , <i>ce</i> , <i>de</i> , etc.; it is a letter in its own right, one of the five vowels; it is the preposition <i>e</i> ; it is the first syllable of the name <i>Eva</i> .
16	F	(c), (e)	F is a semivowel, sometimes followed by liquids <i>l</i> and <i>r</i> ; it does not occur in Hebrew; deduction of <i>f</i> from <i>flumen</i> leaves <i>lumen</i> .
19	G	(e), (f)	G an abbreviation for <i>Gaius</i> (Caesar); GG an abbreviation for Pope Gregory the Great. After <i>g</i> , a <i>u</i> is not a full vowel, e.g. <i>lingua</i> , <i>pinguis</i> , <i>sanguis</i> .
22	H	(d), (e)	H has no consonantal value; it indicates aspiration; it is fragile because the letter-shape splits into the signs for the <i>spiritus asper</i> and <i>spiritus lenis</i> .
25	I	(f)	I, the first Roman number, is shaped like a rod, used as a sword by boys; it is the smallest letter in shape but has both consonantal and vocal values. The third line refers to Matthew V.18: <i>Iota unum aut unus apex non peribit a lege donec omnia fiant</i> .
28	K	(e)	K had been used as an intial letter before <i>a</i> , but in more recent times was replaced by C; it was the initial letter of the name of the African ‘capital’, Karthago, and the name of the first day of the month.
31	L	(d), (e)	The first line plays with the Greek letter-name <i>lauta</i> , which in Latin can be read as the past participle of <i>laveo</i> [wash], hence <i>sine sorde</i> [without dirt]. L is a liquid ; it is shaped like a scythe or bill-hook.
34	M	(c), (e)	M is elided after a preceding vowel in [Greek] poetry; deduction of <i>m</i> from <i>mater</i> [mother, i.e. as ‘muse’, mother of poets] leaves <i>ater</i> [dark].
37	N	(c), (e)	<i>En</i> is as a decisive interjection; deduction of <i>n</i> from <i>nomen</i> leaves <i>omen</i> ; <i>n</i> is treated as a liquid in Greek.
40	O	(c), (d)	O is used as an exclamation; its shape resembles a wheel [also the wheel of time].
43	P	(f)	P is the initial of <i>pax</i> , it is an abbreviation for <i>populus</i> in the inscription SPQR; PP = <i>papa</i> , <i>pater patriae</i> , <i>patres</i> .
46	Q	(e)	The fifth vowel <i>u</i> is needed after <i>q</i> and loses its ‘natural’ value as a vowel; no other vowel is written after <i>q</i> .
49	R	(e), (f)	R occurs in the word <i>durum</i> ; [it was also known as the <i>littera canina</i> [snarling letter]]; it is a liquid; it is an abbreviation of <i>Romani</i> .
52	S	(f)	[S is an abbreviation of <i>senatus</i> and is the second letter in the abbreviation DS, for <i>deus</i> ; it is the initial letter of <i>sol</i> .]
55	T	(f)	[T is the sign referred to in Ez. IX.4-6; it is also the sign of the Christian cross.]
58	V	(b), (e)	[V has one shape, two values; it is not used in Greek.]
61	X	(d), (e), (f)	[X is simple in form but has a <i>duplex</i> value [ks]; it has the shape of wings, and is the number of the (ten) commandments.]
64	Y	(d),(e)	[Y is <i>duplex</i> in name but <i>simplex</i> in value, in Greek; the second and third lines refer to the Pythagorean interpretation, Cf. §1.2.1.]
67	Z	(e)	[Z, a Greek letter, is <i>duplex</i> , often resolving into a <i>simplex</i> sibilant (losing ‘vitality’ between the teeth).]

Table 18 (a)
Virgilius Maro's *Metrofia* in his *Epitomae*

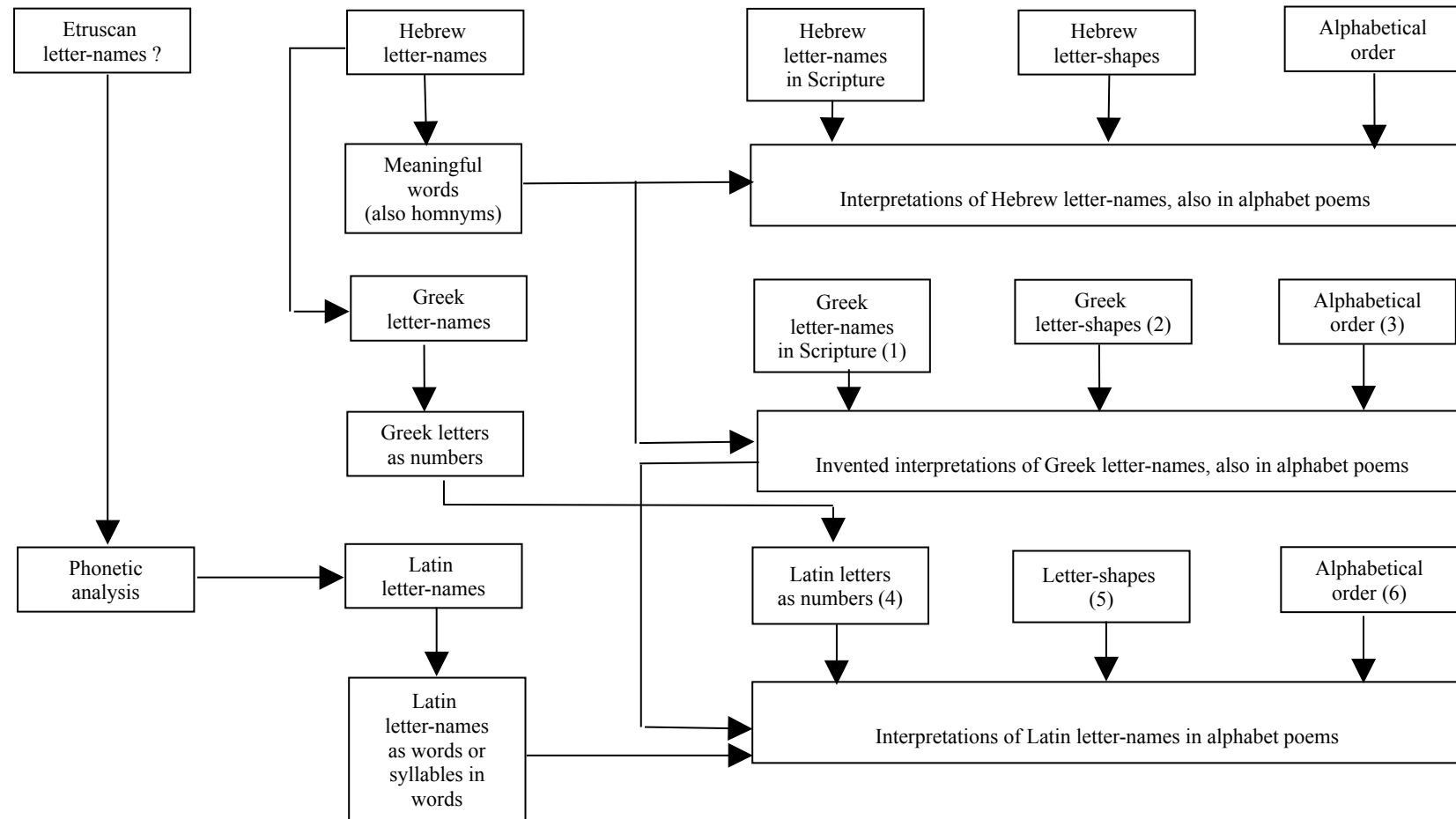
- (a) Metrofia, hoc est intellectuallis ut
dicantabat, id est principium
 - (b) sade id est iustitia
 - (c) gno (geno) utilitas
 - (d) bora hoc est fortitudo
 - (e) ter hoc est dualitas coniugalis
 - (f) rfoph hoc est ueneratio
 - (g) brops hoc est pietas
 - (h) rihph hoc est hilaritas
 - (i) gal hos est regnum
 - (k) fkal hoc est religio
 - (l) clitps hoc est nobilitas
 - (m) mymos dignitas
 - (n) fann hoc est recognitio
 - (o) ulio hoc est honor
 - (p) gabpal hoc est obsequium
 - (q) blaqtth hoc est lux solis
 - (r) merc hoc est pluuaia
 - (s) dies et nox
 - (t) gatrb hoc est pax
 - (u) biun hoc est aqua et ignis
 - (x) spax longeuitas.
- Ex his rebus mundus totus gubernator et prosperatur

Table 18 (b)
The Latin list in the *Auraicept na nÉces*, *Aur.* 4211–22

- Aigiptir Laitianda indso.
a i.e. *principium* .i. tossach
b i.e. *iusticia* .i. indrucus
c i.e. *utili[t]as* .i. tarbdacht
d i.e. *fortitudo* .i. nert
e i.e. *duailitas* .i. eathnadh (l. étrad)
f i.e. *ueneracio* .i. ogmoir [*Eg.* 88: oinoir]
g i.e. *pietas* .i. trocaire
h i.e. [*h*]ilaritas .i. subachas
i i.e. *regnoum* .i. flaitheumnus
k i.e. *religio* .i. craphacht [*Eg.* 88: croab^]
l i.e. *nobilitas* .i. nertmairecht
m i.e. *dignitas* .i. diuiti
n i.e. *recongnitio* .i. aithne
o i.e. *onora (sic)* .i. onoir
p i.e. *opsequium* .i. umla
q i.e. *lux solis* .i. griansolustur
r i.e. *pulma* (l. *pluvia*) .i. fertain
s i.e. *dies et nox* .i. la 7 adaig
t i.e. *pax* .i. sithcain
u i.e. *aqua et ignis* .i. uisgi 7 teine
x i.e. *longa vita* .i. betha fota
y i.e. *aurum* .i. or
z i.e. *presiositas* .i. loghmaireacht.

Résumé of inputs for Hebrew, Greek and Latin letter-names

**Table 19: Basic inputs for the interpretation of Hebrew, Greek and Latin letter-names
and for Virgilius Maro Grammaticus's invention of 'Irish' names for Latin letters**



(1) E.g. Α, Ω..... (2) E.g. Π, Τ, Ψ..... (3) E.g. α, β, γ.... (4) E.g. Ι, Χ (5) E.g. Λ, Ο (6) E.g. Α, Ω

Ogam-names

**Table 20: The texts and translations of the ogam kennings and glosses
as presented by McManus³⁶ and Meroney³⁷**

1. The traditions and sigla

As described in §1.4.1, there are three parallel traditions of kennings, with later glosses, ascribed to Morann mac Moin, Mac ind Óc and Cú Chulainn. McManus labels these as Morann mac Moin = A, Mac ind Óc = B, and Cú Chulainn = C. They are listed in Tables 20-2 to 20-11 below.

For convenience, McManus's use of the sigla A¹, A², etc., to indicate the different manuscript versions within a particular tradition, are given here in the form A1, A2, etc. References such as A1,3,7 signify the separate manuscripts A1, A3, and A7. Details of the manuscripts and published sources are listed in Table 3. I have not listed incidental kennings included by McManus under the sigla A8, A9, B6 and C3.

The names in the “vegetal” tradition from the *The Book of Ogams* (Aur. 5511–27) are listed separately in Table 20-12; this list was not included by McManus, but was included by Meroney in his review of ogam-names under the siglum Iib. Two lists of names given without kennings or glosses at the end of *The Book of Ogams* (amongst 92 ciphers) are reproduced in Table 20-13. The list labelled 27 is virtually the same as the ogam-names in Meroney's Iib. The list labelled 26 are, with one exception, all “vegetal” names and were included by Meroney under the siglum Ib.

2. Texts normalized

The texts of the kennings and glosses on the names of the ogam characters given on the next pages follow the version as presented by McManus, except in a few cases where variant readings not included by him have been added, e.g. variations between the glosses in the body of the *Auraicept* (A4 = Aur. 1157–98 and A5 = Aur. 4253–308) as given by Calder (1917, reprint 1995). Slight orthographic variants (e.g. *feocus*, *feochas*, *feochos*, *feocos*, *feochuos*) have not been signalled except where there may be the possibility of a significant difference in meaning.

Within each of the three traditions — A, B and C — there is little variation in the kennings for individual names. Any exceptions are signalled in bold print in the notes, although, again, not all orthographic variants have been listed.

3. Arrangement on the page

My arrangement of the kennings and glosses on the page is different from that chosen by McManus. My aim is to group the kennings together with their glosses and to highlight the parallels between the glosses. Thus the glosses which are given in the manuscripts in columnar form (A2,6; B2,4; C1,2) have been placed first, on the same line, even though this has meant relegating to second place the more extensive glosses from the body of the *The Book of Ogams* (A1 = Aur. 5528–614, and B1 = Aur. 5615–67) and equivalent versions from other manuscripts (A3,7 and B3,5).

Each entry is headed by the value ascribed to the ogam character in the columnar lists (A2,6; B2,4; C1,2), followed by a normalized form of the ogam-name. The value of *Fern* is thus given as *F* rather than *V*, that of *Quert* as *Q* rather than *CC*, that of *Gétal* as *GG* rather than *nG* or *Ng*, and that of *Straif* as *St* rather than *Z*.

³⁶ The references to McManus throughout these listings are to his 1988 article.

³⁷ Meroney 1949: 21–3.

Texts I							
B: Beithe		A. Féochos foltchain		B. Glaisem cnis		C. Maise malach	
2,6	.i. cos feoidhe ban lais 7 is alaind a barr.			2,4	.i. cainnen no crecath nó fuarc.	1	.i. creccad
1,3,7	ar beithi sen isin briatharogam, uair anmand tuc Morand uaidh fen for fedaib in ogaim is iat gabus greim feda isin briatharogam. Feocus foltchain ar son bethi, ar at e sin da egosc in bethi 7 tucad uad-san for fidh in ogaim ro gab ainm uad.			1,3,5	.i. beithi sin in ogaim o bethi na cailli, ar is uad tucad bethi fair; sic in reliquis sequentibus	2	.i. crecad
4,5	Beithe dno on beithe ro hainmnigheadh ar cosmaillius fri cois in bheithe ut dicitur Feocos foltchain in beithi 7 is airi sin is i mbeithi ro scribadh in cetainm ogaim tucadh a nErind.						
L: Luis		A. Lí sula		B. Carae cethrae		C. Lúth cethrae	
2,6	.i. leam nó gius.			2,4	.i. leam nó gíus.	1,2	.i. leam.
1	.i. luis sin .i. in luisiu			1,3,5	(.i. lem) cara .i. dil lasna ceathra in lem ar a blath 7 ar a canach. Tucad uad-side for luis in ogaim, ar is uad tucad luis fair.		
3,7	.i. luis dna sin ar is ón crann sin ro hainmnigheadh .i. o chærthend, oir luis ainm cærthainn issin tsheangædhilg. Secundus alios .i. cærthenn .i. ar ailleacht a chær.						
4,5	Luis dno, is o chrand ro hainmniged .i. o cairtheand .i. uair luis ainm cærthaínd isint shen Geadelg ut dicitur Li sula luis .i. cærtheand ar ailleact a cær.						
F: Fern		A. Airenach fian		B. Comét lachta		C. Dín cridi	
2,6	.i. ar inchaibh .i. sgiath.			2,4	toei, caei (leg. taei?).	1,2	.i. sciath.
1,3,7	.i. sciath; ar fern aigi-seom sin ar a ndergti ar ænrian, no air is i in fern adbur in sceith. Tucad o fernæ forsin fid ogaim ro gab ainm uaidhi. Airenach fian .i. sciath, fern sin aigi-sium.			1,3,5	.i. ferrn in ogaim sin o fern na caille, ar is i coimetas in lacht, ar is di do-niter lestair imon lacht.		
4,5	Fernd dono, (is) o chrand ro hainmniged (A5: .i. fern), ut dicitur Airenach fiann .i. fernd, air is di na sgeith.						
S: Sail		A. Li ambi		B. Lúth bech		C. Tossach mela	
2,6	.i. li mairbh.			2,4	.i. blath soilech.	1,2	.i. sail.
1,3,7	.i. li mairbh .i. am fo diultad conach beo acht is marb. Li n-ambi dono .i. sail aigi-seom sin 7 tugad uaidi-sium forsin fid n-ogaim.			1,3,5	.i. sail sin ar a blath 7 ar a canach. Tucad uad-side ara fid coibhnesa in ogaim.		
4,5	Sail dano, is o chrand ro hainmniged ut dicitur Li ambi soil .i. nemli lais .i. ar cosmaillius a datha fri marb.						
N: Nin		A. Costud side		B. Bág ban		C. Bág maise	
2,6	.i. nin garmna .i. ni aurgabar acht a síth.			2,4	.i. garman.	1,2	.i. garman.
1,3,7	.i. nin sen .i. ginol garmna fri fid e .i. airde sida sin. Cosdad sida aigi sin o nin na garmna.			1,3,5	.i. nin garmna .i. ginol garmna. Uad-side fora fid coibnesa.		
4,5	Nin dno, is o chrand ro hainmniged .i. o uindsind ut dicitur Cosdad sida nin .i. uinnius, ar is di do-niter craínd gæ triasa coseairther in sidh: no Cosdudh sidha uindis. Nin .i. ginol garmna do-gniter do uindsind .i. isin aimsir sidha togaibter garmna.						

Beithe A7 **eocho**s (*space left for capital*); B4 **glais**sen; B5 **laisim** (*with space as in A7*); B2 cain er (= cain erved , or mistake for cainenn?) crectha (g.s. of crecath?).
Luis A3 **lí sulæ**; A1 .i. luis sin .i. luisiu (? = on luisiu or in luisin ?); A5 *inserts* dath *after* ailleact; B 5 **cara cethra**; B2,4 **luth cethra** = C *kenning*; C1 **luth cethra**.
Fern A2,6 ar inchaib (= *etymological gloss on airenach*); A5 *inserts* do-gniter *after* air is di; A7 **airenach fian**; C1 **din cride**.
Sail A1 **li naimbi**; A3,7 li naimbi; A4 *omits* soil *after* Li ambi; A5 *reads* nembi soil *for* nemli lais .i. ar; B3 **luath**.
Nin A5 **coscrad** (*for* cosdad), **costad** (*for* cosdudh); *reads* di na *for* di do-niter; A1,7,4 **sida** (*in place of* side).

Translations I

B: <i>Beithe</i>		A. Withered foot with fine hair	B. Greyest of skin	C. Beauty of the eyebrow
2,6	i.e. it has a white withered foot and its crown is splendid.		2,4	i.e. garlic (or leeks) or tattooing or bark.
1,3,7	that is for <i>Beithe</i> in the <i>Briatharogam</i> , for the names (= kennings) which Morann himself gave to the letters of Ogam have the force of the letters in the <i>Briatharogam</i> . ‘Withered foot with fine hair’ for <i>Beithe</i> , for they are the two outward appearances of the birch and [the kenning] was transferred thence to the Ogam letter which took its name from it.		1,3,5	i.e. that is Ogam <i>Beithe</i> , (called) after the birch of the wood, for it is thence that it was named <i>Beithe</i> ; <i>sic in reliquis sequentibus</i> .
4,5	<i>Beithe</i> , then, was called after the birch on account of its similarity to the foot of the birch, <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘withered foot with fine hair’ is the birch, and it is for the following reason that the first Ogam inscription...			
L: <i>Luis</i>		A. Lustre of the eye	B. Friend of cattle	C. Sustenance of cattle
2,6	i.e. elm-tree or fir-tree/pine.		2,4	i.e. elm-tree or fir-tree/pine.
1	i.e. that is <i>Luis</i> , i.e. the radiance (?).		1,3,5	(i.e. elm-tree) friend, i.e. cattle love the elm on account of its flower and its down. [The kenning] was transferred thence to Ogam <i>Luis</i> , for it was called <i>Luis</i> after it.
3,7	i.e. that, then, is <i>Luis</i> , for it was named after that tree, i.e. after the rowan, for <i>luis</i> is the name of the rowan in Old Irish. <i>Secundum alios</i> i.e. rowan, i.e. on account of the beauty of its berries.			
4,5	<i>Luis</i> , then, was called after a tree, i.e. after the rowan, i.e. because <i>luis</i> is the name ...(as A3,7 except A5 ends beauty of the colour of its berries).			
F: <i>Fern</i>		A. Vanguard of warrior bands	B. Milk container	C. Protection of the heart
2,6	i.e. in front of i.e. a shield.		2,4	a vessel.
1,3,7	i.e. a shield; that is his [kenning for] <i>Fern</i> on account of their redness alike, or because the alder-tree is the material of the shield. [The kenning] was transferred from the alder to the Ogam letter which took its name from it. ‘Vanguard of warrior bands’, i.e. a shield, his [kenning] for <i>Fern</i> .		1,3,5	i.e. that is Ogam <i>Fern</i> [called] after the alder of the wood, for it is it which holds the milk, for milk-pails are made of it.
4,5	<i>Fern</i> , then, was called after a tree (A5: i.e. <i>fern</i>), <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Vanguard of warrior bands’, i.e. alder, for shields are of it.			
S: <i>Sail</i>		A. Pallor of a lifeless one	B. Sustenance of bees	C. Beginning of honey
2,6	i.e. pallor of a dead person.		2,4	i.e. the flower of the willow-tree.
1,3,7	i.e. pallor of a dead person, i.e. <i>am-</i> as negative [prefix] so that he is not alive but dead. ‘Pallor of a lifeless one’, then, that is his [kenning for] willow and it was transferred thence to the Ogam letter.		1,3,5	i.e. that is the willow-tree on account of its flower and its down. [The kenning] was transferred thence to its cognate Ogam letter.
4,5	<i>Sail</i> , then, was called after a tree, <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Pallor of a lifeless one’, is willow-tree, i.e. non-colour in his opinion, i.e. on account of the similarity of its colour to a dead person.			
N: <i>Nin</i>		A. Establishing of peace	B. Boast of women	C. Boast of beauty
2,6	i.e. the fork of a weaver’s beam, i.e. it is raised in [times of] peace.		2,4	i.e. weaver’s beam.
1,3,7	i.e. that is [a kenning for] <i>Nin</i> , i.e. it is a fork of a weaver’s beam as applied to a letter, i.e. that is a sign of peace. ‘Establishing of peace’, that is his [kenning] based on the fork of the weaver’s beam.		1,3,5	i.e. <i>nin</i> of a weaver’s beam, i.e. the fork of a weaver’s beam. [The kenning was transferred] thence to its cognate letter.
4,5	<i>Nin</i> , then, was named after a tree, i.e. after the ash <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Establishing of peace’ is <i>nin</i> , i.e. ash-tree for spearshafts by means of which peace is destroyed are made of it. Or ‘Establishing of peace’ is ash-tree. <i>Nin</i> , i.e. the fork of a weaver’s beam which is made of ash, i.e. weavers’ beams are raised in times of peace.			

Beithe A4,5 Gloss introduces tale of first Ogam message; B1 crecra (g.s. of crecra?) and C1,2 creccad/crecad: meaning obscure (see discussion).
Sail A5 nembi ‘lifeless’. *Nin* A1,3,7 ginól, literally ‘jaw’, is glossed as glac na gabla (see DIL s.v. ginól (b)); A5 **coscrad** and **costad** ‘destruction’.

