THE·LATIN·MANUSCRIPT·BOOK

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THE LATIN MANUSCRIPT BOOK

AN EXHIBITION HELD ON THE OCCASION OF THE SEMINARS IN LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY SPONSORED BY THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO AND THE MEDIEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA · SUMMER · MCMLXXIII · SELECTED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY

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The Latin Manuscript Book

This exhibition honors the practice and the tradition of palaeography at the University of Chicago. The tradition is a venerable one, extending over many years and several generations of faculty and students.

The locus of that tradition is the Joseph Regenstein Library. It maintains a distinguished collection of catalogues, monographs, and facsimiles pertaining to manuscripts, housed (to the great benefit of students) in a special study room. The collection is the more to be treasured because of its numerous superb facsimiles, many of them now long out of print and irreplaceable. The Library also possesses about 200 Latin codex manuscripts and more than 100 fragments. Of these the oldest are fragments written in the tenth and eleventh centuries, with the earliest complete books dating from the twelfth century. Alongside the Library's Latin collection are an extraordinary group of Greek biblical manuscripts and a number of valuable codices in English, German, French, Italian, and Dutch from the same early period.

The University Library's collections of manuscripts, like all those in America, have been fortuitously acquired, item by item or in small lots. Corresponding European and British collections, on the other hand, are more largely historical accretions, collected over long periods of time by the absorption of the entire libraries of monasteries, schools, and individuals. The University of Chicago, removed by time and place, has always attempted to obtain manuscripts as potential sources of scholarly investigation and teaching. Its first acquisitions came in 1891, the year of its founding, when the University purchased more than 25 Latin codices *en bloc* from a Berlin bookseller. It has since continued to acquire early manuscript books to support research and instruction in many areas, among them Chaucerian England, Italian humanism, law, music, and Latin palaeography. In many cases, especially during the 1920's and early 1930's, the Library benefited from the generosity of friends, most notably Shirley Farr, Martin A. Ryerson, and the Alumni Committee on Manuscripts. As scholarly interests change from generation to generation, manuscripts purchased for one purpose often become the subjects of quite different investigations. One codex obtained for its text is now the subject of palaeographical study, while a demographer has recently extracted important population data for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from the Sir Nicholas Bacon Collection of English Muniments, originally bought to support the work of the Chaucer project.

The modern study of the Latin manuscript book, furthermore, owes much to scholarship on this side of the Atlantic. Our understanding of Latin manuscripts and their history, as is readily recognized in Europe, would be considerably diminished without the contributions of professors at the University of Chicago. I refer to C.H. Beeson, B.L. Ullman, Helena Gamer, and Blanche Boyer. Their instruction and writings are another part of the palaeographical tradition at this University, one which Miss Boyer, now emeritus, still pursues by her presence and research.

In large measure because of this deep-seated interest in Latin manuscripts, the Humanities Division of the University, with the support of the Medieval Academy of America, decided to sponsor two seminars in palaeography during the summer of 1973. It seems appropriate to present this exhibition in conjunction with them. The purpose of the seminars is to acquaint advanced graduate and post-doctoral students in the United States with the best recent scholarship in Great Britain and on the Continent and to stimulate teaching about Latin documents and manuscripts in this country. The exhibition seeks to encourage further discussion by the students and to extend the seminars in some measure to a wider public. It is hoped that the exhibition will also pay tribute to the curators of manuscripts, scholars, and benefactors, both present and past, who are responsible for the palaeographical resources of the University Library.

The exhibit is organized around a particular theme: the history of the Latin manuscript book. I have deliberately refrained from selecting only the most renowned co-

dices for display and also from emphasizing illuminations, partly because some of these have been shown before, partly in order to highlight script rather than decoration. I have tried to put the viewer at the elbow of the scribe and to enable him to see the manuscript as it was seen by the scribe himself. The chief criterion of selection, therefore, has been to illustrate not merely specimens but development. The art of writing seen in the perspective of man's millenia on earth, is of very recent occurence. But its discovery was surely one of man's most momentous and its practice one of the most continuous. We in the West, for example, still write the script of our Roman forefathers, despite long centuries and vast changes in civilization generally. It thus appeared worthwhile to attempt to present a segment of that art, namely the handwritten Latin book, in its historical development. Such a theme seemed instructive and challenging, both to the compiler and to the viewer.

The first part of the exhibit (items 1 to 36) treats the several phases of the manuscript book approximately in the order in which they occurred: selection and preparation of materials; the choice of a suitable format and script for the particular text in question; the execution of copying; and various aspects of a manuscript's later history, such as notes entered by readers, marks of ownership, and bindings. The second part (items 37 to 96) illustrates the history of Latin scripts as used by professional scribes during the age of the handwritten book.

It is a privilege to record here my appreciation for the assistance of the entire staff of the University Library's Department of Special Collections: to Amy Cheng for many services; to Robert Allison for sharing his intimate acquaintance with several manuscripts; and to two capable and tireless editors, Carolyn Baldwin and Barbara Koelb who are responsible for numerous improvements in the text of the catalogue and also for displaying the exhibit. Robert Williams of the University of Chicago Press, himself an expert scribe, designed the catalogue and executed the headings of both catalogue and exhibit. He also furnished the frontispiece, which is taken from an actual fifteenth-century manuscript, and the explanatory drawing in the section on bindings.

Margaret McFadden, who is an experienced binder of fine rare books, wrote the introduction and descriptions for the medieval bindings in items 30 to 36, and I am grateful to her for adding this significant dimension to the exhibition. The Curator of the Department of Special Collections, Robert Rosenthal, and his Assistant Curator, Margaret McFadden, first suggested the possibility of an exhibit of Latin manuscripts and gave invaluable inspiration in its preparation. Their generosity in making manuscripts available and their encouragement to those who study the materials under their care have placed us all in their debt. I know I speak for many scholars and students in acknowledging this debt with deep gratitude.

Braxton Ross
Assistant Professor of
Medieval History

Note to the second printing

The richness of the University of Chicago Library's collections made it possible to mount an exhibition in 1973 that illustrated with actual manuscripts or facsimiles the full range of the history of the Latin manuscript book. This catalogue, as a result, became something of a handbook of that history and has proven useful to students. When the original 2,000 copies were exhausted some months ago, there was an added incentive to keep alive this reminder of one of the Library's important collections. I appreciate the support of Stanley McElderry, Director of the University of Chicago Library, who recognized this need and made possible a second printing of the catalogue. It has also been possible to make a few corrections, including the identification of the texts of some fragments by students.

Braxton Ross
July 1978

Writing Materials

From Roll to Codex. Greek and Roman scribes copied literature on rolls (Latin *volumen,* whence our volume). The *volumen* was a long strip of papyrus sheets glued together, perhaps ten or more feet long, with columns of text perpendicular to the length so that the reader unfurled the roll sideways. As a form quite different from our own, although we have revived it with the microfilm, the roll made for certain differences of habit. Among other things, it meant that the ancients kept their books in boxes or baskets and that consulting a work was an awkward business, although reading offered no problems. The roll gradually gave way to the codex as the bearer of literary texts during the Roman Empire, but it has survived to modern times as a format for documents.

Our books with leaves fastened at the back did not derive from the roll but rather from the wooden tablet with an inset waxed surface. We know that Cato the Censor (d. 149 B.C.), Cicero (d. 43 B.C.), and others had several such tablets (or sometimes pieces of leather or parchment) bound together for copying records, notes, first drafts, and other informal writing. The bound tablets or leaves, called a *codex,* are the forebear of the modern book. By the third century A.D. the codex had also won at least grudging recognition alongside the roll as a literary book form. Christians took the lead in introducing the codex, to judge by surviving evidence: all ten of our earliest (second century A.D.) Biblical fragments are codices, but codices for pagan works do not outnumber rolls until the fourth century.

The codex is especially suited to ages which revere the written word. The earliest Roman law codes, for example, were promulgated in the late third century in codex form. Thus the late Roman Empire and medieval Christendom, with their reverence for law and jurisprudence and for the Bible and the Fathers, found the codex to their liking. It has been the principal bearer of literary texts ever since.

Papyrus, parchment, paper. The Egyptian papyrus plant furnished the chief material for early books. Its flat, fibrous reeds were pressed and glued together in sheets, probably with the sticky pith of the papyrus itself. These in turn could be glued end to end in rolls or sewn into codices. Papyrus began to fade gradually from use after the third century A.D. because of diminishing supply, although it was still used as late as the eleventh century.

Parchment is more durable than papyrus and more easily written on on both sides (the vertical fibres on the reverse of a papyrus folio hinder smooth writing). Akin to rawhide, parchment was prepared from the hides of sheep, goats, and calves. Parchmenters moistened the hide with water and lime, scraped off the hair, and after it had been stretched and dried, they shaved it with a sharp blade and pumiced the surface smooth. Chalk was often used to whiten and to draw out grease. In actual practice preparation varied considerably. Early Irish and English centers, for example, produced thickish membranes with suede-like surfaces for which it is difficult to distinguish the hair-side from the flesh-side. Many writing centers could not afford fine parchment; they allowed poor preparation and used defective sheets with scars and bruise-holes which scribes merely jumped over, even in midword. Frugal monks, especially in the early Middle Ages, often washed or scraped the original writing from the leaves of volumes no longer wanted and reused them. Books thus produced are called palimpsests. Some of the original text usually remains, sometimes much of it. A number of important witnesses to ancient works have survived in palimpsests, including unique texts for Gaius, Fronto, and Cicero's *De re publica* (for the latter, see the section on uncial script). By contrast, the finest Italian parchment of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, chalked and pumiced to smooth white elegance, shows what was possible in wealthy merchant cities.

Europeans learned to make paper from the Arabs in the twelfth century, but their discovery only became important in the book trade two hundred years later. Paper had the advantage of being cheaper, a fact which contributed to the impact of the in-

vention of printing. Conservative tastes, however, yielded slowly, and parchment continued for several generations to be preferred by those who could afford it.

Pen and Ink. Egyptians wrote with reeds frayed on the tips like brushes. Later scribes used pens with split tips, a reed in classical times, but after the fourth century more often a quill. Inks were solutions containing a carbon material such as soot or an iron salt and nut gall (iron gall ink), or other substances.

1 *Legal Proceedings* (in Greek)
Eastern Roman Empire
Fourth century A.D.
Ms 1058, recto

Although papyrus was used all around the Mediterranean basin and in Europe, it survives today, with few exceptions, only from Egypt and other desert regions. Since the official language of these areas was Greek, we have many more Greek papyri than Latin.

These three fragments, now kept in plastic and arranged approximately in their original position, show remains of two columns. They also illustrate how the reeds were laid so that the fibres run horizontally on the front, or *recto,* for ease in writing and spacing.

2 *Curiae de Redgrave tentae annis domini Richardi Abbatis 20-23*
Redgrave, Suffolk, England
A.D. 1331-1334
Bacon Ms 18

Medieval documents and records--as opposed to literary and religious texts--were usually kept on sheets of parchment, which were rolled up for storage and thus called "rolls." Sheets could be lengthened by sewing two or more pieces end to end. Many of the court rolls like this one associated with the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds were sewn together at the head in bundles. This bundle, which includes twenty-one rolls, contains four years' activities of the manorial court at Redgrave, recording such business as land transfers, inheritances, marriage fees and dowries, and fines for misdemeanors. The script is a fine example of English documentary writing of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

3 Iuvenalis, *Satirae*
Florence 28 November 1441
Ms 29, pp. 140-141

Parchmenters in fifteenth-century Italy were able to produce fine, white parchment of uniform quality and smoothness. It was especially sought after for humanistic books.

The script of this text of Juvenal, by an expert scribe, is humanistic minuscule dated 1441 at Florence by the final colophon. The script of the marginalia, doubtless copied from the exemplar, is by the same hand.

4 Georgius Trapezuntius, *Rhetoricorum libri V*
North Italy Fifteenth century
Ms 851, ff. 4v-5

The use of paper in books grew enormously during the fifteenth century, although parchment remained the preferred material for fine and *de luxe* codices. As paper became more common, the number of paper manufacturers rose and with it the number of different watermarks which manufacturers imposed on their paper as identification.

Watermarks might seem to be useful guides to the origins of manuscripts copied on paper, since documents executed at known dates and places were often written on paper with watermarks. Indeed, they can furnish useful information, but because paper can be stored for long periods and shipped over considerable areas, they cannot pinpoint a manuscript's origin with precision. Many manufacturers, furthermore, had similar watermarks, and the wire patterns used to impose the design sometimes bent with use.

The paper of this manuscript is imprinted with a two-footed, winged dragon. Approximately 125 winged-dragon watermarks are known for the 167 years from 1359 to 1526, with those closest to the dragon of our codex coming from northern Italy over a wide span of the fifteenth century. The watermark is thus not in this case a definite indicator, although it may be a useful check against other evidence.

Preparation for Copying

A codex consists of double pages which are first collected and sewn into gatherings and then bound together at the back and provided with a cover. This takes place after imposing the text on the paper in our modern printed book; in the handwritten codex, however, the steps and their order are slightly different.

Gatherings. Scribes first had to form gatherings or quires (cf. Latin *quaterni* and *quaternio*, set of four). This was sometimes done by folding a hide or half-hide and then trimming the top and outer edges; on other occasions separate double sheets were put together, usually in fours but also in other numbers depending on the amount of text, the sizes of hide or book, and the local custom. It was customary to mark the quires of a codex in the lower margin of the last page so that one could tell at a glance their proper order and whether any were missing. Quires were marked with Roman numerals or, less commonly, with capital letters. In the later twelfth century they began to be abandoned gradually in favor of catchwords (i.e. the first word or two of the next page).

Ruling. Makers of handwritten books defined the written space, margins, and the lines on which the script would be written by means of ruled lines. Lines might also be ruled in the upper margin for running titles, for small initials in the left margin, or might divide the written space into columns. Ruling was thus a principal tool in book design since it outlined the proportions of the written space and its relation to the page, determined how close the lines of writing would be, and disposed the text into one or more columns. Scribes of the oldest books ruled with a stylus, leaving a furrow in the parchment. Pencil, pen, or fine crayon replaced the stylus over the course of the twelfth century, but the humanists revived it in the fifteenth century for ruling paper as well as parchment.

Pricking. Pricks or slits were made to guide the ruling, usually in the outer margins only so that an entire double page was ruled at once. Pricks in other positions furnish clues to origin: within the text area, they betray an ancient practice and are a sign of a manuscript at least as old as the sixth century; pricks in the inner as well as outer margins of early manuscripts--for ruling after the bifolium was folded--almost always indicate an origin in an Irish or English scriptorium; pricks in both margins also occur generally in books during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.

5 Aegidius Columna, *Historia Troiana*
Italy — Fourteenth century
Ms 542

The loss of the binding enables us to see the gathered leaves of this book as the scribe must have had them (except for lost leaves and the severed lower portion). Prickings are visible along the edges of the outer margins.

