AN INTRODUCTION TO GREEK AND LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY

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PREFACE

When, twenty years ago, at the invitation of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Company, I contributed to their International Scientific Series a *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, I hardly dared to hope that such a work would appeal to more than a limited number of students. Yet, even at that time, the study of Palaeography had begun to take a wider range; and the ever-growing output of photographic reproductions and especially the interest aroused by the recovery of valuable relics of Greek Literature which so frequently were coming to light among the newly-found papyri from Egypt combined to give it a greater stimulus. For this reason, and rather because it happened to be the only book of its kind in the English language than for any particular merit of its own, the Handbook attained a larger circulation than had been anticipated, and served more effectually the purpose, for which it was written, of a general guide to the subject.

A certain inconvenience, however, embarrassed the usefulness which might be claimed for the book, almost from the first. The small form of the volume and the moderate price of the Series prohibited illustration on more than a limited scale; and although the facsimiles, as issued, may have proved sufficient as an accompaniment of the text, their value as palaeographical specimens, representing as they did only very small sections of the pages of the MSS. from which they were selected, could not count for much. Moreover, the letter-press being stereotyped, the introduction of new matter in any satisfactory degree was attended with difficulties. Therefore, when, in 1906, a third edition of the Handbook was called for, it was suggested to the publishers that the time had arrived for a fuller treatment of the subject both in text and in illustration. They were, however, of opinion that the Handbook, as it stood, still had its value; at the same time they very handsomely

gave me authority to make use of it as a basis for a larger work. I here desire to record my grateful thanks for this concession.

This, then, is the origin of the present Introduction. It is an enlarged edition of the Handbook, following the same lines, but being in many parts rewritten as well as revised, and, it is hoped, giving a fairly complete account of the history and progress of Greek and Latin Palaeography, especially in its literary aspect, from the earliest periods represented by surviving MSS. down to the close of the fifteenth century; and embodying details of the more recent discoveries and the results of modern research. A further advantage is the improved scale of the facsimiles, which the larger format of the Introduction has rendered possible. For this and for other facilities I am indebted to the liberality of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, to whom their ready acceptance of responsibility for the publication of this work has placed me under peculiar obligations.

The section of this Introduction which in the future may need modification, as the result of further discoveries, is that which deals with the Literary and Cursive hands of the Greek papyri. In the case of the Literary hands, it will be seen that we are still far from being in a position to speak, in all instances, with approximate certainty as to the periods of the MSS. already before us. Fresh discoveries may require us to qualify our present views. As regards the Cursive hands, our position is stronger; but there are still very wide chronological gaps to be filled before the palaeographer can have an unbroken series of dated documents at his disposal. As an aid to the better understanding of this difficult section, and to assist in the deciphering of passages in which the facsimiles, from the condition of the originals, may have proved obscure, the Table of Literary Alphabets, showing the forms of letters employed in the several MSS. will, it is hoped, be found useful; and, not less so, the Table of Cursive Alphabets, in the compilation of which upwards of two hundred dated papyri have been analyzed.

The Facsimiles throughout have been selected with care. It

will be observed that a large proportion of them has been reproduced from the plates of the Palaeographical Society. This has been done purposely. The series of Facsimiles published by the Society, both in the old issues and in the one still in progress, have been chosen with a view to palaeographical instruction, and therefore offer the best field in which to gather illustrations for such an Introduction as the present one; and, in addition, they are probably more accessible than any other series of reproductions to English students, for whom this work is more especially designed. My best thanks are due to the Society for permission to make use of their plates.

Others also I have to thank for similar favours; and I gladly acknowledge my obligations to Monsieur Henri Omont, the Keeper of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale; to Professor W. M. Lindsay, of St. Andrews; to Professor Franz Steffens, of Freiburg (Switzerland); and to Professor V. Gardthausen, of Leipzig.

On the indulgence of many of my former colleagues in the British Museum I fear I have trespassed too freely; but their patience has been inexhaustible. To my successor in the office of Director and Principal Librarian, Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, I am specially indebted for much valuable advice and assistance and for his trouble in kindly reading the proofs of the portion of this book relating to Greek Palaeography. To Sir George F. Warner, late Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, to Mr. J. P. Gilson, the present Keeper, and to Mr. H. Idris Bell and Mr. G. T. Longley, of that Department; to Mr. G. K. Fortescue, Keeper of the Printed Books; to Dr. L. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts; to Mr. H. A. Grueber, Keeper of the Coins and Medals; and to Mr. A. Hamilton Smith, Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, I return my best thanks for all their kindly aid.

In conclusion, I gratefully acknowledge the care bestowed by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press on the production of this volume.

E. M. T.

Mayfield, Sussex,
July 1, 1912.

AN INTRODUCTION TO
GREEK AND LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

THE GREEK AND LATIN ALPHABETS

ALTHOUGH the task which lies before us of investigating the growth and changes of Greek and Latin palaeography does not require us to deal with any form of writing till long after the alphabets of Greece and Rome had assumed their final shapes, yet a brief sketch of the developement of those alphabets, as far as it is known, forms a natural introduction to the subject.

The alphabet which we use at the present day is directly derived from the Roman alphabet; the Roman, from a local form of the Greek; the Greek, from the Phoenician. Whence the Phoenician alphabet was derived we are not even yet in a position to declare. The ingenious theory set forth, in 1859, by the French Egyptologist de Rougé of its descent from the ancient cursive form of Egyptian hieratic writing, which had much to recommend it, and which for a time received acceptance, must now be put aside, in accordance with recent research. Until the alphabetic systems of Crete and Cyprus and other quarters of the Mediterranean shall have been solved, we must be content to remain in ignorance of the actual materials out of which the Phoenicians constructed their letters.

To trace the connexion of the Greek alphabet with the Phoenician, or, as it may be more properly styled, the Semitic, alphabet is not difficult. A comparison of the early forms of the letters sufficiently demonstrates their common origin; and, still further, the names of the letters and their order in the two alphabets are the same. The names of the Semitic letters are Semitic words, each describing the letter from its resemblance to some particular object, as *aleph* an ox, *beth* a house, and so on. When the Greeks took over the Semitic letters, they also took over their Semitic names.

This Semitic alphabet appears to have been employed in the cities and colonies of the Phoenicians and among the Jews and Moabites and

other neighbouring tribes; and its most ancient form as known to us is preserved in a series of inscriptions which date back to the tenth century B.C. The most important of them is that engraved upon the slab known as the Moabite stone, which records the wars of Mesha, king of Moab, about 890 B.C., against Israel and Edom, and which was discovered in 1868 near the site of Dibon, the ancient capital of Moab. From these inscriptions of the oldest type we can construct the primitive Phoenician alphabet of twenty-two letters, in a form, however, which must have passed through many stages of modification.

The Greek Alphabet

The Greeks learned the art of writing from the Phoenicians at least as early as the ninth century B.C.; and it is not improbable that they had acquired it even one or two centuries earlier. Trading stations and colonies of the Phoenicians, pressed at home by the advancing conquests of the Hebrews, were established in remote times in the islands and mainlands of Greece and Asia Minor; and their alphabet of two-and-twenty letters was adopted by the Greeks among whom they settled or with whom they had commercial dealings. It is not, however, to be supposed that the Greeks received the alphabet from the Phoenicians at one single place from whence it was passed on throughout Hellas; but rather at several points of contact from whence it was locally diffused among neighbouring cities and their colonies. Hence we are prepared to find that, while the Greek alphabet is essentially one and the same in all parts of Hellas, as springing from one stock, it exhibits certain local peculiarities, partly no doubt inherent from its very first adoption at different centres, partly derived from local influences or from linguistic or other causes. While, then, the primitive alphabet of Hellas has been described by the general title of Cadmean, it must not be assumed that that title applies to an alphabet of one uniform pattern for all Greece.

Among the two-and-twenty signs adopted from the Phoenician, four, viz. *aleph*, *he*, *yod*, and *ayin* (𐤀, 𐤄, 𐤉, 𐤏), were made to represent the vowel-sounds *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, both long and short, the signs for *e* and *o* being also employed for the diphthongs *ei* and *ou*. The last sound continued to be expressed by the *omikron* alone to a comparatively late period in the history of the alphabet. The fifth vowel-sound *u* was provided for by a new letter, *upsilon*, which may have been a modification or 'differentiation' of the Phoenician *waw* (Υ). This new letter must have been added almost immediately after the introduction of the Semitic signs, for there is no local Greek alphabet which is without it. Next was felt the necessity for distinguishing long and short *e*, and in Ionia, the aspirate gradually falling into disuse, the sign Η, *eta*, was adopted to represent long *e*, probably

before the end of the seventh century B.C. About the same time the long *o* began to be distinguished by various signs, that used by the Ionians, the *omega*, Ω, being perhaps a differentiation of the *omikron*. The age of the double letters Φ, Χ, and Ψ, as they appear in the Ionian alphabet, must, as is evident from their position, be older than or at least coaeval with *omega*.

With regard to the sibilants, their history is involved in obscurity. The original Semitic names appear to have become confused in the course of transmission to the Greeks and to have been applied by them to wrong signs. The name *zeta* seems to correspond to the name *tsade*, but the letter appears to be taken from the letter *zayin* (I). *Xi*, which seems to be the same word as *shin*, represents the letter *samekh* (Ŧ). *San*, which is probably derived from *zayin*, represents *tsade* (Ϸ). *Sigma*, which may be identified with *samekh*, represents *shin* (W). But all these sibilants were not used simultaneously for any one dialect or locality. In the well-known passage of Herodotus (i. 139), where he is speaking of the terminations of Persian names, we are told that they 'all end in the same letter, which the Dorians call *san* and the Ionians *sigma*'. There can be little doubt that the Dorian *san* was originally the M-shaped sibilant which is found in the older Dorian inscriptions, as in Thera, Melos, Crete, Corinth, and Argos.[1] This sibilant is now known to have been derived from the Phoenician letter *tsade*. In a Greek abecedarium scratched upon a small vase discovered at Formello, near Veii, this letter is seen to occupy the eighteenth place, corresponding to the position of *tsade* in the Phoenician alphabet. In the damaged Greek alphabet similarly scrawled on the Galassi vase, which was found at Cervetri in 1836, it is formed more closely on the pattern of the Phoenician letter. In the primitive Greek alphabet, therefore, *san* existed (representing *tsade*) as well as *sigma* (representing *shin*), but as both appear to have had nearly the same sibilant sound, the one or the other became superfluous. In the Ionian alphabet *sigma* was preferred.

But the disuse of the letter *san* must date far back, for its loss affected the numerical value of the Greek letters. When this value was being fixed the exclusion of *san* was overlooked, and the numbers were calculated as though that letter had not existed. The preceding letter *pi* stands for 80; the *koppa* for 90, the numerical value of the Phoenician *tsade* and properly also that of *san*. At a later period the obsolete letter was readopted as the numerical sign for 900, and became the modern *sampi* (i.e. *san* + *pi*), so called from its partial resemblance, in its late form, to the letter *pi*.

[1] It has also been identified with a T-shaped sign which was used for a special sound on coins of Mesembria, and at Halicarnassus in the fifth century B.C.

With regard to the local alphabets of Greece, different states and different islands either adopted or developed distinctive signs. Certain letters underwent gradual changes, as *eta* from closed ⊟ to open H, and *theta* from the crossed ⊗ to the dotted circle ⊙, which forms were common to all the varieties of the alphabet. The most ancient forms of the alphabet are found in Melos, Thera, and Crete, which moreover did not admit the double letters. While some states retained the *digamma* or the *koppa*, others lost them; while some developed particular differentiations to express certain sounds, others were content to express two sounds by one letter. The forms ⅃Γ for *beta* and ꓭ for *epsilon* are peculiar to Corinth and her colonies; the Argive alphabet is distinguished by its rectangular *lambda* ⊢; and that letter appears in the Boeotian, Chalcidian, and Athenian alphabets in a primitive form ⅃.[1]

But while there are these local differences among the various alphabets of ancient Greece, a broad division has been laid down by Kirchhoff,[2] who arranges them in two groups, the eastern and the western. The eastern group embraces the alphabet which has already been referred to as the Ionian, common to the cities on the western coast of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands, and the alphabets of Megara, Argos, and Corinth and her colonies; and, in a modified degree, those of Attica, Naxos, Thasos, and some other islands. The western group includes the alphabets of Thessaly, Euboea, Phocis, Locris, and Boeotia, and of all the Peloponnese (excepting the states specified under the other group), and also those of the Achaean and Chalcidian colonies of Italy and Sicily.

In the eastern group the letter Ξ has the sound of *x*; and the letters X, Ψ the sounds of *kh* and *ps*. (In Attica, Naxos, etc., the letters Ξ and Ψ were wanting, and the sounds *x* and *ps* were expressed by XΣ, ΦΣ.) In the western group the letter Ξ is wanting, and X, Ψ have the values of *x* and *kh*; while the sound *ps* was expressed by ΠΣ or ΦΣ, or rarely by a special sign ✳. In a word, the special test-letters are:—

Eastern: X = *kh*. Ψ = *ps*.
Western: X = *x*. Ψ = *kh*.

How this distinction came about is not known, although several explanations have been hazarded. It is unnecessary in this place to do more than state the fact.

As the Semitic languages were written from right to left, so in the earliest Greek inscriptions we find the same order followed. Next came the method of writing called *boustrophedon*, in which the written lines run alternately from right to left and from left to right, or vice versa,

[1] ⊙ as a form of *phi* is found on coins of Phocis of 600 B.C.; and a slight modification of the Corinthian *beta* was used in the coinage of Byzantium, 350 B.C.—*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins*: Phocis, 14–19; Thrace, etc., 93–4.

[2] *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets*, 4th ed., 1887.

as the plough forms the furrows. Lastly, writing from left to right became universal. In the most ancient tomb-inscriptions of Melos and Thera we have the earliest form of writing. *Boustrophedon* was commonly used in the sixth century B. C. However, the famous Greek inscription at Abu Simbel—the earliest to which a date can be given—cut on one of the legs of the colossal statues which guard the entrance of the great temple, and recording the exploration of the Nile up to the second cataract by certain Greek, Ionian, and Carian mercenaries in the service of Psammetichus, runs from left to right. The king here mentioned may be the first (654–617 B.C.) or, more probably, the second (594–589 B.C.) of that name. The date of the writing may therefore be roughly placed about 600 B.C. The fact that, besides this inscription, the work of two of the soldiers, the names of several of their comrades are also cut on the rock, proves how well established was the art of writing among the Greeks even at that early period.

The Latin Alphabet

Like the local alphabets of Greece, the Italic alphabets varied from one another by the adoption or rejection of different signs, according to the requirements of language. Thus the Latin and Faliscan, the Etruscan, the Umbrian, and the Oscan alphabets are sufficiently distinguished in this way; but at the same time the common origin of all can be traced to a primitive or so-called Pelasgian alphabet of the Chalcidian type. The period of the introduction of writing into Italy from the great trading and colonizing city of Chalcis must be carried back to the time when the Greeks wrote from right to left. Two Latin inscriptions[1] have been found thus written; and in the other Italic scripts this ancient system was also followed. The inscription on the rectangular pillar found in 1899 near the Forum, of a date not later than the fifth century B. C., is arranged *boustrophedon*.[2] We may assume, then, that the Greek alphabet was made known to the native tribes of Italy as early as the eighth or ninth century B.C., and not improbably through the ancient Chalcidian colony of Cumae, which tradition named as the earliest Greek settlement in the land. The eventual prevalence of the Latin alphabet naturally followed the political supremacy of Rome.

The Latin alphabet possesses twenty of the letters of the Greek western alphabet, and, in addition, three adopted signs. Taking the Formello and Galassi abecedaria[3] as representing the primitive alphabet

[1] The earliest, on a fibula from Praeneste assigned to the sixth century B. C. (*C. I. L.* xiv. 4123); the other, the Duenos inscription on a vase of the fourth century B. C. found near the Quirinal in 1880 (*C. I. L.* i. 371). Both are given in Sandys, *Compan. Lat. Studies*, 731, 733.

[2] Sandys, *op. cit.* 732.

[3] See E. S. Roberts, *Gk. Epigraphy*, i. 17.

of Italy, it will be seen that the Latins rejected the letter *san* and the double letters *theta*, *phi*, and *chi* (Ϙ), and disregarded the earlier sign for *xi*. In Quintilian's time letter X was the 'ultima nostrarum' and closed the alphabet. The letter *zeta* representing the soft *s* sound was so used at first by the Latins; but, this sound in course of time changing to an *r* sound, the letter *z* ceased to be used. But at a later period it was restored to the alphabet for the purpose of transliteration of Greek words. As however its original place had been meanwhile filled by the new letter G, it was sent down to the end of the alphabet. With regard to the creation of G, till the middle of the third century B.C. its want was not felt, as C was employed to represent both the hard *c* and *g* sounds,[1] a survival of this use being seen in the abbreviations C. and Cn. for Gaius and Gnaeus; but gradually the new letter was developed from C and was placed in the alphabet in the position vacated by *zeta*. The *digamma* had become the Latin F, and the *upsilon* had been transliterated as the Latin V; but in the time of Cicero *upsilon*, as a foreign letter, was required for literary purposes, and thus became again incorporated in the Latin alphabet—this time without change of form, Y. Its position shows that it was admitted before Z.

[1] The sound represented by C in Latin no doubt also gradually, but at a very early period, became indistinguishable from that represented by K. Hence the letter K fell into general disuse in writing, and only survived as an archaic form in certain words, such as *kalendae*.

The Greek and Latin Alphabets

	GREEK.						LATIN.		
	Cadmean.		Local forms.	Eastern.	Western.	Local forms.	Pelasgian.	Latin.	
	Right to left.	Left to right.							
alpha ..	Α	Α		Α Α	Α Α		Α	Α Α Α	a
beta ..	Β	Β	Melos, etc.	Β Β	Β Β		Β	Β Β	b
			Paros, Siphnos, Thasos, etc.						
			Corinth.						
gamma	Γ	Γ	Corinth, Megara, etc.	Γ Γ Γ	Γ Γ	Chalcis, Phocis, Arcadia, Elis, Locris, etc.	C	C	c
delta ..	Δ	Δ		Δ D	Δ ▷ D		Δ ▷ D	D	d
epsilon ..	Ε	Ε	Corinth, etc.	Ε Ε	Ε Ε		Ε	Ε Ⅱ	e
digamma	Ϝ	F		[Ϝ]	Ϝ F		Ϝ	F Ⅱ	f
zeta ..	Ζ	Ζ		Ζ	Ζ		Ζ	[G a new letter formed from C.]	g
eta	Η	Η		Η H(h,ē)	Η H(h)		Η	H	h
theta ..	Θ	Θ		Θ ⊙	Θ ⊙		Θ		
iota ..	Ι	Ι	Crete, Thera, Melos, Corinth, etc.	Ι	Ι		Ι	Ι	i
kappa ..	Κ	Κ		Κ	Κ		Κ	Κ	k
lambda	Λ	Λ	Attica, Argos.	Λ Λ	Λ Λ	Chalcis, Boeotia, etc.	Λ	Λ L	l
mu ..	Μ	Μ		Μ Μ	Μ Μ		Μ	Μ	m
nu	Ν	Ν		Ν Ν	Ν Ν		Ν	Ν	n
xi	Ξ	Ξ	Later Argos.	Ξ	[See below.]		Ξ		
			[χσ, Attica, Naxos, Siphnos, Thasos, etc.]						
omikron	Ο	Ο	Paros, Siphnos, etc.	Ο	Ο		Ο	Ο	o
pi	Π	Π	Melos.	Π Π	Π Π		Π	Π Ρ	p
san (ss)	Μ	Μ	Halicarnassus, Teos, Mesembria.				Μ		
koppa ..	Ϙ	Ϙ		[Ϙ]	Ϙ		Ϙ	Q	q
rho ..	Ρ	Ρ		Ρ Ρ Ρ	Ρ Ρ Ρ		Ρ Ρ	Ρ Ρ	r
sigma ..	Σ	Σ	Crete, Thera, Melos, Argos, Corinth, etc.	Σ Σ	Σ Σ	Phocis, etc.	Σ Σ	Σ S	s
tau	Τ	Τ		Τ	Τ		Τ	Τ	t
upsilon..				Υ Υ	Υ Υ		Υ	Υ	uv
xi				[See above.]	Χ +		Χ	Χ	x
phi.. ..				Φ ϕ	Φ ϕ		Φ		
chi.. ..				Χ +	Ψ ↓		↓		
psi.. ..			[φσ, Attica, Naxos, Siphnos, Thasos, etc.]	↓ Ψ		Ozol. Locris, Arcadia.			
omega ..			Melos, Paros, Siphnos, etc. Ω				Adopted at a later period as foreign letters. Υ		y
			[Ο used generally for o, ου, ω, except in Ionia.]				Ζ		z

CHAPTER II

MATERIALS USED TO RECEIVE WRITING

Of the various materials which have been used within the memory of man to receive writing, there are three, viz. papyrus, vellum, and paper, which, from their greater abundance and convenience, have, each one in its turn, displaced all others. But of the other materials several, including some which at first sight seem of a most unpromising character, have been largely used. For such a purpose as writing, men naturally make use of the material which can be most readily procured, and is, at the same time, the most suitable. If the ordinary material fail, they must extemporize a substitute. If something more durable is wanted, metal or stone may take the place of vellum or paper. But with inscriptions on these harder materials we have, in the present work, but little to do. Such inscriptions generally fall under the head of epigraphy. Here we have chiefly to consider the softer materials on which handwriting, as distinguished from monumental engraving, has been wont to be inscribed. Still, as will be seen in what follows, there are certain exceptions; and to some extent we shall have to inquire into the employment of metals, clay, potsherds, and wood, as well as of leaves, bark, linen, wax, papyrus, vellum, and paper, as materials for writing.[1] We will first dispose of those substances which were of more limited use.

Leaves

It is natural to suppose that, in a primitive state of society, leaves of plants and trees, strong enough for the purpose, would be adopted as a ready-made material provided by nature for such an operation as writing. In various parts of India and the East the leaves of palm-trees have been in use for centuries and continue to be employed for this purpose; and they form an excellent and enduring substance. Manuscripts written on palm-leaves have been found in Nepal which date back many hundreds of years. In Europe leaves of plants are not generally of the tough character of those which grow in the tropics; but it is not impossible that they were used in ancient Greece and Italy, and that the

[1] Ulpian, *Digest.* xxxii. 52, *de Legat.* 3, thus classifies books: 'Librorum appellatione continentur omnia volumina, sive in charta, sive in membrana sint, sive in quavis alia materia; sed et si in philyra aut in tilia, ut nonnulli conficiunt, aut in quo alio corio, idem erit dicendum. Quod si in codicibus sint membraneis vel chartaceis, vel etiam eboreis, vel alterius materiae, vel in ceratis codicillis, an debeantur videamus.'

references by classical writers to their employment are not merely fanciful. There is evidence of the custom of πεταλισμός, or voting for ostracism with olive-leaves, at Syracuse, and of the similar practice at Athens under the name of ἐκφυλλοφορία.[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 11, writes: 'Antea non fuisse chartarum usum: in palmarum foliis primo scriptitatum, deinde quarundam arborum libris.'

Bark

Better adapted for writing purposes than leaves was the bark of trees, *liber*, which we have just seen named by Pliny, and the general use of which caused its name to be attached to the book (i.e. the roll) which was made from it. The inner bark of the lime-tree, φιλύρα, *tilia*, was chosen as most suitable. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 14, describing this tree, says: 'Inter corticem et lignum tenues tunicae sunt multiplici membrana, e quibus vincula tiliae vocantur tenuissimae earum philyrae.' It was these delicate shreds, *philyrae*, of this inner skin or bark which formed the writing material. In the enumeration of different kinds of books by Martianus Capella, ii. 136, those consisting of lime-bark are quoted, though as rare: 'Rari vero in philyrae cortice subnotati.' Ulpian also, *Digest.* xxxii. 52, mentions 'volumina . . . in philyra aut in tilia.' But not only was the bark of the lime-tree used, but tablets also appear to have been made from its wood—the 'tiliae pugillares' of Symmachus, iv. 34; also referred to by Dio Cassius, lxxii. 8, in the passage: δώδεκα γραμματεῖα, οἷά γε ἐκ φιλύρας ποιεῖται. It seems that rolls made from lime-bark were co-existent at Rome with those made from papyrus, after the introduction of the latter material; but the home-made bark must soon have disappeared before the imported Egyptian papyrus, which had so many advantages both in quantity and quality to recommend it. It has rather been the fashion with some writers to deride the tradition of the employment of bark as a writing material in Europe. They suggest that it has arisen from papyrus being ignorantly mistaken for bark. An occasional mistake of the kind may well have happened. But the references of early writers to the employment of bark is not to be lightly disregarded.[2]

[1] The olive-leaf, used in this ceremony, is also mentioned, φύλλον ἐλαίας, as the material on which to inscribe a charm.—*Cat. Gk. Papyri in Brit. Mus.* i. Pap. cxxi. 213; and a bay-leaf is enjoined for the same purpose in Papyrus 2207 in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[2] See a reference to a copy of Aratus on malva-bark, quoted from Isidore, *Orig.* vi. 12, by Ellis, *Comm. on Catullus*, 2nd ed., 1889, p. lix. The employment of birch-bark as a writing material in India is, of course, well known. It dates back to a very early time, specimens of the fourth century being extant. In Kashmir it was largely used down to the time of Akbar's conquest in the seventeenth century, and there are still a considerable number of MSS. of the material in that country. Several are in the British Museum, one of them being of the year 1268.

Linen

Linen cloth, which is found in use among the ancient Egyptians to receive writing, appears also as the material for certain rituals in Roman history. Livy, x. 38, refers to a book of this character, 'liber vetus linteus,' among the Samnites; and again, iv. 7, he mentions the 'lintei libri' in the temple of the goddess Moneta; and Flavius Vopiscus in his Life of the Emperor Aurelian refers to 'libri lintei' in the Ulpian Library in Rome.[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 11, names 'volumina lintea' as in use at an early period for private documents, public acts being recorded on lead. Martianus Capella, iii. 136, also refers to 'carbasina volumina'; and in the *Codex Theodos.* vi. 27. 1, 'mappae linteae' occur. The largest extant example of Etruscan writing, now preserved in the Museum at Agram, is inscribed on linen.[2]

Clay and Pottery

Clay was a most common writing material among the Babylonians and Assyrians. The excavations made of late years on the ancient sites of their great cities have brought to light a whole literature impressed on sun-dried or fire-burnt bricks and tablets. Clay tablets have also been found in the excavations at Knossos in Crete, ascribed to the period about 1500 B.C. Potsherds came ready to the hand in Egypt, where earthenware vessels were the most common kind of household utensils. They have been found in large numbers, many inscribed in Greek with such ephemeral documents as tax and pay receipts, generally of the period of the Roman occupation.[3] To such inscribed potsherds has been given the title of *ostraka*, a term which will recall the practice of Athenian ostracism in which the votes were recorded on such fragments.[4] That such material was used in Greece only on such passing occasions or from necessity is illustrated by the passage in Diogenes Laertius, vii. 174, which narrates that the Stoic Cleanthes was forced by poverty to write on potsherds and the shoulder-blades of oxen. Tiles also, upon which alphabets or verses were scratched with the stilus

[1] The Ulpian Library was the Public Record Office of Rome.—J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books*, 1901, p. 20.

[2] It was found cut into strips and used for binding an Egyptian mummy.—Ed. Krall, in the *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy, vol. xli (1892).

[3] See autotypes of some specimens in *Pal. Soc.* ii. 1, 2.

[4] Votes for ostracism at Athens were probably recorded on fragments of broken vases which had been used in religious services, and which were given out specially for the occasion. Three such voting ostraka are known: one is described by Benndorf, *Griech. und sicilische Vasenbilder*, tab. xxix. 10; another, for the ostracism of Xanthippos, the father of Pericles (see Aristotle, *Const. Athens*, 61), is noticed by Studniczka, *Antenor und archäische Malerei* in *Jahrbuch des kais. deutschen arch. Instituts*, ii (1887), 161. See also the *Brit. Mus. Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, 7.

before baking, served occasionally among both Greeks and Romans for educational purposes.[1]

Wall-spaces

It is perhaps straining a term to include the walls of buildings under the head of writing materials; but the *graffiti* or wall-scribblings, discovered in such large numbers at Pompeii,[2] hold so important a place in the history of early Latin palaeography, that it must not be forgotten that in ancient times, as now, a vacant wall was held to be a very convenient place to present public notices and appeals or to scribble idle words.

Precious Metals

The precious metals were naturally but seldom used as writing materials. For such a purpose, however, as working a charm, an occasion when the person specially interested might be supposed not to be too niggard in his outlay in order to attain his ends, we find thin plates or leaves of gold or silver recommended,[3] a practice which is paralleled by the crossing of the palm of the hand with a gold or silver coin as enjoined by the gipsy fortune-teller.

Lead

Lead was used at an ancient date. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 11, refers to 'plumbea volumina' as early writing material. Pausanias, ix. 31, 4, states that at Helicon he saw a leaden plate (μόλιβδος) on which the Ἔργα of Hesiod were inscribed. At Dodona tablets of lead have been discovered which contain questions put to the oracle, and in some instances the answers.[4] An instance of the employment of lead in correspondence occurs in Parthenius, *Erotica*, cap. 9; the story being that, when the island of Naxos was invaded by the Milesians in 501 B.C., the priestess Polycrite, being in a temple outside the capital city, sent word to her brothers, by means of a letter written upon lead and concealed in a loaf, how they might make a night attack. Lenormant, *Rhein. Museum*, xxii. 276, has described the numerous small leaden pieces on which are written names of persons, being apparently *sortes iudiciariae*, or lots for selection of judges, of ancient date. *Dirae*, or solemn dedications of offending persons to the infernal deities by, or on behalf of, those whom they had injured or offended, were inscribed

[1] Facsimiles in *C. I. L.* iii. 962. The ostrakon no. 18711 in the British Museum is inscribed with ll. 107–18, 128–39 of the *Phoenissae* of Euripides: see *Classical Review*, xviii. 2. The Berlin ostrakon 4758 contains ll. 616–24 of the *Hippolytus* of Euripides.

[2] *C. I. L.* iv.

[3] *Cat. Gk. Papyri in Brit. Mus.* i. 102, 122; also papyri in the Bibl. Nationale, 258, 2705, 2228.

[4] Carapanos, *Dodone et ses Ruines* (1878), p. 68, pl. xxxiv–xl; *C. I. L.* i. 818, 819.

on this metal. These maledictory inscriptions, called also *defixiones* or κατάδεσμοι and καταδέσεις, appear to have been extensively employed. An instance is recorded by Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 69, in his account of the last illness and death of Germanicus, in whose house were found, hidden in the floor and walls, remains of human bodies and 'carmina et devotiones et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum'. Many have been found at Athens and other places in Greece and Asia Minor, and some in Italy; others again in a burial-ground near Roman Carthage.[1] Several were discovered at Cnidus which have been assigned to the period between the third and first centuries B.C.;[2] and recently a collection was found near Paphos in Cyprus, buried in what appears to have been a malefactors' common grave.[3] These Cnidian and Cyprian examples are now in the British Museum. Charms and incantations were also inscribed on thin leaves of lead.[4] Montfaucon, *Palaeogr. Graeca*, 16, 181, mentions and gives an engraving of a leaden book, apparently connected with magic. A leaden roll has been found in Rhodes, inscribed with the greater part of Psalm lxxx in Greek, of the third or fourth century; which may have been used as a charm.[5] There are two inscribed leaden tablets found at Bath; the one containing a curse in Latin on some person who had carried off a girl named Vilbia, written in reversed characters; the other being a Latin letter of the fourth century.[6] Of later date is a tablet found in a grave in Dalmatia, containing a charm against evil spirits, in Latin, inscribed in cursive letters of the sixth century.[7] Several specimens which have been recovered from mediaeval graves prove that the custom of burying leaden inscribed plates with the dead was not uncommon in the middle ages.[8] The employment of this metal for such purposes may have been recommended by its supposed durability. But lead is in fact highly sensitive to chemical action, and is liable to rapid disintegration under certain conditions. For the ancient *diræ* it was probably used because it was common and cheap.

Bronze

Bronze was used both by Greeks and Romans as a material on which to engrave votive inscriptions, laws, treaties, and other solemn docu-

[1] *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 1888, p. 294.

[2] Newton, *Discov. at Halicarnassus* (1863), ii. 719–45; and Collitz and Bechtel, *Griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, iii. 233.

[3] *Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, Proceedings, xiii (1891), pt. iv.

[4] Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Mus. Lugdun.* 1885; Wessely, *Griech. Zauber Papyri*, 1888; *Cat. Gk. Papyri in Brit. Mus.* i. 74, etc. Tin plates were also used, *Cat. Gk. Pap.* i. 91, etc.

[5] *Sitzungsberichte* of the Roy. Prussian Academy, 1898, p. 582.

[6] *Hermes*, xv; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlii. 410; E. W. B. Nicholson, *Vinisius to Nigra*, 1904. For further notices of inscriptions on lead see Gardthausen, *Griech. Pal.* 2nd ed., 1911, pp. 26–8.

[7] *C. I. L.* iii. 961.

[8] Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 48–51.

ments. These, however, do not come under present consideration, being strictly epigraphical monuments. The only class which we need notice is that of the Roman military diplomas, those portable *tabulae honestae missionis*, as they have been called, which were given to veteran soldiers and conferred upon them rights of citizenship and marriage. Upwards of one hundred such documents, or portions of them, issued under the emperors, have been recovered.[1] They are interesting both palaeographically, as giving a series of specimens of the Roman rustic capital letters,[2] and also for the form which they took, exactly following that observed in the legal documents preserved in waxed tablets (see below). They were, in fact, *codices* in metal. The diploma consisted of two squared plates of the metal, hinged with rings. The authentic deed was engraved on the inner side of the two plates, and was repeated on the outside of the first plate. Through two holes a threefold wire was passed and bound round the plates, being sealed on the outside of the second plate with the seals of the seven witnesses, whose names were also engraved thereon. The seals were protected by a strip of metal, attached, which was sometimes convex to afford better cover. In case of the outer copy being called in question, reference was made to the deed inside by breaking the seals, without the necessity of going to the official copy kept in the temple of Augustus at Rome.

The repetition of the deed in one and the same diploma is paralleled in some of the Assyrian tablets, which, after being inscribed, received an outer casing of clay on which the covered writing was repeated.

Wood

Wooden tablets were used in very remote times. In many cases they were probably coated, if not with wax, with some kind of composition, the writing being scratched upon them with a dry point; in some instances we know that ink was inscribed upon the bare wood. The ancient Egyptians also used tablets covered with a glazed composition capable of receiving ink.[3] Wooden tablets inscribed with the names of the dead are found with mummies. They were also used for memoranda and accounts, and in the Egyptian schools; specimens of tablets inscribed with receipts, alphabets, and verses having survived to the present day.[4] One of the earliest specimens of Greek writing is a document inscribed

[1] *C. I. L.* iii. 843 sqq. publishes fifty-eight of them. For facsimiles see, e. g., J. Arneth, *Zwölf römische Militär-Diplome*, Vienna, 1843; *New Pal. Soc.* 131.

[2] See facsimile specimens of the characters employed in the diplomas in Hübner, *Exempla Script. Epigr.* 285–300.

[3] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, ii. 183.

[4] Reuvens, *Lettres*, iii. 111; *Transac. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, 2nd series, x, pt. 1; Leemans, *Mon. Égypt.* ii, tab. 236; *Rhein. Museum*, xv (1860), 157. Several specimens of Egyptian inscribed tablets are in the British Museum.

in ink on a small wooden tablet now in the British Museum (5849, C.); it refers to a money transaction of the thirty-first year of Ptolemy Philadelphus (254 or 253 B.C.).[1] In the British Museum there is also a small wooden board (Add. MS. 33293), painted white and inscribed in ink with thirteen lines from the *Iliad* (iii. 273–85), the words being marked off and the syllables indicated by accents, no doubt for teaching young Greek scholars. It was found in Egypt, and is probably of the third century. Of the same period are a board (Add. MS. 37516) and a book of eight wooden leaves (Add. MS. 37533), inscribed with school exercises in Greek.[2] At Vienna is a board with lines from the *Hekale* of Callimachus and the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, of the fourth century.[3] There is also a miscellaneous set of broken tablets (Add. MS. 33369) inscribed on a ground of drab paint, with records relating to the recovery of debts, etc., at Panopolis, the modern Ekhmim, in the Thebaid; probably of the seventh century. In early Greek history it is stated that the laws of Solon were written on revolving wooden tablets, *ἄξονες* and *κύρβεις*; and there is an actual record of the employment of wooden boards or tablets in the inventory of the expenses of rebuilding the Erechtheum at Athens, 407 B.C. The price of two boards, on which rough accounts were first entered, is set down at two drachmas, or $9\frac{3}{4}d.$ each: *σανίδες δύο ἐς ἃς τὸν λόγον ἀναγράφομεν.*[4] And again a second entry of four boards at the same price occurs. In some of the waxed tablets lately recovered at Pompeii the pages which have been left in the plain wood are inscribed in ink.[5] Wooden tablets were used in schools during the middle ages.[6] In England the custom of using wooden tallies, inscribed as well as notched, in the public accounts lasted down to a recent date.

Waxed and other Tablets

But we may assume that as a general rule tablets were coated with wax[7] from the very earliest times in Greece and Rome. Such waxed tablets were single, double, triple, or of several pieces or leaves. In Greek a tablet was called *πίναξ, πινακίς, δέλτος, δελτίον, δελτίδιον, πυκτίον, πυξίον, πυξίδιον, γραμματεῖον*[8]; in Latin, *cera, tabula, tabella.* The wooden

[1] See *Revue Égyptologique*, ii, Append., 51; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 142.

[2] Described by Kenyon in *Journ. Hellenic Studies*, xxix (1909), 28.

[3] *Pap. Erzh. Rainer*, vi (1897); Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 91.

[4] Rangabé, *Antiq. Hellén.* 56; Egger, *Note sur le prix de papier*, etc., in *Mém. d'Hist. Ancienne* (1863).

[5] *Pal. Soc.* i. 159.

[6] Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 93 sqq.

[7] *κηρός, cera*, or *μάλθη, μάλθα.* Pollux, *Onomast.* x. 57, in his chapter *περὶ βιβλίων* names the composition *ὁ δὲ ἐνὰν τῇ πινακίδι κηρός, ἡ μάλθη, ἡ μάλθα. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν γὰρ κηρὸν εἴρηκε, Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυτίνῃ μάλθην ἔφη.* Μάλθα appears to have been wax mixed with tar. Cf. Aristoph. *Fragm.* 206 *τὴν μάλθαν ἐκ τῶν γραμματείων ἤσθιον.*

[8] See Pollux, *Onomasticon*, x. 57.

surface was sunk to a slight depth, leaving a raised frame at the edges, after the fashion of a child's school-slate of the present day, and a thin coating of wax, usually black, was laid over it. Tablets were used for literary composition,[1] school exercises, accounts, or rough memoranda. They were sometimes fitted with slings for suspension.[2] Two or more put together, and held together by rings or thongs acting as hinges, formed a *caudex* or *codex*. Thus Seneca, *De Brev. Vit.* 13 'Plurium tabularum contextus caudex apud antiquos vocabatur; unde publicae tabulae codices dicuntur'.

When the codex consisted of two leaves it was called δίθυροι, δίπτυχα, *diptycha, duplices*; of three, τρίπτυχα, *triptycha, triplices*; and of more, πεντάπτυχα, *pentaptycha, quinquiplices* or *quincuplices*, πολύπτυχα, *polyptycha, multiplices*.[3] In Homer we have an instance of the use of a tablet in the death-message of King Proetus, 'graving in a folded tablet many deadly things.'[4] And Herodotus tells us (vii. 239) how Demaratus conveyed to the Lacedaemonians secret intelligence of Xerxes' intended invasion of Greece, by means of a message written on the wooden surface of a tablet (δελτίον δίπτυχον) from which the wax had been previously scraped but was afterwards renewed to cover the writing. On Greek vases of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., tablets, generally triptychs, are represented, both open in the hands of the goddess Athena or others, and closed and bound round with strings, hanging from the wall by slings or handles.[5]

Tablets in the codex form would be employed not only as mere note-books, but especially in all cases where the writing was to be protected from injury either for the moment or for a long period. Hence they were used for legal documents, conveyances and wills, and for correspondence. When used for wills, each page was technically called *cera*, as in Gaius, ii. 104 'Haec, ita ut in his tabulis cerisque scripta sunt, ita do lego'.[6] They were closed against inspection by a triple thread, λίνον, *linum*, and by the seals of the witnesses, as will presently be more fully explained.

[1] Catullus, l. 2 'multum lusimus in meis tabellis'. Quintilian, *Instit. orator.* x. 3. 31, recommends the use of waxed tablets: 'Scribi optime ceris, in quibus facillima est ratio.'

[2] Horace, *Sat.* i. 6. 74 'Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto'.

[3] Martial, xiv. 4. 6.

[4] *Iliad* vi. 169 γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά.

[5] See Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, iii. 239; iv. 244, 287, 288, 289, 296; Luynes, *Vases*, 35.

[6] Cf. Horace, *Sat.* ii. 5. 51:

> Qui testamentum tradet tibi cunque legendum
> Abnuere et tabulas a te removere memento;
> Sic tamen, ut limis rapias quid prima secundo
> Cera velit versu.

As to correspondence, small tablets, *codicilli*[1] or *pugillares*[2] were employed for short letters; longer letters, *epistolae*, were written on papyrus. Thus Seneca, *Ep.* 55. 11, makes the distinction: 'Adeo tecum sum, ut dubitem an incipiam non epistulas sed codicillos tibi scribere.' The tablets were sent by messengers, *tabellarii*, as explained by Festus[3]: 'Tabellis pro chartis utebantur antiqui, quibus ultro citro, sive privatim sive publice opus erat, certiores absentes faciebant. Unde adhuc tabellarii dicuntur, et tabellae missae ab imperatoribus.'[4] The answer to the letter might be inscribed on the same set of tablets and returned. Love-letters appear to have been sometimes written on very small tablets.[5] Martial, xiv. 6, 8, 9, calls such tablets *Vitelliani*. Tablets containing letters were fastened with a thread, which was sealed.[6] The materials for letter-writing are enumerated in the passage of Plautus, *Bacchides*, iv. 714 'Ecfer cito . . . stilum, ceram et tabellas, linum'; and the process of sealing in line 748: 'cedo tu ceram ac linum actutum. age obliga, opsigna cito.' In Cicero, *Catil.* iii. 5, we have the opening of a letter: 'Tabellas proferri iussimus. . . . Primo ostendimus Cethego signum; cognovit; nos linum incidimus; legimus. . . . Introductus est Statilius; cognovit et signum et manum suam.'

The custom of writing letters on tablets survived for some centuries after classical times. In the fifth century St. Augustine in his epistle to Romanianus (Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* xxxiii. 80) makes reference to his tablets in these words: 'Non haec epistola sic inopiam chartae indicat, ut membranas saltem abundare testetur. Tabellas eburneas quas habeo avunculo tuo cum litteris misi. Tu enim huic pelliculae facilius ignosces, quia differri non potuit quod ei scripsi, et tibi non scribere etiam ineptissimum existimavi. Sed tabellas, si quae ibi nostrae sunt, propter huiusmodi necessitates mittas peto.' St. Hilary of Arles likewise has the following passage in his Life of Honoratus (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* l. 1261): 'Beatus Eucherius cum ab eremo in tabulis, ut assolet, cera illitis, in proxima ab ipso degens insula, litteras eius suscepisset: "Mel," inquit, "suum ceris reddidisti."' Both these passages prove that the custom was general at the period. Even as late as the year 1148 a letter 'in tabella' was written by a monk of Fulda.[7]

[1] Cicero, *Epp. Q. F.* ii. 11. 1; *Fam.* iv. 12. 2, and vi. 18. 1. See also Catullus, xlii. 11.

[2] Catullus uses the word *pugillaria*, xlii. 5.

[3] *De Verborum Signif.*, ed. Müller, p. 359.

[4] Compare St. Jerome, *Ep.* viii 'Nam et rudes illi Italiae homines, ante chartae et membranarum usum, aut in dedolatis e ligno codicillis aut in corticibus arborum mutuo epistolarum alloquia missitabant. Unde et portitores eorum tabellarios et scriptores a libris arborum librarios vocavere'.

[5] See the drawing in *Museo Borbonico*, i. 2.

[6] Clay, *cretula*, was originally used: γῆ σημαντρίς, Herod. ii. 38; ῥύπος, Aristoph. *Lysis.* 1200, Pollux, *Onomast.* x. 58.

[7] Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 53.

It will be noticed that St. Augustine refers to his tablets as being of ivory. The ancient tablets were ordinarily of common wood, such as beech, or fir, or box, the 'vulgaris buxus' of Propertius (iii. 23); but they were also made of more expensive material. Two of Martial's *apophoreta* are 'pugillares citrei' and 'pugillares eborei'. Propertius (*l. c.*) refers to golden fittings: 'Non illas fixum caras effecerat aurum.' The large consular diptychs, as we know from existing specimens, were of ivory, often elaborately carved.

The employment of waxed tablets lasted for certain purposes through the middle ages in countries of Western Europe. Specimens inscribed with money accounts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have survived to the present day in France;[1] and municipal accounts on tablets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are still preserved in some of the German towns. They also exist in Italy,[2] dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century. They were used in England and also in Ireland.[3] It is said that quite recently sales in the fish-market of Rouen were noted on waxed tablets.[4]

Greek Waxed Tablets

Ancient Greek waxed tablets have survived in not many instances. In the British Museum are some which have been found in Egypt. The most perfect is a book (Add. MS. 33270), perhaps of the third century, measuring nearly 9 by 7 inches, which consists of seven leaves coated on both sides with black wax and two covers waxed on the inner side, inscribed with documents in shorthand, presumably in Greek, and with shorthand signs written repeatedly, as if for practice, and with notes in Greek; in one of the covers a groove is hollowed for the reception of the writing implements. Another smaller book, of about 7 by 4 inches, formed of six leaves (Add. MS. 33368), is inscribed, probably by some schoolboy of the third century, with grammatical exercises and other notes in Greek, and also with a rough drawing, perhaps meant for a caricature of the schoolmaster. There are also two tablets inscribed with verses in Greek uncial writing, possibly some

[1] See *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, xxi (1855), 284, xxii (1865), 480; *Mém. de l'Acad.* xviii (2nd series), 536; *Bibl. École des Chartes*, xi. 393. A 'Mémoire touchant l'usage d'écrire sur des tablettes de cire', by the Abbé Lebeuf, is printed in *Mém. de l'Acad.* xx (1753), 267. A tablet of accounts, of about the year 1300, from Citeaux Abbey, is in the British Museum, Add. MS. 33215; printed by H. Omont in *Bull. Soc. Nat. des Antiq. de France*, 1889, p. 283. Four tablets, of the fourteenth century, found at Beauvais, are in the Bibliothèque Nationale.—*Acad. des Inscriptions, Comptes rendus*, 1887, p 141.