Texts II

H: (H)úath	A. Condál cúan	B. Bánad gnúise	C. Ansam aidche
2,6	.i. is ann fo-ceird coin alti uaill .i. scei	.2,4	.i. scei.
1,3,7	.i. uath sin, ar is uath la nech conal chon alladh. Conal cuan do rad re huath <i>in ogaim</i> (A3,7 add: .i. sce, ar is uatmar i ara deilgibh) ar coibnius in anma, ar uath iad as ænrian.	1,3,5	.i. uath, ar is ban gnuis in duine in tan do-berar uath no uamun uimi. Uad-side for fid <i>in ogaim</i> . ar æntaid anma aturu fen .i. uath cehtar de.
4,5	Huath dono, is o chrand ro hainmniged .i. sce <i>ut dicitur</i> comdal cuan huath (A4: .i. sce) no ar is uatmar hi ara deilgibh (A5 <i>adds</i> : no is minic la cach comdail ic sgiaigh).		
D: Dair	A. Ardram dosae	B. Grés soir	C. Slechtam soire
6	.i. dair. (A2 <i>missing</i>).	2,4	.i. dauir.
1,3,7	.i. dur sin a dualus a feda isin caill.	1,3,5	.i. dair. Tucad uad-side fora fidh coibnesa <i>in ogaim</i> .
4,5	Duir dono, is o chrand ro hainmniged (A5: .i. dair) <i>ut dicitur</i> airdem dossaiB duir.		1 .i. niam sairte 2 .i. niam sairde nó niansu.
T: Tinne	A. Trian roith	B. Smiur gúaile	C. Trian n-airm
2	trian (.i. cuilenn) roith .i. carpait.	2,4	.i. iarn.
6	.i. cuilenn .i. carpait.	1,3,5	.i. cuillenn sen. Uad-side fora fidh coibnesa in ogaim .i. tinne. <i>Secundum alios</i> ar is ainm tindi do cuillenn, <i>ut alii dicunt</i>
1	.i. aillinde sin aniu		1,2 tinne .i. iarn.
3,7	.i. cuillend, .i. tinne aige-seom sin .i. trian roith theinde in chuillinn, oir is cuilenn in tres fidh roith in charpaid.		
4,5	Tinne dono, is o chrand ro hainmniged .i. cuileann <i>ut dicitur</i> trian roith tinne .i. ar is cuileand . in tres fidh roith in carbait.		
C: Coll	A. Caíniu fedaib	B. Carae blóesc	C. Milsem fedo
2,6	.i. cach ag ithe a cnó.	2,4	.i. coll.
1,3,7	.i. coll sin ar a <i>chaini</i> a fedaib.	1,3,5	.i. coll. Uad-side fora fidh coibnesa in ogaim.
4,5	Coll dono, is o chrand ro hainmniged (A5: .i. coull) <i>ut dicitur</i> cainfidh .i. coll (A5 <i>ut dicitur</i> cno-car fer) .i. cach ac ithi a chno (A5 <i>adds</i> : .i. coll, no ith-car fer no cain-car fid).		1 .i. cno. 2 .i. cnoi
Q: Quert	A. Clithar baiscill	B. Bríg anduine	C. Dígu fethail
2,6	.i. eilit nó geilt.	2,4	.i. ceirtech
1,3,7	.i. buaili .i. boscell .i. gelt .i. basceall .i. is ann tic a ciall do in tan degas a bas. Clithar boiscell dono .i. quert sin, no boscell .i. elti .i. edruma iat. Clithar boiscell dono .i. gelti no elti, quert a dualus a feda.	1,3,5	.i. quert. Uad-side fora fidh coibnesa.
4,5	Queirt dano, is o chrand ro hainmniged .i. abhull <i>ut dicitur</i> clithar boaiscille (A4 <i>ends</i> : .i. elit gelt, quert .i. aball. A5 <i>ends</i> : .i. eilit. Quiert .i. cli .i. abull, <i>ælit</i> gelt queirt .i. Apall.)		1,2 .i. cumdaigh.

(H)úath A1,3,7 **conal**; A3,7 *read* choidelighiudh for coibnius; A4,5 **comdal**; A2,6 **con/chon**; B3 **gnuisce**.

Dair A2,6 **arddam** dossai; A1,3,7 **ardam** dossaiB; A3 *reads* duir for dur; A4 **airdam** dosaib;

B1 **gres sair**; C1,2 **slechtain saire** (**slechtam soire** is McManus's restoration); C1,2 McManus: *dentals in glosses are unclear; suggests*: niam as airde (*despite saire in kenning*).

Tinne A1 **roith** is missing; .i. aillinde sin aniu: McManus (following Breatnach) would restore: cuillend é sin aniu.

Coll A4 **cain fidh**; A2,5,6 **ithcar, cnocar, caincar fear/fid**; A7 **caine**; B **carae blóesc** is McManus's restoration from **cara bloisc**; C1 **millsem fedho**; C2 **fedæ**.

Quert A2,6 **clithchar** boscill; A1 **mbaiscaill**; A3 **mbaosgaill**; A4 **boaiscille**; B2,4 **andune/andune**; B1,3,5 **annum/andum** = **anduni**?

Translations II

H: (H)úath	A. Assembly of packs of hounds	B. Blanching of faces	C. Most difficult at night
2,6	i.e. it is there that wolves howl, i.e. whitethorn.	2,4	i.e. whitethorn.
1,3,7	i.e. that is <i>Úath</i> for an assembly of wolves is fearsome to a person. ‘Assembly of packs of hounds’ is applied [as a kenning] to the <i>Húath</i> of Ogam, (A3,7: i.e. whitethorn, for it is fearsome on account of its thorns) because of the kinship of the name, for they are <i>úath</i> alike.	1,3,5	i.e. <i>úath</i> , for a person’s face is white when he is surrounded by terror or fear. [The kenning was transferred] thence to the Ogam letter on account of the identity of name between them, i.e. both are <i>úath</i> .
4,5	<i>Húath</i> , then, was called after a tree, i.e. the whitethorn <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Assembly of packs of hounds’, is <i>húath</i> (A4: i.e. whitethorn) for it is fearsome on account of its thorns (A5: or people frequently meet at a whitethorn).		
D: Dair	A. Most exalted of trees	B. Work of a craftsman	C. Smoothest of craftsmanship
6	i.e. oak-tree.	2,4	i.e. oak-tree.
1,3,7	i.e. <i>Dur</i> (<i>Dair</i>) on account of its [corresponding] tree in the wood.	1,3,5	i.e. oak-tree. [The kenning] was transferred thence to its cognate Ogam letter.
4,5	<i>Dair</i> , then, was called after a tree (A5: i.e. <i>dair</i>) <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Most exalted tree’ is oak-tree.		
T: Tinne	A. One of three parts of a wheel	B. Marrow of (char)coal	C. One of three parts of a weapon
2	i.e. one of three parts (i.e. holly-tree), i.e. of a chariot.	2,4	i.e. iron.
6	i.e. holly-tree, i.e. of a chariot.	1,3,5	i.e. that is the holly-tree. [The kenning was transferred] thence to its cognate Ogam letter, i.e. <i>Tinne</i> . <i>Secundum alios</i> for <i>tinne</i> is a name for the holly-tree, <i>ut allii dicunt</i> .
1	i.e. that is holly today.		
3,7	i.e. holly-tree, i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Tinne</i> , i.e. ‘a third part of a wheel’ is the <i>tinne</i> of the holly-tree, for [the wood of] the holly-tree is one of the three [types of] wood in the wheel of a chariot.		
4,5	<i>Tinne</i> , then, was called after a tree, i.e. the holly-tree, <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘A third part... (then as A3,7).		
C: Coll	A. Fairest of trees	B. Friend of nutshells	C. Sweetest tree
2,6	i.e. everyone eating its nuts.	2,4	i.e. hazel-tree.
1,3,7	i.e. that is the hazel-tree on account of its beauty among trees.	1,3,5	i.e. hazel-tree. [The kenning was transferred] thence to its cognate Ogam letter.
4,5	<i>Coll</i> , then, was called after a tree (A5: i.e. <i>coll</i>) <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Fair tree’, i.e. the hazel-tree (A5 <i>ut dicitur</i> delicious nut-tree) i.e. everyone eating its nuts (A5: i.e. <i>Coll</i> , or ?tree with delicious fruit, or ?fairest tree).		
Q: Quert	A. Shelter of a (?)lunatic	B. Substance of an insignificant person	C. Dregs of clothing
2,6	i.e. a hind or lunatic.	2,4	i.e. a rag
1,3,7	i.e. a byre, i.e. <i>boscell</i> , i.e. a lunatic, i.e. <i>basceall</i> (‘death sense’), i.e. it is then that his sense comes to him when he dies. ‘Shelter of <i>boiscell</i> ’, then, i.e. <i>Quert</i> or <i>boscell</i> , i.e. hinds, i.e. they are light(-headed?). ‘Shelter of <i>boiscell</i> ’, then, i.e. lunatics or hinds, <i>Quert</i> on account of its [corresponding] tree.	1,3,5	i.e. a rag (?) [The kenning was transferred] thence to its cognate letter.
4,5	<i>Queirt</i> , then, was called after a tree, i.e. the apple-tree <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Shelter of <i>boaiscille</i> ’ (A4: i.e. a hind, a lunatic, <i>Quert</i> , i.e. apple-tree. A5: i.e. a hind. <i>Quiert</i> , i.e. a house-post i.e. apple-tree, hind, lunatic, <i>Queirt</i> , i.e. apple-tree.)		
(H)úath	A3,7 choibdelighiudh ‘oportunity’ or (?) coibdelachas ‘kinship’. <i>Dair</i> C McManus suggests slechtam is superl. of past part. of <i>sligid</i> , ‘cuts, fells’; MS slechtain ‘genuflection’ is not likely; but DIL gives exx. where slecht translates as ‘smooth’; C1,2 translation is of McManus’s suggested restoration.		
Tinne	A1 translation is of McManus’s suggested restoration.		
Coll	B translation is of McManus’s *cara blóesc ; MS cara bloisc ‘friend of cracking’ (DIL; <i>blosc</i> ‘sound, noise, crashing’).		

Texts III

M: Muin	A. Tressam fedmae	B. Árusc n-airlig	C. Conar gotha
2,6	.i. finemain arin <i>ni</i> fasas a n-airde.	2,4	.i. muin, muine.
1,3,7	.i. muin leis-sium sin .i. ar æntaidh anma fri muin duine no daim, ar is iat is tresi feid <i>m</i> ann.	1,3,5	.i. muin duine. Uad-side fora fídh comainmnigthech.
4,5	Muin dono (A5 <i>adds</i> : is o chrand ro hainmnigther) .i. finemain, <i>ut dicitur</i> airden maisi muin .i. finemain .i. iarsani fasas a n-airdi .i. finemain.		
G: Gort	A. Milsiu féraib	B. Ined erc	C. Sásad ile
2,6	.i. edlenn nó edhend.	2,4	.i. gort.
1,3,7	.i. gort leis-sium sin ar æntaidh anma frisin gort arba. In tan bis ina fuachonn is milli na gach fer in fer sin .i. gort arba. Uad-side forsin fídh <i>ut in ogaim</i> ar comæntaidh in anma atura.	1,3,5	.i. gort. Uad-side fora fídh comainmnigthech.
4,5	Gort dono .i. edeand (A5: <i>ut dicitur</i>) Glaisiu geltaibh gort .i. edind.		
GG: Gétal	A. Lúth lego	B. Étiud midach	C. Tosach n-écto
2,6	.i. gilcach ar imat a icce.	2,4	.i. gilccach
1,3,7	getal sen .i. ar is lúth lasna leigib (A3 <i>adds</i> : .i. gilcach no rait/A7: raith) 7 coibn <i>ius</i> etir cath 7 getal.	3,5	.i. cath. Tucad uada-sid <i>for</i> ngetal.
4, 5	Ngedal dono .i. gilcach nuo raith <i>ut dicitur</i> luth lego ngedal .i. gilcach no raith (A5 <i>adds</i> : ar is luth 1 laisna legaib 7 coibnes iter k 7 ng : no miodach ice .i. ar imad a ice no [Eg:.i.] gilcach no raith).	1	<i>missing</i>
St: Straif	A. Tressam rúamnai	B. Morád rún	C. Saigid nél
2,6	.i. draighen.	2,4	.i. sraiph nó draighen.
1,3,7	.i. straif leis-sium sin <i>in ogaim</i> . Straif iar ræt, ar is i in straif is tresiu ruamna ic dathadh na ræt, ar is i do-gni in airget ngeal conad gorm ic denum airgit decht de. Is i berbthar tresin fual isin or mban co ndene (or) derg de. Tresim ruamna in straif iar ræt. Tugad uaid-side isin fídh dianad ainm straif (A3 <i>adds</i> : .i. draighean) ar æntaid anma aturu .i. straif ainm cechtar de.	1,3,5	.i. straif. Tucad uad-side fora fídh comainmnigthech.
4,5	Straif dono .i. draighen <i>ut dicitur</i> aire sraibha sraibh .i. draighin (A5 <i>adds</i> : no straif .i. saididh nell .i. a dhe ssuass).		
R: Ruis	A. Tindem rucci	B. Rúamnae drech	C. Bruth fergae
2,6	.i. cairthenn nó tene truim.	2,4	.i. cairthenn nó trom.
1,3,7	ruis sin .i. on ruidiudh no on <i>ruis</i> iar ret, ar is <i>tre ruis</i> scribthair 7 is ruidiud fasas a n-aigid in duine tri sug in lossa do cuimilt fæthi. Tindi rucæ dono do rad frisin ruis o rus no on ruided, ar is tri ruis scribtair-side fen.	1,3,5	.i. sug in rois doni ruamna na ndrech co mbi ruidead intib. Ruamna drech dano do rad fri ruis <i>in ogaim</i> on ruidead noon rus, ar is tri ruis scribthar side-fen.
4,5	Ruis dono .i. trom, <i>ut dicitur</i> , ruamna ruice ruis .i. trom (A5: <i>adds</i> : no ruamna ruisg .i. teine truim).		

The above list gives for Muin, Gort and Straif the A1,3,7 kennings as against the alternative A2,4,5,6 kennings, and for Ruis the A1,2,3,6,7 kennings as against the alternative A4,5 kennings.

Muin	A1 <i>tresim fedma</i> ; alternative kenning: A4 <i>airdi masi</i> ; A5 <i>airden maisi</i> ; A6 <i>ardam maisse</i> .
Gort	A3 <i>millsem</i> ; A7 <i>millsi</i> ; alternative kenning: A2,6 <i>glaisem gelta</i> ; A4 <i>glaisiu geltaibh</i> ; A5 <i>glasibh</i> . B4 <i>inned</i> ; B1,3,5 <i>med</i> : ?error for <i>ined</i> ; C2 <i>sássadh ile</i> .
Gétal	A2,6 <i>leighe</i> ; A1 also gives <i>etiud midach</i> ; inserted after leigib; A3 <i>gétal</i> ; B2 <i>eitiu</i> ; B5 <i>eitiud</i> ; B3,5 <i>miadach</i> ; C2 ? <i>tosa n-éca</i> ;
Straif	A1,3,7 <i>ndene or derg</i> : or not in A1; alternative kenning: A2,4,6,5 <i>aire sraib(h)a</i> . B1,5 <i>morid</i> .
Ruis	A1 <i>tinnem ruccæ</i> (also <i>tindi rucæ</i>); A7 <i>tindem</i> ; alternative kenning: A4,5 <i>ruamna ruice/ruici</i> (A5 also <i>rumna ruisg</i>);

Translations III

M: Muin	A. Strongest in exertion	B. Proverb of slaughter	C. Path of the voice		
2,6	i.e. the vine, because it grows upwards.	2,4	i.e. <i>muin</i> (‘deceit, treachery’?), <i>muine</i> (‘a brake’ or ‘thicket’)	1,2	i.e. through the <i>muin</i> (‘neck, throat’)
1,3,7	i.e.that is his [kenning for] <i>Muin</i> , i.e. on account of the identity of the name to the <i>muin</i> (‘upper part of the back’) of a person or an ox, for they are the strongest in exertion.	1,3,5	i.e. <i>muin</i> (‘deceit, treachery’?) of a person. [The kenning was transferred] thence to its cognominal letter		
4,5	<i>Muin</i> , then, (A5: was called after a tree,) i.e. the vine, <i>ut dicitur</i> , ‘Highest of beauty’ is <i>Muin</i> , i.e. vine, i.e. because it grows upwards, i.e. the vine.				
G: Gort	A. Sweetest of grasses	B. Suitable place for cows	C. Sating of multitudes		
2,6	i.e. i.e. honeysuckle or ivy.	2,4	i.e. a field.	1,2	i.e. corn.
1,3,7	i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Gort</i> because of the identity of the name to the field of corn. When it is young corn in the blade that grass is sweeter than all grasses, i.e. the cornfield. [The kenning was transferred] thence to that Ogam letter on account of their identity in name.	1,3,5	i.e. a field. [The kenning was transferred] thence to its cognominal letter.		
4,5	<i>Gort</i> , then, i.e. ivy, (A5: <i>ut dicitur</i> ,) ‘Greenest of pastures’ is <i>Gort</i> , i.e. ivy.				
GG: Gétal	A. Sustenance of a leech	B. Raiment of physicians	C. Beginning of slaying		
2,6	i.e. broom/reed on account of the abundance of its healing (powers?).	2,4	i.e. broom/reed.	1,2	i.e. healing.
1,3,7	i.e. that is [a kenning for] <i>Gétal</i> , i.e. for it is ‘Sustenance with the leeches’, (A3: i.e. broom/reed or bog-myrtle; A7: fern) and there is kinship between battle and <i>gétal</i> .	3,5	i.e. battle. [The kenning was transferred] thence to <i>Ngetal</i> .		
4,5	<i>Ngedal</i> , i.e. broom/reed or fern, <i>ut dicitur</i> , ‘Sustenance of a leech’ is <i>Ngedal</i> , i.e. reed or fern. (A5: for it is sustenance with the leeches and there is kinship between <i>Kand Ng</i> , or a healing physician, i.e. on account of the abundance of its healing (powers?) or/i.e. broom/reed or fern).	1	<i>missing</i>		
St: Straif	A. Strongest reddening (dye)	B. Increase of secrets	C. Seeking of clouds		
2,6	i.e. blackthorn.	2,4	i.e. <i>Sraiph</i> or blackthorn.	1	i.e. its smoke
1,3,7	i.e. that is his [kenning for] Ogam <i>Straif</i> . <i>Straif</i> in substance, for <i>straif</i> is the strongest of reddening agents for dyeing things, for it is it which causes white silver to become blue while making pure silver of it. It is it which is boiled in urine into white gold and makes red gold of it. ‘Strongest reddening’ [applies to] <i>straif</i> in its concrete meaning. [The kenning] was transferred thence to the letter called <i>Straif</i> (A3: i.e. blackthorn) on account of their identity in name; i.e. <i>straif</i> is the name of each of them.	1,3,5	i.e. <i>Straif</i> (?sulphur). [The kenning] was transferred thence to its cognominal letter.		above (C2: to the clouds).
4,5	<i>Straif</i> , then, i.e. blackthorn, <i>ut dicitur</i> , ‘Hedge of a stream’ is <i>Sraibh</i> , i.e. blackthorn. (A5: or <i>straif</i> , i.e. seeking of clouds i.e. its smoke above.)				
R: Ruis	A. Intensest of blushing	B. Reddening of faces	C. Glow of anger		
2,6	i.e. rowan-tree or fire of elder-wood.	2,4	i.e. rowan-tree or elder-tree.	1,2	i.e. blushing.
1,3,7	i.e. that is [a kenning for] <i>Ruis</i> , i.e. from reddening or blushing in substance, for it is written with [thesymbol] <i>Ruis</i> and it is a reddening that grows in a person’s face by rubbing the juice of the plant under it. ‘Intensest of blushing’, then, is applied [as a kenning] to <i>Ruis</i> from <i>rus</i> (‘blushing) or from the reddening, for that itself is written with [the symbol] <i>Ruis</i> .	1,3,5	i.e. the juice of the rose which causes reddening of faces so that there is blushing inthem. ‘Reddening of faces’, then, is applied to Ogam <i>Ruis</i> from blushing or reddening, for that itself is written with <i>Ruis</i> .		
4,5	<i>Ruis</i> , then, i.e. elder-tree, <i>ut dicitur</i> , ‘Redness of blushing’ is <i>Ruis</i> i.e. elder-tree (A5: or redness of <i>ruis</i> , i.e. fire of elder-wood).				
<i>Muin</i>	A4 airdi masi ; A5 airden maisi ; A6 Ardam maisse ‘highest of beauty’.	<i>Gétal</i>	C2 ? tosa n-éca ‘beginning of death’.		
<i>Gort</i>	A2,6 glaisem gelta ; A4 glaisiu geltaibh ; A5 glasibh ‘greenest of/greener than pastures’.				
<i>Straif</i>	A2,6,4,5 aire srab(h)a ?‘hedge of a stream’.	<i>Ruis</i>	A4,5 ruamna ruice/ruici ‘redness of blushing/shame’ (ruice = ruccæ).		

Texts IV

A: Ailm	A. Ardham iachtadha	B. Tosach freccraí	C. Tosach garmae
2,6	.i. feth .i. fe fe nó ferdris.	2,4	.i. a.
1,3,7	(A3: ochtach) .i. mactad .i. ailm aigisium sin, ar is ailm (no <i>a</i>) adber in duine ac iachtad i ngalar, no ic machad .i. ag ingantugud secip ræta.	1,3,5	.i. ailm sin, ar is i cetlabra gach duine iarna genemain <i>a</i> .
4	Ailm dono .i. crand giuis .i. ochtach.		
5	Ailm .i. ochtach no ailm airdeumh iachtadha .i. feth .i. fe <i>ue</i> at uath feirddris no ailm, <i>id est quaisi pailm a palma</i> .		
O: Onn	A. Congnaid ech	B. Féthem soire	C. Lúth fián
2,6	.i. aiten nó echlasc.	2	<i>missing</i>
1,3,7	.i. onnaid in carpait .i. (A7 nó) na roith .i. onn leis-sium sin ar is tri onn scribthar onnaid in carbait. <i>Aliter</i> comguinid ech .i. aiten. Tucad uad-side forsín fídh ut dianad ainm onn ar æntaid ataru ar is ainm onn do cechtar de 7 is on aitenn tucad int ainm is onn frisín fídh n-ogaim <i>secundum alios</i> .	4	.i. aiten.
4,5	Onn .i. aiten (A5 adds: <i>ut dicitur</i> cudnoudh eich .i. aiten no echlaisg).	1,3,5	.i. onn .i. o.
U: Úr	A. Úaraib adbaib	B. Silad cland	C. Forbbaid ambi
2,6	.i. fræch.	2,4	(B4 adds: .i. uir) .i. talam.
1,3,7	.i. ur aigi-sium sin ar is do uir in talman is ainm uaraib adbaib. Tucad uada-side forsín fídh dianad ainm ur in ogaim ar æntaid anma aturu .i. ur cechtar de 7 tre ur scribthair.	1,3,5	ur/uir les-sium sin, ar is i uir in talman do-gní silad na clann cuirtir inti. Silad clan dono do rad o uir in talman do radh frisín fídh n-ogaim ro gab comainm fria .i. ur cechtar de.
4, 5	.i. fræch (A5 adds: <i>ut dicitur</i> guiremh dal .i. frech).		
E: Edad?	A. Érgnaid fídh	B. Commáin carat	C. Bráthair bethi (?)
2,6	.i. idadh .i. fe fe a tuth nó fe a [f]lesc.	2,4	.i. clessach uisce .i. éicne.
1,3,7	.i. edad aigi-sium sin ar is don crunn critaig is ainm ergnaid fídh. Tucad uada-side forsín fídh ogaim dian adainm edhadh, ar is uad tucad eded fair.	1,3,5	.i. edadh isín caill. Uad-side fora fídh comainmnigthech in ogaim.
4,5	.i. ed uath .i. crand fir no crithach (A5 adds: <i>ut dicitur</i> erchra fer fe fe flesg).		
I: Idad?	A. Siniu fedhaib	B. Cáinem sen	C. Lúth (no líth) lobair ?
2,6	.i. ibhar.	2,4	.i. ibhar.
1,3,7	.i. idad aigi-seom sin, ar is do ibar as ainm siniu fedaib. Tucad uad-side forsín fídh ut in ogaim dianad ainm idad, ar is uad tucad int ainm is idad fair, ar is do ibar is ainm idad.	1,3,5	.i. ibar. Uad-side forín fídh n-ogaim ro gab ainm aile uadh .i. idadh.
4,5	.i. ibhar (A5 adds: <i>ut dicitur</i> sioneim fedha iobair; iobhar .i. eo barr <i>simper</i>).		

A4 has no kennings for the vowels.

<i>Ailm</i>	A2,5,6 iachtadha : <i>gen. of v.n. iachtad</i> ; A1 iactadh A3.7 iachtad : <i>McManus suggests restoring to iachta as gen. of iacht</i> ; A5 at uath =?aduath, <i>etym. gloss on edad</i> (see <i>gloss on edad</i>).
<i>Onn</i>	A2,6 congnaid ech ; A1,3,7 congnamaigh echraide ; also comguinid ech ; A5 cudnoudh eich ; B all MSS have saire, B1,3,5 add no fedem/fedmed/fedham ; B2,4 foilleim saire .
<i>Úr</i>	A5,6 guiremh dal ; A2 gruidem dal ; A3 úrribh ; C1 forbhaid .
<i>Edad</i>	A2 ærcaid fer nó fídh ; A6 ærchaid fídh ; A5 erchra fer ; B2 Comaoín ; C: <i>kenning doubtful</i> .
<i>Idad</i>	A1,3,7 siniu fedhaib ; B2 cained sen nó aileam ais ; B4 caineam sen .i. aillem ais ; B1 crinem feada no cláinem ; B3 crinem feadha no sinem no ailleam aois ; C: <i>kenning doubtful</i> ; <i>vlaue given as IO</i> .

