97. The development of Latin script III: in Sweden

1. Origin and earliest European contacts

Latin script first appeared in Sweden on coins, struck on the patterns of English models, chiefly in Sigtuna under the kings Olof Skötkonung (ca. 995–1022) and Anund Jakob (ca. 1022–1050). The script is mainly majuscule, ultimately dating back to Roman capitals (Rasmusson 1982).

Handwritten Latin script came to Sweden with the Christian mission. In this country Christianity made its breakthrough in the 11th c., but handwritten documents are still extant only from the next century. The first monastic order to be established in Sweden was that of the Cistercians, who founded the first Swedish monasteries in 1143. Thus, the Cistercians are likely to have had the greatest influence on the development of the Latin script in the country. The first Swedish archbishop, Stefan, belonged to the order and was consecrated by the Pope in Sens in 1164. In the middle of the 13th c. the Cistercians in Sweden were superseded by the Dominicans, who were also closely connected to France. Consequently, it is from this country that Sweden received its earliest influences as far as Latin script is concerned (Jansson 1944, 82f.; cf. Jansson 1952–54, 149 note 8).

The mediaeval history of the Swedish script has been divided by Jansson (1924, 108ff.) into three periods, which are used here: (1) ca. 1150–1250, "the time of the round minuscule" or "the period of the Carolingian minuscule", (2) "the time of the fractured minuscule and of the diplomatic cursive" or "the earlier Gothic period", and (3) 1370–1526, "the time of the ornamented minuscule and of the half-cursive" or "the later Gothic period" (this division is followed by Svensson 1979, 46). The oldest extant documents written in Sweden, a few deeds issued in the second half of the 12th c., are said by Söderlind (1982) to represent a Carolingian script "in the first intermediate stage of the transition into Gothic script". The outside limits for the dates refer to historical events of indirect consequence to the history of the script. The year 1250 is the approximate date of origin of the oldest example of Swedish book production: the fragment of the Older Law of Västergötland (Cod. Holm. B 193). In 1370 the Order of St. Bridget was established, which, through its main convent in Vadstena, eventually came to exercise a great influence on culture in mediaeval Sweden. In 1526, The New Testament was first printed in Swedish.

Jansson's classification of the script of period 1 as Carolingian can be disputed. Regarding some of the earliest deeds, Jansson speaks of "incipient Gothic features: a distinct difference between down-strokes and hair-strokes, the latter of which form sharp angles with the former, and a few broken angles instead of curves" (Jansson 1924, 109). In the oldest Swedish diplomas (e.g. Dipl. Sv. 51 and 63), the script presents clear Gothic features of the kind that appear in Belgium and France in the 11th c. (Bischoff 1986, 171ff.): the height definitely exceeds the breadth in the letters without ascenders, and one can see clear tendencies to fracture the curves into angles. In other words, Jansson's term "round minuscule" doesn't seem quite accurate. Actually, the script in question doesn't differ in any decisive way from the one which is called *gotische Buchschrift* by German palaeographers and which appears in contemporary French and German formal book script (see for instance Crous/Kirchner 1928, 9f. with figs. 2 and 4). It can probably be stated that among the extant documents written in Sweden, none has a typical Carolingian minuscule of the type found in the Danish Dalby Book from the 11th c. (Cod. Hafn., GKS 1325 4:0).

2. Formal and informal script types

The main types of mediaeval script are (1) the formal one used chiefly in book production, and (2) the informal or cursive one, which results from an adaptation to faster writing and which appears above all in diplomas. Eventually, intermediate types were developed (2.2.).

2.1. Formal or book script

The formal or book script was executed slowly, with great care, so that every letter was written separately, without being conjoint to the next one. At first the formal script in Sweden was the only one in use, in diplomas as well as in codices (Öberg 1974, 11). The earliest extant deed written in Sweden is a letter issued by Archbishop Stefan in Uppsala during the period 1164–67 (Dipl. Sv. 51). The scribe was probably not a Swede but, perhaps, a Cistercian from France. The script is in a flowing formal hand with numerous decorative features in the form of long curved descenders for ⟨p⟩, ⟨q⟩, ⟨r⟩ and sigmatic ⟨s⟩ (see 3.2., ⟨s⟩), and loop ornaments on top of the ascenders for ⟨d⟩, ⟨l⟩, and ⟨t⟩.

An equally flowing book hand appears in two deeds issued by King Knut Eriksson sometime during the years 1167–85 (viz. Dipl. Sv. 63 and 64). Especially the former has the greatly prolonged ascenders, typical of the diplomas of the time. The hand of the latter can to a large extent be compared with contemporary book script of an early Gothic type; cf. for instance Crous/Kirchner, fig. 4.

The formal script continued to assert itself in Swedish diplomatic hands up to the 1240s; one late example is Dipl. Sv. 317 (1244), issued by Archbishop Jarler of Uppsala. The script here is markedly large: the letters without ascenders reach approximately 4 mm above the line instead of the normal 2–3 mm.