[2] See Milani, *Sei Tavolette cerate*, in *Pubbl. del R. Istituto di Studi Superiori*, 1877.

[3] A mediaeval waxed tablet, belonging to the Royal Irish Academy, is exhibited in the National Museum, Dublin.

[4] Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 89.

literary sketch or a school exercise.[1] Two others of a similar nature have been more recently acquired, the one containing a writing exercise, the other a multiplication table. The Bodleian Library has also purchased a waxed tablet (Gr. Inscr. 4) on which is a writing exercise. Others are at Paris; some containing scribbled alphabets and a contractor's accounts, which were found at Memphis.[2] Seven tablets of the third century, inscribed with fables of Babrius (a school exercise), are at Leyden.[3] In New York is a set of five tablets, on which are verses, in the style of Menander, set as a copy by a writing-master and copied by a pupil.[4] Other specimens of a similar character are at Marseilles, the date of which can be fixed at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century;[5] and the last leaf of a document found at Verespatak is at Karlsburg.[6] At Geneva there is a tablet of the sixth century containing accounts, and verses of Psalm xci, probably a charm.[7]

Latin Waxed Tablets

Extant Latin tablets are more numerous, but have only been found in comparatively recent years.[8] Twenty-five, containing deeds ranging in date from A.D. 131 to 167, were recovered, between the years 1786 and 1855, from the ancient mining works in the neighbourhood of Alburnus Major, the modern Verespatak, in Dacia. In 1840 Massmann published the few which had at that time been discovered, in his *Libellus Aurarius*, but the admission into his book of two undoubtedly spurious documents cast suspicion on the rest, which were accordingly denounced until the finding of other tablets proved their genuineness. The whole collection is given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iii.

During the excavations at Pompeii in July, 1875, a box containing 127 waxed tablets, of the years A.D. 15, 27, 53–62, was discovered in the house of L. Caecilius Jucundus. They proved to be *perscriptiones* and other deeds connected with auctions and tax-receipts.[9]

[1] See *Verhandl. der Philologen-Versamml. zu Würzburg*, 1869, p. 239.

[2] *Revue Archéol.* viii. 461, 470.

[3] *Journ. Hellen. Studies*, xiii (1893), 293.

[4] *Proceedings of the American Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, iii. 371.

[5] *Annuaire de la Soc. Franç. de Numism. et d'Archéol.* iii. lxxi–lxxvii.

[6] *C. I. L.* iii. 933.

[7] J. Nicole, *Textes grecs inédits de Genève*, 1909.

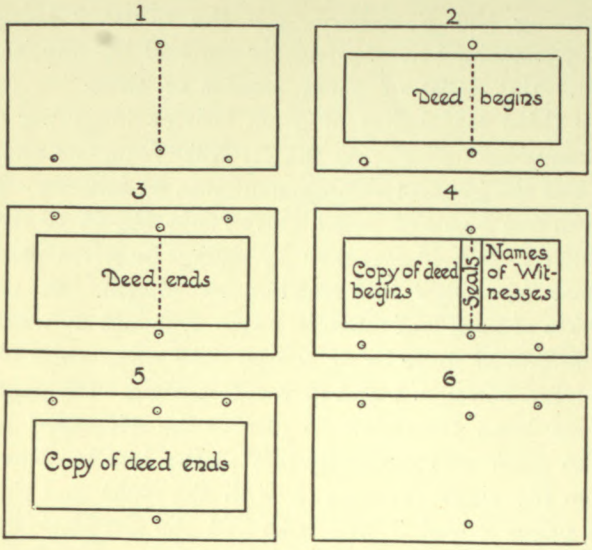
[8] In addition to the two collections described in the text, a waxed diptych, recording the manumission of a female slave, A.D. 221, which was found in Egypt and was recently in possession of the late Lord Amherst of Hackney, has been described by S. de Ricci in *Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Archaeology*, xxvi (1904); and a leaf of a diptych, containing a veteran's discharge, A.D. 94, also from Egypt, is noticed in *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* (Classical Association), 1911, p. 91.

[9] *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. ii, vol. iii, pt. 3 (1875–6), pp. 150–230; Hermes, xii (1877), 88–141; and Overbeck, *Pompeii*, 4th ed. by Mau (1884), 489 sqq. The whole collection has been edited by Zangemeister in the *C. I. L.* iv, Supplementum (1898). See *Pal. Soc.* i. 159.

The recovery of so many specimens of Latin tablets has afforded sufficient means of understanding the mechanical arrangement of such documents among the Romans. Like the military *tabulae honestae missionis*, they contained the deed under seal and the duplicate copy open to inspection. But most of them consist of three leaves: they are triptychs, the third leaf being of great service in giving cover to the seals. The Pompeian and Dacian tablets differ from one another in some particulars; but the general arrangement was as follows. The triptych was made from one block of wood, cloven into the three required pieces or leaves, which were held together by strings or wires passing through two holes near the edge and serving for hinges. In the Pompeian tablets, one side of each leaf (that is, pages 2, 3, and 5) was sunk within a frame, the hollowed space being coated with wax, while the outside of the triptych (that is, pages 1 and 6) was left plain. On page 4 a vertical groove was cut down the centre to receive the witnesses' seals, and the surface of the page was generally left plain; but in some instances it was waxed on the right, in some on both the right and the left, of the groove. On pages 2 and 3 was inscribed the authentic deed, and the first two leaves were then bound round with a string of three twisted threads, which passed along the groove and was held in place by two notches cut in the edges of the leaves at top and bottom. The witnesses' seals were then sunk in the groove, thus further securing the string, and their names were written on the right, either in ink or with the stilus. An abstract or copy of the deed was inscribed on page 5, and was thus left open to inspection. The Dacian tablets differed in this respect, that page 4 was also waxed, and that the copy of the deed was commenced on that page in the space on the left of the groove, the space on the right being filled, as usual, with the witnesses' names. Further, the string was passed, as an additional security, through two holes, at top and bottom of the groove, in accordance with a *senatus consultum* of A.D. 61, instead of being merely wound round the leaves as in the case of the Pompeian tablets.[1]

[1] The practice of closing the authentic deed and leaving the copy only open to inspection is paralleled by the Babylonian and Assyrian usage of enclosing the tablet on which a contract or other deed was inscribed within a casing or shell of clay, on which an abstract or copy of the document was also written for public inspection. A similar usage obtained among the Greeks in Egypt, and by inference, as it may be presumed, in Hellas itself. Deeds of the early Ptolemaic period have survived, written on papyrus in duplicate, the upper deed (the original) being rolled up, folded in two, and sealed, the lower copy being left open.—O. Rubensohn, *Elephantine Papyri* (in *Aegypt. Urkunden aus den kgl. Museen in Berlin*), 1907. In the British Museum papyri Nos. 879, 881-8, 1204, 1206-9, second and first centuries B.C., the dockets written in the margins have been similarly rolled up and sealed.

The following diagram shows the arrangement of a Dacian triptych :



It will be noticed that, although the string which closed the deed (as indicated by dotted lines) passed through the holes of only two of the leaves, yet the third leaf (pages 5 and 6) is also perforated with corresponding holes. This seems to show that the holes were first pierced in the solid block, before it was cloven into three, in order that they might afterwards adjust themselves accurately.[1] In one instance the fastening threads and seals still remain.[2]

In the Pompeian series were found about a dozen diptychs. These were waxed only on the inner pages, 2 and 3, and no groove was cut for the seals, which were therefore impressed on the flat surface. It is interesting to find that tablets of this series have dockets on the edges, proving that they were dropped vertically into the box in which they were kept.

[1] See *C. I. L.* iii. 922.

[2] Ibid. 938.

CHAPTER III

MATERIALS USED TO RECEIVE WRITING (*continued*)

We now have to examine the history of the more common writing-materials of the ancient world and of the middle ages, viz. papyrus, vellum, and paper.

Papyrus

The papyrus plant, *Cyperus Papyrus*, which supplied the substance for the great writing material of the ancient world, was widely cultivated in the Delta of Egypt. From this part of the country it has now vanished, but it still grows in Nubia and Abyssinia. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iv. 10, states that it also grew in Syria; and Pliny adds that it was native to the Niger and Euphrates. Its Greek name πάπυρος, whence Latin *papyrus*, was probably derived from one of its ancient Egyptian names. Herodotus, our most ancient authority for any details of the purposes for which the plant was employed, always calls it βύβλος (also written βίβλος). Theophrastus describes the plant as one which grows in the shallows to the height of six feet, with a triangular and tapering stem crowned with a tufted head; the root striking out at right angles to the stem and being of the thickness of a man's wrist. The tufted heads were used for garlands in the temples of the gods; of the wood of the root were made various utensils; and of the stem, the pith of which was also used as food, a variety of articles, including writing material, were manufactured: caulking yarn, ships' rigging, light skiffs, shoes, etc. The cable with which Ulysses bound the doors of the hall when he slew the suitors was ὅπλον βύβλινον (*Odyss.* xxi. 390).

As a writing material papyrus was employed in Egypt from the earliest times. Papyrus rolls are represented on the sculptured walls of Egyptian temples; and rolls themselves exist of immense antiquity. A papyrus containing accounts of King Assa, about 3500 B.C., is extant;[1] another famous roll is the Papyrus Prisse, at Paris, which contains the copy of a work composed in the reign of a king of the fifth dynasty and is itself of about the year 2500 B.C. or earlier. The dry atmosphere of Egypt has been specially favourable to the preservation of these fragile documents. Buried with the dead, they have lain in the tombs or swathed in the folds of the mummy-cloths for centuries, untouched by decay, and in many instances remain as fresh as on the day when they were written.

[1] Petrie, *Hist. Egypt*, i. 81.

Among the Greeks the papyrus material manufactured for writing purposes was called χάρτης (Latin *charta*) as well as by the names of the plant itself. Herodotus, v. 58, refers to the early use of papyrus rolls among the Ionian Greeks, to which they attached the name of διφθέραι, 'skins,' the writing material to which they had before been accustomed. Their neighbours, the Assyrians, were also acquainted with it.[1] They called it 'the reed of Egypt'. There is a recorded instance of papyrus being sent from Egypt to Phoenicia in the eleventh century B.C.[2] An inscription relating to the expenses of the rebuilding of the Erechtheum at Athens in the year 407 B.C. shows that papyrus was used for the fair copy of the rough accounts, which were first inscribed on tablets. Two rolls, χάρται δύο, cost at the rate of a drachma and two obols each, or a little over a shilling of our money.[3] There can hardly be a doubt, then, that this writing material was also used in Athens for literary purposes as early as the fifth century B.C.

The period of its first importation into Italy is not known. The story of its introduction by Ptolemy, at the suggestion of Aristarchus, is of suspicious authenticity.[4] But there can be little hesitation in assuming that it was employed as the vehicle for Latin literature almost from the first. We know that papyrus was plentiful in Rome under the Empire, and that it had at that period become so indispensable that a temporary failure of the supply in the reign of Tiberius threatened a general interruption of the business of daily life.[5] Pliny also, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 11, refers to its high social value in the words: 'papyri natura dicetur, cum chartae usu maxime humanitas vitae constet, certe memoria,' and again he describes it as a thing 'qua constat immortalitas hominum'.

It is probable that papyrus was imported into Italy already manufactured; for it is doubtful whether the plant grew in that country. Strabo, indeed, says that it was found in Lake Trasimene and other lakes of Etruria; but the accuracy of this statement has been disputed. Still, it is a fact that there was a manufacture of this writing material carried on in Rome, the *charta Fanniana* being an instance; but it has been asserted that this industry was confined to the remaking of imported material. The more brittle condition of the Latin papyri, as compared with the Greek papyri, found at Herculaneum, has been ascribed to the detrimental effect of this remanufacture.

[1] In the Assyrian wall-sculptures in the British Museum there are two scenes (nos. 3 and 84) in which two couples of scribes are represented taking notes. In each case one of the scribes is using a folding tablet (the hinges of one being distinctly represented), and the other a scroll. The scroll may be either papyrus or leather.

[2] *Zeitsch. für ägypt. Sprache*, xxxviii (1900), 1.

[3] See above, p. 14. [4] See below, p. 29.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 13 'Sterilitatem sentit hoc quoque, factumque iam Tiberio principe inopia chartae, ut e senatu darentur arbitri dispensandis; alias in tumultu vita erat'.

At a later period the Syrian variety of the plant was grown in Sicily, where it was probably introduced during the Arab occupation. It was seen there by the Arab traveller, Ibn-Haukal, A. D. 972–3, in the neighbourhood of Palermo, where it throve in great luxuriance in the shallows of the Papireto, a stream to which it gave its name. Paper was made from this source for the use of the Emir; but in the thirteenth century the plant began to fail, and it was finally extinguished by the draining of the stream in 1591. It is still, however, to be seen growing in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, but was probably transplanted thither at a later time, for no mention of it in that place occurs earlier than 1674. Some attempts have been made in recent years to manufacture a writing material on the pattern of the ancient *charta* from this Sicilian plant.[1]

The manufacture of the writing material, as practised in Egypt, is described by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 12. His description applies specially to the system of his own day; but no doubt it was essentially the same as had been followed for centuries. His text is far from clear, and there are consequently many divergences of opinion on different points. The stem of the plant, after removal of the rind, was cut longitudinally into thin strips (*philyrae, scissurae*) with a sharp cutting instrument described as a needle (*acus*). The old idea that the strips were peeled off the inner core of the stem is now abandoned, as it has been shown that the plant, like other reeds, contains a cellular pith within the rind, which was all used in the manufacture. The central strips were naturally the best, being the broadest. The strips thus cut were laid vertically upon a board, side by side, to the required width, thus forming a layer, *scheda*, across which another layer of shorter strips was laid at right angles.[2] The upper surface thus formed became the *recto*, the under surface the *verso*, of the finished sheet; and the *recto* received a polish. Pliny applies to the process the phraseology of net or basket making. The two layers formed a 'net', *plagula*, or 'wicker', *crates*, which was thus 'woven', *texitur*. In this process Nile water was used for moistening the whole. The special mention of this particular water has caused some to believe that there were adhesive properties in it which acted as a paste or glue on the material; others, more reasonably, have thought that water, whether from the Nile or any other source, solved the glutinous matter in the strips and thus caused them to adhere. It seems, however, more probable that paste

[1] See G. Cosentino, *La Carta di Papiro*, in *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, N. S. xiv. 134–64.

[2] Birt, *Antikes Buchwesen*, 229 (followed by Traube and others), applies the word *scheda* or *scida* to a strip. But Pliny distinctly uses the word *philyrae* for the strips, although he elsewhere describes the inner bark of the lime tree by this name; and *scheda* for a layer, i.e. a sheet of strips. Another name for the strips was *inae*. Birt (with others) also describes the *plagula* or sheet of papyrus by the Greek word σελίς, which, however, is rather a page or column of writing. In his more recent work, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* (1907), he suggests *fissurae* as an emendation of *philyrae*.

was actually used.[1] The sheets were finally hammered and dried in the sun.[2] Rough or uneven places were rubbed down with ivory or a smooth shell.[3] Moisture lurking between the layers was to be detected by strokes of the mallet. Spots, stains, and spongy strips (*taeniae*), in which the ink would run, were defects which also had to be encountered.[4]

The sheets were connected together with paste to form a roll, and in this process received the name of κολλήματα; but not more than twenty was the prescribed number. There are, however, rolls of more than twenty sheets, so that, if Pliny's reading *vicinae* is correct, the number was not constant in all times. Moreover, an author need not be limited in the length of his book, and could increase the roll by adding more sheets; but, of course, he would avoid making it inconveniently bulky. A length of papyrus, however, as sold by the stationers, called a *scapus*, consisted apparently of twenty κολλήματα, *plagulae* or *schedae*.[5] The workman who fastened the sheets together was the κολλητής or *glutinator*. The outside of the roll was naturally that part which was more exposed to risk of damage and to general wear and tear. The best sheets were therefore reserved for this position, those which lay nearer the centre or end of the rolled-up roll not being necessarily so good. Besides, the end of a roll was not wanted in case of a short text, and might be cut away. A protecting strip of papyrus was often pasted along the margin at the beginning or end of a roll, in order to give additional strength to the material and prevent it tearing.[6]

The first sheet of a papyrus roll was called the πρωτόκολλον, a term which still survives in diplomacy; the last sheet was called the ἐσχατοκόλλιον. Among the Romans the protocol-sheet was inscribed with the name of the Comes largitionum, who had the control of the manufacture, and with the date and name of the place where it was made. Such certificates, styled 'protocols', were in vogue both in the Roman and Byzantine periods in Egypt. They were in ordinary practice cut away; but this curtailment was forbidden in legal documents by the

[1] Birt, 231, points out, in regard to Pliny's words, 'turbidus liquor vim glutinis praebet,' that 'glutinis' is not a genitive but a dative, Pliny never using the word 'gluten', but 'glutinum'.

[2] It appears that after being inscribed the papyrus received a second hammering, if a passage in Ulpian, 'libri perscripti, nondum malleati' (*Dig.* xxxii. 52. 5), may bear that meaning.—Birt, *Buchrolle*. But this practice would apply only to rolls intended for the market, which would need a finishing touch.

[3] Martial, xiv. 209:

> Levis ab aequorea cortex Mareotica concha
> Fiat; inoffensa currit harundo via.

[4] Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 15 'quae (chartae) si scabrae bibulaeve sint', &c.

[5] Wattenbach, *Buchw.* 99; Kenyon, *Palaeogr. of Gk. Papyri*, 18.

[6] Wilcken, in *Hermes*, xxiii. 466. See the Harris Homer, Brit. Mus. Papyrus cvii. A Greek document of A.D. 209 is similarly protected with a strip of vellum.—Royal Prussian Academy, *Sitzungsber.* 1910, p. 710.

laws of Justinian.[1] After their conquest of Egypt in the seventh century, the Arabs continued the manufacture of papyrus and also affixed protocols to their rolls. No Roman protocol has hitherto come to light. The few extant specimens of the Byzantine period are written in a curious, apparently imitative, script formed of rows of close-set perpendicular strokes. This script may possibly be an attempt of scribes to copy older, Roman, protocols, the meaning of which had been forgotten. The normal protocol of the Arab period consists of bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Arabic, accompanied with sections or blocks of the above-mentioned imitative script ranged to right and left, as if ornaments to fill spaces in the lines.[2]

With regard to the height of papyrus rolls, those which date from the earliest period of Egyptian history are short, of about 6 inches; later they increase to 9, 11, and even above 15 inches. The height of the early Greek papyri of Homer and Hyperides in the British Museum runs generally from 9 to 12 inches; the papyrus of Bacchylides measures under 10 inches.

From Pliny we learn that there were various qualities of writing material made from papyrus and that they differed from one another in size. It has however been found that extant specimens do not tally with the figures that he gives; but an ingenious explanation has been proposed,[3] that he refers to the breadth not to the height of the individual sheets, κολλήματα, which make up the roll. The best kind, formed from the broadest strips of the plant, was originally the *charta hieratica*, a name which was afterwards altered to *Augusta* out of flattery to the Emperor Augustus. The *charta Livia*, or second quality, was named after his wife. The *hieratica* thus descended to the third rank. The *Augusta* and *Livia* were 13 digits, or about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, wide; the *hieratica* 11 digits or 8 inches. The *charta amphitheatrica*, of 9 digits or $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, took its title from the principal place of its manufacture, the amphitheatre of Alexandria. The *charta Fanniana* was apparently a variety which was remade at Rome, in the workshops of a certain Fannius, from the *amphitheatrica*, the width being increased by about an inch through pressure. The *Saitica* was a common variety, named after the city of Sais, being of about 8 digits or $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

[1] 'Tabelliones non scribant instrumenta in aliis chartis quam in his quae protocolla habent, ut tamen protocollum tale sit, quod habeat nomen gloriosissimi comitis largitionum et tempus quo charta facta est.'—*Novell.* xliv. 2.

[2] Professor von Karabacek has attempted to prove that the enigmatic writing contains traces of Latin: *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 1908. His views are disputed by C. H. Becker, *Zeitsch. für Assyriologie*, xx. 97, xxii. 166; and by H. I. Bell, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, v. 143. Several specimens of Byzantine and Arab protocols are in the British Museum. See *Cat. Gk. Pap. in Brit. Mus.* iv; *New Pal. Soc.* 177.

[3] Birt, *Ant. Buchw.* 251 sqq.

Finally, there were the *Taeniotica*—which was said to have taken its name from the place where it was made, a tongue of land (ταινία) near Alexandria—and the common packing-paper, *charta emporetica*, neither of which was more than 5 inches wide. Mention is made by Isidore, *Etymol.* vi. 10, of a quality of papyrus called *Corneliana*, which was first made under C. Cornelius Gallus when prefect of Egypt. But the name may have disappeared from the vocabulary when Gallus fell into disgrace.[1] Another kind was manufactured in the reign of Claudius, and on that account was named *Claudia*. It was a made-up material, combining the *Augusta* and *Livia*, to provide a stout substance. Finally, there was a large-sized quality, of a cubit or nearly 18 inches in width, called *macrocollon*. Cicero made use of it (*Epp. ad Attic.* xiii. 25; xvi. 3). An examination of existing specimens seems to show that the κολλήματα range chiefly between 8 and 12 inches in width, the larger number being of 10 inches. Of smaller sizes, a certain proportion are between 5 and 6 inches.[2]

Varro, repeated by Pliny, xiii. 11, makes the extraordinary statement that papyrus writing material was first made in Alexander's time. He may have been misled from having found no reference to its use in pre-Alexandrine authors; or he may have meant to say that its first free manufacture was only of that date, as it was previously a government monopoly.

Papyrus continued to be the ordinary writing material in Egypt to a comparatively late period;[3] it was eventually superseded by the excellent paper of the Arabs. In Latin literature it was gradually displaced in the early centuries of our era by the growing employment of vellum, which, by the fourth century had practically superseded it. But it still lingered in Europe under various conditions. Long after vellum had become the principal writing material, especially for literary purposes, papyrus continued in use, particularly for ordinary documents, such as letters. St. Jerome, *Ep.* vii, mentions vellum as a material for letters, 'if papyrus fails'; and St. Augustine, *Ep.* xv, apologizes for using vellum instead of papyrus. A fragmentary epistle in Greek, sent apparently by the Emperor, Michael II or Theophilus, to Louis le Débonnaire between 824 and 839, is preserved at Paris.[4] A few fragments of Greek literary papyri written in Europe in the early middle ages, containing Biblical matter and portions of Graeco-Latin glossaries, have also survived.

[1] Birt, *Ant. Buchw.* 250.

[2] W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern.*

[3] The middle of the tenth century is the period when it has been calculated the manufacture of papyrus in Egypt ceased.—Karabacek, *Das arabische Papier*, in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, ii–iii (1887), 98.

[4] H. Omont in *Rev. Archéologique*, xix (1892), 384.

For purely Latin literature papyrus was also occasionally used in the West during the middle ages. Examples, made up in codex form, sometimes with a few vellum leaves incorporated to give stability, are found in different libraries of Europe. They are: The Homilies of St. Avitus, of the sixth century, at Paris; Sermons and Epistles of St. Augustine, of the sixth or seventh century, at Paris and Geneva; works of Hilary, of the sixth century, at Vienna; fragments of the Digests, of the sixth century, at Pommersfeld; the Antiquities of Josephus, of the seventh century, at Milan; an Isidore, of the seventh century, at St. Gall. At Munich, also, is the register of the Church of Ravenna, written on this material in the tenth century. Many papyrus documents in Latin, dating from the fifth to the tenth century, have survived from the archives of Ravenna; and there are extant fragments of two imperial rescripts written in Egypt, apparently in the fifth century, in the Roman chancery hand which is otherwise unknown. In the papal chancery, following the usage of the imperial court of Byzantium, papyrus appears to have been employed down to the middle of the eleventh century. Twenty-three papal bulls on this material have survived, ranging from A. D. 849 to 1022.[1] In France papyrus was in common use in the sixth century.[2] Under the Merovingian kings it was used for official documents; several papyrus deeds of their period, dated from 625 to 673, being still preserved in the French archives.

Skins

The skins of animals are of such a durable nature that it is no matter for surprise to find that they have been appropriated as writing material by the ancient nations of the world. They were in use among the Egyptians as early as the time of Cheops, in the fourth dynasty, documents written on skins at that period being referred to or copied in papyri of later date.[3] Actual specimens of skin rolls from Egypt still exist which date back to some 1500 years B. C. But the country which not only manufactured but also exported in abundance the writing material made from the papyrus plant hardly needed to make use of other material, and skin-rolls written in Egypt must, at all times, have been rare. In Western Asia the practice of writing on skins was doubtless both ancient and widespread. The Jews made use of them for their sacred books, and, probably also for their other literature; to the present day they employ them for their synagogue-rolls. It may be presumed that their neighbours the Phoenicians also availed themselves of the same kind of writing material. The Persians inscribed their

[1] H. Omont, *Bulles Pontif. sur papyrus*, in *Bibl. École des Chartes*, lxv (1904), 575.
[2] Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* v. 5.
[3] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, ed. Birch, ii. 182.

history upon skins.[1] We can hardly doubt that such material must also have been employed both in Greece and in Rome in ancient times, before the introduction of papyrus; we learn, at all events, that the Ionian Greeks wrote on skins, *διφθέραι*, from the words of Herodotus, v. 58, who adds that in his day many foreign nations also made use of them.

The method of preparing skins to serve as writing material in those distant ages is unknown to us, but, judging from early Hebrew rolls, it probably extended only to a general system of tanning and a more careful treatment of the surface which was to receive the writing. It was probably at no time the custom to write on the back as well as on the face of a roll.

Parchment and Vellum

The introduction of parchment, or vellum as it is now more generally termed, that is to say, skins prepared in such a way that they could be written upon on both sides, cannot properly be called an invention; it was rather an extension of, or improvement upon, the old practice. The common story, as told by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 11, on the authority of Varro, runs that Eumenes II of Pergamum (197–158 B.C.), wishing to extend the library in his capital, was opposed by the jealousy of the Ptolemies, who forbade the export of papyrus, hoping thus to check the growth of a rival library. The Pergamene king, thus thwarted, was forced to fall back again upon skins; and thus came about the manufacture of vellum: 'Mox aemulatione circa bibliothecas regum Ptolemaei et Eumenis, supprimente chartas Ptolemaeo, idem Varro membranas Pergami tradit repertas.'[2] Whatever may be the historical value of this tradition, at least it points to the fact that Pergamum was the chief centre of the vellum trade: the centre, we may conclude, of the revival of an old trade and improved manufacture. The name *διφθέραι*, *membranae*,[3] which had been applied to the earlier skins, was extended also to the new manufacture, which, however, afterwards became known as *περγαμηνή*, *charta Pergamena*. The title *Pergamena* first occurs in the edict of Diocletian, A.D. 301, *de pretiis rerum*, vii. 38; next in the passage in St. Jerome's epistle, quoted in the footnote. The word *σωμάτιον*, which afterwards designated a vellum MS. as opposed to

[1] Diodorus, ii. 32 *ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθέρων, ἐν αἷς οἱ Πέρσαι τὰς παλαιὰς πράξεις εἶχον συντεταγμένας.*

[2] St. Jerome, *Ep.* vii, also refers to the place of its origin: 'Chartam defuisse non puto, Aegypto ministrante commercia. Et si alicubi Ptolemaeus maria clausisset, tamen rex Attalus membranas a Pergamo miserat, ut penuria chartae pellibus pensaretur. Unde et Pergamenarum nomen ad hunc usque diem, tradente sibi invicem posteritate, servatum est.'

[3] The Latin *membranae* was also Graecized as *μεμβράναι*, being so used in 2 Tim. iv. 13 *μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας*, but whether the Apostle referred to vellum MSS., or possibly to Hebrew texts written on skins prepared in the old way, we cannot say.

a papyrus roll, had reference originally to the contents, such a MS. being capable of containing an entire work or *corpus*.[1]

The animals whose skins were found appropriate for the new manufacture were generally sheep, goats, and calves. Others, such as swine and asses, provided material for particular purposes; and even rarer creatures, such as antelopes, are said to have been selected for more delicate and costly volumes. It is only reasonable to assume that any skin of suitable quality would be brought under manufacture. But, in the course of time, a distinction arose between the coarser and finer qualities of prepared skins; and, while parchment made from ordinary skins of sheep and goats continued to bear the name, the finer material produced from the calf or kid, or even from the newly-born or still-born calf or lamb, came to be generally known as vellum. The material of the skin manuscripts of the middle ages being generally of the finer kind, it has come to be the practice to describe them as of vellum, although in some instances they may be really composed of parchment. The modern process of manufacture, washing, liming, scraping, stretching, rubbing with chalk and pumice, probably differs but little in principle from the ancient system.

As to the early use of vellum among the Greeks and Romans, little evidence is to be obtained from the results of excavations. No specimens have been recovered at Herculaneum or Pompeii, and very few of early date in Egypt. There can, however, be little doubt that it was imported into Rome under the Republic. The general account of its introduction thither—evidently suggested by Varro's earlier story of the first use of it—is that Ptolemy, at the suggestion of Aristarchus the grammarian, having sent papyrus to Rome, Crates the grammarian, out of rivalry, induced Attalus of Pergamum to send vellum.[2] References to the *pages* of certain municipal deeds seem to imply that the latter were inscribed in books, that is, in vellum MSS., not on papyrus rolls.[3] When Cicero, *Epp. ad Attic.* xiii. 24, uses the word διφθέραι, he also seems to refer to vellum. The advantages of the vellum book over the papyrus roll are obvious: it was in the more convenient form of the *codex*; it could be rewritten; and the leaves could receive writing on both sides. Martial enumerates, among his *Apophoreta*, vellum MSS. of Homer (xiv. 184), Virgil (186), Cicero (188), Livy (190), and Ovid (192).[4] Vellum tablets began to take the place of the *tabulae ceratae*, as appears in Martial, xiv. 7 'Esse puta ceras, licet haec membrana vocetur: Delebis, quotiens

[1] Birt, *Ant. Buchw.* 41.

[2] Boissonade, *Anecd.* i. 420.

[3] Mommsen, *Inscr. Neapol.* 6828; *Annali dell' Inst.* (1858), xxx. 192; Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, 796.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 21, mentions a curiosity: 'In nuce inclusam Iliadem Homeri carmen in membrana scriptum tradit Cicero.'

scripta novare voles.' The same writer also recommends the convenience of vellum to the traveller who desires to carry with him the poet's works in a compact form.[1] Quintilian, x. 3. 31, recommends the use of vellum for drafts of their compositions by persons of weak sight: the ink on vellum was more easily read than the scratches of the stilus on wax.[2] Horace refers to it in *Sat.* ii. 3 'Sic raro scribis ut toto non quater anno Membranam poscas'; and in other places.

From the dearth of classical specimens and from the scanty number of early mediaeval MSS. of secular authors which have come down to us, it seems that vellum was not a common writing material under the first Roman emperors. There are no records to show its relative value in comparison with papyrus; but there may be some reason for the view that vellum was in Martial's time of comparatively little worth, and was chiefly used as a poor material for rough drafts and common work.[3] Perhaps, too, imperfection of manufacture may have retarded its more general introduction. A few stray leaves of vellum codices of the first centuries of our era have been found in Egypt. A leaf of a MS. of Demosthenes, *De falsa legatione*, written in a rough hand of the second century, is in the British Museum, Add. MS. 34473 (*New Pal. Soc.* 2).[4] On the other hand a leaf from a MS. of Euripides' *Cretans*, now in Berlin,[5] is written on thin vellum in a very neat delicate script, and was assigned to the first century; but on further consideration it has now been placed in the second century. Other fragments are of the third century. Papyrus had been so long the recognized material for literary use that the slow progress of vellum as its rival may be partly ascribed to natural conservatism and the jealousy of the book trade. It was particularly the influence of the Christian Church that eventually carried vellum into the front rank of writing materials and in the end displaced papyrus. As papyrus had been the principal material for receiving the thoughts of the pagan world, vellum was to be the great medium for conveying to mankind the literature of the new religion.

Independently of the adoption of vellum as a literary vehicle, which will be considered when we have to describe the change in the form of the ancient book from the roll to the codex, its mere durability recommended it to an extent that fragile papyrus could in no way pretend

[1] Qui tecum cupis esse meos ubicumque libellos
Et comites longae quaeris habere viae,
Hos eme quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis:
Scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit.—*Epigr.* i. 3.

[2] So also Martial, xiv. 5 'Languida ne tristes obscurent lumina cerae, Nigra tibi niveum littera pingat ebur'.

[3] See Birt, *Ant. Buchwesen.* He has rather overstated his case; and his views have not passed without challenge.

[4] Kenyon, *Palaeogr. of Gk. Papyri*, 113.

[5] *Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 2, p. 73, Taf. iv; Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* (1911), 30a.

to. When Constantine required copies of the Scriptures for his new churches, he ordered fifty MSS. on vellum, πεντήκοντα σωμάτια ἐν διφθέραις, to be prepared.[1] And St. Jerome, *Ep.* cxli, refers to the replacement of damaged volumes in the library of Pamphilus at Caesarea by MSS. on vellum: 'Quam [bibliothecam] ex parte corruptam Acacius dehinc et Euzoius, eiusdem ecclesiae sacerdotes, in membranis instaurare conati sunt.'

The large number of mediaeval MSS. that have been transmitted enables us to form some opinion on the character and appearance of vellum at different periods and in different countries. It may be stated generally that in the most ancient MSS. a thin, delicate material may usually be looked for, firm and crisp, with a smooth and glossy surface. This is generally the character at least of the vellum of the fifth and sixth centuries. Later than this period, as a rule, it does not appear to have been so carefully prepared; probably, as the demand increased, a greater amount of inferior material came into the market.[2] But the manufacture would naturally vary in different countries. In Ireland and England the early MSS. are generally on stouter vellum than their contemporaries abroad. In Italy a highly polished surface seems at most periods to have been in favour; hence in the MSS. of that country and neighbouring districts, as the South of France, and again in Greece, the hard material resisted absorption, and it is often found that both ink and paint have flaked off. In contrast to this are the instances of soft vellum, used in England and France and in Northern Europe generally, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, for MSS. of the better class. Uterine vellum, taken from the unborn young, or the skins of new-born animals were used for special purposes. A good example of this very delicate material is found in Add. MS. 23935 in the British Museum, a volume of no abnormal bulk, but containing in as many as 579 leaves a corpus of church service books, written in France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century the Italian vellum of the Renaissance is often of extreme whiteness and purity.

Vellum was also of great service in the ornamentation of books. Its smooth surfaces showed off colours in all their brilliancy. Martial's vellum MS. of Virgil (xiv. 186) is adorned with the portrait of the author: 'Ipsius voltus prima tabella gerit.' Isidore, *Orig.* vi. 11. 4, describing this material, uses the words: 'Membrana autem aut candida aut lutea aut purpurea sunt. Candida naturaliter existunt. Luteum membranum bicolor est, quod a confectore una tingitur parte, id est, crocatur. De quo Persius (iii. 10), "Iam liber et positis bicolor membrana capillis".'

[1] Eusebius, *Vit. Constant.* iv. 36.

[2] Instances, in MSS. of the seventh and tenth centuries, of vellum which was too thin or badly prepared, and therefore left blank by the scribes, are noticed in *Cat. of Anc. MSS. in the Brit. Museum*, pt. ii. 51; and in Delisle, *Mélanges*, 101.

This quotation from Persius refers to the vellum wrapper which the Romans were in the habit of attaching to the papyrus roll: the *φαινόλης*, *paenula*, literally a travelling cloak. A vellum wrapper was more suitable than one of papyrus to resist constant handling. It was coloured of some brilliant hue, generally scarlet or purple, as in Lucian[1]: *πορφυρᾶ δι' ἔκτοσθεν ἡ διφθέρα*. Ovid finds a bright colour unsuited to his melancholy book, *Trist.* i. 1. 5 'Nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco'. Martial's *libellus* (viii. 72) is 'nondum murice cultus'; and again he has the passages, iii. 2 'et te purpura delicata velet'; and x. 93 'carmina, purpurea sed modo culta toga', the *toga* being another expression for the wrapper. In Tibullus iii. 1. 9, the colour is orange: 'Lutea sed niveum involvat membrana libellum.' The strip of vellum, *σίλλυβος* (or *σίττυβος*), *titulus*, *index*, which was attached to the papyrus roll and was inscribed with the title of the work therein contained, was also coloured, as appears from the passages in Martial, iii. 2 'Et coceo rubeat superbus index', and in Ovid, *Trist.* i. 1. 7 'nec titulus minio nec cedro charta notetur'.

We do not know how soon was introduced the extravagant practice of producing sumptuous volumes written in gold or silver upon purple-stained vellum. It was a MS. of this description which Julius Capitolinus, early in the fourth century, puts into the possession of the younger Maximin: 'Cum grammatico daretur, quaedam parens sua libros Homericos omnes purpureos dedit, aureis litteris scriptos.' Against luxury of this nature St. Jerome directed the often-quoted words in his preface to the Book of Job: 'Habeant qui volunt veteres libros vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos vel uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, litteris, onera magis exarata quam codices'; and again in his *Ep.* xviii, to Eustochium: 'Inficiuntur membranae colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras, gemmis codices vestiuntur, et nudus ante fores earum [i.e. wealthy ladies] Christus emoritur.'

The art of staining or dyeing vellum with purple or similar colour was practised chiefly in Constantinople, and also in Rome; but MSS. of this material, either entirely or in part, seem to have been produced in most of the civilized countries of Europe at least from the sixth century, if we may judge from surviving examples which, though not numerous, still exist in fair numbers. Of these the best known are: Portion of the Book of Genesis, in Greek, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, written in silver letters and illustrated with a series of coloured drawings of the greatest interest for the history of the art of the period; of the sixth century.[2] A MS. of the Gospels, in Greek, in silver, the bulk of which was found, in 1896, at Sarumsahly in Cappadocia and is now in

[1] *Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων*, 41.

[2] See a facsimile of one of the pages in *Pal. Soc.* i, 178; and of one of the paintings in Labarte, *Hist. des arts industr. du Moyen Age* (1864), album ii, pl. 77. Ed. by von Hartel and Wickhoff, 1895.

St. Petersburg (Cod. N), and leaves of which have been long preserved in the British Museum, at Vienna, Rome, and in large numbers at Patmos; also of the sixth century.[1] The Codex Rossanensis, discovered at Rossano in South Italy, which contains the Gospels in Greek, of the sixth century, also written in silver and having a series of drawings illustrative of the Life of Christ.[2] A portion of the Gospels in Greek, from Sinope, in gold, with drawings, of the sixth or seventh century, now in Paris.[3] The Gospels of Berat in Albania, containing St. Matthew and St. Mark, written in silver in the sixth century.[4] The Greek Psalter of Zürich, of the seventh century, in silver letters.[5] The famous Codex Argenteus of Upsala, containing the Gothic Gospels of Ulfilas' translation, of the sixth century.[6] The Codex Veronensis of the old Latin Gospels (*b*), written in silver uncials, of the fourth or fifth century.[7] The Latin Evangeliarium of Vienna, originally from Naples, of the sixth century, in silver letters; a single leaf of the MS. being in Trinity College, Dublin.[8] The Latin Psalter of St. Germain (who died A.D. 576) at Paris, also in silver letters.[9] The Metz Evangeliarium at Paris, of the same style and period. The Latin Gospels of the Hamilton collection, now in the library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, which has been assigned to the eighth century.[10] Of later date are the MSS. which were produced in the Carolingian period, when a fresh impetus was given to this kind of ornamental luxury. Such are: The Latin Gospels at Paris, said to have been written for Charlemagne by Godescalc, in letters of gold.[11] A similar MS. at Vienna.[12] And lastly may be mentioned the Latin Psalter in the Douce collection in the Bodleian Library, written in golden Carolingian minuscules and ornamented with miniatures.[13] Other specimens of purple MSS. are cited in different palaeographical works and catalogues.[14] In imitation of the practice of the emperors of the Eastern Empire, imperial and other important charters of Germany and Italy were occasionally issued, as duplicates, in gold writing on purple vellum, in the tenth to twelfth centuries.[15]

[1] Ed. H. S. Cronin, 1899.

[2] Edited, with outline tracings of the drawings, by von Gebhardt and Harnack, *Evangeliorum Codex Graecus purpureus Rossanensis*, 1880; and in photographic facsimile by A. Haseloff, 1898; also in colours by A. Muñoz, 1907.

[3] Ed. H. Omont, 1901. [4] Ed. Batiffol, 1886.

[5] Ed. Tischendorf, *Mon. Sacr. Ined. Nova Coll.* iv. [6] See *Pal. Soc.* i. 118.

[7] See the Turin *Monumenta palaeographica sacra*, pl. ii.

[8] Ed. Tischendorf, 1847. A facsimile of the Dublin leaf is in *Par Palimpsest. Dublin.* ed. Abbott, 1880.

[9] Silvestre, *Univ. Palaeogr.* (English ed.), pl. 110.

[10] Ed. H. C. Hoskier, 1910.

[11] Westwood, *Pal. Sacr. Pict.*, 'Evangelistarium of Charlemagne.'

[12] *Denkschriften der kais. Akad. der Wissensch.* xiii. 85. [13] Douce MS. 59.

[14] See references in Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 132; and in Gardthausen, *Griech. Pal.* i. 102.

[15] Ib. 137. The Egerton Charter 620, in the British Museum, being a grant from

The practice of inserting single leaves of purple-stained vellum for the ornamentation of MSS. was not uncommon in the eighth and ninth centuries. A beautiful example is seen in the fragmentary Latin Gospels from Canterbury (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 1. E. vi), a large folio volume, in which there still remain some leaves dyed of a rich deep rose colour and decorated with ornamental initials and paintings, the remnant of a larger number; of the latter part of the eighth century.[1] But more generally, for such partial decoration, the surface of the vellum was coloured, sometimes on only one side of the leaf, or even on only a part of it, particularly in MSS. of French or German origin of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[2] At the period of the Renaissance there was some attempt at reviving this style of book ornamentation, and single leaves of stained vellum are occasionally found in MSS. of the fifteenth century. Other colours, besides purple, were also employed; and instances occur in MSS. of this late time of leaves painted black to receive gold or silver writing. Such examples are, however, to be considered merely as curiosities.

A still more sumptuous mode of decoration than even that by purple-staining seems to have been occasionally followed. This consisted in gilding the entire surface of the vellum. But the expense must have been too great to allow of more than very few leaves being so treated in any MS., however important. Fragments of two leaves thus gilt, and adorned with painted designs, are preserved in the British Museum, Add. MS. 5111. They originally formed part of tables of the Eusebian Canons and preliminary matter for a copy of the Greek Gospels, of the sixth century.[3]

Paper

Paper, manufactured from fibrous substances, appears to have been known to the Chinese at a most remote period.[4] Its introduction into Europe is due to the agency of the Arabs, who are said to have first learnt its use at Samarkand in the middle of the eighth century. Its manufacture spread through their empire; and it received one of its mediaeval titles, *charta Damascena*, from the fact of Damascus being one of the centres of paper commerce. A comparatively large number

Conrad III, King of the Romans, to the abbey of Corbey in Westphalia, A.D. 1147, is an example.

[1] *Cat. of Ancient MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, pt. ii (1884), 20; Westwood, *Pal. Sacr. Pict.*, and *Facs. of Miniatures and Ornaments of A.-Saxon and Irish MSS.*, pll. 14, 15.

[2] An instance of this superficial colouring occurs in a page of the Cotton MS. Vesp. A. viii, the foundation charter of Newminster, Winchester, A.D. 966. The Harley MS. 2821, written in Germany in the eleventh century, contains many leaves of this kind.

[3] *Cat. Anc. MSS.*, pt. i (1881), 21.

[4] Specimens of Chinese paper found in the ruined cities of Eastern Turkestan date back to the fourth century.

of early Arabic MSS. on paper still exist, dating from the ninth century; the earliest is of the year 866.[1]

This oriental paper, introduced into the West at a time when papyrus was not yet forgotten, received the same names, *charta* and *papyrus*. It was also known in the middle ages as *charta bombycina, gossypina, cuttunea, Damascena*, and *xylina*, and in Greek as ξυλοχάρτιον or ξυλότευκτον. In recent times it has also been generally styled cotton-paper, that is, paper made from the wool of the cotton plant. It is usually stout, of a yellowish tinge, and with a glossy surface. This last quality seems to have gained for it one of its titles, *charta serica*. Imported through Greece into Europe, it is referred to by Theophilus, a writer of the twelfth century (*Schedula diversarum artium*[2]) as Greek parchment, *pergamena Graeca*; and he adds, 'quae fit ex lana ligni.' But it does not appear to have been used to any great extent even in Greece before the middle of the thirteenth century, if one may judge from the survival of so few early Greek MSS. on that material.[3]

Paper-making in Europe was first established by the Moors in Spain and by the Arabs in Sicily; and their paper was at first still the same oriental paper above described. In Spain it was called *pergameno de panno*, cloth parchment, a title which distinguished it from the *pergameno de cuero*, or vellum; and it is so described in the laws of Alphonso, of 1263. On the expulsion of the Moors, an inferior quality was produced by the less skilled Christians. From Sicily the manufacture passed over into Italy.

Here we must pause a moment to revert to the question of the material of which oriental paper was made. As already stated, its early European names point to the general idea that it was made of cotton. But recent investigations have thrown doubts on the accuracy of this view; and a careful analysis of many early samples has proved that, although cotton was occasionally used, no paper that has been examined is entirely made of that substance, in most instances hemp or flax being substantially the material.[4] It seems that in the new manufacture the Arabs and skilled Persian workmen whom they employed at once resorted to flax, which grows abundantly in Khorassan, afterwards also making use of rags supplemented, as the trade grew, with any appro-

[1] See facsimiles of several in the *Oriental Series* of the Palaeographical Society.

[2] Ed. R. Hendrie, 1847, p. 28.

[3] The Greek Vatican MS. 2200, on oriental paper, is of the eighth century (see below, Facs. 52). The earliest MSS. of the kind at Mount Sinai date back to the tenth century; the oldest dated MS. in the British Museum is of A.D. 1252 (see below, Facs. 71); that at Paris, of A.D. 1255; and that at Milan, of A.D. 1259.—Gardthausen, *Griech. Pal.* i. 117.

[4] C. M. Briquet, *Recherches sur les Premiers Papiers du Xe au XIVe Siècle*, in the *Mémoires de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France*, tome xlvi; and a review of the same by C. Paoli, *Carta di Cotone e Carta di Lino*, in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1885, p. 230. Karabacek, *Das arabische Papier*, in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlun der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, ii-iii. 87.

priate vegetable fibre; and that cotton, if used at all, was used very sparingly. An ingenious solution of the question has been recently offered, that the term χάρτης βομβύκινος, *charta bombycina*, is nothing more than an erroneous reading of χάρτης βαμβύκινος, *charta bambycina*, that is, paper made in the Syrian town of Bambyce, Βαμβύκη, the Arab Mambidsch.[1] The question of material is not, however, of any particular importance for our present purpose; and it is only the distinction which has been made between oriental paper and European paper, as being the one of cotton and the other of linen rags, that requires it to be noticed. A more satisfactory means of distinguishing the two kinds of paper is afforded by the employment of water-marks in European paper, a practice which was unknown to the oriental manufacturer.