Translations IV

A: Ailm		A. Loudest of crying	B. Beginning of an answer	C. Beginning of calling
2,6	i.e. stick (?), i.e. woe, woe, or bramble.		2,4 i.e. <i>a</i> .	1,2 i.e. <i>á</i> .
1,3,7	(A3 pine/fir-tree) i.e. astonishment, i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Ailm</i> , for <i>ailm</i> (or <i>a</i>) is what a person says when groaning in sickness or when astonished, i.e. marvelling at whatever thing.		1,3,5 i.e. that is <i>ailm</i> , for <i>a</i> is the first utterance of every person after his birth.	
4	<i>Ailm</i> , then. i.e. a pine tree, i.e. a pine/fir-tree.			
5	<i>Ailm</i> , i.e. pine-tree or <i>ailm</i> , ‘Loudest of cries’, i.e. stick (?), i.e. woe, woe, great fear, bramble or <i>ailm</i> , <i>id est quasi pailm</i> (Lat.) from <i>palma</i> .			
O: Onn		A. Wounder of horses	B. Smoothest of craftsmanship	C. Sustenance of warrior bands
2,6	i.e. furze or horsewhip.		2,4 i.e. furze.	1,2 i.e. heather.
1,3,7	(‘Helper of horses’) i.e. the wheel rims of a chariot, i.e. (A7: or) the wheels, i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Onn</i> for <i>onnaid</i> of the chariot is written with <i>Onn</i> . <i>Aliter</i> ‘Wounder of horses’, i.e. furze. [The kenning] was transferred thence to that letter which is named <i>Onn</i> on account of their identity, for both are called <i>onn</i> , and the name <i>Onn</i> was given to the letter from <i>aiten</i> (furze) <i>secundum alios</i> .		1,3,5 i.e. <i>onn</i> , i.e. <i>o</i> .	
4,5	<i>Onn</i> i.e. furze (A5: <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Hastening of horses’ i.e. furze or horsewhip).			
U: Úr		A. In cold dwellings	B. Propagation of plants	C. Shroud of a lifeless one
2,6	i.e. heather.		2,4 i.e. earth, i.e. ground.	1,2 i.e. earth.
1,3,7	i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Úr</i> for ‘In cold dwellings’ is a kenning for the earth of the ground. It was transferred thence to the Ogam letter which is called <i>Úr</i> because of their identity of name, i.e. both are <i>úr</i> and it is written with [the symbol] <i>Úr</i> .		1,3,5 i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Úr</i> , for it is the earth of the ground which propagates the plants planted in it. ‘Propagation of plants’, then, is said of the earth of the ground and of the Ogam letter which took the same name as it, i.e. both are <i>úr</i> .	
4, 5	i.e. heather (A5: <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘?Most painful of meeting’, i.e. heather.)			
E: Edad?		A. Discerning tree	B. Exchange of friends	C. Bráthair bethi (?)
2,6	i.e. <i>Idhadh</i> , i.e. woe, woe, its stench or woe its stick.		2,4 i.e. the crafty one of the water, 1,2 i.e. salmon.	i.e. <i>é</i> (‘salmon’).
1,3,7	i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Edad</i> , for ‘Discerning tree’ is a kenning for the aspen/poplar-tree. It was transferred thence to the Ogam letter called <i>Edhadh</i> , for it was called <i>edad</i> after it.		1,3,5 i.e. <i>edadh</i> in the wood. [The kenning was transferred] thence to its cognominal Ogam letter.	
4,5	i.e. <i>ed uath</i> i.e. the juniper or aspen (A5: <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘?Wasting of men’?, woe, woe wand):			
I: Idad?		A. Oldest tree	B. Fairest of the ancients	C. Energy of an infirm person ?
2,6	i.e. yew-tree..		2,4 i.e. yew-tree.	1,2 i.e. age .
1,3,7	i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Idad</i> for the yew’s kenning is ‘Oldest tree’. It was transferred thence to that Ogam letter called <i>Idad</i> , for it was called <i>Idad</i> after it, for <i>idad</i> is a name for yew-tree.		1,3,5 i.e. yew-tree. [The kenning was transferred] thence to the Ogam letter which took another name from it, i.e. <i>Idadh</i> .	
4,5	i.e. yew-tree (A5 <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Oldest tree’, yew-tree; <i>iobhar</i> , i.e. <i>eo barr</i> ‘salmon/yew-tree end’ <i>simper</i>).			
<i>Onn</i>	A2,6 congnaid ech : ‘wounder of horses’; A1,3,7 congnamaigh echraide : ‘helper of horses’; ; A5 cudnoudh = congnam (?codnugud) ‘hastening’; B1,3,5 fedem etc. unclear ; B2,4 foilleam ‘subtlest’.			
<i>Úr</i>	A5 meaning unclear: guiremh = ?superlative of <i>gúr</i> ‘sharp’; A2 gruidem = ?superlative of <i>grot</i> ‘quick’.			
<i>Edad</i>	A2 ærcaid fer no fid , A6 ærchaid fid , A5 erchra fer : ‘?wasting of men/wood’; A4,5 <i>ed uath</i> ‘horrible grief’ = etymological gloss on <i>edad</i> ?			
<i>Idad</i>	B2 aileam ais , B3 aileam aois , B4 aileam ais : ? ‘noblest of ages’; B1 crinem feada , B3 crinem feadha : ‘most withered of wood’; B1 cláinem : ‘most crooked’.			

Texts V			
<i>EA: Ébad?</i>	A. Snámchaín feda	B. Cosc lobair	C. Cáinem éco
2,6	.i. crithach.	4	.i. éicne.
1,3,7	.i. ebad (A3: eubhadh) les-sium sin, ar snamchain fid .i. don bratan (A1: bran) mor is ainm sen. Tucad uad-side forsin fid dianid ainm ebad in ogaim, ar is ainm do bratan eo (A1: é) 7 is tri ebad scribtar side amal aipgitir in betha .i. tre sed (.i. os), eo tre eonasc (.i. lon).	2	<i>missing</i>
4,5	.i. crithach (A5 adds: <i>ut est</i> snamchar fer).	1,3,5	.i. elenn for in fid in ogaim ro gab ainm uad .i. ebad (B3: eubadh; B5: eba).
<i>OI: Ó(i)r</i>	A. Sruithem aicde	B. Lí crotha	
2,6	.i. feirius.	2,4	.i. ór.
1,3,7	.i. or iar ret. Tucad uad-side forsin ar ætnaid in anma fil aturu .i. or ainm cechtar de.	1,3,5	.i. or. Uad-side fora fid comainmnigthech .i. or in ogaim.
4	.i. feorus no edind.		
5	.i. feoruss no edlend, <i>ut dicitur</i> tuathmar fidh .i. eithlend, <i>ut dicitur</i> sruithem aicde feorus .i. fiarses.		
<i>UI: Uilen/Uillenn</i>	A. Túthmar fid	B. Cubat oll	
2,6	.i. crann fir nó elenn.	2,4	.i. crann fir nó eilend.
1,3,7	.i. uilleann leis-sium sin ar is do edlenn is ainm. Tucad uad-side forsin [fid] ogaim dianad ainm uilleann ar is uadh tucad uilleann fair, ar is do edlinn is ainm.	1,3,5	.i. uilleann .i. edlenn. Uad-side forsin fid in ogaim ro gab [ainm] uaide .i. uilleann.
4, 5	.i. edleand (A5 adds: <i>ut dicitur</i> tuathmar fid no edleand).		
<i>P/IO: Pin/Iphin</i>	A. Milsem fedo	B. Amram mlais	
2,6	.i. spin.	2,4	.i. Spin.
1,3,7	.i. pin (A3,7: pín) sin aigi-sium, ar is don chrunn dianid ainm pin. is ainm millsium feda. De atbertar cæra pinne (A3,7: pine). Tucad uada-side forsin fidh dianad ainm pin (A3,7: pín), ar is uadh tucad pin no ifin (A3,7 iphin) air.	1,3,5	.i. pin (B3: pín) no ifin (B3: ifin, B5: ihpin). Uad-side forsin fidh ro gab ainm uaid, .i. pin no iphin (B3: ifin, B7: ihpin).
4,5	.i. spinan no ispin (A5: spin, A5 adds: <i>ut dicitur</i> millsim fedha pin .i. caor).		
<i>X/AE: Emancholl</i>	A. Od sáethaig	B. Mol galraig	
2,6	.i. uch .i. midua .i. seim munchæl.	2,4	.i. uchra (B4 adds: no usca no uch).
1,3,7	.i. ach no uch. Emancoll leis-sium sin ar gabair emuncoll ar ach gia gabar araill. <i>Finit</i> Briatharogam Moraind.	1	<i>missing</i>
4	<i>missing</i> .	3,5	.i. ach no uch ar eamhancoll oir gabor eamhancoll ar ach no uch. <i>Finit</i> .
5	.i. umda a fedha, no emancoll .i. gabar emancoll ar ach cia gabar ar aill .i. midiuiti, <i>ut dicitur</i> oud saothaid .i. uch, no emanco;; .i. seim muin caol.		

A4 has no kennings for the vowels. For Ó(i)r, Uilen/Uillenn, Pin/Iphin or Emancholl the B2,4 kennings = the A kennings, and C has no kennings or glosses.

Ébad A2 **snamchar fer**; A1,3 .i. os and .i. lon are written above the line; McManus splits eonasc into two words; B4 **aca fidh**: McManus: aca = ?aqua.
Ó(i)r A5 **tuathmar fidh** .i. eithlend = *kenning for Uillenn with gloss, whence edlend in gloss on Ó(i)r in place of A4's edind*; B2,4 = A.
Uilen/Uillenn A1 **tutmur**; A7 **tuathmar** (with punctum delens over first a); A2,6 **fer** in place of fid; B1 **cubat noll**; B2,4 = A.
Pin/Iphin A7 **millsi**; B1,3 **amram blais** (McManus: blais < *mblais < mlais: 'The alliteration in this series demands restoration to the Old Irish form'; B2,4 = A.
Emancholl A2,6 **od sáethaig** preferred here to A1 **lúad sáethaig**; A2 **od** (.i. uch) **sæt[h]aig** 7c; value given as: X subscript em; B5 **galraid**; B1 *missing*; B2,4 *kenning* = A2,6; B2 value given as: CC.

Translations V

EA: Ébad?		A. Fair-swimming letter	B. (?) Chastising of an ailing person	C. Fairest fish
2,6	i.e. aspen-tree.		4 i.e. <i>Ébadh</i> .	1 i.e. a salmon.
1,3,7	i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Ébad</i> , for ‘Fair-swimming letter’, i.e. that is name for the great salmon. It was transferred thence to the Ogam letter called <i>Ébad</i> , for <i>é/éo</i> is a name for the salmon and it is written with [the character] <i>èbad</i> as [in] the ‘Alphabet of the world’, i.e. by an equivalent (i.e. deer), <i>eo</i> by <i>eonasc</i> (i.e. blackbird).		2 <i>missing</i>	
4,5	i.e. aspen-tree (A5: <i>ut est</i> fair-swimming letter).		1,3,5 i.e. elecampane, transferred to the Ogam letter which took its name from it, i.e. <i>Ébad</i> .	
OI: Ó(ì)r		A. Most venerable substance	B. Splendour of form	
2,6	i.e. spindle-tree		2,4	i.e. gold.
1,3,7	i.e. gold in substance. [The kenning] was transferred thence to the letter on account of their identity of of name, i.e. they are both called <i>ór</i> .		1,3,5	i.e. gold. [The kenning] was transferred thence to its cognominal letter, i.e. Ogam <i>Ór</i> .
4	i.e. spindle-tree or ivy.			
5	i.e. spindle-tree or honeysuckle, <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Fragrant tree i.e. honeysuckle, <i>ut dicitur</i> most venerable substance, i.e. spindle-tree, i.e. twisted?’.			
UI: Uilen/Uillenn		A. Fragrant tree	B	Great cubit
2,6	i.e. test tree or elecampane.		2,4	i.e. test tree or elecampane.
1,3,7	i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Uilleann</i> , for it is a name for honeysuckle. It was transferred thence to the Ogam [letter] called <i>Uilleann</i> , for it was called <i>Uilleann</i> after it, for it is a name for honeysuckle.		1,3,5	i.e. <i>Uilleann</i> i.e. honeysuckle. [The kenning was transferred] thence to the Ogam letter which took [its name] from it, i.e. <i>Uilleann</i> .
4, 5	i.e. honeysuckle (A5: <i>ut dicitur</i> fragrant tree of honeysuckle).			
P/IO: Pin/Iphin		A. Sweetest tree	B. Most wonderful taste	
2,6	i.e. thorn bush.		2,4	i.e. thorn bush.
1,3,7	i.e. that is his [kenning for] <i>Pin</i> , for ‘Sweetest tree’ is a name for the tree called <i>pin</i> . Thence are named the berries of the <i>pin</i> . [The kenning] was transferred thence to the letter called <i>Pin</i> because it was named <i>Pin</i> or <i>Ifin/Iphin</i> after it.		1,3,5	i.e. <i>pin</i> or <i>ifin/iphin</i> . [The kenning was transferred] thence to the letter which took its name from it, i.e. <i>Pin</i> or <i>Iphin/Ihpin</i> .
4,5	i.e. whitethorn or <i>ispin/spin</i> , <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘sweetest tree’ is <i>pin</i> , i.e. berry.			
X/AE: Emancholl		A. Refrain of a weary one	B. Groan of an ailing person	
2,6	i.e. <i>uch</i> , i.e. <i>midua</i> (?), i.e. smooth, slender neck.		2,4	i.e. wasting away or grease (?) or woe.
1,3,7	i.e. <i>ach</i> or <i>uch</i> . That is his [kenning for] <i>Emancholl</i> , for <i>Emancholl</i> has the [phonetic] value <i>ach</i> though it has another [phonetic] value. <i>Finit</i> the <i>Briatharogam</i> of Morann.		1	<i>missing</i>
4	<i>missing</i> .		3,5	i.e. <i>ach</i> or <i>uch</i> for <i>Eamhancoll</i> , for <i>Eamhoncoll</i> has the [phonetic] value <i>ach</i> or <i>uch</i> . <i>Finit</i> .
5	i.e. many its letters or <i>Emancholl</i> , for <i>Emancholl</i> has the [phonetic] value <i>ach</i> though it has another value i.e. <i>miduitti</i> , <i>ut dicitur</i> ‘Song of a sick person’, i.e. <i>uch</i> , or <i>Emancholl</i> i.e. smooth, slender neck.			
<i>Ébad</i>	A1,3 i. os and i. lon are treated in this translation as (mistaken) glosses on <i>sed</i> and <i>eonasc</i> ; B1,3,5 cf. <i>DIL</i> <i>ellenn</i> ‘ <i>enula campana</i> ’ (= <i>Inula Helenium</i>); <i>McManus</i> translates <i>elenn</i> as ‘ <i>honeysuckle</i> (or <i>aspen</i> ?)’.			
<i>Uilen</i>	A2,6 and B2,4 <i>McManus</i> translates <i>crann fir</i> as ‘ <i>juniper</i> ’ and equates <i>elenn</i> and <i>eilend</i> with <i>edlenn</i> , i.e. ‘ <i>spindle-tree</i> (? <i>honeysuckle</i>)’; cf. B1,3,5 gloss on <i>Ebad</i> .			
<i>Emancholl</i>	A1 lúad sáethaig : <i>McManus</i> translates ‘ <i>Groan of a sick person</i> ’, comparing <i>lúad</i> with <i>lúth</i> of the C kenning for Ogam I, lúth lobair ‘ <i>Energy of an infirm person</i> ’; A2,6 and A5: <i>midua</i> and <i>miduitti</i> unclear in meaning; <i>Meroney</i> suggests ‘ <i>not simple</i> ’; <i>seim munchæl</i> = gloss on <i>Emancholl</i> ; A2: 7c = <i>et cetera</i> ?			

The vegetal tradition in *The Book of Ogams*
as given in the text preceding the *Briatharogam Moraind mic Mhain* (BB 309 = *Aur.* 5512–27)
The spacing is my own. The translation is that of Calder except where indicated in the notes. Meroney's siglum is I Ib.³⁸

The names and glosses for the characters R and A are missing from the text.

.....*Secundum alios* is o fedaib na caille tuctha anmmann for fedaibh in *ogaim* trin-troip.

.....*Secundum alios* it is from the trees of the forest that names were given to the Ogam letters metaphorically.

Beithi	immorro o bethi na cailli forsin cetna fid <i>for set</i> na aipgitri. in <i>ogaim</i>	<i>Beithe</i>	moreover, is from the birch of the forest for the first letter on the path of the Ogam alphabet.
Luis	.i. lemh sin isna cailltib.	<i>Luis</i>	i.e. elm in the forests.
Fern	.i. fearn sin isin caill.	<i>Fern</i>	i.e. alder in the forest.
Sail	in <i>ogaim</i> .i. sail dono sin isin caill.	<i>Sail</i>	of the Ogam, i.e. willow, again, in the forest.
Nin	in <i>ogaim</i> .i. ginol garmna no nenaid isna feadaib.	<i>Nin</i>	of the Ogam, i.e. fork of a weaver's beam ³⁹ , or nettles in the woods.
Uath	in <i>ogaim</i> crand fir no sce ar a delgaighe insin.	<i>Uath</i>	of the Ogam, i.e. test tree ⁴⁰ or whitethorn, on account of its thorniness.
Dur	in <i>ogaim</i> dair dono sin isin caill.	<i>Dur</i>	of the Ogam is oak, again, in the forest.
Tinne	in <i>ogaim</i> .i. quulend no trom isin caill.	<i>Tinne</i>	of the Ogam, i.e. holly or elderberry in the forest.
Coll	in <i>ogaim</i> .i. coll isin caill.	<i>Coll</i>	of the Ogam, i.e. hazel in the forest.
Quert	in <i>ogaim</i> quulend isin caill no cairthend no critach.	<i>Quert</i>	of the Ogam holly in the forest, or quicken-tree or aspen-tree.
Muin	.i. midiu.	<i>Muin</i>	i.e. mead.
Gort	.i. gius.	<i>Gort</i>	i.e. fir-tree.
Getal	.i. gilcach.	<i>Getal</i>	i.e. broom/reed. ⁴¹
Straif	saildrong isin caill.	<i>Straif</i>	willowbrake in the forest.
Onn	.i. aiten no uinius.	<i>Onn</i>	i.e. furze or ash.
Ur	.i. draighen.	<i>Ur</i>	i.e. blackthorn. ⁴²
Edad	.i. eu.	<i>Edad</i>	i.e. yew-tree.
Ida	.i. ibhar.	<i>Ida</i>	i.e. yew-tree. ⁴³
Ebad	.i. elend.	<i>Ebad</i>	i.e. elecampane.
Oir	.i. feorus.	<i>Oir</i>	i.e. spindle-tree.
Uilleann	.i. edlend.	<i>Uilleann</i>	i.e. honeysuckle.
Pin	in <i>ogaim</i> , pin dano sin isin caill. De atbertar cær pinne; ifin dano <i>secundum alios</i> ainm in feda sin.	<i>Pin</i>	of the Ogam, pine (?), again, in the forest. Hence are named the berries of <i>pin</i> . ⁴⁴ <i>Ifin</i> , again, <i>secundum alios</i> is the name of that letter.
Emancoll	dono .i. coll emnaide iar ret no iar fuath .i. coll dar coll ina fuath.	<i>Emancoll</i>	again, i.e. <i>Coll</i> doubled according to fact or according to form, i.e. <i>Coll</i> across <i>Coll</i> in its form ⁴⁵ .

³⁸ Calder 1917: 275-7. Meroney (1949: 21-3) gives the names in this list (without full glosses) under the siglum I Ib.

³⁹ Calder translates *ginol garmna* as 'maw of spear'; translation 'fork of a weaver's beam' is McManus's.

⁴⁰ For *crand fir* in the A4,5 glosses on *edad* and for *crann fir* in the A2,6 and B2,4 glosses on *uilleann* McManus suggests 'juniper'.

⁴¹ Calder translates *gilcach* as 'broom'; McManus suggests 'broom/reed'.

⁴² Calder translates *draighen* as 'thorn'; in the A2,4,5,6 and B2,4 glosses on *Straif* McManus translates it as 'blackthorn'.

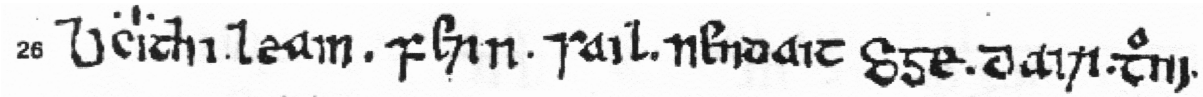
⁴³ Calder translates *ibhar* as 'service-tree'; McManus translates it as 'yew-tree'.

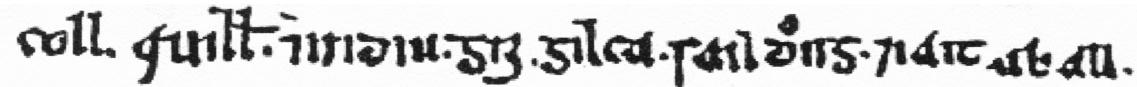
⁴⁴ Calder translates *caera pinne* as 'gooseberries', which is followed by McManus in his suggested translation of *pin*: 'gooseberry?'.

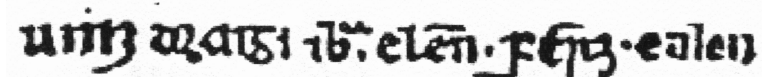
⁴⁵ *Coll* is my insertion for Calder's c. Calder gives 'witch hazel' as a translation.

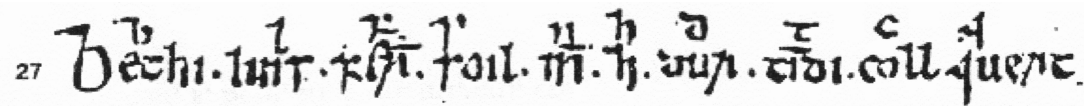
The ogam lists from amongst the 92 ciphers at the end of *The Book of Ogams* (nos. 26 and 27)⁴⁶

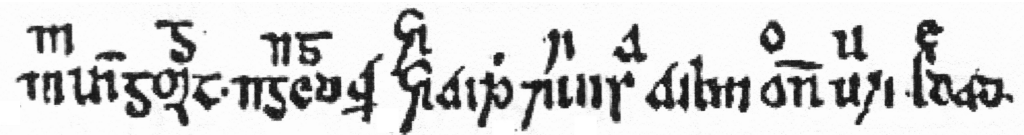
Book of Ballymote, Royal Irish Academy 23P12/536, fol. 312 (s. xiv–xv),
reproduced in Calder 1917: 302; Meroney's sigla are Ia (no. 27) and Ib (no. 26)

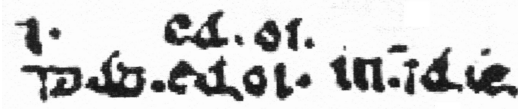
26 
beithi leam fern sail nendait sge dair trom


coll quillenn midiu gius gilcach saildrong rait aball


unius draigin ibor elend ferus edlend

27 
beithi luis fernn soil ninn h dur tindi coll quert


muin gort ngedar straif ruis ailm onn ur edad


idad ea oi ui ia æ

⁴⁶ The ogam-names in no. 27 are virtually the same as those in Meroney's IIb (see Table 20-12). Those in no. 26 are all vegetal names, except *midiu*.

Table 21 (a): The vegetal names in the ogam-name lists: the consonants

The sigla McM refer to passages in manuscripts listed in Table 3B, which McManus used in his 1988 study and are summarized in Table 20-2 to 11.

The sigla Mer are those of Meroney (1949: 21–3), as listed in Table 3C; I Ib is the list from *The Book of Ogams* given in Table 20-12;

Ia and Ib are unglossed lists 27 and 26 from *The Book of Ballymote*, fol. 312, given in Table 20-13.

Acrophonic vegetal names (i.e. those with the same initial as the ogam character) are italicized.⁴⁷ Vegetal names used as ogam-names are marked #.

Acrophonic vegetal names introduced as glosses only in I Ib, and promoted to actual ogam-names in Ib, are indicated in bold print.

A dash means that no recognizable vegetal name is present, either as an ogam-name or as a gloss.

Sigla McM:	-	A4,5	A2,6	B2,4	C1,2	A1,3,7	B1,3,5	-	-	-	
Sigla Mer:	Ia	IV	III	β2	γ	α'	β'	I Ib		Ib	
B	<i>bethi#</i>	<i>beithe#</i>	<i>beithe#</i> cos, barr	<i>beithe#</i> cainnen	<i>beithe#</i>	<i>beithi#</i>	<i>beithi#</i>	<i>bethi#</i>	birch	<i>beithi#</i>	birch
L	-	cairtheand	<i>leamh</i> gius	<i>leamh</i> gius	<i>leamh</i>	caerthenn	<i>lem</i>	<i>lemh</i>	elm	<i>leam#</i>	elm
F	<i>fernn#</i>	<i>fernd#</i>	<i>fern#</i>	<i>fern#</i>	<i>fern#</i>	<i>fern#</i>	<i>fernn#</i>	<i>fearn#</i>	alder	<i>fernn#</i>	alder
S	<i>soil#</i>	<i>sail#</i>	<i>sail#</i>	<i>sail#</i>	<i>sail#</i>	<i>sail#</i>	<i>sail#</i>	<i>sail#</i>	willow	<i>sail#</i>	willow
N	-	uinsind	-	-	-	-	-	<i>nenaid</i>	nettle	<i>nendait#</i>	nettle
H	-	<i>sce</i>	<i>scei</i>	<i>scei</i>	-	<i>sce</i>	-	<i>sce</i>	whitethorn	<i>sge#</i>	whitethorn
D	<i>dur#</i>	<i>dair#</i>	<i>dair#</i>	<i>dair#</i>	<i>dair#</i>	<i>dur#</i>	<i>dair#</i>	<i>dair#</i>	oak	<i>dair#</i>	oak
T	-	cuilean	cuilenn	-	-	cuillend	cuillenn	quulend, <i>trom</i>	holly elder,	<i>trom#</i>	elder
C	<i>coll#</i>	<i>coll#</i>	<i>cno</i>	<i>coll#</i>	<i>cno</i>	<i>coll#</i>	<i>coll#</i>	<i>coll#</i>	hazel	<i>coll#</i>	hazel
Q	-	abhull	-	-	-	-	-	<i>quulend</i> , cairthen, critach	holly, quicken, aspen	<i>quilenn#</i>	holly
M	-	finemain	finemain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	-	edeand	edhend edlenn	-	-	-	-	<i>gius</i>	fir	<i>gius#</i>	fir
GG	-	<i>gilcach</i> rait	<i>gilcach</i>	<i>gilccach</i>	-	<i>gilcach</i> rait, raith	-	<i>gilcach</i>	broom	<i>gilcach#</i>	broom
St	-	draighen	draighen	draighen	-	-	-	<i>saildrong</i>	willowbrake	<i>saildrong#</i>	willowbrake
R	-	trom	tene truim cairthenn	trom, cairthenn	-	-	<i>sug in rois</i>	[missing]		<i>rait#</i>	bog-myrtle

⁴⁷ The names *sge*, *sce*, etc., are counted as acrophonic for H.