In the production of books, the style of the formal script underwent the same evolution that can be studied in an overwhelmingly large number of codices from, above all, Germany and France. The oldest Swedish book, Cod. Holm. B 59 from the 1280s, has a typical, though not extreme form of Gothic script, with letters of small width (the height of the letters without ascenders exceeds the breadth) and a clear tendency to fracture the curved strokes. The manuscript is referred to by Kirchner (1966, pl. 15) as an example of *textualis gothica*, also called *Gothic textura*. This script originated in northern France and Belgium and appears in a clear form in these areas during the 12th c. (Bischoff 1986, 171 ff.). All extant Swedish law codes from the first decades of the 14th c. are written in this kind of hand, e.g. the Laws of Västmanland (Cod. Holm. B 56), Uppland (Cod. Holm. B 199), and Södermanland (Cod. Holm. B 53), and the *Younger Law of Västergötland* (Cod. Holm. B 58).

The Gothic textura appears also in law codes from the middle and the second half of the 14th c., eventually in a more characteristic form, with a narrower script and fractures with sharper angles, e. g. in the Law of Östergötland (Cod. Holm. B 50 ca. 1350), The National Law of King Magnus Eriksson (Cod. Holm. B 107 1388), and The Law Code of Stockholm (Cod. Holm. B 154, first half of the 15th c.).

2.2. Informal or cursive script

An informal hand is characterized by the more or less conspicuous cursive character of the script. Cursive is generally defined as a script where the move from one letter to another is performed without lifting the pen, so that each letter is conjoined to the preceding one by a thin pen stroke. It should be emphasized that the earliest informal script is not typically cursive in this respect but acquired its informal features from the shapes and proportions of the letters. These are rounded, without any fracturing of the curves, the script is wider, that is, the breadth of the letter without ascenders exceeds the height, and the ascenders (⟨b⟩, ⟨d⟩, ⟨f⟩, ⟨l⟩) as well as the descenders (⟨f⟩; ⟨g⟩; ⟨p⟩; long ⟨s⟩, i.e. ſ, see 3.2., ⟨s⟩) often take the form of a loop. Two diplomas, one dated 1244 (Dipl. Sv. 317), the other written the same year or the year after (Dipl. Sv. 318), both issued by Archbishop Jarler of Uppsala, exhibit markedly different types of script, apparently in use at the same chancellery. The former still is a typical book hand without conjoined letters, while the latter is a fairly cursive hand, regularly conjoining the letters. Shortly afterwards, e. g. in a diploma dated 1248 (Dipl. Sv. 355), the new cursive script emerged as fully developed. (Perhaps the scribe in this case was a foreigner: the document was issued by Bishop William of Sabina, at the time visiting Sweden). A little less than a decade later, a similar hand is found in a deed issued in Kungsåra, Uppland, in 1257 (Dipl. Sv. 445) by Birger jarl (Earl Birger). Clearly, the cursive script had by then, if not earlier, gained a foothold in the more important chancelleries. Here, the shapes of the letters are retained even when they are regularly written without the pen being lifted. Instances of such a formal cursive hand appear in two documents written in or near important chancelleries, one issued in 1275 by King Magnus Birgersson (Dipl. Sv. 586), the other issued in 1315 by Birger Persson, the principal officer of the provincial assembly of

Tiundaland in Uppland and the father of St. Bridget (Dipl. Sv. 2008).

The diplomatic script in Sweden from the end of the 13th to the middle of the 14th c. has been called "the arched script" (*valvbågs-stilen*) by Jansson (1944, 10), who writes: "On a cursory view, it is characterized by wide arches on top, above the writing line and on its upper edge, and by wedge-shaped ascenders, that is, the upper part is thickened and the lower part is narrowed into a cusp." The description is somewhat unclear, but it seems that the term "arches" refers to the looped ascenders of graphemes like ⟨b⟩, ⟨d⟩ and ⟨l⟩. The wedge shape of the ascenders is accomplished by exerting stronger pressure on the pen at the beginning of the stroke. As the most characteristic grapheme, Jansson emphasizes the ⟨a⟩, "the upper, now closed chamber of which rises like a dome above the line and is often larger than the lower one" (on ⟨a⟩ with two "chambers", see 3.2., ⟨a⟩). As far as can be judged, this description fits diploma Dipl. Sv. 2008 (1315) mentioned above.

The main features developed in the letter script during the period in question were retained for roughly one century, in Sweden as well as elsewhere. The most obvious change seems to be found in the design of one grapheme, ⟨a⟩, which lost its "neck" and assumed the "one-chamber shape" (see 3.2., ⟨a⟩).