Several examples survive of the use of oriental paper, or paper made in the oriental fashion, for Western-European documents and MSS. The oldest recorded document was a deed of Count Roger of Sicily of the year 1102; the most ancient extant document is an order of the Countess Adelaide, widow of Roger and regent for her son Roger II, in Greek and Arabic, A.D. 1109, now at Palermo.[2] At Genoa there are extant letters of Greek emperors, of 1188–1202. The oldest known imperial deed on paper is a charter of Frederic II to the nuns of Goess, in Styria, of 1228.[3] The same emperor, however, forbade, in 1231, the use of paper for public deeds; but there are transcripts of imperial acts on paper, of about A.D. 1241, at Naples. A Visigothic paper MS. of the twelfth century, from Silos, near Burgos, is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Nouv. Acq. Lat. 1296);[4] a paper notarial register at Genoa dates from 1154; in the British Museum there is a paper MS. (Arundel 268), written in Italy, of the first half of the thirteenth century; and at Munich the autograph MS. of Albert de Beham, 1238–55, is also on the same kind of paper. In several cities and towns of Italy there exist registers on paper dating back to the thirteenth century.[5] In the Public Record Office there is a letter on paper from Raymond, son of Raymond, Duke of Narbonne and Count of Toulouse, to Henry III of England, 1216–22; and letters addressed from Castile to Edward I of England, in 1279 and following years, are on the same material. A register of the hustings court of Lyme Regis, now in the British Museum, which begins with entries of the year 1309, is on paper which was probably imported from Spain or Bordeaux, such as that employed for the Bordeaux customs register of the beginning of the reign of Edward II now in the Record Office.[6]

[1] Karabacek, *Neue Quellen zur Papiergeschichte* in *Mittheilungen*, iv. 117.

[2] G. La Mantia, *Il primo documento in carta*, 1908; *Bibl. Ec. des Chartes* (1910), 238.

[3] J. G. Schwandner, *Charta Linea*, 1788. [4] Delisle, *Mélanges*, 109.

[5] Cited by Professor Paoli, *La Storia della Carta secondo gli ultimi studi*, in *Nuova Antologia*, xviii (1888), 297.

[6] See also Rogers, *Hist. Agricult. and Prices*, i. 644.

The earliest reference to the material of paper made in Europe appears to be that in the tract of Peter, Abbot of Cluny (A.D. 1122–50), *Adversus Iudaeos*, cap. 5, in which among the various kinds of books he mentions those made *ex rasuris veterum pannorum*.[1] There appears certainly to have been an extensive manufacture in Italy in the first half of the thirteenth century. There is evidence of a paper trade at Genoa as early as 1235.[2] At Fabriano, in the marquisate of Ancona, the industry was established before the year 1276, and probably much earlier. The jurist Bartolo, in his treatise *De insigniis et armis*, mentions the excellent paper made there in the fourteenth century. Other centres of early manufacture were Colle, Florence, Bologna, Parma, Milan, Padua, Treviso, Venice, Pignerol, and Casella in Piedmont, and other places. From the northern towns of Italy a trade was carried on with Germany, where also factories were rapidly founded in the fourteenth century. France borrowed the art of paper-making from Spain, whence it was introduced, it is said, as early as 1189, into the district of Hérault. The North of Europe, at first supplied from the South, gradually took up the manufacture. England drew her supplies, no doubt, at first from such trading ports as Bordeaux and Genoa; but even in the fourteenth century it is not improbable that she had a rough home-manufacture of her own, although it appears that the first English mill was set up in Hertford by John Tate not earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century.[3]

Paper was in fairly general use throughout Europe in the second half of the fourteenth century; at that time it began to rival vellum as a material for books; in the course of the fifteenth century it gradually superseded it. MSS. of this later period are sometimes composed of both vellum and paper, a sheet of vellum forming the outer, or outer and inmost, leaves of a quire, the rest being of paper: a revival of the old practice observed in certain papyrus books in which vellum leaves protected and gave support to the leaves of papyrus.

A knowledge of the appearance of paper and of water-marks of different periods is of great assistance in assigning dates to undated paper MSS. In the fourteenth century European paper is usually stout, and was made in frames composed of thick wires which have left

[1] 'Quales quotidie in usu legendi habemus, utique ex pellura arietum, hircorum, vel vitulorum, sive ex biblis vel iuncis orientalium paludum, aut ex rasuris veterum pannorum, seu ex qualibet alia forte viliore materia compactos.'

[2] Briquet, *Papiers et Filigranes des Archives de Gênes*, 1888, p. 36.

[3] In Shakespeare, *2 Henry VI*, IV. vii, Jack Cade charges Lord Say with the crime of building a paper-mill. Blotting-paper was in use in England in the fifteenth century; it is mentioned by William Horman, in his *Vulgaria*, 1519, p. 80 b, as serving 'to drye weete wryttynge'. It is remarkable how persistent has been the use of sand as an ink absorbent, even down to the present day in foreign countries. In England, too, in spite of the more convenient blotting-paper, it prevailed within present memory. As late as the year 1838 sand was used to dry writing in the Reading-room of the British Museum.

strongly defined impressions. In the next century the texture becomes finer. The earliest known water-mark, the age of which can be approximately fixed, is one on a paper of Bologna, used in the year 1285; and there are many others, from that and other Italian towns, which fall within the thirteenth century.[1] At first the marks are simple, and being impressed from thick wires are well defined. In process of time they become finer and more elaborate, and, particularly in Italian paper, they are enclosed within circles. Their variety is almost endless: animals, heads, birds, fishes, flowers, fruits, domestic and warlike implements, letters, armorial bearings, and other devices are used; some being peculiar to a country or district, others apparently becoming favourites and lasting for comparatively long periods, but constantly changing in details. For example, the glove, a common mark of the sixteenth century developes a number of small modifications in its progress; and of the pot or tankard, which runs through the latter part of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth century, there is an extraordinary number of different varieties. The names of makers were inserted as water-marks quite at the beginning of the fourteenth century; but this practice was very soon abandoned, and was not revived until the sixteenth century. The insertion of the name of place of manufacture and of the date of manufacture is a modern usage.

[1] See C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du Papier*, 1907: a most exhaustive and valuable work on the subject.

CHAPTER IV

WRITING IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

The Stilus, Pen, etc.

Of writing implements the *στῦλος, γραφεῖον, γραφίς, γραφίδιον, stilus, graphium,* made of iron, bronze, or other metal, ivory, or bone, was adapted for writing on waxed tablets, the letters being scratched with the sharp point. The butt-end was fashioned into a knob or flat head, wherewith the writing could be obliterated by smoothing the wax, for correction or erasure: hence the phrase *vertere stilum*,[1] 'to correct.' Among the Roman antiquities found in Britain, now deposited in the British Museum, there are several specimens of the stilus, in ivory, bronze, etc.[2] Many of them are furnished with a sharp projection, at right angles to the shaft, near the head, for the purpose of ruling lines on the wax. The passage in Ovid, *Metam.* ix. 521, thus describes the action of the writer:—

> Dextra tenet ferrum, vacuam tenet altera ceram.
> Incipit, et dubitat, scribit damnatque tabellas,
> Et notat et delet, mutat, culpatque probatque.

Here the stilus is simply *ferrum*. In another place, *Amor.* i. 11. 23, Ovid gives its title of *graphium*: 'Quid digitos opus est graphio lassare tenendo?'

This riddle on the stilus also occurs:—

> De summo planus, sed non ego planus in imo.
> Versor utrimque manu; diversa et munera fungor:
> Altera pars revocat quidquid pars altera fecit.[3]

The case in which such implements were kept was the *γραφιοθήκη, graphiarium*; as in Martial, xiv. 21 'armata suo graphiaria ferro'.

For writing on papyrus the reed, *κάλαμος, δόναξ, γραφεύς, σχοῖνος, calamus, canna*, was in use.[4] The Egyptians employed the reed, frayed at the end in fashion of a paint-brush; and the Greeks in Egypt no doubt imitated that method in the earliest times, adopting the pen-shaped reed perhaps in the third century B.C.[5] Suitable reeds came chiefly from

[1] Horace, *Sat.* i. 10. 72 'Saepe stilum vertas'; Vulgate, 4 *Reg.* xxii. 13 'Et delebo Ierusalem sicut deleri solent tabulae; et delens vertam et ducam crebrius stilum super faciem eius'.

[2] See *British Museum Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, 185, 186.

[3] Riese, *Anthol. Lat.* i, no. 286.

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 36 'Chartisque serviunt calami'.

[5] See Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern.* Some specimens of ancient reeds cut like a pen (Ausonius, 'fissipes calamus') are in the British Museum.

Egypt, as referred to by Martial, xiv. 38 'Dat chartis habiles calamos Memphitica tellus'; or from Cnidus, as in Ausonius, *Ep.* vii 'Nec iam fissipedis per calami vias Grassetur Cnidiae sulcus arundinis'. The case in which reeds were kept was the καλαμοθήκη, καλαμίς, *calamarium*, *theca calamaria*; as in Martial, xiv. 19 'Sortitus thecam, calamis armare memento'. In Diocletian's edict, *De pretiis rerum venalium*, the reed-case appears as made of leather.

Reeds seem to have continued in use to some extent through the middle ages. In Italy they appear to have survived into the fifteenth century.[1]

A score of Roman bronze pens, shaped like our ordinary quill-pens, are in existence in various museums of Europe or in private hands. Three are in the British Museum: one, found in the Tiber, has not a slit in the nib as most specimens have, but a groove; the second is of a very unusual form, having a rather short tube or barrel with a slit nib at each end (another example of the same type is at Aosta in Italy); the third, which was found in London, has a stumpy slit nib. Two broken specimens, which have lost their nibs, are also in the British Museum. A bone pen, shaped in the same manner, is figured in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (of the French School at Athens), xii. 60.

The κονδύλιον, *peniculus*, *penicillus*, was the brush with which writing in gold was applied.[2]

The quill-pen, *penna*, is first mentioned by an anonymous historian who tells us that, in order to enable the unlettered Ostrogoth Theodoric to write, he was provided with a stencil plate, through which he drew with a pen the strokes forming the four letters of the subscription *Legi*: 'ut, posita lamina super chartam, per eam penna duceret et subscriptio eius tantum videretur.'[3] Isidore, *Orig.* vi. 13, describes the pen thus: 'Instrumenta sunt scribendi calamus et penna. Ex his enim verba paginis infiguntur; sed calamus arboris est, penna avis, cuius acumen dividitur in duo, in toto corpore unitate servata.' But, although no earlier mention of the quill-pen than these has been found, it can scarcely be supposed that, as soon as vellum came into general use, so obviously convenient an implement, always ready to hand, could have been long overlooked, particularly in places where reeds of a kind suitable for writing could not be had.[4] The hard surface of the new material could bear the flexible

[1] For detailed information see Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 186.

[2] Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, iii. 96, mentions the reed for this purpose: 'Atque rogo pariter, calamo cum ceperit aurum, Illum commoveat, pulchre si scribere quaerit.'

[3] In the *Excerpta* printed at the end of Gronovius's edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, 1693, p. 512.

[4] Rich, *Dict. Antiq.*, s. v. 'Penna', represents Victory, both in Trajan's column and in the column of Marcus Aurelius, as inscribing the emperors' successes on a shield with a pen. But in both instances the implement appears to be a *stilus* and not a quill-pen.

pressure of the pen which in heavy strokes might have proved too much for the more fragile papyrus.

Inks, etc.

Black ink, the ordinary writing fluid of centuries, *μέλαν*, or more exactly *γραφικὸν μέλαν*, *μελάνιον*, *atramentum*, or *atramentum librarium* to distinguish it from blacking used for other purposes, later *ἔγκαυστον*, *encaustum*, *incaustum*, differs in tint at various periods and in different countries. In Greek papyri of the earlier periods it is of good quality and often of a strong black; in the Byzantine period it deteriorates. In early codices it is either pure black or slightly brown; in the middle ages it varies a good deal according to age and locality. In Italy and Southern Europe it is generally blacker than in the North, in France and Flanders it is generally darker than in England; a Spanish MS. of the fourteenth or fifteenth century may usually be recognized by the peculiar blackness of the ink. Deterioration is observable in the course of time. The ink of the fifteenth century particularly is often of a faded, grey colour.

The ancients used the liquid of the cuttle-fish, as in the lines of Persius, iii. 12:—

> Tunc queritur crassus calamo quod pendeat humor,
> Nigra quod infusa vanescat sepia lympha,
> Dilutas queritur geminet quod fistula guttas.

Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 6, mentions soot and gum as the ingredients of writing ink. Other later authors add gall-apples.[1] Metallic infusions seem also to have been used at an early period. In the middle ages vitriol was an ordinary ingredient. Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, gives a recipe (i. 40) for the manufacture of ink from thorn wood boiled down and mingled with wine and vitriol.

Red, either in the form of a pigment or fluid ink, is of very ancient and common use. It is seen in the early Egyptian papyri; and it appears in the earliest extant vellum MSS., either in titles or the first lines of columns or chapters. The Greek term was *μελάνιον κόκκινον*; Latin *minium*, *rubrica*. A volume written entirely in red ink, of the ninth or tenth century, is in the British Museum, Harley MS. 2795; and red ink is not infrequently used for sections of the texts of mediaeval volumes. The purple ink, *κιννάβαρις*, *sacrum incaustum*, reserved at Byzantium for the exclusive use of the emperors, seems to have been originally of a distinct kind. Later the same term, *κιννάβαρις*, appears as a synonymous term with *minium*. Inks of other colours are

[1] Martianus Capella, iii. 225.

also found in MSS. of the middle ages: green, yellow, and others, but generally only for ornamental purposes, although volumes written entirely in such coloured inks are still extant.

The ink-pot, μελανδόχον, μελανδόχη, μελανδοχεῖον, *atramentarium*, used by the ancients, was generally, as appears from surviving examples, a small cylindrical jar or metal box, the cover often pierced with a hole to admit the insertion of the reed.[1] In paintings on the walls of Pompeii double ink-pots, with hinged covers, are depicted, the two receptacles being probably for black and red ink.[2] Throughout the middle ages the ink-horn was in common use.

Gold was used as a writing fluid at a very early period. In a papyrus at Leyden, of the third or fourth century, there is a recipe for its manufacture.[3] Something has already been said on its use in connexion with purple-stained vellum. Ordinary white vellum MSS. were also written in gold, particularly in the ninth and tenth centuries, in the reigns of the Carolingian monarchs. In most of the large national libraries examples are to be found.[4] The practice passed from the Continent to England, and was followed to some considerable extent in this country, not only for partial decoration, but also for entire texts. A MS. was written in gold, on purple vellum, by order of Wilfrid of York, late in the seventh century, for the monastery of Ripon; but the way in which this volume is referred to, 'Inauditum ante seculis nostris quoddam miraculum,' proves that such sumptuous MSS. were not known in England before that time. St. Boniface, writing in A.D. 735 to Eadburg, Abbess of St. Mildred's, Thanet, asks her to get transcribed for him in gold the Epistles of St. Peter.[5] But the existing English examples are of later date.[6] Gold writing as a practice died out in the thirteenth century, although a few isolated instances of later date are found.

Writing in silver appears to have ceased contemporaneously with the disuse of stained vellum. This metal would not show to advantage on a white ground.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Guide Gk. and Rom. Life*, fig. 196.

[2] *Museo Borbonico*, i, pl. 12.

[3] Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Mus. Lugd. Bat.*, ii (1885), 218.

[4] Such MSS. in the British Museum are Harl. MS. 2788, the 'Codex Aureus', a copy of the Gospels, in uncial letters, of the ninth century; Harl. MS. 2797, also a copy of the Gospels, in minuscule writing, late in the ninth century, from the monastery of St. Geneviève, Paris. The Cottonian MS., Tiberius A. ii, which was sent as a present to King Æthelstan by the Emperor Otho, also contains some leaves written in gold.

[5] 'Sic et adhuc deprecor . . . ut mihi eum auro conscribas epistolas domini mei Sancti Petri apostoli, ad honorem et reverentiam sanctarum scripturarum ante oculos carnalium in praedicando, et quia dicta eius qui me in hoc iter direxit maxime semper in praesentia cupiam habere.'—Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, iii. 99.

[6] The foundation charter of Newminster, Winchester, granted by King Edgar in 966, in Cotton. MS. Vesp. A. viii, is written in gold. The Benedictional of Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, A.D. 963–84, also contains a page in gold.

Various Implements

For ruling papyri, a circular plate of lead, κυκλοτερὴς μόλιβος, γυρὸς μόλιβδος, τροχόεις μόλιβδος, τροχαλὸς μόλιβδος, κυκλομόλιβδος, was used. Ink was removed with the sponge. Papyrus would scarcely bear scraping with the knife. If the ink was still wet, or lately applied, its removal was of course easy. Martial, iv. 10, sends a sponge with his newly-written book of poems, which might thus be wiped out at a single stroke.[1] Augustus effaced his half-completed tragedy of Ajax, with the remark: 'Aiacem suum in spongiam incubuisse.'[2] With vellum MSS. the knife or eraser, *rasorium* or *novacula*, came into use. While wet the ink could still be sponged away; but when it was hard and dry, and for erasure of single letters and words without obliterating also the surrounding text, it was scraped off.

The penknife was the σμίλη, γλύφανον, γλυπτήρ, or γλυφίς, *scalprum librarium*, the mediaeval *scalpellum*, *cultellus*, or *artavus*; the ruler was the κανών, *canon*, *norma*, *regula*, *linearium*; the pricker, whether a compass or other tool, for marking with prick-holes the intervals of the ruled lines was διαβάτης, *circinus*, or *punctorium*; the implement for ruling the lines was the παράγραφος, *praeductale*; and lastly, the office of the modern pencil was performed by the pointed piece of lead, the plummet, μόλυβδος, *plumbum*, *stilus plumbeus*, or *plumbum sub arundine fixum*.[3]

[1] Dum novus est rasa nec adhuc mihi fronte libellus,
Pagina dum tangi non bene sicca timet,
I, puer, et caro perfer leve munus amico,
Qui meruit nugas primus habere meas.
Curre, sed instructus: comitetur Punica librum
Spongia; muneribus convenit illa meis.
Non possunt nostros multae, Faustine, liturae
Emendare iocos; una litura potest.

[2] Suetonius, *Aug.* 85.

[3] Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 232. The various implements are mostly referred to in the *Anthologia Palatina*; see Wattenbach, op. cit., 203; R. Ellis, *Comm. on Catullus*. They are frequently depicted in the miniatures of illuminated MSS., particularly in those representing the author or scribe at work. Beissel, *Vaticanische Miniaturen* (1893), pl. xi, taken from a Greek MS. of the Gospels, shows one of the Evangelists with his table covered with all kinds of writing implements. In pl. xii of *Codex purpur. Rossanensis* (sixth century), ed. Haseloff, 1898, an ink-pot and writing reeds are arranged upon the table in front of Pilate's judgement-seat.

CHAPTER V

FORMS OF BOOKS, ETC.

The Roll

THE form of the book of the ancient Greek and Roman world was the roll, composed of one continuous length of material, commonly papyrus, and inscribed only on one side. The roll had already had a career of thousands of years in Egypt before the dawn of Greek and Roman literature. For Greek literature it was probably at once adopted. Actual examples of early Greek papyrus rolls are in existence, dating from the fourth century B.C. In letters Rome followed the example of Greece, and adopted the roll. And in both Greek and Roman literature the roll was the constant form of the book down to the opening centuries of the Christian era; being not entirely superseded by the incoming codex until the fourth century.

Among the Greeks the ordinary terms for a written book (that is, a roll) were *βίβλος* (another form of *βύβλος*, papyrus) and its diminutive *βιβλίον*.[1] The corresponding Latin terms were *liber* and its diminutive *libellus*. The latter, as a literary title, specially referred to a book of poems, a sense in which it is constantly used by the Roman poets.[2] It came at length to be used as an equivalent of *liber* and to express a book in general.

The roll, rolled-up, was a *volumen*. The Greeks do not appear to have had any parallel expression at an early date; the word *κύλινδρος* being comparatively late. Another term was *ἐνείλημα* or *ἐξείλημα*; more rare were *εἰλητάριον*, *εἴλητον*. A mediaeval Latin term is *rotulus*.

A roll of uninscribed material was *χάρτης*, *charta*, a term easily transferred to a written book.[3] Again, a Greek term was *τόμος* (originally a cutting of papyrus), applicable to a roll containing a portion or division of a large work which extended to more than one roll.[4] Neither this term nor *βιβλίον*, nor *liber* nor *libellus*, could be applied in the singular number to more than a single roll or volume. A work consisting of many volumes, or several divisions, must be described by

[1] *βιβλίον* also meant a letter, and is used in this sense by Herodotus. Suidas in his *Lexicon* explains *βιβλίον* as *ἐπιστολή*. A later term for a book was *βιβλάριον*.

[2] 'Quoi dono lepidum novum libellum.'—Catullus, i. 1.

[3] 'Omne aevum tribus explicare chartis.'—Catullus, i. 6.

[4] The third roll of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* (Brit. Mus.) is marked Γ. ΤΟΜΟϹ.

the plural forms *βιβλία*, *τόμοι*, *libri*, etc. On the other hand, the several books of a work, if written on one roll, counted only for one *βιβλίον* or *liber*. Thus Ulpian, *Digest.* xxxii. 52, lays down: 'Si cui centum libri sint legati, centum volumina ei dabimus, non centum quae quis ingenio suo metitus est . . . ut puta, cum haberet Homerum totum in uno volumine, non quadraginta octo libros computamus, sed unum Homeri volumen pro libro accipiendum est.' To distinguish a work contained in the compass of a single roll, there was also the title *μονόβιβλος* or *μονόβιβλον*.[1]

For subdivisions such terms as *λόγος*, *σύγγραμμα*, *σύνταγμα* also were used.

The word *τεῦχος*, too, appears to have meant a single roll; but it was also employed in the sense of a literary work in several volumes. At first it seems to have been applied to the chest or vessel in which the several rolls of such work were kept, and came in course of time to refer to the contents.[2] Xenophon, *Anab.* vii. 6. 14, mentions books *ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι*. In like manner the terms *pandectes* and *bibliotheca*, originally referring to a work in several rolls kept together in their chest, were afterwards used specially to mean a MS. of the entire Bible.[3] *Bibliotheca* continued to bear this meaning down to the close of the fourteenth century, if not later.[4]

There can be no doubt that the convenience of subdividing the lengthy works of authors into rolls of moderate size must have been appreciated in the earliest period of the publication of Greek literature. Of course in writing out the text of a work the scribe might go on adding any number of fresh *κολλήματα* or sheets to the normal roll, thus extending it to an indefinite length. But proverbially a great book was a great evil; and the inconvenience of having to unroll a bulky volume, not only for the purpose of perusing it, but also even for verifying a reference, would have proved too exasperating. At the other extreme, a roll might be of the most slender proportions, in fact no stouter than a rolling-stick.[5] Although the authors themselves may not originally have divided their writings into separate portions to suit the ordinary length of a conveniently-sized roll, yet the practice of the scribe would eventually react on the author. Thus we find the works of Homer

[1] The first book of Propertius was known to Martial as 'monobiblos Properti'; and the title survives in the MSS.—Ellis, *Comm. on Catullus* (1889), 4.

[2] Birt, *Ant. Buchw.* 89.

[3] *Bibliotheca* was used in this sense by St. Jerome. Others, as Cassiodorus, Bede, Alcuin, preferred *Pandectes*.

[4] See examples in Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 152–7.

[5] Martial, ii. 6:—

> Quid prodest mihi tam macer libellus,
> Nullo crassior ut sit umbilico?

divided into books of a length which could be contained in an ordinary roll; and we know that in course of time authors did regularly adapt the divisions of their works to the customary length of the *βιβλία* and *volumina*. From twenty to thirty feet was probably the normal full length of a roll, the higher limit being rarely, if ever, exceeded.[1]

As only one side, the inner side, of the roll was used to receive the text, that surface was the more carefully prepared. It was the *recto* side of the material, in which the fibres of the papyrus lay horizontally, and parallel to the length of the roll, so that the pen would run the more smoothly; moreover, the joints of the several sheets composing the roll were carefully flattened, in order that they too might cause no obstruction to the writer.

The text was written in columns, *σελίδες*, *paginae*, sufficient margins being left at head and foot; and it was a practice to leave blank the beginning of the roll, that portion being most liable to wear through handling. The term *σελίς* (originally the gangway between the rowing benches of a ship) was first applied to the space between two columns, and then to the column itself.[2] Other terms were the diminutive *σελίδιον* and *καταβατόν*. The lines of writing (*στίχοι*, *versus*) ran parallel with the length of the roll;[3] and lead, we are told, was used for drawing the ruled lines. Such ruling, however, was certainly not always, and perhaps not generally, employed, for the horizontal fibre of the papyrus itself was a sufficient guide for the lines of writing; and the fact that the marginal line of the columns frequently trends away out of the perpendicular proves that in such instances there were no ruled lines to bound the columns laterally. There was no regulation for the breadth of the columns: this was a matter left to the taste of the scribe; and consequently it is found to vary considerably. But they were generally narrow in texts written for the market by skilled scribes. In literary papyri of good quality the columns are from two to three and a half inches in breadth.[4] Those in the papyrus of Hyperides, *in Philippidem* (Brit. Mus., Pap. 184), of the first century B.C., measure only an inch and three-quarters. Occasionally we find the letters made smaller at the end of a line in order to accommodate words to the restricted space. An example of writing in broad columns is seen in the papyrus of Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens; but this was written for private use and not for sale. And, again, the columns of the earliest

[1] Kenyon, *Palaeogr. of Greek Papyri*, 17.

[2] In the Aphrodito papyri (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Papyri*, iv, no. 1420, etc.) the word *ελις*, meaning a page, occurs. It seems to be a corruption of *σελίς*.

[3] Before the time of Julius Caesar official dispatches appear to have been written 'transversa charta', that is, with the lines parallel with the height of the roll. He wrote in the book style, the lines parallel with the length of the roll. Suetonius, *Jul. Caes.* 56.

[4] Kenyon, *Palaeogr. of Gk. Papyri*, 22.

Greek literary papyrus in existence, the *Persae* of Timotheus, of the fourth century B.C., are very broad; but perhaps at that remote period conventional rules in such details had not been established.

If the title of the work was given, it was ordinarily entered at the end of the text; but, as this was obviously an inconvenient practice, it was sometimes written at the head. It seems also that it was in some instances inscribed on the outside of the roll (*ἐπίγραμμα*). But no doubt the reader relied chiefly on the pendent ticket, the *σίλλυβος* or *σίττυβος*, the *titulus* or *index*, described below, for information as to the contents of a roll.

The references by classical authors to the style in which their written works were presented to the literary world imply a good deal of elaborate treatment by scribe and binder, if we may so call the workman who gave the mechanical finish to the roll. But the details so supplied would refer more especially to the more expensive productions of the book-trade. A large proportion of working copies must have been dealt with in a more simple manner. First, the roll was rolled on a stick, *ὀμφαλός* or *umbilicus*, to which the last sheet of the papyrus, *ἐσχατοκόλλιον*, was supposed to be attached. But, as a matter of fact, no rolling-sticks have been found with extant papyri; and it has been therefore suggested that they were not attached to the material but were rolled in loose, and hence were liable to drop out. Many of the rolls found at Herculaneum had a mere central core of papyrus. A knob or button, usually of bone or wood, was affixed to each end of the stick, the name of which, *ὀμφαλός*, *umbilicus*, appears to have been also extended to these ornamental additions. Porphyrion, commenting on Horace, *Epod.* xiv. 8, says: 'In fine libri umbilici ex ligno aut osse solent poni.' Or, instead of the simple knob or button, there was a tip, *κέρας*, *cornu*, of ivory or some such ornamental material; and either might be plain or coloured.[1] The edges, *frontes*, of the roll were cut down and smoothed with pumice,[2] and sometimes coloured. The wrapper of an ordinary roll might be of common papyrus, *charta emporetica*; in case of a more valuable work, a vellum cover, *διφθέρα*, *toga*, which might be stained with colour, was used as a protection—the *φαινόλης* or *φαιλόνης*, *paenula* (the travelling cloak), as it was commonly called.[3] Lucian, *Adv. indoctum*, 7, refers to

[1] Tibullus, iii. 1. 13 'Atque inter geminas pingantur cornua frontes'; Martial, iii. 2. 9 'picti umbilici'; v. 6. 15 'nigri umbilici'; Statius, *Silv.* iv. 9. 8 'binis decoratus umbilicis'. The explanation given above of the *κέρατα* or *cornua* seems to be the most obvious; but Birt, *Buchrolle*, 235, and Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen u. Römern*, 93, offer other interpretations. See illustrations in Gardthausen, *Griech. Pal.* i. 145, 149.

[2] Ovid, *Trist.* i. 1. 11 'Nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes'; Catullus, i. 2 'Arido modo pumice expolitum'; xxii. 8 'pumice omnia aequata'.

[3] The 'cloak' (*φελόνης*) which St. Paul left at Troas (2 Tim. iv. 13), and which Timothy was to bring together with the books and parchments, may have been in fact a book-cover. See Birt, *Buchw.* 65.

an ornamental work thus: *ὁπόταν τὸ μὲν βιβλίον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχῃς πάγκαλον, πορφυρᾶν μὲν ἔχον τὴν διφθέραν, χρυσοῦν δὲ τὸν ὀμφαλόν*; and Martial, i. 66, has the lines:—

> Sed pumicata fronte si quis est nondum
> Nec umbilicis cultus atque membrana,
> Mercare; tales habeo.

As a special protection, a wooden case, *manuale*, to prevent the owner's toga or cloak fraying the edges of the roll, is mentioned by Martial, xiv. 84:—

> Ne toga barbatos faciat vel paenula libros,
> Haec abies chartis tempora longa dabit.

The roll was sometimes bound round with thongs as fastenings: the 'lora rubra' of Catullus, xxii. 7.

For preservation against moths, etc., cedar oil was rubbed on the papyrus.[1] A good poem was worthy of this protection: 'cedro digna locutus' (Persius, i. 42); 'cedro nunc licet ambules perunctus' (Martial, iii. 2. 7). But it imparted a yellow tint: 'quod neque sum cedro flavus' (Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 1. 13).

The chest or box in which the rolls were kept was the *κιβωτός*, *κιβώτιον*, *scrinium*, *capsa*; *κίστη*, *cista*; *τεῦχος*. It might be either square or circular. The *scrinium* was a larger *capsa*.[2] To tie bundles of rolls together was a destructive process, as the papyrus was injured; so Petronius, *Satyricon*, cii, 'Chartae alligatae mutant figuram'.[3] Extensive works were arranged in their *capsae* in decades, triads, or other sets, as we know from the examples of the works of Livy, Dio Cassius, Varro, and others.

For convenience of reference when the roll was placed in a box or on a shelf, a label, usually of vellum, *σίλλυβος* or *σίττυβος*,[4] *πιττάκιον*, *γλῶσσα*, *γλωσσάριον*, *titulus*, *index*, was attached to the edge of the roll and inscribed with the title of the work,[5] and, for distinction, might also be coloured. Cicero, writing to Atticus, iv. 4, gives both Greek and Latin names: 'Etiam velim mihi mittas de tuis librariolis duos aliquos, quibus

[1] 'Ex cedro oleum, quod cedrium dicitur, nascitur, quo reliquae res cum sunt unctae, uti etiam libri, a tineis et carie non laeduntur.'—Vitruvius, ii. 9. 13.

[2] Horace, *Sat.* i. 1. 120; Martial, i. 3. 4, etc.

[3] And yet there are frequent representations in sculptures of rolls tied in bundles and lying or standing on the top of the *capsa*, as if just taken out of it.—Birt, *Buchrolle*.

[4] Marquardt, *Privatl. der Römer*, 794.

[5] An engraving, from a sculpture, in Brower and Masen, *Antiqq. et annal. Trevirenses*, 1670, i. 105, in Schwarz, *De ornamentis librorum* (1756), tab. ii, and in Gardthausen, *Gr. Pal.* i. 149, represents rolls placed on shelves, like bottles in a wine-bin, with the *tituli* depending in front; a *capsa*, with rolls enclosed, appears on the title-page of Marini, *Papiri Diplom.*, and in *Museo Borbonico*, tav. xii. In Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, 1876, are representations of rolls, etc., in charge of various officials.

Tyrannio utatur glutinatoribus, ad cetera administris, iisque imperes ut sumant membranulam ex qua indices fiant, quos vos Graeci, ut opinor, *σιλλύβους*[1] appellatis.' Among the papyri from Oxyrhynchus a few *tituli* have been found. One of them, of papyrus (*Ox. Pap.* 301; Brit. Mus., Pap. dccci), measuring 5 × 1 inches, is inscribed ϹΩΦΡΟΝΟϹ ΜΙΜΟΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΟΙ.[2]

In the perusal of a work the reader held the roll upright and unrolled it gradually with the right hand; with the left hand he rolled up in the reverse direction what he had read.[3] To unroll a book was *ἐξειλεῖν*, *ἀνειλεῖν*, *ἀνελίσσειν* or *ἀνελίττειν*, *ἀνατυλίσσειν* or *ἀνατυλίττειν*, *evolvere*, *revolvere*, *explicare*; as to roll it up was *εἴλειν* or *εἰλεῖν*, *ἑλίσσειν*, *volvere*,[4] *plicare*. The book read to the end was 'explicitus usque ad sua cornua' (Martial, xi. 107).[5] From the term 'explicitus' came the mediaeval 'explicit', formed, no doubt, as a pendant to 'incipit'.[6]

By the time the reader had read the entire roll, it had become reversed, the beginning being now in the centre and the end being outside; therefore, before putting it away, it must be rolled back into

[1] Another reading of the word in this passage is *σιττύβας*; and it has been suggested that *σιττύβα* may be more correct than *σίττυβος*.

[2] Others are: *O. P.* 381 (B. M., Pap. 810), of papyrus, A. D. 76; *O. P.* 958, of vellum, A. D. 80; *O. P.* 957, of leather, A. D. 122-3; *O. P.* 987, of vellum, fifth or sixth century.

It may be convenient to quote here the two following passages in full, as referring to so many details dealt with in the text :—

Vade, sed incultus, qualem decet exsulis esse;
Infelix, habitum temporis huius habe.
Nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco;
Non est conveniens luctibus ille color.
Nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta nptetur;
Candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.
Felices ornent haec instrumenta libellos;
Fortunae memorem te decet esse meae.
Nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes,
Hirsutus passis ut videare comis.
Neve liturarum pudeat. Qui viderit illas,
De lacrimis factas sentiet esse meis.—Ovid, *Trist.* i. 1. 3-14.

Τίνα γὰρ ἐλπίδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων ἐς τὰ βιβλία καὶ ἀνατυλίττεις (unroll) *ἀεί, καὶ διακολλᾷς* (glue together sheets of papyrus), *καὶ περικόπτεις* (trim the edges), *καὶ ἀλείφεις τῷ κρόκῳ καὶ τῇ κέδρῳ, καὶ διφθέρας* (vellum wrappers) *περιβάλλεις, καὶ ὀμφαλοὺς* (rolling-sticks) *ἐντίθης, ὡς δή τι ἀπολαύσων αὐτῶν*;—Lucian, *Adv. indoct.* 16.

[3] See an engraving, from a sculptured sarcophagus, in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiquités*, s. v. 'Bibliotheca', in which a man is represented reading from an open roll.

[4] As *volvere* might mean to turn a thing in either direction, it was also used in the sense of unrolling: 'volvendi sunt libri', Cic. *Brut.* 87. 298.

[5] To finish writing a roll was to come down to the *umbilicus*; Horace, *Epod.* xiv. 8 :—

Deus nam me vetat
Inceptos, olim promissum carmen, iambos
Ad umbilicum adducere;

and Martial, iv. 89 :—

Ohe, iam satis est, ohe libelle,
Iam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos.

[6] 'Solemus completis opusculis, ad distinctionem rei alterius sequentis, medium inter ponere *Explicit* aut *Feliciter* aut aliud eiusmodi.'—St. Jerome *Ad Marcellam.*

its proper form, a process which the idle man would shirk and the methodical reader would accomplish by holding the revolving material steady under his chin while his two hands were employed in winding up the roll. Hence Martial, i. 66, refers to 'virginis . . . chartae, quae trita duro non inhorruit mento'; and again, x. 93, he has: 'Sic nova nec mento sordida charta iuvat.'

The inconvenience of writing on the back of the roll is obvious, and this practice was probably never followed in the case of works intended for sale.[1] Authors' copies, however, being for their own use, were often *opisthograph*, as in Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 4:—

> Impune diem consumpserit ingens
> Telephus, aut summi plena iam margine libri
> Scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes?

The younger Pliny also, *Epist.* iii. 5. 17, in reference to his uncle's numerous works, uses the words: 'Commentarios clx. mihi reliquit, opisthographos quidem et minutissime scriptos.'

In the same manner worthless scribbling is referred to by Martial, viii. 62, as written on the back of the *charta*:—

> Scribit in aversa Picens epigrammata charta,
> Et dolet averso quod facit illa deo.

Rough draughts or temporary pieces, or children's or scholars' exercises, might also be so written. Martial, iv. 86, threatens his *libellus* with the fate of waste paper to be utilized for such purposes, if his verses fail to please:—

> Si damnaverit, ad salariorum
> Curras scrinia protinus licebit,
> Inversa pueris arande charta.

A most important instance of a scholar's exercise, written on the back of a papyrus, is found in the early copy of the *Epitaphios* of Hyperides in the British Museum; and still more noteworthy is Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* inscribed, for private use, on the reverse of rolls containing farm accounts.

After the establishment of the codex in general use, the roll form was almost entirely abandoned for literary purposes in the middle ages. It survived, however, for some of the Greek liturgies,[2] for mortuary rolls, for poems occasionally, for pedigrees, for certain brief chronicles in which historical genealogies form a principal feature, and in a few other instances, as in the 'Exultet' rolls of Italy, in which it was found convenient. But in all these the writing was parallel with the height,

[1] A Greek magical text (Pap. cxxi) in the British Museum is written on both *recto* and *verso* of the roll; but such a work would not be for the market.

[2] Κοντάκια, so called from the κοντοί, or sticks, on which they were rolled.

not with the length, of the roll. For records, however, the roll form has been continued throughout the middle ages to our own days, particularly in England, where not only public documents relating to the business of the country, but also proceedings of private manorial courts and bailiffs' accounts, have been almost invariably entered on rolls.

The Codex

The earliest form of the book, in our modern sense of the word, that is, as a collection of leaves of vellum, paper, or other material, bound together, existed, as we have seen, in the case of waxed tablets, when two or more were fastened together and made a *caudex* or *codex*. Hence vellum books, following the same arrangement, were also called *codices*. Similarly, by usage, the title *liber*, which had been transferred from the original bark roll to the papyrus roll, was also passed on to the vellum book. So too the Greek terms *βίβλος*, *βιβλίον* and other words, which had been employed to designate the earlier rolls, were transferred in the same way. The vellum codex came into general use when it was found how conveniently it could contain a large work in a much smaller space than could the papyrus roll. In the words of Isidore, *Origg.* vi. 13. 1 'Codex multorum librorum est, liber unius voluminis'. The fact, also, that vellum was a tough material capable of being inscribed on both sides; that ink, particularly if recently applied, could be easily removed from it, and that the surface could be readily made available for a second writing, no doubt contributed largely to the adoption of the codex. Further, its advantage over the roll for convenience of reference is obvious, and this must have recommended it to the jurists and others, the dispatch of whose business depended so much on ready methods of consulting authorities and precedents. If Ulpian, at the beginning of the third century, includes the vellum codex as claiming a place among legally recognized *libri*, we may conclude that, by that time, it was well known, and, we may infer, was also employed by law writers and compilers. The title which it received of *σωμάτιον*, a *corpus*, expressive of the possible bulk of the contents of such a book, is suggestive of large compilations; and conversely its original name *codex* was adopted at a later time for the great digests of Theodosius and Justinian.

As we have already seen, vellum MSS. existed in the classical period at Rome. Their rarity may be partly accounted for, if the view is correct that such codices were of a cheap quality, and that the vellum as used in Rome at that period was of inferior manufacture, only adapted for rough and ready use, and not a material which would be employed in the production of fine books.[1] Perhaps a retarding cause of greater

[1] See above, p. 30.

effect was the fact that the papyrus roll was still the recognized vehicle for literature, and that the conservative jealousy of the book-trade, as well as the habits of writers, would be slow to welcome a new material to rival that which had held the field for so many generations. However, the vellum codex had made its appearance, and it was now to be seen which form, the roll or the codex, was eventually to prevail. We know that in the end the codex was victorious, but we also know that the struggle was not a short one, and that it was not until the fourth century that the vellum codex became the fully recognized form of the book of the future.

Some of the contributory causes of this result may be briefly noticed. In the first place the supply of papyrus, although still comparatively plentiful in Rome, began to be insufficient to meet the ever increasing demand. We have already (p. 22) noticed the record of a temporary scarcity in the reign of Tiberius. The growing impulse given to general education and the wider diffusion of literature in the provinces required an increase of the material for the multiplication of books; and this necessity favoured the employment of vellum, not so much as a rival to papyrus as an auxiliary. In Domitian's time the more popular works began to appear in codex form, for school use and for travellers, on vellum, as a more enduring material. It has also been suggested that the division of the Empire in A.D. 395 between Arcadius and Honorius may have been one of the final causes of the decrease of the papyrus supply in Rome, as Egypt fell to the Eastern Empire.[1] And, while the older literary material was thus beginning to prove inadequate to the demand, the encouragement consequently given to the employment of vellum undoubtedly tended to improve its manufacture. However rough and badly prepared skins may have been in the early decades of the Empire, at least by the time the codex had superseded the roll the vellum employed had become of excellent quality. The material of the great early Biblical codices of the fourth and fifth centuries is particularly fine and well prepared. It may, therefore, be assumed that the manufacture was from the first in a constantly progressive state of improvement as the demand for vellum increased.

Moreover, the Bible, the book which before all others became the great work of reference in the hands of the early Christians, could only be consulted with convenience and dispatch in the new form. From the writings of St. Jerome and others it is evident that Bibles in codex form existed at a very early date. When once this form of multiplying texts was adopted by the Church, its rapid diffusion became a matter of certainty through the medium of monastic institutions. The form adopted for the Bible would naturally become the model for theological books of all kinds. Thus the vellum codex, as already observed, was destined to be the

[1] See Birt, *Buchrolle*, passim.

recipient of Christian literature, as the papyrus roll had been that of the pagan world. Recent excavations in Egypt have given confirmation to this view of the early adoption of the codex form by the Christians. Among the masses of papyrus documents that have been brought to light, there have been found certain fragments of both Old and New Testaments, the earliest being of the third century, which are in the codex form, that is, they are leaves or portions of leaves from books, not fragments of rolls. So, too, 'The Sayings of Our Lord' and other relics of Christian writings, of the same period, prove to be written in the same form. On the other hand, the papyri of non-Christian writings are in nearly all instances in the roll form. From this it appears that, while the roll still maintained its place for general literature, the requirements of the Egyptian Christians caused them to adopt the codex as the most convenient shape for their books, even though made up of papyrus, the traditional material for the roll. It has already been noticed (p. 29) that only a few leaves of vellum codices have hitherto been found in Egypt. This is only what might be expected. Egypt was the land of papyrus; if vellum had been more commonly in use there, no doubt many of the extant fragments of Christian writings would have been committed to that material as more suited to the codex form. But, in default of vellum, the less convenient though more available papyrus had to be pressed into the service.

Still, however, for the older literature the papyrus roll continued generally to hold its ground in Rome.[1] But it seems that even in this department the codex began from the first to make inroads. For, in the case at least of the great authors, such as Homer in Greek and Cicero in Latin, there is evidence that even in the earliest centuries of our era the codex form was not unknown.[2] By St. Jerome's days vellum MSS. of the classics appear to have been in ordinary use, for his library of vellum codices included works of profane literature.[3] In the end, the codex form became so general that even outside Egypt papyrus, when it was used for literature, was put together in leaves and quires in the same way as vellum.

Gatherings or Quires

The earliest extant MSS. on vellum are usually of the broad quarto size, in which the width equals, or nearly equals, the height. The quires consist, in most instances, of eight leaves, that is, of four folded sheets, τετράς or τετράδιον, *quaternio* (a term which eventually losing its strict meaning came to indicate a *quire*, without regard to the number of leaves composing it), and this number continued in general favour

[1] Birt, *Buchw.* 109. [2] Ibid. 113. [3] Ibid. 115.

throughout the middle ages. Quires of three sheets or six leaves, of five sheets or ten leaves, and of six sheets or twelve leaves, are also met with. For example, the famous Codex Vaticanus of the Greek Bible is made up of ten-leaved quires; as is also the Bembine Terence. Each quire was ordinarily numbered or *signed*, to use the technical word, either at the beginning, in the upper margin, or more generally at the end, in the lower inner corner. In the Codex Alexandrinus the signatures are at the heads of the quires. The numbers were frequently, in Latin MSS., accompanied with the letter Q (for *quaternio*). The practice of numbering the leaves of the quires, e.g. A i, A ii, A iii, etc., dates from the fourteenth century. The several leaves of early MSS. are also occasionally numbered. Catch-words, *reclamantes*, to connect the quires, first appear, but rarely, in the eleventh century; from the twelfth century they become common.

In putting together the sheets for the quire, care was generally taken to lay them in such a way that hair-side faced hair-side, and flesh- (or inner) side faced flesh-side. Thus, when the book was opened, the two pages before the reader had the same appearance, either the yellow tinge of the hair-side or the whiter surface of the flesh-side. In Greek MSS. the arrangement of the sheets was afterwards reduced to a system: the first or lowest sheet being laid with the flesh-side downwards, so that when the sheets were folded that side always formed the first page of the quire. In the Codex Alexandrinus, however, the first page of a quire is the hair-side of the skin. In Latin MSS. also the hair-side appears to have generally begun the quire.[2]

To the folded sheet was given the title *diploma*; a barbarous mediaeval name for it was *arcus*. The leaf was *χαρτίον*, *φύλλον*, *folium*.

Ruling

In the earlier centuries of the middle ages, the ruled lines of vellum MSS. were drawn with a hard-pointed instrument, a blunt bodkin or stilus, on one side of the leaf, the lines being impressed with sufficient force to cause them to stand out in relief on the other side. The ruling

[1] C. R. Gregory, *Les Cahiers des MSS. Grecs* in the *Comptes Rendus* of the Acad. des Inscriptions, 1885, p. 261.