Table 21 (b): The vegetal names in the ogam-name lists: the vowels and diphthongs

The sigla McM refer to passages in manuscripts listed in Table 3B, which McManus used in his 1988 study and are summarized in Table 20-2 to 11.

The sigla Mer are those of Meroney (1949: 21–3), as listed in Table 3C; I Ib is the list from *The Book of Ogams* given in Table 20-12;

Ia and Ib are unglossed lists 27 and 26 from *The Book of Ballymote*, fol. 312, given in Table 20-13.

Acrophonic vegetal names (i.e. those with the same initial as the ogam character) are italicized. Vegetal names used as ogam-names are marked #.⁴⁸

Acrophonic vegetal names introduced as glosses only in I Ib, and promoted to actual ogam-names in Ib, are indicated in bold print.

A dash means that no recognizable vegetal name is present, either as an ogam-name or as a gloss.

Sigla McM:	-	A4,5	A2,6	B2,4	C1,2	A1,3,7	B1,3,5	-	-
Sigla Mer:	Ia	IV	III	β2	γ	α'	β'	I Ib	Ib
A	<i>ailm#</i>	<i>ailm#</i> feirrdris, crand giuis, ochtach	<i>ailm#</i> ferdris	<i>ailm#</i>	<i>ailm#</i>	<i>ailm#</i>	<i>ailm#</i>	[missing]	<i>aball#</i> apple
O	-	aiten	aiten	aitend	fraech	aiten	-	aiten, uiniús	<i>unius#</i> ash
U	-	fraech	fraech	-	-	-	-	draighen	<i>draigin#</i> blackthorn
E	<i>edhadh</i>	critach crand fir	idadh?	-	-	critach	<i>edadh</i>	<i>eu, edad</i>	[missing]
I	<i>idad</i>	<i>ibhar</i>	<i>ibhar</i>	<i>ibhar</i>	-	<i>ibar</i>	<i>ibar</i>	<i>ibhar, ida</i>	<i>ibor#</i> yew
Ea	-	critach	critach	-	-	-	elenn	<i>elend</i>	<i>elend#</i> elecampane
Oi	-	feorus, edind	feirius	-	-	-	-	feorus	<i>ferus#</i> spindle-tree
Ui	-	edleand	elann	eilend	-	edlenn	edlenn	<i>edlend</i>	<i>edlend#</i> honeysuckle
Io	-	spinan, spin	spin	spin	-	<i>pin#</i>	<i>pin#</i>	<i>pin</i>	[missing]
Ae	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[missing]

⁴⁸ The name *pin* is counted as acrophonic, since the character may represent [p]. It is not clear whether the *edad(h)* and *ida(dh)* names are actually vegetal. The gloss on *edad* in A2,6 contains the name *idadh*, which may be a form of *idath* = (*f*)*idath*, while the gloss on *edadh* in B1,3,5 contains the phrase *edadh isin caill* [*edadh* (?) in the wood].

**Table 22 (a): Comparison of the tree-lists in the
Auraicept (Aur.) and *Bretha Comaithchesa* (BC1 and BC2)**

The contents of the BC1 and BC2 lists are almost identical, but the order is slightly different.

The *Aur.* translations are from Calder (1917) and the BC translations from Kelly (1976).

The italicized items are those commented on in §1.4.5.

	List from <i>Aur.</i> 1150-1157	List from <i>Aur.</i> 4247-4252	<i>Aur.</i> , Calder's translation	List from BC1	BC1, Kelly's translation	List from BC2	BC2, Kelly's translation
A	Airigh fedha dur coll cuileand	Aire fedha dair coull cuillend	Chieftain trees oak hazel holly	Airig fedho daur coll cuillenn	Chieftain trees oak hazel holly	Airig fedho daur coll cuillenn	Chieftain trees oak hazel holly
	<i>abhull</i>	<i>aball</i>	<i>apple</i>	<i>ibar</i>	<i>yew</i>	<i>aball</i>	<i>wild apple</i>
	uindsiu	uindis	ash	uindes	ash	uinnes	ash
	<i>ibur</i> <i>gius</i>	<i>ibor</i> <i>gius</i>	<i>yew</i> <i>fir</i>	<i>ochtach</i> <i>aball</i>	<i>Scots pine?</i> <i>wild apple</i>	<i>hibur</i> <i>ochtach</i>	<i>yew</i> <i>Scots pine?</i>
	B	Aithig fedha	Peasant trees	Aithig fedo	Peasant trees	Aithig fedo	Peasant trees
B	fern sail bethi lemh	fern sail bethe lem	alder willow birch elm	fern sail <i>scé(i)th</i> <i>caerthann</i>	alder willow <i>whitethorn</i> <i>rowan</i>	fern sail beithe lem	alder willow birch elm
	<i>sce</i> <i>crithach</i> <i>caerthand</i>	<i>sce</i> <i>caorthand</i> <i>crithouch</i>	<i>whitethorn</i> <i>aspen/rowan</i> <i>rowan/aspen</i>	beithe lem <i>idath</i>	birch elm <i>wild cherry?</i>	<i>critach</i> <i>hida</i> <i>caerthann</i>	<i>aspen</i> <i>wild cherry?</i> <i>rowan</i>
	C	[No heading]	Shrub trees	Fodla fedho	Shrub trees	Fodla fedho	Shrub trees
	draighen trom feorus crand fir	droigen trom feorus crand fir	blackthorn elder spindle-tree test-tree	draigen trom féorus finncholl	blackthorn elder spindle-tree whitebeam?	<i>sci</i> draigen trom féorus crann fir	<i>whitethorn</i> blackthorn elder spindle-tree juniper?
	<i>fedlend</i> <i>fidhath</i> finncholl	<i>feithlend</i> <i>fidhout</i> fiondcoull	<i>honeysuckle</i> <i>bird-cherry</i> white hazel	<i>caitne</i> <i>critach</i> crann fir	<i>arbutus</i> <i>aspen</i> juniper?	<i>eidlenn</i> finncholl	<i>honeysuckle</i> whitebeam?
D	Lossa feudha aitean fraech gilcach raid	Lousa feudha aitend fraoch gilcach rait	Herb trees furze heather broom/reed bog-myrtle	Losa feudo <i>raith</i> rait aitend dris	Herb trees <i>bracken</i> bog-myrtle furze bramble	Losa feudo dris aiten fraech spin gilcach rait	Herb trees bramble furze heather wild rose? broom?/reed bog-myrtle
	<i>locla</i>	<i>eidhend</i>	<i>ivy</i>	fraech, <i>eidend</i>	heather, <i>ivy</i>	gilcach	broom?/reed
	[missing]	driss	bramble	gilcach	broom?/reed	rait	bog-myrtle
	[missing]	spin	gooseberry?	spin	wild rose?	<i>locla</i>	<i>rushes ?</i>

Table 22 (b): The deployment of vegetal names from the tree-lists in the ogam-name lists

The sigla are as in Tables 20 and 21

Inclusion of an entry under a particular siglum indicates that a vegetal name from the tree-list is either used as the actual ogam-name (entry in bold) or employed in the gloss on the name (not bold).

The tree-list is from *Aur.* 4247–52, but with the *aithig fedha* placed before the *aire fedha*.

In other tree-lists, the spelling and the order of the trees are slightly different.

List from <i>Aur.</i> 4247–52	Calder's translation	Ib	IIb	A4,5 IV	A2,6 III	B2,4 β2	C1,2 γ	A1,3,7 α'	B1,3,5 β'
Aithig fedha	Peasant trees								
fern	alder	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
sail	willow	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
bethe	birch	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
lem	elm	L	L	-	L	L	L	-	L
sceu	whitethorn	H	H	H	H	H	-	H	-
caorthand	rowan	-	Q	L	-	R	-	L	-
crithouch	aspen	-	Q	E, Ea	Ea	-	-	E	-
Aire fedha	Chieftain trees								
dair	oak	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
coull	hazel	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
cuillend	holly	Q	Q, T	T	T	-	-	T	-
aball	apple	A	-	Q	-	-	-	-	-
uindis	ash	O	O	N	-	-	-	-	-
ibor	yew	I	I	I	I	I	-	I	I
gius	fir	G	G	A	-	L	-	-	-
[Fodha fedha]	Shrub trees								
droigen	blackthorn	U	U	St	St	St	-	-	-
trom	elder	T	T	R	R	R	-	-	-
feorus	spindle-tree	Oi	Oi	Oi	Oi	-	-	-	-
crand fir	test-tree	-	H	E	Ui	Ui	-	Ui	Ui
(f)eithlend	honeysuckle	Ui	Ui	Ui	G	-	-	-	Ui
(f)idhout	bird-cherry	-	-	-	E	-	-	-	-
fiondcoull	white hazel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lousa feudha	Herb trees								
aitend	furze	-	O	O	O	-	-	O	-
fraoch	heather	-	-	U	U	O	-	-	-
gilcach	broom/reed	GG	GG	GG	GG	-	-	GG	-
rait	bog-myrtle/fern	R	-	GG	-	-	-	GG	-
eidhend	ivy	-	-	G	G	-	-	-	-
driss	bramble	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	-
spin	gooseberry?	-	-	Pin	Pin	-	-	-	-

**Table 23 (a): The tree-list in *The Book of Ogams* (Aur. 5492–8)
(Calder's transcription and translation)**

Cis lir aicme ogaim? Ni ansa.

A iii .i. viii n-airigh fedha, 7 viii n-athaigh, 7 viii fidlosa.

Ocht n-airigh .i. cetus: — fernn, dur, coll, muin, gort, straif, onn, or.

Ocht n-aithaig .i. bethi, luis, sail, nin, huath, tinne, quert.

At chuit a feda is athaig feda fidlosa olchena.

How many groups of Ogham? Not hard.

Three, viz., eight chieftain trees, eight peasant trees, and eight shrub trees.

Eight chieftain trees first: — alder, oak, hazel, vine, ivy, sloe, furze, heath.

Eight peasant trees, viz., birch, quicken tree, willow, ash, whitethorn, whin, apple tree.

As to their letters all other shrubs are peasant trees.

Table 23 (b): The tree-list in *The Book of Ogams* related to the ogam order of characters

Ogam characters in ogam order	Tree-list in <i>The Book of Ogams</i> <i>airig fedha</i> (Group A)	<i>aithaig fedha</i> (Group B)
B	bethi	
L	luis	
F	fernn	
S		sail
N		nin
H		huath
D	dur	
T		tinne
C	coll	
CC (Q)		quert
M	muin	
G	gort	
GG (nG)		
St (Z)	straif	
R		
A		
O	onn	
U		
E		
I		
Ea		
Oi	oir	
Ui		
Io		
Ae		

Table 24 (a): Distribution of vegetal names in the ogam-name lists:
Names used either as actual ogam-names or in the glosses⁴⁹ Acrophonic names are italicized.

Sigla McM:	-	-	A4,5	A2,6	B2,4	A1,3,7	B1,3,5
Sigla Mer:	Ib	Ib	IV	III	β2	α'	β'
Tree-names used as acrophonic ogam-names in the majority of traditions⁵⁰							
B	<i>beithi</i>	<i>bethi</i>	<i>beithe</i>	-	-	<i>beithi</i>	<i>beithi</i>
F	<i>fern</i>	<i>fearn</i>	<i>fernd</i>	-	-	<i>fern</i>	<i>fern</i>
S	<i>sail</i>	<i>sail</i>	<i>sail</i>	-	(<i>blath soilech</i>)	<i>sail</i>	<i>sail</i>
D	<i>dair</i>	<i>dair</i>	<i>dair</i>	(<i>dair</i>)	(<i>dair</i>)	<i>dur</i>	<i>dair</i>
C	<i>coll</i>	<i>coll</i>	<i>coll</i>	(<i>cno</i>)	(<i>coll</i>)	<i>coll</i>	<i>coll</i>
Tree-names used as acrophonic ogam-names in Ib and in glosses in Ib and other traditions							
I	<i>ibur</i>	<i>ibhar</i>	<i>ibhar</i>	<i>ibhar</i>	<i>ibhar</i>	<i>ibar</i>	<i>ibar</i>
L	<i>leam</i>	<i>lemh</i>	<i>cairtheand</i>	<i>leamh</i>	<i>leamh</i>	<i>caerthenn</i>	<i>lem</i>
H	<i>sge</i>	<i>sce</i> , crann fir	<i>sce</i>	<i>scei</i>	<i>scei</i>	<i>sce</i>	-
GG	<i>gilcach</i>	<i>gilcach</i>	<i>gilcach</i> , rait	<i>gilcach</i>	<i>gilccach</i>	<i>gilcach</i> rait, raith	-
Tree-names used as acrophonic ogam-names in Ib and in glosses in Ib but not in other traditions							
G	<i>gius</i>	<i>gius</i>	<i>edeand</i>	<i>edhend</i>	-	-	-
A	<i>aball</i>	-	<i>feirrdris</i> , <i>crand giuis</i> , <i>ochtach</i>	<i>edlenn</i> <i>ferdris</i>	-	-	-
N	<i>nendait</i>	<i>nenaid</i>	<i>uinsind</i>	-	-	<i>ochtach</i> <i>uindsind</i>	-
Q	<i>quillenn</i>	<i>quulend</i> , <i>cairthen</i> , <i>critach</i>	<i>abhull</i>	-	-	-	-
T	<i>trom</i>	<i>trom</i> , <i>quulend</i>	<i>cuilean</i>	<i>cuilenn</i>	-	<i>cuillend</i>	<i>cuillenn</i>
R	<i>rait</i>	-	<i>trom</i>	<i>tene truim</i> <i>cairthenn</i>	<i>trom</i> , (<i>cairthenn</i>)	-	<i>sug in rois</i>
St	<i>saildrong</i>	<i>saildrong</i>	<i>draighen</i>	<i>draighen</i>	<i>draighen</i>	-	-
E	-	<i>eu</i>	<i>critach</i>	<i>idadh?</i>	-	<i>critach</i>	<i>edadh?</i>
Ea	<i>elann</i>	<i>elend</i>	<i>crand fir</i> <i>critach</i>	<i>critach</i>	-	-	<i>elenn</i>
G	<i>gius</i>	<i>gius</i>	<i>edeand</i>	<i>edhend</i>	-	-	-
Io	-	<i>pin</i>	<i>spinan</i> , <i>spin</i>	<i>spin</i>	<i>spin</i>	<i>pin</i>	<i>pin</i>

⁴⁹ The C1,2 end-lists are excluded from this survey. They only include the ogam-name *sail*, acrophonic *leamh* and *cno*, and non-acrophonic *fraech* in glosses.

⁵⁰ The A2,6 and B2,4 end-lists do not give ogam-names as such. Both give *da(u)ir* in the D gloss; B2,4 give *coll* and (*blath*) *soilech* in glosses. A2,6 give *cno* in the gloss.

**Table 24 (b): Distribution of vegetal names in the ogam-name lists:
shifts in the distribution of certain names in the glosses.**
(The shifted names are in bold print.)

Sigla McM: Sigla Mer:	- Ib	- IIb	A4,5 IV	A2,6 III	B2,4 β ₂	A1,3,7 α'	B1,3,5 β'
Shifts in the distribution of <i>uinius</i>							
N O	nendait uinius	nenaid uinius	uinsind	-	-	uindsind	-
Shifts in the distribution of <i>draigen</i>							
St U	saildrong draigen	saildrong draighen	draighen fraech	draighen fraech	draighen -	- -	- -
Shifts in the distribution of <i>critach</i>, <i>crann fir</i>, <i>edlenn</i>, <i>elann</i>, <i>caerthen</i>, <i>gius</i>, <i>cuillenn</i>, <i>trom</i> and <i>rait</i>							
H	<i>sge</i>	<i>sce</i> , crann fir	<i>sce</i>	<i>scei</i>	<i>scei</i>	<i>sce</i>	-
E	-	eu	critach crand fir	idadh?	-	critach	edadh?
Ea Ui	elann edlenn	elend edlend	critach edleand	critach elenn crann fir	- eilend crann fir	- edlenn	elenn edlenn
Oi	ferus	feorus	feorus, edind (A4), edlend (A5)	feirius	-	-	-
G	gius	gius	edeand	edhend edlenn	-	-	-
L	leam	lemh	cairtheand	leamh gius	leamh gius	caerthenn	lem
Q	quillenn	quulend , cairthen , critach	abhull	-	-	-	-
T	trom	trom , quulend	cuilean	cuillenn	-	cuillend	cuillenn
R	rait	-	trom teine truim	tene truim cairthenn	trom , cairthenn	-	sug in rois
GG	gilcach	gilcach	gilcach, rait	gilcach	gilccach	gilcach rait, raith	-

Table 25 (a): Summary of texts on (*h*)úath, the *foilchesta* and the *forfeda* in the *Auraicept na nÉces* and the tract *De Dúilib Feda na Fored la Fíledaib*

The *Auraicept* line numbers are those given by Calder (1917).

Lines 1–2259 are from the version in the *Book of Ballymote*, lines 2260–5416 from that in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*. (Calder's collations have been slightly emended.)

The *De Dúilib feda* text is cited by Calder (lines 5417–63) from both the *Book of Leinster* and the *Book of Ballymote*.

The Roman numerals refer to the four books over which the texts are distributed in the *Auraicept* tract:

I, attributed to Cenn Faelad, II to Ferchertne, III to Amergen, IV to Fenius (see Calder 1917: xxvi).

(*H*)úath

- | | | |
|-----------------|----|--|
| 432–35/2879–91 | I | Use of H for aspiration (<i>tinfedh</i>) of B to give P; H is classed as a <i>fuilled</i> like <i>forsail</i> and <i>arnin</i> .
At 2884–85 Priscian is cited: <i>ambo pro ampo, buscus pro puxus</i> . |
| 765–70/4545–49 | II | H marks aspiration (<i>tinfedh</i>), is not a letter; no examples given |
| 1228–31/4545–49 | IV | H marks aspiration (<i>tinfedh</i>); examples are <i>bracht</i> , <i>tracht</i> and <i>drucht</i> , which are said to contain five letters only; H not being a letter. |
| 1264–67/4322–34 | IV | Use of H to mark lenition (<i>sémigud</i>) of final and initial consonants. |

The *foilchesta*

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----|---|
| 428–44/2873–902 | I | the three <i>foilchesta</i> are listed beside the <i>fuilti</i> (see remark on <i>húath</i> , above); for a <i>c</i> before <i>u</i> a <i>ceirt</i> is to be chosen, for <i>g</i> after <i>n</i> a <i>gedal</i> , and for <i>s</i> before <i>d</i> a <i>straiph</i> .
At 2895 and 2898 the examples for <i>c/q</i> and <i>ng</i> , <i>cuing/quiring</i> and <i>uinge</i> , include the <i>forfid</i> sign for <i>ui</i> (see 1285–90 below). |
| 1078–80/4011–7 | III | <i>géal</i> is the only one of the <i>foilchesta</i> , along with the last three of the <i>forfeda</i> , cited as signs for complex sounds for which Latin does not have single signs. |
| 1285–90 | IV | NG (not named) is again the only one of the <i>foilchesta</i> cited as signs for complex sounds for which Latin does not have single signs; the examples are the same as at 2895 and 2898, but <i>uinge</i> is spelled <i>unge</i> , with a regular <i>u</i> . |

The *forfeda*

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----|--|
| 255–60/2565–70 | I | five vowels extended to seven by first two <i>forfeda</i> : <i>ea</i> , <i>oi</i> . |
| 951–2 | II | the vowels and <i>forfeda</i> signs (no values). |
| 3938–0 | II | the <i>forfeda</i> are mentioned as a group (no signs or values). |
| 1055–7 | III | <i>forfeda</i> as examples of sounds for which no signs are found outside Gaelic. |
| 1078–80/401–17 | III | <i>uillen</i> , <i>iphin</i> and <i>emancoll</i> are cited, along with <i>géal</i> , as signs for complex sounds for which Latin does not have single signs. |
| 1138/4229 | IV | complete <i>beithe-luis-nin</i> , with the <i>forfeda</i> transcribed as <i>ea oi ui io æ</i> . |
| 1139–46 | IV | seven vowels, said to have been by some to ten; all the <i>forfeda</i> are given as long vowels. |
| 4239–42 | IV | only seven vowels are given the two <i>forfeda</i> transcribed as <i>ea oi</i> . |
| 1285–301/4387–419 | IV | contrasts uses of <i>ebad</i> , <i>edad</i> , <i>emancoll</i> , <i>iphin</i> and <i>idad</i> . the passage at 4387–4419 is the more expansive. |
| 1359–66/4501–07 | IV | the development of the <i>forfeda</i> according to the <i>Auraicept Muman</i> (for details, see text below). |
| 1367–74/4420–30 | IV | alternative explanation of the <i>forfeda</i> : <i>ebad</i> and <i>oir</i> as long vowels, <i>uillen</i> as <i>y</i> or medial <i>u</i> , <i>phin</i> as <i>p</i> or medial <i>i</i> , and <i>emancoll</i> as <i>x</i> . |

Table 25 (b): The *Auraicept Muman* [Munster *Auraicept*] versions of the *forfedha*

The two versions of the text of the *Auraicept Muman* recorded at *Aur.* 1361–6 (from the *Book of Ballymote*) and 4503–06 (from the *Yellow Book of Lecan*), as given by Calder, differ significantly. The version at *Aur.* 1361–6 is translated by Calder but is confusing. The version at *Aur.* 4503–06 is not translated by Calder but makes better sense. Comparison of the two texts reveals that several phrases and clauses have been transposed in the *Book of Ballymote* version. Below, the *Yellow Book of Lecan* text has been provided with a translation and is taken as a basis for the numbering of phrases and clauses. The word *fedha* is not translated, because it appears to be used ambivalently for both ‘vowel’ and ‘letter’ in general.

Yellow Book of Lecan: Aur. 4503–06

1) Na cuig fedha cétumus:	The five <i>fedha</i> first;
2) ag fregra dona cuig guthaigib tuc na secht fedha	in response to the five vowels he gave the seven <i>fedha</i> ,
3) fregra dona defograiph tuc .i. ea oi:	as a response to the diphthongs he gave, that is, <i>ea oi</i> ;
4) na x feudha iphin ar defougur ata	the ten <i>fedha</i> : <i>iphin</i> stands for a diphthong,
5) emhancoull ar x	<i>emancoll</i> stands for <i>x</i> ,
6) no ar emnad ata	or for a doubling,
7) pin ar p,	<i>pin</i> for <i>p</i> ,
8) conid x samlaidh.	There thus being ten.

Book of Ballymote: Aur. 1361–66

1) Na coic fedha cetamus:	The five <i>fedha</i> first;
2) ic fecra duna coic guthaigib tug na secht fedha immorro:	in response to the five vowels he gave the seven <i>fedha</i> , however.
4) Na deich fedha immorro .i. iphin ar defoghur ata:	The ten <i>fedha</i> , however, that is, <i>iphin</i> stands for a diphthong;
6) emoncoll ar a n-emnaidi ata	<i>emancoll</i> stands for the doubling,
8) intan sin condar a deich samlaid.	so that there are thus ten of them.
7) Pin immorro ar p ata	<i>Pin</i> , however, stands for <i>p</i>
5) 7 amancoll ar x ata	and <i>emancoll</i> stands for <i>x</i> ,
9) conid a seacht samlaid.	there thus being seven of them.