Book script, especially in Italy and northern France, was at this time strongly influenced by the diploma hands, and a new kind of book hand called *bastarda* began to compete with the textura from the end of the 14th c. onwards (Bischoff 1986, 192 ff.; Crous/Kirchner 1928, 16 and fig. 18). Another term for this intermediate form between formal and cursive script is *(Gothic) semicursive* (G *Halbkursive*, Sw. *halvkursiv*; Jansson 1924, 113 f.; Kroman 1982a). It could most easily be described as a more carefully executed form of cursive script. When used in books, the cursive script appears more conservative than in the diplomas. An early instance of a letter hand in a codex is a copy of the Law of Uppland from ca. 1350 (Cod. Holm. B 52). Here, the pen used had a fairly pointed nib, as is the case in most diplomas. Elsewhere, when a scribe used a cursive script in a codex, he generally gave the nib of the pen a broader cut than when writing deeds. This produces a sturdier script as e. g. in Cod. Holm. A 110 (Cod. Oxenstiernianus) from 1385, and in a couple of copies of the National Law of King Magnus Eriksson, viz.

Cod. Holm. B 168 from 1428, and B 172 (Cod. Kalmar or Aboënsis), written shortly before 1450. From the end of the 14th c. onwards, the scribes of Vadstena monastery developed a script of their own, a kind of formal half-cursive called the *Vadstena cursive*, and most exhaustively treated by S. O. Jansson (1975, 417 ff.). The term is misleading since the script is formal rather than cursive. Above all, S. O. Jansson calls it *Vadstena script* (1975, 417). The Vadstena script has been characterized by Lindberg as "compact, but clear, large, and legible" (1982, 371). According to S. O. Jansson (1982, 417) it appears in two varieties, one a soft, more typically cursive, the other a more rigid half-cursive. The "softer" variety differs from contemporary German cursives by having more rounded shapes (Jansson 1924, 115). The Vadstena script soon was used by chancelleries all over Sweden. In its cursive form, it is considered to be present in a large number of Swedish manuscripts ever since the 1390s (Jansson 1924, 117). One early instance is a diploma from the year 1394 (RPB 2700). In books it can be found in a number of codices from the end of the 14th till the beginning of the 16th c., one of which is Cod. Holm. A 9. Facsimile editions of other Vadstena manuscripts are CCS 2, 10, 11, 13, 14, and 16. The script in certain literary 15th c. manuscripts is classified by Jansson (1924, 117) as belonging to the indigenous half-cursive, e. g. the 15th c. chronicle books such as the *Karl Chronicle* (Sw. *Karlskrönikan*, Cod. Holm. D 6) from 1452, the *Book of Spegelberg* (Cod. Holm. D 2) from 1457, and the *Eufemia songs* (Sw. *Eufemiavisorna*, Cod. Holm. D 4) from the second half of the 15th c.

Book production continued in Vadstena during the first three decades of the 16th c. When writing the formal half-cursive during this period, the Vadstena scribes used pens with exceptionally broad nibs, e. g. in Cod. Holm. A 37.

2.2.1. German cursive script

The mediaeval utility script eventually adopted an increasingly cursive character as the result of adaptation to faster writing. There was an obvious endeavour to write letters and whole words by using as few pen strokes as possible, that is, without any unnecessary lifting of the pen. The so-called German cursive soon was introduced into Sweden. One early example is provided by one of the hands in a codex from 1476: The book of Lady Elin (Sw.

Fru Elins bok, Cod. Holm. D 3). In its most extreme form the German cursive acquired an exceptionally great width, the arches of ⟨m⟩, ⟨n⟩ and ⟨u⟩ are low and pointed rather than curved, ⟨a⟩, ⟨c⟩, ⟨e⟩ and others are written in such a way that the first stroke is horizontal and slightly wavelike and constitutes a "floor" to which is added a convex "roof" (⟨a⟩) or a short stroke (⟨c⟩, ⟨e⟩). This kind of script has its strongest representation in the chancellery of Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping, the head of which was Hans Spegelberg, himself active as a scribe. Manuscripts produced there are Cod. A 6 and A 7 in the Swedish National Archives, Cod. D 2 in the Royal Library of Stockholm and Cod. Kh 53 and 54 in the Municipal Library of Linköping (Gunneng 1981).

2.2.2. Wax tablet script

A specific kind of script arose from writing in wax with a stylus. According to Jansson (1924, 115 note 1; cf. Jansson 1944, 85) this kind of script appears "here and there in diplomas and private records". It is characterized by thin pen strokes – the pen was always pointed – absence of conjoined letters, and absence of any difference between down- and up-strokes. The autographs of St. Bridget (Cod. Holm. A 65, 1361, 1367) exhibit a typical wax tablet script (Jansson 1924, 115; CCS 10, XIII; Högman 1951, 16 f.).