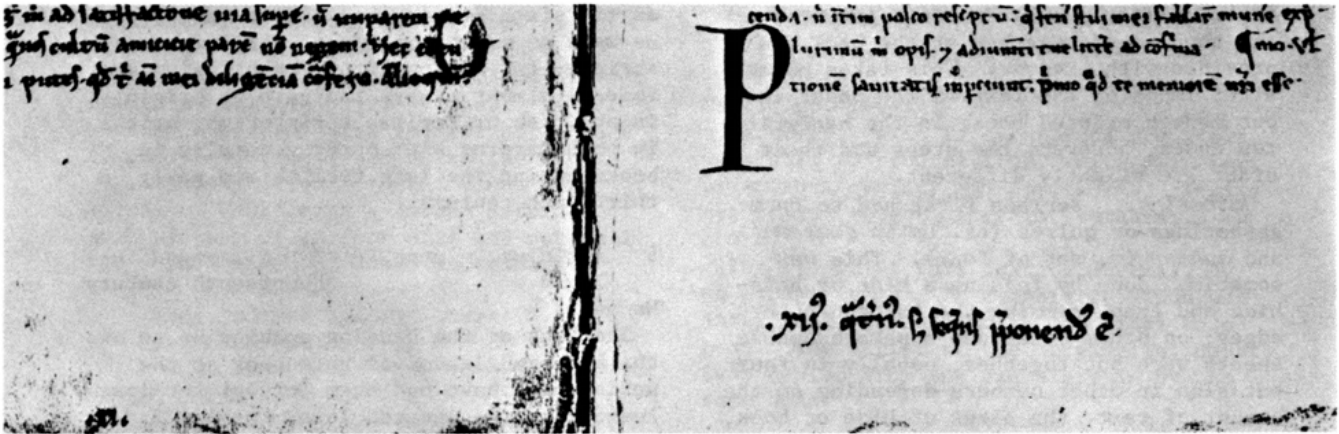
6 Symmachus, *Epistulae*
England — Twelfth century
Ms 756, ff. 32v-33

The marking of gatherings allowed librarians and readers to see quickly if the contents were complete and in proper order. In the lower margin of the left page quire XI is marked in the usual fashion; the note on the right, however, was added to say that this was the twelfth quire but that the following quire ought to precede it (*duodecimus quaternus* [for *quaternio*], *sed sequens praeponendus est*). The script of the text is a type of primitive Gothic usually reserved for documents.

7 Aristotle, *De moribus ad nichomachum quem iohannes Argyropylus byzantinus gratia magnifici Cosme medicis florentinus traduxit*
Italy — Fifteenth century
Ms 5, ff. 30v-31

The end of the third gathering is marked with the catchwords *in quibus* which open the fourth. The manuscript contains eight gatherings of five double-leaves each. Within gatherings, every double-leaf is marked in the lower right corner *a1*, *a2*, *a3*, etc. in order to show to what quire it belongs and its place within the quire. Here the fourth quire opens with *d1*. This practice became common perhaps a little before 1300.

Item 6 [from ff. 32v-33]



Following the usual custom, the scribe wrote a tiny *c* in the margin of the left page to tell the illuminator what initial to enter at the head of chapter III, but the manuscript apparently never got to the illuminator.

8 Aegidius Columna, *Historia troiana*
France — Fifteenth century
Ms 543, ff. 2v-3

"Frame ruling," as illustrated here, is common in less formal books of the later Middle Ages. Only the boundaries of the written space are ruled. The outside leaf of each gathering is parchment, the inner leaves are paper. Gatherings are large and irregular, containing 14, 16, 18, and 20 sheets.

9 Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*
Germany — Thirteenth century
Ms 120, ff. 40v-41

Prickings to guide the horizontal ruling occur in the inner and outer margins and in the upper and lower margins to guide vertical lines. The scribe entered both a Roman numeral (V̇ = *quintus*) and catchwords in the lower margin of the left page to mark the end of the quire.

What is a Type of Script?

Scripts of handwritten books conformed to standard models written by trained scribes; they were almost never personal. Bookshops and the scriptoria of monasteries and other centers, however, had repertoires of standard scripts, each of which was written by trained scribes according to specific rules. Letters, abbreviations, ligatures, and other features had particular forms in any given script; alternate forms were sometimes available and, on certain occasions, required (e.g. Insular majuscule often tolerated two forms of *d, n, r,* and *s*; Beneventan script required a special form of the *ti*-ligature for the soft pronunciation). Correctors wielded busy pens where scribes had departed from the accepted way. Exceptions to the rule of standard scripts occur here and there in books, often of technical content, copied for personal use by scholars with no scribal training. Thomas Aquinas is the most eminent example of a scholar who wrote a personal hand. It is noteworthy, however, that Robert Grosseteste, John Hus, Coluccio Salutati, and Boccaccio all wrote more or less acceptable standard hands, while that of Petrarch is exemplary.

A type of script, therefore, was a model which the scribe had in his mind's eye and which he attempted to reproduce with his pen. Furthermore, successful types of script exhibit such harmony among their different elements and so close a relation to the culture of their times as to suggest that they were created by a single person. In other words scripts do not evolve by themselves like biological species or even perhaps like languages. They are invented, so it would seem, when some master scribe with a keen sense of beauty, proportion, and function, perceives how to select existing forms and how to modify or transform them into a unified, aesthetic whole.

Purpose influenced script. Revered texts like Vergil, the Bible, or liturgy commanded formal, carefully written scripts, while vernacular writings frequently appear at the opposite end of the scale--the old minuscule for Anglo-Saxon texts and cursive or hybrid scripts for later vernaculars. There is more variety for the ordinary treatises of classical authors, the Fathers, and medieval writers, and for commentaries, vocabularies, and the like. Titles, colophons, and other headings or formulae were often written in a different, generally more formal lettering. To judge by this evidence, therefore, scribes not only conceived of different types of script, they also distinguished among them a hierarchy of importance.

Some types--uncial, Caroline minuscule, and Gothic, for example--achieved more or less universal recognition, while others such as Visigothic or Luxeuil minuscule, never reached beyond a limited area or even their own local region. It is interesting to observe that all scripts tended to migrate with movements of men and culture: Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries propagated their handwriting as well as their religion on the Continent in the seventh and eighth centuries; the influx of Normans into the English church after the Conquest left its impress on script; and northern scholars and bibliophiles who visited fifteenth-century Italy sometimes returned home writing humanistic minuscule. Despite the universality of some scripts and the movements of others, scribes still betrayed regional and even personal characteristics in their handwriting, much as individuals betray local or personal traits in their speech. It is this fact which allows experts to estimate the place and date of origin for handwritten books--90 per cent of them bear no explicit evidence of their "publication"--from an analysis of their calligraphy. Palaeographers compare the book in question with specimens of known origin in the same script, and in relation to these they attempt to judge where and when the book was copied. It is a method which yields only probable answers and is especially inadequate when fixed points of comparison are scarce. Fortunately other facts about the book and its make-up may also furnish useful clues. The preparation of the parchment, abbreviations, spelling, decorations, readers' notes, and other features can be telltale, nor are to be excluded as testimony the tradition of the text and the availability of the work as indicated by contemporary

Item 13 [from f. 16]

direct references and authors' citations and by library catalogues. The precise origin of some manuscripts, nevertheless, remains in doubt, even after years of study by investigators in several fields. Two codices of the gospels, the Codex Bezae and the Book of Kells, are celebrated instances of manuscripts still homeless, although they have no lack of fellows. Only with more knowledge, including the contributions of such neighboring disciplines as archeology, literature, epigraphy, and the history of art and liturgy, will the more difficult puzzles yield their secrets.

10 *Alphabet*

Fourth or fifth century

Facsimile from H.J.M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals* (London: 1934).

Two Latin alphabets survive on three fragments of a page from an early Greek shorthand manual. They were doubtless models for two Latin scripts. The upper alphabet is half-uncial with uncial *a*, the lower is Rustic capital. Since the fragments can be spaced in their original positions by the Greek text on the reverse side, it may be that a third alphabet filled the gap between the two survivors.

11 *Alphabet*

England — Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century

Ms 654 supplement, p. 161

Fly-leaves and discarded books furnished the scratch-paper on which medieval scribes doodled and practiced. The alphabet in the corner of this musical fragment was written, possibly as a model, by an English scribe in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The script is an English cursive known as Anglicana: note the cursive *e* (also in *Amen*) and two forms of *s*.

12 Giovanni Boccaccio, *Teseide*

Italy — Fifteenth century

Ms 541, ff. 62v-63

Humanistic minuscule (with a few cursive features) serves for the text of Boccaccio's heroic epic, the first in the Italian language. The extensive surrounding commentary is set off in a different script, humanistic cursive.

13 Horace, *Opera*

Italy — Fifteenth century

Ms 27, ff. 15v-16

Scribes of this writing center distinguished at least three scripts and wrote them with skill. The general rule for this book was humanistic minuscule in red for incipits, explicits, and titles; humanistic cursive for the text; Roman capitals for some opening lines and the first letter of verses. The script of the marginal and interlinear notes is also humanistic cursive (with vestiges of Gothic), but, like all regular "gloss" scripts, it is written more freely, and ascenders and descenders are lengthened in proportion to the bodies of letters.

Scribes and Their Ways

Scribes followed standard practices in matters besides the script itself, notably in abbreviations, spelling, punctuation, correction, and headings. In the first place it was customary for early Christian copyists writing in Greek to give special treatment to the terms associated with God, the *nomina sacra*. Scribes of the earliest Latin manuscripts followed the same custom: the *nomina sacra* were overlined or written in gold or contracted. In time, however, the standard usage became contraction with a short overline so that $\overline{DS}$ stood for *Deus*, $\overline{DI}$ for *Dei*, etc. The other *nomina sacra* were: $\overline{DNS}$=*Dominus*, $\overline{IHC}$ $\overline{XPS}$=*Iesus Christus*, $\overline{SPS}$ $\overline{SCS}$=*Spiritus Sanctus*. These contractions were used in formal writing. In less formal writing, especially in legal texts, Greek and Roman scribes had abbreviated words by suspending the final letters (as we write co. for company). These two practices, contractions of the *nomina sacra* and suspensions of legal terms, were the double source of abbreviations in the Middle Ages.

Abbreviation. Medieval scribes abbreviated in order to save parchment and labor, but the amount of abbreviation was also governed by the nature of the text and attitudes toward it. Treatises of law and scholastic philosophy with their numerous technical words were often highly abbreviated, while at the other end of the scale literary texts were less so, especially by the humanistic scholars of the Carolingian and Italian renaissances. Actual forms of abbreviations derived from the ancient sources for the most part. Regional differences developed for a few forms: African and Spanish scribes, for example, retained more consonants in forming contractions and wrote *ns̄r* for *noster* (elsewhere *nr*), *apstt̄s* for *apostolus* (elsewhere *apt̄s*), etc.; Irish scribes used a number of abbreviations not found elsewhere (except in centers under Irish influence), usually ancient *notae* rejected on the Continent or new forms created to avoid confusion with similar *notae*. Despite a few such peculiarities, which to us are useful indicators, the common stock of abbreviations varied remarkably little.

Spelling. Medieval spelling was affected by what scribes were accustomed to hear, which is perhaps not surprising in an age when reading aloud and recitation were daily occurrences and when books were few. The result of this was that copyists frequently wrote *e* for *ae* and confused *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*, *ci* and *ti*. Sibilants and the aspirate provided difficulty (*necscio* for *nescio*, *Hierusalem*, and even *abest* for *habest*), while in Italy and Spain during the later Middle Ages single and double consonants were constantly mixed. Here and there scribes also perpetuated the spelling errors or peculiarities of their exemplar, but, on the whole, local pronunciation seems to have been the chief culprit in spelling faults.

Headings. Small initials, titles, and other headings were usually entered by a rubricator (Latin *ruber* for red) after the scribe had completed his work. Headings were often set off in red in a different script. When scribes occasionally left insufficient space, the rubricator had to squeeze letters or even run them out into the margin. Many manuscripts survive in which no rubrics were ever entered.

Corrections. Correction of a manuscript after copying was a normal part of the book-making process. Since the corrector in many cases was the head scribe, his work often brings the scriptorium to life by revealing its aims and expectations. Scribes naturally rectified some of their own mistakes, but tedium and ignorance combined to leave many untouched. Omissions were supplied between the lines or in the margin and marked with letters, arrows, or other symbols. Errors were corrected by erasure and rewriting or by deletion (by a dot beneath the letter or a line through it) and rewriting above if necessary. Correctors normally depended on the original exemplar. A keen scholar, however, might go further. One twelfth-century French monk, for example, sought out a second exemplar, from which he entered corrections and alternate readings, although some of his corrections were conjectural and depended solely on his own understanding of the text. He added a table of contents, provided the text with chapter and section numbers, and in the margins entered

topical headings and notes along with warnings against passages containing suspect doctrine. Such a corrector connotes a monastery with a significant library and inquisitive monks.

Most scribes, nameless and following set practices, reveal little of themselves or of their work. Books commonly finish with a simple *explicit*--a shortened form for *explicitus (est liber)*, "the book is ended" --and perhaps *Deo gratias amen*. Some copyists expressed a pious wish such as *Dentur pro penna scriptori caelica regna* (May the heavenly kingdom be granted the writer for the labor of his pen), although a few preferred a more earthly reward and substituted *pulchra puella* for *caelica regna*. Here and there, more frequently in the later centuries, the final colophon contains the name of the scribe and/or the date in such a form as the following: *Iste liber scriptus qui scripsit sit benedictus anno domini millesimo ccc° vicesimo nono a gervasio Wallence apud parisius* (This book was written --blessed be he who wrote it--in the year of the Lord 1329 by Gervase of Wallenca in Paris).

14 *Lectionarium officii*
Twelfth century
Ms 686, fragment 1

The scribe of this manuscript wrote only the ordinary abbreviations used for common texts. Among them are: *b;* and *q;* = *bus* and *-que; aū* = *autem; dix̄* = *dixit; ē* and ÷ = *est; n̄* = *non; p, p̊, p̄, ꝑ* = *per, post, pre, pro; q̊, q̄, q́* = *qua, que, qui; t́* = *tibi; ů* = *uero;* etc.

15 Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*
Twelfth century
Ms 686, fragment 16

Punctuation in this manuscript, as in medieval books generally, follows only loose rules at best. Major and minor pauses are indicated by a period and a capital letter. Minor pauses are also marked by a simple period, by ·⁄ , and here and there by ⁊ (line 13 of both inner columns).

Corrections include an omission supplied for line 5, col. 1, and *anima* corrected to read *a nimia* in line 6 of col. 3.

The three pairs of flourishes in the left margin of col. 3 signify a quotation, although the scribe neglected to mark other citations.

16 *Textus incertus*
Italy (?) Eleventh century
Ms 686, fragment 33

Confusion about spellings with *ae, oe,* and *e* troubled many medieval scribes. This scribe was no exception. He wrote *presumpta* and *prȩsumptuosis, pȩnitentiae, aecclesie,* etc., and also *actenus* for *hactenus*.