Table 26: Chronological framework within which ogam was created and ogam-names were initially coined⁵¹

Date	Irish language developments	Developments in ogam (estimates)	Relevant concomitant events
300	Primitive Irish	Creation of ogam signary	330–95 Ausonius 374–97 Ambrose on Psalm 118 Pelagianism in Britain and Gaul 384 Jerome's <i>Romanum</i> 392 <i>Gallicanum</i> 400 <i>Hebraicum</i>
400			First manuscripts in Ireland 431 Palladius to Ireland 432–61 Patrick et al. in Ireland (or ? 456–90 ?)
500	Metaphony, lenition, palatalizations 1 & 2 (not marked in ogam) Apocope Archaic Irish	Main period of epigraphic inscriptions in Ireland	Déisi to Wales Missions to Ireland from Wales Monasticism in Ireland
600	/k ^w / > //k/; /g ^w / > /g/ Syncope, palatalization 3 /w/ > /f/		563 Columcille to Iona (d. 597) 597 Augustine to Kent c. 600 <i>Cathach</i> psalter 613 Columbanus at Bobbio Bobbio gospels 636 Isidore dies 633–64 Irish bishops in Northumbria 664 Whitby: Colman returns to Ireland with Irish & Anglo-Saxon monks. 668 Theodore and Hadrian to Canterbury. <i>Book of Durrow</i> <i>Book of Lindisfarne</i>
700	Early Old Irish	Decline of epigraphic ogam	
		Ogam begin to appear in manuscripts	
800	Classical Old Irish	Ogam in Bern 207	795 Vikings raid Iona. 806 Cellach flees Iona. 837 Vikings on the Boyne.

⁵¹ No exact dating is implied. The language features named are intended as markers of transition; see Greene 1973: 127–36, and the references given there, particularly for a treatment of palatalization. Estimates of the dating of ogam developments are based on McManus 1991.

Rune-names

Table 27 (a): Rune-names in manuscripts containing English *fuporcs* without the *isruna* tract

The order of rune-names in the St John's College manuscript does not reflect the order given in the manuscript but has been re-arranged in this table for ease of comparison. The same applies to the names given in all the manuscripts at the end of the *fuporcs*. Also, apart from the names listed here as nos 25 to 30, the names of a number of extra runes have been omitted; these are discussed in the text.

Date	Manuscript	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
ix ⁱⁿ /x	Vienna 795	<i>fech</i> <i>f</i>	<i>ur</i> <i>v</i>	<i>ðorn</i> <i>ð</i>	<i>os</i> <i>o</i>	<i>ra(e)da</i> <i>r</i>	<i>cen</i> <i>c</i>	<i>geofu</i> <i>g</i>	<i>uyn</i> <i>uu</i>	<i>haegil</i> <i>h</i>	<i>naed</i> <i>n</i>	<i>ís</i> <i>i</i>	<i>gaer</i> <i>gg</i>	<i>ih</i> <i>i&h</i>	<i>peord</i> <i>p</i>	<i>ilcs</i> <i>l&x</i>
?x/xi	*Cotton Otho B. x (A-S <i>Rune Poem</i>)	<i>feoh</i> <i>f</i>	<i>ur</i> <i>u</i>	<i>ðorn</i> <i>ð</i>	<i>os</i> <i>o</i>	<i>rad</i> <i>r</i>	<i>cen</i> <i>c</i>	<i>gyfu</i> <i>g</i>	<i>wen</i> <i>uu</i>	<i>hægl</i> <i>h</i>	<i>nyd</i> <i>n</i>	<i>is</i> <i>i</i>	<i>ger</i> <i>g</i>	<i>eoh</i> <i>eo</i>	<i>peorð</i> <i>p</i>	<i>eolhx</i> <i>x</i>
xi	BL Cotton Domitian A. ix	<i>feoh</i> <i>f</i>	<i>ur</i> <i>u</i>	<i>ðorn</i> <i>ð</i>	<i>os</i> <i>o</i>	<i>rad</i> <i>r</i>	<i>cen</i> <i>c</i>	<i>gyfu</i> <i>g</i>	<i>wen</i> <i>uu</i>	<i>hegel</i> <i>h</i>	<i>neað</i> <i>n</i>	<i>inc</i> <i>i</i>	<i>gear</i> <i>g</i>	<i>sigel</i> <i>eo</i>	<i>perð</i> <i>p</i>	- <i>x</i>
xi	Brussels. 9311–9319	<i>fech</i> <i>f</i>	<i>ur</i> <i>u</i>	<i>thorn</i> <i>th</i>	<i>os</i> <i>o</i>	<i>rad</i> <i>r</i>	<i>ken</i> <i>c</i>	<i>geuo</i> <i>g</i>	<i>uung</i> <i>uu</i>	<i>[h]agal</i> <i>h</i>	<i>not</i> <i>n</i>	<i>ís</i> <i>i</i>	<i>ier</i> <i>ger</i>	<i>inc</i> <i>ih</i>	<i>pert</i> <i>p</i>	<i>ilix</i> <i>il</i>
?xi	Codex Isidori Parisiens	<i>fech</i> <i>f</i>	<i>ur</i> <i>u</i>	<i>than</i> <i>th</i>	<i>os</i> <i>o</i>	<i>r d</i> <i>r</i>	<i>ken</i> <i>c</i>	<i>geuo</i> <i>gi</i>	<i>uung</i> <i>uu</i>	<i>agall</i> <i>h</i>	<i>n t</i> <i>n</i>	<i>ís</i> <i>i</i>	<i>ier</i> <i>ger</i>	<i>inc</i> <i>ih</i>	<i>per</i> <i>p</i>	<i>ilix</i> <i>il</i>
?xi/xii	*Cotton Galba A. ii	<i>feoh</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>þorn</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>rad</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>gyfu</i>	<i>wyn</i>	<i>hegil</i>	<i>ned</i>	<i>ís</i>	<i>gyr</i>	<i>eth</i>	<i>peo ih</i>	<i>eolhx</i>
xi ^{ex} /xii ⁱⁿ	Oxford St John's 17	<i>feh</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>þorn</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>rad</i>	<i>coen/ cen</i>	<i>geofu/ gyfu</i>	-	<i>hægil</i>	<i>ned</i>	<i>ís</i>	<i>(geofu)</i>	<i>(hægel)</i>	<i>peorð</i>	<i>ilx</i>

Date	Manuscript	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
ix ⁱⁿ /x	Vienna 795	<i>sigil</i> <i>s</i>	<i>tir</i> <i>t</i>	<i>berc</i> <i>b</i>	<i>eh</i> <i>e</i>	<i>mon</i> <i>m</i>	<i>lagu</i> <i>l</i>	<i>lug</i> <i>n&g</i>	<i>daeg</i> <i>d</i>	<i>ædil</i> <i>oe</i>	<i>ac</i> <i>a</i>	<i>aes</i> <i>ae</i>	<i>yr</i> <i>y</i>	<i>eor</i> <i>ear</i>	-	-
?x/xi	*Cotton Otho B. x (A-S <i>Rune Poem</i>)	<i>sigel</i> <i>s</i>	<i>tir</i> <i>t</i>	<i>beorc</i> <i>b</i>	<i>eh</i> <i>e</i>	<i>man</i> <i>m(d)</i>	<i>lagu</i> <i>l</i>	<i>ing</i> <i>ing</i>	<i>epel</i> <i>oe</i>	<i>dæg</i> <i>d</i>	<i>ac</i> <i>a</i>	<i>æsc</i> <i>æ</i>	<i>yr</i> <i>y</i>	<i>ear</i> <i>ear(tir)</i>	<i>iar</i> <i>io</i>	<i>cweorð</i> <i>q</i>
xi	BL Cotton Domitian A. ix	<i>sig</i> <i>s</i>	<i>tir</i> <i>t</i>	<i>berc</i> <i>b</i>	<i>eh</i> <i>e</i>	<i>deg</i> <i>m(d)</i>	<i>lagu</i> <i>l</i>	<i>inc</i> <i>ing</i>	<i>mann</i> <i>d(m)</i>	<i>pro</i> <i>oe</i>	<i>ac</i> <i>a</i>	<i>æsc</i> <i>æ</i>	<i>yr</i> <i>y</i>	<i>ear</i> <i>ear(tir)</i>	<i>iar</i> <i>io</i>	<i>cur/q</i> <i>cweorð</i>
xi	Brussels. 9311–9319	<i>sigil</i> <i>s</i>	<i>ti</i> <i>t</i>	<i>berc</i> <i>b</i>	<i>hec</i> <i>e</i>	<i>man</i> <i>m</i>	<i>lago</i> <i>l</i>	<i>hinc</i> <i>in</i>	<i>dag</i> <i>d</i>	<i>othil</i> <i>æ</i>	<i>ac</i> <i>a</i>	<i>æsc</i> <i>ae</i>	- <i>y</i>	<i>-r</i> <i>(eo)</i>	-	- <i>?eo</i>
?xi	Codex Isidori Parisiens	<i>sigel</i> <i>s</i>	<i>ti</i> <i>t</i>	<i>berc</i> <i>b</i>	<i>het</i> <i>e</i>	<i>man</i> <i>m</i>	<i>lag</i> <i>l</i>	<i>hinc</i> <i>-</i>	<i>dag</i> <i>d</i>	<i>odil</i> <i>oe</i>	<i>a</i> <i>a</i>	-	-	-	-	- <i>?cv</i>
?xi/xii	*Cotton Galba A. ii	<i>sigel</i>	<i>tir</i>	<i>beorc</i>	<i>eoh</i>	<i>dæg</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>ing</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>eðel</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>aesc</i>	<i>yr</i>	<i>ear</i>	<i>ior</i>	<i>querð</i>
xi ^{ex} /xii ⁱⁿ	Oxford St John's 17	<i>sigil/el</i>	<i>tyr</i>	<i>beorc</i>	<i>mech</i>	<i>ech</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>ing</i>	<i>dæg</i>	<i>oepel</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>aesc</i>	<i>yr</i>	<i>ear/ea</i>	-	<i>quar</i>

Table 27 (b): Rune-names in manuscripts containing English *fuporcs* with the *isruna* tract

The values are those of the majority of versions. The order of nos. 25 and 26 and the attribution of names differ from those of other *fuporcs*: the St Gall, Vatican and Trier versions put the ƿ-rune first with name *ac* and value *a*, followed by the ʀ-rune with name *asc* and value *aa*; the Brussels version reverses the order (see Derolez 1954: 129).

The order and attribution of names in the *fuporcs* in Table 27 (b) is: ʀ-rune with name *ac* and value *a*, followed by ƿ-rune with name *asc* and value *æ*.

Date	Manuscript	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
ix	St Gall, 270	<i>feh</i>	<i>uur</i>	<i>dorn</i>	<i>oos</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>gebo</i>	<i>huun</i>	<i>hagal</i>	<i>nod</i>	<i>iis</i>	<i>ger</i>	<i>ih</i>	<i>perd</i>	<i>elux</i>
ix ^{ex}	Brussels, 9565–9566	<i>feh</i>	<i>uur</i>	<i>dorn</i>	<i>oos</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>gebo</i>	<i>huun</i>	<i>hagal</i>	<i>nod</i>	<i>iis</i>	<i>ger</i>	<i>ih</i>	<i>perd</i>	<i>elox</i>
x ^{ex} /xi	Vatican, Urb. lat. 290	<i>feh</i>	<i>uur</i>	<i>dorn</i>	<i>eos</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>hun</i>	<i>hagal[.]</i>	<i>nod</i>	<i>iis</i>	? <i>gar</i>	?	?	? <i>elux</i>
xi/xii	Trier, R.III. 13	<i>feh</i>	<i>uur</i>	<i>dorn</i>	<i>cos</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>gebo</i>	<i>huun</i>	<i>hagal</i>	<i>nod</i>	<i>iis</i>	<i>ger</i>	<i>ih</i>	<i>perd</i>	<i>elux</i>
	<i>Isruna</i> values	<i>f</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>uu</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>x</i>

Date	Manuscript	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
ix	St Gall, 270	<i>sigi</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>berg</i>	<i>eh</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>lago</i>	<i>inc</i>	<i>tag</i>	<i>odil</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>asc</i>	-	<i>aer</i>	-	<i>yur</i>
ix ^{ex}	Brussels, 9565–9566	<i>sigi</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>berg</i>	<i>eh</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>lago</i>	<i>inc</i>	<i>tag</i>	<i>odil</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>ac</i>	-	<i>aer</i>	-	<i>yur</i>
x ^{ex} /xi	Vatican, Urb. lat. 290	<i>sigi</i>	<i>tu (?tii)</i>	<i>berh</i>	<i>ech</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>lago</i>	<i>[i]nc</i>	<i>tag</i>	<i>odil</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>asc</i>	-	<i>aer</i>	-	? <i>ru</i>
xi/xii	Trier, R.III. 13	<i>sigi</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>ber</i>	<i>eh</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>lago</i>	-	<i>tag</i>	<i>odil</i>	<i>hac</i>	<i>asc</i>	-	<i>aer</i>	-	<i>cur</i>
	<i>Isruna</i> values	<i>s</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>aa</i>	-	<i>z</i>	-	<i>q</i>

Table 28 (a): Rune-names in a selection of manuscripts and publications containing Scandinavian *fuparks*

Date	Manuscript	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	7 (9)	8 (10)	9 (11)	10 (12)	11 (16)	12 (17)	13 (18)	14 (20)	15 (21)	16 (?)
ix ^m	St Gall, 878 (<i>Abececlarium Nord.</i>)	<i>feu</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>thuris</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>chaon</i>	<i>hagal</i>	<i>naut</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>sol</i>	(<i>tiu</i>)	<i>brica</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>yr</i>
x (ix ⁱⁿ)	Leiden, Vossianus, lat. Q. 83 (in runic script)	<i>fiu</i>	<i>ur</i> <i>R</i>	<i>phurs</i>	<i>aus</i>	<i>ræiþu</i>	<i>kaun</i>	<i>hakal</i>	<i>naupR</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>sulu</i>	<i>tiuR</i>	<i>biærcan</i>	<i>manR</i>	<i>laukR</i>	<i>ir</i>
x (ix ⁱⁿ)	Leiden, Vossianus, lat. Q. 83 (in Latin script)	<i>fiu</i>	<i>urr</i>	<i>dhurs</i>	<i>aus</i>	<i>reidu</i>	<i>caun</i>	<i>hagal</i>	<i>naudr</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ae</i>	<i>soulu</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>biercan</i>	<i>manr</i>	<i>laucr</i>	<i>ir</i>
xi ^{ex} /xii ⁱⁿ	Oxford, St John's 17 (I)	<i>fe</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>þurs</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>reiðer</i>	<i>coun</i>	<i>hagol</i>	<i>nou</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>tiur</i>	<i>bercon</i>	<i>monr</i>	<i>laur</i>	--
xi ^{ex} /xii ⁱⁿ	Oxford, St John's 17 (II)	<i>fe</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>þors</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>reð</i>	<i>con</i>	<i>hagol</i>	<i>noð</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>tyr</i>	<i>beor</i>	<i>mander</i>	<i>loer</i>	<i>yr</i>
?xi/xii	*Cotton Galba A. ii	<i>fe</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>þors</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>reð</i>	<i>con</i>	<i>hagol</i>	<i>noð</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>tyr</i>	<i>beorc</i>	<i>mander</i>	<i>locr</i>	<i>yr</i>
1391	Dublin, RIA, 23P12/536, f. 314 (see Table 28 (b) below)	<i>fea</i> <i>f</i>	<i>ar</i> <i>a</i>	<i>turs</i> <i>t</i>	<i>or</i> <i>o</i>	<i>raid</i> <i>r</i>	<i>caun</i> <i>c</i>	<i>hagal</i> <i>h</i>	<i>naun</i> <i>n</i>	<i>isar</i> <i>i</i>		<i>sol</i> <i>p</i>	<i>diur</i> <i>d</i>	<i>b(an)ga(n)n</i> <i>b</i>	<i>ma(n)n</i> <i>m</i>	<i>la(n)gor</i> <i>l</i>	<i>eir</i> <i>e</i>
1539-58	AM 461 12mo (Icelandic rune-poem)	<i>fe</i>	<i>vr</i>	<i>þurs</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>reid</i>	<i>kaun</i>	<i>hagall</i>	<i>naud</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>sole[r]</i>	<i>tyr</i>	<i>biarka</i>	<i>madr</i>	<i>laugr</i>	--
1636 (?xiii)	Copy by Ole Worm (Norwegian rune-poem)	<i>fe</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>duß</i>	<i>oys</i>	<i>ridhr</i> <i>ð</i>	<i>kaun</i>	<i>hagl</i>	<i>naud</i>	<i>iss</i>	<i>aar</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>tyr</i>	<i>biarkan</i>	<i>madr</i>	<i>laugr</i>	<i>yr</i>
1651	Copy by Runólfur Jónsson (Norwegian rune -poem)	<i>fe</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>þuß</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>reid</i>	<i>kaun</i>	<i>hagl</i>	<i>nauð</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>tyr</i>	<i>bjarkan</i>	<i>maðr</i>	<i>løgur</i>	<i>yr</i>
1680	AM 738 4to (Norwegian rune-poem)	<i>fie</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>þuss</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>reið</i>	<i>kaun</i>	<i>hagall</i>	<i>naud</i>	<i>ys**</i>	<i>aar</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>tyr</i>	<i>biarkan</i>	<i>løgur*</i>	<i>madur*</i>	<i>yr</i>
1732/52	AM 413 fol., Jón Ólafsson (Norwegian rune-poem)	<i>fje</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>þurs</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>reið</i>	<i>kaun</i>	<i>hagall</i>	<i>nauð</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>sool</i>	<i>tyr</i>	<i>bjarkan</i>	<i>maðr</i>	<i>løgur</i>	<i>yr</i>

* The sequence of these two names is reversed.

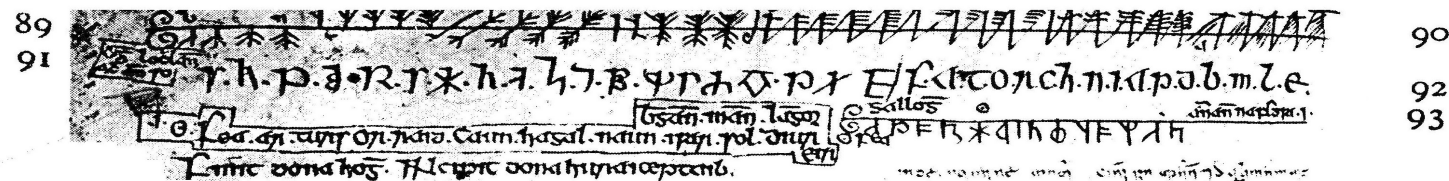
** The name *ys* comes last in this list.**Table 28 (b): The 'gallogam' (Viking *fupork*) names from the *Book of Ballymote*, Dublin RIA, 23P12/536, fol. 314, as reproduced by Calder (1917: 311–13)**No. 92 (? intended as values for no. 91): *f a t o r c h n i a p* (= *s*) *d b m l e*No. 93 (lefthand): *f e a r* (= *u r*) *t u r s* *o r* (= *o s*) *r a i d* *c a u n* *h a g a l* *n a u n* *i s a r* (= *i s a r*) *s o l* *d i u r* *b (a n) g a (n) n* *m a (n) n* *l a (n) g o r* *e i r*

Table 29: Runic alphabets in manuscripts with rune-names, with and without the *De inventione* tract

Date	Manuscripts	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>
(a) Alphabets without the <i>De inventione</i> tract													
viii/ix	Berne, 207	<i>ach</i>	<i>berc</i>	<i>chen</i>	<i>dei</i>	<i>egch</i>	<i>fegc</i>	<i>gobo</i>	<i>hagil</i>	<i>ish</i>	<i>kalod</i>	<i>logo</i>	<i>man</i>
ix ^m	Vienna, 751	<i>asc</i>	<i>berc</i>	<i>can</i>	<i>donr</i>	<i>ehu</i>	<i>feli</i>	<i>gip</i>	<i>ha//gal</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ker</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>man</i>
ix	Munich, Clm. 19410	<i>ag.c(a)ar</i>	<i>beric</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>dai</i>	<i>eh</i>	<i>feh</i>	<i>geuo</i>	<i>heih</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ker</i>	<i>lago</i>	<i>man</i>
ix(xii)	Phillipps 3715	<i>ag</i>	<i>berch</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>derhu</i>	<i>eg</i>	<i>feu</i>	<i>geuue</i>	<i>he</i>	-	<i>cer</i>	<i>laf /</i>	<i>man</i>
x	Vatican, Reg.lat.338	<i>aac</i>	<i>berc</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>daeg</i>	<i>eeh</i>	<i>feh</i>	<i>geos</i>	<i>hegil</i>	<i>iis</i>	<i>calc</i>	<i>lago</i>	<i>moun</i>
xi ⁱ	Munich, Clm. 14436 (i)	<i>ac</i>	<i>berg</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>dorn</i>	<i>ear</i>	<i>feu</i>	<i>gebo</i>	<i>hagal</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>calc/ker/ki</i>	<i>lago</i>	<i>man</i>
xi ⁱ	Munich, Clm. 14436 (ii)	<i>asc (caar)</i>	<i>birca/birih</i>	<i>caon</i>	<i>doro</i>	<i>eor</i>	<i>feu</i>	<i>geuo</i>	<i>heil</i>	<i>ios</i>	<i>keir</i>	<i>lin</i>	<i>mén</i>
(b) Selection of names from alphabets with the <i>De inventione</i> tract; a detailed list of names is given in Table 30 (a)													
ix-xiii	For details of the manuscripts, see Table 30 (b)	<i>asc(h), aso, ase</i>	<i>biric(h), bira, birith, berith, birih⁵²</i>	<i>chen, chon, cheri, che, cen</i>	<i>thorn, thron, dhorn, drom, dhron</i>	<i>ech, eho, ehe, eth, [e]th</i>	<i>feh, fec, feh^c</i>	<i>gibu, gibul</i>	<i>hagal agalc, hagale, hegl, hagalc</i>	<i>his, is</i>	<i>gilch, gilc, gile, kilc, kalc, kale,ko^l74</i>	<i>lagu, lac, lago, laga</i>	<i>[m]an, mam</i>

Date	Manuscripts	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>z</i>
(a) Alphabets without the <i>De inventione</i> tract												
viii/ix	Berne, 207	<i>net</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>per</i>	<i>quello</i>	<i>ret</i>	<i>sigil</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>u[r]</i>	<i>[--]ch</i>	<i>uir</i>	<i>ear</i>
ix ^m	Vienna, 751	<i>n&</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>perd</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>sil</i>	<i>tir</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>eled</i>	<i>uyr</i>	-
ix	Munich, lat. 19410	<i>not</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>pert</i>	<i>quiran</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>suigil</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ilc</i>	<i>ian</i>	<i>zar</i>
ix(xii)	Phillipps, 3715	<i>net</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>perd</i>	<i>cui</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>sigil</i>	<i>tir</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>xen</i>	<i>uir</i>	-
x	Vatican, Reg.lat.338	<i>need</i>	<i>oos</i>	<i>pear</i>	<i>yymoth</i>	<i>raad</i>	<i>sigil</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ilih</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>[gear]</i>
xi ⁱ	Munich, lat.14436 (i)	<i>nod</i>	<i>odil</i>	<i>perd</i>	<i>qur</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>sigo</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>uur</i>	<i>elux</i>	<i>inc</i>	-
xi ⁱ	Munich, lat.14436 (ii)	<i>naut, net</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>pern</i>	<i>quor</i>	<i>tir</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>elx</i>	-	-
(b) Selection of names from alphabets with the <i>De inventione</i> tract; a detailed list of names is given in Table 30 (a)												
ix-xiii	For details of the manuscripts, see Table 30 (b)	<i>not, noth, nod</i>	<i>othil, otil, otel</i>	<i>perch, perc, pert</i>	<i>chon, chan</i>	<i>rehit, reiht, rehith</i>	<i>sugil, suhil, siugil, sigil</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>helach, halach, helah, helac, heluch, xelach</i>	<i>huyri, hurn, yri, huiyri, hyri, hu</i>	<i>ziu, zui, zia</i>

⁵² Lazius (1557) gives *byrith* for *b* and *chilch* for *k*. His version ends at *perc*, as does Vienna, National. Bibliothek, 1609, which Derolez (1954: 295–8) thinks was the manuscript he copied. Derolez (1954: 298) also says that Lazius gives *ac* for *a*, but in fact he gives *asc*.