3.   Individual graphemes

In Swedish mediaeval documents there are three graphemes that testify to influence from western Scandinavian, ultimately English script, viz. ⟨ð⟩, ⟨þ⟩, and ⟨Ⴑ⟩, and, furthermore, the insular allograph of ⟨f⟩. The letters ⟨ð⟩, insular ⟨f⟩, and ⟨Ⴑ⟩ are very rare; their presence is limited to Västergötland and the 13th c. The letter ⟨þ⟩ is more frequent; it appears all over the Swedish area during the greater part of the Middle Ages. The occurrence of ⟨ð⟩, insular ⟨f⟩, and ⟨Ⴑ⟩ in Västergötland could perhaps be taken as an indication of this region being a script province of its own, closely connected to the west.

3.1.   Majuscules

The majuscules can be treated in brief. They can either be described as enlarged minuscules or, if they have a genuine majuscule shape, it is likely to be one that is common in mediaeval European script.

3.2.   Minuscules

Here shall be treated all minuscule letters except ⟨b⟩, ⟨l⟩, ⟨m⟩, ⟨n⟩, and ⟨q⟩, the description of which would not provide anything of specific interest to Swedish palaeography.

⟨a⟩. This is one of the graphemes that show the clearest allographic variation during the Middle Ages. Minuscule ⟨a⟩ can be of the one-chamber or the two-chamber type. In the former case, a "neck" can be either present or absent. Minuscule ⟨a⟩ without a neck appeared about the middle of the 14th c., e. g. in a diploma written in 1352 in the chancellery of King Magnus Eriksson (Dipl. Sv. 4780). In Sweden the two-chamber ⟨a⟩, in which the neck is strongly curved, thus creating an upper closed chamber, began to appear towards the end of the 13th c. (Jansson 1944, 86; one instance from a French book hand in 1295 can be seen in Crous/Kirchner, fig. 7).

⟨c⟩. Most of the time this grapheme is written in two strokes. When the grapheme has its original shape, the first of the strokes is curved and the second one is short and added to the right and directed downwards (Jansson 1952–54, 94). Later on, the second stroke can be bent upwards and can thus obtain the shape of an angle (cf. ⟨e⟩). In markedly cursive writing, the first stroke is more or less straightened out; in extreme cases it is almost completely straight (e. g. in a diploma from June 29, 1455).

⟨d⟩. Minuscule ⟨d⟩ presents a clear example of allographic variation, with two main types: the Carolingian one with a straight ascender ⟨d⟩ and the uncial, rounded one ⟨ð⟩. In the early Swedish material both appear, but with a pronounced predominance for one of the types in the same document (Jansson 1952–54, 99). In the 12th c. material, the Carolingian variant is the most common and is always used when the ascender has an abbreviation sign in the form of a cross-bar (Dipl. Sv. 63). The uncial variant is always used in word-final position when it is followed by a *us*-abbreviation (Dipl. Sv. 64). The cursive script in letters prefers the uncial ⟨d⟩ with an ascender in the form of a loop. The diplomatic script appeared about the middle of the 13th c. and from then on Carolingian ⟨d⟩ is very rare in the documents (Jansson 1944, 90).

⟨ð⟩. This grapheme originates in English script (Seip 1954, 44). It denotes a voiced dental fricative and competes in this function with ⟨þ⟩. The extant manuscripts where ⟨ð⟩ occurs are all from the 13th c. In book script it has the shape of an uncial ∂ with the ascender

crossed by a diagonal hair stroke (Cod. Holm. B 193). Here, it can't be mistaken for an uncial ∂ with an abbreviation stroke. In cursive script used in diplomas, however, such a confusion is possible. Here ⟨ð⟩ is shaped like an uncial ∂ of the diploma type with the ascending loop entirely or partly crossed by a broad pen-stroke, often shaped like a hook, quite like in Latin abbreviations (Jansson 1952–54, 100). Since ⟨ð⟩ occurs only in Swedish words, it is easy to distinguish from ⟨d⟩ with an attached abbreviation sign even in diplomas. In Sweden ⟨ð⟩ is extremely rare, and its appearance seems to be due to direct or indirect contact with the west. In the fragment of the *Older Law of Västergötland* (Cod. Holm. B 193, discovered in Norway) from about 1250, it varies with ⟨þ⟩ but it is not found in the more complete manuscript of the same law code from about 1285, which has ⟨þ⟩ consistently. According to Jansson (1952–54, 100), the letter is "so unusual that it can't be called a Swedish character". In diploma hands, Jansson shows instances of ⟨ð⟩ in six documents, the oldest of which is from 1283, the other ones from 1297–99. All of them are directly or indirectly connected with the Bishop of Skara (Brynolf), and here one could possibly see an element of western Scandinavian scribal customs.

⟨e⟩. Like ⟨c⟩, ⟨e⟩ has the shape of a curve with an attached second stroke. In the earliest manuscript the second is a loop. In the cursive letter hands of the 15th c., the loop is simplified into a stroke which can be straight or bent upwards, in which case the grapheme can't be formally distinguished from ⟨c⟩ (Jansson 1952–54, 94).