[2] There are interesting instances of the distribution of the quires of a MS. for the purpose of being copied. The Paris uncial MS. of Livy (Bibl. Nat. 5730) was, between A.D. 804 and 834, given out among seven monks of Tours who produced a copy (now Vatican MS. Reg. 762), each scribe attaching his name to the portion which he wrote (*Rev. de Philologie*, xiv. 1890; *Sitzb. der Münchener Akad.* iii. 425). In the same way a MS. of Rabanus Maurus, Pembroke College, Cambridge, No. 308, A.D. 845–882, has the scribes' names. The Laurentian MS. 74. 10 (Galen, etc., fourteenth century) is an instance of a Greek MS. written by sixteen scribes (Gardthausen, *Gr. Pal.* i. 177).

was almost invariably on the hair- (or outer) side of the skin. Marginal lines were drawn to bound the text laterally. The distances of the horizontal lines from one another were marked off with pricks of the *circinus* in vertical order down the page. In earlier MSS. these prickings are often found near the middle of the leaf, or at least within the space occupied by the text, and the lines are drawn right across the sheet and not confined within the vertical boundaries. It was afterwards the custom to prick off the spaces close to the margin and to keep the ruled lines within limits; and eventually the prickings often disappeared when the edges were shorn by the binder. Each sheet should be ruled separately; but two or more sheets were not infrequently laid and ruled together, the lines being so deeply drawn on the upper sheet that the lower sheets also received the impressions. In the case of purple-stained MSS., in order to ensure more perfect uniformity in the height of the letters, double lines were used; and also occasionally for other ordinary uncial codices. In rare instances lines are found ruled on both sides of the leaf, as in some parts of the Codex Alexandrinus. In this MS. also, and in some other early codices, ruling was not drawn for every line of writing, but was occasionally spaced so that some lines of the text lay in the spaces while others stood on the ruled lines. Ruling with the lead point or plummet first appeared in the eleventh, and came into ordinary use in the twelfth, century. Coloured inks were also used for ornamental ruling in the fifteenth century.

Arrangement of the Text

The text, which in early MSS. was written continuously without separation of words, might be written across the face of the page; and in some cases, as in poetical works, no other arrangement could well be followed. But, continuing the system observed in the papyrus rolls, the arrangement in columns was usual. The superior convenience of the column over the long line is obvious, particularly when a small character was the type of writing. The number of columns in a page was ordinarily two; but three and even four were also allowed. The Codex Sinaiticus of the Greek Bible has four columns in a page, so that the open book presents a series of eight columns to the reader, which, it has been observed, would forcibly recall the long row of *paginae* of the papyrus roll.[1] The Codex Vaticanus has three columns in a page in the portion containing the Old Testament; and other early MSS. or fragments of MSS. exhibit the same arrangement, e. g. the Vatican fragments of Sallust, the Latin Pentateuch of Lyons, and others in the libraries

[1] The phrase of Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iv. 37, ἐν πολυτελῶς ἠσκημένοις τεύχεσι τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά, probably refers to the number of columns. See Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 181.

of Rome, Milan, etc.[1] But the tri-columnar system appears to have been generally abandoned after the sixth century. The Utrecht Psalter, written at the beginning of the ninth century, in triple columns, is not an instance which counts for later usage, the MS. being only an exact copy of an older codex.[2] Usually the later examples are the result of necessity, as in the case of Psalters in parallel versions or languages.[3] A late instance, however, of a text arranged in this fashion, without any compelling causes, occurs in the version of the Latin Bible by Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, written in the ninth century, Add. MS. 24142, in the British Museum, and in its companion codices at Paris and Puy.[4]

The line of writing was στίχος, *versus*; γραμμή, *linea*, *riga*; the individual letters, γράμματα, *grammata*, *elementa*, *characteres*, *figurae*.

The first lines of the main divisions of the text, as for example the several books of the Bible, were often written in red for distinction.

At first, in uncial Latin MSS., there was no enlargement of letters in any part of the text to mark the beginnings of sections or chapters; yet, in some of the earliest examples, the first letter of the page, without regard to its position in relation to the text, is made larger than the rest.

Rubrics and titles and colophons (that is, titles, etc., entered at the ends of books) were at first written in the same style as the text; afterwards it was found convenient, for distinction, to employ different characters. Thus in later uncial Latin MSS. titles might be in capitals or rustic capitals; in minuscule MSS. they might be written in capitals or uncials. The convenience of having the title at the beginning of a MS., instead of only in colophon-form at the end, was soon recognized; but the use of the colophon still continued, the designation of a work being frequently recorded in both title and colophon down to the latest period.

Running titles or head-lines appear in even some of the earliest MSS., in the same characters as the text, but of smaller size.

As already noticed, the text of early MSS. was, with rare exceptions, written continuously without separation of the words.[5] In the

[1] It may also be noted that the most ancient *dated* MS. in existence, the Syriac MS. of A. D. 411, containing the Recognitions of Clement of Rome (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 12150), is written in triple columns.

[2] The later copies of this Psalter also maintain the same arrangement.

[3] A Psalter in four parallel columns (the Greek and the three Latin versions), A. D. 1105, is in the Bibl. Nationale, MS. Lat. 2195. See *Pal. Soc.* i. 156.

[4] Kenyon, *Facs. Bibl. MSS. in Brit. Mus.*, pl. xv; Delisle, *Les Bibles de Théodulfe*, *Bibl. École des Chartes*, xi. The Royal MS. 1. D. ii in the British Museum, containing a portion of the Greek Septuagint, has four of its quires written in triple columns, which it is suggested may have been copied from an uncial archetype thus arranged: *Facs. Bibl. MSS. in Brit. Mus.*, pl. viii.

[5] The astronomical treatise known as the Εὐδόξου τέχνη, of the second century B. C., at Paris, and the grammatical work bearing the name of Tryphon (Brit. Mus., Pap. cxxvi), of about 300 B. C., have at least partial separation of words.

case of documents of ordinary life, written cursively, the distinction of words was, from the earliest times, more frequently, though still only partially, observed. But in literary works non-separation was the rule. Yet very occasionally a dot high in the line of writing or a low-placed comma was used as a mark of separation where ambiguity might arise, even in the early papyri and MSS. During the period of the vellum uncial codices, down to the sixth century, continuity of text prevailed; in the seventh century there is some tendency to separation, but without system. In early Latin minuscule MSS. partial separation was practised in an uncertain and hesitating manner down to the time of the Carolingian reform. In early Irish and English MSS. separation is more consistently followed. In Latin MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries the longer words tended to separation. But even when the scribes had begun to break up their lines into words it still continued to be the fashion to attach short words, e.g. prepositions, to those which immediately followed them. It was hardly before the eleventh century that a perfect system of separately-written words was established in Latin MSS. In Greek MSS. it may be said that the system was at no time perfectly followed, for, even when the words were distinguished, there was always a tendency to separate them inaccurately.

In order to save space, and to get as much as possible into a line, or to avoid division of a word, the letters were often written smaller towards the end of the line; and in Latin MSS., with the same object, two or more letters were linked or combined in a monogrammatic form.

When, for want of room, a word had to be divided at the end of a line and the terminating portion carried over to the beginning of the following line, such division was subject to certain rules. In Greek the division was usually made after a vowel, as ἔτυ|μος; even monosyllables might be so treated, as οὐ|κ. But in words containing double consonants the division would follow the first of them, as γράμ|μα; and when the first of two or more consonants coming together was a liquid or nasal the division was made in the same way, as ἔχον|τες, ὀφθαλ|μός. In the case of words compounded with a preposition, the division usually followed the preposition, as προσ|εῖπον; but not infrequently, even in such instances, the normal practice of dividing after a vowel prevailed, as προ|σεῖπον. In papyri these rules are seldom infringed.[1]

In Latin MSS., while the observance of the true syllabic division was maintained according to ancient usage, and, when two consonants came together, they were properly assigned to their several syllables, as *dic-tus*, *prop-ter*, *pris-cus*, *hos-pes*, *hos-tis*, yet in some early instances the scribes followed the Greek system and divided after a vowel, as *di-ctus*, *ho-stis*, etc.; and in some MSS. we find the older style altered

[1] Kenyon, *Palaeogr. Gk. Papyri*, 31.

to suit the later, as in the Fulda MS. of the Gospels, corrected in the sixth century by Victor of Capua,[1] and the Harley Gospels of about the year 600.[2]

The coupling stroke or hyphen, to indicate connexion of the two parts of the divided word, appears to have been unknown in the early centuries. A point performs this duty in early instances. In the eleventh century the hyphen at the end of the line shows itself on a few occasions; in the twelfth century it becomes more systematic, and sometimes is also repeated at the beginning of the next line.

Paragraphs

The inconvenience which we experience in reading a continuously written text could not have been so greatly felt by the scholars of the old Greek world; otherwise separation of words and a perfect system of punctuation would have been established long before was actually the case. Still the distinction of paragraphs was found a necessity at an ancient period—a natural system of subdividing the subject-matter of a work as an assistance to the reader. Further, these paragraphs were separated from one another by the short dividing stroke, the παράγραφος, which was inserted between them at the beginnings of lines; but, it should be remembered, the stroke belonged to the concluding paragraph, and marked its termination, and did not form an initial sign for the new paragraph which followed. The paragraph mark was not, however, uniformly the horizontal stroke; the wedge > (διπλῆ), the mark which is also often found at the end of a work, 7 (κορωνίς), and similar forms were employed. This system of distinguishing paragraphs appears in use in the early papyri; and analogously the dividing stroke marks off the speeches of the different characters in the surviving papyrus fragments of the tragedians, as, for example, in the very ancient remains of the *Antiope* of Euripides; and it is used to indicate the end of strophe, antistrophe, and epode in the papyrus of Bacchylides, of the first century B.C., in the British Museum.

But to write every paragraph distinct by itself would have entailed a certain loss of space.[3] If the last line were short, there would remain a long space after it unoccupied by writing. In early specimens

[1] Zangemeister and Wattenbach, *Ex. Codd. Lat.*, xxxiv. See below, Facs. 91.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Anc. MSS.*, pt. ii. 14.

[3] It is remarkable that in the oldest Greek classical papyrus, the *Persae* of Timotheus, of the fourth century B.C., the text is written in distinct paragraphs, each commencing a new line. This fact, in addition to the employment of broad columns noticed above (p. 46), lends support to the suggestion that the conventional rules which afterwards obtained in the setting of texts in papyri had not been definitely established at the time when the *Persae* was written.

therefore we find this space occupied by the first words of the next paragraph, a slight break being left to mark its commencement, thus:—

ЄCOMЄΘA OYΓAPΔH
ΠOYOΛYMΠIAΔIMЄN

The next step was to draw back the first letter of the first full line of the new paragraph, and leave it slightly projecting into the margin; and lastly to enlarge it. The letter made thus prominent being a sufficient indication of the commencement of the new paragraph, the stroke or wedge between the lines was no longer necessary and ordinarily disappeared. Thus the two lines given above would, in this last stage of development, be written thus:—

ЄCOMЄΘA OYΓAPΔH
ΠOYOΛYMΠIAΔIMЄN

Of course, if the paragraph commenced at the beginning of a line, the large letter took its natural place as the initial; but, arranged as above, any letter, even one in the middle of a word, might be enlarged.

This last system is found in action in the Codex Alexandrinus, of the fifth century, and continued to be practised throughout the middle ages. But it should be noted that, although rendered unnecessary by the introduction of the large initial, the paragraph mark also appears in this MS., but generally in anomalous positions, particularly, as if an initial sign, above the first letter of the different books—an indication that the scribes of the day had already begun to forget the meaning and proper use of the mark.

In Latin literature no such exact system of marking off paragraphs, as that just described, was practised in the middle ages, nor, as far as we know, in earlier times. But, as in Greek MSS., so in some of the more ancient Latin MSS., a short space in the line was left to indicate the conclusion of a passage or paragraph, but without the accompanying dividing stroke or the enlarged letter at the beginning of the first full line, which the Greek scribes employed. Yet, at an early period, the paragraph mark was used to separate paragraphs or divisions of the text (as, for example, in the poem on the Battle of Actium) when the new paragraph began a line. Its eventual conversion from a mere sign of separation between two paragraphs, or, rather, of the conclusion of the preceding paragraph, into a sign distinguishing the head of the new paragraph was a natural, though incorrect, development. Our modern ¶ is directly derived from the simple ancient form Γ.

Punctuation.—Greek

We next have to consider punctuation, in the modern sense: that is, by points and other similar signs. Dots or points, single, double, or treble, are seen in ancient inscriptions, marking off the several words; but these are marks of separation rather than of punctuation, unless, perhaps, we are to except those which happen to stand at the conclusions of sentences. The earliest instance of their employment in a Greek MS. occurs in the very ancient fragment of the fourth century B.C., known as the Artemisia papyrus, at Vienna, wherein the double point (:) occasionally closes a sentence. Again, in the fragments of the *Phaedo* of Plato, found at Gurob, the same double point appears as a mark of punctuation, in conjunction with the paragraph mark noticed above; and, it is to be observed, in the same MS. a short stroke or dash in the line of writing is frequently used where there is a change of speaker. The double point also, in addition to the παράγραφος, occasionally marks the close of the paragraphs in the Paris Papyrus 49, a letter of about 160 B.C. But such isolated instances merely show that there was a knowledge of the value of such marks of punctuation, which, however, in practice were not systematically employed.

A more regular system was developed in the schools of Alexandria, its invention being ascribed to Aristophanes of Byzantium (260 B.C.). This was the use of the full point with certain values in certain positions (θέσεις): the high point (στιγμὴ τελεία), equivalent to a full stop; the point on the line (ὑποστιγμή), a shorter pause, equivalent to our semicolon; and the point in a middle position (στιγμὴ μέση), an ordinary pause, equivalent to our comma. But this system does not appear in practice in extant papyri. The single point placed high is the more usual mark of punctuation. It occurs almost regularly in the papyrus of Bacchylides. In the Codex Alexandrinus the middle and high points are pretty generally used. But the middle point eventually disappeared; and about the ninth century the comma was introduced. It also became a common practice to mark the conclusion of a paragraph or chapter with a more emphatic sign, such as two or more dots with or without a horizontal dash, : :- .·. The mark of interrogation also first appears about the eighth or ninth century.

Punctuation.—Latin

The punctuation of Latin MSS. followed in some respects the systems of the Greeks. From the Latin grammarians we know that they adopted the Greek system of punctuation by points (*θέσεις, positurae*), to which they gave the titles of 'distinctio finalis', 'subdistinctio', and

'distinctio media'; but in practice we find that the scribes used the points without consistently observing their values.[1]

The early codices appear to have been originally devoid of punctuation. In the ancient MSS. of Virgil in the Vatican Library points are to be seen, but they are probably due to a second hand. In uncial MSS. it is not uncommon to find the point, more often in the middle position, used as an ordinary stop; and, at the end of a paragraph or chapter, a colon, or colon and dash, or a number of points, occasionally indicate a final stop. In the seventh century the high point is used with the force of a comma, the semicolon with its modern value, and a point and virgule, ·/, or other combinations of points, as a full stop. In the Carolingian period and the next centuries we have the inverted semicolon, holding a position between our comma and semicolon, and the comma itself. The origin of the inverted semicolon is uncertain. It appears first with some regularity in MSS. of the eighth century; but it is noticeable that a mark which resembles it occurs in the Actium poem, being there formed by the addition of an oblique stroke to an ordinary point. Along with these later signs also appears the mark of interrogation in common use.

Breathings and Accents and other Signs.—Greek

Breathings and accents, like the Greek system of punctuation by points noticed above, are also attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, as part of the *δέκα προσῳδίαι*, of which he is called the inventor.

The rough (ʽ) and the smooth (ʼ) breathings (*πνεύματα*) at first represented the left and the right half of the letter H, which itself was originally the aspirate. They were soon worn down to ⊂ and ⊃, in which shapes they are found in early MSS.; and eventually these square forms became the rounded ʽ and ʼ, the period at which they definitely arrived at this last stage being the twelfth century. Only occasionally are marks of breathing found in the more ancient MSS., and then it is generally the rough breathing that is distinguished.

The accents (*τόνοι*) are: the grave ` (*βαρύς*), or ordinary tone; the acute ´ (*ὀξύς*), marking a rise in the voice; and the circumflex ^ (*ὀξυβαρύς* or *περισπώμενος*), combining the other two, and indicating a rise and fall or slide of the voice.

In the papyrus period, accentuation is not found at all in non-literary documents, and in literary works its use is only occasional, apparently if it was thought necessary as an aid to reading. The earliest example of a more systematic use of accents is in the papyrus of

[1] In the poem on the Battle of Actium, found at Herculaneum, points are used to mark off the words, as in inscriptions.

Bacchylides, of the first century B.C.; and they also appear with some frequency in the Alcman fragment in the Louvre, of about the same date.[1] The accents which appear in the earlier papyri of Homer (Harris, Bankes, etc.) in the British Museum are not by the first hand; but in one of the third century they are original. The earlier MSS. of Hyperides are devoid of them. It would appear, then, that the third century is the period when accentuation was becoming more general. But on the introduction of vellum codices the practice was again suspended, and was not systematically resumed before the seventh century.

Originally, in theory, all syllables which were not marked with the acute accent or circumflex received the grave accent, as Θεόδωρὸς; and several examples of this practice occur in the papyrus of Bacchylides, and in the Harris Homer. In the same MSS., and occasionally in the Bankes Homer, we also see instances of the practice of indicating normally oxytone words (in which the acute accent should mark the last syllable) by placing a grave accent on the penultimate, as ἐλων. In later MSS. a double accent marks emphatically μὲν and δὲ.

The rest of the ten signs attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, to assist in the correct reading of texts, are as follows:—

The *χρόνοι*, or marks to distinguish a long (¯) and a short (˘) syllable, instances of their employment occurring in the Harris Homer and in some other early documents on papyrus.

The *διαστολή* or *ὑποδιαστολή*, a virgule or comma inserted between words where the distinction might be ambiguous, as *εστι,νους*, not *εστιν,ους*.

The hyphen (*ὑφέν*), a curve or line drawn under the letters to indicate connexion, as, for example, to indicate compound words. In the Harris Homer the hyphen, in the form of a long straight line, is used for this purpose.

The apostrophe (*ἀπόστροφος*), which, besides marking elision, was used for other purposes, and whose form varied from a curve to a straight accent or even a mere dot. It was very generally placed in early MSS. after a foreign name, or a name not having a Greek termination, as, for example, 'Αβρααμ', and after a word ending in a hard consonant, as κ, χ, ξ, ψ, and also in ρ. When a double consonant occurred in the middle of a word, an apostrophe was placed above the first or between the two letters. In a papyrus of A.D. 542 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 123) a dot represents the apostrophe in this position; and in a MS. of the eighth or ninth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 126) a double apostrophe is employed. The apostrophe is also used to distinguish two concurrent vowels, as *ιματια'αυτων*. In some

[1] The occurrence of frequent accentuation in these two MSS. 'suggests the possibility that lyric poets were considered to require more aids to the reader than other authors'.—Kenyon, *Bacchylides*, xx.

instances it is even placed between two different consonants, as e.g. *αριθ'μος*, in the Vienna MS. of Dioscorides.

In addition to the marks and signs already noticed, there are some others which occur in Greek MSS.

Marks of diaeresis, placed over *ι* and *υ* when at the beginning of a word or when they do not form a diphthong with a foregoing vowel, occur in papyri, being either a single or double dot or short stroke, or, sometimes, a short accent; in later MSS. usually a double dot.

Quotations are indicated by marks in the margin, the most common being the arrow-head, > or < ; the cross, horizontal stroke, or waved stroke being also used. More rarely, quoted passages are indented or set out, that is, written within or without the marginal line of the text.

To distinguish words consisting of a single letter, a short acute accent or similar mark is found in use, as, in the Codex Alexandrinus, to mark *η* in its various meanings as a word. Apparently from ignorance or confusion the scribes of this MS. even placed a mark on *η* when merely a letter in a word. The article *ὁ* is found similarly distinguished in a papyrus of A. D. 595 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 124).

To fill small spaces left vacant at the end of a line, an arrow-head or tick was employed: as, for example, in the papyrus of Hyperides (*Lycophron*) and in the Codex Sinaiticus.

Arbitrary signs, or signs composed of dots or strokes, are used as reference marks to marginal scholia, or to indicate insertion of omitted words or passages. In the papyrus of Hyperides (*Lycophron*) the place for insertion of an omitted line is marked, and has the word *ἄνω*, while the line itself, written in the margin above, has *κάτω*. In the papyrus of Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens a letter or word inserted between the lines has sometimes a dot on each side.

In the same manner various signs are employed to indicate transposition, such as numerical letters, or (as in the papyrus of Aristotle) slanting strokes and dots (/·) placed above the words.

To distinguish words or other combinations of letters from the rest of the text, a line was drawn above them; thus the grammatical forms in the papyrus attributed to Tryphon, in the British Museum, and the reference letters in the Oxford Euclid of A. D. 888 are so marked. Proper names also are sometimes thus distinguished (see Facs. 57, 74).

Besides actually striking out a letter or word or passage with a pen-stroke, the ancient scribes indicated erasure by including the word or passage between inverted commas or brackets or dots, one at the beginning and one at the end; sometimes by accents above, as e.g. *τωί* (to erase the *ι*), *τά* and *παντά* (to cover the whole word), as seen in the Codex Alexandrinus; sometimes by a line above, as $\overline{\kappa\alpha\iota}$; sometimes by a dot above, rarely below, each letter.

Accents and other Signs.—Latin

Accents were seldom used by Latin scribes. In early MSS. written in Ireland and England, in particular, an acute accent marks a monosyllabic word, as the exclamation *ó*, or a preposition, as *á*; and it is sometimes employed to emphasize a syllable. Apparently from the ninth to the eleventh century the practice obtained among correctors, perhaps from mere affectation of learning, of expressing the aspirate by the Greek half-eta symbol (ʿ) instead of writing the letter h in the ordinary way, as *ʿannibal*.[1] Very rarely the deletion of h is indicated by the smooth breathing (ʾ).

As in Greek MSS., quotations are indicated by marks in the margin or by indentation: and arbitrary signs are used to fix the place of insertion of omissions. Common reference marks are *hd*, *hs* = *hic deest*, *hoc supra* or *hic scribas*, etc. Transposition of words might be indicated in various ways, as by letters or numbers, and very commonly by oblique strokes above the line, as *mea mater* = *mater mea*.

Finally, for correction, the simple method of striking out with the pen and interlining or adding in the margin was followed, as well as that of marking words or letters for deletion with dots above or below them.

Besides the above, other marks and signs are found in both Greek and Latin MSS., such as the private marks of correctors or readers. There are also critical symbols, such as the diplē and the asterisk employed by Aristarchus in the text of Homer, and the obelus and asterisk used by St. Jerome to distinguish certain passages in versions of the Latin Psalter. But the consideration of these is beyond the scope of the present work.

PALIMPSESTS

A palimpsest MS. is one from which the first writing has been removed by scraping or rubbing or washing in order to make the leaves ready to receive fresh writing. Sometimes this process was repeated, and the leaves finally received a third text, the MS. being in such a case doubly palimpsest. This method of obtaining writing material was practised in early times. The term 'palimpsest' is used by Catullus xxii. 5, apparently with reference to papyrus; also by Cicero;[2] and by Plutarch, who narrates[3] that Plato compared Dionysius to a *βιβλίον παλίμψηστον*, his tyrannical nature, *δυσέκπλυτος*, showing through like the imperfectly

[1] Many instances occur in the Harley MS. 2736, Cicero *De Oratore*, of the ninth century; others in Harley MS. 2904, f. 210 *b*, Winchester Psalter, tenth century; in the Sherborne Pontifical, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 943, *circ.* A. D. 995; in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 30861, early eleventh century (*New Pal. Soc.* 111, 112, 211); and in Royal MSS. 8 C. iii, 15 B. xix. See also Bodley MS. Lat. Liturg. e. 2, and Cambr. Trin. Coll. MS. B. 10. 4.

[2] *Ad Fam.* vii. 18.

[3] *Cum princip. philosoph.*, ad fin.

erased writing of a palimpsest MS., that is, a papyrus roll from which the first writing had been washed. The word, however, literally indicating, as it does, the action of scraping or rubbing (πάλιν ψάω), could originally have only been strictly applied to material strong enough to bear such treatment, as vellum or waxed tablets. Papyrus could be washed (and then, probably, only when the ink was fresh and had not had time to harden), not scraped or rubbed; and the application of the term indifferently to a twice-written papyrus or waxed tablet or vellum codex proves that the term had become so current as to have passed beyond its strict meaning. Specimens of rewritten papyri, even in fragments, are rarely met with.

If the first writing were thoroughly removed from the surface of vellum, none of it, of course, could ever be recovered. But, as a matter of fact, it seems to have been often very imperfectly effaced; and even if, to all appearance, the vellum was restored to its original condition of an unwritten surface, yet slight traces of the text might remain which chemical reagents, or even the action of the atmosphere, might again intensify and make legible. Thus many capital and uncial texts have been recovered from palimpsest MSS. Of modern chemical reagents used in the restoration of such texts the most harmless is probably hydro-sulphuret of ammonia.

Great destruction of vellum MSS. of the early centuries of our era must have followed the decline of the Roman Empire. Political and social changes would interfere with the market, and writing material would become scarce and might be supplied from MSS. which had become useless and were considered idle encumbrances of the shelves. In the case of Greek codices, so great was their consumption that a synodal decree of the year 691 forbade the destruction of MSS. of the Scriptures or of the Fathers, imperfect or injured volumes excepted. It has been remarked that no entire work has in any instance been found in the original text of a palimpsest, but that portions of different MSS. were taken to make up a volume for a second text. This fact, however, does not necessarily prove that only imperfect volumes were put under requisition; it is quite as probable that scribes supplied their wants indiscriminately from any old MSS. that happened to be at hand.

The most valuable Latin palimpsest texts are found generally in volumes rewritten in the seventh to the ninth centuries. In many instances the works of classical writers have been obliterated to make room for patristic literature or grammatical works. On the other hand, there are instances of classical texts having been written over Biblical MSS.; but these are of late date.

The texts recovered from palimpsest volumes are numerous; a few of the most important may be enumerated:—In the great Syriac collection

of MSS. which were obtained from the monastery in the Nitrian Desert of Egypt and are now in the British Museum, many important texts have been recovered. A volume containing a work of Severus of Antioch, of the beginning of the ninth century, is written on palimpsest leaves taken from MSS. of the *Iliad* of Homer and the Gospel of St. Luke of the sixth century (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* i, pls. 9, 10) and of the Elements of Euclid of the seventh or eighth century. Another volume of the same collection is doubly palimpsest: a Syriac text of St. Chrysostom, of the ninth or tenth century, covering a Latin grammatical work of the sixth century, which again has displaced the annals of the Latin historian Licinianus of the fifth century (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii, pls. 1, 2). At Paris is the Codex Ephraemi, containing portions of the Old and New Testaments in Greek, of the fifth century, which are rewritten with works of Ephraem Syrus in a hand of the twelfth century; and some fragments of the *Phaethon* of Euripides are found in the Codex Claromontanus. In the Vatican are portions of the *De Republica* of Cicero, of the fourth century, under the work of St. Augustine on the Psalms of the seventh century; and an Arian fragment of the fifth century. At Verona is the famous palimpsest which contains the MS. of Gaius of the fifth century, as well as the Fasti Consulares of A.D. 486. At Milan are the fragments of Plautus, in rustic capitals of the fourth or fifth century, covered by a Biblical text of the ninth century. Facsimiles of many of these MSS. are given by Zangemeister and Wattenbach in their *Exempla Codicum Latinorum*.[1]

[1] See also Wattenbach, *Schriftw.* 299–317.

CHAPTER VI

STICHOMETRY AND COLOMETRY

It was the custom of the Greeks and Romans to compute the length of their literary works by measured lines. In poetry the unit was of course the verse; in prose works an artificial unit had to be found, for no two scribes would naturally write lines of the same length. On the authority of Galen (*De Placit. Hipp. et Plat.* viii. 1) we learn that the unit of measurement among the Greeks was the average Homeric line consisting of about sixteen syllables. Such a standard line was called by the earlier writers ἔπος, afterwards στίχος (lit. a row).

Records of measurements are found in two forms: in references to the extent of the works of particular authors made by later writers; and in the entries of the figures themselves in MSS. These latter entries may actually give the extent of the MSS. in which they are found; but more frequently they transmit the measurements of the archetypes. They are, however, of comparatively rare occurrence.

The quotations found in Greek writers are fairly numerous, and were no doubt mainly derived from the catalogues of libraries, where details of this nature were collected. Such a catalogue was contained in the famous πίνακες of the Alexandrian libraries published by Callimachus about the middle of the third century B.C.

The earliest instances of the entry of the actual number of lines occur in papyri. A fragment of Euripides,[1] of a period earlier than the year 161 B.C., has at the end the words ΣΤΙΧΟΙ ΜΔ. In the Herculanean papyri are found such entries as ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΡΗΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ ΧΧΧΧΗΗ (= 4,200 lines), or ΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΙΕ. ΑΡΙΘ. ΧΧΧΗΗ (= 3,200 lines), which, however, are probably traditional numbers copied from earlier examples. In addition to the number of lines we sometimes find a record of the number of columns or σελίδες. Among the mediaeval MSS. which have stichometrical memoranda, a copy of the *Halieutica* of Oppian, of the fifteenth century, at Madrid, contains a statement of the number of leaves (φύλλα) as well as lines in the several books, not of this particular MS., but of its archetype. In like manner the Laurentian Sophocles of the eleventh century has similar memoranda of the length of the several plays. The Laurentian MS. of Herodotus, of the tenth century, and the Paris MS. of Demosthenes, of the same period, afford data of the same kind. In certain of the more

[1] *Un papyrus inédit de la Bibl. de M. A. Firmin-Didot*, Paris, 1879.

recent MSS., as well as in the early papyri, the ancient system of Greek numeration is employed—a proof of the antiquity of this method of calculating the length of written works; but, on the other hand, the later system of alphabetical numeration is followed in some of the Herculanean rolls.

The practice of stichometry can actually be traced back to nearly a century before the time of Callimachus, who has been sometimes credited with its invention. Theopompus, as quoted by Photius,[1] boasts that he had written 20,000 ἔπη in rhetorical speeches, and 150,000 in historical books. When we thus find a writer of the fourth century B.C. measuring his works in terms which are clearly intelligible and need no explanation for those to whom he addresses himself, we can understand that even at that early period the system must have been long established by common usage.

The most practical use of such stichometry was no doubt a commercial one. By counting the number of lines, the payment of the scribes could be exactly calculated and the market price of MSS. arranged. When once a standard copy had been written and the number of στίχοι registered, subsequent copies could be made in any form at the pleasure of the scribe, who need only enter the ascertained number of standard lines at the end of his work. Thus, in practice, papyri and early vellum MSS. are commonly written in narrow columns, the lines of which by no means correspond in length with the regulation στίχοι, but which were more easily read without tiring the eye. Callimachus, in compiling his catalogue, registered the total στίχοι of the several works. Although he has been generally praised for his care, it has been suggested that this methodical action of his is itself answerable for the neglect of scribes to record the number of στίχοι in the MSS. copied out by them, on the plea that it was unnecessary to repeat what could be found in the πίνακες; and hence the paucity of such entries. Another more probable explanation has been offered, namely, that the booksellers and professional scribes combined to suppress them, in order to take advantage of their customers. The edict of Diocletian, *De pretiis rerum venalium*, of A.D. 301, settled the tariff for scribes, at the rate of 25 denarii for one hundred στίχοι in writing of the first quality, and of 20 denarii for the second quality; but what the difference was between the two qualities does not appear. A survival of the ancient method of calculating such remuneration has been found in the practice at Bologna and other Italian universities, in the middle ages, of paying by the *pecia* of sixteen columns, each of sixty-two lines with thirty-two letters to the line. An analogous practice in our own day is found in the copyist's charge by the folio of either seventy-two or one hundred words.

[1] *Bibliotheca*, cod. 176, § 120. See also Isocrates, *Panathen.* 136.

The application of stichometry to Latin literature was also in force, although actual records in the MSS. are not numerous. The unit of measurement was the average Virgilian line of sixteen syllables. This appears from an interesting memorandum, which was written about A.D. 359 and is found in a MS. in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham, giving a computation of the *versus* in the books of the Bible and in the works of Cyprian. The text of the memorandum is imperfect, but the meaning of the writer is clear, namely, that it had become the practice both in Rome and elsewhere, with a view to unfair profits (in the book-trade), to manipulate the records of the length of the contents of literary works; and that therefore he had made calculations of the number of *versus* in the several books under his hand, the average Virgilian hexameter of sixteen syllables being the unit of measurement, and had noted the total in each instance.[1]

In addition to the list in the Cheltenham MS., the oldest extant tables of biblical stichometry are: a list, applying to the Pauline Epistles, in the Codex Sinaiticus; one in the Codex Claromontanus, in Paris; one in a Freising MS. of the eighth century, in Munich; and the list of Nicephorus of the ninth century.

Besides the system of stichometry just explained, to which, on account of its dealing with the full measurement of literary works, the title of 'total stichometry' has been applied, there was also another system in practice which has been named 'partial stichometry'. This was the numbering of lines or verses at convenient intervals, which, in the first place, served the same purpose of literary reference as our modern system of numbering the verses of the Bible or the lines of a play or poem. Instances of such partial stichometry indeed are not very numerous among existing MSS.; but they are sufficient to show that the system was recognized. Thus, in the Bankes Homer, the verses are numbered in the margin by hundreds, and the same practice is followed in other papyri of Homer (*Classical Texts from Papyri in the Brit. Mus.*); so likewise in the Ambrosian Pentateuch of the fifth century, at Milan, the Book of Deuteronomy is numbered at every hundredth στίχος. Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria of the fifth century, also announces that he marked the στίχοι of the Pauline Epistles by fifties. And in the Codex Urbinas of Isocrates, and in the Clarke Plato of A.D. 888, at Oxford, indications of partial stichometry have been traced.

We have hitherto considered στίχοι as lines of measurement or space-lines. But the same term was also applied to the lines or short periods

[1] Mommsen, *Zur lateinischen Stichometrie*, in *Hermes*, xxi. 142. The passage, as amended by Mommsen, is as follows: 'Quoniam indiculum versuum in urbe Roma non ad liquidum, sed et alibi avariciae causa non habent integrum, per singulos libros computatis syllabis numero xvi, versum Vergilianum omnibus libris adscribsi.'

into which certain texts were divided in order to facilitate reading: in other words, sense-lines. This system has been more correctly entitled Colometry. The works which would naturally more than others call for arrangement of this nature would be such as were read in public: speeches of orators, or the books of the Bible. The Psalms, Proverbs, and other poetical books were anciently thus written, and hence received the title of *βίβλοι στιχήρεις*, or *στιχηραί*; and it was on the same plan that St. Jerome wrote first the books of the Prophets and subsequently all the Bible of his version *per cola et commata*.[1]

Suidas explains a *colon* as a *στίχος* forming a complete clause; Joannes Siculus lays it down that a clause of less than eight syllables is a *comma*, and that one of from eight to seventeen syllables is a *colon*. In the passage cited, St. Jerome tells us that he has, for convenience in reading, followed the system of the MSS. of Demosthenes and Cicero, and arranged his translation in this 'new style of writing'. But, as we have seen, he had found the same system already followed in the Psalms and poetical books of the Old Testament—just where one would look for the first experiment of casting the text in sense-lines. The *στίχος* or *versus* had therefore, under this new employment, become a sense-line, although the ancient stichometrical measurements of the text into space-lines were still recorded at the ends of the Biblical books. Euthalius is credited with having written at least the Acts and Epistles in this stichometrical sense-arrangement; although it seems more probable that he only revised the work of predecessors, also accurately measuring the space-lines and numbering them as noticed above. As might be expected, one arrangement of the text of the Bible in rhythmical sentences or lines of sense would not be consistently followed by all editors and scribes; and hence we find variations in the length of lines and sentences in the different extant Biblical MSS. Among Biblical codices which have colometrical arrangement of the text are the Codex Bezae, the Codex Claromontanus, the Laudian Acts, the Codex Amiatinus, and other MSS. of the Vulgate.[2]

We have evidence of an early and regular division of the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero into short periods: the *cola* and *commata* to which St. Jerome refers. Manuscripts of the works of the Latin orator

[1] Preface to Isaiah: 'Nemo cum Prophetas versibus viderit esse descriptos metro eos aestimet apud Hebraeos ligari, et aliquid simile habere de Psalmis vel operibus Salomonis; sed quod in Demosthene et Tullio solet fieri, ut per cola scribuntur et commata, qui utique prosa et non versibus conscripserunt, nos quoque, utilitati legentium providentes, interpretationem novam novo scribendi genere distinximus.'

[2] On the subject of Stichometry and Colometry see Graux in *Revue de Philologie*, ii. 97–143; Diels in *Hermes*, xvii; J. Rendel Harris, *Stichometry*, in *American Journ. Philol.* iv, and contribution to Wibley's *Companion to Gk. Studies*, 607; W. Sanday in *Studia Biblica*, iii. 217 sqq.

are still in existence, the text of which is written in this form, one of them being a MS. of the *Tusculans* and the *De Senectute*, attributed to the ninth century, at Paris; and it is evident from certain passages in the writings of early rhetoricians that they were familiar with this system in the orations of Demosthenes.

TACHYGRAPHY

Greek

Although the subject of shorthand writing does not concern the study of palaeography very nearly, it calls for a brief notice, inasmuch as there is some connexion between its symbols and certain of those employed in the abbreviations and contractions of ordinary MSS., and as tachygraphic signs themselves are occasionally used by scribes and annotators; and, furthermore, there are in existence a certain number of MSS., both Greek and Latin, written in shorthand systems.

First, as to shorthand systems among the Greeks, we are at once involved in difficulties. For the question whether they possessed a system of true tachygraphy, that is of a shorthand capable of keeping pace with human speech, still remains to be solved. There were, as we know from existing records, both as early as the fourth century B.C. and in the early centuries of the Christian era, as well as in the middle ages, systems whereby words could be expressed in shortened form by signs or groups of signs occupying less space than the ordinary long-hand. But these systems seem to have been rather in the nature of shortened writing, than of the tachygraphic script which we know as shorthand. It is true that a passage in Diogenes Laertius was formerly interpreted to imply that Xenophon wrote shorthand notes (*ὑποσημειωσάμενος*) of the lectures of Socrates; but a similar expression elsewhere, which will not bear this meaning, has caused the idea to be abandoned. The first undoubted mention of a Greek writer of what may be shorthand occurs in a passage in Galen (*περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων γραφή*), wherein he refers to a copy made by one who could write swiftly in signs, *διὰ σημείων εἰς τάχος γράφειν*; but whether in this instance a shortened form of writing, brachygraphy, or a true tachygraphy is implied, we have no means of ascertaining.

The surviving records of the Greek systems have been divided into three groups. At the head of the first group, which embraces all that has been found dating down to the third century A.D., stands the fragment of an inscription, discovered at Athens in 1884, which is ascribed to the fourth century B.C. The inscription describes a system whereby certain vowels and consonants can be expressed by strokes placed in various positions. But in this instance, also, it has been

maintained that a system of brachygraphy and not one of tachygraphy is referred to.[1] A few papyri of the second and third centuries also belong to the group; but the most important member is a waxed book of several leaves, in the British Museum (Add. MS. 33270), of the third century, inscribed with characters which are inferred to be in Greek shorthand, the only words written in ordinary letters being in that language. This important MS. appears to be the exercise book of a shorthand scholar who has covered its pages with symbols, which in places are repeated again and again, as if for practice. Here we may at length have a system of true tachygraphy; but as yet the symbols remain undeciphered.[2]

The second group is confined to a few fragmentary papyri and tablets, from the fourth to the eighth century, chiefly among the Rainer collection in Vienna, to which Professor Wessely has given much attention.[3]

The third group stands quite apart from the others, and is representative of the system of the tenth century. First is the Paris MS. of Hermogenes, containing some marginal notes in mixed ordinary and tachygraphical characters, of which Montfaucon[4] gives an account with a table of forms. Next, there is a series of MSS. which owe their origin to the monastery of Grotta Ferrata, viz. the Add. MS. 18231 of the British Museum, written in the year 972, and others of the same period (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 28, 85, 86), which are full of partially tachygraphic texts and scholia and also contain passages in shorthand symbols. And lastly there is the Vatican MS. 1809, a volume of which forty-seven pages are covered with tachygraphic writing of the eleventh century, which have been made the subject of special study by Dr. Gitlbauer for the Vienna Academy.[5]

Here, again, it appears that the mediaeval system of the third group is not one of true tachygraphy, but a syllabic system, having little advantage over ordinary writing in respect of speed, but capable of ensuring the packing of a larger amount of text into a given space. It is therefore not regarded as a developement of any ancient system, but rather as a petrified fragment, as it has been called, of an earlier and better system.

[1] Gomperz, *Ueber ein bisher unbekanntes griech. Schriftsystem aus der Mitte des vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts* (Vienna Academy), 1884, and *Neue Bemerkungen*, 1895. See also P. Mitzschke, *Eine griech. Kurzschrift aus dem vierten Jahrhundert*, in the *Archiv für Stenographie*, no. 434.

[2] See F. W. G. Foat, *On old Greek Tachygraphy* (*Journ. Hellen. Studies*, xxi), giving a full bibliography, 1901.

[3] *Ein System altgriech. Tachygraphie* (Vienna Acad.), 1896.

[4] *Palaeogr. Graec.* 351.

[5] *Die drei Systeme der griech. Tachygraphie* (Vienna Acad.), 1896.

Other varieties or phases of Greek shorthand, of a later time, have been traced. Some shorthand passages which occur in a fourteenth-century MS., and a passage from a fifteenth-century MS. in the Vatican, have recently been published.[1]

Latin

According to Suetonius,[2] the first introduction of shorthand signs, *notae*, in Rome was due to Ennius; but more generally the name of Cicero's freedman, Tiro, is associated with the invention, the symbols being commonly named *notae Tironianae*. Seneca is said to have collected the various *notae* known at his time, to the number of five thousand. Shorthand appears to have been taught in schools under the Empire; and the Emperor Titus himself is said to have been expert in writing it. There seems to have been some connexion between Greek and Latin tachygraphy, certain symbols being the same in both.

The Tironian notes belonged to a system which was actually tachygraphic; each word was represented by an independent character, alphabetic in origin, but with an ideographic value. In the mediaeval forms in which they have descended to us, they have probably been amplified from simpler and more comprehensive shapes of ancient date, having received diacritical additions after the practice of the system had died out, and when the study of the notes had become a mere antiquarian pursuit.

There are no documents of very ancient date in Tironian notes. But the tradition of their employment survived in the Merovingian and Carolingian chanceries of the Frankish Empire, where a limited use of them was made in the royal diplomas, indicating briefly, e.g. the composition of the deed, the name of the person moving for it, that of the revising official, etc., perhaps as safeguards against forgery. Under the Carolingian line they were more largely employed, and official MSS. were written in these characters as, e.g., the formulary of Louis the Pious. They are found worked into the subscriptions and other formal parts of royal deeds down to the end of the ninth century; and so customary had their employment become in those positions, that the scribes continued to imitate them after they had forgotten their meaning.

In literature the Tironian notes were adopted in the ninth and tenth centuries by the revisers and annotators of texts. For example, the scholia and glosses in a MS. of Virgil, at Berne, of the latter half of the ninth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 12) are partially written in these signs.

[1] T. W. Allen, *Fourteenth Century Tachygraphy*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xi. 286; Desrousseaux, *Sur quelques Manuscrits d'Italie*, in the *Mélanges* of the École Française de Rome, 1886, p. 544.

[2] 'Vulgares notas Ennius primus mille et centum invenit.'

Of the same period also are several MSS. of the Psalter written in these characters, which it has been suggested were composed for practice; and the survival of Tironian lexicons, or collections of the signs, copied at this time, seems to point to an effort to keep them in the recollection of men. A syllabic system, composed of Tironian notes and other independent signs, has been found in use in documents of North Italy of the tenth century; and has been recognized as the system employed by Gerbert d'Aurillac, Abbot of Bobbio in 982 and afterwards Pope Silvester II. Traces of similar systems in France and Spain have also been discovered. But artificial revivals of systems which have lost their real vitality can only prove spasmodic and abortive. Even the pretentious vanity of the scribes could not protract the use of the notes, and they disappeared entirely in the eleventh century.[1]

CRYPTOGRAPHY

The various methods which at different periods have been adopted for the purpose of concealing the meaning of what is written, either by an elaborate system of secret signs or 'ciphers', or by a simpler and less artificial system, such as the substitution of other letters for the true letters required by the sense, only incidentally come within the scope of a work on Palaeography. The cipher-system, like shorthand, has a special department of its own. It is only the modified practice of substituting letters and other common signs which need for a moment detain us, as it is followed occasionally in mediaeval MSS. This simple system, as might be naturally inferred, appears to be of some antiquity. Julius Caesar and Augustus, according to Suetonius, both had their own private methods of disguise, by changing letters. In the middle ages consonants for vowels, or vowels for consonants, or other exchanges occur; sometimes we have the substitution of Greek letters or of numerals or other signs. But the surviving instances are not very numerous and generally appear in colophons for the purpose of disguising a name or year of date, at the caprice of the writer.

[1] E. Chatelain, *Introduction à la lecture des Notes Tironiennes* (with 18 plates), 1900, gives a full bibliography of the subject.

CHAPTER VII

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONTRACTIONS

Greek

ABBREVIATIONS and contractions play an important part in Palaeography. Abbreviation is the shortening of a word by the omission or *suspension*, as it is called, of the end (or of letters from the body, as well as the end); contraction is the shortening of a word by omitting letters from the body and leaving the beginning and end. The system of contraction is superior to that of suspension, in that it affords a key to the inflections.

Two reasons in particular dispose men to curtail written words: the desire to avoid the labour of writing over and over again words of frequent recurrence, which can as easily be understood in an abbreviated as in an extended form; and the necessity of saving space.

From the earliest times there must have been a constant striving among individuals to relieve the toil of writing by shortening words. The author would soon construct a system of abbreviation of his own; and, especially if he were writing on a subject into which technical words would largely enter, his system would be adopted by other writers in the same field. In law deeds, in public and private accounts, in the various memoranda of the transactions of daily life, common and oft-repeated words must have been always subject to curtailment—at first at the caprice of individuals, but gradually on recognized systems intelligible to all.

The simplest form of abbreviation is that in which a single letter (or at most, two or three letters) represents a word. Thus, there is the ancient Greek system of indicating numerals by the first letter, as Π = πέντε, Δ = δέκα, H (aspirate) = ἑκατόν, and so on. On ancient coins, where available space was limited, we find the names of Greek cities indicated by the first two or three letters. Certain ordinary words also occur in inscriptions in shortened forms. The Roman usage of employing single letters to represent titles of rank is familiar to us from inscriptions, and has been handed down in the works of classical authors; the S.P.Q.R. of the great Republic will occur to the recollection of every one. Such abbreviations by constant usage became a part of the written language.

The fullest developement to which a system of abbreviation and contraction can attain is, of course, a perfected shorthand; but this is

far too artificial for the ordinary business of life. Something between simple single-letter signs and complex tachygraphical symbols is required; and hence we find in the middle ages a good working system developed by Greek and Latin writers, which combined the advantages of both kinds of abbreviation. The letter system was extended, and certain tachygraphical symbols were taken over as representatives of entire words in common use or as convenient signs for prefixes and terminations.