Table 30 (a): Rune-names in runic alphabets in manuscripts containing the *De inventione* tract

(A re-working of the table in Derolez 1954: 361)

"Family":	<i>A</i>	<i>Ala</i>	<i>Ala</i>	<i>Ala</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Al(a)</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Bl</i>	<i>Bl</i>	<i>A2</i>	<i>A2</i>	<i>A2</i>	<i>B2</i>
Date:	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>xi/xii</i>	<i>xii</i>	<i>xi/xii</i>	<i>xiii</i>	1606	<i>ix</i>	<i>xi</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>xii</i>	<i>xii</i>	<i>xii</i>	<i>xv</i>
Manuscript	176	1609	1761	<i>H</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>Ba</i>	<i>G</i>	254	<i>U</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>N</i>	1010	<i>W</i>	<i>T</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>asch</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>aso</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>asc</i>	<i>ase</i>	<i>ase</i>	<i>asc</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>birich</i>	<i>birith</i>	<i>biriht</i>	<i>birith</i>	<i>birith</i>	<i>berith</i>	<i>birith</i>	<i>biric</i>	<i>biric</i>	<i>bira</i>	<i>bira</i>	<i>birith</i>	<i>birith</i>	<i>birith</i>	<i>bira</i>
<i>C</i>		<i>chen</i>	<i>chen</i>	<i>ch.n</i>	<i>chen</i>	<i>chen</i>	<i>chen</i>	<i>cheri</i>	<i>chon</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>chen</i>	<i>chen</i>	<i>chen</i>	<i>cen</i>
<i>D</i>		<i>thorn</i>	<i>thorn</i>	<i>thorn</i>	<i>thron</i>	<i>dhron</i>	<i>thorn</i>	<i>t`h`rom</i>	<i>dhorn</i>	<i>dhron</i>	<i>dhron</i>	<i>thron</i>	<i>thron</i>	<i>thron</i>	<i>drom</i>
<i>E</i>		<i>ech</i>	<i>eho</i>	<i>ech</i>	<i>ech</i>	<i>ech</i>	<i>ech</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ech</i>	<i>eth</i>	<i>eth</i>	<i>ehc</i>	<i>ehe</i>	<i>ehe</i>	<i>ech</i>
<i>F</i>	<i>fech</i>	<i>fech</i>	<i>feh</i>	<i>fech</i>	<i>fech</i>	<i>fech</i>	<i>fech</i>	<i>fech</i>	<i>fech</i>	<i>fec</i>	<i>fec</i>	<i>fech</i>	<i>feh</i>	<i>feh</i>	<i>fech</i>
<i>G</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>gibv</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>gibu</i>	<i>gibul</i>	<i>gibul</i>	<i>gibul</i>	<i>gibu</i>
<i>H</i>	<i>hagale</i>	<i>hagale</i>	<i>hagale</i>	<i>hagalc</i>	<i>hagalc</i>	<i>hagalc</i>	<i>hagale</i>	<i>hagale</i>	<i>hagal</i>	<i>agalc</i>	<i>agalc</i>	<i>hagal</i>	<i>hagal</i>	<i>hagal</i>	<i>hegl</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>is</i>
<i>K/G</i>	<i>gilch</i>	<i>gilch</i>	<i>gilch</i>	<i>gilc</i>	<i>kalc</i>	<i>kilc</i>	<i>gilc</i>	<i>gile</i>	<i>kol</i>	<i>kilc</i>	<i>kilc</i>	<i>glic</i>	<i>glic</i>	<i>glic</i>	<i>kale</i>
<i>L</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>lagv</i>	<i>lagv</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>laga</i>	<i>laga</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>lago</i>	<i>lac</i>	<i>lac</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>lagu</i>
<i>M</i>	<i>.an</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>mam</i>	<i>mam</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>
<i>N</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>noth</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>nod</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>
<i>O</i>	<i>othil</i>	<i>othil</i>	<i>othil</i>	<i>othil</i>	<i>otil</i>	<i>othel</i>	<i>othil</i>	<i>othil</i>	<i>othil</i>	<i>otil</i>	<i>otil</i>	<i>othil</i>	<i>othil</i>	<i>othil</i>	<i>otil</i>
<i>P</i>	<i>perc</i>	<i>perc</i>	<i>perch</i>	<i>perc</i>	<i>pert</i>	<i>pert</i>	<i>perc</i>	<i>perc</i>	<i>perc</i>	<i>perc</i>	<i>perc</i>	<i>perch</i>	<i>perch</i>	<i>perch</i>	<i>perc</i>
<i>Q</i>	<i>chon</i>		<i>chon</i>	<i>chon</i>	<i>chan</i>	<i>chan</i>	<i>chon</i>	<i>chon</i>	<i>chon</i>	<i>chon</i>	<i>chon</i>	<i>chon</i>	<i>chon</i>	<i>chon</i>	<i>qhon</i>
<i>R</i>	<i>..h.t</i>		<i>rehit</i>	<i>rehit</i>	<i>reiht</i>	<i>rehit</i>	<i>rehit</i>	<i>rehit</i>	<i>reh..</i>	<i>rehit</i>	<i>rehit</i>	<i>rehit</i>	<i>rehith</i>	<i>rehith</i>	<i>rehit</i>
<i>S</i>	<i>suhil</i>		<i>suhil</i>	<i>suhil</i>	<i>suhil</i>	<i>suhil</i>	<i>sugil</i>	<i>sugil</i>	<i>sugil</i>	<i>sugil</i>	<i>sugil</i>	<i>siugil</i>	<i>siugil</i>	<i>siugil</i>	<i>sigil</i>
<i>T</i>	<i>tac</i>		<i>tac</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>tac-</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>tac</i>
<i>U</i>	<i>hur</i>		<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>-hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>ur</i>
<i>X</i>	<i>helach</i>		<i>helahc</i>	<i>helach</i>	<i>helach</i>	<i>helach</i>	<i>halach</i>	<i>helach</i>	<i>heluch</i>	<i>helac</i>	<i>helac</i>	<i>helac</i>	<i>helac</i>	<i>helac</i>	<i>xelach</i>
<i>Y</i>	<i>huyri</i>		<i>huyri</i>	<i>huyri</i>	<i>huuri</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>huyri</i>	<i>huyry</i>	<i>hors</i>	<i>hyri</i>	<i>hyri</i>	<i>hurn</i>	<i>hurn</i>	<i>hurn</i>	<i>yri</i>
<i>Z</i>	<i>ziu</i>		<i>ziu</i>	<i>ziu</i>	<i>zui</i>	<i>zin</i>	<i>ziu</i>	<i>zui</i>	<i>zia</i>	<i>ziu</i>	<i>ziu</i>	<i>ziu</i>	<i>ziu</i>	<i>ziu</i>	<i>ziu</i>

**Table 30 (b): List of the fifteen manuscripts with the *De inventione* tract,
for names given in Table 30 (a)**

Sigla	Manuscript	saec.	Provenance	folio
176	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. 176	ix (runes: s. x ¹)	Freising	fol. 2r.
1609	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 1609	x ⁱⁿ	Freising	fol. 2r
1761	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 1761	xi/xii	W. Germany	fol. 97v
H	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Salem 9. 39	xii ²	Germany	fol. 133rb
R	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Reg. lat. 294	xi/xii	Bavaria	fol. 1v
Ba	Bamberg, Staatliche bibliothek, Msc. patr. 130/2	xiii ⁱⁿ	Michelsberg	fol. 104v-105r
G	Goldast, <i>Alimanicarum rerum scriptores aliquot veteres</i>	1606	Frankfurt	p. 92
254	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. 254	viii/ix (runes: s. ix ²)	Reichenau?	fol. 211
U	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Urbin. lat. 290	xi ⁱⁿ	Brauweiler	fol. 71v
P	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5239	x ^m	Limoges?	fol. 236r.
S	Strassburg, Bibliothèque Nationale, 326	x	Limoges or Angoulême?	fol. 110r.
N	Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1966	xii ¹	S. Germany or Austria	fol. 122ra.
1010	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 1010	xii	St. Florian?	fol. 90v.
W	Munich, Weinmüller-Fragment	xii ⁱⁿ	S. Germany?	fol. 1v.
T	London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. viii	xv	England	fol. 7r-v.

Table 31: Texts and translations of the rune-poems

The following presentation of the Anglo-Saxon, Norwegian and Icelandic rune-poems is in no way intended to imply that the texts represent either original or definitive versions. They are the result of comparing and picking from various editions with the purpose of providing a basis for discussion of the perceived meanings of the rune-names. Variant readings and translations are given in the notes, but the choice of one particular variant for the main text does not necessarily mean that it is to be preferred over the one given in the notes. A choice has had to be made in order to provide a running text. In some cases the variants provide important information, which will be taken up in the course of the discussion of individual names.

For the Anglo-Saxon poem the basic text is that given by Hickes in his *Thesaurus* (for details, see below); for the Norwegian poem the versions of Árni Magnússon and Jón Eggertsson, as published by Page (2003b: 553–66), have been taken as a basis, with Ole Worm's variants, while the text of the Icelandic poem is, with one or two exceptions, the redaction by Page (1998: 1–36), based largely on the manuscript versions in AM 687d 4to, AM 461 12mo and AM 749 4to.

The sources, and abbreviations used in the notes to the texts on the following pages, are:

Anglo-Saxon poem:

H: The copy of *London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x in: George Hickes, *Linguarum vett. septentrionalium Thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus auctore Georgio Hickesio*. Oxoniæ, 1705, fº, 3 tomi: tom. 1, p. 135.

Norwegian poem:

A: Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Donatione Variorum I. Barth. D , p. 818 (in the hand of Árni Magnússon); c. 1686–9.

J: Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Papp. fol.64, part IV, p. 74 (in the hand of Jón Eggertsson); c. 1686–7.

Wo: Ole Worm, *R̥n̥t̥t̥l̥ seu Danica Literatura Antiquissima*, Amsterdam, 1636: 105–7, (2nd ed. Copenhagen, 1651: 95–7).

All three texts as reproduced by Page 2003b: 553–66. Bauer (2003a: 118–9) gives a version of J, with alternative readings from A and Wo (2003a: 137–61).

Icelandic poem

A: Reykjavik, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 687d 4to, f. 1v; c. 1500.

B: Reykjavik, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 461 12mo, f. 15v; 1539–58.

C: Reykjavik, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 749 4to, f. 25v; s. xvii²

RJ: Runólfur Jónsson, *Linguae septentrionalis elementa tribus assortibus adstructa*, Copenhagen, 1651, signatures B3v–4r.

All four texts as reproduced by Page 1998: 1–36. Bauer (2003a: 165–6) gives a version of A (based on Page), with alternative readings from B, C, RJ, *et al.* (2003a: 189–206).

Apart from Page (1998 and 2003b), the editions cited are:

G: Grimm 1821; Grei: Grein 1865; Wü: Wülker 1881; K: Kålund 1884–91; Wi: Wimmer 1887; D: Dickins 1915;

Grie: Von Grienberger 1921; Do: Dobbie 1942; Hal: Halsall 1981.

The Anglo-Saxon poem is, according to tradition, numbered by line; the half-lines are numbered a and b. The Norwegian and Icelandic poems by contrast are numbered by stanza; the first and second half-lines in the Norwegian version are numbered a and b, respectively, whereas in the Icelandic poem the paraphrases ('kennings') are numbered in sequence a, b and c, so that the first line contains paraphrases a and b, and the second line paraphrase c.

In the manuscript texts, the runes are usually given without the actual rune-names. In this table the names have been added between brackets after the transcriptions of the runes, and in the translations they are left untranslated.

Texts I

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
1 f (feoh) byþ frofur fira gehwylcum sceal ðeah manna gehwylc miclun hyt dælan gif he wile for drihtne domes hleotan 4 u (ur) byþ anmod 7 oferhyrned felaþrecne deor feohteþ mid hornum mære morstapa þæt is modig wuht 7 þ (ðorn) byþ ðearle scearp ðegna gehwylcum anfeng ys yfyl ungemetun reþe manna gehwylcum ðe him mid resteð 10 o (os) byþ ordfruma ælcra spræce wisdomes wraþu ond witenas frofur and eorla gehwam eadnys ond tohiht	1 f (fé) uældr frænda roge føðezt ulfver í skoghe 2 u (úr) er af illu jarne opt løypr ræinn a hiarne 3 þ (þurs) uældr kvenna k... kater uærda faar af illu 4 o (óss) er leid flestr færda en skalper er suærda	f (fé) er frænda róg ok flæðar viti ok grafseiðs gata u (úr) er skýja grátr ok skára þverrir ok hirðis hatr þ (þurs) er kvenna kvöl ok kletta íbúi ok varðrúnar verr o (óss) er aldingautr ok ásgarðs jöfurr ok valhallar vísi
4b. H: <i>ofer hyrned</i>; 5a. H: <i>fela þrecne</i>; 6a. H: <i>mor stapa</i>; 6b H: <i>þ</i>. 8a. H: <i>anfen-gys</i>; G, Grie: <i>anfengys yfyl</i>; Grei: <i>anfeng ys yfel (?)</i>; Wü, D: <i>anfeng ys yfyl</i>; 12b. H: <i>to hiht</i>.	1b. D: <i>føðesk</i>; Wo: <i>fædist</i>. 2b. Wo: <i>opt sleipur</i> <i>Rani a hiarni</i>. 3a. A: <i>kvenna k</i>; Wo: <i>Duss</i> <i>weldur kvenna kvillu</i>. 3b. J: <i>vædr</i>; ... 3b. Wo: <i>Katur werdur faar af ellu</i>. 4a. A: <i>læid</i> (underdotted). 4. Wo: <i>Oys er</i> <i>flestra ferda</i>, <i>En skalpur er sverda</i>; W,K,D: <i>Óss er flæstra færða för</i>; <i>en skalper er sværða</i>.	1a. C: <i>rógr</i> 1b. B,C: <i>fyrða gaman</i> 1c. B: <i>graþþvengs gat</i>; C: <i>grafseiðiz gata fafnis </i> <i>plogur</i>. 2b. A: <i>skæra þuer[rir]</i>; B: <i>skara þorir</i>; C: <i>skara þuerer <Hridis> hatur</i>. 3b. A: <i>kleita</i> (?an error); C: <i>búi</i>; 3c. A: <i>[.a]lrunar ver</i>; B: <i>siðförull seggr</i>; C: <i>varðrúnar ver</i>. 4b,c. reversed in C. 4c. C: <i>visir</i>.

Translations I

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
1 <i>Feoh</i> is a comfort to all men; yet every man must distribute it freely if he wish to gain honour before the Lord.	1 <i>Fé</i> causes discord in the family; the wolf lives in the forest.	<i>Fé</i> is family strife and flood-tide's beacon and the path of the grave-fish.
4 <i>Úr</i> is resolute and has huge horns; a very dangerous beast, it fights with its horns; a glorious roamer of the moors, it is a proud creature.	2 <i>Úr</i> comes from bad iron; the reindeer often runs over frozen snow.	<i>Úr</i> is a cloud's tears and the destroyer of hay and a herdsman's loathing.
7 <i>Dorn</i> is cruelly sharp; to any thane the grasping of it is painful, immensely severe to any man who bides amongst them.	3 <i>Durs</i> causes anguish to women; misfortune makes few men happy.	<i>Durs</i> is torment of women and a cliff-dweller and Varðrún's mate.
10 <i>Os</i> is the origin of all speech, a pillar of wisdom and a comfort to wise men, and a blessing and a source of hope to every nobleman.	4 <i>Óss</i> is the way of most journeys; but a scabbard belongs to swords.	<i>Óss</i> is ancient Gautr and prince of Ásgarðr and ruler of Valhöll.

8. Translation follows Wü, D.'s *anfeng is*.
Hal: *anfengis*, g.sg., following G,Grei,Grie.

3. Translation follows D, in which A, J's *illu*
replaces Wo's *ellu* to pair as end-rhyme with
Wo's *kvillu*. 4. Translation follows D, in which
för is seen as substitute for A, J's *læid*.

1b. B,C: men's delight;
1c. B: path of the grave-thong.
3c.C: *Varðrún* = name of a giantess;
A: ?*Valrún* = another giantess; B: late-night
traveller.

Texts II

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
13 r (rad) byþ on recyde rinca gewhylcum sefte ond swiþhwæt ðam ðe sitteþ on ufan meare mægenheardum ofer milpaþas 16 c (cen) byþ cwicera gehwam cup on fyre blac ond beorhtlic byrneþ oftust ðær hi æþelingas inne restaþ 19 g (gyfu) gumena byþ gleng and herenys wraþu 7 wyrþscype 7 wræcna gehwam ar and ætwist ðe byþ oþra leas 22 w (wen)ne bruceþ ðe can weana lyt sares and sorge and him sylfa hæfþ blæd 7 blysse and eac byrga geniht	5 r (ræið) kuæda rossum uæsta reghin s... sverdet bædzsta 6 k (kaun) er bæggia barna böl görver naan foluan	r (reið) er sitjanda sæla ok snúðig ferð ok jórs erfiði k (kaun) er barna böi ok bardagi ok holdfúa hús
13a. H: <i>onrecyde</i>; G: <i>on recede</i>; 15a. H: <i>mægen heardum</i>; 15b. H: <i>mil paþas</i>. 22a. H: <i>wen ne bruceþ</i> (<i>wenne</i> = g.sg. of <i>wen(n)</i>, not d.sg. as according to D). 23a. H: <i>forge</i>; G: <i>sorge</i>.	5b. A: <i>reghin s... sverdet badzsta</i>; Wo: <i>Raghn er sverdit bradesta</i>; D et al.: <i>Reginn sló svæðet bæzta</i>. 6. Wo: <i>Kaun er beggia barna, Böl giórer near folvarna</i>. Wi: <i>kaun er barna bölván</i>; <i>böl gøver mann fölván</i>; D: mixes Wi's first line with A.'s second; see also the Icelandic poem.	5b. B: <i>snúðulig</i>; C: <i>snúðug</i>. 11b. B: <i>bardæi</i>. 12. B: <i>hús holdfúa</i>.

Translations II

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
13 <i>Rad</i> is easy to anyone while indoors but very bold to anyone mounted on a stout steed on the highroads.	5 <i>Ræið</i> is said to be the worst thing for horses; Reginn (...) the finest sword. .	<i>Reið</i> is joy of the seated and a swift journey and a horse's toil.
16 <i>Cen</i> is known to every living creature by its flame, shining and bright, most often burning where princes rest within.	6 <i>Kaun</i> is a sudden illness of children; death makes a corpse pale	<i>Kaun</i> is the scourge of children and a struggle and home to putrefaction .
19 <i>Gyfu</i> is a credit to men, bringing praise, dignity and honour, as well as a mercy and sustenance to any wretch devoid of aught else.		
22 <i>Wen</i> he experiences who knows little suffering, pain and sorrow, and himself has his own prosperity and happiness, and also the cities' abundance.		

14. *hwæt* is not known to refer to things (D.). Sense of *rad* is obscure. 16. *cen* only found as a rune-name. 22. *wenne* (from H.'s *wen ne*) construed as g.sg. of *wen(n)*, governed by *bruceþ*; 24. *byrg geniht* interpreted with Dobbie: "the abundance (characteristic) of cities"; D: "a good enough house".

5b. According to Wo: *Raghn* is the finest sword. (*Raghn* = name of sword). D *et al.* supply *sló* [forged]: "Reginn forged the finest sword." (Reginn = skilled smith). 6. Wi: "Geschwür ist der kinder verderben; unglück macht den mann bleich." D: "Ulcer is fatal to children; death makes a corpse pale."

5b. All variants mean "swift journey".

Anglo-Saxon RP

25 **h** (hægl) byþ hwitust corna hwyrft hit of heofones lyfte
wealcaþ hit windes scura weorþeþ hit to wætere syððan

27 **n** (nyd) byþ nearu on breostan weorþeþ hi þeah oft niþa
bearnum
to helpe and to hæle gehwæpre gif hi his hlýstaþ æror

29 **i** (is) byþ oferceald ungemetum slidor
glisnaþ glæs hluttur gimum gelicust
flor forste geworht fæger ansyne

32 **g** (ger) byþ gumena hiht ðonne god læteþ
halig heofones cyning hrusan syllan
beorhte bleða beornum ond ðearfum

7 **h** (hagall) er kalldazster korna
 Kriſter ſkop hæimen forna

8 **n** (nauðr) gerir næppa koſte
 nöktan kælr i froſte

9 **i** (ís) kollum bræ bræida
 blindan þarf at leida

10 **a** (ár) er gufna goðe
 get ek at orr varfróðe

h (hagall) er kaldakorn ok knappa drifa
ok snáka sótt

n (nauð) þýjar þrá ok þungr kostur
ok vássamlig verk

i (íss) er árbörkr ok unnar þekja
ok feigra manna fár

a (ár) er gumna gæði ok gott sumar
[ok algróinn akr]

31a. H: *ge worulit*; 32b. H: *ðon*.

7b. A: *knapp*[a dri]fa; B: *knapa*; C: *hnapp*-. 8a. C: *þyia*; 8b. A: indecipherable; B: *þvera erfiði*; C: *þwngur kostur*; 8c. A: *v[o]ssamlig*; C: *votsom*; B: no kenning. 9b. A: *[un]nar þ[e]kja*; B,C: *unnar þak*. 9c. B: *feigs manns farad*; C: *feigs forráð*. 10a. A: *gumna g[.]d[...]*; B: *gledi*; C: *giæði*; 10b. A: indecipherable; C: *[...]tumar*; 10c. A: *d[a]ladreyri*; B: *(vel flest þat er vill)*.

Translations III

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
25 <i>Hægl</i> is the whitest of grains; it swirls from the vault of heaven, is whirled by gusts of wind, then turns to water.	7 <i>Hagall</i> is the coldest of grains; Christ created the world of old.	<i>Hagall</i> is cold grain and driving sleet and a sickness of serpents.
27 <i>Nyd</i> constrains the mind; yet even so it often becomes a source of help and salvation to the sons of men if they heed it in time.	8 <i>Nauðr</i> gives scant choice; a naked man is chilled by the frost.	<i>Nauð</i> is a maid's grief and oppressive conditions and soggy toil.
29 <i>Is</i> is exceedingly cold, immensely slippery; glittering as pure as glass, most like to gems, a floor wrought by frost, beautiful to behold.	9 <i>Ís</i> we call a broad bridge. the blind man must be led.	<i>Íss</i> is the bark of rivers and a wave's thatch and trouble for the doomed.
32 <i>Ger</i> is a delight to men, when God, the holy King of Heaven, suffers the earth to bring forth bright fruits for rich and poor.	10 <i>Ár</i> is a boon to men; I say that Froði was generous.	<i>Ár</i> is a boon to men and a good summer [and a fruitful field.]

31. *fæger ansyne*, lit. "fair of aspect". 35. *beornum ond ðearfum*, lit. "for warriors (i.e. well-established men) and the needy".

7b. C: *hnappa*- also means "sleet".
8a. C: servants' 9b. *þak* and *þekja* both = "thatch". 9c.
fár = "trouble" (*far* = path);
C: *feigs forráð* =? "pit for the doomed".
10a. B: festivity. 10c. A: dales' blood;
B: "almost anything you want".

Texts IV

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
35 ī (eoh) byþ utan unsmeþe treow heard hrusan fæst hyrde fyres wyrtrumun underwreþyd wynan on eþle		
38 p (peorð) byþ symble plega and hlehter wlancum (.....) ðar wigan sittap on beorsele bliþe æt somne		
41 x (eolhx)secg eard hæfþ oftust on fenne wexeð on wature wundap grimme blode breneð beorna gehwylcne ðe him ænigne onfeng gedeð		
45 s (sigel) semannum symble biþ on hihte ðonne hi hine feriaþ ofer fises beþ oþ hi brimhengest bringeþ to lande	11 s (sól) er landa liome luti ek helgum dome	s (sól) er skýja sköldr ok skínandi röðull [ok ísa aldrtręgi]

37a. H: *wynan on eþle*; G, D, Do emend to *wyn o. e.*;
 Grie: *wynan* = *wynnum* (var. spelling), adv. dat..
 39a. H: defective; Grei, D: *wlancum on middum*;
 40a. H: *beor sele*. 41a.As Do; H: *eolhx seccard hæfþ*;
 G: *eolugsecg eard hæfþ*; Grei: *eolx secg h.*;
 D: *eolh-secg eard h.*. 45a. H: *se mannum*;
 46a. H: *ðonn*; 47a. H: *hibrim hengest*; 46,47.Grei:
 “die beiden letzten zeilen vertauschen, so daß *hine* auf
brimhengest geht”.

11c. C: *hverfandi hvel*.

Translations IV

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
35 <i>Eoh</i> is a tree with a rough bark, hard and fast in the earth, guardian of fire, well supported by its roots, a joy on the homestead.		
38 <i>Peorð</i> is ever a source of sport and laughter to proud (.....) where warriors sit blithely together in the beer-hall.		
41 <i>Eolhx secg</i> mostly has its habitat in a marsh; it grows in water and causes grievous wounds, staining with blood every man who lays a hand on it.		
45 <i>Sigel</i> is ever a joy to seafarers as they journey hence over the fish's bath until the sea-steed brings them to land.	11 <i>Sól</i> is the light of the world; I bow to that which is holy.	<i>Sól</i> is the clouds' shield and a shining halo [and destroyer of ice.]

38. *peorð* is unknown except as rune-name;
40. "beer-hall", not "perjoratively" (*pace* Hall).
43.H: *breneð*; G: *byrneð*; Grie,Do: Kentish? form <
**bryñan* [make brown (with blood)];
D: **beerneð* (<*beirnan* [cover]); 44. *him ænigne*
onfeng gedéði, lit. "puts any hold on it".
46. Translation follows D's suggestion of emending
hine to *heonan* [hence] and construing *feriaþ* as
intrans.; Hal and Page suggest that *hine* anticipates
brimhengest (cf. Grei's comment above).

11. For this translation, see §2.4.3 s.v. *Sigel*,
sól.

11c. C: turning wheel.