⟨f⟩. In book script ⟨f⟩ stands on the line, but in cursive script it extends below it (Jansson 1952–54, 101 f.). The insular ⟨f⟩ originating from England is common in early Norwegian script (Seip 1954, 9 f.) but appears in Swedish manuscripts only in the fragment of the *Older Law of Västergötland* (Cod. B 193). In all probability, it was taken over from Norwegian script.

⟨g⟩. This grapheme has a number of variants, of which two main types can be discerned with respect to the descender, which can have the shape of a hook or a loop. In the oldest material both forms occur, but eventually the latter prevailed. The descending loop can be given a decorative design, e.g. with two "chambers" (Jansson 1952–54, 102).

⟨h⟩. In ⟨h⟩ the second curved stroke may or may not extend below the line. The former variant is the one found in the earliest Swedish material, e.g. in Dipl. Sv. 51 from 1164–67 and Dipl. Sv. 64 from 1167–85. Eventually the second variant prevailed; one early document in which it appears is Dipl. Sv. 240 from 1225 (Jansson 1952–54, 91 ff.). During the 15th c. the descender started to be shaped like a loop (Jansson 1952–54, 93). In the German cursive script the letter can be described as written in one stroke with two conjoined loops, one ascending and one descending (German ⟨h⟩, Jansson 1952–54, 93). In the chancellery of Bishop Hans Brask in Linköping in the 1520s, both the older and the younger variant are used (Gunneng 1981, 10, 12).

⟨i⟩. Minuscule ⟨i⟩ has two main allographs, one standing on the line, the other one extending below it. The latter one occurs only in word-final position. A diacritical superscript hair stroke is used when needed, e.g. if there is a risk of confusing ⟨ii⟩ with ⟨n⟩ or ⟨u⟩ (Jansson 1952–54, 107 ff.).

⟨k⟩. This grapheme can generally be described as consisting of a vertical ascender, to the right-hand side of which is attached a loop or an open curve continued by a final diagonal stroke down to the line. A special variant occurs when the final stroke is more or less horizontal and does not reach the line. Jansson (1952–54, 94) cites this type from the second half of the 14th c. at the earliest. A ⟨k⟩ variant often found in the late Middle Ages has a long curved ascender bent to the right and continued below the line so that it reaches the normal depth of a descender.

⟨p⟩. This grapheme appears in two main variants with respect to the "chamber" to the right of the descender. In one variant the chamber has a "floor", while in the other one it does not. The floor-type is by far the most common one; only a few cases without a floor have been observed by Jansson (1952–54, 112 f.), the earliest one from 1277. With respect to the *ductus*, ⟨p⟩ with a floor can be written either with two or more pen strokes, or with one. The latter type belongs to the German cursive and can be described as a loop lying on the line, closed on the left-hand side, after which the stroke is continued below the line as a descender. This variant has been cited by Jansson (1952–54, 115) from 1460 at the earliest.

⟨r⟩. This grapheme is normally of a Carolingian type. In a few of the earliest extant manuscripts it has been continued below the line, ending as a descender, as in ⟨p⟩ (always in Dipl. Sv. 51 from 1164–67, a few cases in Dipl. Sv. 240 from 1225; both in book script).

The ⟨r⟩ *rotunda* appears after ⟨a⟩ and ⟨o⟩ when it is followed by an abbreviation sign for *um*, and after uncial ⟨d⟩ (∂). For ⟨r⟩, more than for any other grapheme, the reduced majuscule (ʀ) is used as a minuscule. It occurs (irregularly) in words that should be emphasized (e.g. in Dipl. Sv. 51 and Dipl. Sv. 240). However, ⟨ʀ⟩ and ⟨r⟩ can alternate freely in a document, although this is rare, e.g. in the early diploma Dipl. Sv. 137 from 1210–16 (book script).

⟨s⟩. Minuscule ⟨s⟩ has two main allographs, the long one (which could be described as an *f* without a cross-bar) and the round (sigmatic) one. The distribution between the two follows the main rule in Latin script: round minuscule ⟨s⟩ is used only in word-final position. Long ⟨s⟩ appears in all other positions although there are exceptions (e.g. in Dipl. Sv. 64, which has some instances of word-final long ⟨s⟩).

⟨þ⟩. In book script ⟨þ⟩ often stands on the line. In such cases it can be described as an *l* with a closed curve on the right-hand side. In diploma script, however, ⟨þ⟩ always has a descender, like ⟨p⟩. The grapheme has been imported from England by way of western Scandinavian script (Seip 1954, 44). Although not indigenous to Scandinavia, the use of ⟨þ⟩ is likely to have been supported by the existence of the character Þ in the mediaeval runic alphabet. ⟨þ⟩ denotes a voiced or voiceless dental fricative. In Swedish book hands it was for a long time the normal letter for those sounds. In Cod Holm. B 193 it alternates with ⟨ð⟩, but in some later law codes it is used exclusively. In the second half of the 14th c. it eventually gave way to ⟨dh⟩/⟨th⟩. Thus, the Law Code of Söderköping from 1387 (Cod. Holm. B 127) always has ⟨th⟩, the Law Code of Stockholm from the first half of the 15th c. (Cod. Holm. B 154) has both ⟨dh⟩ and ⟨th⟩, whereas in Cod. Holm, B 112 from the end of the 14th c. ⟨dh⟩ alternates with ⟨þ⟩.