In tracing, then, the history of Greek and Latin abbreviations and contractions, as far as it can be ascertained from existing documents, we must be prepared to find in the systems of each certain elements which are of great antiquity. When we see in the case of mediaeval minuscule Greek MSS. considerable differences in the system there in use from that which appears in uncial MSS., we might be led to infer that it was a new invention; but a closer examination shows that in its elements it is the same as that which was practised hundreds of years before, even in the third century B.C. We may even carry our view still farther back. For, if in some of the earliest documents which have survived abbreviated forms are in existence, not made at random but following certain laws in their formation, we have sufficient ground for assuming that the practice of abbreviation was, even at that remote time, one of some antiquity, and that a long period must have passed for the developement of a system intelligible to all readers. A still further, and even stronger, proof of the very ancient origin of this practice is afforded by the many symbols for particular words which are found in early papyri.

There does not exist, however, sufficient material for the construction of a fully continuous history of Greek abbreviation and contraction between the two periods noted above, viz. the third century B.C. and the ninth century of our era, when the minuscule of the vellum MSS. came into use as the literary hand. It will be therefore convenient, first of all, to state at once that the ancient Greek system was that of suspension, not that of contraction. But, as in the later of our two periods we find contraction also in practice, it is necessary to ascertain whence the system of contraction was obtained; and for this purpose we turn especially to the uncial MSS. of the vellum period.[1]

The contraction system was a Christian system, an innovation brought in through the Hellenistic Jews who translated from the Hebrew, particularly the authors of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament. In Hebrew MSS. it was the practice to treat the name of Jehovah with

[1] The late Professor L. Traube has made so thorough an examination of the early history of contraction in his work *Nomina Sacra*, Munich, 1907, that I offer no apology for following him in my sketch of the subject.

special reverence. It was, for example, often written in golden letters: a usage which we find followed in the Greek uncial MSS. on purple vellum. The Tetragram or Tetragrammaton, a term denoting the mystic name of God, was written in the Hebrew Bibles as יהוה, that is YHVH, Yahveh with the vowels omitted. It was, and still is, considered irreverent to pronounce the Name; hence, in vocalized texts, this Tetragram was usually furnished with the vowels Ĕ, Ŏ, A, borrowed, with the necessary phonetic modification, from אדני, Adonai, Lord; and accordingly it was, and is, usually pronounced *Adonai*. The Hellenist Jews, when translating into Greek, appear, from reverence, to have sometimes copied down the actual Hebrew letters of the Tetragram; or else they imitated the vowel-less Name by writing the two consonants, and omitting the vowels, of the Greek ΘΕΟC, thus ΘC: a contracted form. And again, on the same lines they wrote KC for KYPIOC. Thus ΘC was an equivalent of the Hebrew Yahveh; and KC of Adonai. Each receiving a horizontal stroke above it, they appear in the Greek MSS. in the forms $\overline{\Theta C}$, $\overline{KC}$. This employment of the horizontal stroke is to be traced to the ancient practice by Greek scribes of distinguishing in this way, from the rest of the text, words or other combinations of letters which were to be regarded as foreign or emphatic matter.[1] Thus the Hebrew Tetragram, when copied by the Greek scribes, was provided with the stroke, $\overline{יהוה}$, and, when imitated in Greek letters, appeared as $\overline{\Pi\Gamma\Pi\Gamma}$. And so other Hebrew names transliterated in Greek were marked in the same way, as $\overline{\Delta\Gamma\Delta}$, $\overline{\Gamma CPAA}$. From being applied to the contracted forms of *θεός* and *κύριος*, the stroke became by usage the recognized mark of contraction, covering the whole contracted word, as $\overline{ANOC}$, *ἄνθρωπος*.[2]

The sacred names, the *Nomina Sacra*, comprising words of a sacred character, thus treated by the Greek scribes were strictly limited to fifteen in number; and it is to be borne in mind that the primary motive of presenting these words in a contracted form was a sense of reverence, as already explained, and not a desire of saving time or space—the usual reason for abbreviation and contraction. They are:—

θεός, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, υἱός,
πνεῦμα, Δαυείδ, σταυρός, μήτηρ,
πατήρ, Ἰσραήλ, σωτήρ,
ἄνθρωπος, Ἰερουσαλήμ, οὐρανός,

and their cases.

[1] Parallel uses of the horizontal stroke also occur in Latin MSS.

[2] By natural confusion it was sometimes applied even to uncontracted forms, as $\overline{\Theta EOC}$, $\overline{\Theta EON}$ (Brit. Mus. *Cat. Gk. Pap.* ii. 301). Mystic words, including the sacred names, in Egyptian Greek magical papyri are also thus marked.

The contracted forms show several variants; but the most normal are:—

$\overline{\Theta C}$, $\overline{K C}$, $\overline{I C}$, $\overline{X C}$, $\overline{Y C}$: the first and last letters expressed.

$\overline{\Pi N A}$, $\overline{\Delta A \Delta}$, $\overline{C T C}$, $\overline{M H P}$: the first, second, and last letter.

$\overline{\Pi H P}$, $\overline{I H \Lambda}$, $\overline{C H P}$: the first, and last two letters.

$\overline{A N O C}$, $\overline{I \Lambda H M}$, $\overline{O Y N O C}$: the first and last syllables.

These *Nomina Sacra*, then, are found in the earliest vellum codices; and, as might be expected, also in theological papyri from the third century. But the principle of contraction thus introduced extended but little outside Christian literature in Greek palaeography. It led to but little contraction on the same lines in MSS. of general literature, except in the case of certain derivatives. There the suspension system prevailed.[1]

We see, then, that in Greek palaeography the contraction system may be regarded as an interpolation only, which did not affect the historical continuity of the system of suspension. We may now, therefore, turn to the papyri recovered from the tombs and sands of Egypt, and note the system of suspension, or omission of the end of a word, therein followed. In well-written literary papyri abbreviations are rare: in cursively written papyri of all classes they are not uncommon. Either the word was indicated by its initial letter alone with an abbreviating dash, as $\acute{\upsilon} = \upsilon\acute{\iota}o\acute{\iota}$; or the letter which immediately preceded the omitted portion was either marked with a stroke, as $\tau\epsilon\bar{\lambda} = \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda o\varsigma$, or was written above the line, as a key to the reading, thus: $\tau\epsilon^{\lambda}$; or two letters were so written, as $\tau^{\epsilon\kappa} = \tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\alpha$, $o\mu^{o\iota} = \acute{o}\mu o\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$. It is true that early examples of such abbreviation are comparatively rare, but there are quite enough to prove that the system was recognized.[2] Certain of these over-written letters, even at this early period, betray a tendency to degenerate into dashes,[3] and this natural degeneration becomes more intensified in course of time. Thus, in the second and third centuries after Christ, this dash system is found to be developed to a considerable degree. The long oblique stroke, too, the common mark of suspension in the middle ages, is to be seen to some extent in the papyri.

The scribes of the papyrus of Aristotle's work on the Constitution of Athens, of about A.D. 90 (a papyrus written in more or less cursive hands), employed a regular system of abbreviation by suspension for

[1] In the uncial codices and in Christian theological papyri abbreviation by suspension is rare, being chiefly confined to omission of final N, as TO^{-} for TON.

[2] See *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, ed. Mahaffy (Royal Irish Academy, *Cunningham Memoirs*), 1891; particularly no. xxiii.

[3] Wilcken, *Observationes ad hist. Aegypti prov. Rom.* 40, selects from the Paris Papyrus no. 5 (*Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, pl. xvi), of the year 114 B.C., the following, among other, contractions, $\tau\rho^{\tilde{}} = \tau\rho\acute{\alpha}[\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha\nu]$, $\pi\tau o\lambda\epsilon\tilde{} = \pi\tau o\lambda\epsilon\mu[\alpha\acute{\iota}o\upsilon]$, $\alpha\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\tilde{} = \grave{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\pi[\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma]$. In these we have early cursive form of α, μ, and π.

certain ordinary words (together with a few symbols).[1] The same method may be traced also in the Herculanean rolls of the first century B.C. In the papyri of succeeding centuries the same system is followed.

To descend to the vellum period, the palimpsest fragments of the *Iliad*, in uncial writing of the sixth century, in the British Museum (Add. MS. 17210; *Cat. Anc. MSS.* i. 6), have several words curtailed, an s-shaped mark indicating the omitted endings. More numerous are the examples in the fragment, preserved at Milan, of a mathematical treatise of the seventh century, also written in uncials. In this MS., dealing with a subject in which technical expressions constantly occur, an opportunity for the full employment of suspension presented itself, and, accordingly, not only the ordinary abbreviated endings, but symbols also are found (see below, Facs. 48). From the analogy of later MSS. it may be taken for certain that all technical works, intended as they were rather for the student than for public reading, were subject to unrestrained suspension from a very early period.

Thus the continuity of the old system of abbreviation by suspension remained unbroken from the earliest times; and, although in the early vellum period that system was screened, as it were, by the contraction system of the uncial biblical and liturgical MSS., which, from the fact of their survival in fair numbers, have thrust themselves into more general notice, yet it was still practised in the contemporary cursively written MSS. and documents of daily life; and accordingly, when the flood of the literary minuscule book-hand of the ninth century suddenly rose and swept over the uncial, it brought with it the older system of suspension still existent in the cursive writing from which the new literary script had been formed: and at the same time it absorbed the limited contraction system of the early Christian theological MSS.

With the disuse of uncial writing, then, as the ordinary literary book-hand, the theological system of contraction did not perish. The same scribes who had copied out the majuscule texts were now employed upon the new minuscule, and naturally introduced into the latter the contractions which they had been accustomed to write in the former. In minuscule writing, therefore, from the ninth century onwards, the two systems, of suspension and of contraction, are available. At first, however, compendia were, in general, sparingly used in the calligraphic MSS. of the period, although, when necessary, the apparatus was ready at hand to be applied, as in the case of marginal and interlinear scholia, where in this matter greater freedom was exercised than in the text of a MS. The horizontal

[1] They are: ʒ = termination αι, ἀ = ἀνά, γ′ = γάρ, δ′ = δε, δ̀ = διά, ⟍ = εἶναι, / = ἐστί, ⟍⟍ = εἰσί, θ′ = θαι, κ′ = καί, κ̀ = κατά, μ′ = μέν, μ̀ = μετά, ο′ = οὖν, π̀ = παρά, π′ = περί or περ, ς′ = σύν, τ̀ = τήν. τ̀ = τῆς, τ′ = τῶν, ὺ = ὑπέρ, ὺ = ὑπό; and also ✱ = χρόνος, and ϟ = αὐτός and cases. Many of these abbreviations are also used for syllables in composition. In addition, terminations are occasionally abbreviated with the over-written letter as μα^{χ} = μάχην.

stroke which marked contracted words in the biblical uncial texts served the same purpose in minuscules. It also distinguished letters which were used as numerals or special signs. But the ordinary terminal abbreviations by suspension were marked by the long oblique stroke (already noticed as in use in the papyrus period), as in $\alpha\delta^{\epsilon}/=\dot{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\pi o\lambda^{\varepsilon}/=\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu o\varsigma$, although this stroke was also often dispensed with, and a mere flourish added to the over-written letter. This over-written letter was also subject to modifications. It was doubled occasionally to indicate a plural (a practice also followed in the papyri), as $\pi\alpha\iota^{\delta\delta}/=\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$, $\overset{\chi\chi}{\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}}=\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi o\iota$. It was also in some instances the emphatic letter of the omitted portion of the word, as $\lambda^{\acute{\gamma}}/=\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\kappa^{\grave{\alpha}}/=\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$. And the arrangement of letters was sometimes inverted, as $\underset{\circ}{\lambda}=\lambda\acute{o}\gamma o\varsigma$, $\underset{\circ}{o}=\acute{o}\sigma\iota o\varsigma$.[1]

But with the new minuscule book-hand also appears a further developement in the use of certain signs, mostly tachygraphical, which are employed either as component parts of words, or as entire, independent words. They had been employed to some extent also in late uncial MSS. They generally are found as terminations, but in MSS. of the early minuscule period they are also used in the middle or at the beginning of words. For the most part, they are placed above the level of the words to which they belong; in a few instances they are pendent, or in the line of writing. At the later period, when the writing became more cursive, these signs were linked with the letters below them in a flourish. They also, even at an early date, show a disposition to combine with the accents, as in ᾶ which is the sign ς ($\eta\varsigma$) combined with a circumflex. This developement, when exercised to its full capacity, renders the text of a MS. difficult reading, without some considerable experience of the meaning of the various compendia with which it may be crowded.

Having thus briefly traced the history of the growth of Greek abbreviations and contractions, it may be useful to give, first, a list of the more general single-letter abbreviations and symbols, other than ordinary abbreviations by suspension, as found in papyri;[2] to be followed by an analysis of the mediaeval symbols of the vellum MSS.

[1] From the recently issued catalogue of the Aphrodito Papyri (*Gk. Papyri in the British Museum*, iv), which are of the end of the seventh and early years of the eighth centuries, we find that by that time the fuller system of suspension had come into practice in cursive papyri. In this collection, in addition to the simple suspension system, e.g. $\alpha\nu^{o}=\ddot{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi o\varsigma$, $\iota\nu^{\delta}/=\iota\nu\delta\iota\kappa\tau\iota\acute{\omega}\nu o\varsigma$, letters are also omitted from the body, as well as from the end, of a word, the over-written letter being almost invariably a consonant (either the first to follow, or an emphatic one), e.g. $\delta\alpha\pi\alpha\nu^{\theta}=\delta\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$, $\lambda^{\pi}=\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, and $\phi o\iota^{\kappa}/=\phi o\acute{\iota}\nu\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$; or two letters were over-written, e.g. $\alpha\nu^{\delta\pi}=\dot{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi o\delta\alpha$. This developement is practically unknown in papyri of an earlier period; and we may therefore regard its presence in the Aphrodito collection as due to the influence of the contemporary vellum codices.

[2] See Appendix IV in Kenyon's *Palaeogr. Gk. Papyri*, and the Indexes in the *Catalogue of Gk. Papyri in the British Museum*.

The chief single-letter abbreviations and symbols in papyri, then, are as follows:—

ϟ, ʒ = αι (as part of a word); ὰ = ἀνά; ᾱ, α⁻ = ἀπό; ι, ϒ, ῠ̄, ϙ̄, Λ̄ = ἄρουρα; ⁻/₀, ÷ = ἀμπάβη: ᾱ, α⁻, α′, ϟ, ϟ̄, ϟ̄, ſ̄, ſ̄, ſ, ſ = αὐτός and cases; γ̓, γ̀ = γάρ; δ′ = δέ; δ̓, δ/ = διά; ⊢, <, ⟨, ſ, ϒ, ʒ = δροχμή; \ = εἶναι; / = ἐστί; \\ = εἰσίν; ε) = ἐπί; L, S = ἔτος and cases; ℴ = ἥλιος; ῃ, η/ = ἡμέρα; ϊ, ι/ = ἰνδικτίονος; κ′, κ̓, κ„, S = καί; κ̓, κ), κ⁻ = κατά; μ′ = μέν; ℈ = μέρος and μετρητής; μ̓, μ′, μ), μ), μ⁻ = μετά; μ⁻, μ″, μ′ = μηνός; ν) = ὁμισμα; □, ⊡ = ὄνομα; ⁻/₀ = οὐλή; ο′ = οὖν; ō = οὕτως, ὁμοίως; π̓, π′, π/ = παρά; π′ = περ and περί; ⌒ (the cursive *pi*) = πῆχυς; ⊠ = ποιητής, ποίημα; ϖ (cursive *pi* over *omikron*), ⌒ = πόλις; π′, ℼ, ῥ = πρός; ϒ = πυροῦ; ℭ = σελήνη; σ′ = σύν; Λ̄ = τάλαντον; τ⁻ = τῇ; τ̄ = τήν; τ′, τ), τ̓ = τῆς; τ̓ = τόν; τ), τ′ = τοῦ; τ̓, τ′ = τῶν; υ), υ/, υ′, ⌞, Ψ, S = ὑπέρ; ὐ = ὑπό; ϕ = φησίν; χ), χ˪, χ⁻, χ′, χ)⁻ = χαίρειν; ✻ = χρόνος. Arithmetical symbols are these: ϟ, ∽ = ⅛; ṡ, 2, d, d′ = ¼;[1] ℱ/₀ = ⅓; L, ∠, C, ⌣, ⌞, ſ = ½; β), ο), ο⟩ = ⅔; ℰ = ¾; C, Q, ϟ (*koppa*) = 90; ϒ (*sampi*) = 900; μ̊ = 10,000; ſ̊ = 10,000; ſſ = 100,000; —, ⁻/₀, ÷ = 1 obol; = = 2 obols; ſ = 3 obols; ſ = 4 obols; ſ = 5 obols; X), X˪, X̄, X^a = 1 chalcus; X° = 2 chalci; X^γ = 3 chalci; O′ = 4 chalci; O′X˪ = 5 chalci; O′X° = 6 chalci; ρ′, ρ̄ = 1 per cent.; ν′, ν̄ = 2 per cent.; L = minus; /, Γ, ⊢, ⌐, //, ⁻/₀ = total (*γίνεται*); ↄ, ⌒ = remainder (*περίεστι*).

The following are the explanations of the symbols of the mediaeval system in alphabetical order, beginning with the vowels. It will assist the memory if it is borne in mind that, as in Greek tachygraphic writing one sign represented several syllables, different in spelling but phonetically the same, so the symbols which we are now considering may be phonetically grouped. For example, in the two groups

/ ηι. // ειν. /ˣ ιν.

ſ ης. ſſ εις. ſ̈ ις.

we see a sign representing a particular syllable differentiated by being doubled or marked to represent its homophones. The same system will be observed in other instances.

a is early represented by the tachygraphical sign, a horizontal stroke —. It was written either above or in line with the preceding letter, as τ̄ or τ⁻, but in the latter position, to aid the eye, it received the addition of two dots, as τ÷, or, coalescing, τ̈. But this sign ÷ thus dotted also indicated *το*, as the two dots (:) were also the tachygraphical sign for *τ*. In course of time the construction was forgotten, and ÷ was taken to mean simply *α*, and, last of all, the — dropped out, and the two dots remained to represent the letter.

[1] The symbol d is formed from *o*, a cursive corruption of Δ = 4, with a stroke above. In the numerals wherein 2 is represented by *o*, this symbol is derived from the cursive *u*-shaped *beta*.

ϵ is frequently represented by a short waved stroke, as in the word $\mu\xi = \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha$, and in participial terminations, as $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\wr = \lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu o\varsigma$.

η is also occasionally found in a similarly waved-stroke form, nearly always written in the line, as $\grave{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\wr$, $\tau\grave{\wr}\nu$.

ι is very rarely represented by two dots (a late usage), as $\pi^{\epsilon\cdot\cdot} = \pi\epsilon\rho\grave{\iota}$.

ω appears in the tachygraphical form of a kind of circumflex, as $\breve{\alpha}\breve{\nu}\gamma\epsilon = \breve{\alpha}\nu\omega\gamma\epsilon$.

$\alpha\iota$. The abbreviated sign of this termination is, in its earliest forms, an oblique or angular or s-shaped stroke, as κ_{ι} $\kappa_{\wr}$ κ_{ς}; later, ordinarily a waved stroke, which was afterwards exaggerated into a flourish; sometimes $\diagdown$, as $\mathring{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho^{\diagdown} = \mathring{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$.

$\alpha\iota\varsigma$. The earlier sign was $\wr$, as $\sigma\tau\mathring{\eta}\lambda^{\wr} = \sigma\tau\mathring{\eta}\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma$; later $\gg$, as $\tau\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\gg = \tau\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$. This second form appears to be a doubling of the sign for $\epsilon\varsigma$, a phonetic equivalent.

$\alpha\rho$. An angular $\llcorner$ and rounded $\mathcal{L}$ are found in early MSS. Then a further developement in the curve took place, and a 6-shaped sign comes into use. $\breve{o}\tau^{\mathcal{L}} = \breve{o}\tau\alpha\nu$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\breve{\sigma}^{\mathcal{L}} = \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu$, $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta^{\mathcal{L}} = \gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\nu$.

$\alpha\rho$. The horizontal stroke —, for α, and a ring representing ρ, were combined as the sign $\supset$, as $\mu\mathring{\supset}\tau\upsilon\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota} = \mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}$. Or it was turned upwards, $\grave{\alpha}\mu\mathring{\supset}\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu = \grave{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$; or written in the line, as $\mu\dot{-}\dot{\supset}\tau\upsilon\varsigma = \mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\upsilon\varsigma$, with dots representing α.

$\alpha\varsigma$. The constant sign was $\mathcal{J}$, as $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi^{\prime\prime} = \sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\varsigma$; $\chi\rho\mathring{\eta}\sigma^{\prime\prime}\theta\alpha\iota = \chi\rho\mathring{\eta}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$.

$\alpha\upsilon$. From a combination of —, for α, and the upsilon, comes the sign $\smile$, as $\overset{\smile}{\theta}\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota = \theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$. A rare sign is h, as $\tau\circ\iota\mathring{h}\tau\eta = \tau\circ\iota\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta$.

$\epsilon\iota\nu$. At first was used a single sign $\wedge$ (i.e. also the sign for $\eta\nu$, a phonetic equivalent), as $\grave{\epsilon}\pi\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\hat{\nu} = \grave{\epsilon}\pi\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$. Then this was doubled for the sake of distinction $\wedge\wedge$; afterwards one or both of the hooks are thrown off $/\!\wedge$, $/\!/$; and finally the strokes are reduced in length $//$. $\epsilon\grave{\iota}\pi\hat{\wedge} = \epsilon\grave{\iota}\pi\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$, $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi'' = \lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$.

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. The sign ς, which represents $\eta\varsigma$, was sometimes also used for $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; more generally it was doubled, as $\tau\iota\theta\overset{\varsigma\varsigma}{} = \tau\iota\theta\epsilon\grave{\iota}\varsigma$. Another rare form is $\lambda\chi$ which appears to be the ordinary ligature of ϵ and ι with a cross-stroke.

$\epsilon\nu$. An angle $\angle$, as $\mathring{\angle}\mu = \mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu$, which afterwards took a more rounded form, as $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma o\breve{\nu} = \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma o\nu\epsilon\nu$, degenerating at a later period into ι, or even into a looped flourish like a wide α. The tachygraphic sign $\mathcal{U}$ is also occasionally found in use.

$\epsilon\rho$. The oblique stroke, the tachygraphic sign for ϵ, combines with a loop, for ρ, and makes the sign b, as $\breve{\omega}\sigma\pi^{b} = \breve{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$, $\epsilon\breve{\iota}\pi_{b} = \epsilon\breve{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho$. More rarely a bar is used, as $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\bar{\wedge} = \breve{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$, $\breve{\omega}\sigma\pi\bar{\wedge} = \breve{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$.

$\epsilon\varsigma$. The early sign was $\jmath$, as $\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma o\iota\tau^{\jmath} = \phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma o\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. But two dots, representing tachygraphically the letter τ, being frequently added in the common termination $\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, $\ddot{\jmath}$, a confusion between $\ddot{\jmath}$ and $\jmath$ was the result, and at last $\ddot{\jmath}$ came to be used for $\epsilon\varsigma$, as $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}o\upsilon\tau^{\ddot{\jmath}} = \lambda\acute{\upsilon}o\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, and superseded

the simple *ȷ*. The sign, thus changed, varies occasionally in form, as ⸗ ⸗ ⸗.

ην. The angular form ⸝, as τ^ ἀρχ̂ = τὴν ἀρχήν, was sometimes curved, as τοιαυτ^ = τοιαύτην. Later it degenerated into ⸝, ⸝, as ἀρετ̂ = ἀρετὴν.

ηρ. A not common sign is ⸝, as ἀν̂ = ἀνὴρ.

ης. A sign resembling *ς*, as τ̂ = τῆς. This sign early combined with the circumflex as ⸗. It is sometimes doubled.

ιν. The sign for *ην* was often used also for this termination. It was also differentiated by two dots, thus, τάξ^ = τάξιν. It passed through the same stages of degeneration as its prototype.

ις. The sign for *ης* was also used for *ις*. It was also differentiated by two dots, thus, αὐτ̂ = αὐτις. The signs for *ις* and *ης* are sometimes confused.

οις. A horizontal stroke terminating in an angular or round hook, ⸗ ⸗; λόγ̄ = λόγοις. In later MSS. the sign is subject to flourishing. In some instances the position is oblique, as τ̂ = τοῖς.

ον. The oblique stroke \, as λόγ̀ = λόγον. The danger of confusion with the grave accent led to its being lengthened; but this eventually resulted in the lengthening of the accent also, as τ̀ = τὸν. In late MSS. the sign degenerates into a flourish, or waved line.

ος. The tachygraphical sign for *ος* is sometimes used, as λογ̆ = λόγος; sometimes the uncial c, as ἕκαστ^c = ἕκαστος.

ου. An early form √ appears in a few places, as τ̂τ̂ = τούτου; this is afterwards curved, as τ̂ = τοῦ. The form ɣ, which is not uncommon, is a monogram of the two letters.

ουν. The *ο* with a waved stroke beneath, as ποιῷτος = ποιοῦντος, ἤγῳ = ἤγουν.

ους. The sign ɥ, which is formed by combination of *υ* = *ου* and *ς*; as λόγ^ɥ = λόγους, ἵππ^ɥ = ἵππους. The double waved stroke ˢˢ (as in *εις*) is also used: as χρόν^ˢˢ = χρόνους; also single, as αὐτ^ˢ = αὐτούς.

ων. A sign resembling a circumflex; in early MSS., of small size, as τούτ̂ = τούτων; afterwards, a sweeping flourish, as διαφο̂ρ = διαφορῶν.

ωρ. A not common sign ⸝ or ⸝, as ὕδ^ρ = ὕδωρ, ῥήτ^ρ = ῥήτωρ.

ως. A curving line ⸗, ⸗, as οὕτ^ς = οὕτως, ὥπερ = ὥσπερ. Later, the sign turns downwards, as καλ̂ς = καλῶς.

Certain prepositions and particles are represented by special signs, as—

ἀντί: ⊃, a very rare sign.

ἀπο: ⸗ and ⸗; a rare sign is ⸗.

ἀρα: ⸗.

διά: ⸗, or Δ with a waved pendant.

ἐπί: ⸗ the ⸗ being a cursive form of π.

ἵνα: ἵ.

κατά:  ,  ,  .

πρός: , .

ὑπέρ:  , or .

ὑπό: , .

παρά:  ; also  .

γάρ:  , or  ,  ,  ; that is, *gamma* crossed with an inverted ρ, or with a bar or flourish.

μέν:  .

δέ:  , which becomes rounded  . In course of time it was confused with the sign for ες (); hence the scribes came to add dots.

ἤγουν:  .

καί. From the tachygraphical form  (κε) came the sign  , which went through various changes:     .

ὁμοῦ:  , very rare.

ὅτι:  .  (the dots indicating the τ); also  .

ὥσπερ:  .

The auxiliary ἐστί or ἐστίν was represented by the tachygraphic  . (ἐστί) or  (ἐστίν); but this distinction was not kept up. Later, from confusion with the sign for ιν (), the position of the dots was altered, and the sign became  , which afterwards passed into the flourished style, on the pattern of the signs for ην and ιν. A double ἐστί,  ., was used for εἰσί; and in the same manner  or  = εἰσίν. The symbol  = εἶναι. The future ἔσται is found in the forms  , .

Certain signs were also used for technical words, as = ἀριθμός, = ἀριθμοί; , = ἴσος, ἴσοι; = ἐλάσσων. And, finally, there were certain symbols for certain words, as = κύκλος, = ἡμέρα, = νύξ, = ἔτος, and others already noted above in the list compiled from papyri.

Latin

Of Latin abbreviations the most ancient forms are those which consist of a single letter (nearly always the initial letter), representing the whole word—an extreme form of suspension. The most ordinary instances of such single-letter abbreviations, *litterae singulares, singulae litterae,* or *sigla,* are those which indicate proper names, or titles, or words of common occurrence, and which are familiar to us, not only in the inscriptions on coins and monuments, but also in the texts of classical writers; being generally distinguished from other letters or words by the full point (the special mark of abbreviation by suspension) which is placed after them. The same system was followed in the middle ages and survives at the present day.

But the representation of words by single letters could only be carried out to a limited extent. Obviously the same letter must do

duty for many words and confusion be the consequence. Hence arises a farther extension of the system: the use of special marks, or of two or more letters. The Romans wrote M'.=Manius, to distinguish that name from M.=Marcus; Cn.=Gnaeus, to prevent confusion with C.=Gaius. These simple methods of abbreviation led on to others, the developement of which can be traced in the early legal MSS., such as the Gaius of Verona, or the waxed tablets, and particularly in the 'Notarum Laterculi' or 'Notae Iuris'—the lists of abbreviations used in the Roman law-books.[1] In these documents, as regards single-letter abbreviations, we find not only such forms as A.=*aut*, C.=*causa*, D.=*divus*, E.=*est*, and so on, any of which might occur independently in a sentence, but also whole phrases, as, C. D. E. R. N. E.=*cuius de ea re notio est*, or A. T. M. D. O.=*aio te mihi dare oportere*, showing to what an extent this elementary system could be employed in books of a technical nature. Indeed, in technical works, single-letter phrases continued to be used in MSS. down to the invention of printing. But the inconvenience of such abbreviations is seen in such double meanings as A.=*aut* or *annus*, C.=*causa* or *circa*, D.=*divus* or *dedit*, F.=*fecit* or *familia* or *fides*. Yet the sense of the context might be generally depended upon for giving the correct interpretation; and confusion was also, in some instances, obviated by the addition of a distinguishing mark, such as a horizontal stroke placed above the letter or an apostrophe or similar sign placed after it, as $\overline{\text{N}}$=*non*, N'=*nec*. The representation of words by two or more of their letters is seen in such abbreviations as $\overline{\text{IT}}$=*item*, ACT.=*actum*, A$\overline{\text{N}}$=*ante*, ED.=*edictum*, IM$\overline{\text{P}}$=*imperator*, COM.=*comes*, E$\overline{\text{O}}$=*eorum*, CU$\overline{\text{I}}$=*cuius*, F$\overline{\text{U}}$=*fuit*, in which the first letters of each word are written, leaving the rest in suspension; or in such primitive compendia as E$\overline{\text{X}}$P=*exemplum*, O$\overline{\text{M}}$B=*omnibus*, MM$\overline{\text{T}}$=*momentum*, B$\overline{\text{R}}$=*bonorum*, H$\overline{\text{D}}$=*heredem*, where the salient letters are expressed, in some instances with a view to indicating the inflections. From this latter method was developed the more systematic syllabic system, in which the leading letters of the syllables were given, as E$\overline{\text{G}}$=*ergo*, H$\overline{\text{R}}$=*heres*, Q$\overline{\text{D}}$=*quidem*, Q$\overline{\text{B}}$=*quibus*, Q$\overline{\text{R}}$=*quare*, S$\overline{\text{T}}$=*satis*, M$\overline{\text{T}}$=*mentem*, T$\overline{\text{M}}$=*tamen*, S$\overline{\text{N}}$=*sine*, B$\overline{\text{N}}$=*bene*, D$\overline{\text{D}}$=*deinde*, and the like.

But still there remained the need of indicating inflections and terminations more exactly than by this simple process. This want was supplied in the first place by the adoption of certain of the Tironian symbols—others of those shorthand signs being at the same time used for certain prepositions or prefixes—and also by smaller over-written letters, as Q^{o}=*quo*, V^{m}=*verum*, H^{c}=*hunc*, T^{c}=*tunc*. This over-writing was not, however, confined to the indication of terminations: it was also adopted

[1] See in Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, iv. 265. the *Notarum Laterculi*, ed. Mommsen.

for general use to mark leading letters, as in S^{i}=*sint*, N^{o}=*noster*, S^{o}=*sors*, etc., a practice which may be regarded as a stage between suspension and contraction. As will presently be seen, it holds an important place in the later mediaeval scheme.

Here we have to take account of the new system of contraction which, as described above, was introduced into Greek MSS. of the early Christian period from the Hellenist treatment of the *Nomina Sacra*, and which was adopted by the Latin scribes from the Greek. On the native Greek system of suspension this new system, as we have seen, had no serious effect. The result was different in the case of Latin MSS. There the system of contraction, once accepted, became predominant, and, although that of suspension was not altogether superseded, yet the elaborated methods employed in the MSS. of the middle ages were in the direction of contraction, not of suspension. By transliterating the contracted forms of the following *Nomina Sacra*, they appeared in Latin thus: $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$ became $\overline{\text{DS}}$ (the first and last letters of *Deus*); $\overline{\text{ΠNA}}$ became $\overline{\text{SPS}}$ (the first two letters and the last letter of *Spiritus*); $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{XPC}}$ (a variant of the more normal $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$) became $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ $\overline{\text{XPS}}$[1] (that is, *Iesus Christus*, the forms of the Greek *eta*, *chi*, and *rho* being imitated, just as we have seen the Hebrew name of Jehovah copied in imitative Greek letters); and $\overline{\text{KC}}$ became $\overline{\text{DNS}}$ or $\overline{\text{DMS}}$ (three letters being written instead of two, which strict transliteration would have required, in order to avoid confusion with $\overline{\text{DS}}$).[2] The form $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ $\overline{\text{XPS}}$ was the first to be used in Latin; a later form $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{XPC}}$ appears in English and Irish MSS., and then, from the ninth century, in those of the Continent.[3] The two forms of *Dominus*, $\overline{\text{DNS}}$ and $\overline{\text{DMS}}$, were used simultaneously in early MSS.; but the form $\overline{\text{DNS}}$ superseded the other as the title of the Almighty, $\overline{\text{DMS}}$ being reserved for human beings.[4]

[1] Christian of Stavelot, in the ninth century, commenting on Matt. i. 21 (Migne, cvi. 1278), writes: 'Scribitur *Iesus* per iota et eta et sigma et apice [stroke of contraction] desuper apud nos. Nam in Graecorum libris solummodo per iota et sigma et apice desuper invenitur scriptum, et sicut alia nomina Dei comprehensive debent scribi, quia nomen Dei non potest litteris explicari.'

[2] It is to be borne in mind that the horizontal stroke marking contraction covers all the letters of the contracted words, as it does in the Greek. And as in Greek, as already noticed, by a natural confusion the uncontracted ΘΕΟC was sometimes marked with the stroke, $\overline{\text{ΘΕΟC}}$; so in Latin there are instances of a parallel confusion, $\overline{\text{DEUS}}$, $\overline{\text{DEO}}$, etc.

[3] The researches of Traube (*Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, Bd. i. 1911), of Professor W. M. Lindsay, and of others have been directed to the investigation of the systems of independent schools in Western Europe previous to the Carolingian period.

[4] At a later time a distinction was drawn between the full word *dominus* and the syncopated form *domnus* or *dompnus*, the latter being employed in monastic life as a human title, e. g. 'domnus abbas', while the former was reserved for the Lord of Heaven.—*Customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury*, etc. (Henry Bradshaw Soc.), i. 4.

The above contracted *Nomina Sacra* appear in the early vellum uncial codices; the others were not taken over from the Greek, with the exception, afterwards in the sixth century, of the names David, Israel, and Jerusalem. But the contracted $\overline{\text{SCS}}$ = *sanctus* and $\overline{\text{NI}}$ (to be distinguished from the later $\overline{\text{NRI}}$) = *nostri* were added. A few abbreviations by suspension are also found in those codices, such as B· = termination *bus*, Q· = termination *que*, and omission of final M or N represented by a horizontal stroke.

The scribes naturally extended the new principle of contraction to general literature and its convenience ensured its adoption, especially in books of a legal and other technical nature.

The principles of the methods sketched out above held good also throughout the later middle ages; but of the simple letter-forms only a certain number survived. They were too arbitrary to be continued in general use; and more exact and convenient combinations and signs took their place. Even where they still survived in form their original meaning was sometimes superseded; e.g. the early syllabic suspended compendium $\text{T}\overline{\text{M}}$ = *tamen* under the contraction system becomes *tantum*. The period of transition from the older to the newer system lies in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries, at the time when the Carolingian schools were effecting their great reform in the handwriting of Western Europe and had the authority to enforce the adoption of settled rules. By the eleventh century the contraction system had grown to full developement. It reached its culminating point in the thirteenth century, the period when it was more excessively used than at any other. After that date marks and symbols are less exactly formed and gradually degenerate into hasty dashes and flourishes.

Having thus traced the general construction of Latin abbreviation and contraction, we may now briefly notice the various signs and marks which are employed for this purpose in the MSS. of the middle ages.

Marks or signs of abbreviation or contraction are either general or special. General signs are those which indicate the suppression of one or more letters without giving a direct clue to what such letters may be. Special signs indicate the suppression of particular letters. Among the latter must be also included over-written letters which, in some instances, have in course of time changed their forms and have worn down into mere symbols.

The earliest and simplest mark of abbreviation is the full point, usually placed on a level with the middle of the letter or letters of the abbreviated word, as A· = *aut*, FF· = *fratres*, or—to give the commonest, and often the only, abbreviations in early majuscule MSS.—B· = (termination) *bus*, Q· = *que*, already noticed above. In place of the full point, a colon or semicolon was next employed, as in B: B; Q: Q;, and the latter,

becoming the favourite form, grew, by rapid writing, into a 3-shaped sign, which appears from the eleventh century onwards, as b3=*bus*, q3=*que*. From its frequent recurrence in the latter common word it even came to represent the *q* as well as *ue*, in composition, as at3=*atque*, ne3=*neque*. But it was not confined to the representation of terminal *us* and *ue*; it also appears for termination *et*, as in deb3=*debet*, pł3=*placet*, s3=*set* (i.e. *sed*): a survival of which is seen in the z in our common abbreviation, viz.=*videlicet*. At a later period it also represented final m, as in na3=*nam*, ite3=*item*, ide3=*idem*.

The same 3-shaped sign likewise is found sometimes as the sign for *est* in composition, as in inter3=*interest*. But here it has a different derivation, being a cursive rendering of the symbol ÷ = *est*.

The horizontal stroke (*virgula*, *apex*, *titulus*, *titula*, *titellus*, *titella*) is the most general mark both of suspension and contraction, and in both uses it may indicate the omission of many letters. We have seen it employed in the 'Notae Iuris'. It is usually either a straight or a waved line. In early carefully-written MSS. it is ornamentally formed with hooks at the ends ⤙. In its simplest use as a mark of abbreviation it is found in majuscule MSS. at the end (rarely in the body) of a line to indicate omission of final M or N. It was placed high in the line, at first, to the right, as AUTE‾=*autem*; and in some instances a point was added to distinguish omission of M from omission of N, as ENI‾˙=*enim*, NO‾=*non*. Afterwards the simple stroke was placed above the last letter, as ENĪ, NŌ.

Analogous to the horizontal stroke is the oblique stroke, which in minuscule texts takes the place of the horizontal chiefly in words in which the tall letters b and l occur, as apł̄i=*apostoli*, mł̄to=*multo*, lł̄be=*libere*, procl̄=*procul*.

Of the same class is the waved vertical stroke (sometimes in the form of a curve rising from the preceding letter), often used to signify the omission of *er* or *re*; as b^{r}uiter=*breviter*, c^{r}tus=*certus*.

Less frequent, because it dropped out of general use, is the final oblique stroke, also found in the earlier minuscule MSS., usually for terminations *us*, *ur*, *um* (after *r*), as an/=*anus*, amam/=*amamus* amat/=*amatur*, re℣=*rerum*. Of these, the last termination *rum* continued to be represented in this way, especially in words in the genitive plural.[1]

Another general sign of early use was the round curve or comma above the line, which, as late as the ninth century, continued to represent the terminations *ur*, *os*, *us*. In later MSS. the curve alone was

[1] A curious result of the use of this sign is seen in the second name for Salisbury, 'Sarum.' The Latin Sarisburia in abbreviated form was written Sa℣, and came to be read *Sarum*.

retained to indicate the termination *us* (sometimes *os*), and so became a special sign (see below).

A long drooping stroke attached to the end of a word is often found as a general sign to indicate the suspension of any termination. It is, however, specially used for termination *is*. In the fourteenth century it developes into a loop, as dictꝰ = *dictis*.

A sign nearly resembling an inverted *c* or the numeral 9, Tironian in its origin, usually signifies the syllable *con* or *com*, also more rarely *cun* or *cum*, as ꝯdo = *condo*, ꝯmunis = *communis*, cirꝯscriptus = *circumscriptus*, ꝯcti = *cuncti*.[1] It always stands in the line of writing. A similar sign (to which reference has already been made), above the line, represents the termination *us*, as bonꝰ = *bonus*; also more rarely *os*, as nꝰ = *nos*, pꝰt = *post*. In the last word it is sometimes used for the whole termination *ost*, as pꝰ.

A sign somewhat resembling the numeral 2 placed obliquely ꝛ, also derived from a Tironian note, is written for the termination *ur*, as amat^{2} = *amatur*. It is also placed horizontally, as fert^{2} = *fertur*. Being commonly employed in the case of verbs, it also sometimes stands for the whole termination *tur*, as ama^{2}.

The letter p having a curve drawn through the down stroke, ꝑ, is to be read *pro*. In Visigothic MSS., however, it signifies *per*, very rarely *pro*, which is usually in such MSS. written in full. P crossed with a horizontal bar, ꝑ, is *per*, also *par*, *por*, as ꝑtem = *partem*, oꝑtet = *oportet*. The same letter with a horizontal or waved oblique stroke or curve placed above it (when not at the end of a word) becomes *pre*, as p̄sertim = *presertim*, p'bet = *prebet*.

The following conventional signs, partly from Tironian notes, are also used with more or less frequency, some of them especially in early Irish and English MSS.:—

ꝉ = *autem*, ꝯ = *eius*, ═ = *esse*, ÷ = *cst* (which degenerates into a ꝫ-shaped sign: see above), ꝑ = *per*, ⁊ = *et*, ⁊̄ = *ctiam*, ⁂ (later ⁑ and ·⁑· and thence ·n·) = *enim*, ·i· = *id cst*, ꝉ = *vel*, ⊖ = *obiit*, *obitus*, ḣ = *hoc*, v̇ and u̇ = *ut*.

With regard to the Latin contracted form of our Lord's name Jesus Christ, it is to be noted that it continued to be written by the later mediaeval scribes in Greek letters and in contracted form as it had been written in uncial MSS., thus: $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ $\overline{\text{XPS}}$, or $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{XPC}}$. When these words came to be written in minuscule letters, the scribes treated them as if Latin words written in Latin letters, and transcribed them iħs xp̄s, iħc xp̄c. Hence arose the erroneous idea that the form Ihesus was the correct one, and by false analogy the letter h was introduced into other proper names, as Iherusalem, Israhel. Similarly the terminating letter c,

[1] The letter c surmounted by a horizontal line also represents *con*.

for s, was carried over by scribes to other words, as epc=*episcopus*, spc=*spiritus*, tpc=*tempus*.

Most ordinarily, over-written letters are vowels, to which the letter r has to be supplied to solve the reading, as g^{a}tia=*gratia*, c^{a}ta=*carta*, t^{e}s=*tres*, v^{e}ba=*verba*, p^{i}or=*prior*, v^{i}tus=*virtus*, ag^{o}s=*agros*, c^{o}pus =*corpus*, p^{u}dens=*prudens*, t^{u}ris=*turris*. The more usual contractions of this character are those in which the r precedes the vowel. Other letters may also be understood, as in q^{a}=*qua*, bo^{a}=*bona*, q^{i}bus=*quibus*, m^{i}=*mihi*, m^{o}=*modo*. The letter a when over-written frequently has the open form (*ɑ*), which degenerates into a mere zigzag horizontal line or flattened u (∽).

When consonants are over-written the number of letters to be supplied is quite uncertain: a single vowel is omitted in such words as n^{c}=*nec*, h^{c}=*hic*; several letters are understood in such a contraction as p^{t}=*potest*. The over-written consonant is usually the last letter of the word.[1]

In some instances two or more letters are over-written, as hu$^{\text{9oi}}$= *huiusmodi*, incorp^{les}=*incorporales*; but such full forms are seldom wanted.

The compendia of certain common words, in which the letter g is prominent, take a special form, as g^{i} and g^{r}=*igitur*, g^{a}=*erga*, g^{o}=*ergo*.

The amount of abbreviations and contractions in a MS. depended to a considerable extent upon the character of the text. As has been already observed, they were more freely used in technical books than in works of general literature. In MSS. written in majuscule letters, and particularly in biblical and liturgical codices, which were specially required for public reading, they are very few (see above). With the introduction of minuscule writing for the book-hand, and if the MSS. were written for private use, there was more scope for this convenient system of saving labour and space; but in works intended for general use there was seldom an excess of compendia or the employment of arbitrary forms such as to render the reading of the text difficult. When once the elements and principles of the system are understood, and the eye has been fairly practised, no ordinary MS. will present difficulties to the reader.

In the case of texts written in the vernacular languages of those countries of Europe which have adopted the Roman alphabet, it will be found that abbreviation is more rarely allowed than in MSS. written in Latin. A system suited to the inflections and terminations of that language could not be well adapted to other languages so different in their structure.

[1] With regard to over-written s, it may be noted that in Visigothic writing a sign resembling that letter is used in the word q^{s}=*que*. But this is derived from the cursive form of over-written u.

NUMERALS

In Greek MSS. we find two systems of expressing numbers by signs, both being taken mainly from the alphabet. The older system employs the initial letters of the names of certain numbers as their symbols, as Π for 5, Δ for 10, Η (aspirate) for 100, Χ for 1,000, Μ for 10,000. The numerals from one to four are represented by units, from six to nine by Π with added units: multiples of tens and upwards are expressed by repetitions or differentiations of the several symbols. This has been called the Herodian system, after the name of the grammarian who described it. It is seen in use in the papyri, especially in the stichometrical memoranda of the numbers of the lines contained in them: and such notes are also found transmitted to vellum MSS. of the middle ages.

The other system was to take the first nine letters of the alphabet for the units, and the rest for the tens and hundreds, disused letters being still retained for numeration, viz. Ϝ, *digamma*, for 6, which in its early form appears as ϛ or ς, and afterwards, in the middle ages, becomes Ϛ, like the combined σ and τ or *stigma*; ϟ, *koppa*, for 90; and a symbol derived from the old letter *san*, which appears in papyri as Ͳ or ⊤, and at later periods as ϡ which, from its partial resemblance to *pi*, was called *sampi* (=*san*+*pi*), for 900. This system was in full use in the third century B.C.[1] The numerals were usually distinguished from the letters of the text by a horizontal stroke above: thus $\bar{\alpha}$. To indicate thousands a stroke was added to the left of the numeral: thus, $,\beta = 2{,}000$, $,\gamma = 3{,}000$. Dots were sometimes added to indicate tens of thousands, as $\ddot{\alpha}$, $\cdot\dot{\alpha}\cdot$, $\cdot\dot{\beta}\cdot$. Fractions could be indicated by an acute accent above the letter, as $\gamma' = \frac{1}{3}$, $\delta' = \frac{1}{4}$, $\gamma^{o} = \frac{2}{3}$, etc.; or special symbols were employed, as shown in the list of those found in the papyri (see above, p. 81).