Texts V

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
48 t (tir) biþ tacna sum healdeð trywa wel wiþ æþelingas a biþ on færylde ofer nihta genipu næfre swiceþ	12 t (týr) er æinendr ása opt værðr smiðr blása	t (týr) er einhendr áss ok úlfs leifar [ok hofa hilmir]
51 b (beorc) byþ bleða leas bereþ efne swa ðeah tanás butan tudder biþ on telgum wlitig heah on helme hrysted fægere geloden leafum lyfte getenge	13 b (biarkan) er laufgrønstr líma loki bar flærða tíma	b (bjarkan) [er ?laufgad lim ok] litid tre [ok] u[.]gsamligr uidr
55 e (eh) byþ for eorlum æþelinga wyn hors hofum wlanc ðær him hæleþ ymb[e] welege on wicgum wrixlaþ spræce 7 biþ unstyllum æfre frofur		.
59 m (man) byþ on myrgþe his magan leof sceal þeah anra gehwylc oðrum swican forðam dryhten wyle dome sine þæt earne flæsc eorþan betæcan	14 m (maðr) er molldar auki mikil er græip a hauki	m (maðr) er manns gaman ok moldar auki ok skipa skreytir

49b. H: *onfærylde*; G. *onfærelde*.

53a. H: *þeah*; 53b H: *hrysted*; G. *hrisceð* [= "rauscht"]; Do: *hyrsted* [decorated, adorned]. 56b. H: *hæleþe ymb*; G: *hæleðas ymb*; Wü: *hæleþ ymb*; (D, following Sievers: *hæleþ ymbe*).

59b. G, Do: *magum*. 60b. H: *odrum*;

61. G: *f. d. vile dome sinum*. 62a. H: *þ*.

14. Wo: Puts the **m** stanza after the **l** stanza.

12a. A: *[ein]hendr [a]s*; 12b. B: *leifr*;

12c. B: *Friggjar faðir*; C: *Baldrs bróðir*.

13. Version given is that of A;
in B: *blomgat tre, litel hrisla, j ast sæmiligs uidar*;

in C: *blomj landz, lijtíð lim, laufgad trie, vaxandj vidur*. 14c. C: no kenning.

Translations V

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
48 <i>Tir</i> is one of the signs; it keeps its faith well with princes; it is always on its way above the mists of night; it never fails.	12 <i>Týr</i> is a one-handed god; the smith often has to blow.	<i>Týr</i> is a one-handed god and a wolf's leftovers [and lord of temples.]
51 <i>Beorc</i> is without fruit; yet even so without seed it throws out shoots; it is beautiful in its branches, high in crown, fairly adorned; grown tall with leaves, it reaches into the air.	13 <i>Biarkan</i> is the greenest of leafy bough; Loki was fortunate in his deceit.	<i>Bjarkan</i> [is a leafy branch? and] little tree [and] ?glorious wood.
55 <i>Eh</i> is a joy to princes in the eyes of nobles, a steed proud of hoof, where men, wealthy men on horseback, exchange opinions on it; and it is ever a comfort to the restless.		
59 <i>Man</i> in his joy is dear to his kinsmen; yet everyone is doomed to fail another, for the Lord by His decree shall comit the wretched flesh to the earth.	14 <i>Maðr</i> is an augmentation of the dust; great is the claw of the hawk.	<i>Maðr</i> is a man's delight and earth's increase and a painter of ships.

48. G: *tir* = Thor's hammer; Gr: "namen eines nicht-
untergehenden sternbildes (Altn. *tyr* = *taurus*)";
Grie: *tir* = *Ti*, *Tiw* (Germanic god); Do: Ursa Minor?
(not planet Mars). 51. D: Tree = poplar. 54. *geloden*,
from *leodan*. 60. Do: Suggests: "[d]epart from, give
way to another".

13. The name given to **b**, *bjarkan* (= *björk*
[birch]), is known only as the rune-name;
13c. with D: *bar tíma* is taken in the sense of
bera gæfu til [to be fortunate in].

12c. B: Frigg's father; C: Baldr's brother.
13. B: blossoming tree, little sprig, ?of
delightful wood; C: land's flower, little branch,
leafy tree, growing wood

Texts VI

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
63 I (lagu) byþ leodum langsum geþuht gif hi sculun neþan on nacan tealtum 7 hi sæyþa swyþe bregaþ and se brimhengest bridles ne gymeð. 67 ng (ing) wæs ærest mid east denum gesewen secgun oþ he siððan est ofer wæg gewat wæn æfter ran ðus hearingas ðone hæle nemdun 71 æ (eþel) byþ oferleof æghwylcum men gif he mot ðær rihtes and gerysena on brucan on bolde bleedum oftast. 74 d (dæg) byþ drihtnes sond deore mannum mære metodes leoht myrgþ and tohiht eadgum and earmum eallum brice	15 I (lögur) er þat er fællr or fialle foss. enn gull ero nosser 16 R (ýr) er ueter grönstr uiða uant er þar er brennr at suiða	I (laugr) er vellandi vimur ok víðr ketill ok glömmunga grund R (ýr) [er] ben[dr bogi ok br]otgiarnt járn [ok fífu fárbaui]

64a. H: *neþun*; G: *neoðan*; Grei: *neðan*; 65a. H: *sæ yþa*; 66a. H: *brim hengest*; 66b. H: *b. negym*; G: *b. ne gymð*; 68a. H: *ge sewen*; 68b. G: *est-werd*; 70a. Wü, D: *Hearingas* (p.n.); Grei: *heardingas* (c.n. “brave ones, warriors”). 71a. H: *ofer leof*; 72a. H: *rihter*; 72b, 73a. G: *and gerysena| on brucan*; 73a. H: *on blode*; Wü: *on bolde*. 75b. H: *to hihte*.

15. A: *er þat er fællr or fialle| foss en gull ero nosser*; Wi: *(lögr) er; er fællr ór fjalle| foss; en gull ero nosser*; Wo: *Laugr er thad er fel-| lur ur fialli:| Fost en gul eru nal-| li*; Page (2002) discusses absence of end-rhyme in A,J,Wi, and meaningless *nalli* in Wo (?emend to *fjalle / jalle [=jarle]*). 16a. Wo. *urtur grönst*.

15a. A: *vellanda va[.]*; 15b. A: *[.]dr*; 15c. A: *glaummunga grand*; B: *glummunga gnaud*; C: *glummunga grund*. 16. Stanza is lacking in B; 16a,b. as in A. C: <tuíj>*benttur bogj, bardagagangur*; 16c. C: *feniu fleyir*; version given is from JOb; in RJ stanza 16 reads: *tuibendur boge, bardaga gagn, fíffu fleitir*.

Translations VI

Anglo-Saxon RP	Norwegian RP	Icelandic RP
63 <i>Lagu</i> seems tedious to men, if they have to venture out in a tossing boat and the waves terrify them exceedingly and the sea-steed does not heed its bridle.	15 <i>Løgur</i> is that when a waterfall tumbles down a mountainside; but precious ornaments are gold.	<i>Laugr</i> is bubbling Vimur and a great cauldron and a field for fishes.
67 <i>Ing</i> was first seen by men among the East-Danes, until he disappeared afterwards over the wave, followed by his waggon; that was what the <i>Heardings</i> called the man.	16 <i>Ýr</i> is the greenest of trees in winter; it is wont to sputter when it burns.	<i>Ýr</i> is a ?bent bow and brittle iron? [and arrower-dispatcher]
71 <i>Epel</i> is most dear to every man, if he is allowed to enjoy there in his house what is right and proper in constant prosperity		
74 <i>Dæg</i> is sent by the Lord, beloved of men, the glorious light of the Creator, a joy and hope to rich and poor, of use to all.		

68. In view of *east* in 67, H.'s *est* in 68 (? with *éa* monophthongized to *é*) might be a scribal error for *eft*. 70. "Warriors" rather than *Heardingas* as p.n.. 72, 73. Translation follows D, whereas G follows H's: *on blode blaedum oflast*: "wenn er muss da nach recht und gerechtigkeit richten in blut, bei furchtsame oft".

15. Translation follows Wi's version. Alternatives are discussed in text.

15a. A: *va[.]* cannot be Vimir.
15c. A, B,C: *glaummunga*, etc. are all names of fishes; A: *grandi* = "beach";
B: *gnaud* = an error?
16a,b. C = RJ: double-bent bow, battle-help;
16c. C: ?arrow-thrower;
RJ: arrow-hurler; according to
D: Farbauti = father of Loki.

The five final stanzas of the Anglo-Saxon *Runic Poem*

	Text	Translation
77	a (ac) byþ eorþan elda bearnum flæsces fodor fereþ gelome ofer ganotes bæþ garsecg fandap hwæper ac hæbbe æpele treowe	<i>Ac</i> is on land a nourishment for meat for men's children; it often travels over the gannet's bath; the stormy sea tests whether the oak keeps faith honourably.
81	æ (æsc) biþ oferheah eldum dyre stiþ on stapule stede rihte hylt ðeah him feohtan on firas monige	<i>Æsc</i> is very tall and precious to men; firm on its foundation, it rightly holds its ground, though many men attack it.
84	y (yr) byþ æþelinga 7 eorla gehwæs wyn and wyrþmynd byþ on wicge fæger fæstlic on færelde fyrdgeatewa sum	<i>Yr</i> is a source of joy and honour to every prince and noble; it looks well on a horse, steadfast on a journey, one of the ornaments of war.
87	io (iar) bið ea fix(a) and ðeah abrucep fodres on foldan hafap fægerne eard wætre beworpen ðær he wynnum leofap	<i>Iar</i> is a river-fish, and yet it always takes its food on land; it has a fine abode, surrounded by water, where it lives in bliss.
90	ea (ear) byþ egle eorla gehwylcun ðonn[e] fæstlice flæsc onginneþ hraw colian hrusan ceosan blac to gebeddan bleða gedreosaþ wynna gewitaþ wera geswicaþ	<i>Ear</i> is loathsome to every noble when steadfastly the flesh, a corpse, begins to grow cold and, now pale, to choose the earth as its consort; fruits fall, happiness vanishes, covenants fail.

86a. H: *fyrðgeacewa*; 87a. H: *ea fixa*; G: *eafisc*; Grei, Wü: *eafixa sum*; Grie: *eafixa*: "Ior gehört zu den Flussfischen"; D, following Rieger: *eafix*; Do: *ea fix*;
88a. H: *onfaldan*. 91a. G: *ðonne*;
94b. H: *wera*.; G: *wæra*.

84. The whole *yr* stanza is obscure. 87. Grei, Wü, Grie see H.'s *ea fixa* as g.pl. ("(one) of the river-fish(es)"); present translation follows D in emending to *eafix*. 93a. *blac* n.pl. (with Do); 93, 94. To reproduce the elegance of the original's final couplet would require a freer translation..

Table 32

Table 32 (b): Hickes's copy of the Anglo-Saxon *fuporc* from British Library, Cotton, Domitian A. ix, 10v

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GRAMMATICA ANGLO-SAXONICA, &

II. Extat & altera literarum *Dano-runicarum* descriptio, cum explicatione *Anglo-Saxonica*, in eadem bibliotheca, (*Domitianus A. 9.*) quam in tabella lectori studioso hic infra offero:

fēoh. up. ðorn. of. pad. cen. gifu. pen. hegrl. nead. eac. geor. sigel. peorð.

F. N. Þ. F. R. H. X. P. H. ‡. †. I. Ð. S. C. Y. R.

F. U. Ð. O. P. C. G. W. H. N. I. G. E. P. X. R.

tir. bere. þel. deg. lagre. me. mann. pro. ac. æsc. yr. tir.

T. B. M. M. X. H. R. F. F. M. T. * Y. H.

τ. b. e. m. i. mē. d. oe. a. æ. γ. ear. lo. q. k.

fran. gap. calc.

⚡. ⚡. ⚡.

z. f. e.

Mich. Burghers sculp.

Sequentia, manu recentiori

f. feoh. i. pecunia.	g. gifu. i. grahà.	h. hegrl. i. grando.
e. ethel. i. patria.	d. deg. i. dies.	th. thorn. i. spina.
m. man. vel manna. homo.	a. dr. i. reverentia.	ae. aesc. i. fraxinus.
eageanw. eor. i. aënis.	fl. vel. f. flans. lapis.	r. rad. i. consilium.
b. bere. i. cortex.	i. sigel. i. velum.	u. ur. i. noster.

Table 33 (a): Halsall's analysis of the number of lines per stanza in the Anglo-Saxon *Rune Poem* according to the three *ættir* of the *fupark*

(The stanzas are represented here by the runes and rune-names they describe; the figures below each rune-name indicate the number of lines in the relevant stanza.)

<u>ætt 1</u>	ƿ <i>feoh</i> 3	ᚱ <i>ūr</i> 3	þ <i>þorn</i> 3	ᚼ <i>ōs</i> 3	ᚷ <i>rād</i> 3	ᚠ <i>cēn</i> 3	× <i>gyfu</i> 3	ƿ <i>wen</i> 3
<u>ætt 2</u>	ᚱ <i>hægl</i> 2	ᚢ <i>nyd</i> 2	ᚠ <i>īs</i> 3	ᚢ <i>gēr</i> 3	ᚢ <i>ēoh</i> 3	ᚠ <i>peorð</i> 3	ᚢ <i>eolhx</i> 4	ᚢ <i>sigel</i> 3
<u>ætt 3</u>	ᚢ <i>tīr</i> 3	ᚢ <i>beorc</i> 4	ᚢ <i>eh</i> 4	ᚢ <i>man</i> 4	ᚢ <i>lagu</i> 4	ᚢ <i>ing</i> 4	ᚢ <i>ēpel</i> 3	ᚢ <i>dæg</i> 3
<u>supple- mentary runes</u>	ᚢ <i>āc</i> 4	ᚢ <i>æsc</i> 3	ᚢ <i>yr</i> 3	ᚢ <i>iar</i> 3	ᚢ <i>ēar</i> 5			

Table 33 (b): Alternative analysis based on the number of lines per stanza

	Rune-name	Lines per stanza	Themes		Rune-name	Lines per stanza	Themes
1.	<i>feoh</i>	3			<i>ēar</i>	3+2	fīnis
	<i>ūr</i>	3	terrestrial beast		<i>iar</i>	3	aquatic beast
	<i>þorn</i>	3			<i>yr</i>	3	
	<i>ōs</i>	3		4.	<i>æsc</i>	3	
2.	<i>rād</i>	3	'in hall'		<i>āc</i>	4	oak = fortitude (a virtue)
	<i>cēn</i>	3	fire		<i>dæg</i>	3	light, hope
	<i>gyfu</i>	3	generosity of men		<i>ēpel</i>	3	constancy, faith
	<i>wen</i>	3			<i>ing</i>	4	
	<i>hægl</i>	2	transformation		<i>lagu</i>	4	'sea horse'
	<i>nyd</i>	2	transformation		<i>man</i>	4	man
	<i>īs</i>	3			<i>eh</i>	4	'land horse'
	<i>gēr</i>	3	generosity of God/earth		<i>beorc</i>	4	
	<i>ēoh</i>	3	fire		<i>tīr</i>	3	constancy, faith
	<i>peorð</i>	3	'in hall'	3.	<i>sigel</i>	3	light, hope
					<i>eolhx secg</i>	4	sword = justice (a virtue)

**Table 34: Latin glosses, with Icelandic (and English) translations,
in AM 687d 4to, Runólfur Jónsson and Olaus Verelius⁵³**

Rune-name ⁵⁴	AM 687d 4to, 1v, Latin glosses	AM 687d 4to, 1v, Names of princes	AM 687d 4to, 2r, Latin glosses ⁵⁵	AM 687d 4to, 2r, ON [and English] translation	Runólfur Jónsson, Latin glosses	Olaus Verelius, pp. 25–33, Latin glosses ⁵⁶
Fé	Aurum	fy<l>ker	Aurum	gull [gold]	pecunia	opes, pecuniæ
Úr	Vmber	Visi	Ymber	skúr [shower]	pluvia	nivosa, horrida procella
Þurs	Sat[ur]nus	þeingill	Fantasma	skrimsl [monster]	gigas	Thor, Islandis Thuss
Óss	Jupi[ter]	Oddviti	Flumen	straumr [stream]	odinus	dicetur aliis Ostium, aliis Odinus Deus
Reið	Iter	Ræsir	Iter	vegr [road], för [journey]	equitatio	equitatio
Kaun	Flag...	[k]ongur	Wulnus	sár [wound]	ulcus	ulcus
Hagall	G[ran]do	Hilddingr	[Niv]es	snjór [snow]	grando	grando
Nauð	Opera	Niflungr	Flagella	bardagi [nuisance]	molestia	necessitas
Íss	Gl[a]cies	jofur	[Fr]ig[us]	frost [frost]	glacies	glacies
Ár	Annus	Allvadr	Estas	sumar [summer]	annus	annona
Sól	Rota	Siklin<gr>	Ignis	eldr [fire]	sol	Sol
Týr	Mars	Tiggi	Jupiter	Þorr, áss [Thor, god]	mars	Mars
Bjarkan	Abies	Budlungr	Flos	blóm [flower], viðr [bush]	frons	Betula
Maðr	Homo	Milldingr	(missing)	(missing)	homo	homo
Lögr	Lacus	Lofd<ungr>	Palus	gormr [mud], sjór [sea]	humor	aqua
Ýr	Arcus	ynglingr	Arcus	bogi [bow]	arcus	arcus intensus

⁵³ Expanded abbreviations are given in italics; illegible, reconstructed forms (and English translations) in square brackets []; expanded names in pointed brackets < >.

⁵⁴ The names are given here in the traditional order. In AM 687d 4to, the order of the final five runes is: **l b m t y**.

⁵⁵ Based on Wimmer's transcription (1887: 287–8).

⁵⁶ These glosses have been extracted from a longer Latin text, for which see Bauer 2003:174–7.

Table 35: Similar texts in stanzas on the Norwegian, Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon rune-poems**(In one case, different names in the Norwegian and Anglo-Saxon poems – *ýr* and *eo**h* – are described similarly.)****(a) Similar names with similar texts in descriptions**

Norwegian rune-poem		Icelandic rune-poem		Anglo-Saxon <i>Rune Poem</i>	
Norwegian	Translation	Icelandic	Translation	Old English	Translation
(hagall) er kalldazster korna	<i>Hagall</i> is the coldest of grains	(hagall) er kaldakorn	<i>Hagall</i> is cold grain	(hægl) byþ hwitust corna	<i>Hægl</i> is the whitest of grains
(ár) er gufna ⁵⁷ goðe	<i>Ár</i> is a boon to men	(ár) er gumna gæði ⁵⁸	<i>Ár</i> is a boon to men	(gēr) byþ gumena hiht	<i>Ger</i> is a delight to men
(bjarkan) er laufgrønstr líma	<i>Bjarkan</i> has the greenest leaves of any shrub	(bjarkan) líftid lim, laufgad trie ⁵⁹	<i>Bjarkan</i> little twig, leafy tree	(beorc) ... biþ on telgum wlitig ... geloden leafum	<i>Beorc</i> ... is beautiful in its branches, ... grown tall with leaves
(maðr) er molldar auki	<i>Maðr</i> is an augmentation of the dust	(maðr) ... er moldar auki	<i>Maðr</i> is ... earth's increase	(man) ... forðam dryhten wyle dome sine þæt earme flæsc eorþan betæcan	<i>Man</i> ... for the Lord by His decree shall comit the wretched flesh to the earth
(fé) uældr frænda roge	<i>Fé</i> causes discord in the family	(fé) er frænda róg	<i>Fé</i> is family strife		
(þurs) uælldr kvenna k...	<i>Purs</i> causes anguish to women	(þurs) er kvenna kvöl	<i>þurs</i> is torment of women		
(kaun) er bæggia barna bøl	<i>Kaun</i> is a sudden illness of children	(kaun) er barna bøl	<i>Kaun</i> is the scourge of children		
(nauðr) gerir næppa koste	<i>Nauðr</i> gives scant choice	(nauð) ... þungr kost	<i>Nauð</i> is ... oppressive conditions		
(týr) er æinendr ása	<i>Týr</i> is a one-handed god	(týr) er einhendr áss	<i>Týr</i> is a one-handed god		
(lögr) er þat er fællr or fialle	<i>Lögr</i> is that when a waterfall tumbles down a mountainside	(lögr) er vellandi vimur	<i>Lögr</i> is bubbling Vimur (a river)		

(b) Different name with similar texts in descriptions

	(ýr) ... uant er þar er brennr at suiða <i>Ýr</i> ... it is wont to crackle when it burns	(ēoh) byþ ... hyrde fyres <i>Ēoh</i> is ... guardian of the flame
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⁵⁷ Wimmer transcribes the word as *gumna*⁵⁸ Jónsson transcribes the word as *goðe*⁵⁹ Version in Jónsson and AM 749 4to.

Table 36: The rune-names as summarized by Düwel 2008: 198–9 (my English translations)

		Germanic	Translation	Old runic (proto-Nordic)			OE	ABC Nord.	Norw./Icel.	Gothic	Bible Gothic	
ᚠ	f	<i>*fehu</i>	cattle, (mobile) possessions	<i>*fehu</i>			<i>feoh</i>	<i>feu</i>	<i>fé</i>	<i>fe</i>	<i>*faihu</i>	
ᚢ	u	<i>*ūruz</i>	aurochs (manly strength?)	<i>*ūruR</i>			<i>ūr</i>	<i>ūr</i>	úr, ‘slag,/ drizzle	<i>uraz</i>	<i>*urus</i>	
ᚦ	þ	<i>*þurisaz</i>	thurs, giant (terrible destructive force)	<i>*þurisaR</i>			<i>þorn</i>	<i>thuris</i>	<i>þurs</i>	(<i>thyth</i>)	(<i>þiub</i>), ‘good thing’	
ᚨ	a	<i>*ansuz</i>	Ase (god)	<i>*ansuR</i>	ᚱ o		<i>ōs</i> , Lat. mouth	ᚠ	<i>ōs</i>	<i>óss</i> , ‘estuary’/Ase (<i>áss</i>)	(<i>aza</i>)	(<i>*ahsa</i>), ‘Axle’?
ᚱ	r	<i>*raiðō</i>	journey, ride, carriage	<i>*raidu</i>			<i>rād</i>	<i>rāt</i>	<i>ræið/reid</i>	<i>reda</i>	<i>*raida</i> , ‘carriage’	
ᚷ	k	<i>*kaunan</i>	ulcer, ailment	<i>*kauna</i>	ᚠ		<i>cēn</i> ‘torch’	ᚠ	<i>chaon</i>	<i>kaun</i>	<i>chozma</i>	<i>*kuma</i> , ‘ulcer’?
ᚹ	g	<i>*gebō</i>	gift	<i>*gebu</i>			<i>gyfu</i>	—	—	<i>geuua</i>	<i>giba</i>	
ᚻ	w	<i>*wunjō</i>	joy	<i>*wunju</i> ?			<i>wyn</i>	—	—	<i>uuinne</i>	<i>winja</i> , ‘meadow’ or <i>*wunja</i> , ‘joy’	
ᚨ	h	<i>haglaz</i> m./ <i>haglan</i> n.	hail (sudden destruction)	<i>haglaR</i> m./ <i>hagla</i> n.	ᚨ		<i>hægl</i>	*	<i>hagal</i>	<i>hagall</i> m.	<i>haal</i>	<i>*hagl</i>
ᚠ	n	<i>*naudiz</i>	need, fatal compulsion	<i>*naudiR</i>			<i>nȳd</i>	ᚠ	<i>naut</i>	<i>nauðr/ naud</i>	<i>noicz</i>	<i>naups</i>
ᚠ	i	<i>*īsaz</i> m./ <i>*īsan</i> n. (<i><*eisa-</i>)	ice	<i>*īsaR</i>			<i>īs</i>	<i>īs</i>	<i>ís/íss</i>	<i>iiz</i>	<i>*eis</i>	

Table 36: The rune-names as summarized by Düwel 2008: 198–9 (cont., my English translations)