In diploma script ⟨þ⟩ appears also in Latin manuscripts, exclusively, however, in Swedish words (proper names). From the 13th c. Jansson (1952–54, 122f.) cites seven Latin diplomas that have ⟨þ⟩. During the 14th c. their frequency increased, although ⟨þ⟩ doesn't appear in more than a few tens of diplomas. Its use discontinued during the 15th c.

Thus, while being rather rare in diploma script, ⟨þ⟩ seems to have had a strong position in Swedish scribal tradition, at least up to the middle of the 14th c. This assumption is sup-

ported by several facts. Although occurring rarely in the diplomas, it appears over a relatively long period of time and in several parts of the country. The oldest extant diploma in Swedish, dated 1330, almost exclusively uses ⟨þ⟩ and the latest case observed by Jansson (1952–54, 122f.) dates from 1410 (SD 1304). Writing in Swedish was based on an orthographic tradition going back at least to the beginning of the 13th c., with the regular use of ⟨þ⟩ for dental fricatives. It should be stressed that St. Bridget, who was probably used to writing Swedish (see 2.2.) but not educated in writing Latin, consistently uses ⟨þ⟩ in the preserved autographs. Thus, the disappearance of ⟨þ⟩ from Swedish orthography is evidently due to Latin influence.

⟨u⟩. From a graphemic point of view, *u, v,* and *w* in mediaeval script should be considered allographs of the same grapheme. The allograph *u* mainly belongs to book script, where it alternates with *v*. According to Jansson (1952–54, 109) *u* is rare in letter script, where it is replaced by *w* and does not appear until the 15th c. It often has a superscript diacritic in the shape of a small *u*-like curve or *v*-like angle.

⟨å⟩. The approximate sound value of this grapheme is [o]. According to Seip (1954, 122) ⟨å⟩ appears in a few Norwegian diplomas from the 15th and 16th c. In Sweden it is not found in manuscripts written before the 14th of February 1526, the date of publication of *Een nyttwgh vnderwijsning*, which was the first printed matter to be published by the Swedish Reformation (Collijn, 1934–38, 321f.) and in which ⟨å⟩ is in regular use. In Swedish script ⟨å⟩ dates back to this publication and was spread by the reformers, through *Thet Nyia Testamentit på Swensko*, which was published in August 15th 1526 (Collijn, 1934–38, 331f.). If ⟨å⟩ appears in documents dated before 1526, it appears to have been created secondarily by a later addition of a superscript circle above an ⟨a⟩ (Jansson 1944, 134, note 45; 1952–54, 87, 146 note 5). The ⟨å⟩ was evidently modelled on early printed ⟨ä⟩ and ⟨ö⟩, which originally had the shape of *a,* and *o,* with a small *e* printed on top.

⟨æ⟩, ⟨ę⟩. Originally a ligature, ⟨æ⟩ is an independent grapheme in Swedish mediaeval script. It denotes a low or middle-high non-rounded front vowel. It appears in diplomas during all the Middle Ages. In formal script in the Swedish language it is common from ca. 1250 (Cod. Holm. B 193) onwards. The fundamental form is always the same, i.e. an

⟨a⟩ with an additional stroke on the right-hand side which can vary considerably as to shape and placement. The ⟨ẹ⟩ called *e caudata*, has formally developed from the ligature ⟨æ⟩ and should be regarded as a variety of that character. It appears occasionally in diplomas from the 12th and 13th c., but here its graphemic status is doubtful. In Dipl. Sv. 51 from the 1160s it always denotes Latin *-ae*.

⟨ø⟩. To denote the phoneme /ø/, viz. a low or middle-high rounded front vowel, Swedish script originally used digraphic ⟨eo⟩, ⟨eu⟩ etc. under continental European influence. Not until ca. 1230 does ⟨ø⟩ with a diagonal crossbar appear (Jansson 1952–54, 89). Like ⟨æ⟩, it thereafter existed throughout the Middle Ages.

⟨Ⴘ⟩. See sect. 6.

4.   Ligatures

The term *ligature* should denote two graphs that are conjoined in such a way that they share a pen stroke which is distinctive for each grapheme. Two graphs that share a non-distinctive stroke do not fulfill this definition. (When describing the ligatures of Swedish mediaeval script, Jansson has taken up such cases as well: 1944, 129; 1952–54, 137). In Sweden the use of ligatures is scanty. Only the ligatures of ⟨r⟩ and a preceding grapheme occur regularly; in such cases ⟨r⟩ appears as the *rotunda* allograph. The preceding grapheme was originally ⟨o⟩ exclusively, eventually even uncial ⟨d⟩.