The Roman system of numerals, with the use of which we are familiar even at the present day, was employed throughout the middle ages, and was not displaced by the introduction of the Arabic system, although the latter, from its convenience, was widely adopted. The Roman system was continued as the more official, and money accounts were calculated in its numerals.

To distinguish the numerals from the letters of the text they were placed between points: thus ·XL·. Besides the ordinary method of indicating thousands by repetitions of M, units with horizontal strokes

[1] The practice of numbering the successive books of a work, as e.g. the twenty-four books of the *Iliad*, by the successive letters of the alphabet, is hardly a system of numeration in the proper sense of the word. In certain cases we find it convenient to make use of our alphabet in a somewhat similar way, to mark a series.

above were also employed for the purpose: thus, ·$\bar{\text{I}}$·, ·$\overline{\text{II}}$·, ·$\overline{\text{III}}$·, etc. Certain special signs occur in some MSS.: as the Visigothic ϒ = 1,000 and X̃ = 40, and the not very uncommon sign ç = 6, which has been derived from the Greek symbol, but which may be only a combination of U (V) and I. A cross-stroke traversing a numeral sometimes indicates reduction by half a unit, as iiɨ = $2\frac{1}{2}$, X̸ = $9\frac{1}{2}$, x X̸ = $19\frac{1}{2}$.

Arabic numerals first appear in European MSS. in the tenth century (A.D. 976), but they were not well known till the thirteenth century, their early use being general in mathematical works; by the fourteenth century they had become universal. They have not changed much in form since their first introduction, the greatest difference from the modern shapes being seen in 7 = 2, ϱ = 4, ɥ = 5, and Λ = 7. The modern 2 became general in the fourteenth century by adding a horizontal foot to the old form; the Λ became the modern 7 in the fifteenth century, simply by alteration of position; ϱ also in the same way took its modern form in that century (in Italy, early in the century); and, last of all, the ɥ became the modern 5 partially in the fifteenth, and generally in the sixteenth, century.[1]

Here we bring to a close the preliminary section of this work, in which we have dealt with the inception, the early growth, and the developement of the book in the Greek and Roman world and in the middle ages, its external qualities, the materials of which it was composed, the shapes it assumed. We have examined the practices which governed the arrangement of the text; we have noted the implements with which it was inscribed, the mechanical devices for its measurement, for its punctuation, for its ready delivery, when necessary, in public reading; and we have described the means employed for its compact setting by artificial systems of abbreviation.

Now we pass to the study of the several classes of handwriting which fall within the scope of our inquiry under the two separate and comprehensive divisions of Greek Palaeography and Latin Palaeography.

[1] See G. F. Hill, *On the early use of Arabic Numerals in Europe*, in *Archaeologia*, lxii. 137.

CHAPTER VIII

GREEK PALAEOGRAPHY

Papyri

The conditions of the study of Greek Palaeography have become subject to serious modifications during the course of the latter part of the nineteenth century, owing to the extraordinary discoveries of Greek papyri in Egypt. At the beginning of the century the existence of such papyri was scarcely suspected; at its close the mass of documents accumulated in the museums and libraries of Europe and in private hands has proved enough to tax the energies of the scholars who have devoted themselves to their decipherment and interpretation. A new branch of palaeography has grown up, and papyrology is now an important and well-established study.

The excavations to which we owe these results have laid out before us not only many examples of the ancient literature of Greece, but also a vast store of documents of both an official and private character. The dry soil of Egypt has been impartial in its preservation of all that has been committed to it either by design or by accident. If, on the one hand, there has been recovered a more or less perfect roll containing some long-lost work of great writer or poet from the tomb of the scholar who owned it when living and had it laid by his body in death, so also, on the other hand, have the miscellaneous papers of daily life been dug out of the rubbish mounds of the desert—records of revenue, taxation rolls, conveyances of land, business contracts between man and man, correspondence of officials, letters of father and son and of master and servant, wills of the deceased, the trivial memorandum of an idle moment. Hence the student of Greek Palaeography to-day has to extend his view over a vastly wider field than his predecessor had to survey. He no longer is restricted to the scrutiny of a limited number of papyri of classical literature written in the book-hands of the time, and to the decipherment of a few documents written in the cursive hands of one or two sparse decades. He has now to make a study not only of newly discovered and more ancient forms of book-writing, but still more of an endless variety of cursive hands of individuals, spread no longer through decades but over hundreds of years. In a word, he has to become acquainted, during the papyrus period, with Greek handwriting in many phases, and not only in its literary dress. And in proportion to the

progress of excavations and the acquirement of new material will his toil increase. But, if his labours are thus enlarged, so likewise are his advantages and opportunities. If before the new discoveries he was groping in the dark and could only conjecture whence and how the Greek uncial and the Greek minuscule book-hands of the vellum period arose, he has now the means for the solution of the problem and can link the middle ages with the past.

In the particular of being representative of all kinds of writing the series of Greek papyri stands alone. No other class of MSS. is equally comprehensive. For early Latin examples even Egypt fails us. Greek was the official and polite language of the Ptolemaic, the Roman, and the Byzantine periods of government in that country. But few Roman documents in the Latin tongue have come to light there; and although some lucky chance may from time to time yield to the spade of the excavator isolated specimens or even small groups of Latin papyri, such fortune seems to be the best that we may reasonably look for.

Turning to the European sources of material for studies in both Greek and Latin Palaeography, we have literature in those tongues embodied in the codices of the early centuries of our era and of the middle ages, in which we can follow the progress of the book-hand. We have, too, in Greek, in very scanty numbers, in Latin, in large numbers, documents which show what were the official cursive hands of the middle ages; and from them and from such cursively written codices as scholars have left behind, we can, in tentative fashion, reconstruct the domestic handwriting of different periods; but the domestic documents themselves have survived in very insignificant numbers. The casual papers of private life, once done with and cast aside, naturally perished.

The first discovery of Greek papyri in Egypt took place in the year 1778, when fifty rolls were found in the neighbourhood of Memphis, according to the native account, but more probably in the Fayûm. Unfortunately, all but one were carelessly destroyed; the survivor was presented to Cardinal Stefano Borgia, under whose auspices it was published in 1788, *Charta papyracea Musei Borgiani Velitrii*, by Schow. It is of the year 191 after Christ, but is of no literary importance. This find was followed early in the last century, about 1820, by the discovery of a collection, enclosed, according to the story of the Arabs who found it, in a single vessel, on the site of the Serapeum or temple of Serapis at Memphis. The finders divided the hoard among themselves, and hence the collection found its way piecemeal into different libraries of Western Europe. Paris secured the largest number, which have been published, with an atlas of facsimiles, in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, etc., vol. xviii, 1865. A certain number fell to the share of the British Museum and are published in the *Catalogue*

of Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Some are in the Vatican, and others are at Leyden and Dresden.

The larger number of the documents thus brought to light have perpetuated a little domestic romance, and have preserved the memory of two poor twin sisters and the wrongs they endured in the second century B.C. Thaues and Thaus were the daughters of a native of Memphis, who in an unhappy hour married a woman named Nephoris. Deserted by her, and maltreated by her paramour, he fled away and died; and the twins were forthwith turned out of doors. But a friend was at hand. Among the recluses of the temple of Serapis was one Ptolemy, son of Glaucias, a Macedonian by birth, whose father had settled in the nome of Heracleopolis, and who had entered on his life of seclusion in the year 173 B.C. As an old friend of their father, he now came forward and obtained for the two girls a place in the temple. Their duties, upon which they entered in the year 165 B.C., included the offering of libations to the gods, a service which entitled them to certain allowances of oil and bread. All went well for a brief six months, but then the supplies began to fall into arrears. The poor twins tried in vain to get their rights, and their appeals to the subordinate officials, who had probably diverted the allowances to their own use, were disregarded. Again the good Ptolemy came to the rescue and took the matter in hand; and very pertinaciously did he pursue the claims. Petition after petition issued from his ready pen. Appeals to the governor; appeals to the king; a reference to one official was referred again to another, who, in his turn, passed it on to a third; reports were returned, duly docketed, and pigeon-holed; again they were called for, and the game was carried on in a way which would do credit to the government offices of the most civilized nation. But Ptolemy was not to be beaten. We know that he at length succeeded in getting for the twins payment of a large portion of arrears, and at the moment when the documents cease he is still left fighting. That his efforts were eventually crowned with a full success we cannot doubt; and thus ends the story of the twins.

These documents, then, and certain others including other petitions and documents of the persistent Ptolemy, form the bulk of the collection which was found on the site of the Serapeum at Memphis. Its palaeographical value cannot be too highly estimated. Here, thanks chiefly to the ready pen of an obscure recluse, a fairly numerous series of documents bearing dates in the second century B.C. has descended to us. If the sands of Egypt had preserved a collection of such trivial intrinsic importance, probably from the accident of its being buried in the tomb of the man who had written so many of its documents, what might not be looked for if the last resting-place of a scholar were found? The expectations that papyri inscribed with the works of Greek classical authors, and

written in Egypt or imported thither during the reigns of the Ptolemies or in the Roman period, would sooner or later come to light gradually began to be realized.

Several papyri containing books, or fragments of books, of Homer's *Iliad* have been recovered. One of the best known is the 'Harris Homer' containing a large portion of book xviii, which was found in 1849–50 by Mr. A. C. Harris, in the Crocodile Pit at Ma'abdeh, in the Fayûm, and is now in the British Museum (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* i, pl. 1; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 64). It has been assigned to the first century of our era. Of later date is the 'Bankes Homer', of the second century, containing the greater part of book xxiv, which was bought at Elephantine, in 1821, by the traveller William Bankes, and is also in the British Museum (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* i, pl. 6; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 153). It was the first Greek literary papyrus found in Egypt. A third important MS. of Homer, which has also made its way into the national collection (Brit. Mus., Papyrus cxxvi), is the papyrus in form of a book, inscribed on the recto side of the leaves with the *Iliad*, from line 101 of book ii to line 40 of book iv. It was discovered in the same Crocodile Pit as the Harris Homer, and also belonged to Mr. Harris. It is not, however, of early date, being probably as late as the third century; but it has a special interest from the existence, on the back of three of the leaves, of a portion of a treatise on Greek grammar, which gives an outline of various parts of speech, and which bears in its title the name of Tryphon, a grammarian who flourished in the latter half of the first century B.C. The treatise, however, is probably only an abstract of the work of that writer. Among later acquisitions by the British Museum is a papyrus, brought from Egypt in 1896, containing the greater part of books xiii and xiv of the *Iliad* (Papyrus dccxxxii), of the first or second century. And of great palaeographical value is the fragmentary papyrus of book ii, in large uncial letters of the second century, which was found by Professor Flinders Petrie at Hawara and is now in the Bodleian Library (Petrie, *Hawara*, 1889, pl. xxiii). Besides these Homeric papyri, there are others of a fragmentary character: such as the British Museum Papyrus cxxviii, containing considerable portions of the *Iliad*, books xxiii and xxiv, and the fragments in the Louvre of books vi, xiii, and xviii (*Not. et Extr.*, pls. xii, xlix), all of an early period; and, of rather later date, Papyrus cxxxvi in the British Museum, containing portions of books iii and iv.

A noteworthy addition has been made to classical literature by the recovery of several of the orations of the Athenian orator Hyperides. The papyrus containing his three orations against Demosthenes and for Lycophron and Euxenippus originally must have measured some eight and twenty feet, and is, for half its length, in unusually good condition. It was acquired in separate portions by Mr. Arden and Mr. Harris

in 1847. (See editions of Professor Babington, 1850, 1853; *Cat. Anc. MSS.* i, pls. 2, 3; *Pal. Soc.* i. 126.) It is ascribed to the first century A.D. A fourth work of the same author is the funeral oration which he delivered over the Athenian general Leosthenes and his comrades, who fell in the Lamian war in 323 B.C. (ed. Babington, 1858). The date of this text was formerly placed in the first or second century B.C.; a horoscope of a person born in A.D. 95 being inscribed on the other side of the papyrus. But it has now been proved that the oration is on the *verso* side of the papyrus (i.e. the side on which the fibres run vertically), and therefore was written subsequently to the horoscope in the second century A.D.; and, further, the faults in orthography and the rough character of the writing have led to the conclusion that it is a student's exercise. All the papyri of Hyperides just enumerated are in the British Museum, as well as the concluding portion of an oration, which is believed to belong to the speech against Philippides, in writing of the first century B.C. The Museum of the Louvre has also been fortunate in securing an important papyrus of an oration of Hyperides against Athenogenes, of the second century B.C. (ed. E. Revillout, 1892).

The large collection of papyrus documents and fragments which passed in 1877 into the possession of the Archduke Rainer attracted considerable attention. Slowly, and with the expenditure of much patience and skill, they are being deciphered and published. But sifted, as they chiefly are, from the sand and light soil of the Fayûm, the rags and tatters of ancient dust-bins, they could not be expected to yield any text of considerable extent. The Rainer collection is, however, of very great palaeographical importance; for it covers a wide field, principally of the Byzantine period, and provides large material for the history of the developement of the minuscule literary script.

But a more important discovery, as far as palaeography is concerned, was that of Professor Flinders Petrie, in 1889–90, at the village of Gurob in the Fayûm. Here he found that the cartonnage coffins obtained from the necropolis were composed of papyri pasted together in layers, fortunately not in all instances too effectively. The result of careful separation has been that a large number of documents dated in the third century B.C. have been recovered. These, together with a few of the same century which are scattered in different libraries of Europe, and whose early date had not in some instances been recognized, formed, at the time of their discovery, the most ancient specimens of Greek writing (as distinguished from sculptured inscriptions) in existence above ground.[1] Besides miscellaneous documents, there are not inconsiderable remains of

[1] These papyri have been published in the *Cunningham Memoirs* of the Royal Irish Academy (*On the Flinders Petrie Papyri*, by J. P. Mahaffy, with additions and corrections by J. G. Smyly, 1891–1905).

registers of wills, entered up from time to time, and thus presenting us with a variety of different handwritings as practised under the early Ptolemies. Still more interesting in a literary aspect are the fragments of the *Phaedo* of Plato, and of the lost play, the *Antiope*, of Euripides, two MSS. written in the literary book-hand of the time, which have happily been gleaned from the Gurob mummy-cases.

These discoveries, of such inestimable value for the history both of Greek palaeography and of Greek literature, had been scarcely announced, when the world was astonished by the appearance of a copy, written about the end of the first century, of Aristotle's treatise on the Constitution of Athens, the Πολιτεία τῶν Ἀθηναίων, a work which had vanished from sight more than a thousand years ago. The papyrus containing this valuable text came into the possession of the British Museum in the course of the year 1890. Like the Funeral Oration of Hyperides, the work is written on the back of a disused document, the account-roll of a farm bailiff in the district of Hermopolis in Egypt, rendered in the reign of Vespasian, A.D. 78–79. Four hands were employed in the transcription, the first of which is probably that of the scholar who desired the copy for his own use; for a text written so roughly, and that, too, on the back of a waste papyrus, would have had no sale in the market. This recovery of a lost classic of such traditional fame cast into the shade all previous finds of this nature, however important many of them had been; and very reasonable expectations were raised that the more systematic and careful exploration of Egypt in our days would achieve still greater results. By the side of the work of Aristotle, other papyri which have passed into the British Museum, containing fragments of works of Demosthenes, of the second or first century B.C., and of Isocrates of the first century after Christ, may appear insignificant; but the acquisition of a papyrus of fair length, restoring to us some of the lost poems of the iambographer Herodas, who flourished in the first century B.C., is one more welcome addition to the long-lost Greek literature which is again emerging into light.[1]

In 1892, chiefly on the site of a village in the Fayûm named Socnopaei-nesus, a large series of documents was found, ranging from the first century to the third century of our era. Most of them are now at Berlin; but a large number have found their way to the British Museum, while others are in the libraries of Vienna and Geneva, and elsewhere.

Again, in 1896–7, an immense collection of papyri, thousands in

[1] Aristotle's Πολιτεία was published in 1891, together with an autotype facsimile of the papyrus; and the poems of Herodas, with collations of other papyri, are printed in *Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum*, 1891: both works edited by F. G. Kenyon for the Trustees of the British Museum. A facsimile of the papyrus of Herodas has also been issued. The later literature relating to both works is very extensive.

number, and ranging over the first six centuries of the Christian era, was discovered at Behnesa, the site of the ancient Oxyrhynchus, by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, excavating for the Egypt Exploration Fund. Here, besides innumerable documents of a non-literary character, a considerable quantity of fragments of literary works were recovered, among them being the now well-known *Logia*, or 'Sayings of Our Lord', of the third century, and early fragments of the Gospel of St. Matthew, as well as remains of classical authors. Excavations were resumed in the winter of 1902–3 with a result no less striking than the former one. Another fragment of the *Logia*; a portion of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of the third or fourth century; and numerous fragments of lost Greek classics have been identified. It is to be noted that, while such extensive deposits of Greek papyri are being discovered, very few examples of Latin papyri have been found; and it is, therefore, of particular interest that in this later instalment from Oxyrhynchus there is a Latin historical text of some length, which contains part of an epitome of Livy, in a hand of the third century (*Ox. Pap.* iv, no. 668; *New Pal. Soc.* 53). Once more, in 1906, a further excavation at Oxyrhynchus was rewarded by the recovery of an unusual number of literary papyri including the *Paeans* of Pindar, the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, the *Symposium* of Plato, the *Hellenica* of, perhaps, Cratippus, and others. Selections from this great collection are in course of publication in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

A further discovery was made in 1899–1900 by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt on the site of the ancient Tebtunis in the south of the Fayûm, which yielded a great store of papyri, chiefly of a non-literary character, which had been generally used in the cartonnage of mummies and as wrappings of mummies of crocodiles. They range from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D.; and a portion of them has been published in *The Tebtunis Papyri*, 1902, etc. Again, in 1902–3, mummy cartonnages found at Hibeh provided a further collection of both literary and domestic fragments, of the third century B.C. (*The Hibeh Papyri*, 1906).

Two smaller groups of miscellaneous documents have also to be noticed, viz. the correspondence of a Roman officer named Abinnaeus, of the middle of the fourth century, which has been shared between the British Museum and the University of Geneva, in 1892; and a collection ranging from the second century B.C. to the third or fourth century A.D., acquired by the Egypt Exploration Fund and published by that Society (*Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, 1900).

The collection of papyri at Florence (ed. Vitelli and Comparetti, 1909–11) has been augmented by the bulk of the correspondence and papers of Heroninus, steward of domain lands at Theadelphia, of the

middle of the third century, which have been found within the last few years.

In 1896 the British Museum acquired a papyrus of the first century B.C., containing a large part of the odes of Bacchylides, the contemporary of Pindar (edited, with a facsimile, by F. G. Kenyon in 1897); and early in 1902 the oldest literary Greek papyrus as yet discovered was found in a coffin of a mummy at Abûsîr, the ancient Busiris, near Memphis, and proved to contain a large portion of the *Persae* of the poet Timotheus in writing which has been estimated to be of the latter half of the fourth century B.C. It is now in Berlin, and has been edited, with facsimile, *Der Timotheos-Papyrus* (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft), by von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, 1903. With this papyrus also came to light a number of documents written at Alexandria in the reign of Augustus (ed. W. Schubart in the Berlin *Griech. Urkunden*, iv). A few years later, in 1906, a series of very early Ptolemaic papyri, one being of the year 311–310 B.C., was found at Elephantine (ed. Rubensohn, 1907). Excavations at Aphroditopolis (Kom Ishgau) in 1901 and 1905 brought to light collections of papyri of later periods, the most valuable being a codex of Menander of the fifth century (edited by its discoverer G. Lefebvre). The greater number of the documents discovered in 1901 were acquired by the British Museum (ed. H. I. Bell, in *Greek Papyri in the B. M.* iv. 1910); they are most valuable as illustrating the Arab period within the narrow space of A.D. 698–722.

Among other early literary papyri of importance may be mentioned a portion of a commentary on Plato's *Theaetetus* contained in a roll of seventy narrow columns now in Berlin, and written in the second century, and the commentary of Didymus on the *Philippics* of Demosthenes, also of the second century (*Berliner Klassikertexte*, 1904–5). Other remains of Corinna, Sappho, Euripides, etc., are also published in the *Berl. Klassikertexte*, 1907. The longest biblical roll in existence is now at Leipzig, containing Psalms xxx–lv, written on the back of accounts of A.D. 338; and at Heidelberg is a papyrus codex of the Minor Prophets, of the seventh century (ed. A. Deissmann, 1905).

Outside of Egypt, Herculaneum, which was destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, is the only place in which Greek papyri have been found. Here, in a house which was excavated in the year 1752, a number of charred rolls were discovered, which were at first taken for pieces of charcoal, many being destroyed before their real nature was recognized. Almost immediately attempts were made to unroll them; and with more or less success the work has been carried on, at intervals, down to the present day. The process is a difficult one; the hardened crust, into which the outer portion of the rolls has been converted by the action of the heated ashes which buried the devoted city, must be removed before

the inner and less injured layers can be reached, and so fragile are these that the most skilful and patient handling is required to separate them without irreparably injuring the remains. Copies of the texts recovered have been engraved and published in a series of volumes, the *Herculanensia Volumina*, printed at Naples.

In the year 1800, the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George the Fourth, undertook the expense of unrolling and copying the papyri; but the work was interrupted by the French invasion of 1806. The tracings and copper-plates which had been prepared by his agent were presented by the Prince to the University of Oxford in 1810, together with a few unopened rolls, part of a number which had been given to him by the Neapolitan Government. Four of the latter and the unrolled fragments of a fifth were subsequently presented by Queen Victoria to the British Museum in 1865; and the two remaining also came to the Museum, in 1900, by gift of King Edward the Seventh. In 1824 and 1825 two volumes of lithographs of some of the Oxford facsimiles were published; and, in 1885, others have been given in the *Fragmenta Herculanensia* of Mr. Walter Scott. But none of the facsimiles in these publications can be considered sufficient for palaeographical study, and unfortunately the blackened condition of the rolls is such that little can be done by the agency of photography.

Of the Herculanean rolls which have been opened, a large proportion are found to contain works of the Epicurean Philodemus, while others are the writings of Epicurus and the leading members of his school; and it has been suggested that the principal part of the collection was formed by Philodemus himself, and that the house in which it was found was that of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, the patron of the philosopher and the father-in-law of Julius Caesar. The papyri would in that case be of the first century B.C., the period to which on palaeographical grounds they may be assigned.[1]

The Antiquity of Greek Writing

The most important lesson which we, as palaeographers, learn from these ancient papyri is, that, as far back as we can reach, we have side by side two classes of Greek writing: the Literary hand or Book-hand, in which works of literature were usually (but not always) written, and the Cursive hand of everyday life; that, however remote the date of these documents, we find in them evidence that then all sorts and conditions of men wrote as fluently as we do now; that the scribe of those days could produce finely written texts; and that the educated or professional man could note down records of daily business with as much

[1] See Kenyon, *Palaeogr. of Gk. Papyri*, 71.

facility as any of his descendants. And if we find these evidences of a wide-spread knowledge of Greek writing so far back as the fourth century B.C., and writing, too, of a kind which bears on its face the stamp of matured developement, the question naturally arises, to what remote period are we to assign the first stage of Greek writing, not in a primitive condition, but so far developed as to be a practical means of intercourse. There has hitherto rather been a tendency to regard the earliest existing Greek inscriptions as the first painful efforts of unskilled hands. But it is far more natural to suppose that, almost simultaneously with the adoption of an alphabet, the keen-witted Greek trader must have profited by the example of Egyptian and Phoenician and soon have learned to express himself in writing. It is impossible at least to doubt that the Greek mercenaries who were able to cut so skilfully not only their names but also longer inscriptions on the statue of Abu Simbel some 600 years B.C., were perfectly able to write fluently with the pen. But without speculating further on this subject, we may rest content with the fact that in the papyri of the fourth and third centuries B.C. we have styles of writing so confirmed in their character that there is no difficulty in forming an approximate idea of the style of the writing of the best classical period of Greece.

Divisions of Greek Palaeography

It will here be convenient to state the plan adopted in the following sketch of the progress of Greek writing.

First it is necessary to explain the different terms which are used to describe various styles of letters. In both Greek and Latin palaeography, large letters are called 'majuscules'; small letters, 'minuscules.' Of large letters there are two kinds: Capitals, or large letters, formed, as in inscriptions, chiefly by strokes meeting at angles and avoiding curves, except where the actual forms of the letters absolutely require them, angular characters being more easily cut with the tool on hard substances such as stone or metal; and Uncials, a modification of capitals in which curves are freely introduced as being more readily inscribed with the pen on soft material such as papyrus. For example, the fifth letter is Ε as a capital, and ε as an uncial. The term 'uncial' first appears in St. Jerome's Preface to the Book of Job, and is there applied to Latin letters, 'uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, litteris,' but the derivation of the word is not decided: we know, however, that it refers to the alphabet of curved forms.

In early Greek papyri, as well as in early vellum MSS., the ordinary character in use is the uncial. But, as will be presently seen, in some of the very earliest specimens on papyrus certain of the letters still retain the capital forms of inscriptions. And, indeed, at no period did

the Greek alphabet evolve so fully the uncial type as did the Latin: for example, while in the Latin uncials we have the curved evolutions of D and M (ᗞ and ᗰ), in the Greek the capital forms of *delta* and *mu* remained practically unchanged.

Minuscule, or small, letters are derived from majuscules; but, although in early Greek cursive specimens on papyrus we find at once certain forms from which the later book-minuscules grew, a full minuscule alphabet was only slowly developed.

In the first place, then, we shall have to examine the progress of Greek writing on papyrus; and the courses of the two styles, which have already been referred to as the Literary hand or Book-hand and the Cursive hand, will be separately followed. The examples of the book-hand will first be considered; next, those in non-literary or cursive writing.

But when we come to the period of the vellum MSS. a new condition is imposed. Here we have well defined and distinctive styles of the book-hand which had not been developed in the early papyrus period. We have first the majuscule literary style, the book-hand in uncial letters; and next we have the minuscule book-hand, evolved from the cursive (domestic) hand and forming a class of writing of its own, which came into general use for literature in the ninth century. Thus, in the vellum period, we have not to do with the cursive hand in general, as in the papyrus period, but only with that set and refined form of it which was used as a minuscule book-hand, and which is in fact no longer a cursive hand properly so called, although it is often so described. Naturally the cursive (domestic) writing of the time still continued in use in the ordinary affairs of life; and, if sufficient independent material had survived, this current hand would have formed a separate division of the subject. But no such material practically exists. We have no great collections even of Greek charters and documents written in official cursive hands, such as we have in Latin. We must therefore look for the traces of the progress of the Greek cursive hand in the middle ages in the more hastily written minuscule literary MSS. which may be assumed to be, more or less, in the natural cursive handwriting of scholars. Our task, then, in describing the Greek palaeography of the middle ages will be first to trace the history of the uncial book-hand in the vellum codices; and then to follow the developement and changes of the minuscule book-hand through the later centuries.

CHAPTER IX

GREEK PALAEOGRAPHY *(continued)*

The Literary hand or Book-hand in Papyri

Our first division of Greek writing is the Literary hand or Book-hand in papyri; the character employed being a formal uncial, except in the very earliest examples in which a more primitive style, approaching nearer to the epigraphic alphabet, is found. The general character of the literary hand being thus in closer affinity to the capital alphabet than the more independent and fluctuating cursive, the papyri written in the book-hand may claim to take precedence. It is not, however, to be understood that all surviving literary remains are written in this hand: there are exceptions, certain works having been copied out, apparently by scholars for their own use, or at least by persons not writing for the book-trade, in less formal hands which we must class as cursive. There is, indeed, in the case of the early papyri, some difficulty in drawing the line of separation between the literary hand and the cursive hand; for, until minuscule characters were in course of time evolved, the general structure of all Greek writing, whether literary or non-literary, was uncial. Certain documents are written with sufficient care to give them a claim to be separated from the cursives, and yet with not enough formality to be included under the book-hand. On the other hand, there are one or two instances of the formal literary script being used for ordinary documents. We would define the literary hand to be of the formal type which professional scribes would employ in writing books for the market; and, in the following review of this division, chiefly MSS. of that formal type are examined, a few (non-literary) documents in which this hand is adopted being also included.

The number of available literary works written in the literary hand on papyrus has been largely increased by the recent discoveries in Egypt; and one of the principal difficulties that beset the palaeographer has been thereby considerably lessened. Before these discoveries the data for arriving at a satisfactory estimate of the periods of the several specimens were so scanty that it was with extreme hesitation that one ventured to risk an opinion on their approximate age. But now so much material has been brought to light that we are better acquainted with the developement of Greek writing on papyrus and can therefore essay nearer accuracy. Still it is to be remembered that formal hands must always present more serious difficulties than

naturally written hands. Book-hands are artificial and progress with a certain uniformity which is naturally averse from change, and on which the influence of the natural (cursive) handwriting of the scribe works but slowly. Still that influence does effect a gradual change and brings about those different phases of book-hand writing which it is the palaeographer's business to mark and study and explain. And, as it was not the practice to inscribe the date of production in copies of literary works, it is only by such scrutiny and study that, in most instances, the true periods can be ascertained. On the other hand the study of the cursive documents affords special advantages, for among them are a sufficient number bearing actual dates to enable us to check the progress of the developement of that class of writing by fixed landmarks; and the student who masters the history of that developement finds his labours lightened when he turns to the study of the literary hand. The training of the eye acquired from the patient examination of a series of dated documents quickens its faculties to a high degree for the study of undated examples, not only of cursive papyri but also of those written in the literary hand.

When we come to study the cursive script in papyri, that form of writing will be found to pass through certain phases under the influence of the changes in the government of the country, successively by the Ptolemies, the Romans, and the Byzantine Empire. And it will be found that in some measure those phases are reflected in the developement of the literary script.

It is only within recent years that anything of certainty has been known regarding Greek writing previous to the second century B.C. The excavations of Professor Flinders Petrie at Gurob, in 1889–90, first put us in possession of many valuable specimens both of the literary and of the cursive scripts of the third century; and enabled us to identify a small number of documents already in European collections, which had been assigned to a later date, as belonging to that more remote time. To these are to be added the papyri recovered more recently at Tebtunis, Hibeh, and Elephantine, of the same period. There was, however, one single Greek papyrus known to scholars which was tentatively given to the fourth century B.C., viz. the so-called Curse of Artemisia, a document in the Imperial Library of Vienna, which will be referred to more fully below. But in 1902 a literary work of unusual palaeographical importance was discovered at Abûsîr, which now takes the first place in the series of papyri written in the book-hand. This is the unique papyrus, now in Berlin, of the *Persae* of Timotheus, which is assigned to the second half of the fourth century B.C.[1]

[1] Edited, with facsimile, by U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, for the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1903. A specimen is given in Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berolin.* 1.

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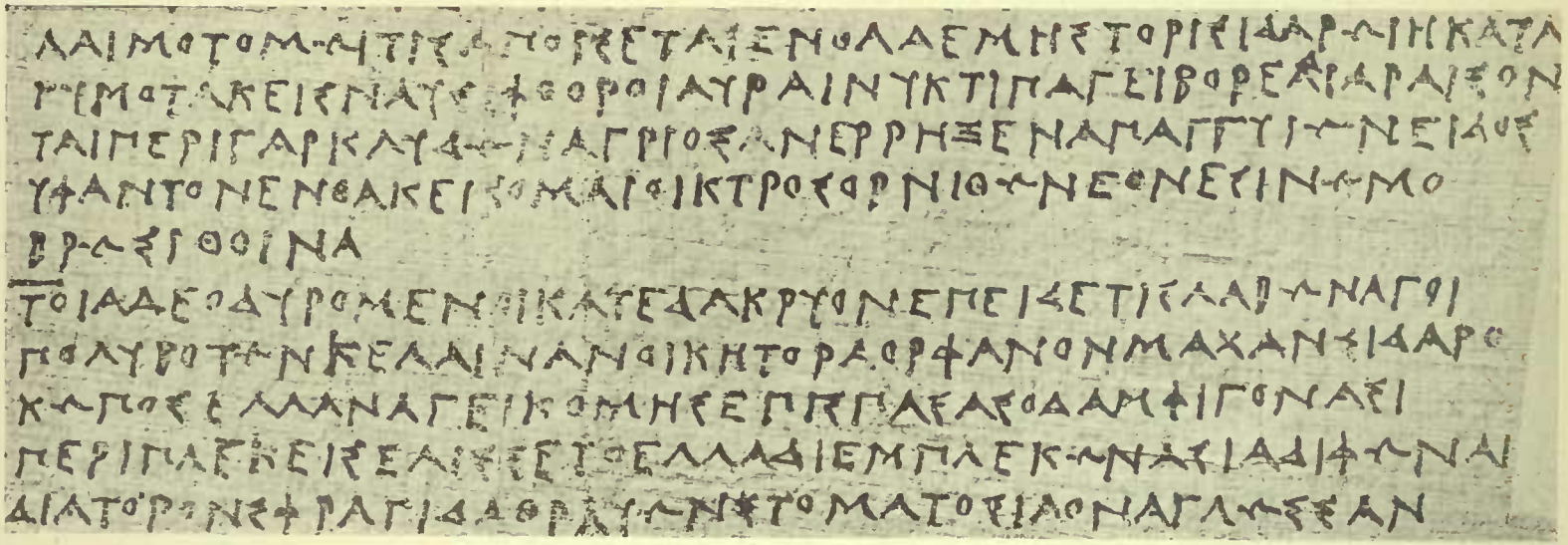


THE PERSAE OF TIMOTHEUS.—FOURTH CENTURY B.C.[1]

(λαιμοτομωι τις αποισεται ενθαδε μηστορι σιδαρωι η κατα|κυμοτακεις ναυσιφθοροι αυραι νυκτιπαγει βορεα δ'ιαραισον|ται περι γαρ κλυδων αγριος ανερρηξεν απαγ γυιων ειδος | υφαντον ενθα κεισομαι οικτρος ορνιθων εθνεσιν ωμο|βρωσι θοινα

τοιαδε οδυρομενοι κατεδακρυον επει δε τις λαβων αγοι|πολυβοτων κελαιναν οικητορα ορφανον μαχαν σιδαρο|κωπος ελλαν αγει κομης επισπασας ο δ αμφι γονασι | περιπλεκεις ελισσετο ελλαδι εμπλεκων ασιαδι φωναι | διατορον σφραγιδα θρανων στοματος ιαονα γλωσσαν)

[1] The usually dark tint of papyrus renders the success of reproduction of the documents by photographic processes a matter of some uncertainty, the result depending in a greater or less degree on the state of preservation of the individual examples. The student will find that the use of a reading-glass has the effect of drawing the writing into stronger relief and disengaging it from the absorbent background.

Before proceeding to describe the points of interest in the handwriting itself, it may first be noticed that the arrangement of the text does not conform to the rules observed in later examples. The columns of writing are broad and vary in dimensions, ranging from 8 to 11½ inches; and the text runs on continuously without distinguishing the verses of the poem. The sections, however, are marked off with the separating stroke, the παράγραφος; but in such instances they are kept quite distinct from one another, the first word of a new section beginning with a new line, and not following on in the concluding line of the previous section, as would have been the case in later periods.

No. 1

The writing is in a firm large square character of the epigraphic style, without the curved forms of the uncial type; even *sigma*, which quickly tended to the semicircular shape, is still the ancient angular letter Ϲ. Other letters which call for special notice in points of their construction are *beta*, of a clumsy form, running down to a point at the base; *epsilon*, with a long head-stroke; *zeta*, composed of two parallel horizontal strokes close together, connected in the centre by a vertical stroke scarcely more than a dot; *theta*, small, with a central dot; *iota*, often thickened on the right side of the head; *mu*, inclined to breadth; *xi*, consisting of three parallel horizontal strokes rather compressed, the central one shorter than the others; *pi*, having the right leg shortened; *upsilon*, with shallow cup; *omega*, showing varieties of the epigraphic Ω tending to angular cursive forms (see the Table of Literary Alphabets). But while this papyrus places before us the forms of letters of the book-hand of the fourth century B.C., and is on that account of the greatest value, the handwriting itself is of a larger and rougher character than we should expect in the best examples of literary MSS. of the time. The small neat script of the *Phaedo* and the *Antiope* of the third century, which we shall presently examine, postulates at least a corresponding neatness of execution in the best examples of the book-hand only some half-century earlier.

As already stated, the only document of this class of writing known until 1902 was the Curse of Artemisia, a roughly written papyrus, invoking vengeance on the father of the woman's child.[1] The forms of the letters are reproduced in the Table of Alphabets, and it will be seen that, while they are generally similar to those of the *Persae*, there are certain variations which may be taken as indications of a somewhat later date. In particular the angular epigraphic

[1] First described by Petrettini, *Papiri Greco-Egizi del I. R. Museo di Corte* (1826), 4, who gives a very rough facsimile; afterwards by Blass in *Philologus*, xli. 746, and in Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Alterthums-Wissenschaft* (1886), i. 280; and again by Wessely in *Eilfter Jahresbericht über das Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium in Wien* (1885), 4. A facsimile is given in *Pal. Soc.* ii. 141.

sigma has disappeared, and the curved uncial letter takes its place; *zeta* is not so compressed as in the *Persae*; and *omega* by curving upwards the initial stroke shows progress towards the uncial ω. It is a curious fact that this document should have been written in the book-hand; and it has been suggested that Artemisia, an ignorant woman, jotted down her letters in this form, just as children or uneducated people among us write in capitals as the characters which they are most accustomed to see in public places. This, of course, is possible; but it is more probable that, if the writer was too ignorant to write in the cursive writing of the time, she would not have used her own hand at all, but would have had recourse, after the custom of the East, to a professional scribe. But, however this may be, it is remarkable that the only document which has hitherto come to light bearing an actual date in the fourth century B.C., a marriage contract of the year 311–310 found in Elephantine in 1906, is also written in the literary hand, though roughly.[1] This, however, may be merely accidental; and further discoveries will probably prove that it is so. For there can be no doubt that a fluent cursive hand was practised at this time. When we come to review the cursively written papyri of the third century B.C., we shall see that a finely developed cursive was in full vigour already in the first half of that century, which could only have been produced by the education of many generations in the active use of the pen.

The writing of the marriage contract of 311–310 B.C. makes no pretence to beauty (see the Table of Alphabets). The letters rather slope to the right; they are generally tall and narrow; and downstrokes, as in *iota*, *rho*, *tau*, *upsilon*, are often exaggerated. Comparing the alphabet with that of the *Persae*, its inferiority of formation is evident; although the construction of individual letters is very similar in both alphabets. The contract, however, has the curved uncial *sigma*, as against the epigraphic capital letter of the other MS.

Reverting to the papyrus of Timotheus, the interesting fact must not be overlooked that, in point of date, it may be said to bring us into the very presence of Alexander the Great, the conqueror of Egypt in 332 B.C. There is no reason to dispute the age assigned to the MS., viz. the second half of the fourth century, and, therefore, it is a question whether we may not have before us a work actually written in Greece and brought thence into Egypt; for the material employed does not prove that it must have been written in the latter country. Papyrus, made up as a writing material, was, as we know, largely exported and was widely used throughout the civilized world. However, we need not stay to debate a point which is beyond definite solution, and we may rest satisfied with the important fact that, at least in the forms of its letters, the

[1] Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berolin.* 2.

Persae no doubt resembles contemporary MSS. produced in Athens and other literary centres of Hellas.

It will be convenient to record in this place certain literary fragments which, though placed in the early part of the third century, may possibly fall within the fourth century B.C., being allied in character of writing to the Timotheus papyrus and other contemporary examples which we have been discussing. These are a number of small fragments containing some lines in tragic iambic verse, identified as from the *Oeneus* of Euripides, written in small neatly formed characters, among which appear the square-headed *epsilon*, the ϵ form of *sigma*, and especially *xi* in an archaic shape: the three-stroke letter traversed by a vertical bar, Ξ.[1] Rather younger than these are the fragments of the Adventures of Heracles found with the other papyri at Gurob by Professor Flinders Petrie.[2] They do not appear to be earlier than of the third century B.C.; but, as they are considered to be rather older than the examples of that period which will come next under consideration, this seems to be the proper place to mention them.

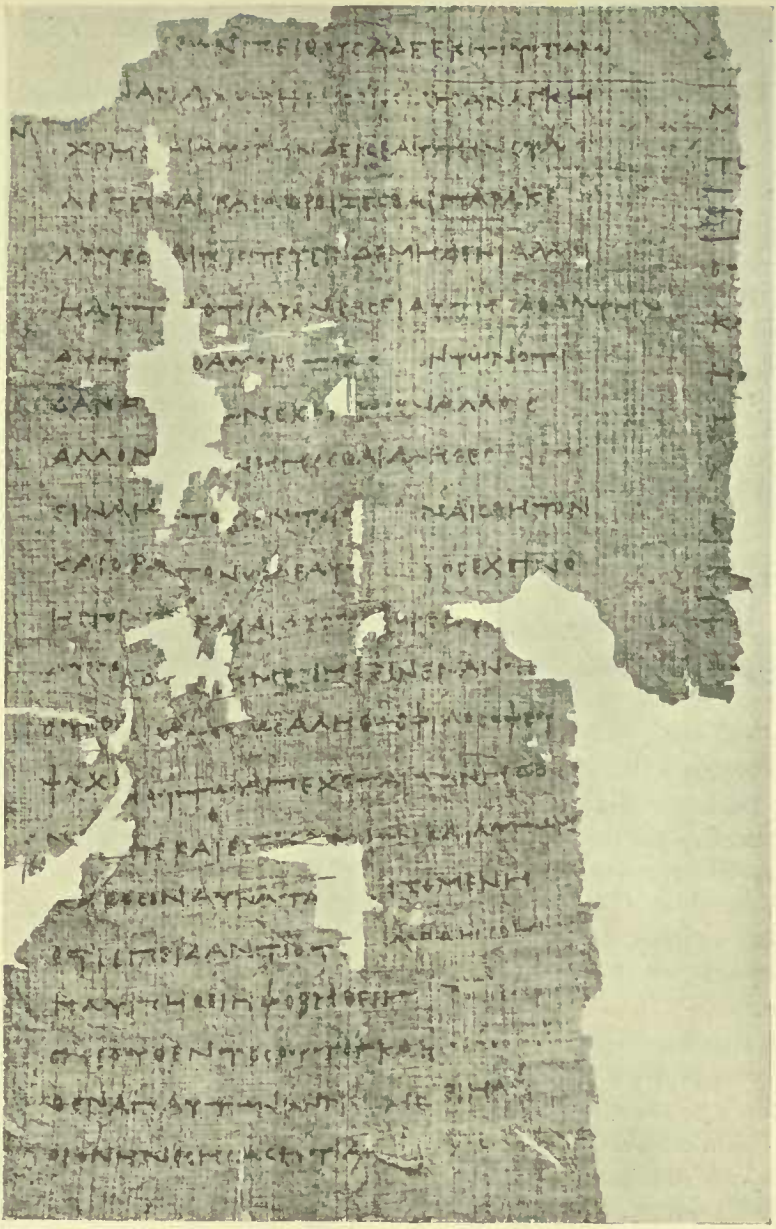
Passing to the third century B.C., we must not omit first to notice a papyrus of considerable literary as well as palaeographical value, and one most useful as a chronological landmark, which is written in the book-hand and, moreover, can be approximately dated early in the century. It is a single sheet inscribed with the words of drinking songs (σκόλια), etc., which was found in 1906 at Elephantine—a cast-away used as the wrapper of a bundle of documents, the latest of which is dated in the second year of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The papyrus may therefore be, at the latest, of about the year 280 B.C.[3] Comparing the alphabet employed (see Table) with those of the examples of the fourth century, we find the uncial curved *epsilon* and *sigma*, and further progress in the shape of the *omega* towards uncial developement. But it should not be forgotten that, although inscribed in the book-hand, the papyrus is only a scrap of private composition (written in that class of script presumably because the contents were of a literary nature), and that therefore a certain laxity tending towards cursiveness was permissible.

None of this tendency is noticeable in the fragments of two literary works discovered at Gurob, viz. the *Phaedo* of Plato and the *Antiope* of Euripides—the remains of books manifestly written by professional scribes for the market.

[1] These fragments, discovered by Mr. B. P. Grenfell, are now in the British Museum; Papyrus 688. See Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, ii. 1; and *Hibeh Papyri*, 21. Kenyon gives an alphabet, compiled from the fragments, in his *Pal. Gk. Pap.*

[2] Now in the British Museum; Papyrus 592. See the alphabet in *Petrie Papyri*, i. 65.

[3] *Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 2, Taf. viii. Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berolin.* 3, places it about 300 B.C.



THE PHAEDO OF PLATO.—THIRD CENTURY B.C.

(αισθη]σεων πειθουσα δε εκ τουτωμ | [με]ν αναχωρειν οσομ μη αναγκη | χρησ[θ]αι αυτην δ εις εαυτην συλ|λεγεσθαι και αθροιζεσθαι παρακε λευεσ[θ]αι πιστευειν δε μηδενι αλλωι | η αυτ[η]ι οτι αν νοησει αυτη καθ αυτην | αυτ[ο κα]θ αυτο τι των οντων οτι | δ αν δ[ι αλλ]ων σκοπηι εν αλλοις | αλλο μ[ηθε]ν ηγεισθαι αληθες | ειναι δ[ε] το μεν τοιο[υτο]ν αισθητον | και ορατον ωι δε αυ[τη π]ροσεχει νο|ητον τε και αιδες ταυτει ου[ν τηι] | λυσει ο[υκ οι]ομενη δειν εναιτι|ουσθαι η του ως αληθως φιλοσοφου | ψυχη ουτω απεχεται των ηδο|ν[ων] τε και επιθυμιων και λυπων | καθ οσον δυνατα[ι λογ]ιζομενη | οτι επειδαν τις τι [σφ]οδρα ησθηι | η λυπηθει η φοβηθει η [επιθυμη]σηι ουθεν τοσουτογ κακ[ον] επ[α]|θεν απ αυτων ων τις οιηθειη αν | οιον η νοσησας η τι αναλωσας)

The papyrus of the *Phaedo* of Plato may be placed in the first half of the third century B.C., for it was found in company with official and other documents which are actually dated in the reigns of the second and third Ptolemies; and the latter, we may assume, would naturally have been regarded as of a more common and ephemeral character than a literary work of a great writer, and would have been thrown aside in an earlier period of existence. This beautiful MS. (Brit. Mus., Pap. 488) would surely have been treasured by its original owner for many years, if not for a lifetime, and it can only have been by some accident that it was at length used up as waste material. The small portion of the *Antiope* of Euripides which has met with the same fate and has descended to us in the same way must be practically of the same date. But the writing of the latter is not quite so good, and, though there may be little to choose between the two MSS., yet preference may be given to the MS. of Plato (see the Table of Alphabets). The text of the latter is written in narrow columns of twenty-two lines, which are from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches in length. The height of the papyrus appears to have been about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

No. 2

The writing is a very beautiful uncial hand, minute and exact, the chief general characteristic being the great breadth, almost flatness, of many of the letters (e.g. *gamma*, *zeta*, *eta*, *mu*, *pi*, *omega*), as compared with their height. That this is a characteristic of the period, and not a personal usage of the writer of the MS., is proved by its prominence in other, cursive, documents of the third century B.C.—a characteristic which is partially observable in the *Persae* of the fourth century, and which, we may forecast, will be also prominent in the cursive writing of that century, whenever good fortune may place us in possession of examples. As in the specimens of the preceding century, in certain forms the writing has not adopted the recognized curves of the uncial and approaches more nearly to the rectangles of lapidary inscriptions. This is seen in the *alpha*, and in many instances of *epsilon* in which the upper horizontal stroke is perfectly straight and of disproportionate length. Certain, curved, letters are distinguished by their small size, as *theta*, *omikron*, *sigma*, and *omega*. The last-named letter, we may notice, is of the nearly full uncial type. For the study of other particulars, the reader is referred to the Table of Alphabets.