17 Lucan, *Pharsalia*
Italy Fifteenth century
Ms 33, ff. 26v-27

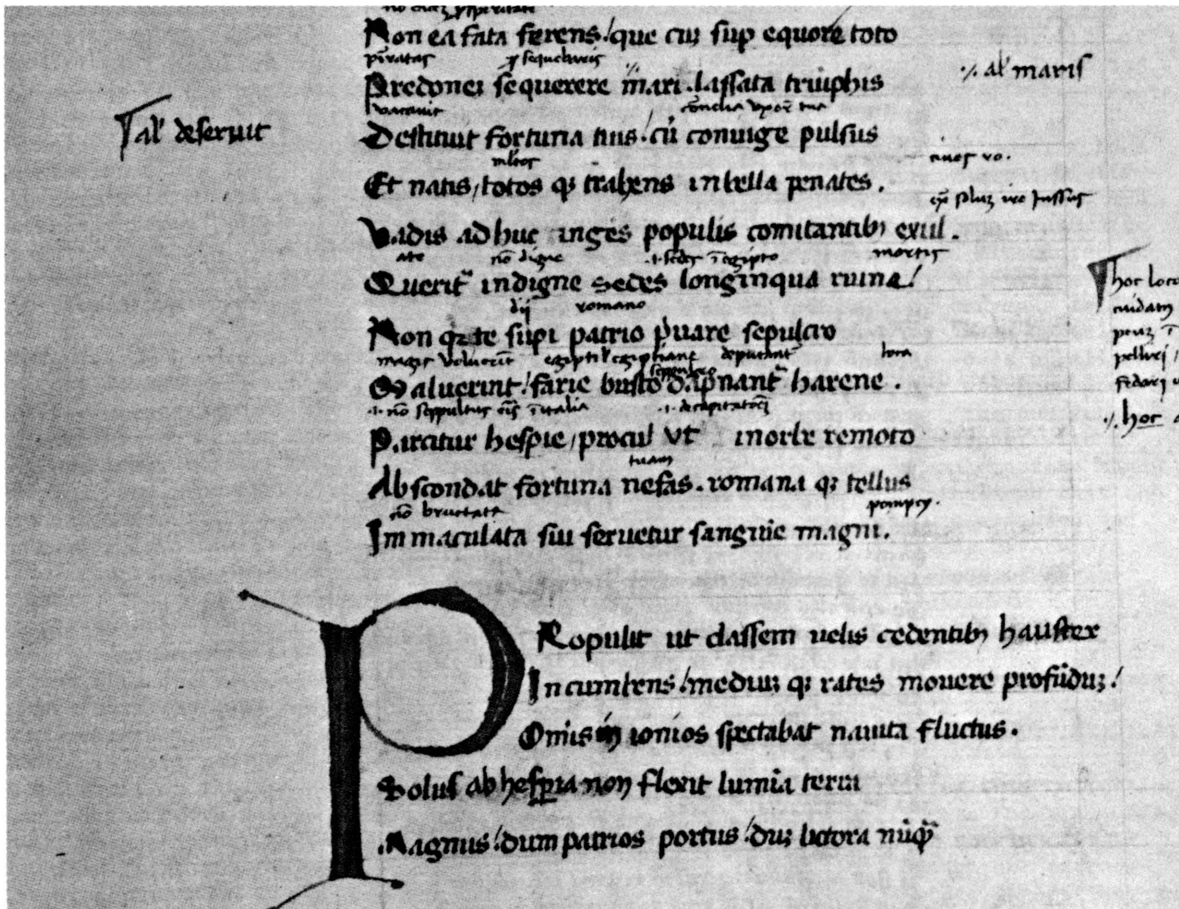
The corrector of this codex frequently had to erase and recopy letters or words (e.g. in lines 3, 5, and 8 from the bottom of f. 27: *in ionios, hauster* [= *auster*], *ut*). He also entered many alternate readings, doubtless with the aid of a second exemplar, among which three occur in the side margins of f. 27: *al' deseruit, al' maris, hoc al' hinc.* The *al'* signifies a meaning such as *aliter* (in another way) or *alio exemplari* (according to another exemplar).

Explanatory notes were copied between the lines and in the margins in a tiny hand, quite possibly that of the scribe of the text.

18 *Miscellanea iuris*
Vigone (near Turin) A.D. 1471
Ms 689, ff. 22v-23

The scribe of this volume signed his name and the date at the end of several texts. The colophon on f. 23 reads: *Explic(it) tractat(us) utillim(us) de (con)sangui(nita)te et affini(ta)te. Editus a R(everen)do p(at)re f(rat)re Nicolao de padua sacror(um) cano(n)um professor(e) n(e)c no(n) or(din)is seraphio franc(iscan)i professore. Ego f(rate)r Seba de A... s(cri)p(sit) die 14 Iunii 1471 in loco vigoni....* (Here ends the very useful treatise on consanguinity and marriage relationships by the reverend father, Brother Nicholas of Padua, professor of the holy canons and also seraphic professor of the Franciscan order. I, Brother Seba of A..., have copied on 14 June, 1471, in Vigone...)

Item 17 [from f. 27]


Non ea fata ferens. que cu(m) sup(er) equore toto
Predonem sequerere mari. lassata triumphis
Destituit fortuna tuis. cu(m) coniuge pulsus
Et natis totos q(ue) trahens in bella penates.
Vadis adhuc ingens populis comitantibus exul.
Querit(ur) indigne sedes longinqua ruina.
Non quia te superi patrio p(ri)vare sepulcro
Maluerint. farie busto d(am)pnant harene.
Parcitur hesperie procul ut ... morte remoto
Abscondat fortuna nefas. romana q(ue) tellus
Immaculata sui servetur sanguine magni.

Propulit ut classem velis cedentibus auster
Incumbens mediu(m) q(ue) rates movere profundu(m).
Omnis in ionios spectabat nauta fluctus.
Solus ab hesperia non flexit lumina terra
Magnus dum patrios portus dum litora nu(m)q(uam)

19 *Speculum humanae salvationis; Manuale sacerdotis;* Iohannes de Brydlyngton, *Versus prophetie*
England — Second half of the fifteenth century
MS 697, ff. 60v-61

The colophon of this codex shows the difficulties of this kind of evidence. It states that the treatise was "copied by a certain Brother...in the year of the Lord 1377 at the instance of Lord Thomas Thurlaw, priest"--*script(us) a q(uo)dam fratre... a(nn)o d(omi)ni M^{lo} CCC^{o} $lxxvii^{o}$ ad instanciam d(omi)ni Thome Thurlaw sacerdotis.* Features of the script and watermarks in the paper, however, indicate that the volume could not have been copied before about 1450. Probably the scribe copied the colophon from his exemplar.

On one of the front fly-leaves, a sixteenth-century wit expanded the emblem of the Roman Republic *SPQR (Senatus populusque romanus)* to read *stultus populus quaerit Romam* (a foolish people seeks Rome).

Item 19 [from f. 61]

Sic in mat' ihu erat qn filiu suu sepeliebat
Sz anima de post cceptu vultu no mutauit i varia
Sic mat' ihu benedicta resurgente filio de hunt gaudia
p hoc gaudiu flos flor omi corde precor te
Eum precare filiu rosa sine spina semp p me
Vt te corona glie insignita videa in celi palacio
Vbi tecu semp sim pne stor' d' ee mira gsolacio
Quod nobis oib; pstare dignet' dns ihc xc
Qui cu patre c spu sco e imppetuu benedictus

Septimu gaudiu

Gaude mater xi pia regina celor
Scdm tuu gaudiu excedit sensus c corda oim
Quod regina potetissima in eterno habita
Qn cu corpe c aia in celu assumpta fuisti
Qn te filius tuus in throno suo collocauit
Et corona regni sui ppetua feliciter coronauit
Tu e psignata erat olim p fonte illu q' pst pmlic
Q' creuit remanauit c fcte in flumine maximu
Sicut n rex assuerus hester exaltauit
Ita te humillima rex celestis exaltauit c coronauit
Te eciā illa abygail pdere olim ptendebat
Qua ppt sua pdenciam rex dauid i sponsa assumebat
Ita rex celestis elegit te c assumpsit te i sposa c amica
In matre c socia in sorore c regina
Te e mat' salomonis gneiens psigfauit
Cui rex salomon thronu ad dextera sua collocauit
Ita rex celor te matre sua honorauit
Et ad dextera sua in throno suo te ordinauit
O dna felicissima q' ineffabile gaudiu habuisti
Qn cu corpe c aia in gaudiu imppetuu intrasti
p hoc ineffabile gaudiu regina celi rogo te
Ora dilectu filiu tuu rege celeste p me
Vt post hoc exiliu pducat me ad thronu regni sui
Vbi sine fine uiuat gaudio sempiterno frui
Quod nobis oib; pstare dignet' dns ihc xpc
Qui cu patre c spu sco est imppetuu benedictus

Explicit quidā tractat' cui' n' e circiter hinc salvacōis
scriptus a qdam fratre ordinis minor' a dni ao mo lxxvio
ad instanciam dni thome thyrlall' sacerdotis

Types of Manuscripts

Just as we publish school texts, atlases, fine Bibles, and Agatha Christie mysteries in different kinds of books, so too did the makers of the handwritten codex. Prevailing fashions of script and format, of course, counted for something--Petrarch commissioned his Vergil and his Livy in handsome Gothic lettering. But the size, material, format, type of script and other features depended also on the nature of the text and on the institution or person for whom it was produced.

Long books like the Bible required larger codices. Liturgical books were generally more formal and usually in a traditional script. Since law and the writings of the ancients often needed identifications or explanations, readers found wide margins helpful, and, for works accompanied by standard expositions, scribes developed a special layout with the text in a center panel framed by commentary on the sides.

Users, too, had requirements. Scholars sought accurate, utilitarian copies, but wealthy laymen were likely to be more concerned with decoration than with the purity of the text, and the same may be said of some prelates. *De luxe* treatment was accorded to gift and dedication copies. The pious poor, on the other hand, wanted economical and often portable volumes. A few small manuscripts containing the gospel of St. John (e.g. the tiny Paris lat. 10439, the Stowe St. John in Dublin, and the Stonyhurst Gospel) seem to have been written as amulets.

20 Eusebius, *Chronicon*
Italy A.D. 1455
Ms 17, ff. 16v-17

Chronicles and calendars with their lists of names, dates, and events required special design. This codex presents the kings and principal events of the Assyrians, Lacedaemonians, Hebrews, Corinthians, Egyptians, Latins, Athenians, etc., in parallel columns alternately in light and dark ink. The numbers are regnal years, except for the column at the far right, which gives the year of the world.

21 *Mortuary Roll of the Blessed Vital*
France and England A.D. 1122-1123
Paris, Archives nationales, Musée n° 138. Facsimile from *Album paléographique* (Paris: 1877), plate 30.

This manuscript is not actually a book at all, but a roll. It consists of fifteen sheets of parchment sewn end to end, measuring nearly 31 feet long and 8 3/4 inches wide. The roll was circulated on the death of the founder of Savigny Abbey, the Blessed Vital, among convents in France and England where prayers were solicited for his soul and for the souls of all the departed. Since a prayer was inscribed on the roll at each convent, the numerous entries furnish the palaeographer with a precious conspectus of contemporary handwriting. It has been maintained that the last prayer shown here was composed and copied by Heloïse, mistress of Abelard and later the renowed Abbess of Argenteuil (i.e., *Titulus eccl(es)ie S(an)c(t)e Marie argentoilensis cenobii*, etc.).

22 Petrus Barrocius, *Versuum et hymnorum libri III*
Italy A.D. 1471-1485
Ms 470, f. 1

Pietro Barrozi dedicated this collection of verse to Cardinal Pietro Foscari, whose arms appear in the lower margin of f. 1. In view of the fine, though not extravagant quality of the script, decoration, and parchment, it seems likely that this manuscript is the dedication copy.

23 Vergil, *Opera;* Statius, *Achilleis;* Horatius, *Carmina.*
Avignon Before A.D. 1326
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana S.P. 10, 27, ff. 221v-222. Facsimile from *Francisci Petrarcae Vergilianus codex,* ed. Iohannes Galbiati (Milan, 1930).

Petrarch's father commissioned this magnificent manuscript for his son not yet twenty-two years old. It was written at papal Avignon by Italian scribes. The text of the *Aeneid* occupies the center of the page with the standard sixth-century commentary of Servius in the surrounding margins.

Although Petrarch himself says he spent

Item 22 [f. 1]

890623

Petro Fuscaro patritio veneto Miseratione diui-
na Scti Nicolai inter Imagines ecc̃ Romane
Presbytero Cardinali: Epo patauino et Co-
miti saccensi: Petrus Barrocius patriti[us] ve-
netus, dei et Apostolice sedis gra Epus
Bellunen, et Comes Salute plurimã dicit.

QVANTO Mihi, bonisque oibus
merori fuerit, Ludouici fris, quem
paulo ante sanũ, atque incolume, cũ dimisis-
sem, febre uitam finisse audiuim[us], mors
insperata, dictu facile no e. Et. n. ea erat pro-
bitate atque prudentia: ea in te ac patriam
pietate, ut que duo apud me summo i precio
sunt, te, vrbemque nram, tantam ob eius
mortem, molestiam accepisse existimem,
quantam ob alterius qui superioribus annis obi-
erit senatoris, ferme nullius: Pretermitto
domesticas causas, luctumque familiarem, ut fi-
os, ac fris, qui ante mortuus e, filios orpha-
nos, ut uxorem feminam pudicissimam
viduam: ut gente Fuscaram, viro pre-
stantissimo orbatam reliquerit: Sunt ista

1947

a frivolous youth, his books bear witness to very considerable literary studies as well. It was his custom to annotate his books, and in this codex he entered numerous notes in a small, neat hand. Many of them refer to passages on the same topic in works by other writers. Noteworthy here are references to Livy (f. 221v, lower margin), Lactantius (f. 222, upper margin), and Flaccus, i.e., Horace (f. 222, lower margin). In addition, Petrarch inscribed his famous memorial to Laura, who died of the plague of 1348, on a front fly-leaf of this codex.

24 *Devotional Tracts* (in German)
Germany Fifteenth century
Ms 66, ff. 150v-151

The humble nature of this manuscript conforms to the simple, urban-oriented piety of its tracts and meditations. It doubtless was written for a German convent of unsophisticated, newly literate persons, perhaps with an associated group of lay persons.

25 *Horae*
South Netherlands (?)
Fifteenth century
Ms 344, ff. 91v-92

Books of Hours were produced in the later Middle Ages by professional artists and scribes for wealthy laity. Containing portions of the canonical hours, litanies, the penitential Psalms, and other devotions, they were destined for the private use of persons who maintained their own chapels and chaplains.

Item 27 [from f. 140]

terrenū admoditate infantiū limbi, et alias adolores ī
ferni. mira referebat ordine recto. ad sensus rensa absq;
ītellectu pene cuiuscū⁊ mox relati. Accōmodabat eq̄de⁊
fidē dictis. stupēda ī meli⁹ mutatio uite. occultor⁊ reue
latio certa. et futuror⁊ probata ueritas archanor⁊. nec
nō operū bonor⁊ pia sequela. procul malis spiritualib⁊
omib⁊ effugatis. At ne unq̄ dicte uisiones uerterent
ī dubiū. illa⁊ dns ad scā⁊ religionē cōdux. uiginti men
sib⁊ cōtinuatis. sine cibo et potu corporeis ī uisibilit pauit.
et usq; ī hodiernū diē uiginti triu⁊ annor⁊ tpe. fuctā.
omib⁊ scimonialib⁊ speculū uite reliqt. Hec eni for
tassis ē respōsionū differētia colligēda. Quia oēs pni
gromātia⁊. et ei⁹ surculos respōdentes manifeste sunt
praui. et p sepe nūtiant falsa. Ubi uero demon p se ipm
respōdet. aut ptendit exitū prauū. sic enee repansit t
ytalie sedes. si tam ī omib⁊ putam⁹ mētienti credēdu⁊
maroni. aut falsa et cōt sacrā regionē. sua pmit uba
pfana; sic auctore augustino male īterrogat⁹ de xpo.
delphic⁹ apollo r̄ndit. aut r̄ndit ambigua. ad ītellectū
opposituū cōpon̄ēdu⁊. ut ē illud. eiusde⁊ delphici. q̄ pirro
grecor⁊ regi parāti arma romanis de futuro euentu
respondit querēti dicēs. Dico t pirre. uincere posse romanos.
Sed r̄nsa diuina. nunq̄ sūt falsa. nunq̄ ī animaru⁊

Aio te eaciidē romano uincere posse.