5.   Numerals

Latin numerals are clearly predominant. Their shapes are the ones usually found in European script. For Latin I, V, X, C, and D, minuscules are used, for M a reduced majuscule of uncial type. Latin numerals are mostly, but not always, written within interlinear dots, e. g. ·iii· (= 3). Arabic numerals are found occasionally in the earliest material; the oldest one recorded by S. Jansson appears in a diploma from 1260 (Jansson 1944, 130; 1952–54, 143). In late letters from the 15th c. Arabic numerals are not uncommon. They appear in varying shapes (see Kroman 1982b). One early document with Arabic numerals of, on the whole, modern shapes is an autographic letter from March 1st 1504 by Hans Brask, then cathedral dean, later to become Bishop of Linköping.

6.   Abbreviation signs

The abbreviation system is the Latin one (with one exception: Ⴘ). In Latin documents written in Sweden, nothing special is to be found. In documents in Swedish, the Latin abbreviation signs are used as long as they fit reasonably well with Swedish pronunciation. Thus, signs for contraction as well as signs for omitted ⟨m⟩ or ⟨n⟩ occur regularly. Both have the form of a superscript horizontal stroke. The sign of suspension varies a great deal in shape but often takes the form of a hook similar to a ⟨z⟩ which descends below the line: ʒ; in this form it is especially common in the abbreviation of the preposition *meþ* as *mʒ*.

Abbreviation signs for individual vowels as well as vowels preceded or succeeded by /r/ (*er*, *ir*, *re*, *ri*, *ur* etc.) occur throughout the Middle Ages. They are especially common in late mediaeval chancellery script, as seen in the chancellery of the Bishop of Linköping during the 1520s (Gunneng 1981). A grapho-phonemic and grapho-morphemic analysis of the abbreviation system in Old Swedish remains to be done.

Ⴘ. In England the *m*-rune (ᛗ) was used as the abbreviation sign for *man, men*, and under that influence the Nordic *m*-rune Ⴘ appears in some early Old Norse manuscripts as a sign for *maðr* 'man' (Seip 1954, 30, 59, 81). In Sweden this habit is limited to the main manuscript of the law of Västergötland (Cod. Holm. B 59) from the 1280s. Here the abbreviation is written ·Ⴘ·, with an interlinear dot on each side of the rune. In this codex, it alternates with unabbreviated *maþær*.

7.   Old Swedish texts and manuscripts

Bridget, St., *autographs*. Facs. Högman; CCS 10 p. 4–7; Hildebrand et al. pl. 21.

CCS = *Corpus codicum Suecicorum medii aevi*. Hafniae 1943–67.

CCS 2. *Processus seu negocium canonizacionis b. Katerine de Vadstenis. Codex A 93 Bibl. Reg. Holm.* Ed. Isak Collijn. Hafniae 1943.

CCS 6. *Lex Vestro-gothica recentior ('Yngre Västgötalagen'), cui addita est lex urbica antiquior ('Bjärköarätten'). E codice B 58 Bibl. Reg. Holm.* Ed. Adolf Schück. Hafniae 1946.

CCS 10. *Revelationes S. Birgittae. Translatio Suecana (Birgittas uppenbarelser på svenska). E codice Bibl. Reg. Holm. A 5 B una cum duabus schedis a S. Birgitta manu propria scriptis* Ed. Märta Wessén. Hafniae 1949.

CCS 11. *Liber privilegiorum monasterii Vadstenensis. E codice Archivi Reg. Holm. A 19 (olim A 23)* Ed. Ernst Nygren. Hafniae 1950.

CCS 12. *Lex Vestro-gothica vetustior (Äldre Västgötalagen). E codice B 59 Bibl. Reg. Holm.* Ed. Elias Wessén. Hafniae 1950.

CCS 13. *Revelationes S. Birgittae. P. 1. E codice membr. fol. 21, Bibl. Universitatis Lundensis ("Cod. Falkenberg").* Ed. Elias Wessén. Hafniae 1952.

CCS 14. *Revelationes S. Birgittae. P. 2. E codice membr. fol. 21, Bibl. Universitatis Lundensis ("Cod. Falkenberg").* Ed. Elias Wessén. Hafniae 1956.

CCS 16. *Diarium Vadstenense. Vadstena klosters minnesbok. E codice membr. Bibl. Univ. Upsal. C 89.* Ed. Ernst Nygren. Hafniae 1963.

Cod. a 7, *Swedish National Archives.* Facs. Hildebrand et al. pl. 27 no. 26.

Codex Aboënsis. Turun käsikirjoitus. Codex fd. Kalmar. Kommentaarit ja suomennokset. Helsingfors 1977.