The *Phaedo* and the *Antiope* are the best examples of the classical works of the third century B.C. recovered at Gurob. Other fragments, indeed, of that age were found there, notably a considerable piece of the *Laches* of Plato, but the latter too much defaced to be of use for our purpose, and the rest not of sufficient importance to be taken into account

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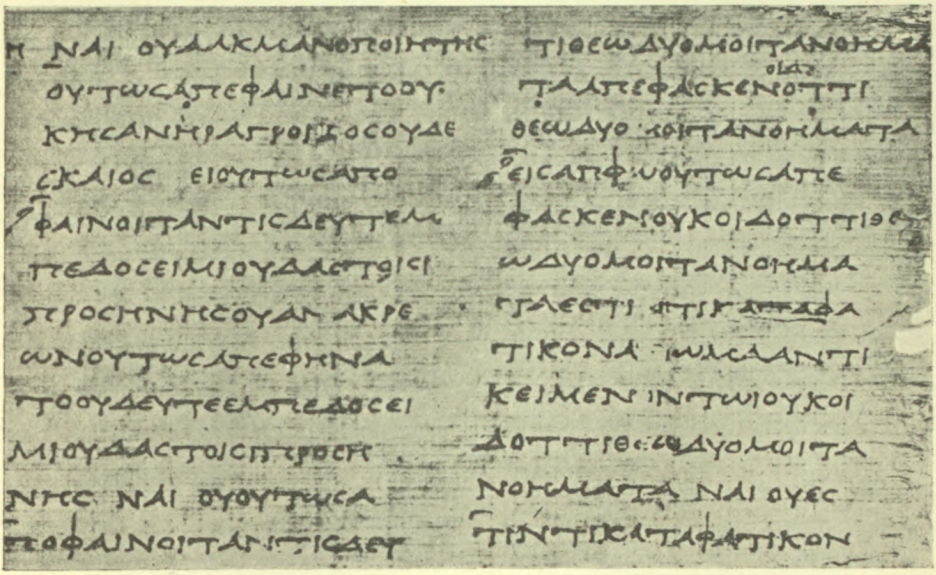


DIALECTICAL TREATISE.—BEFORE 160 B.C.

(ναι ου αλκμαν ο ποιητης | ουτως απεφαινετο ου|κ ης ανηρ αγροικος ουδε | σκαιος ει ουτως απο|φαινοιτ αν τις δευτ εμ|πεδος ειμι ουδ αστοισι | προσηνης ου ανα-κρε|ων ουτως απεφηνα|το ου δευτε εμπεδος ει|μι ουδ αστοισι προση|νης ναι ου ουτως α|ποφαινοιτ αν τις δευ

τι θεω δυο μοι τα νοημα|τα απεφασκεν `οιδ' οττι | θεω δυο μοι τα νοηματα | ει σαπφω ουτως απε|φασκεν ουκ οιδ οττι θε|ω δυο μοι τα νοημα|τα εστιν τι καταφα|τικον α[ξ]ιωμα αντι|κειμενον τωι ουκ οι|δ οττι θεω δυο μοι τα | νοηματα ναι ου εσ|τιν τι καταφατικον)

for illustration of the book-hand.[1] There is, however, at Berlin, a well-preserved fragment of the *Phaethon* of Euripides of the same class of neat, small handwriting.[2]

Having, then, before us the three papyrus MSS., the *Persae*, the *Phaedo*, and the *Antiope*, supported by the contemporary documents which have been quoted, to represent the most ancient Greek literary writing extant, we may consider ourselves fortunate in being in possession of even so much material of a marked style on which to base our knowledge of the book-hand of the hundred years lying within 350 and 250 B.C.: so marked, indeed, as to be unmistakable, when once we have mastered the principles of its structure.

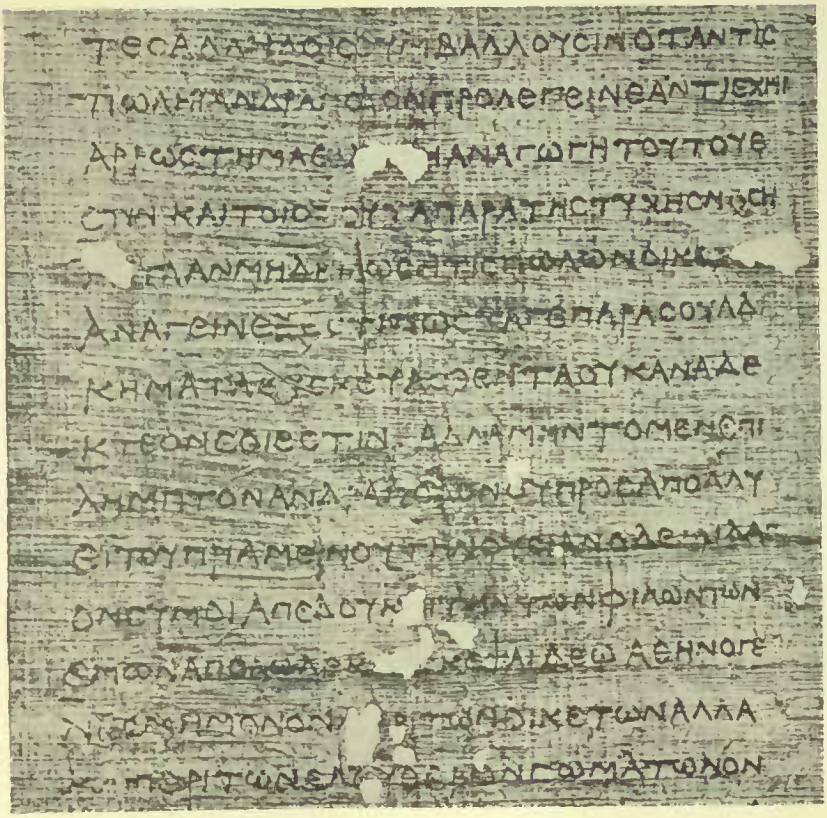
Here, then, we leave the third century B.C., and we have to pass over a gap of about a hundred years before we can resume the thread of our inquiry in the first half of the second century. Of this period we meet with an example in a fragmentary dialectical treatise, now in Paris, which was written earlier than the year 160 B.C., as proved by the existence on the back of it of memoranda of that year (*Not. et Extr.*, pl. xi, no. 2).

No. 3

In this text advance in details is observable on the older style of the third century B.C. The hand is altogether uncial. The *alpha* has lost all trace of the capital formation with the horizontal cross-bar; now it is formed in two strokes, the first an angle (in many instances slightly looped), the second a downward oblique stroke more or less curved; *epsilon* and *sigma* both curved; *omega* of the full uncial type. On the other hand the archaic form of *zeta* in some measure survives, the connecting central bar, while oblique, keeping well within the extremities of the horizontals, so that the letter is still far from the later Z-form; and *xi* is still the three-stroke letter. But it is perhaps unfortunate, for purposes of comparison, that the writing is in a sloping hand, and that the MS. thus loses something of the squareness and stately procession, if we may use the term, which we naturally connect with our idea of a book-hand; and that in the setting of this text, as it has been observed, 'a certain concession to the cursive style is discernible.'[3] The effect on the eye is, perhaps, heightened by the tendency of the columns to trend very perceptibly to the left: that is, the marginal line of writing is not vertical, but each successive line begins a little more to the left than the one above it, with the result that the last line may stand as much as an inch outside the true perpendicular.

[1] See Kenyon, *Pal. Gk. Pap.* 63.
[2] Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berolin.* 4 b.
[3] Kenyon, *Pal. Gk. Pap.* 67.

FACSIMILE No. 4



HYPERIDES AGAINST ATHENOGENES.—SECOND CENTURY B.C.

(τες αλληλοις συμβαλλουσιν οταν τις | πωληι ανδραποδον προλεγειν εαν τι εχηι | αρρωστημα ει δ[ε μ]η αναγωγη τουτου ε[στιν καιτοι οπου τα παρα της τυχης νοση[μα]τα αν μη δηλωση τις πωλων οικετ[ην] | αναγειν εξεστι πως τα γε παρα σου αδι|κηματα συσκευασθεντα ουκ αναδε|κτεον σοι εστιν αλλα μην το μεν επι|λημπτον ανδραποδον ου προσαπολλυ[ει του πριαμενου την ουσιαν ο δε μιδας | ον συ μοι απεδου κ[α]ι την των φιλων των | εμων απελωλεκ[ε] σκεψαι δε ω αθηνογε|νες μη μονον [πε]ρι των οικετων αλλα | και περι των ελευθερων σωματων ον)

The second century B.C. is also represented by the unique papyrus of the oration of Hyperides against Athenogenes, which was acquired by the Louvre in 1888.[1] It is placed in the second half of the century; and it affords a striking contrast to the Dialectical Treatise in its general aspect.

No. 4

The writing is carefully formed and in some respects is rather inclined to be ornamental. The letters are upright and spaced out with regularity, and, in regard to size, are mostly made in body to fill the full bulk of the line of writing. *Alpha* generally reverts to the old capital shape, with horizontal cross-bar; *beta*, *delta*, *eta*, *mu*, *nu*, *pi* are all of the formal type. On the other hand *zeta*, while sometimes using a modified old form, is usually of the Z-shape; *epsilon*, *theta*, *omikron*, *sigma* more than usually circular: *xi* still of the three-stroke pattern, but tending to ornamentation; *omega* the full uncial. When we place this handwriting side by side with the older hands of the third century, at one glance we see how great has been the change wrought by the lapse of a century and a half. The later hand is no longer of the vigorous, if irregular, type which, in our opinion, displays more character than the style to which the writing of the Hyperides is tending, that is, one of careful exactness aiming rather at calligraphic effect and restraining natural freedom in order to attain to even regularity.

The exact style just referred to, as it developed in the first century B.C., is well illustrated by the script of the papyri recovered at Herculaneum. The *terminus ante quem* of the latter is, as we know, A.D. 79, the year of the destruction of the city; but the character of the writing indicates an earlier date. It has been pointed out that many of the papyri contain works, some even in duplicate, of the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus, a contemporary of Cicero, and that nearly all the rest are copies of the writings of Epicurus or are generally of a philosophical nature; and hence it has been suggested that the collection may have been part of the library of Philodemus himself.[2] This view seems to be by no means improbable and it receives support from the appearance of the writing, which has been placed rather before the middle of the first century B.C.[3] The deplorable condition of the original fragments, blackened and wrinkled by the heat of the volcanic eruption, makes it difficult to present a very legible specimen, but the accompanying reproduction of two fragments of Metrodorus *περὶ αἰσθήσεων*, with the aid of the Table of Alphabets, will enable the student to judge of the character of the book-hand of that age.

[1] Edited, with facsimile, by E. Revillout, *Le Plaidoyer d'Hypéride contre Athénogène*, 1892.
[2] W. Scott, *Fragmenta Herculanensia*, 11. [3] Kenyon, *Pal. Gk. Pap.* 72.



METRODORUS.—FIRST CENTURY B.C.

(κοσμον θεον ουδ η|ελιον τ ακαμαντα σε|ληνην τε πληθουσαν | στωικοι δε και περι|πατητικοι τοὺτ ού̓κ εξεσ|τιν λεγειν οπως [π]αριδι | ανεχει μορφην το σφαι|ροειδες αλλως ⁊ οι του|το λεγοντες ου βλεπου|σιν διυτι της φυσεως | [εστιν ι]διον [τω]ν ου δια των φαινομενων | ειργομενα καταλειπεσ|θαι δια τουτο γαρ ου|δεν αισθητον αθανα|τον η πυκνοτης γαρ | αντεικοπτει προς του|το δεχομενη πληγας | ισχυρας παλιν τε ουδεν | διφυες αισθητον τα | γαρ συν βαρει μεγαλω | μεγαλας αν τροπας ποι|ουντ[α περι] τα αισθ[η]τα)

No. 5

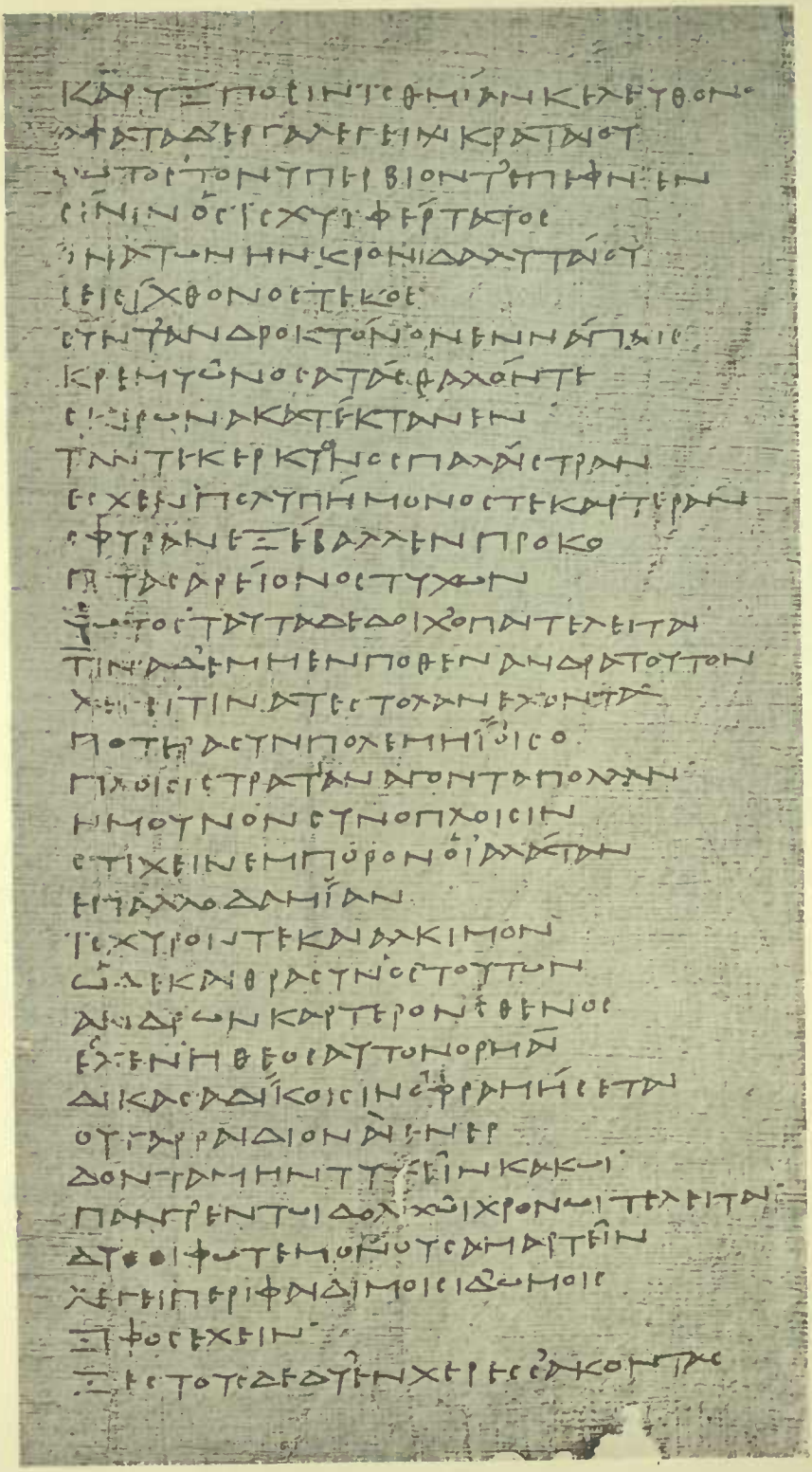
In general structure the writing of this MS. resembles the Hyperides (Facs. 4) in the upright and regularly-spaced lettering, evenly sized so as to fill the line of writing. But on comparing the individual letters the advance in the Herculanean script is evident. The three alphabets in the Table, viz. one from the Hyperides and two from Herculanean papyri of Philodemus and Metrodorus, show a fairly close alliance in most of the letters. The differences appear in the *alpha*, which in the younger MSS. are of the uncial formation, often with the little loop at the left angle, like the letter seen in the Dialectical Treatise. Coming down to *mu*, the older and simpler form of the letter, as seen in the Hyperides, breaks down in the Herculanean examples, where it fluctuates towards the cursive; and although in most of the rolls the old pattern of *xi*, written in three distinct strokes, prevails, yet the more current form, in which the middle and lower strokes are connected and the letter is thus written by only two actions of the pen, is of fairly frequent occurrence.[1] Here then are interesting indications, in the case of *mu* as well as of *xi*, of a breaking away from the strictly formal lettering of the artificial writing of the book-hand to the natural writing of the cursive. As we proceed in our task we shall find this tendency not uncommon at all periods and in all forms of literary script. The natural cursive hand is, as it were, ever watching for its opportunity to take the scribe unawares, and to slip into the ranks of the artificial hand. The Herculanean papyri, then, may be regarded as occupying a transitional stage towards the close of the Ptolemaic period, and demonstrating in the cursive tendencies of the two letters referred to the natural law of decadence inherent in any artificial system.

At this point we have to examine a MS. which, apart from its literary value, has a particular interest on account of the type of its writing—a type quite unlike the regular, even, and carefully spaced style which we have just now been considering. This MS. is the unique papyrus of the poems of Bacchylides (Brit. Mus., Pap. 733) which has been placed by Sir F. G. Kenyon, its editor, in the middle of the first century B.C.

No. 6

Hitherto no other MS. of exactly the same character has been recovered. It has in the forms of its letters so much nearer relation to the hands of the third century B.C. that it almost seems as if it represented a reversion to the older type and a reaction from the exact and rather calligraphic style of writing which had been developing since the second century. This archaistic rendering of forms is conspicuous in the small

[1] See Kenyon, *The Palaeography of the Herculaneum Papyri* in *Festschrift für Theodor Gomperz*, 1902.



BACCHYLIDES.—FIRST CENTURY B.C.

(κᾱρυξ ποσιν ϊσθμίαν κελευθον·
αφατα δ᾽ εργα λεγει κραταιου
φωτος· τον υπερβιον τ᾽ επεφνεν
σίνιν ὃς ισχνϊ φέρτατος
θνατων ην κρονιδα λυταίου
σεισίχθονος τεκος·
σῦν τ᾽ ανδροκτόνον εν νάπαις
κρεμνῶνος ατάσθαλόν τε
σκιρωνα κατέκτανεν·
ταν τε κερκυ᾽ό᾽νος παλαίστραν
εσχεν πολυπήμονος τε καρτεραν
σφυραν εξέβαλλεν προκο
πτας αρέιονος τυχων
φωτος· ταυτα δεδοιχ᾽ οπαι τελειται
τινα δ᾽ εμμεν ποθεν ανδρα τουτον
λεγει· τινα τε στολαν εχοντα·
ποτερα συν πολεμηΐοις ο
πλοισι στρατ᾽ι᾽αν αγοντα πολλαν
η μουνον συν οπλοισιν
στιχειν εμπορον ὁι᾽ αλάταν
επ αλλοδαμΐαν
ϊσχυρον τε και αλκιμον
ὠδε και θρασυν ὃς τουτων
ανδρων καρτερον σθενος
ε᾽σ᾽χεν η θεος αυτον ορμαι
δικας αδΐκοισιν ὀφρα μήσεται
ου γαρ ραιδιον αἰεν ερ
δοντα μη ντυχεῖν κακωι·
παντ᾽ εν τωι δολιχῶι χρονωι τελειται·
δυο οι φωτε μονους αμαρτεῖν
λεγει περι φαιδιμοισι δ᾽ ωμοις
ξιφος εχειν
ξεστους δε δυ᾽ εν χερεσσ᾽ ακοντας)

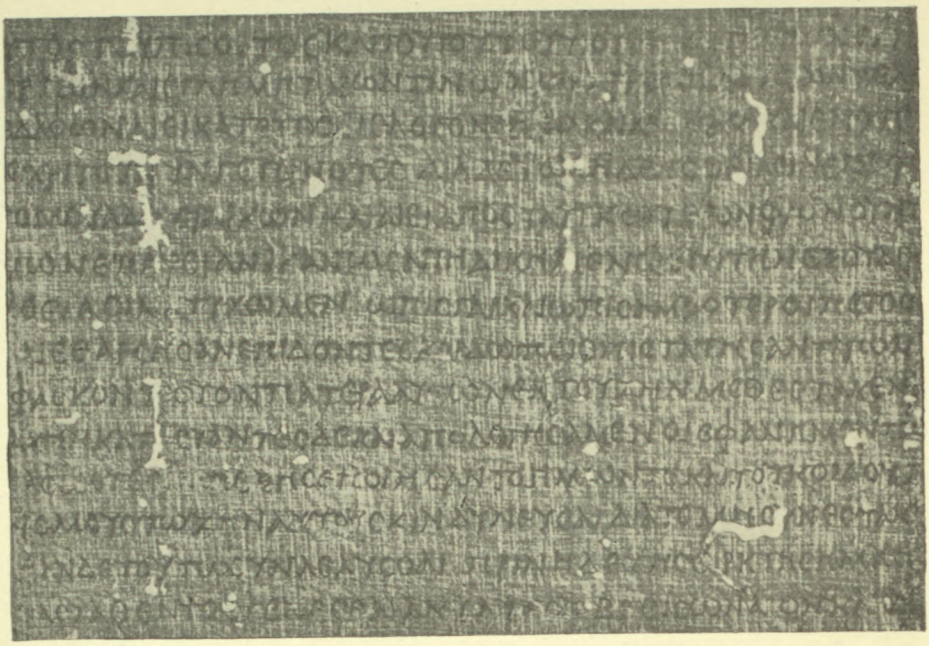
and narrow *epsilon* and *sigma*; in the small *theta* and *omikron*; in the early shapes of *zeta* and *xi*; and in the flattened, shallow *mu* and *omega*. The date assigned to this MS. has not passed unchallenged; and two fragments among the Oxyrhynchus papyri, which have been placed by the editors in the second century of our era, are cited as examples of similar and contemporaneous writing. These fragments are no. 26 (*O. P.*, vol. i, pl. vii), from the Προοίμια δημηγορικά of Demosthenes, and no. 665 (*O. P.*, vol. iv, pl. i), from a History of Sicily. They certainly resemble the Bacchylides in general type of writing, but they do not appear to be so early; and it is open to question whether they themselves are not of an earlier date than that to which they are assigned, namely of the first rather than of the second century.[1] If this be so, the papyrus of Bacchylides may then remain where it has been placed, in the first century B.C. However, having regard to the scanty material available, it seems wiser to suspend final judgement until further examples of the same class of writing are forthcoming.

We return to the direct line of developement, resuming examination of the more exact and evenly spaced book-hand which we have seen in the papyrus of Hyperides and the examples from Herculaneum, inclining to a formal calligraphic type. First, the student may be referred to the papyrus containing the last two books of the *Iliad* (British Museum, Papyrus cxxviii), a facsimile from which is given by Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, pl. viii. The MS. is ascribed to the second half of the first century B.C., that is, rather later than the Herculanean fragments. The text, evenly spaced, and as far as possible precisely formed to fill the full body of the line of writing, as in the earlier papyri just mentioned, is extremely delicate, the letters being composed of finely inscribed strokes, and, in construction, the body of each one lying within the boundaries of an imaginary square: a mark of advance, as compared with the broad formation of the early centuries, and characteristic of the period at which we now arrive, entering on the time of the Roman occupation towards the close of the first century B.C.

Here a papyrus (Brit. Mus., Pap. eccliv) which can be precisely dated comes into view and affords a most valuable criterion for the book-hand of this time. It is not a literary document, but a petition of certain farmers addressed to the prefect of Egypt, Gaius Tyrrhanius, and the date is ascertained to correspond to either 15, or 10, or 7 B.C. The script is not cursive, as might perhaps have been expected, but a carefully formed set-hand, nearly equal to the best type of book-hand; the petitioners having followed an excellent practice, which has probably obtained in all periods of civilized human history, of writing with extreme legibility when asking a favour.

[1] Cf. Kenyon, *Pal. Gk. Pap.* 76, 77.

FACSIMILE No. 7



PETITION.—ABOUT 10 B.C.

—τος του πισοιτος και του τουτου υιου πισοιτος των απ—
—ργων και εγλημπτορων τινων ιερατικων εδαφων τελο—
—δαφων αιει κατ ετος εις λογον Ϛ ω και αργ ∠ αφ και εν τηι—
—εχρι του νυν γεγονοτες δια δε το μηδεν οφειλειν επεφθ—
—ομου αδωσιδικων και αιει αποστατικωτερον φρονουν—
---μων επηρειαν ικανως απηδικημενοι επι την εξ ου δικ—
—θειας ινα τυχωμεν ωπις γαρ και ωπις αμφοτεροι πετοσ—
—οι εθαρσησαν επιδοντες κορδω τωι επιστατησαντι των—
—φασκοντες τον πατερα αυτων εκ του ζην μεθεστακεν—
—κην κατασταντες δε και απολογησαμενοι εφανημεν τω—
—ασωοτες μη εξ ης εποιησαντο ημων τε και του κορδου π—
—νομους τω ζην αυτους κινδυνευσαι δια το μη συνεστακ—
—ψαν δε τουτω συνλελυσθαι πριν η δε της ειρκτης ημας—
—τασταθεντος γενεσθαι αντ αυτου βρεισωνα ον και—

No. 7

The writing of this document, again, has the characteristics of regularity and even spacing, the letters, as far as the nature of their formation will permit, being fairly kept to one scale, so as not to rise above or sink below the line of writing and at the same time to fill it. Thus at this stage of the formal hand we see, for example, the letters *theta* and *omikron* not suffered to run large or small, but formed on the pattern of the *epsilon* and *sigma*, that is, occupying the line of writing with a full circle; and, again, the letters *rho* and *upsilon* not allowed to straggle below the line. In a word, the only letters passing the bounds are *phi* and *psi*, which from their nature cannot be so easily restricted.

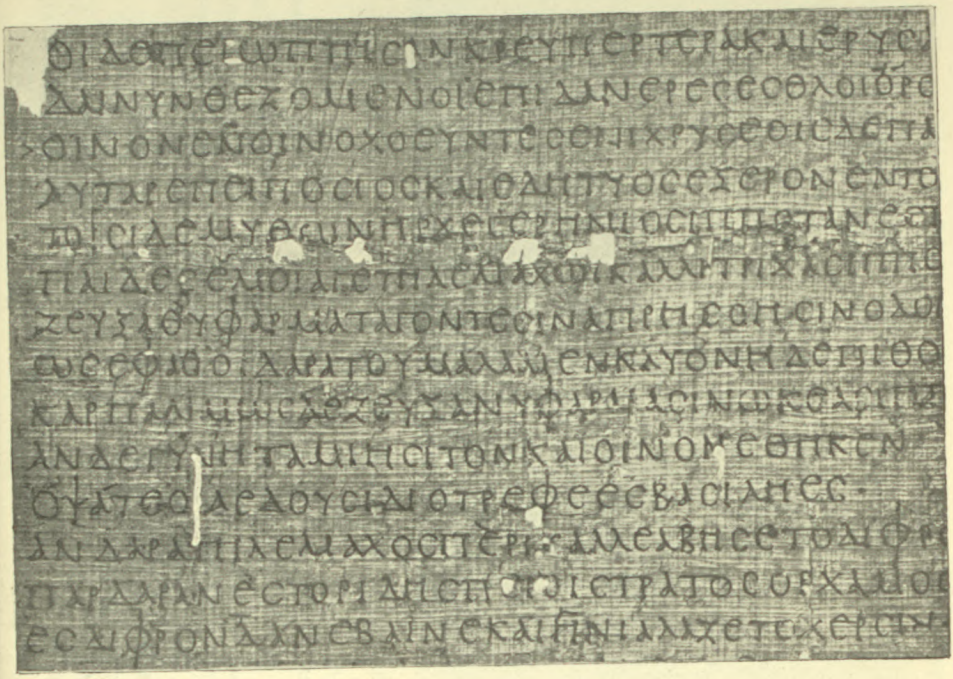
The script of the petition is resembled so nearly by that of book iii of the *Odyssey* in the British Museum Papyrus cclxxi, that there can be no hesitation in fixing the date of the latter MS. at the same period as the petition, that is, at the end of the first century B.C., or at the very beginning of the first century of our era.

No. 8

The writer of this MS. was even more skilled than the writer of the petition, and may be regarded as an expert, capable of producing the best examples of the book-hand for the literary market. There is a certain amount of ornamental calligraphy in touching off with little finials or thickenings which indicate much practice and readiness with the pen. The letters are very accurately spaced and great endeavour is evident to make the lines of writing uniformly even. It may also be noticed that the horizontal cross-bar of *epsilon* and *theta* is level and stands high in the body of the respective letters. A comparison of the alphabets of the two papyri, showing little variation, satisfies us of their practically contemporaneous execution. The general expression of the hands is one of roundness, produced not only by the more exact formation of the letters which are based on the circle, viz. *epsilon*, *theta*, *omikron*, *sigma*, *phi*, but also by the increasing cursiveness of *alpha*, in which the left lower angle is frequently converted into a curve, and of *mu*. The three-stroke *xi* has now disappeared and gives place to the cursive letter formed in one stroke of the pen.

This studied type of writing was probably practised, ordinarily, for literary purposes, with little variation through the course of the first century A.D. We may notice the fragments of a roll containing Pindaric Lyric poetry in this style, found at Oxyrhynchus (*O. P.*, no. 659, vol. iv, pls. iii, iv), which may be of the first half of the century; and also the MS. of Isocrates *On the Peace* (Brit. Mus., Pap. cxxxiii), the first portion of which is in a hand of this kind but later in the century: a good hand,

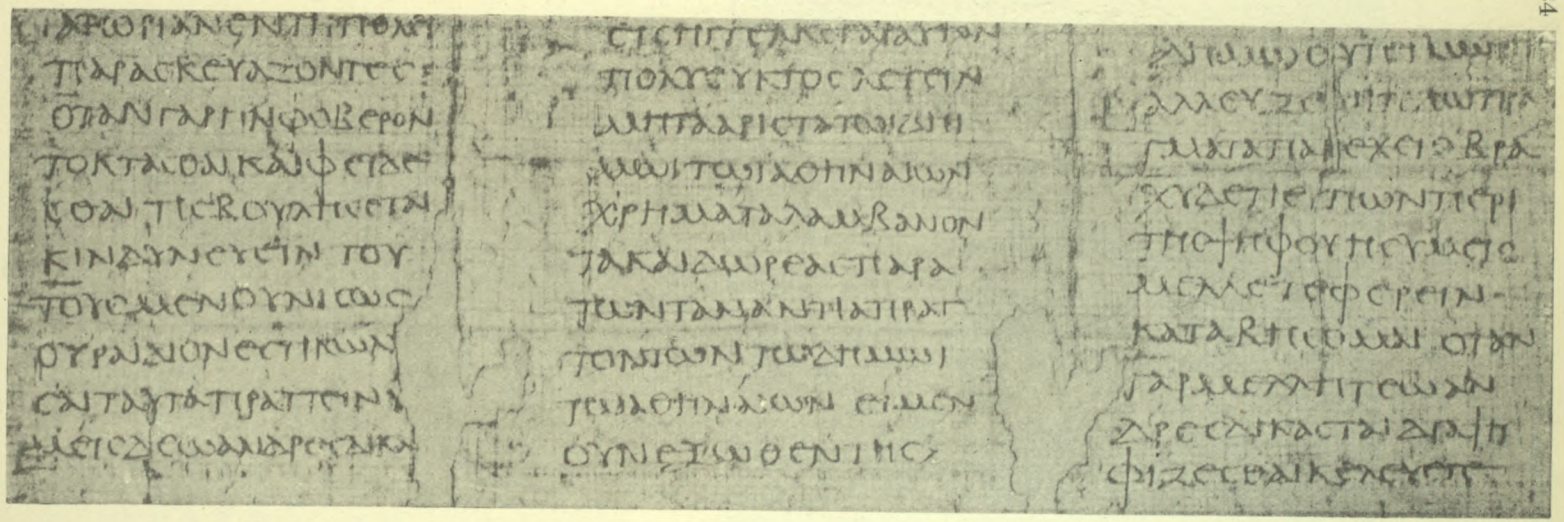
FACSIMILE No. 8



ODYSSEY III.—ABOUT A. D. 1

(οι δ επει ωπτησαν κρε υπερτερα και ερυσ[αντο]
δαινυνθ εζομενοι επι δ ανερες εσθλοι ορο[ντο]
οινον ενοινοχοευιτες ενι χρυσεοις δεπα[εσσιν]
αυταρ επει ποσιος και εδητυος εξ ερον εντο
τοισι δε μυθων ηρχε γερηνιος ιπποτα νεστ[ωρ]
παιδες εμοι αγε τηλεμαχωι καλλιτριχας ιππο[υς]
ζευξαθ υφ αρματ αγοντες ινα πρησσησιν οδοι[ο]
ως εφαθ οι δ αρα του μαλα μεν κλυον ηδ επιθο[ντο]
καρπαλιμως δ εζευξαν υφ αρμασιν ωκεας ιππ[ους]
αν δε γυνη ταμιη σιτον και οινον εθηκεν
οψα τε ο[ι]α εδουσι διοτρεφεες βασιληες
αν δ αρα τηλεμαχος περικαλλεα βησετο διφρο[ν]
παρ δ αρα νεστοριδης πεισιστρατος ορχαμος [ανδρων]
ες διφρον δ ανεβαινε και ηνια λαζετο χερσιν)

FACSIMILE No. 9



HYPERIDES FOR EUXENIPPUS.—FIRST CENTURY

(απορiαν εν τη πολει
παρασκευαζοντες
οταν γαρ ην φοβερον
το κτασθαι και φειδε
σθαι τις βουλησεται
κινδυνευειν του
τους μεν ουν ισως
ου ραιδιον εστι κωλυ
σαι ταυτα πραττειν υ
μεις δε ω ανδρες δικα

εισηγγελκε γαρ αυτον
πολυευκτος λεγειν
μη τα αριστα τωι δηι
μωι τωι αθηναιων
χρηματα λαμβανον
τα και δωρεας παρα
των ταναντια πρατ
τοντων τω δημωι
τω αθηναιων ει μεν
ουν εξωθεν της

δημω ου τειμωρη
αλλ ευξενιππω πρα
γματα παρεχεις βρα
χυ δε τι ειπων περι
της ψηφου ης υμεις
μελλετε φερειν
καταβησομαι οταν
γαρ μελλητε ω αν
δρες δικασται διαψη
φιζεσθαι κελευετε)

but showing a certain slackness which may be regarded as a mark of advance.[1]

Our next specimen is selected from the great papyrus containing the three speeches of Hyperides, against Demosthenes and for Lycophron and Euxenippus (Brit. Mus., Papp. cviii, cxv), and shows a section of the text near the end of the third oration. By the light gained from more recent discoveries, this papyrus is now placed late in the first century of our era, rather than in the preceding century to which it was formerly assigned.[2]

No. 9

At the first glance the eye is pleased by the easy flow of the writing and its general gracefulness. It is, indeed, in the best style of the time. Comparing it with the writing of the *Odyssey* of perhaps some eight or nine decades earlier, one perceives some loss of the exact setting of that example and a more unstudied ease; and yet, notwithstanding, there is no weakness in the hand, which runs an even and well sustained course from end to end of the papyrus. In structure the individual letters are not very different from those of the *Odyssey*, but have rather more easy play in the strokes. We see the *alpha* with curved, not angular, bow quite established. The horizontal bar of *epsilon* and of *theta* is set high in the letter, as in the other MS. Of the letters which had become normally confined to the limits of the line of writing, it is noticeable that *beta* alone shows an obstinate tendency to out-top the rest. (At all times in the papyrus period that letter appears to have caused more or less trouble to the scribes; perhaps the double bow was an inconvenience which induced impatience and led to malformation and exaggeration.) And particular attention is to be drawn to a tendency to draw down the head of *sigma* in a decided curve, especially when the letter stands at the end of a line. This is only another instance of invasion by a cursive form, and indicates progress.

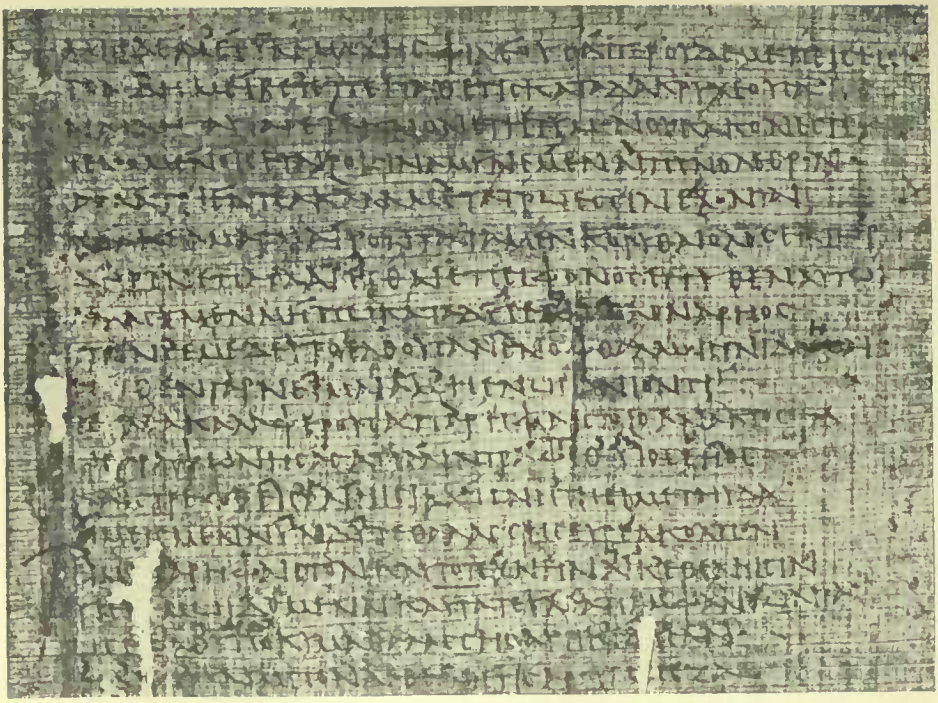
An exception to the round-hand style is found in the Harris Homer (Brit. Mus., Pap. cvii), which is now placed in the first century A. D., instead of in the preceding century according to former opinion.

No. 10

The papyrus takes its name from the first owner, after it was recovered in 1849–50, Mr. A. C. Harris of Alexandria; and it contains book xviii of the *Iliad*, with certain imperfections. It is much discoloured and, for that reason, does not lend itself favourably to reproduction. The chief characteristics of the writing are its uprightness, if anything rather inclining to the left, and the lightly touched and delicate formation of the letters. Attention may in particular be drawn to the narrow

[1] Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, pl. iv.

[2] Kenyon, *Pal. Gk. Pap.* 87, 88.



HARRIS HOMER.—FIRST CENTURY

(μηδε μ ερυκε μαχης φιλεουσα περ ουδε με πεισεις
τον δ ημειβετ επειτα θετις κατα δακρυ χεουσα
ναι δη ταυτα γε τεκνον ετητυμον ου κακον εστι
τειρομενοις εταιροισιν αμυνεμεν αιπυν ολεθρον
αλλα τοι εντεα καλα μετα τρωεσσιν εχονται
χαλκεα μαρμαιροντα τα μεν κορυθαιολος εκτωρ
δηρον επαγλαιεσθαι επει φονος εγγυθεν αυτωι
αλλα συ μεν μη πω καταδυσεα μωλον αρηος
πριν γ εμε δευρο ελθουσαν εν οφθαλμοισιν ιδωμαι
η[ω]θεν γαρ νεξμαι αμ ηελιωι ανιουτι
τε[υ]χεα καλα φερουσα παρ ηφαιστοιο ανακτος
ως αρα φωνησασα παλιν τραφεθ υιος εηος
και στρεφθεισ αλιησι κασιγνητησι μετηυδα
ημεις μεν νυν δυτε θαλασσης ευρεα κολπον
ειμι παρ ηφαιστον κλυτοτεχνην αι κ εθελησιν
υιει [ε]μωι δομεναι κλυτα τευχεα παμφανοωντα
ως εφαθ υπο κυμα θαλασσης αυτικ εδυσαν
η δ αυτ ουλυμπονδε θεα θετις αργυροπεζα)[1]

[1] For the sake of clearness, the corrections and accents inserted by a later hand are not noticed in this transcript.

epsilon and the flattened *omega*: forms, differing from the orthodox book-hand characters, which have already been met with in the Bacchylides. Like the latter MS., and one or two others of somewhat similar type, the Harris Homer occupies a position rather off the direct line.

Near the close of the first century a MS. of great interest comes before us, the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία of Aristotle (Brit. Mus., Pap. cxxxi), the palaeographical value of which is chiefly due to the fact that it can be assigned to a period within narrow limits. It is written on the back of some disused farm account-rolls of the year 78–79, which, from their ephemeral nature, would probably have ceased to be of any use and would have been discarded as waste paper within a few years of this date. A decade of years seems to be a fair allowance of time to have elapsed before the papyrus was put to its second use; and we may therefore pretty safely place the writing of the *Constitution* within the first century, about A.D. 90. The text is in four hands, having been apportioned to as many writers, who worked presumably under pressure of time; and unfortunately only one of them (the second) wrote a form of writing which, perhaps only by courtesy, can be called a book-hand.

No. 11

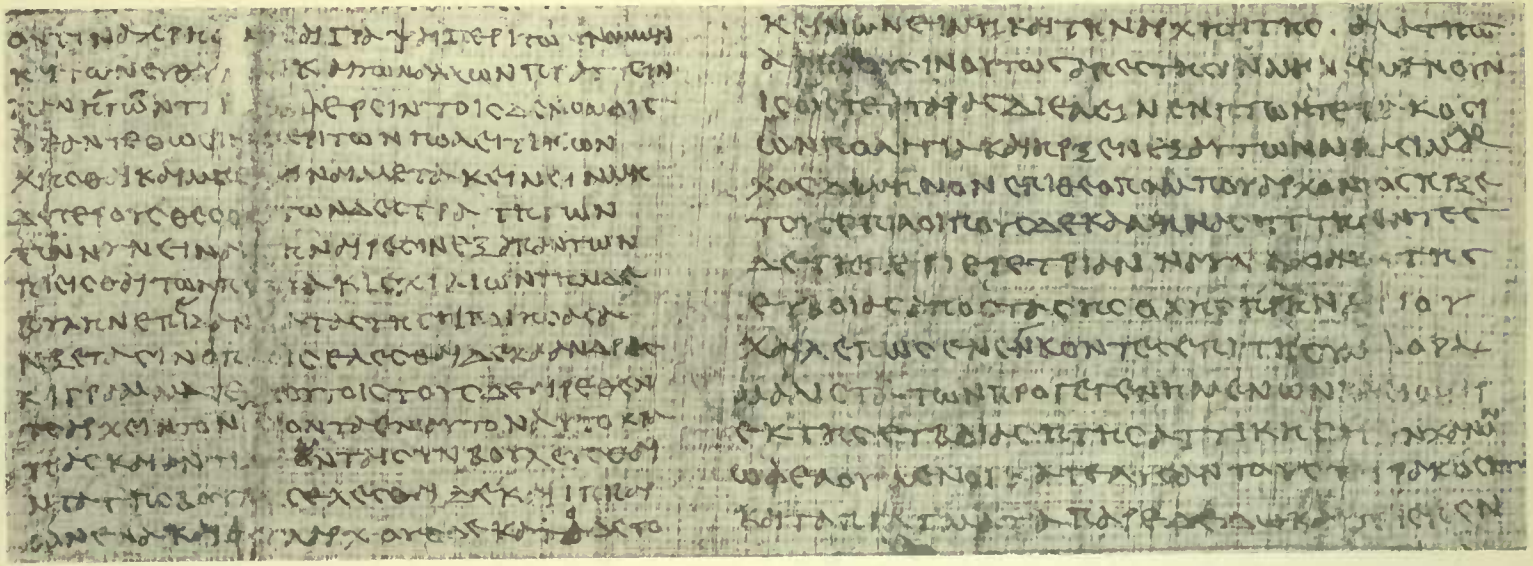
It is worth while to give a specimen of this hand, for it is instructive to see the kind of writing which might be employed to produce a book for private use by a copyist who could write the book-hand, but who, in the circumstances, did not keep to the formal type which would have been required in a MS. written for the market, and did his work in a negligent style, forming his letters loosely and allowing his pen to lapse more or less into cursive. This negligence shows itself especially in the fluctuating shapes of *epsilon* and *eta*, ranging from the formal uncial to the cursive letters, and in the occasional hurried looping of the first limb of *lambda* and *nu*.

Another instance of a work written in the first or second century without any pretension to calligraphy, is the papyrus of the *Mimes* of Herodas (Brit. Mus., Pap. cxxxv). But as the writing is not that of an expert scribe, and is, in fact, a rough and ready script, not connected with what may be called the orthodox book-hand, it is enough to mention it as probably an example of the cheap, if not home-made, scholars' copies which appear to have become more common from this time forward.[1]

A very favourable example of the orthodox hand, carrying on its tradition, is found in the papyrus of the *Iliad*, xiii and xiv (Brit. Mus., Pap. dccxxxii), which is likewise placed at the end of the first or early in the second century,[2] written in the best style, neatly and uniformly, with delicate penmanship.

[1] Facsimile issued by the British Museum, 1892. See Kenyon, *Class. Texts*, and *Pal. Gk. Pap.* 94.

[2] Kenyon, *Pal. Gk. Pap.* 97.