Readers' Notes and Marks of Ownership

Readers and owners in their notes and doodlings and in their ex-libris marks have written some of the most interesting and valuable pages in the history of the handwritten book. The extant notes of Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253) or Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457) furnish a glimpse of the scholarly process not visible in their polished treatises. Petrarch's notes show us not only his mind at work but also the gathering of a private library extraordinary in its time. Debts, deeds, sins, prejudices, love, humor--all found their way into the fly-leaves and margins of manuscript books, and, with them, fragments of the lives of their owners and readers.

26 *Promptuarium homileticum*
England (?) — First half of the fifteenth century
Ms 156

Several readers annotated this manuscript, one in a distinctly English cursive. They provided topical headings, corrections (usually preceded by ∸), commentary, and an assortment of faces and hands. One reader, perhaps a librarian, collated the codex, numbering the gatherings and noting missing portions.

27 Iohannes Dominici, *Lucula noctis*
Florence — Before A.D. 1406
Ms 831, ff. 139v-140

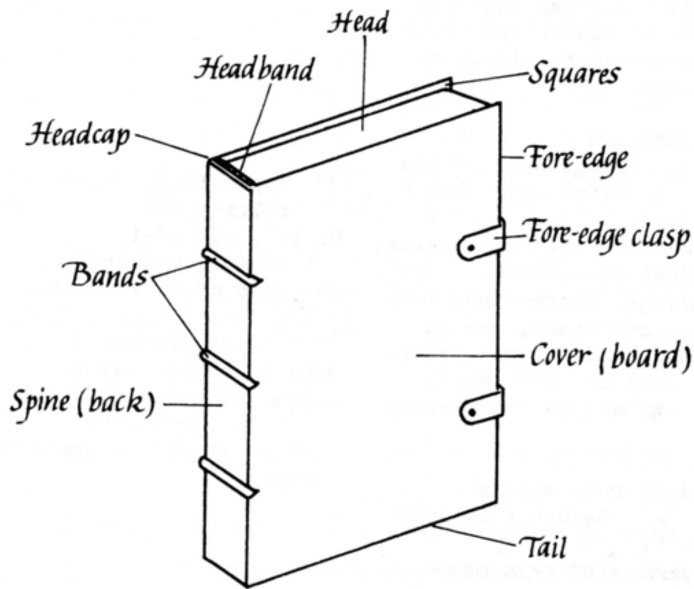
Coluccio Salutati annotated this manuscript, evidently a dedication copy of the *Lucula noctis*, a work dedicated to him by his friend, Giovanni Dominici. The Dominican friar had written his *Lucula noctis* to reprove the reading of classical literature. In his reply defending humanist interest in the ancients, Salutati rebuts Dominici with the argument, among others, that one learns to write correct Latin only by studying classical authors. He then refers to some twenty mistakes, most of which occur in the *Lucula noctis*, although Salutati politely refrains from mentioning this fact. The late Professor B.L. Ullman, then at the University of Chicago, discovered symbols and corrections in this manuscript from the pen of Salutati, who apparently had combed Dominici's work in preparing his refutation. As Ullman noted, Salutati frequently corrected faulty grammar and inaccurate quotations. In the outer margin of f. 140, for example, he entered Augustine's exact words of the oracle which Apollo addressed to Pyrrhus, *Aio te eacidem romanos vincere posse.* In his quasi citation, *Dico tibi Pirre vincere posse romanos*, Dominici sacrificed the intended ambiguity of the oracle by using the dative *tibi*.

28 Augustinus, *Tractatus varii*
Belgium (?) — Fourteenth century
Ms 110, ff. i^{v}-1

A typical monastic *ex-libris* stands at the head of f. i^{v}: *liber mo(na)sterii s(an)c(t)i Iacobi Leodie(n)sis cuius titul(us) e(st) Augustin(us) de fide ad Petru(m)* (a book of the monastery of St. James of Liège, of which the title is: *Augustine to Peter Concerning Faith*). The list which follows gives the contents of the manuscript.

29 John Lydgate, *The Life of Our Lady* (in English)
England — Fifteenth century
Ms 566, inside front cover and f. 90.

A learned collector, the late Sir Sydney Cockerell, purchased this manuscript in 1905. He left a number of notes inside the front cover, including the identification of three former owners. All three had inserted their names on the folios indicated by Sir Sydney's notes, f. 90 for example showing *humphery carrew* on line 11.


Head
Headband
Squares
Headcap
Fore-edge
Fore-edge clasp
Bands
Cover (board)
Spine (back)
Tail

Bindings

Relatively few medieval manuscripts survive with their original bindings intact. Complete rebinding and/or extensive repair have usually been their lot. With one exception, the bindings shown were made in the fifteenth century. Ms 112 (item 32), with its partial binding, dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century. Its age is revealed particularly by the technique of lacing thongs through the edges of the boards. Later methods laid the thongs into grooves on the upper edges of the boards at the spine.

Certain features of these early bindings are readily observed. All are covered in full leather except Ms 112 which may have been so covered in its original state. Wooden, rather than paper-laminate boards are used for the covers. The spines are flat, not rounded, and there is little or no decoration. The use of gold tooling postdates these bindings.

The notes with each binding describe the structural features in the terminology of bookbinding history.

30 *Brut Chronicle*
England — Fifteenth century
Ms 254

The *Chronicle*'s binding, contemporary with the manuscript, is of pink leather over wooden boards which are slightly beveled at head-, tail-, and fore-edges. No decoration is evident, but the remnants of two fore-edge clasps can be seen. The book is sewn on five split thongs, laced into the boards, and plugged into three holes. Headbands are sewn through the headcaps, and the back is flat; the squares, except at the head, are small.

31 Albertus Magnus, *De homine*
Italy — Fifteenth century
Ms 2

Also a contemporary binding, this one is full tawed leather (blue) over wooden boards with a blind-tooled line design on the covers. It once had two fore-edge clasps and a hook for chaining. It is sewn on three split thongs with braided headcaps. There may have been a label on the spine, but the title is written on the tail edges. The back is flat with no squares at the fore-edges.

32 Hieronymus, *Expositio in S. Paulum ad Romanos et Corinthios*
Italy — Thirteenth century
Ms 112

The wooden boards of this thirteenth century binding are now uncovered. They are beveled at head- and tail-edges, with small squares. The book is sewn on five double cords laced into the edges of the boards, and plugged with wooden pegs. The back is flat, there are no headbands, and there is evidence of paper labels on the spine. The fly-leaves were taken from another manuscript.

33 Johannes Gallensis, *Summa collectionum ad omne genus hominum*
Fifteenth century
Ms 791

Full, red tawed leather covers the wooden boards which are slightly beveled at head-, tail-, and fore-edges. A single fore-edge clasp is still intact, and metal corners are nailed in place. It is flat-backed with small squares. The title, written on the cover, is protected by a transparent piece of horn, nailed down. The book is sewn on four split thongs. Knotted leather tabs serve as markers in the text. At some time early in its history the spine was extensively repaired and probably completely rebacked.

34 Gualterius Burlaeus, *Vitae philosophorum*
Italy — A.D. 1462
Ms 474

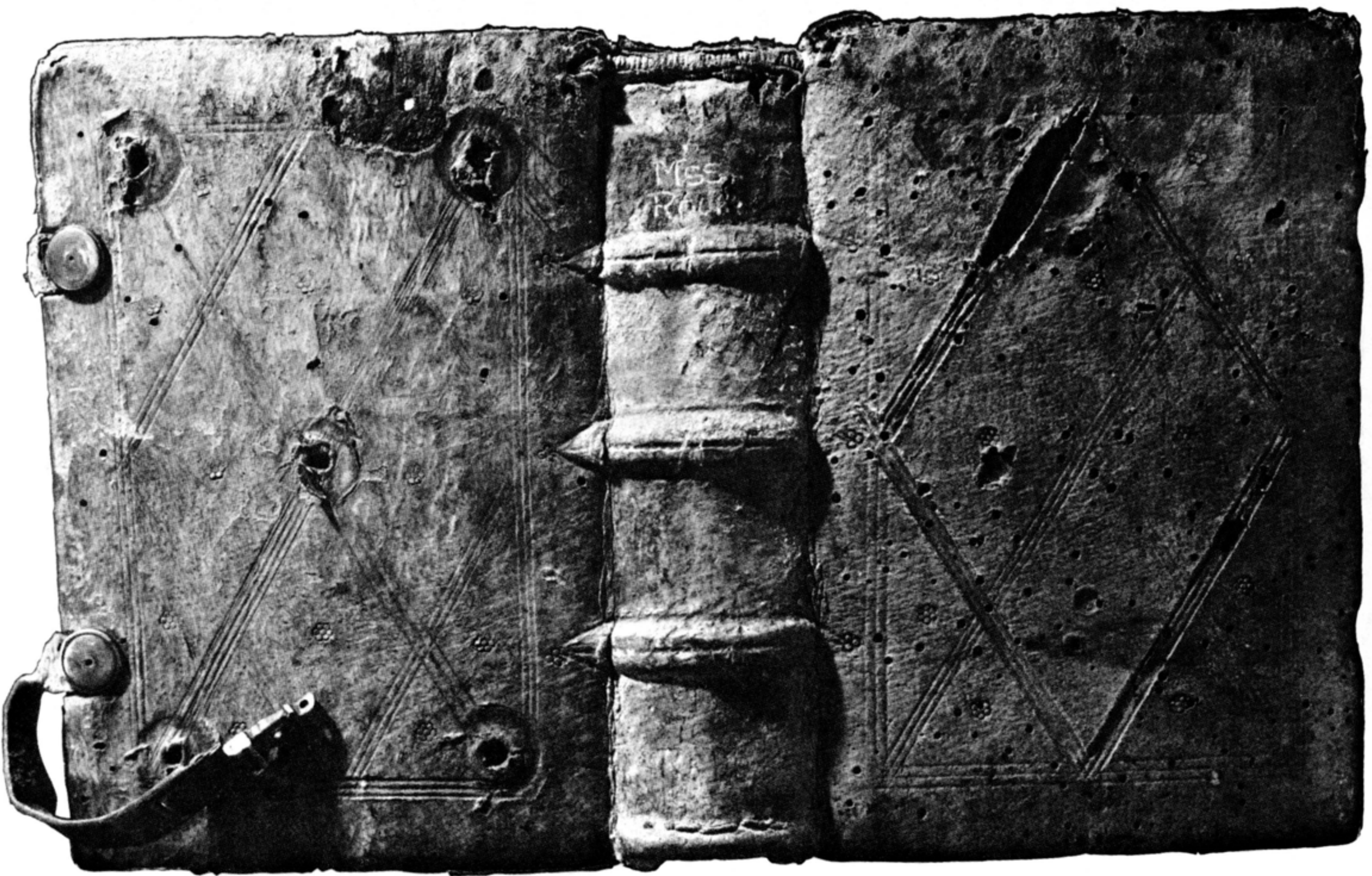
The boards, slightly beveled at head-, tail-, and fore-edges, are covered with brown sheepskin. A decorative design is tooled on the covers, using plaited ropework, panel stamps, and lines. There is evidence of a single fore-edge clasp. The book is sewn on three split thongs, laced into the edges of the boards. The cores of the headbands are laced into the boards at a 45-degree angle. The spine is flat, the headcaps are missing, and the title is written on the tail-edges. The pastedowns were taken from another manuscript.

35 Berengarius Fredoli, *Summula confessionis*
Germany Fifteenth century
Ms 688

This contemporary binding is of full pigskin over wooden boards beveled at head-, tail-, and fore-edges. There is no decoration, although the bands are outlined from the tying-up process. Evidence can be seen of two clasps which were attached at the fore-edge of the back board and extended to the center of the front board where there remain pegs, surrounded by diamond-shaped metal, to receive them. There also was a hook for chaining and a label piece on the front cover. The binding is flat backed and sewn on three split thongs. The headcaps have rolled out, probably due to the thickness of the leather. The fly-leaves, which were originally pasted down, were from another manuscript.

36 Richard of St. Victor, *De contemplatione, De exterminatione mali et promotione boni;* Hugh of Strasbourg, *Compendium theologicae veritatis*
Germany (ff. 1-146) Fourteenth century
France (ff. 147-255) Thirteenth century
Ms 102

Full pigskin decorated by blind lines and floral figures covers the wooden boards of this contemporary binding. The gatherings are sewn on three split thongs. Originally the codex was held tight by two straps, one of which now remains. Five bosses are in evidence from the holes on the back cover; and two more holes, top center, once corresponded to a hook for chaining. Metal strips guard the tail and corners of the boards. The headbands were given additional strength by extra sewing through the headcaps to form a special protective cover; this cover has almost completely worn away from the top headband, revealing the structure clearly.



Item 36

ROMAN CAPITALS

When a Roman unfurled his roll or opened his codex, his eyes met lettering known as *Capitalis Rustica*, "Rustic capital." This book script occurs in the oldest surviving Latin books--the papyrus fragments buried in A.D. 79 at Herculaneum by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius. As we know from extant codices, scribes of the pagan cultural revival during the fourth and fifth centuries used *Rustica* to set off their copies of Terence, Vergil, Sallust, etc. from Christian products. Rustic capital, therefore, must have been the script of the best books in the time of Cicero and Vergil, a conclusion corroborated by the medieval term *litterae vergilianae*, which apparently refers to this type of writing. The flowing lines and skillful shading of thick and thin strokes indicate that *Rustica* was usually written with a reed or a brush-like reed on soft material, although it appears also in stone inscriptions.

Roman engravers, for the most part, carved inscriptions in *Capitalis Quadrata*, "Square capital." Although the letter forms are more suitable to a chisel than to a reed or quill, Square capital served occasionally as a *de luxe* book script. Three examples survive, all containing Vergil, all on parchment, and two in large format.

Rustic capital ceased to be written as a book script in the sixth century. But both Rustic and Square capital had long lives as headings, colophons, and capital letters in medieval and Renaissance manuscript books, often mixed with each other or with other letter forms. They were especially cultivated in the ninth and fifteenth centuries by scribes seeking to revive ancient models.

37 Election slogans
Pompei — Rustic capital — Before A.D.79

Facsimile from *Archivio paleographico italiano* (Rome: 1882-), fasc. 53, vol. V, plate 21.

Some of the earliest known specimens of Latin writing were preserved at Pompei by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79. This facsimile shows the names of two candidates for *aedile*, C. Cuspius Pansa and Pompidius. The lettering was painted on walls in expert, bold strokes which allowed the brush to give full play to the contrast between thick and thin lines.

38 Register of the college of priests of Jupiter Propugnator
Rome — A.D. 217-238

Facsimile from *L'Ecriture latine de la capitale romaine à la minuscule*, ed. J. Mallon, R. Marichal, and C. Perrat (Paris: 1939), plate III.

Roman engravers usually chiseled inscriptions in broad letters known as Square capitals. This inscription, however, shows some of the slimness and shading of the Rustic capitals used in books.

39 Vergil, *Opera* ("Codex Vaticanus")
Probably Italy — Rustic capital — Fourth century

Vatican City, Vatic. lat. 3225, ff. 33v-34. Facsimile from *Fragmenta et picturae vergiliana codicis vaticani 3225* (Rome: 1889).