Cod. Hafn. GKS = *Codex Hafniensis, Gammel Kongelig Samling. Ms. in the collection GKS*, Copenhagen.

Cod. Hafn., GKS 1325 4 : o. Facs. *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts, X – XIII Centuries, in Danish Collections.* Copenhagen/London/Oxford 1921; Palæografisk Atlas, udg. af Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske Legat. Dansk Afdeling. København 1905; Kroman 1944, 42.

Cod. Holm. = *Codex Holmiensis.* Ms. in the collection of the Royal Library, Stockholm.

Cod. Holm. A 9. Facs. Hildebrand et al. pl. 25 no. 39.

Cod. Holm. A 37. Facs. S. Jansson 1944, 125.

Cod. Holm. A 65. Facs. CCS 10, B. Högman 1951, Hildebrand et al. pl. 21.

Cod. Holm. A 110. (*Cod. Oxenstiernianus*). Facs. Hildebrand et al. pl. 20 no. 32.

Cod. Holm. B 50 Facs. *Illuminated manuscripts* pl. 10, *Gyllene böcker* 1987, 46.

Cod. Holm. B 52. Facs. S. Jansson 1944, 112.

Cod. Holm. B 53. Facs. S. Jansson 1944, 110.

Cod. Holm. B 56. Facs. S. Jansson 1944, 107.

Cod. Holm. B 58. Facs. CCS 6, Jansson 1944, 111.

Cod. Holm. B 59. Facs. CCS 12; Kirchner 1966 tab. 15; Hildebrand et al. pl. 19 no. 30; *Illuminated manuscripts* pl. 11; Jansson 1924, 113, 1944, 105; Svensson, 1979, 52.

Cod. Holm. B 107. Facs., Jansson 1944, 114.

Cod. Holm. B 127. Facs. Hildebrand et al. pl. 22.

Cod. Holm. B 154. Facs. *Illuminated manuscripts*, pl. 12; *Gyllene böcker* 1987, 51; S. Jansson 1924, 117; 1944, 122.

Cod. Holm. B 172. Facs. *Codex Aboënsis,* Hildebrand et al. pl. 19 no. 29; Wiktorsson 1982, passim.

Cod. Holm. B 193. Facs. von Friesen 1904; Jansson 1944, 99.

Cod. Holm. B 199. Facs. S. Jansson 1944, 108.

Cod. Holm. D 2. Facs. *Erikskrönikan enligt Cod. Holm D 2 jämte avvikande läsarter ur andra handskrifter.* Nytr. (med ett tillägg). Uppsala (Stockholm) 1963; Hildebrand et al. pl. 24 no. 37.

Cod. Holm. D 3. Facs. S. Jansson 1924, fig. 60b, 124.

Cod. Holm. D 4. Facs. Hildebrand et al. pl. 23 no. 35.

Cod. Holm. D 6. Facs. *Karls-krönikan.* Med inledning av Oscar Wieselgren. Svenska historiska föreningen. Äldre handskrifter i facsimile, 1. Stockholm 1938.

Diploma 1330, Uppsala University Library. Facs. Otterbjörk 1966, 125; Svensson 1979, 56.

Diploma 1455 29/6, Facs. Hildebrand et al., pl. 13 no. 20; Cornell (1966), 72.

Diploma 1495 17/11, Uppsala University Library. Facs. Swedlund/Svenonius no. 3.

Diploma 1498 4/6, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Hildebrand et al., pl. 15.

Diploma 1504 1/3, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Hildebrand et al., pl. 16.

Dipl. Sv. = *Diplomatarium Suecanum. Svenskt diplomatarium,* utg. av Kungl. Vitterhets-, Historie- och Antikvitetsakademien. Stockholm 1829–.

Dipl. Sv. 51, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Hildebrand et al. pl. 2 no. 2; Jansson [1944], 83, fig. 36.

Dipl. Sv. 63, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Öberg 1974, 23.

Dipl. Sv. 64, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Hildebrand et al., pl. 3.

Dipl. Sv. 137, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Öberg 1974, 27.

Dipl. Sv. 240, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Hildebrand et al., pl. 5, no. 5.

Dipl. Sv. 317, Swedish National Archives.

Dipl. Sv. 318, Swedish National Archives.

Dipl. Sv. 355, Swedish National Archives.

Dipl. Sv. 445, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Hildebrand et al., pl. 5.

Dipl. Sv. 586, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Hildebrand et al., pl. 6.

Dipl. Sv. 2008, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Hildebrand et al., pl. 7.

Dipl. Sv. 4780, Swedish National Archives. Facs. Hildebrand et al., pl. 11.

RPB = *Svenska riksarchivets pergamentsbref från och med år 1351.* Förtecknade med angivande af innehållet (1866–1872). Stockholm.

RPB 2700. Facs. Jansson 1924, 115.

SD = *Svenskt diplomatarium från och med år 1401.* Utg. af Riksarkivet (1875–1904). Stockholm.

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