	Germanic	Translation	Old runic (proto-Nordic)	OE	ABC Nord.	Norw./Icel.	Gothic	Bible Gothic				
	j	<i>*jēran</i>	(good) year	<i>*jāra</i>	𐌵	<i>gēr</i>	†	<i>ār</i>	†	<i>ár</i>	<i>gaar</i>	<i>jēr</i>
𐌿	ī	<i>*īwaz</i>	yew	<i>*īwaR</i>		<i>ēoh, īh/ih</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—
𐌷	p	<i>*perþo</i> (?)	a fruit-tree	<i>*perþu</i> (?)		<i>peorð</i> ‘?’	—	—	—	<i>pertra</i>	<i>*pairþra</i> ‘?’	
𐌺	z/R	<i>*algiz</i>	elk (defence?)	<i>*algiR</i>	x	<i>eolhx</i> for <i>eolhxsecg</i> ? a kind of reed or sedge	𐌶	<i>ýr</i>		<i>ýr</i> yew or yew- bow	? (<i>ezec</i> or <i>ezel</i>)	?
𐌺	s	<i>*sōwilō/ *sōwulō</i>	sun	<i>*sōwilu</i>	𐌺	<i>sigel</i>		<i>sōl</i>		<i>sól</i>	<i>sugil</i>	<i>sauil</i>
𐌹	t	<i>*tīwaz</i>	Tyr (earlier the sky-god)	<i>*tīwaR</i>		<i>tīr</i>		<i>tíu</i> (or <i>tír</i> ?)	1	<i>týr</i>	<i>tyz</i>	<i>*teiws</i>
𐌲	b	<i>*berkanan</i>	birch-twigg	<i>*berkana</i>		<i>beorc</i>		<i>brica</i>		<i>bjarkan</i>	<i>bercna</i>	<i>bairkan</i>
𐌺	e	<i>*ehwaz</i>	horse	<i>*ehwaR</i>		<i>eh</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>eyz</i>	<i>aíhs</i>
𐌺	m	<i>*mannaz</i>	man	<i>*mannaR</i>		<i>man</i>	†	<i>man</i>	Ψ	<i>maðr</i> (<i><*mannR</i>)	<i>manna</i>	<i>manna</i>
𐌹	l	<i>*laguz</i>	water	<i>*laguR</i>		<i>lagu</i>		<i>lagu</i>		<i>lōgr/lögr</i>	<i>laaz</i>	<i>*lagus</i>
◊	ŋ	<i>*ingwaz</i>	god of a fruitful year	<i>*ingwaR</i>	𐌶	<i>ing</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>enguz</i>	<i>*iggws</i> ‘man’
𐌺	d	<i>*dagaz</i>	day	<i>*dagaR</i>	𐌺/𐌺	<i>dæg</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>daaz</i>	<i>dags</i>
⌘	o	<i>*ōþalan/ ōþilan</i>	inheritance	<i>*ōþala/ ōþila</i>	œ	<i>ēpel/æpel</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>utal</i>	<i>*ōþal</i>
										Without equivalent:	<i>uuar</i>	<i>*hvair</i> ‘cauldron’

The rune-names in the extended Anglo-Saxon rune-row: 𐌲 **a** *āc* ‘oak’, 𐌲 **æ** *æsc* ‘ash’, 𐌺 **y** *ýr* ‘bow’, ***i** *iat* ‘river-fish (eel?)’, 𐌹 **ea** *ēar* ‘grave, earth’?; outside the Rune Poem: 𐌶 **k** *calc* ‘?’, 𐌶 **g** *gār* ‘spear’, 𐌹 **q** *cweorð* ‘?’ (Goth. *quertra*, Bibe Gothic **quairþra* ‘bait’?), 𐌺 **st** *stān* ‘stone’ (the last two runes only in manuscripts). Table 37

Table 37: Names of Runes as tabulated in the TITUS project (<http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/germ/runennam.htm>)

Rune	<i>Abecedarium Nordmannicum</i> (Cod. 878, p. 321, St.Gallen)	Runenreihe Cod. Leidensis lat. 4° 83	Cod. Cotton Galba A2	"Gallogam" (Book of Ballymote)	Norwegian	Cod. Cotton Otho B9	Alcuin-Ms. Cod. Salisburg. 795
F	feu	FIU = fiu	fē	fea	fē	feoh	fē (F: 23)
U	ur	URr = urr	ur	ar	ūr	ūr	uraz (U: 16)
Þ	thuris	ÞHURS = dhurs	þors	turs	þurs	þorn	thyth (Þ: 9)
A	os	AUS = aus	os	or	ōss	ōs	aza (A: 1)
R	rat	RAIDU = reidu	reð	raid	ræið	rād	reda (R: 19)
K	chaon	KÅUN = caun	con ⁶⁰	caun	kaun	cēn	chozma (K: 11)
G						ʒeofu	geuua (G: 3)
W						wynn	uwinne (Y=W:22)
H	hagal	HAĞAL = hagal	hagol ¹	hagal	hagall	hæʒl	haal (H: 8)
N	nau(t)	NAUÞr = naudr	noð	naun	nauðr	nīed	noicz (N: 14)
I	is	IS = is	is	is ⁶¹	īs	īs	iiz (I: 10)
J	ar	AŖR = ar	ar	ar ⁶²	ār	ʒēar	gaar (J: 15)
Ė						ēoh	{eyz (E: 5)}
P						peorþ	pertra (P: 17)
Z						eolhx	ezec (Z: 7)
S	sol	SOLU = soulu	sol	sol	sōl	syʒil	sugil (S: 20)
T	.. ⁶²	TIUr = tiu	tyr	diur	tyr	tīr	tyz (T: 21)
B	bri(c)a	BIARĶAN = biercan	beorc	bergann	bjarkan	beorc	bercna (B: 2)
E						e(o)h	eyz (E: 5)
M	man	MAŊr = manr	mander	mann	maðr	man	manna (M: 13)
L	lago	LAUGr = laucr	locr	langor	lōgr	lagu	laaz (L: 12)
Ŋ						Ing	enguz (X: 24)
D						dæʒ ⁶¹	daaz (D: 4)
O						ēpel ⁶¹	utal (O: 26)
						āc	
						æsc	
Y	yr	IR = ir	yr	eir	yr	yr	
						iar	uuaer (h: 25)
						ēar	
						cweorþ ⁶³	quertra (Q: 6)

⁶⁰ In reverse order in manuscript.

⁶¹ *Isar* joined as one word in manuscript.

⁶² Illegible

⁶³ Also listed: calc, stān, gār

Table 38: ‘Gothic’ letter-names in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 795 (St. Amand, 798/9), 20v

(The listings below are not a precise reproduction of the folio but give the content.⁶⁴ The alphabet on the left follows the Greek order of letters and is written in the manuscript in a cursive script, accompanied by numerals. The alphabet next to it is written in an uncial script, in an order closer to the Latin order of letters, accompanied by letter-names.)

Alphabet in ‘Greek’ order with numerals ⁶⁵	Alphabet in ‘Latin’ order with letter-names ⁶⁶	Origin of letter-forms; based on Greek majescale except where indicated otherwise
α Ɀ 1	a Ɀ aza	A Ɀ Greek uncial or cursive α.
β Ɀ 2	b Ɀ bercna	B Ɀ
γ Ɀ 3	c/g Ɀ geuua	Γ Ɀ
δ Ɀ 4	d Ɀ daaz	Δ Ɀ Greek uncial or cursive δ.
ε Ɀ 5	e Ɀ eyz	Ε Ɀ Greek uncial or cursive ε.
ς, Ϝ Ɀ ⁶⁶ 6	f Ɀ fe	Ϝ Ɀ Cf. Coptic Ϝ (<i>fai</i>); see note on Gothic Ɀ .
ζ Ɀ 7	g Ɀ gaar	Z Ɀ
η Ɀ 8	h Ɀ haal	η Ɀ Cursive η (<i>eta</i>), or miniscule Latin <h>?
θ Ɀ 9		Ϙ Ɀ Ϙ (<i>thyth</i>) interchanged with Θ (<i>hvaer</i>)? ⁶⁷
ι Ɀ 10	i Ɀ iiz	I Ɀ
κ Ɀ 20	k Ɀ chozma	K Ɀ
λ Ɀ 30	l Ɀ laaz	Λ Ɀ
μ Ɀ 40	m Ɀ manna	M Ɀ
ν Ɀ 50	n Ɀ noicz	N Ɀ

⁶⁴ The manuscript was originally known as Codex Salisburgensis 140; see Derolez, 1954: 52–63. For manuscript details, see Bischoff 1980: 76–83, 115–9. For a description of the folio, see Seebold 2010: 77.

⁶⁵ The Greek and Latin letters in these columns do not appear in the manuscript.

⁶⁶ In the list of names, Gothic **Ɀ** is given the name *quertra* and placed in the position of the Latin letter Q, Greek Ϙ. In the list of numerals, it is in the place normally occupied by the Greek Ϝ, Ϝ (*stigma, digamma*), and assigned the numeral 6; see also the note on Coptic Ϝ/Gothic **Ɀ** below.

⁶⁷ Mees (2002–3: 65) compares Ϙ to the Illerup double back-to-back Ϙ (see Barnes 1984: 67).

Table 38 (cont.): ‘Gothic’ letter-names in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 795 (St. Amand, 798/9), 20v

Alphabet in ‘Greek’ order with numerals ⁶⁸			Alphabet in ‘Latin’ order with letter-names ⁶⁹			Origin of letter-forms; based on Greek majescale except where indicated otherwise	
ξ	Ϛ	60				?ξ, Ϛ Ϛ	Cursive ξ or runic Ϛ (j)?
ου	ϛ	70	u	ϛ	ūraz	ϛ ϛ	Form of Greek <i>omicron</i> ⁶⁹ or runic ϛ (u)?
π	Ϝ	80	p	Ϝ	pertra	Π Ϝ	
[ϙ (ϙ) ϙ	ϙ	90] ⁷⁰	q	ϙ	quertra	?ϙ ϙ	Alternative Greek letter ϙ, or Coptic ϙ? ⁷¹
ρ	Ϟ	100	r	Ϟ	reda	R Ϟ	Latin R
c	ϟ	200	s	ϟ	sugil	S ϟ	Latin S
τ	Ϡ	300	t	Ϡ	tyz	T Ϡ	
υ	ϡ	400	u/y	ϡ	uuinne	Y ϡ	
φ	Ϣ	500	u/o	Ϣ	utal	F Ϣ	Latin F
χ	ϣ	600	x/χ	ϣ	enguz	X ϣ	
(h) ϣ	ϣ	700	z/ζ	ϣ	ezet/ezec	?Θ ϣ	Θ (<i>haer</i>) interchanged with ϣ (<i>thyth</i>)?
ω	Ϥ	800	h [hw]	ϣ	uuaer/uuar	Ω Ϥ	
[ϥ ϥ	ϥ	900] ⁷⁰	þ	ϥ	thyth t • & h		

⁶⁸ The Greek and Latin letters in these columns do not appear in the manuscript.⁶⁹ Marchand 1959: 290.⁷⁰ Omitted from the list but noted in a text elsewhere on the folio.⁷¹ Greek had an alternative form for its ϙ (*koppa*), similar to Coptic ϙ, which had the numerical value of 90 (as did Greek ϙ and Gothic ϙ) but the name *fai*, with phonetic value [f], as Gothic ϙ; however, Coptic ϙ was not placed after Π (*pi*) but towards the end of the alphabet (see Granberg 2010: 179).

Table 39 (a): Derivation of Gothic letter-names from attested Gothic nouns

Letter-name	Attested noun ⁷²	Meaning	Process of derivation according to Wagner (W) or Mees (M). ⁷³
<i>daaz</i>	<i>dags</i> (24)	day	W275 and M60: loss of postvocalic -g- (W275: long -a- results). W274-5 and M60: Gallo-Roman influence of spelling <i>s</i> as <z>.
<i>fe</i>	<i>faihu</i> (31)	movable goods, possessions	W270 and M60: -ai- > -e-; loss of postvocalic -h-. ⁷⁴
<i>gaar</i>	<i>jer</i> (72)	year	M59: Gothic <g> comes from Anglo-Saxon spelling of [j]-allophone of /g/ in rune-name <i>gaer</i> .
<i>geuua</i>	<i>giba</i> (49)	gift	W271 and M58: lowering of <i>i</i> > <i>e</i> . W271: -uu- for -u- representing [b].
<i>noicz</i>	<i>naups</i> (99)	need, compulsion	W272: <i>oi</i> < <i>ō</i> (germ. * <i>au</i>); -cz = orthographic variant of /ts/
<i>sugil</i>	<i>sauil</i> (118)	sun	M60: compares OE <i>sigel</i> and cites Lehman's IE * <i>sh₂uél</i> , * <i>séh₂uol</i> to explain the 'hardening of -w- to -g-.
<i>thyth</i>	<i>þiup</i> (149)	something good	M62: -iu- > -y-.
<i>uuinne</i>	<i>winja</i> (175)	pasture	W271: OHG -nn- and -ja > -e. M62: -j- prevented lowering of <i>i</i> > <i>e</i> .

⁷² Page references in Streitberg 1910 (available at <http://www.wulfila.be/lib/streitberg/1910/>) are given in brackets.

⁷³ References W270, M60, etc., indicate page references to Wagner 1994 and Mees 2002–3.

⁷⁴ W270: loss of -h- and unstressed *u* > *a* should give **fea*, but scribe appears to have found combination *-ea unacceptable.

Table 39 (b): Derivation of Gothic letter-names from reconstructed Gothic nouns

Letter-name	Recon- struction ⁷⁵	Meaning	Process of derivation according to Wagner (W) or Mees (M).
<i>aza</i>	<i>ahsa</i>	axle, axis	M60: loss of postvocalic <i>-h-</i> . W274-5 and M60: Gallo-Roman influence of spelling <i>s</i> as ⟨ <i>z</i> ⟩. W269: suggests <i>*ansuz</i> > <i>*azaz</i> with loss of <i>-z</i> to match <i>bercna</i> , etc..
<i>bercna</i>	<i>bairkan</i>	birch seedling	W276: Vielleicht aus einer Form <i>*bairkana</i> , die durch Synkope im Munde eines Romanen zu <i>bercna</i> wurde.
<i>chozma</i>	<i>kusma</i> , <i>kozma</i>	boil, infected swelling	IEED database (see footnote 13) notes: ‘Für die k-Rune steht aisl. kaun, N., Geschwür, ae. cen, M., Fackel. Dementsprechend wäre got. kauns zu erwarten und runenalphabetisch <i>*chonz</i> oder <i>*choz</i> .’
<i>enguz</i>	<i>iggws</i>	?spear, ?man	W271 and M58: lowering of <i>i</i> > <i>e</i> (W271: ‘spezifisch romanisch’.) W274-5 and M60: Gallo-Roman influence of spelling <i>s</i> as ⟨ <i>z</i> ⟩.
<i>eyz</i>	<i>aihs</i>	horse	M62: <i>eyz</i> < <i>*ews</i> < <i>*ehwaz</i> ; loss of postvocalic <i>-h-</i> ; <i>*ew</i> spelled ⟨ <i>ey</i> ⟩. ⁷⁶
<i>ezec/ezet</i>	(?azets)	light (in weight)	M61: <i>ezec</i> < <i>*aizik</i> ‘coin, bronze bit’? or <i>*aizīpa</i> ‘mercy, honour’? ⁷⁷
<i>haal</i>	<i>hagl</i>	hail	M60: loss of prevocalic <i>-g</i> .
<i>iiz</i>	<i>eis</i>	ice	W272: double <i>ii</i> indicates long <i>i</i> in closed syllable. W274-5 and M60: Gallo-Roman influence of spelling <i>s</i> as ⟨ <i>z</i> ⟩.
<i>laaz</i>	<i>lagus</i>	lake, sea, open water	M62: unstressed <i>*u</i> < PG <i>*u</i> produced ⟨ <i>a</i> ⟩. W274-5 and M60: Gallo-Roman influence of spelling <i>s</i> as ⟨ <i>z</i> ⟩. W275 and M60: loss of postvocalic <i>-g-</i> (W275: long <i>-a-</i> results).
<i>pertra</i>	<i>pairpra</i>	?dice-box	M61-2: ‘Both <i>p-</i> and <i>q-</i> names ... are clearly ultimately derived from the Celtic letter-name continued in Ogham <i>ce(i)rt</i> (cf. Welsh <i>perth</i>).’
<i>qertra</i>	<i>qairpra</i>	lure, bait, decoy	
<i>reda</i>	<i>raida</i>	wagon	
<i>tyz</i>	<i>teiws, tius</i>	Ziu, god of war	M62: <i>-iu-</i> , <i>-iw-</i> > <i>-y-</i> . W274-5 and M60: Gallo-Roman influence of spelling <i>s</i> as ⟨ <i>z</i> ⟩.
<i>uraz</i>	<i>ūrus, urs</i>	aurochs	W274-5 and M60: Gallo-Roman influence of spelling <i>s</i> as ⟨ <i>z</i> ⟩. M62: unstressed <i>*u</i> < PG <i>*u</i> produced ⟨ <i>a</i> ⟩.
<i>utal</i>	<i>ōpal</i>	patrimony	
<i>uuaer</i>	<i>hvaír</i>	?caldron	M61: ‘deliberate acrophonic adaptation of an earlier <i>*eihws</i> ’.

⁷⁵ According to the *Gothic etymological database [Koebler]* in the IEED (Indo-European Etymological Dictionary) Project, Leiden University, accessible at: <http://www.indo-european.nl/>. [June 2009].

⁷⁶ Lehmann (1986: 100): ‘Name of the *e*-rune in Salzburg manuscript; many attempts of interpretation: Arntz (1944: 221) considered it a scribal error for Go. **aihs* “horse”; Von Grienberger (1986: 21) interpreted it as Go. **eīs* < **ehwiz*; Bugge (1905-13: 61-2) proposed Go. **ehws*’.

⁷⁷ Cf. Von Grienberger (1896: 112): < *aiz* [copper] < **aizik*; Marstrander (1928: 157): < **aiza* or **aizīpa*.

Table 40 (a): The *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, as transcribed by Grimm (1883: 112)

ABECEDARIUM NORD

ƿ ƿeuforman | ƿur. after | ƿthurisþrissu | ƿof þi no Rvarend
 P R T P N 4 | þabu | ƿoboro | of uurtan
 ƿchaenþanne | ƿhagal | ƿnaus hab & | ƿir | ƿar | ƿendisol
 d. uet N
 ƿ... ƿbriþa | ƿendimany | ƿlagu theleohro | ƿynalþ habe
 m di

Table 40 (b): The *fupqrk* in Leiden, Universiteitsbiblitheek, Vossianus lat. Q 83, 24v

(my own transcription based on a copy accompanying the codex, made by H. Kern, 1872)

[ɛ]ur	biercan	manr	lauer	ir	ƿu	urr	ður								
↑↑INΛ	BBI↑RCf↑	ΦΦf↑Λ	ΓfFNΛ	ΛIR	ƿFIN	NORΛ	DD*NRΛ								
auf	reidu	caun	hazal	naudr	ir	ae	roulu								
fFNΛ	RR↑IDN	hkfnt	*fFFf↑	↑↑fNDΛ	IIΛ	↑FR	ΛNIN								
b	c	d	ɛ	f	l	m	n	r	r	ɾ	a	e	i	u	h
B	Y	D	↑	ƿ	↑	Φ	↑	Λ	R	Λ	ƿ	↑	↑	N	*

Table 41: Concordance by name

(The sequence follows that of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin alphabets.
The Old Norse names are from Ole Worm's copy of the Norwegian poem.)

(a) Names of the consonants

Hebrew Table 9(a) no. 3	Greek Table 16 no. 1	Old English Table 31	Old Norse Table 31	Ogam Table 20	Latin Table 16 no. 7	Runic alphabets Table 29
<i>beth</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>beorc</i>	<i>bjarkan</i>	<i>beithe</i>	B	<i>biric, birith</i>
<i>gimel</i>	<i>gamma</i>	<i>gyfu</i>		<i>gétal</i>	C K Q	<i>chen, chon</i>
<i>deleth</i>	<i>dilta</i>	<i>dæg</i>		<i>dair</i>	D	<i>dhorn, thorn</i>
<i>vau</i>	<i>episinon</i>	<i>feoh</i>	<i>fē</i>	<i>fern</i>	F	<i>fech, fec</i>
<i>zai</i>	<i>zeta</i>	<i>sigel</i>	<i>sól</i>	<i>sail</i>	G	<i>gibu, gibul</i>
<i>heth</i>	<i>hita</i>	<i>hægl</i>	<i>hagall</i>	<i>(h)úath</i>	H	<i>hagal, hegl</i>
<i>teth</i>	<i>thita</i>	<i>ðorn</i>	<i>þurs</i>			
<i>chaf</i>	<i>cappa</i>	<i>ing</i>		<i>coll</i>	(K)	<i>gilch, kalc</i>
<i>lameth</i>	<i>lauta</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>logr</i>	<i>luis/lem</i>	L	<i>lagu, laga</i>
<i>mem</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>maðr</i>	<i>muin</i>	M	<i>man</i>
<i>nun</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nauðr</i>	<i>nin</i>	N	<i>not, nod</i>
<i>samech</i>	<i>xi</i>	<i>gēr</i>	<i>ár</i>	<i>gort</i>		
<i>fe</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>peorð</i>			P	<i>perc(h), pert</i>
<i>sade</i>		<i>eolhx (secg)</i>		<i>straif</i>		
<i>cof</i>	<i>copin</i>	<i>cēn</i>	<i>kaun</i>	<i>qert</i>	(Q)	<i>chon, chan</i>
<i>res</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>rād</i>	<i>ræið</i>	<i>ruis</i>	R	<i>reht, rehit</i>
<i>sin</i>	<i>simma</i>				S	<i>sugil, sigil</i>
<i>thau</i>	<i>thau</i>	<i>tīr</i>	<i>týr</i>	<i>tinne</i>	T	<i>tac</i>
	<i>fī</i>	<i>wen</i>		<i>(pīn, iphīn)</i>		
	<i>hi</i>			<i>(emancholl)</i>	(X)	<i>helach</i>
	<i>psi</i>				(Y)	<i>(hu)yri</i>
	<i>sincopē</i>				(Z)	<i>ziu, zui</i>

(b) Names of the vowels

Hebrew Table 9(a) no. 3	Greek Table 16 no. 1	Old English Table 31	Old Norse Table 31	Ogam Table 20	Latin Table 16 no. 7	Runic alphabets Table 29
<i>aleph</i>	<i>alpha</i>	<i>ōs (āc, æsc)</i>	<i>óss</i>	<i>ailm</i>	A	<i>asc(h), ase</i>
<i>he</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>eh (eōh)</i>	<i>ýr</i>	<i>edad (ébad)</i>	E	<i>ech, ehe, eth</i>
<i>ioth</i>	<i>iota</i>	<i>īs</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>idad</i>	I	<i>is</i>
<i>ain</i>	<i>o xielu (?)</i>	<i>eþel</i>		<i>onn (ór)</i>	O	<i>othil</i>
	<i>eu uel ui</i>	<i>ūr (ēar)</i>	<i>úr</i>	<i>úr (uilen)</i>	V	<i>hur</i>
	<i>o longu</i>					

Table 42: Latin, Greek and Hebrew alphabets in Byrhtferð's *Enchiridion* [Manual], Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 328, p. 204

204

abecedaria
latina

grecorum
cū numeris

hebraeorum
cū significati-
onibus

frem
blopp

beale
blopp

fch
tblch
bonū

α	Α	Alpha.	ι	Alph.	Doctrin
β	Β	Beta.	ii	Beth	Domus
γ	Γ	Gamma	iii	Gimel	Plenitud
δ	Δ	Delta.	iiii	Del&h	Tabulari
ε	Ε	Eta.	v	he	ista
Ϝ	Ϝ	Sermon	vi	vav	ec
ζ	Ζ	Zeta.	vii	zain	hec
η	Η	Theta.	viii	th&h	vita
ι	Ι	Iota.	ix	iodh	pncipiū
κ	Κ	Kappa.	x	coph	manus
λ	Λ	Lambda.	xi	Lamech	discipli
μ	Μ	Mu.	xii	mem	typis
ν	Ν	Nu.	xiii	nun	Sermon
ο	Ο	Xi.	l	Sameth	admoniti
π	Π	Zeta.	lx	ain	font
Ϟ	Ϟ	Theta.	lxx	ph&	os
ρ	Ρ	Iota.	lxxi	sade	iustitia
σ	Σ	Kappa.	lxxii	coph	uocatio
τ	Τ	Lambda.	lxxiii	res	caput
υ	Υ	Mu.	lxxiiii	sin	denu
φ	Φ	Nu.	lxxv	tau	signa
χ	Χ	Xi.	lxxvi		
ψ	Ψ	Zeta.	lxxvii		
ω	Ω	Theta.	lxxviii		
		Iota.	lxxix		
		Kappa.	lxxx		
		Lambda.	lxxxi		
		Mu.	lxxxii		
		Nu.	lxxxiii		
		Xi.	lxxxiv		
		Zeta.	lxxxv		
		Theta.	lxxxvi		
		Iota.	lxxxvii		
		Kappa.	lxxxviii		
		Lambda.	lxxxix		
		Mu.	lxxxx		
		Nu.	lxxxxi		
		Xi.	lxxxxii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxiii		
		Theta.	lxxxxiv		
		Iota.	lxxxxv		
		Kappa.	lxxxxvi		
		Lambda.	lxxxxvii		
		Mu.	lxxxxviii		
		Nu.	lxxxxix		
		Xi.	lxxxxx		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxi		
		Theta.	lxxxxxii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxiii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxiv		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxv		
		Mu.	lxxxxxvi		
		Nu.	lxxxxxvii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxviii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxix		
		Theta.	lxxxxxx		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxi		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxiii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxiv		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxv		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxvi		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxvii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxviii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxix		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxx		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxx		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxx		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxx		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxx		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxx		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxx		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxx		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxx		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxx		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxx		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxx		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxx		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxx		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxx		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxx		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxx		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxx		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxx		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxx		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxx		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxx		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxx		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxx		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxi		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxxii		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxiii		
		Mu.	lxxxxxxxiv		
		Nu.	lxxxxxxxv		
		Xi.	lxxxxxxxvi		
		Zeta.	lxxxxxxxvii		
		Theta.	lxxxxxxxviii		
		Iota.	lxxxxxxxix		
		Kappa.	lxxxxxxx		
		Lambda.	lxxxxxxxi		

Figure I : Distribution of vegetal names across the various traditions of kennings and glosses