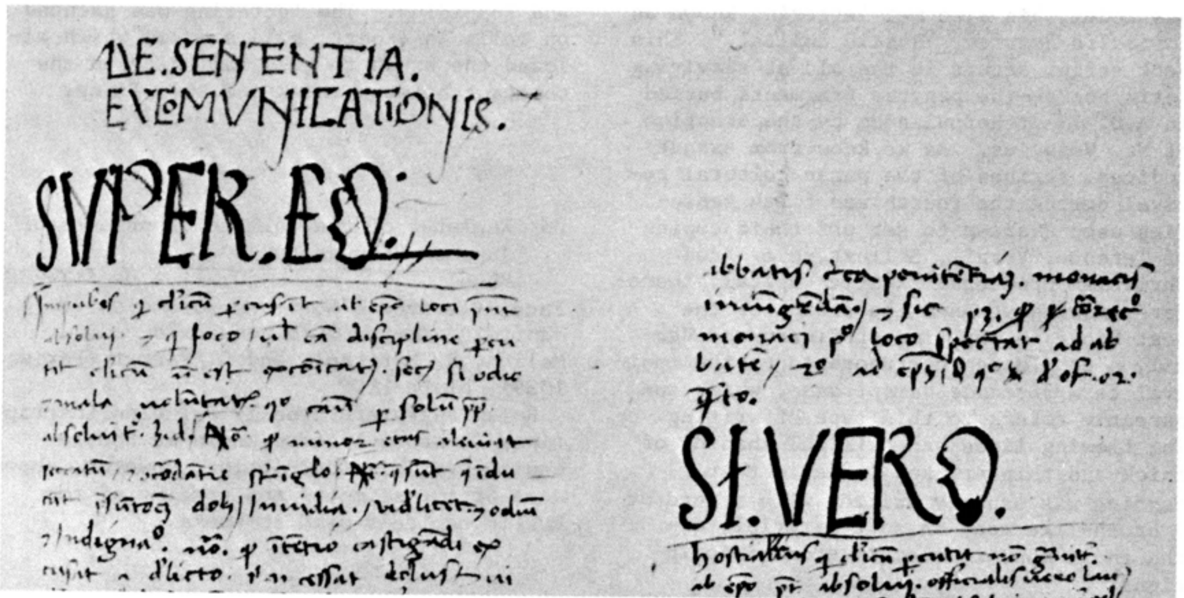
The illustrations render this book an eminent representative of the revival of Roman literature in the late Empire. Noteworthy for their contrast with later practices are the square format of the area of writing, the slightly enlarged letter to open each page, and the text run together with no separation of words.

40 Vergil, *Georgica* ("Codex Augusteus")
Probably Italy — Square capital — Fourth century

Vatican City, Vatic. lat. 3256 and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek lat. F. 416, Vatic. f. 3. Facsimile from *Archivio paleographico italiano* (Rome: 1882-), vol. II, plate 11.

The large, squarish letters recall the lapidary style of inscriptions. *De luxe* codices such as this must have been rare. Each page opens with an ornamental initial.

Item 43 [from f. 153]



41 *Martinellus*
Tours (France)
Square and Rustic capital, uncial
Ninth century
Quedlinburg, Stifts- und Gymnasialbibliothek 79, ff. 8v and 172v. Facsimile from E.K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1929), plate CVIII.

The scribes at the abbey of St. Martin of Tours copied the text of this book in their handsome, distinctive variety of Caroline minuscule. They also knew ancient scripts and used them to set off titles, incipits, explicits, and opening lines of pages. Their use of Roman capital scripts confirms the classifications of modern palaeographers.

42 *Commentarium in epistulam Pauli ad Galatas*
Tenth century
Ms 686, fragment 23.

Scribes of the earlier Middle Ages used Rustic capital, frequently mixed with other forms (as here with uncial *d*), for headings such as the running title, *AD GALATHAS*. The text is Caroline minuscule with several archaic features.

43 *Rubricae de accusationibus, inquisitionibus, et denunciationibus*, etc.
Italy Fifteenth century
Ms 39, ff. 152v-153

The enthusiasm of the fifteenth century for the ancient world included an interest in Roman inscriptions and early manuscripts. This interest was reflected in a return to using Rustic in rubrics, as in the upper margin and headings of this legal codex. The text is written in a rapid cursive.

UNCIAL

Uncial was the book script *par excellence* of Christianity from the end of the fourth to the eighth century. More than five hundred uncial manuscripts are extant. They contain mostly Christian texts--biblical, patristic, and legal--but Roman authors also occur, including Livy, Cicero (the unique manuscript of the *De re publica* is in uncial), Lucan, Seneca, and the Elder and Younger Pliny. Thus, while Latin Christians did not reject pagan culture, they apparently preferred Roman authors in uncial garb and for the most part avoided clothing Christian texts with Rustic capital.

Uncial script reflects the dignity and vitality of the age of its origin. It developed its distinctive form during the fourth century when Christianity became the official Roman religion, the time when the Church Fathers began to work out a theology and when Jerome was producing a standard translation of the Latin Bible.

The proportions and roundness of the letters, recalling unmistakably the Greek "uncial" of the Bibles ordered by Constantine for his great basilicas, indicate Greek influence in the formation of Latin uncial. The actual origins and development of Latin uncial, however, remain something of a mystery because we have no clearly identifiable examples of its early or developing stages. The earliest known specimens, probably written near the end of the fourth century, are already fully developed. Our present knowledge of palaeography allows us to distinguish uncial script only as "of the oldest type" (roughly fifth century), "not of the oldest type" (roughly sixth century), "late" (seventh and eighth centuries), and artificial or imitative (mostly written in England during the eighth century).

Palaeographical clues gathered by E.A. Lowe have distinguished several regional types: English, among which a Northumbrian variety is clearly identifiable; the "B-R uncial" of a group of sixth-century codices associated with Justinian; and, less surely, some sixteen manuscripts written in Africa.

Uncial was gradually ousted as a text script over the course of the eighth century by the discovery of more economical types of writing.

44 Bible in Greek ("Codex Sinaiticus")
Second half of the fourth century
London, British Museum Additional 43725 and Leipzig, Universitäts-bibliothek cod. Friderico-Augustinus. Facsimile from *Codex sinaiticus petropolitanus* (Oxford: 1922).

This famous Greek codex doubtless represents the type of Bible ordered by Emperor Constantine for the great churches. The script, known as "Biblical uncial," provided important inspiration for Latin uncial script. Round strokes play a major part in both scripts, especially in contrast to Rustic capital. Compare also Greek *alpha, epsilon, omega,* and the tiny bow of *rho* with *A, E, M,* and the bows of *P* and *R* in Latin uncial.

45 Cicero, *De re publica* (lower script, i.e. larger letters)
Italy — Fourth to fifth century
Augustine, *In Psalmos* (upper script, i.e. smaller letters)
Bobbio (Italy) — Seventh century
Vatican City, Vatic. lat. 5757, pp. 240-241. Facsimile from *M. Tulli ciceronis de re publica libri* (Vatican City: 1934).

This celebrated manuscript contains the unique text of Cicero's *De re publica.* It is a "palimpsest," i.e. "scraped" or "rubbed again" and re-written. The script of the *De re publica* is handsome, bold uncial of the oldest type. In the seventh century the text was erased, though fortunately not very well, by scribes at the north Italian monastery of Bobbio, who needed parchment for St. Augustine's treatise on the Psalms.

The thrifty and probably poor monks at Bobbio made a habit of "palimpsesting" manuscripts. No less than 29 extant palimpsests have been attributed to their scriptorium.

The hands of these two texts illustrate the difference between uncial of the earliest and later types--compare especially *E, M, P, R, S,* and *T.* In contrast to the spare beauty and vigor of the older forms, the later letters are often loaded with tiny ticks or hair strokes.

46 *Evangelia secundum Marcum et Matthaeum versionis antehieronymianae* ("Codex Bobiensis")
Probably Africa
Fourth to fifth century

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale G. VII. 15, ff. 76v-77. Facsimile from *Il codice evangelico k*, ed. C. Cipolla (Turin: 1913).

Although this codex is one of our oldest specimens of uncial script, it is set apart from contemporary Italian uncial by its angularity. Extraordinary spelling errors, unusual abbreviations (including ħIS for *Iesus* and ☧ for *Christi*), and other features suggest a provincial origin, almost surely in Africa to judge from the script and text (the latter is close to the text of the Gospels used by early Christian writers in Africa).

47 *Novum Testamentum (Diatesseron,* etc.*)*
South Italy A.D. 546 or earlier

Fulda, Landesbibliothek Bonifatianus I. Facsimile from E.A. Lowe, *Handwriting*, with transcriptions by Braxton Ross (Rome: 1969), plate 2.

As one of the rare dated and placed manuscripts of the early Middle Ages, this codex is a palaeographical landmark with which the many uncial manuscripts of unknown origin may be compared. Two subscriptions state that Victor, Bishop of Capua (near Naples), "read" the text in 546 and again in 547. The script is expert uncial, but not of the oldest type, as may be seen in the enlarged bows of *P* and *R*, in the ticks on *F*, *L*, and *S*, and in hairline approach strokes.

The codex early left south Italy, coming into the hands of Anglo-Saxons by the eighth century and to the Abbey of Fulda no later than the ninth. It has been suggested that the eighth-century glosses in Anglo-Saxon minuscule might be in the hand of St. Boniface, the "Apostle to the Germans" and the patron saint of Fulda.

48 Augustine, *De epistula Iohannis ad Parthos sermones X*
Luxeuil (Eastern France) A.D. 669

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 334, f. 133v. Facsimile from *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXXI, 2 (Paris: 1886)

This script illustrates the later variety of uncial and is one of the rare specimens of this type of writing now in the United States.

The manuscript was written at the Burgundian monastery of Luxeuil in 669, a date derived from the subscription on f. 133v, which reads: *Explecitu(m) opus favente d(omi)no apud coenubiu(m) lussoviu(m) anno duodecimo regis chlothacharii indictione tercia decima an(no) XLsimo p(atr)is n(ostr)i fel(iciter) p(er)acto.* The last line, in script of the thirteenth century, records that the codex belonged to St. Peter's in Beauvais and was made up of seventeen quires.

49 Benedict, *Regula*
England
First half of the eighth century

Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 48, ff. 72v-73. Facsimile from *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. D.H. Farmer *(Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile,* XV*)* (Copenhagen: 1968).

English monasticism owed much to Italian missionaries, teachers, and books. It is thus not surprising that Anglo-Saxon scribes produced a number of manuscripts in Italian script, i.e. uncial. The script of this book is excellent, imitative uncial, although the use of straight *s* at the line-end and the initials with their wedge-shaped finials and patterns of dots are characteristically Anglo-Saxon.

This manuscript is the oldest extant copy of Benedict's *Rule*, although its text is not the best.

Item 50 [from fragment 4]

50 *Missale*
Italy
First half of the twelfth century
Ms 686, fragment 4

Although uncial virtually disappears as a text script by the end of the eighth century, it long continued in use for headings and other rubrics. In this fragment, some liturgical directions (*oremus*, *flectamus genua*, *levate*, etc.) and the opening word, *om(ni)p(oten)s*, of prayers are in uncial.

half-uncial

The search for a more economical book script (perhaps also for a more readable one) led to the development of half-uncial. Unlike uncial the name half-uncial has no roots in antiquity or the Middle Ages. It was coined in modern times and unfortunately implies that it was in some way fathered by uncial, a suggestion which contains at best only partial truth.

Half-uncial served primarily as a Christian book script *ca.* A.D. 400-800; but being smaller than uncial, it was usually used for volumes of a less pretentious size and purpose. It appears fully developed in several manuscripts hardly later than the second or third decade of the fifth century, among them the famous Codex Sangallensis (Σ) of the Vulgate, which some have thought contemporary with St. Jerome himself.

The attempt to forge a more economical Latin book script, however, dates back at least to the third century, as we learn from the tattered remains of early papyri. Nearly all of these show at least some use of letters adapted from cursive forms found in contemporary documents and correspondence. Extant fragments from books indicate that several types of script were developed --the most notable type occurs in the papyrus fragment of the Epitome of Livy, the Seneca palimpsest in Vatican Palat. Lat. 24, etc.--but only the regular half-uncial caught on and spread throughout the Latin West.

Because of the shapes and distinctive forms of its letters, many of which derive from cursive (e.g. *b, d, g, m, r*), half-uncial was more legible and could be written small more easily than Rustic or uncial. Its adoption as a book script was a step forward in readability and economy. Thus it was used primarily in texts for the library rather than for the altar, although it is true that some scribes wrote half-uncial of unmatched simple beauty and clarity.

51 Livy, *Historiarum epitome*
North Africa
First half of the third century
Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 668. Facsimile from *The New Palaeographical Society*, first series (Oxford: 1903-1912), plate 53.

This famous papyrus constitutes a milestone in Latin palaeography. It is the earliest known attempt to devise a small, economical book hand which had significant influence on later scripts. The forms of *b, d, m, g,* and *r* are similar to those in cursive; the same *a* and *g* occur in uncial.

52 Paulus, *De Formula Fabiana*
Eastern Roman Empire Fourth century
Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Papyrussammlung L 90. Facsimile from Fr. Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie* (Trier: 1909), plate 14.

This variety of early half-uncial is characteristic of legal texts. It is written on parchment, although it was found among fragments mostly of papyrus.

53 *Evangelia versionis vulgatae*
Italy First half of the fifth century
St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 1395. Facsimile from E.A. Lowe, *Handwriting*, with transcriptions by Braxton Ross (Rome: 1969), plate IV.

This graceful script has nearly reached its fully-developed form in a little book containing St. Jerome's Vulgate translation of the New Testament. It may have been copied during the saint's lifetime.

Item 54 [from f. 82]

54 Hilary, *De trinitate*

Cagliari (Sardinia) Before A.D. 509-510

Vatican City. Archivio della Basilica di S. Pietro D. 182. Facsimile from A. Amelli, *S. Hilarii pictaviensis de trinitate* Rome: 1922), plate 163.

Shown here is the developed stage of canonical half-uncial, the type that eventually carried the day among the several candidates which appeared in the third and fourth centuries.

Near the foot of the page the corrector left a note in small, very expert script, saying that he had corrected the fifth book: *Contuli* (I have compared, i.e. the text with the exemplar) *in nomine d(omi)ni n(ostr)i ih(es)u chr(ist)i.*

Insular Scripts

The Insular peoples, that is the Irish and the English, were the chief instigators and innovators in religion and culture in the Dark Ages. Even from their earliest days the Irish were different. Possessed of a vigorous monasticism from the time of St. Patrick in the first half of the fifth century, the Irish became the missionaries and tutors for most of Europe during the next two hundred years. Their English pupils followed them in this role, and when the Continent rose from its lethargy in the Carolingian Renaissance (*ca.* A.D. 750-850), it built on foundations already laid by monks and teachers from the Insular lands.

The origins of Irish script are shrouded in obscurity. One fact, however, seems reasonably clear: Irish book scripts did not emerge, like their Continental counterparts, directly out of local documentary writing; they apparently derived instead from book scripts as well, including the modest varieties known to European scribes in the fifth century. This conclusion is urged by several considerations: the vitality and continuity of Irish monasticism meant that the ability to write the traditional book scripts survived; evidence of local documentary writing is lacking; the Irish were the first to develop distinctive regional book scripts, for which several early examples point to Continental models.

Insular script, as practised by both Irish and English scribes, evolved into two types, a formal majuscule for *de luxe* books and for ordinary volumes a less formal minuscule. English monks wrote books of regular and restrained beauty, but the exuberant Irish scribes permitted themselves ligatures, final letters, and line-fillers of daring forms which are seldom encountered elsewhere and gave fits to Continental readers and copyists.

A number of important texts survive in Insular minuscule, among them works of the Venerable Bede and translations by King Alfred; but it is in the Gospel books in Insular majuscule that are found some of the most magnificently conceived and executed manuscript books ever produced in the West.

55 Probus and Charisius, *Grammatica varia;* Claudius Sacerdos, *Artes grammaticae*
Origin uncertain — Fifth century

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale lat. 2 (formerly Vienna lat. 16), ff. 76, 137. Facsimile from *Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, ed. A. Chroust, Bd. II, Lief. XI, Taf. 2.

Irish monks devised these leaves in the eighth century at the North Italian monastery of Bobbio. Originally they belonged to two separate manuscripts. Although the origins of Insular scripts remain obscure, there are indications that the type of script illustrated here was among the several models taken to Ireland by pioneers of Christianity in the fifth century.

56 *Psalmi XXX-XXXII*
Ireland — Seventh century

Dublin, National Museum S.A. 1914:2 (photograph).

The "Bog Book," six wooden tablets with wax insets, was found in the Springmount Bog, County Antrim, Ireland. Although its writing does not much resemble the earliest dated Irish books of the late seventh and eighth centuries, it doubtless is a clue, albeit a somewhat mysterious one, to the earliest Irish scripts. There is some kinship with the handwriting of the grammar leaves (item 55) and the Ussher Gospels (item 57).

57 *Evangelia* ("Ussher Gospels")
Ireland — Early seventh century

Dublin, Trinity College 55 (A. IV. 15), ff. 64v, 111v. Facsimile from *The Palaeographical Society*, Second series (London: 1884-94), plate 33.

There is no doubt that Irish scribes copied this book. Its unusual features, however, have led some scholars to conclude that it was written in an Irish center on the Continent. Comparison with the "Bog Book," on the other hand, speaks for its belonging to the formative period when Continental influences were still felt in Ireland itself.

58 *Orationale* ("Bangor Antiphonary")
Bangor (Ireland) Insular minuscule
A.D. 680-691

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana C 5 inf., f. 33. Facsimile from *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, ed. F.E. Warren (London: 1892).

The Bangor Antiphonary is the earliest known example of Insular book script datable by external evidence. Its script, nevertheless, is well advanced and shows typical Insular features: sections open with a large letter followed by letters of gradually decreasing size; uprights are topped by wedges; some letters occur in two forms, e.g. *a*, *d*, *g*, and *n*.

59 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*
Wearmouth-Jarrow (Northumbria) Insular minuscule
A.D. 731-746

Leningrad, Public Library Q. v. I. 18, ff. 23b-24a. Facsimile from *The Leningrad Bede (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, II), ed. O. Arngart (Copenhagen: 1952).

The Irish and Italian sources of English culture are both manifest in this book. The main script was learned from the Irish, but it is written here with more restraint and regularity. The script of the formulae of papal documents is uncial or Rustic imitated from Italian codices. Since the uncial is the distinctive type written at the twin abbeys of Wearmouth-Jarrow, the codex may be assigned a definite origin.

60 *Evangelia* ("Book of Durrow")
Northumbria (?) Insular majuscule
Second half of the seventh century

Dublin, Trinity College 57 (A. IV 5), ff. 85v-86. Facsimile from *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Durmachensis*, ed. A.A. Luce, G. O. Simms, P. Meyer, and L. Bieler (Olten, Switzerland: 1960).

The Book of Durrow is the earliest *de luxe* manuscript in the Insular tradition. Its calligraphic, but not too regular script was probably the work of Anglo-Saxon scribes trained in the Irish tradition. Note the "telescope" shape of sentence openings, the tricks at line-ends to complete sentences, and the varied sizes of letters. Celtic elements dominate the book's decoration, which has obvious similarities with earlier and contemporary metal-work.

61 *Evangelia* ("Lindisfarne Gospels")
Lindisfarne *ca.* A.D. 698

London, British Museum Cotton Nero D. IV, ff. 89v-90. Facsimile from *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*, ed. T.D. Kendrick, T.J. Brown, and others (Olten, Switzerland: 1956).

The scriptorium on the island of Lindisfarne off the north coast of England produced several magnificent manuscripts at the end of the seventh century, among them the Lindisfarne Gospels. These books formed part of a major artistic endeavor associated with the elevation of St. Cuthbert in 698. The Lindisfarne Gospels was apparently written by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne 698-721, probably before he assumed his office.

Like most Northumbrian Gospel books, the Lindisfarne text derives from Italian exemplars. Italian influence is also suggested by the two-column format and more restrained style. Script and decoration, however, are Insular, and their superb quality makes the Lindisfarne Gospels one of the noblest monuments of Insular calligraphy and ornament. A tenth-century hand added Anglo-Saxon translations above the lines of text.

62 *Evangelia* ("Book of Kells")
Origin uncertain, probably not Ireland
Second half of the eighth century

Dublin, Trinity College 58 (A.I. 6), ff. 19v-20. Facsimile from *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Cenannensis*, ed. E.H. Alton and P. Meyer (Berne: 1950-51).

The origin of this venerable manuscript is still in dispute. Tradition has ascribed it to the monastery of Kells in Ireland where it was during the Middle Ages. Recently, however, experts have shown Northumbrian influence in the making of the Book of Kells and also that it was written too early to have been produced at Kells itself. Northumbria, eastern Scotland, and the island of Iona off the western coast of Scotland have all been proposed. Some scholars believe that archeology will furnish the final clues to its origin by linking the book's ornament with that of stone sculpture and metal-work. The long lines (instead of two columns) of

Item 61 [from f. 124]

Et paraverunt pascha.
Vespere autem facto
venit cum duodecim
Et discumbentibus eis
Et manducantibus ait ihs
Amen dico vobis
Quia unus ex vobis me-
tradet qui manducat
mecum
At illi coeperunt
contristari et dicere ei
singillatim numquid ego
Qui ait illis
unus ex duodecim
Qui intingit mecum
in catino

Et manducantibus illis
accepit ihs panem
et benedicens fregit
et dedit eis et ait
Sumite
hoc est corpus meum
Et accepto calice
gratias agens dedit eis
et biberunt ex illo
omnes et ait illis
hic est sanguis meus
novi testamenti qui pro
multis effunditur.
Amen dico vobis
Quod iam non bibam
de genimine vitis usq;

text and the exuberance of the calligraphy and decoration indicate none of the Italian influence visible in the Lindisfarne Gospels. But whatever its home or whatever the influences on it, the Book of Kells ranks as the supreme masterpiece of Hiberno-Saxon craftsmanship.

Forerunners of Caroline Minuscule

"Scripts, like populations," wrote E.A. Lowe, "recruit chiefly from below." By this he meant that inventors of calligraphic book hands found their raw material and drew their inspiration from the handwriting of the marketplace. What this writing lacked in pretense, it made up in vigor and practicality. For it was in the everyday world of affairs that Western scribes first discovered how to write without lifting the pen. Remigius of Auxerre, writing in the ninth century, gave these kinds of scripts their earliest known names: *litterae longariae* (lengthened letters) and *longae manus scriptura* (longhand writing).

The oldest informal writing, however, was not truly cursive (i.e. running), but consisted mainly of jabbed, straight strokes such as could be written on wax tablets. Nevertheless, it is known traditionally as "ancient Roman cursive." Only in its successor, the so-called "later Roman cursive," did a genuine cursive emerge. The earliest extant specimens date from the beginning of the fourth century, and many examples survive from the fifth and sixth centuries, not only in documents but also in notes entered in the margins or flyleaves of books. The adoption of this cursive writing by Imperial and barbarian chanceries disseminated it throughout the Latin West. Its spread is noteworthy because this script contained the seeds of the handwriting which would emerge in the late eighth century and dominate from that time to our own day.

The fragmentation of Western culture following the break-up of the Roman Empire was reflected in handwriting. During the seventh and eighth centuries it took on distinctively local features. Scribes of the time also began to copy books in formalized versions of the ordinary documentary script common to their locale. This promotion of cursive to a more or less calligraphic book hand was apparently necessary because the art of writing the old book scripts had been largely lost. The movement proceeded irregularly with first France, then Spain, and finally Italy (where the roots of uncial and half-uncial went deeper) producing characteristic book scripts from the local cursive. (Ireland and England were a special situation, treated in the section on Insular scripts.)

Corresponding roughly to our small letters, these scripts are known as "minuscule," as opposed to the "majuscule" alphabets, Rustic and uncial, which generally resemble our capitals. All of the minuscules in their early stages were permeated with ligatures (two or more letters written together in such a way that one or more are deformed--our *&* is an example), and with stylized forms not easily read by those unfamiliar with the script. Gradual elimination of the ligatures and the more illegible features in some writing centers produced several clear minuscule book scripts by the second half of the eighth century. One of these was canonized in the ninth century. Under the impulse of the contemporary cultural renaissance it assumed a more or less standard form which rapidly spread through the Empire and more gradually to the rest of Europe.

63 Deed of sale of a slave
Syria — Ancient Roman cursive
A.D. 166

London, British Museum Papyrus 229. Facsimile from *Chartae latinae antiquiores*, ed. A. Bruckner and R. Marichal (Olten, Switzerland: 1954-), vol. III, plate 200.

Letters made chiefly with successions of straight strokes are a legacy from writing on wax tablets.

64 Letter relieving Flavius Abinneus of his command in Egypt
Later Roman cursive
A.D. 344

Geneva, Papyrus III. Facsimile from J. Mallon, R. Marichal, and C. Perrat, *L'Ecriture latine de la capitale romaine à la minuscule* (Paris: 1939), number 34.

Curved strokes are abundant. Note the forms of *b*, *g*, *m*, and *r*--forerunners of the forms we use.

Item 67 [from f. 98]

65 Avitus, *Homelies*
France — Sixth century
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8913. Facsimile from Mallon, Marichal, and Perrat, number 65.

This papyrus codex shows an early attempt to adapt cursive for use as a book script. Note the tall *c* and ligatures with *e* and *t*, all features of documentary cursive.

66 Diploma of Childebert III, a judgment in favor of the Abbey of St. Denis
23 December 694
Pàris, Archives nationales K3, no. 9
Facsimile from *Album paléographique* (Paris: 1887), plate 10.

The crabbed style used in the chancery of the Merovingian kings in France and Burgundy is a late regional version of later Roman cursive.

67 Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul
Corbie (France)
Late eighth or early ninth century
London, British Museum Harley 3063. Facsimile from *The New Palaeographical Society*, First series (Oxford: 1903-1912), vol. II, plate 235.

This manuscript was copied in a distinctive and stylized type of the Merovingian documentary script seen in the previous example. Nearly forty manuscripts of the type survive, apparently written at the Abbey of Corbie in northeastern France.

68 *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* ("Bobbio Missal")
Southeast France — Eighth century
Paris, Bibliothèque National lat. 13246, ff. 206v-206 bis. Facsimile from *The Bobbio Missal*, eds. A. Wilmart, E.A. Lowe, H. A. Wilson (London: 1917)

This book suggests why the old capital scripts, with a few exceptions, disappeared from use during the eighth century: most scribes no longer knew how to write them. The mixed script of the Bobbio Missal, in fact, shows that its scribe did not know any one script at all. He mingled uncial, half-uncial, and cursive forms indiscrimi-

nately. But he doubtless had higher aims, namely to provide a service book for the little provincial church of which he may well have been the priest. Few manuscripts as crude and humble as this have survived, but perhaps this one deserves its small share of immortality.

i. respondebis

voluntatis integra atque absoluta libertas. Sed praescientiam inquies

tametsi futuris eveniendi necessitas non est, signum tamen est necessario

ea esse ventura. Hoc igitur modo etiam si praecognitio non fuisset, necessarios

de litteris sunt signum signi · i. vocis · vox vero signum

futurorum exitus esse constaret. Omne etenim signum tantum quid sit osten

dit, non vero efficit quod designat. Quare demonstrandum prius est ni

non fiant tamen necessitate

hil non ex necessitate contingere, ut praenotionem signum esse huius ne

s. necessitas · i. praenotio ·

cessitatis appareat. Alioquin si haec nulla est, ne illa quidem eius

i. necessitatis ·

rei signum esse poterit quae non est. Iam enim probationem firma ratione

subnixam constat non ex signis neque petitis extrinsecus argumentis

i. tractandam · i. quomodo ·

sed ex convenientibus necessariisque causis esse ducendam. Sed qui fi

eri potest ut ea non proveniant quae futura esse providentur? Quasi ve

s. ita argumentaris

ro nos ea quae providentia futura esse praenoscit non esse eventura cre

si quod verum est ·

damus, ac non illud potius arbitremur, licet eveniant, nihil tamen

ut evenirent sui natura necessitatis habuisse. Quod hinc facile

vel perpensuram scilicet ·

perpendas licebit. Plura etenim dum fiunt subiecta oculis intuemur,

i. disciplinaliter regendas ·

ut ea quae in quadrigis moderandis atque flectendis facere spec

i. considerantur · Spectare est aliquid cum ammiratione intueri · hinc spectaculum quod pandit ammirationem praebet ·

tantur aurigae, atque in hunc modum cetera. Num igitur quicquam illorum

ita fieri necessitas ulla compellit? Minime. Frustra enim esset artis

effectus si omnia coacta moverentur. Quae igitur cum fiunt carent

vera est conclusio

existendi necessitate, eadem prius quam fiant sine necessitate fu

Item 70

Caroline Minuscule

The legacy of the Middle Ages is nowhere more apparent than in handwriting. Medieval calligraphers, in fact, created the very lettering in which these words are printed. This script, like others, was born of historical change, a late-eighth-century product of the growing European empire of the Franks and the attendant new energy in culture.

The name Caroline minuscule derives from the greatest leader of these movements, Charles the Great (Latin *Carolus*). His vigorous leadership took form in broadening education and establishing schools. It also gave impetus to the revision and correction of Biblical texts and to collecting homilies of the Fathers so that sermons might be preached regularly in the churches. To promote uniform obedience in monastic life, Charles even sent to the Abbey of Monte Cassino to obtain copies of the original manuscript of St. Benedict's Rule for monks.

Although most of the program fell short of its goals, the number of extant books or fragments copied during the "Carolingian" Renaissance is perhaps five times what survives in Latin from the entire earlier period, vivid testimony to the increase in book production beginning in the later eighth century. It is interesting to note that, despite the chiefly religious aims of this cultural revival, many of the earliest and best texts of Roman secular literature are preserved to us because Carolingian scribes and scholars copied them.

Caroline minuscule thus developed in the early Middle Ages. Fifteenth-century humanists identified it as *littera antiqua*, i.e. Roman; we follow them in our designation of the corresponding typeface as "roman." In fact, however, Caroline minuscule is Roman only in its ultimate derivation from the cursive of the later Empire. It was actually created out of the various scripts current in the late eighth century, the earliest dated samples being written at Corbie in northeast France and at the imperial Palace School by A.D. 781.

Master calligraphers--and some not so masterful--gave a particular stamp to the varieties of early Caroline minuscule, so that books emanating from such centers as Corbie, Tours, St. Amand, Freising, or St. Gall may be easily distinguished.

Clear, simple, and graceful, the new script spread rapidly, aided in part by the cultural quickening, becoming more standard in the process. It became the script of books and also of documents for most of Europe until the twelfth century. In the fifteenth, Italian scribes and printers revived it, and since then it has remained in active use, finally becoming universal in our own century when it displaced Gothic lettering for books printed in Germany and Austria.

69 Cicero, *Pro Caelio*

Ninth century

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7794, f. 73. Facsimile from E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins* (Paris: 1892), plate XXIII.

Written in a center of high standards, this expert script illustrates the considerable attainments of the Carolingian Renaissance and shows several features characteristic of Caroline minuscule in the ninth century. Punctuation, except for the simple point, is mostly added. A second hand made some additions, perhaps from another exemplar.

70 Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*

Early eleventh century

Ms 686, fragment 27

Graceful, yet irregular, the script is Caroline minuscule of an advanced stage belonging to the eleventh century: the back of *a* has become more erect; emphasis on the feet of letters is increased; some ascenders and descenders are quite short; abbreviations are more numerous.

The *De consolatione philosophiae* of Boethius was a seminal text for the Middle Ages. The scribe of this fragment has copied explanatory notes between the lines.

71 *Psalterium*

Italy — Eleventh century

Ms 686, fragment 73

This fragment, the top portion of a single leaf, indicates the large size attained by Bibles in Caroline minuscule.

72 *Patristica* (?)

Germany — Eleventh century

Ms 686, fragment 34

The squarish proportions of letters, together with rather pronounced separation between words, suggest an origin in Germany. The round ꝺ and final round *s*, which occur here and there, belong to the developed stage of Caroline minuscule and to later scripts.

This leaf was preserved to us in a bookbinding, as indicated by the stains, cuts, and holes.

Primitive Gothic

Calligraphy reflected the new cultural currents which were enlivening the twelfth century. As learning burst its monastic bonds and as students flocked to the towns to sit at the feet of first one master and then another, literature broke forth with a vigor and breadth unknown to the Latin West for centuries. Deepening piety gave new forms and fervor to monasticism. New impulses ran through theology, law, and the writing of hymns.

All of these activities increased the demand for books, as new monasteries and schools built libraries and old ones enlarged their holdings. The make-up and writing of books began to change. Scribes compressed the text to get more on a single page, eliminating some space between lines, squeezing letters, and using more abbreviations. In order to maintain readability, they adopted taller proportions for letters and, for large and medium-sized books, divided the space for writing into two columns. In the case of Lactantius, for example, in a manuscript written shortly before A.D. 828, some 230 words occupy one full page of thirty lines; the same text fills just less than half a forty-line page of two columns in a manuscript of the same size copied about 1160.

Under these influences a new script evolved almost imperceptibly out of Caroline minuscule. Ascenders and descenders shorten as space between lines decreases; *f*, *r*, and straight ſ, which formerly dipped below the line, now stand on the line with a tiny diagonal finishing stroke or "foot." Indeed, feet become regular for all verticals ending on the line; the curves of the final stroke in *m*, *n*, and occasionally elsewhere take on more or less angularity. Many manuscripts, among them some of the handsomest of the Middle Ages, are copied in this script, which palaeographers have come to call "primitive Gothic."

73 *Miracula B. Virginis Mariae;* Julianus Toletanus, *Prognosticon; Vitae sanctorum;* etc.
France (possibly England) — Twelfth century
Ms 147, ff. 48v-49

This volume is a good example of a twelfth-century monastic book. Miracles of the Virgin reflecting the contemporary cult of the mother of Jesus, are joined to texts common to the earlier Middle Ages. The script is much more compressed than Caroline, and feet on vertical strokes are regular, including *r* and ſ (note the succession of feet in the last line of col. 1). *d*, final *s*, and the abbreviation for *et (& and 7)* have two forms. Roman numeral *IIII* in the lower margin marks the end of the sixth (!) gathering, suggesting that the volume comprises what was originally two separate manuscripts (other details confirm the suggestion, although the two parts must have been written at the same place and time). A contemporary corrector supplied two omissions between the lines in the right column.

74 Isidorus, *Etymologiae*
First half of the twelfth century
Ms 686, fragment 26

This fragment contains a few of Isidore's famous and imaginative etymologies for the names of animals. Noteworthy features of the script are the lateral compression and the ungainly round *d*.

75 *Sacramentarium*
Twelfth century
Ms 686, fragment 39

76 Priscianus, *Institutiones grammaticae*
Italy (?) — Second half of the twelfth century
Ms 686, fragment 72

Keen interest in literary studies in the twelfth century produced many books like the copy of the Roman grammarian Priscian from which this leaf survives. It may have been written in Italy, to judge from the parchment and the roundness of the script.

77 Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannis evangelium*
France — Second half of the twelfth century
Ms 686, fragment 30

Ascenders and descenders are noticeably short, and tiny lozenges occur at the tops of short verticals (especially *i*, *m*, *n*, and *u*)--both are characteristic of later Gothic. The initial *Q* is an incipient form of the flourished style which became widespread in the thirteenth century.

Item 73 [f. 62v]

Gothic

The sense of hierarchical structure which permeated medieval thought and society plainly manifested itself in the handwritten book. It appeared chiefly in books written in Gothic script, a type which emerged out of Caroline minuscule *ca.* 1200 and became the principal formal script for the next two or three centuries.

Scribes began regularly to use several techniques to aid the systematic presentation of texts: numbering for chapters, sections, and other divisions to facilitate citation; the *paragraphus* (¶); double columns; wide margins for formal and informal commentaries. Ancient texts like the Latin Bible and the writings of the Fathers, which originally had been divided only into books, were subdivided into chapters and sections. For individual chapters, scholars provided one-sentence summaries (*capitula*) which were entered either at the head of each chapter or collected at the beginning or end of the text in a *tabula*. Most of these techniques had been used before, but men of the scholastic age found them especially suitable.

The systematic division and arrangement of texts influenced the overall design of books. The format itself assumed more importance, the actual lettering of the text and headings less. Scribes compressed script by reducing the amount of space between lines and by squeezing letters closer together. They therefore shortened the long strokes of *b, h, p,* (*d* reverted to the uncial form ꝺ), etc., and joined adjacent round bows in combinations like *de* and *bo* (ꝺe , bo). Stubby ascenders and descenders along with fusion of bows thus became regular features of Gothic.

The same trend of de-emphasizing individual letters appeared in the script itself. Scribes tended to write short uprights uniformly, so that *i, m, n, u,* and their combinations become increasingly difficult to distinguish. They reduced the individuality of letters by transforming curved strokes into series of similar, angular ones.

The trends toward compression, angularity, and similarity reached their greatest development in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in the most formal manuscripts, especially liturgical books. The long life of scripts is well illustrated by Gothic which provided the type fonts of the earliest printed Bibles and still persisted in the formal books of Germanic countries well into our own century.

78 Peter the Lombard, *Sententiarum libri IV (I, 39-40)*
England — Late twelfth century
Ms 686, fragment 9

This scholastic text is a handsome example of early Gothic script. It is distinguished from primitive Gothic chiefly by the fusion of round strokes in adjacent letters (e.g. ꝺe in lines 1-2, although not always). The form of *a* is occasionally tall and often "trailing-headed," i.e. the top overhangs the bow to the left--a sign of English origin (e.g. in col. 1 *p(re)sci(enti)a,* line 4; *om(n)ia mala,* lines 5-6; and *ab et(er)no,* penultimate line, etc.). Marginalia provide for facility in using the text: "What predestination is and how it differs from foreknowledge" (*Quid sit*...etc.) gives the subject; *AG* marks citations from the works of St. Augustine; *oppo (oppositio)* indicates the contrary position of "certain persons" who seek to show that the number of elect can be augmented or diminished.

79 Richard of St. Victor, *De contemplatione, De exterminatione mali et promotione boni;* Hugh of Strasbourg, *Compendium theologicae veritatis*
Germany (ff. 1-146) Fourteenth century
France (ff. 147-225) Thirteenth century
Ms 102, ff. 146v-147

It has been suggested that the two separate manuscripts were brought together in one volume in a center where interest in mysticism ran strong in the later Middle Ages, probably in the Rhineland. The script of the text on the right,

Item 78 [from fragment 9]

Aug.

Quid sit predestinatio et in quo differat a prescientia.

XL D

Aug.

Oppositio

bona quam mala. Predestinatio vero de bonis salutaribus est et de ho-
minibus salvandis. Ut Augustinus ait in libro de predestinatione sanctorum:
predestinatio est gratie preparatio, que sine prescientia esse non potest. Potest autem sine predestina-
tione esse prescientia. Predestinatione quippe Deus ea prescivit que fuerat
ipse facturus; sed prescivit Deus et que non est ipse facturus, id est omnia ma-
la. Predestinavit eos quos elegit, reliquos vero reprobavit, id est ad mortem
eternam prescivit peccaturos. Utrum aliquis predest[inatus] [illegible]

Predestinatorum nullus dampnari et repro[borum] [illegible]
videtur posse dampnari, nec reproborum aliquis posse salvari.
Unde Augustinus in libro de correptione et gratia: In apocalypsi inquit: Tene
quod habes, ne alius accipiat coronam tuam. Si alius non est accep-
turus nisi iste perdiderit, certus est electorum numerus, id est non potest augeri vel
minui. Ad hoc autem obiciunt quidam intendentes probare nu-
merum electorum posse augeri et minui sic. Potest Deus non appo-
nere gratiam quibus apponit, et potest subtrahere quibus non subtra-
hit. Quod si fieret, utique dampnarentur. Possent ergo dampnari
isti qui tamen salvabuntur, et per hoc utique minui electorum numerus.
Ita et potest augeri, quia potest apponere gratiam quibus non apponit, per quam
salvarentur. Possent ergo salvari habita gratia qui tamen sine ea
dampnabuntur. Potest itaque augeri numerus electorum. Quibus
respondemus ex ea ratione dampnari esse et unum esse numerum electorum non
posse augeri vel minui, quia non potest utrumque simul esse, scilicet ut
aliquis salvetur et non sit predestinatus, vel ut aliquis predestinatus sit
et dampnetur. Intelligentia enim conditionis implicate ve-
ritatem facit in dicto, et impossibilitatem in vero. Si vero simpliciter
intelligatur, impossibilitas non admittitur, ut cum dicitur predesti-
natus potest vel non potest dampnari, et reprobus potest salvari. In his
enim et huiusmodi locutionibus ex ratione dicti diiudicanda est sententia
dictionis. Alia namque fit intelligentia si per coniuncti-
onem hec accipiantur dicta, atque alia si per disiunctionem,
ut supra cum de prescientia agebatur pretaxatum est. Sicut enim cum dicitur
predestinatus non potest dampnari intelligitur ita, id est non potest esse ut
predestinatus sit et dampnetur, vel unum [illegible] iuncti intel-
[illegible] vero si disiunct[im] [illegible] tum non
[illegible] quem dicis predest[inatum] [illegible] enim non
esse predestinatus et ita dampnaretur. Quod vero adhuc inferre solent

tamen potuit esse ab eterno quod non esset predestinatus, et potuit ab
eterno non esse predestinatus. Et sicut ab eterno deus potuit eum non predes-
tinare, ita conceditur a quibusdam quod et modo potest deus eum non predes-
tinasse ab eterno. Ergo potest deus non predestinasse eum, ergo potest iste non
fuisse predestinatus. Si vero non fuisset predestinatus, nec esset pre-
destinatus. Ergo potest modo non esse predestinatus. Ita et de prescientia et presci-
tis dicunt, quod in actionibus vel operationibus dei et hominum nulla te-
nus conceditur. Exigentes aliquid factum esse vel dictum non conceditur quod
possit non esse, immo impossibile est non esse vel non fuisse, quod factum est vel
dictum, referentes possibilitatem vel impossibilitatem ad ipsam
rei existentiam. Cum vero de prescientia vel predestinatione dei agitur,
possibilitas vel impossibilitas ad potentiam dei refertur,
que semper eadem fuit et est. Quia prescientia et predestinatio et po-
tentia unum in deo est. Quid [illegible] in reprobatione dei in quibus consi[stat]

Cumque predestinatio [illegible] predestinationis eff[ectus] [illegible]
sit gratie preparatio, vel divina electio qua [illegible]
elegit quos voluit ante mundi constitutionem, ut ait apostolus.
Reprobatio econverso intelligenda est prescientia iniquitatis quorundam
et preparatio dampnationis eorundem. Sicut enim predestinationis
effectus illa gratia est qua in presenti iustificamur atque ad re-
cte vivendum et in bono perseverandum adiuvamur, et illa qua
in futuro beatificabimur, ita reprobationis dei qua ab eterno non eligen-
do quosdam reprobavit secundum duo consideratur, quorum alterum
prescit et non preparat, alterum prescit et preparat, scilicet eternam penam. Unde
Augustinus ad Prosperum et Hylarium: Hanc regulam inconcusse tenen-
dam esse: peccatores in peccatis prescitos esse, non preparatos, penam
autem esse preparatam. Preparavit enim deus, ut ait Augustinus in libro de bono
perseverantie, in prescientia sua quibus voluit bona sua,
quibus etiam donat. Procul dubio se donaturum esse prescivit.
Preparavit enim deus, ut ait Fulgentius, malis ignem eternum, il-
lis utique quos iuste preparavit ad luenda [illegible] non
tamen preparavit ad facienda peccata. Preparavit enim deus quod divina eq[uitas]
tunc redderet, non quod humana iniquitas admitteret. Non [illegible] sic
[illegible] ad iustitiam [illegible] sic prepa[ravit] [illegible]
[illegible] quia preparatus [illegible]
[illegible] predestinatio dei [illegible]

Fulgentius

although not expert, is standard Gothic. The treatise on the left, however, originated in a provincial center where the standards of calligraphy and book design were not very high.

80 Justinian, *Novellae constitutiones*
Bologna Early fourteenth century
Ms 423, ff. 129v-130

Bologna was the leading European center for the study of law and jurisprudence from the end of the eleventh century onwards. Under the influence of the methods of teaching law in the schools and in the University of Bologna, a suitable form of book evolved. Since the standard technique of instruction was for the professor to expound upon or to "gloss" an authoritative text, the text was copied in the center of the page, leaving wide, ruled margins for commentary.

This book of the Emperor Justinian's later legislative work was probably copied in Bologna itself. The text script is Italian Gothic known as Bolognese *(Bononiensis)*: the bows of *b*, *o*, *q*, etc. are very round; the abbreviation for *et* (*7*) is not crossed. The script of the commentary is similar but smaller, with italic *a* and elongated final *s*.

A contemporary hand entered additional commentary in the lower margin in expert Gothic cursive.

81 Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*
Germany Fourteenth century
Ms 121, ff. 83v-84

Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, written in the later twelfth century, was the chief medieval dictionary of the Bible. To judge from extant medieval library catalogues, it was a ubiquitous reference work.

The script is ornate Gothic of a late type: *a* is no longer made with a "bow," but consists of two vertical strokes connected by three short horizontals; otiose, decorative hair-lines abound.

Gothic Cursive

The reappearance of cursive writing in books and documents, whence it had largely disappeared for nearly four centuries, is doubtless related to the development of law and to burgeoning royal and local administrations during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

"Gothic cursive" assumed many forms. Because it derived from the ordinary handwriting of correspondence, it bore the local stamp of those hands. Regional peculiarities are therefore more common and easier to identify, as in the cursive of all periods, than in formal book hands. Then, too, cursive forms (single-looped *a*, looped *d*, open-tailed *g*, etc.) were written less cursively or not cursively at all, more or less stylized.

Scribes also developed "hybrid" or "bastard" scripts by combining cursive and formal elements. The use of the term cursive as applied to scripts of the later Middle Ages thus comprehends a wide range of hands and texts, from the humblest to the elegant and costly. It includes rapid, relatively personal scrawls and ornate calligraphy, as well as clear and purposeful text hands.

Cursive became the standard script for documents; moreover, literature, law, piety, philosophy, and science also occur, although not exclusively, in one or more of its various forms. Scribes preferred cursive for works in vernacular and in fact copied some of our best manuscripts of no less than Dante and Chaucer in cursive.

The re-introduction of cursive script was symptomatic of larger historical processes. As manifestations of the forces which broke down the unity of the Roman world and of medieval Christendom, the energy and variety of cursive reflect the pluralism brought on by increasingly secularized learning and by the growth of regional states and vernacular languages.

82 *Liber de novem scientiis*, *Sermones Cistercienses*
England ca. 1300 (ff. 9-72)
Thirteenth century (ff. 73-156)
Ms 654, ff. 72v-73

This is a composite volume containing two monastic texts, originally separate manuscripts. The volume belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Meaux in England by the late fourteenth century and to an unidentified owner earlier, probably another Cistercian house.

The script of the sermons illustrates the earliest type of Gothic cursive in England and is a formal version of English documentary script of the second half of the thirteenth century: *b*, *d*, *h*, and *l* have looped ascenders; *a* is mostly tall and retains a Gothic form; *g* is Gothic; *r* goes below the line and has a shoulder which joins the next letter; round *s* is 6-shaped.

The script of the *De novem scientiis* is a regular, Gothic book hand.

83 Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*
England First half of the fifteenth century
Ms 564, ff. 175v-176

The script is a typical English cursive book script known as Anglicana: the round, cursive form of *e* is characteristic; *r* joins the following letter without a shoulder.

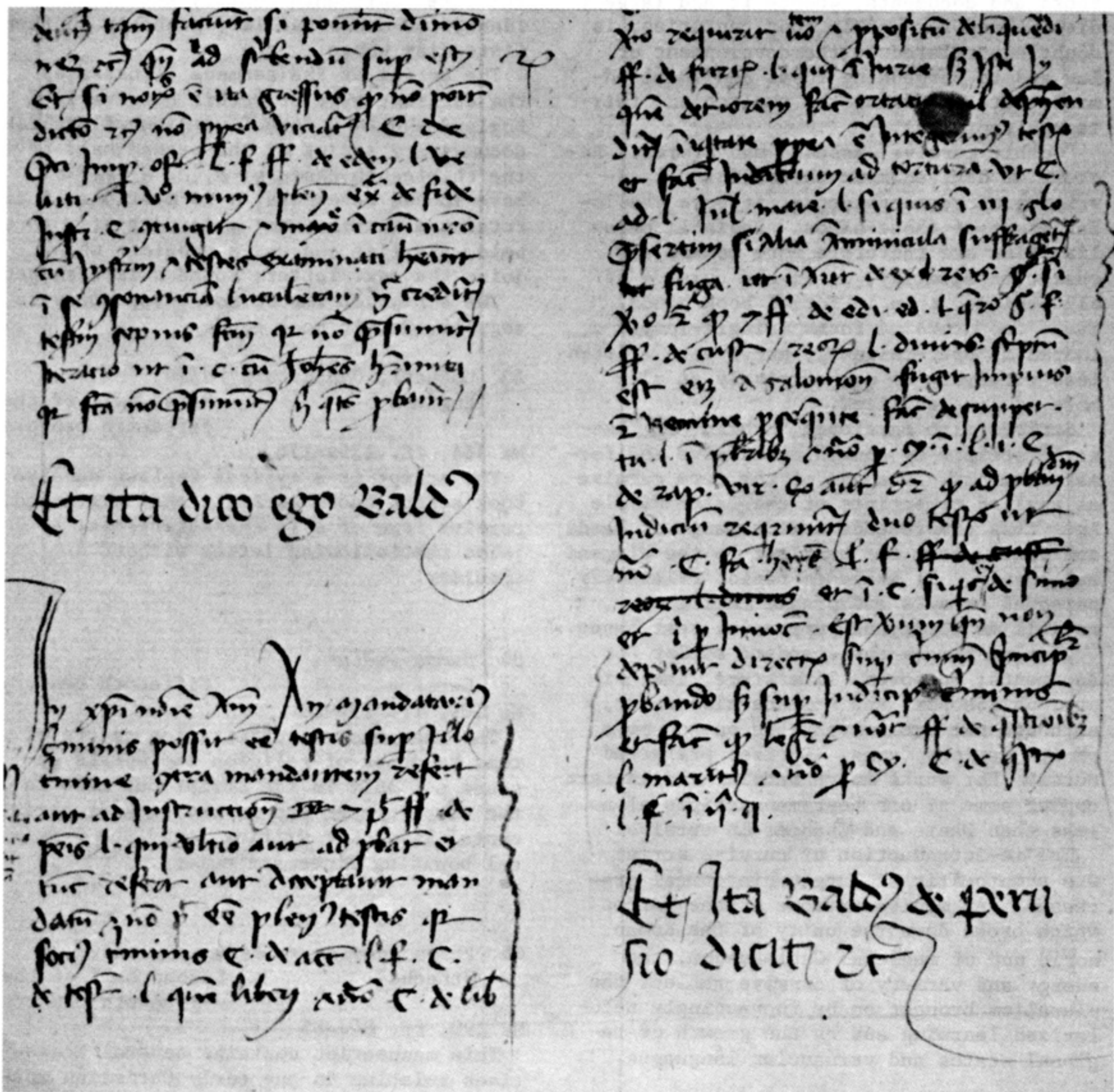
84 *Summa rudium*
Germany Fifteenth century
Ms 169, ff. 19v-20

The inexpensive, utilitarian nature of this handbook of religion and morals appears not only in the script but also in the use of paper and in the lack of horizontal lines for writing (only the vertical bounding lines are ruled).

85 *Vitae sanctorum*, *sermones*, etc.
Utrecht Second half of the fifteenth century
Ms 190, ff. 84v-85

This manuscript contains several treatises relating to the early Christian martyr St. Agnes. It has been recently discovered that the manuscript also has textual associations with Utrecht, where the cult of St. Agnes dates from at least the tenth century when her body was brought back from Italy to the city as a relic. An origin in one of the churches or religious houses of Utrecht is highly probable.

Item 86 [from f. 17]



86 Baldus de Perusia, *Consilia*, etc.
Italy — Fifteenth century
Ms 6, ff. 16v-17

Baldus (d. 1406) was a professor of civil law whose legal judgments, advice, legal maxims, etc. (*consilia*) had wide influence. The script is rapid cursive of a type found in Italian legal codices: *e* is angular; the final stroke of *m* and *n* often goes below the line; *r* is frequently 2-shaped, even at the beginning of words. The section at the bottom of the left column begins: *In Chr(ist)i no(m)i(n)e Am(en). An mandatari(us) / c(ri)minis possit e(ss)e testis sup(er) illo / c(ri)mine (con)tra mandantem refert....*

Humanistic Scripts

The invention of humanistic script is fascinating because its origins are visible. Invented in order to produce more readable texts at the turn of the fifteenth century in Florence, the new script sprouted in the soil of Renaissance humanism.

The early humanists wanted trim, clear script, appealing to the eye rather than the sprawling, luxuriant lettering of their day which, Petrarch (d. 1374) wrote, "pleases but tires the eye, as if it were invented for anything but reading." Coluccio Salutati (d. 1406), Petrarch's friend and Chancellor of Florence, uttered similar laments, but he went a step beyond complaining to look for something better.

Coluccio initiated the endeavor to produce a new type of script, or rather to revive an old one. In the additions and notes which he entered in his tenth-century copy of Pliny's *Letters*, he experimented with the letter forms in which the Pliny and many of his other books were written. Out of the experiment emerged a revived version of Caroline minuscule, referred to by contemporaries as *littera antiqua*.

Although the inspiration for the new script thus belongs to Coluccio, mastery of it was achieved by his twenty-three year old friend, the scribe and scholar, Poggio Bracciolini. In 1402 or 1403 Poggio copied Coluccio's work, the *De verecundia*, in a well-developed humanistic minuscule. This copy is the earliest known example of the new script, which spread rapidly as indicated by dated specimens which survive in the hands of other scribes from as early as 1410.

Credit for discovering the invention of humanistic minuscule belongs to a professor of classics and instructor in palaeography at the University of Chicago, the late B.L. Ullman. The discovery has been widely accepted and has gone more than a dozen years without serious challenge. It shows how rapidly a new script could spread under favorable conditions.

Even more interesting for the history of book scripts, however, the discovery (despite its being in this case a revival) suggests that scripts are created by a single individual who combines elements from various available models, refining them into a harmonious whole which then catches on in a receptive cultural environment.

Scholars have long described the hands of several early humanists, notably Petrarch's, as *fere humanistica* (almost humanistic). A group of Florentine scribes including Salutati, active in the years around 1400, equally merit this description, for their work shows many humanistic features. Their products were contemporary, or nearly so, with the humanistic minuscule of young Poggio. In addition to copying several manuscripts for Salutati's library, these scribes made copies of Salutati's own works. Three books from this group are now University of Chicago Mss 100, 187, and 831. These scribes strove for clarity, already using, for the most part, the humanistic format of a single column with widely-spaced lines and longer ascenders and descenders. Straight *ſ* and *d* occur here and there. If these manuscripts were in fact among his available models, Poggio had only to eliminate the tendency to fuse round bows and above all to emphasize the individuality of letters to arrive at the humanistic book hand and format.

The humanists also contributed a cursive book script. Since the earliest known specimens (dating from 1423) are in the hand of the Florentine scholar Niccolò Niccoli, he is the presumed inventor of humanistic cursive. Niccoli was not a professional scribe like Poggio, but a scholar who wanted a rapid, utilitarian script for his own books. Niccoli's library was the source from which many Renaissance scholars had their own copies made. The celebrated Florentine bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci reported that when Niccoli died two hundred of his manuscripts were out on loan.

Humanistic minuscule and cursive were the last scripts invented for the handwritten book. Within a few decades of their invention, printers were setting them in type--roman and italic respectively. To the untrained eye, early printed books are scarcely distinguishable from manuscripts, so closely did printers seek to emulate them.

Item 87 [from fragment 25]

87 *Vetus testamentum (Paralipomenon)*
Italy ca. 1100
Ms 686, fragment 25

The later variety of Caroline minuscule represented here was revived by the Italian humanists.

88 Coluccio Salutati, *De seculo et religione*
Florence Between 1381 and 1408
Ms 187, ff. 46v-47

This manuscript belongs to a group of codices, mostly connected with Salutati, written in Florence near the turn of the fifteenth century. All show protohumanistic features, especially in the page format, space between lines, and proportions of tall and short letters. In addition, they usually show the humanistic forms of *a* and sometimes (though not here) of *d* and *ſ*. The Gothic style of both large and small initials is noteworthy.

89 Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogiae deorum*
Florence ca. 1400
Ms 100, ff. 99v-100

Salutati had this manuscript copied in the same center that produced the preceding item. The script is more compact and retains more Gothic features (round ꝺ and *s*, fusion of bows, two columns of text) than other manuscripts emanating from this center.

90 Leo Magnus, *Sermones*
Italy Fifteenth century
Ms 30, ff. 31v-32

The script is fully developed humanistic minuscule, but slightly irregular: *u* is often v-shaped; round *s* occurs frequently at word-end, a survival from Gothic script. The initial *P* is a small but typical example of the "white vine-scroll" type which originated in Florence for humanistic books.

Item 90 [from f. 31v]

sentientes & in fide ac spe & caritate concordes
sps pacis agat atq; pducat. Qm quicunq; spu dei agu
tur hi filii sunt dei qui regnat cu filio & spu sco in
secula seculorum Amen.

Estiuitatis hodierne dilectissimi uer' uenerator
& ipi' cultor. qui nec de incarnatione dni aliqd
falsum: nec de deitate aliqd sentit indignum.
Paris .n. periculi malum e: sed aut illi nae nre ueritas
aut paterne glie negat equalitas. Cum ergo ad intel
ligendum sacramentum natiuitatis christi qua de
matre uirgine e ortus accedim'. abigat procul tre
narum caligo ronum & ab illuminate fidei oculo mu
dane sapie fum' abscedat. Diuina e .n. auctoritas
cui credim'. diuina e doctrina qua sequim. Qm siue
legis testificatioi siue oraculis prophar siue eua
gelice tube intiorem admoueam' auditu. uerum e qd
iesus plen' spu sco intonuit. In pncipio erat uerbu
et ubu erat ap deu & de' erat uerbum: hoc erat
in pncipio ap deum. oia per ipm fca sut. & sine ipo
fcm e nihil. Et similiter uerum e qd ide pdica
tor adiecit. Verbum caro fcm e & hitauit in nob.
& uidim' glam ei' glam qi unigeniti a pre. In utque
ergo na idem e dei fili' nra suscipiens & propa non
amittens. In hoie hoiem renouans i se incomutabi
lis pseuerans. Deitas .n. que illi cum patre cois e

— nullvo

91 Leonardus Aretinus, *Isagogicon, De militia*, etc.
Italy — Fifteenth century
Ms 472, ff. i^{v}-1
Vestiges of Gothic appear in this hand in the form of *a* and in the fusion of bows.

92 Lactantius Firmianus, *Institutiones divinae*, etc.
Venice: Wendelin of Speier, 1472
Humanistic minuscule furnished the basis for some of the first type fonts, as shown by this early edition of Lactantius.

rnuca uox prolixam cautionē ad quam nequaq̄ sufficisset declinare ne risum moueretur audientibus. Plura quidem inserta parū pudice tum dicta tum facta. et que pudorem exagitent. sed illa quoq; non obmicti et lex interpretandi et uera suasit ratio. Sed satis ista supius. Tu si qua superflua existimaueris iure tuo resecabis.

LAERTIJ DIOGENIS VITE ATQ; SENTENTIE EORVM QVI IN PHILOSOPHIA CLARVERVNT.

HILOSOPHIAM A Barbaris initia sumpsisse pleriq; autumant. Namq; apud Persas claruisse magos: babilonis assirus eius rei principes fuisse caldeos: gimnosofistas: indis celtis seu gallis druidas: qui ut ait Aristoteles in magico et socon in vigesimo et tertio successionis libro: quod diuini humaniq; iuris peritissimi. ac preterea religioni maxime dediti fuerint. semnotei quoq; appellati sunt. Phenicem insup fuisse ochum: et tracha zamolsim libicumq; atlantem. Ad hec egyptij Nili filium fuisse uulcanum: eumq; ipum phie aperuisse principia. Porro ipsius rei Antistites sacerdotes ac prophetas appellari solitos. Ab hoc autem ad Alexandrum macedonum regem fluxisse annos quadraginta et octomilia: octingentos sexaginta tres. Quo tempore toto solis defectus contigisse trecentos septuaginta tres. Lune autem octingentos triginta duos. Enimuero a magis quorum principem fuisse Zoroastē persem memorie proditum est. hermodorus quidem Platonicus in libro de disciplinis usq; ad excidium troie annos quinq; milia cōputat. xanctus uo lidius á zoroaste usq; ad xerxis transitum annos enumerat sexcentos. Post eum autem magos plurimos sibi inuicem successisse: hostanes astropsichos: gorias: atq; pazatas: donec ab Alexandro euersum est persarum regnum. Sed hi profecto dum nesciunt

Unde Initiu[m]

De philo[sophia]

93 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum*
Italy Fifteenth century
Ms 15, ff. 1v-1
The script is regular humanistic cursive, of which the distinguishing features are joined letters, italic *a*, *f* and straight *ſ* which descend well below the line.

94 Ovid, *Fasti*
Italy Fifteenth century
Ms 494, ff. 33v-34
Rapid humanistic cursive is used for the text, with inscriptional Roman capitals for the *explicit* and *incipit* at the foot of the right page.

95 Alexo Salgado Correa, *Libro nombrado Memorial de Hespaña*
Spain Sixteenth century
Ms 64, ff. 40v-41
Humanistic minuscule serves for the *incipit* with text in formal humanistic cursive.

96 Lactantius Firmianus, *Institutiones divinae*, etc.
Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1535
Humanistic cursive appeared early in print and continues as our italic.