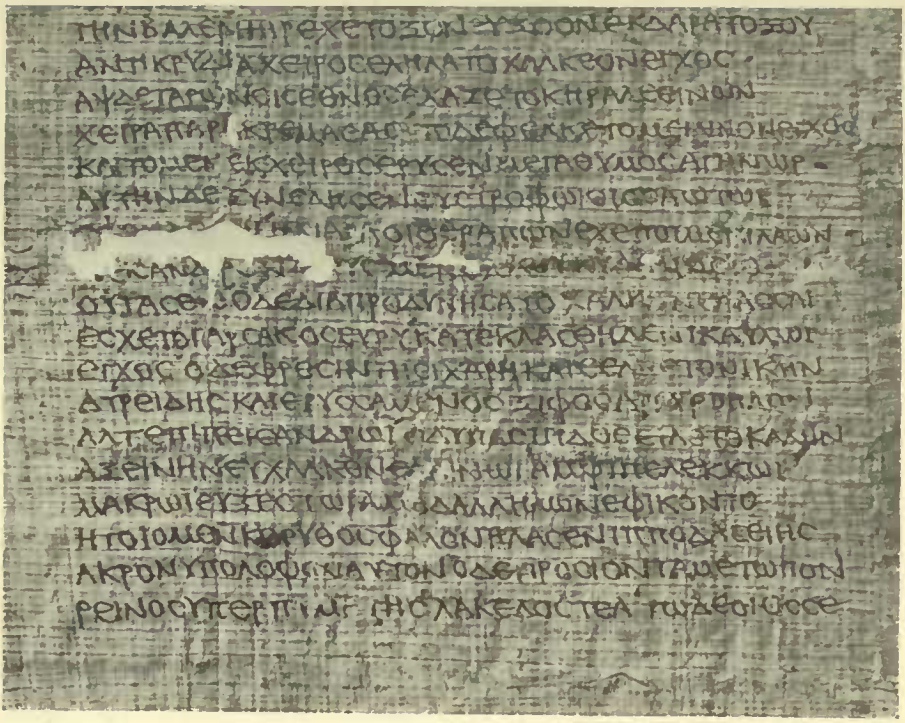


ARISTOTLE.—ABOUT A. D. 90

(ουτινα χρη ομοσαι γραψαι περι των νομων | και των ευθυνων και των αλλων πραττειν | η αν ηγωνται συμφερειν τοις δε νομοις | οι εαν τεθωσιν περι των πολειτικων | χρησθαι και μη εξειναι μετακεινειν μη|δ ετερους θεσθαι των δε στρατήγων | τον νυν ειναι την αιρεσιν εξ απαντων | ποιεισθαι των πεντακισχιλιων την δε | βουλην επειδαν καταστησηι ποιησασα|ν εξετασιν οπλοις ελεσθαι δεκα ανδρας | και γραμματεα τουτοις τους δε αιρεθεν|τας αρχειν τον εισιοντα ενιαυτον αυτοκρα|τορας και αν τι δεωνται συμβουλευεσθαι | μετα της βουλης ελεσθαι δε και ιππαρ|χον ενα και φυλαρχους δεκα το δε το |

κεινων ει μη και την αρχην της [θ]αλαττης | αφησουσιν ουτως απεστησαν μηνας μεν ουν | ισως τετταρας διεμεινεν η των τετρακοσι|ων πολιτεια και ηρξεν εξ αυτων μνασιμα|χος (*corr.* μνασιλοχος) διμηνον επι θεοπομπου αρχοντος ηρξε | τους επιλοιπους δεκα μηνας ηττηθεντες | δε τη περι ερετριαν ναυμαχιαι και της | ευβοιας αποστασης ολης πλην ωριου | χαλεπως ενεγκοντες επι τη συμφορα | μαλιστα των προγεγενημενων πλειω γαρ | κ της ευβοιας η της αττικης ετυγχανον | ωφελουμενοι κατελυσαν τους τετρακοσιους | και τα πραγματα παρεδεδωκαν τοις πεν—)

FACSIMILE No. 12



ILIAD XIII.—FIRST OR SECOND CENTURY

(την βαλεν ηι ρ εχε τοξον ευξοον εκ δ αρα τοξου
αντικρυ δια χειρος εληλατο χαλκεον εγχος
αψ δ εταρων εις εθνος εχαζετο κηρ αλεεινων
χειρα παρακρεμασας το δ εφελκετο μειλινον εγχος
και το μεν εκ χειρος ερυσεν μεγαθυμος αγηνωρ
αυτην δε ξυνεδησεν ευστροφωι οιος αωτωι
[σφενδον]η ην αρα οι θεραπων εχε ποιμενι λαων
ζ πεισανδρον δ ι[θυ]ς μενελαου κυδαλιμοιο
ουτασεν ουδε διαπρο δυνησατο χαλκον ελασσαι
εσχετο γαρ σακος ευρυ κατεκλασθη δ ενι καυλωι
εγχος ο δε φρεσιν ηισι χαρη και εελπετο νικην
ατρειδης και ερυσσαμενος ξιφος αργυροηλον
αλτ επι πεισανδρωι ο δ υπ ασπιδος ειλετο καλην
αξεινην ευχαλκον ελαινωι αμφι πελεκκωι
μακρωι ευξεστωι αμα δ αλληλων εφικοντο
ητοι ο μεν κορυθος φαλον ηλασεν ιπποδασειης
ακρον υπο λοφον αυτον ο δε προσιοντα μετωπον
ρεινος υπερ πυματης λακε δ οστεα τω δε οι οσσε)

No. 12

The writing is very upright, with even some tendency to slope backwards. Comparing it with that of the *Odyssey* above and taking a general view of the two hands, the advance in the *Iliad* is perceptible in the compression of the writing and consequent loss of even spacing, so marked a characteristic of the older MS. This compression or close packing seems to be induced by the backward slope given to so many of the strokes, and the same reason may account for the scribe's tendency to make the cross-stroke in *alpha*, *epsilon*, and *theta* oblique. The individual letters are generally restrained, and even archaistic in certain forms: e.g. *alpha* reverts to the old capital shape with cross-bar, and *zeta* not unfrequently shows the old style, with the oblique stroke meeting the lower horizontal in the middle. These peculiarities, however, must be regarded only as affectations of the scribe; for we have to set against them such undoubted later forms as seen in *mu* and *xi*.

Before entering on the second century, the period in which the book-hand in papyri may be said to decline from the exactness of the earlier examples, we may pause for a moment to consider the situation.

In the fourth century B.C. we found a literary hand, not of the finest type indeed, but, though rough, still vigorous. Further discoveries may put us in possession of better written examples than the one which represents that century in the *Persae* of Timotheus; and we have little doubt that this will be so, for the refined style exhibited in the MSS. of the third century must have covered some decades at least in course of developement and postulates a proportionate refinement in the older period. The style of the third century B.C. is free and, in a sense, natural; that is, the individual letters are not cast into uniform moulds but are allowed to keep to the relative proportions which they had developed in natural course. But in the second century B.C. the process of uniform moulding had commenced, and thence the direct line of developement of the book-hand produced, at the commencement of the Roman period of government in Egypt, a careful round-hand, in which, as far as possible, the several letters ranged in size of body, so as to fill with fair uniformity the line of writing. This style had become the characteristic book-hand at the time of the Christian era, and appears to have maintained itself fairly well for the next hundred years. Other styles we have also seen indicated. The style of the Bacchylides may be, as has been suggested, an archaistic copying of the MSS. of the third century B.C. The style of the Harris Homer, not so distinctive, we can only describe as a variety, prompted perhaps as a more facile hand and more quickly written. Both styles indicate independent reaction from what

we have termed the orthodox book-hand of the time. In the second century of our era our material is considerably increased. No doubt greater literary activity prevailed; and, with that activity, naturally there was a greater variety of scripts. In general character we shall see the book-hand decline. The careful accuracy, which has been noted as characteristic of the beginning of the Roman period, gives place to a more hurried and looser formation, except, of course, in those examples which were designedly produced as efforts of calligraphy; and we find styles of writing developed which are the outcome of the literary activity referred to, and which appear to have reacted on the regular book-hand. The collection of papyri from Oxyrhynchus in particular is most instructive in providing us with a number of handwritings of various styles, particularly of the second and third centuries, generally the writings of scholars, none of them conspicuous as specimens of calligraphy, and many of them inscribed on the verso of disused papyri. Such, for example, is no. 841 (vol. v, pls. i–iii), Pindar's *Paeans*, written early in the second century on the verso of documents of the previous century; and, as well-written MSS., may be cited the two copies of Plato's *Phaedrus*, no. 1017 (vol. vii, pl. vi) and no. 1016 (vol. vii, pl. v), assigned respectively to the second or third, and the third, century. In this period a small style of hand seems to have come into favour, no doubt for convenience and speed in writing: such, for example, as no. 853 (vol. vi, pl. iv), a commentary on Thucydides, written on the back of documents of the second century, in an upright and neat, but not calligraphic, hand; and again, no. 843 (vol. v, pl. vi), Plato's *Symposium*, in a regular hand but of ordinary character, also of the end of the second century. Further, a mark of progress and haste is the increasing tendency to write in sloping letters, breaking away from the older tradition of the more leisurely upright hand. This style asserted itself in the second century, and in the course of the third century became a recognized form of literary hand, and, in a calligraphic cast, appears as a book-hand for MSS. produced for the market. Instances of this class of literary hand are no. 852 (vol. vi, pls. ii, iii), the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, in a small, rather fine writing, slightly sloping, of the second century; no. 842 (vol. v, pls. iv, v), the *Hellenica*, perhaps of Cratippus, written on the verso of disused papyrus in a small sloping hand, rather restrained, of the second or third century; no. 33 (vol. i, pl. vi), the *Laws* of Plato, in a fairly good hand of the same style, of the third century; and especially no. 223 (vol. ii, pl. i), the *Iliad*, book v, written excellently well, early in the third century, to which there will be occasion to refer below. Again, a good example of a hand sloping rather backwards, which recalls the style of the Harris Homer, appears in a fragment of the Κόλαξ of Menander (no. 409, vol. iii, pls. ii, iii), of the second century;

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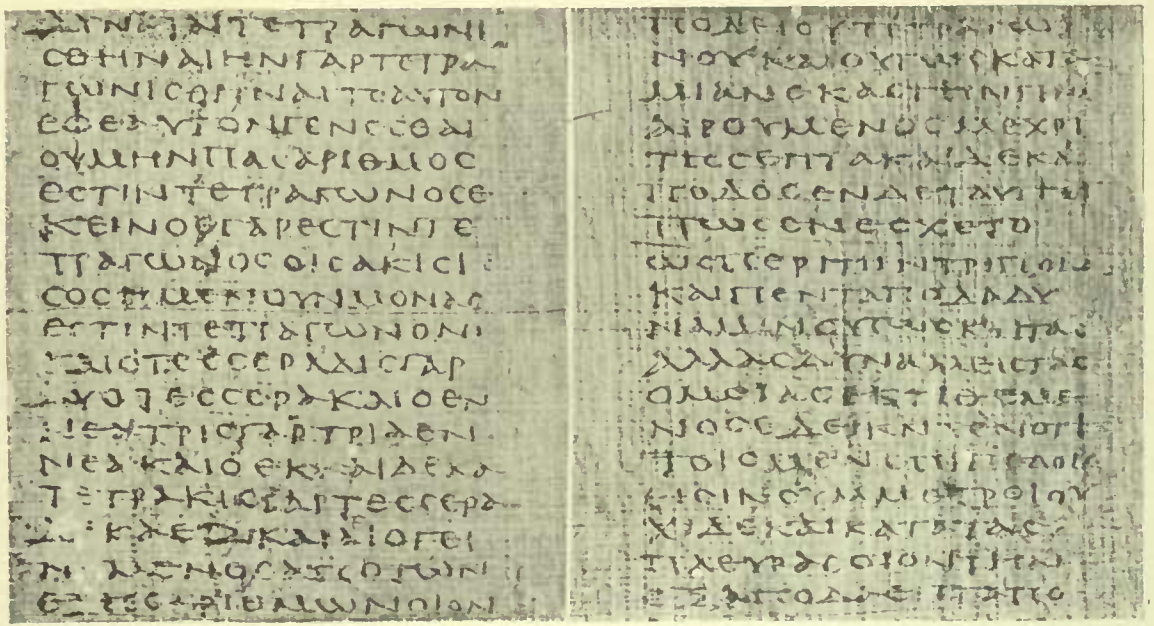


COMMENTARY ON THE THEAETETUS OF PLATO.—SECOND CENTURY

(δυναται τετραγωνι|σθηναι ην γαρ τετρα|γωνισθηναι το αυτον | εφ εαυτον γενεσθαι | ου μην πας αριθμος | εστιν τετραγωνος ε|κεινος γαρ εστιν τε|τραγωνος ο ισακις ι|σος η μεν ουν μονας | εστιν τετραγωνον | και ο τεσσερα δις γαρ | δυο τεσσερα και ο ει|νεα τρις γαρ τρια ει|νεα και ο εκκαιδεκα | τετρακις γαρ τεσσερα | δεκαεξ και δ᾽ε᾽ι ο γει|νομενος απο των | εξης αριθμων οιον ποδ᾽ι᾽ειου τετραγω|νου και ουτως κατα | μιαν εκαστην προ|αιρουμενος μεχρι | της επτακαιδεκα | ποδος εν δε ταυτηι | πως ενεσχετο | ως περι την τριποδα | και πενταποδα δυ|ναμιν ουτως και τας | αλλας δυναμεις τας | ομοιας εκτιθεμε|νος εδεικνυεν οτι | τοις μεν επιπεδοις | εισιν συμμετροι ου|χι δε και κατα τας | πλευρας οιον την | εξαποδα επταπο)

and another, of somewhat like character, in no. 9 (vol. i, pl. iii), Aristoxenus on metre, of the early third century.

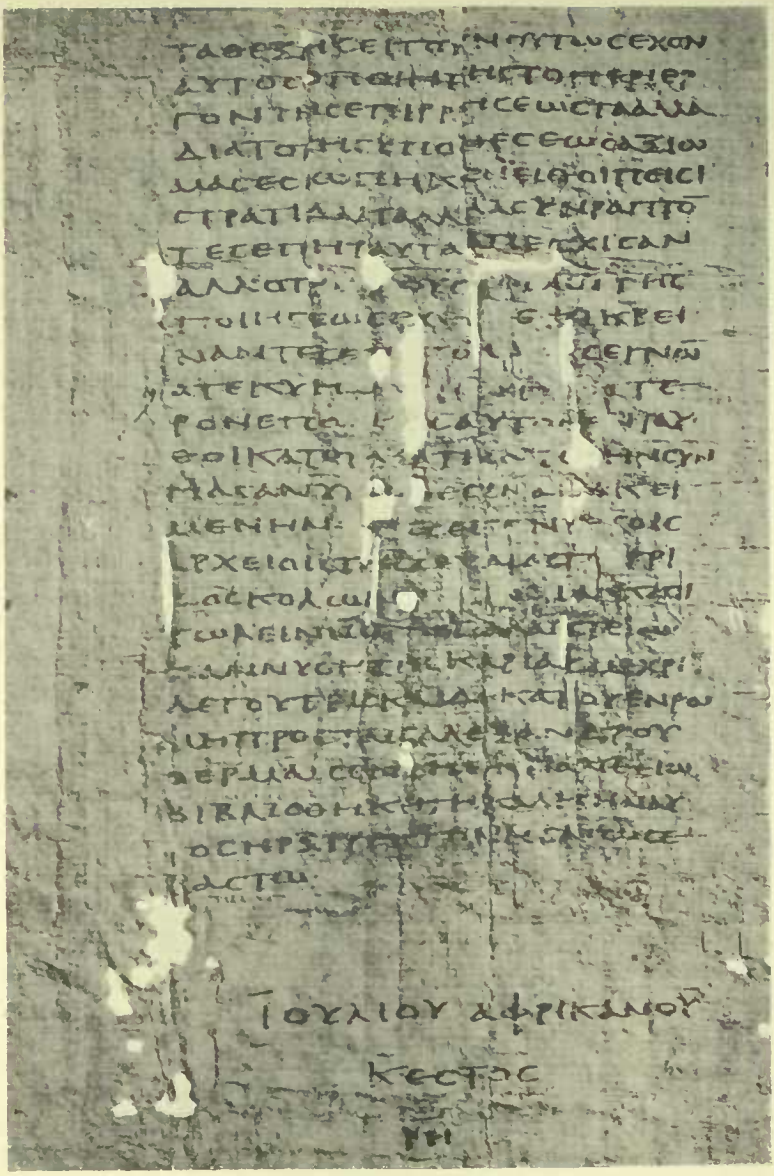
We now proceed on our course. But it will be convenient, for the moment, to pass over certain examples which will require separate treatment, as belonging to a branch through which can be traced more clearly the connexion of the book-hand of the papyri with the book-hand of the vellum codices.

To illustrate the papyrus book-hand of the second century, in the direct line, we select a facsimile from the remarkably fine MS. containing a commentary on the *Theaetetus* of Plato, now in Berlin (*New Pal. Soc.* 103).

No. 13

The writing, it will be seen, is of a good fluent style, by a well skilled hand, easy in its action. There is a slight tendency to ornamental finish, as might be expected of so ready a penman as the scribe must have been. Comparing it with the earlier examples, e.g. the *Odyssey* (Facs. 8) and the *Iliad* (Facs. 12), there is here evident a greater breadth in the formation, and a wider spacing, of the letters. It is this breadth and increased freedom, as compared with the more precise regularity of the older examples, that give the impression of progress; for in the actual structure of the individual letters there is very little variation. Indeed, the difficulty, in such an instance as the present one, of judging of the age of book-hand papyri is very great; for the number of examples is comparatively limited, and they have to be distributed over so large a space of time, that it is only when certain of them can be grouped within not too wide a period and can therefore individually give support to each other in the sequence assigned to them, that we can be said to be standing on fairly firm ground. Then the eye acquires a familiarity with the character of the writing and its subtle changes, and the palaeographer developes a kind of instinct for the exercise of his judgement and for the conclusions at which he arrives. But when the examples lie far apart in date, then we cannot speak without diffidence and reserve, recognizing that further discoveries may largely modify present opinion.

We are in a better position in regard to the next example, of the third century, book xviii of the Κεστοί of Julius Africanus, found at Oxyrhynchus in 1897 (*New Pal. Soc.* 104). From internal evidence the work itself can hardly be earlier than the year 225; and the verso of the papyrus contains a deed of the reign of the Emperor Tacitus, A. D. 275–6. The date of the MS. may, therefore, be placed approximately in the middle of the century.



JULIUS AFRICANUS.—MIDDLE OF THIRD CENTURY

(τα θ εξης ειτ ουν ουτως εχον | αυτος ο ποιητης το περιερ|γον της επιρρησεως τα αλλα | δια το της υποθεσεως αξιω|μα σεσιωπηκεν ειθ οι πεισι|στρατιδαι τα αλλα συνραπτο(ν)|τες επη ταυτα απεσχισαν | αλλοτρια του στοιχου της | ποιησεως εκει . . επικρει|ναντες επ . πολλο . ς εγνω(ν) | ατε κυημα . . λυτ . . εστε|ρον επ . . κ . ς αυτος ενταυ|θοι κατεταξα την τε . ην συν|πασαν υποθεσιν ανακει|μενην . . ρεσεις εν τε τοις | αρχειοις της αρχαιας π . τρι|δος κολων . . . . λιας καπι|τωλειινης της παλαιστεινη . | καν νυση της καριας μεχρι | δε του τρισκαιδεκατου εν ρω|μη προς ταις αλεξανδρου | θερμαις εν τη εν πανθειω | βιβλιοθηκη τη καλη ην αυ|τος ηρξιτεκτονησα τω σε|βαστω·

ιουλιου αφρικανου

κεστος

ιη)

No. 14

Here again, there is little to choose between the actual structure of the letters of this example and of those of the *Theaetetus*; but in the execution of the writing there is a very palpable falling off. The writer of the MS. before us was no doubt a professional scribe, but not so expert as the writer of the earlier MS. The general character is rather commonplace and lacks the distinction of the *Theaetetus*, being inclined to heaviness in the down-strokes. These marks of deterioration, if we may venture to generalize on a slender basis, seem to indicate a decline in the third century from the higher standard of earlier times.

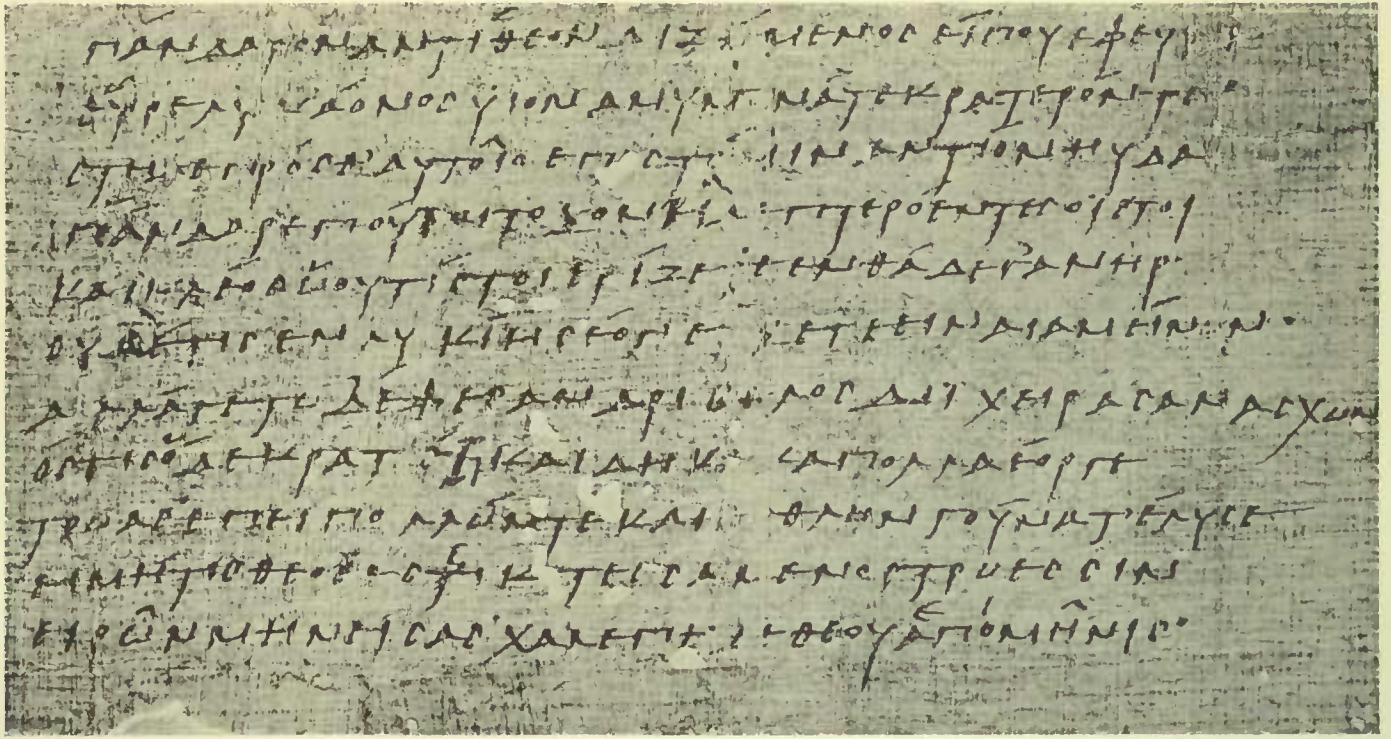
Reference has been made above to the sloping book-hand which developed in the course of the second century and was brought to a calligraphic perfection in the third century. The growth of this style of writing was a natural consequence of the necessity for quicker production on the increasing literary demands of the time; and it is to be remarked that exactly the same result followed in the period of vellum MSS. when the pressure of greater expedition produced a sloping hand in succession to the early upright uncial. An elegant example is found in a fragment of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, in Berlin;[1] and a well-known instance is the papyrus book containing the *Iliad*, books ii–iv, in the British Museum (Pap. cxxvi): both of the third century. Here we give a facsimile from the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, no. 223 (vol. ii, pl. i), the *Iliad*, book v (now in the Bodleian Library), which has been mentioned above. The handwriting is so evidently that of an expert scribe that we might at once assume that the MS. had been executed for the market, had it not been inscribed on the verso of an obsolete document of the year 186. Fortunately for the palaeographer, this circumstance provides a *terminus a quo*, and the date of the MS. is accordingly placed early in the third century.

No. 15

One of the leading characteristics of the sloping hand is the contrast of heavy and light strokes, the down-strokes very frequently beginning with a thickening and running off fine: very much what we notice in a modern sloping hand written with a pliant pointed nib, such as the point of a reed-pen might have been. Round curves give place to ovals, as seen in the narrow *epsilon*, *theta*, *omikron*, and *sigma* and in the bow of *rho*; and we notice a reversion of *omikron* to the old small form of the letter.

Here we leave the direct line of developement of the book-hand on papyrus. Arrived at the third century we are in touch with the period

[1] Wilcken, *Tafeln zur älteren griech. Palaeographie*, iii.



ILIAD V.—EARLY THIRD CENTURY

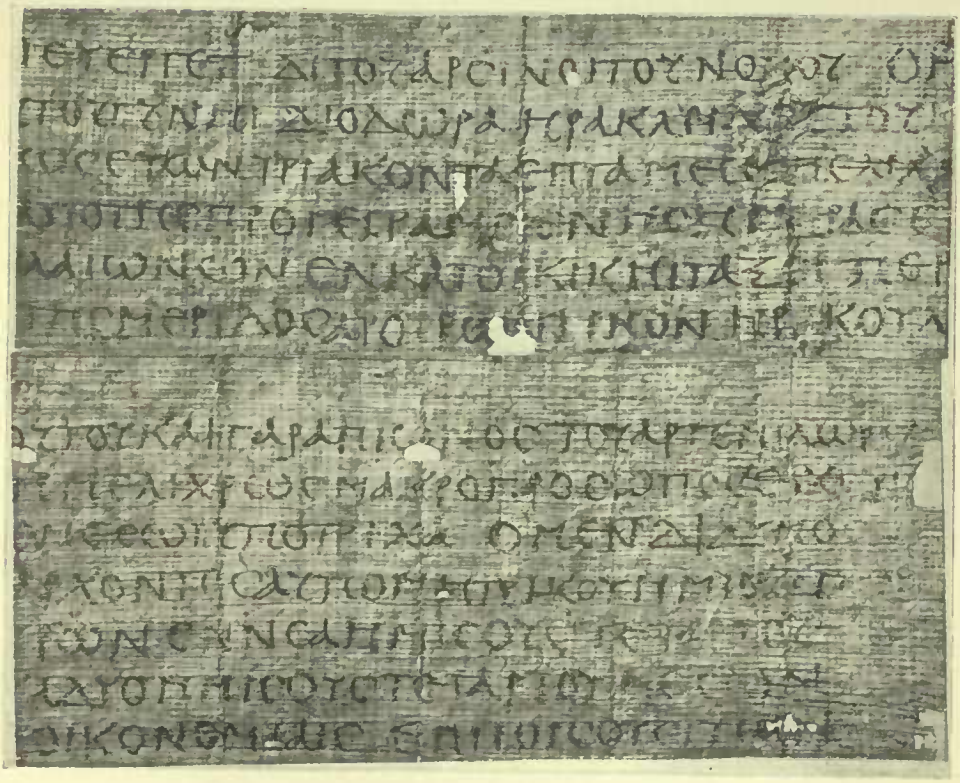
(πάνδαρον αντίθεον διζήμενος έι που εφευροι·
εῦρε λυκάονος ὔιον αμυμονά τε κρατερόν τε·
στη δε πρόσθ' αυτοῖο επος τέ μιν αντίον ηυδα·
πάνδαρε πού τοι τοξον εἰδε πτερόεντες οϊστοι
και κλέος ὠ ου τίς τοι ερίζετε ενθάδε γ' ανηρ·
ουδέ τις εν λυκίη σέο γ' εύχετε ειναι αμείνων·
αλλ άγε τωδ' έφες ανδρι βελος δϊ χειρας ανασχων
ός τις ὅδε κρατέει και δη κακα πολλα έοργε
τρωας· επει πολλών τε και εσθλων γούνατ' έλυσε·
ει μή τις θεος εσϝι κοτεσσάμενος τρωεσσιν
ειρῶν μηνείσας· χαλεπη δε θεου ἀπό μῆνις·)

when vellum was becoming the vehicle for the literature of Greece and Rome; and, although Greek literary works still continued for some time to be produced in Egypt, the field widens and we no longer have to concentrate our attention on the land of the Nile. All the ancient Western world comes under survey; for the vellum codex, which now began to multiply, was not to perish from the effect of climate, as the papyrus roll had perished save in the dry sands of Egypt, but was to endure and spread through the countries of the West.

But, before closing this section of our work, there still remain certain examples which were reserved (p. 133) for special examination as illustrating more immediately the growth of the book-hand of the early uncial codices on vellum from the book-hand of the papyri. As we have already explained, the strong material and smooth surface of prepared vellum were adapted to receive a stronger style of writing, one in which the scribe could give rein to his skill in calligraphy and could produce such examples of ornamental uncial writing as are found in the early biblical codices, wherein so great an effect of beauty is attained by the contrast of fine and heavy strokes in the structure of the letters. It is true that, in some of the later examples of the papyrus book-hand of the direct line of developement which are noted below (p. 141), there appears a tendency to write with a certain amount of that ornamental contrast of fine and heavy strokes; but papyrus was not a material to endure such treatment in any very great degree, and the leading characteristic of writing on papyrus was essentially lightness of stroke.

None of our earlier specimens down to the first century could be pointed to as the lineal ancestor of the vellum uncial hand, although no one would dispute that there is a relationship. The forms of individual letters may be very similar, both in the papyrus hand and in the vellum hand, and yet, if we were to place two such MSS. as the *Euxenippus* of Hyperides (Facs. 9) and the Codex Alexandrinus (Facs. 46) side by side, we should not venture to derive the writing of the latter directly from that of the more ancient MS. But here a most valuable document comes to our assistance in the task of determining the parentage of the later uncial hand. This is a papyrus (Brit. Mus., Pap. cxli; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* ii. 181) containing a deed of sale of vineyards in the Arsinoite nome of the Fayûm, which bears the date of the seventh year of the Emperor Domitian, A.D. 88. The writing is not in the cursive character that one looks for in legal documents, but is of a formal style, in which a likeness to the uncial of the early vellum MSS. is at once most obvious. In the first century, then, there was in use a set form of writing from which that uncial hand was evidently derived by direct descent. And it may be concluded with fair certainty that, even at that early period, this style of writing must have been in

FACSIMILE NO. 16



DEED OF SALE.—A.D. 88

(—ευεργετιδι του αρσινοιτου νομου Ομ— | —του γυνηι διοδωρα ηρακλειδου του— | —ως ετων τριακοντα επτα μεση μελιχ[ρωι]— | —απο της προγεγραμμενης ημερας ε[πι]— | —[ε]λαιωνων εν κατοικικηι ταξει περ[ι]— | —της μεριδος αρουρων τριων ηρακουλ[ις]—

—ου του και σαραπιωνος του αρτεμιδωρου | —η μελιχρως μακροπροσωπος ευθυριν | —μεσωι υπο τριχα ομεν διδυμος | —αρχοντος αυτω μητρικου ημισους . . . | —ρων εννεα ημισους τεταρτου | —[δεκ]αδυο ημισους τεταρτου η οσων | —οικονομιαις επι τοις ουσι των)

existence for a considerable period of time; for here we find it common enough to be employed by an ordinary clerk.[1]

No. 16

It is to be noticed that the writer of this document does not keep strictly to the formal uncial letters. As if more accustomed to write a cursive hand, he mingles certain cursive letters in his text: side by side with the round *epsilon*, there stands in one or two places the cursive, in which the cross-stroke is absorbed by the finishing curve;[2] and, more frequently, the cursive *upsilon* is employed as well as the regular uncial letter. Among the other letters, may be remarked the tendency to make the main stroke of the *alpha* rather upright, which eventually leads to a distinctive form of the letter, as seen fully developed in the palimpsest MS. of the Gospel of St. Matthew at Dublin (Codex Z); in some of the titles of the Codex Alexandrinus; and above all in the Codex Marchalianus of the Vatican[3]—this being in fact the Coptic form of the letter.

It is also remarkable that in one or two places the writer has employed large letters at the beginning of the clauses into which he breaks up the text. This practice foreshadows the use of large initial letters which is a mark of advance in the early vellum Greek codices.

The Bankes Homer (*Iliad*, book xxiv), from which our next facsimile is chosen, is one of the best preserved papyri of the *Iliad* that have yet been found, being nearly 8 feet in length and containing sixteen columns of text; and the material being in good condition and the writing quite legible (Brit. Mus., Pap. cxiv). It is of the second century.

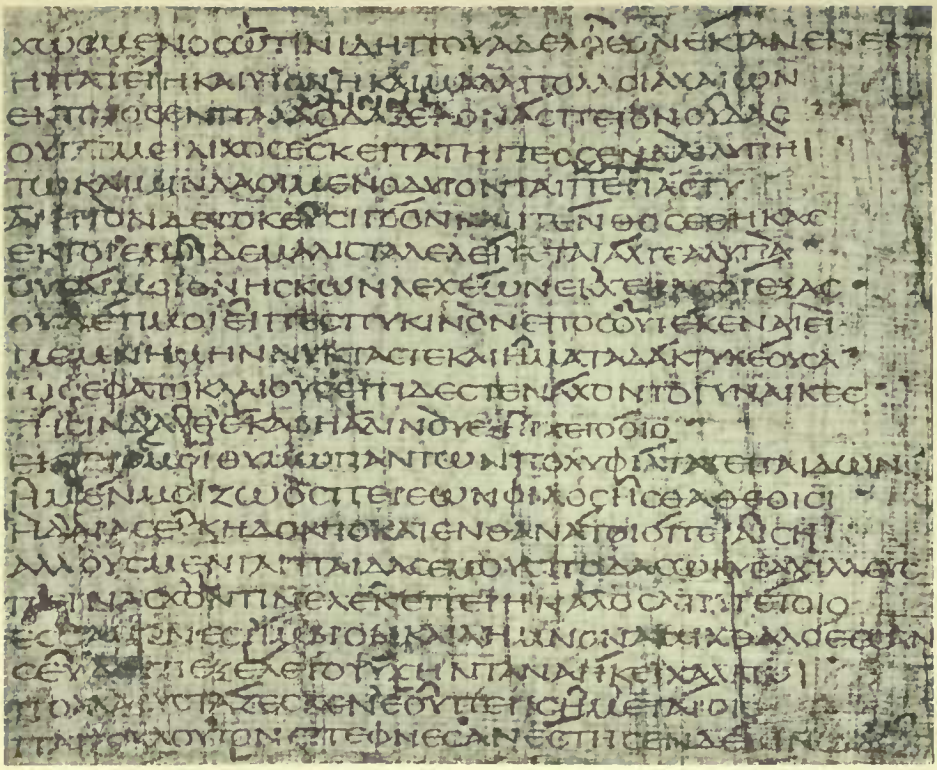
No. 17

The writing of the Bankes Homer brings us very closely to the style of the vellum uncials, the letters being carefully formed and exhibiting a contrast of heavy and light strokes in their structure, to a greater degree than is ordinarily found in papyri. The round letters are well formed on the basis of the circle; and in many instances main vertical strokes are ornamentally finished off with small hooks or cross-bars. One or two points of interest, apart from the actual handwriting, may be mentioned. The lines are marked off in hundreds by numerical letters inserted in the margins; and the speeches of the different persons are indicated by their names, and the narrative portions by a contracted form of the word ποιητής. With very rare exceptions, corrections, accents, and breathings

[1] We have proof that uncial writing was used as the copy-hand for writing lessons in schools, such copies being found on early waxed tablets.

[2] Accidentally omitted in the Tables of Alphabets.

[3] Reproduced in facsimile, with a commentary by A. Ceriani, Rome, 1890.



BANKES HOMER.—SECOND CENTURY

(χωομενος ω τινι δη που αδελφεον εκταιεν εκτ[ωρ]
η πατερ η και υιον η και μαλα πολλοι αχαιων
εκτορος εν παλα οδαξ ελον ασπετον ουδας
ου γαρ μειλιχος εσκε πατηρ τεος εν δαι λυγρη
τω και μιν λαοι μεν οδυρονται περι αστυ
αρητον δε τοκευσι γοον και πενθος εθηκας
εκτορ εμοι δε μαλιστα λελειψεται αλγεα λυγρα
ου γαρ μοι θνησκων λεχεων εκ χειρας ορεξας
ουδε τι μοι ειπες πυκινον επος ου τε κεν αιει
μεμνημην νυκτας τε και ηματα δακρυ χεουσα
ως εφατο κλαιουσ επι δε στεναχοντο γυναικες
τησιν δ αυθ εκαβη αδινου εξηρχε γοοιο
εκτορ εμοι θυμω παντων πολυ φιλτατε παιδων
η μεν μοι ζωος περ εων φιλος ησθα θεοισι
η δ αρα σευ κηδοντο και εν θανατοιο περ αισι
αλλους μεν γαρ παιδας εμους ποδας ωκυς αχιλλευς
περνασχ ου τιν ελε᾽σ᾽κε περην αλος ατρυγετοιο
ες σαμον ες τ ιμβρον και λημνον αμιχθαλοεσσαν
σευ δ επι εξελετο ψυχην ταναηκει χαλκω
πολλα ρυσταζεσκεν εου περι σημ εταροιο
πατροκλου του επεφνες ανεστησεν δε μιν ουδ ως)

and other marks are by a later hand (omitted in the transcript of the facsimile).

The Bankes Homer, approximating in its style so much nearer to the vellum uncial character than the ordinary papyrus hand, was apparently not altogether an unusual exception. For there are indications elsewhere that a heavier type of writing was occasional among the later papyri. For example, among the Oxyrhynchus papyri there is an interesting specimen of this new type, bearing a still closer similarity to the uncial codices, in no. 661 (vol. iv, pl. v), a fragment of Epodes, which is approximately dated in the second half of the second century; and again in no. 844 (vol. v, pl. vii), the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates, we find another instance of a rather heavy large uncial hand of the second to third century.

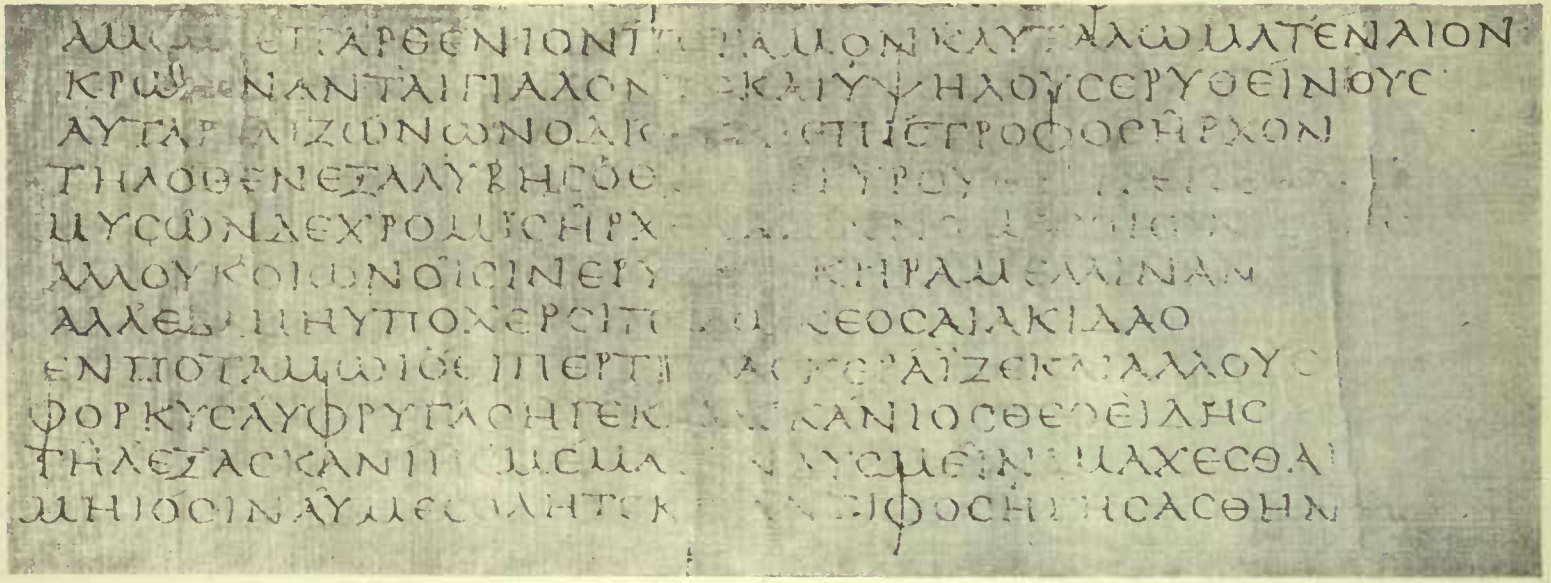
The last MS. with which we have to deal in this section is the papyrus of the *Iliad*, book ii, now in the Bodleian Library, which was found by Professor Flinders Petrie, in 1888, at Hawara, and is thence sometimes known as the Hawara Homer. This papyrus is of extreme interest, for it was the first of its type to be discovered, and its date was a matter of conjecture. Subsequently two other fragmentary examples of the same large uncial hand were found, at Oxyrhynchus and at Tebtunis, both containing lines from the same book of the *Iliad*. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus (now Brit. Mus., Pap. 742) provides valuable evidence for fixing the date of this type of handwriting, since it has on its verso accounts written in a hand not later than the early part of the third century. The second century, then, may be accepted as the period of this fine book-hand.[1]

No. 18

The large scale on which the writing of the Hawara Homer is executed suggests that we have before us a portion of a MS. which must have been unusually sumptuous in style. It is calculated that when complete the whole of this book of the *Iliad*, thus written, would have occupied a roll of about 32 or 33 feet in length: in modern phrase the MS. would have been an *édition de luxe*. This impression is enforced by the style of the letters which, when carefully analyzed, appear to be essentially calligraphic and artificial. It will be observed that we have not here the contrast of light and heavy strokes which we have noticed in other examples as leading on to the style of the vellum uncials. On the contrary, in this instance, the letters are of the light-stroke character which was so suited to papyrus. But, in regard to scale, the Hawara Homer shows a distinct connexion with the uncial codices; and particularly as a MS. of Homer its similarity in style to the Ambrosian vellum Homer has been recognized. One is tempted to suggest that in producing choice copies of a work of such universal

[1] Kenyon, *Pal. Gk. Pap.* 101; *New Pal. Soc.* 126.

FACSIMILE No. 18



HAWARA HOMER.—SECOND CENTURY

(αμφι τε παρθένιον ποταμον κλυτα δωματ' έναιον·
κρωμναν τ' αιγιαλον τε και ὑψηλους ερυθέινους·
αυταρ αλιζώνων οδίος και επίστροφος ἦρχον
τηλόθεν εξ αλυβης ὁθεν αργυρου εστι γενεθλη·
μυσῶν δε χρομις ἦρχε και έννομος οιωνιστης
αλλ ουκ' οιωνοῖσιν ερυσατο κῆρα μελαιναν
αλλ' εδάμη ὕπο χερσι ποδωκεος αιακιδαο
εν ποταμοι ὅθι περ τρωας κεράϊζε και αλλους·
φορκυς αῦ φρυγας ἦγε και ασκάνιος θεοειδης
τῆλ' εξ ασκανίης μέμασαν δ' υσμεῖνι μαχεσθαι·
μηιόσιν αῦ μέσθλη τε και αντιφος ἡγησασθην.)

popularity and veneration as the *Iliad*, a traditional style of fine writing grew up for the purpose; and that the same sentiment of doing honour by this means is to be recognized in the adoption of the fine uncial hand for choice copies of the sacred text of Scripture.

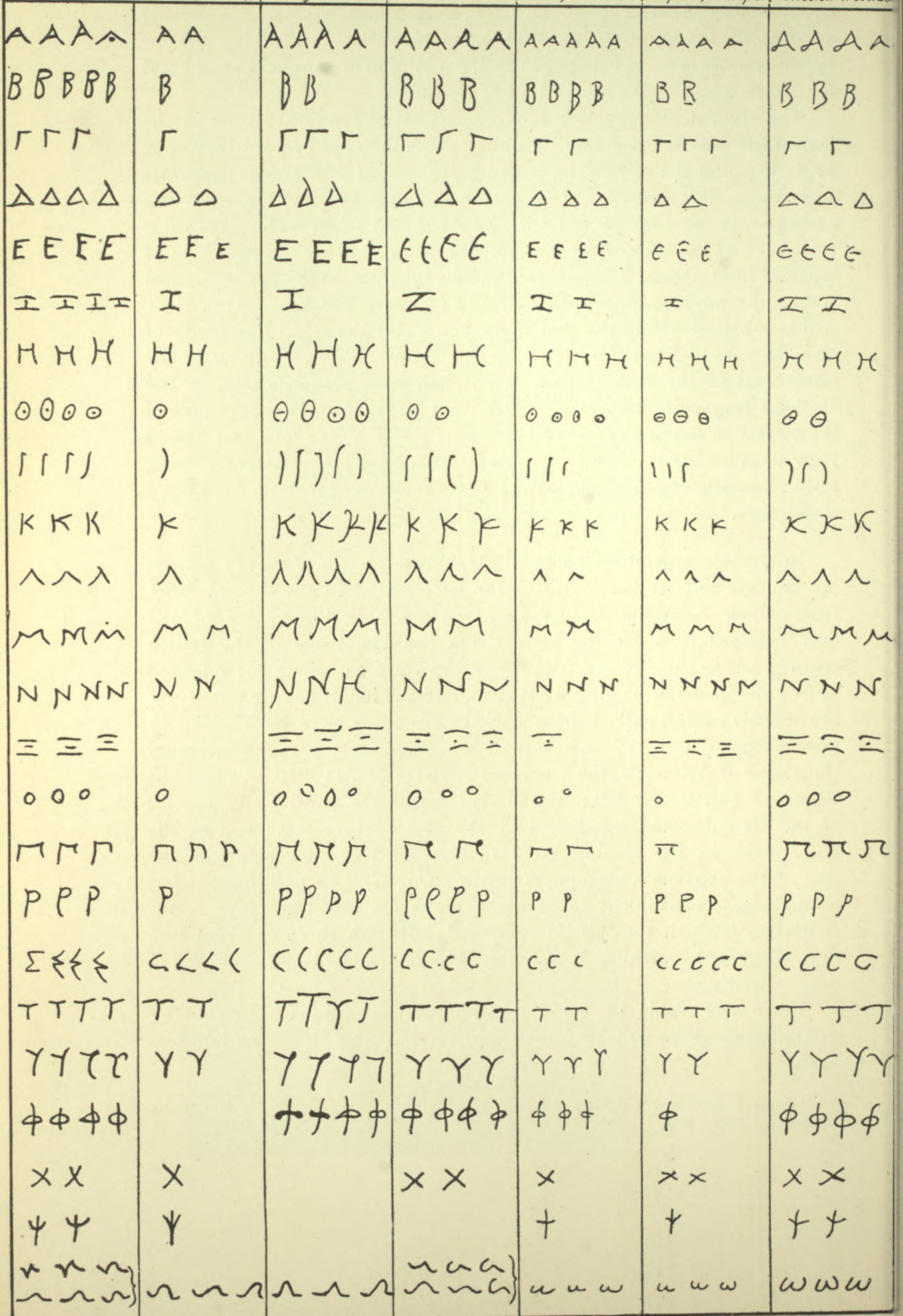
The student will perceive how ornamental the several letters in the Hawara Homer are rendered by adding delicate hooks or head-curves, or by finishing off the extremities with lightly applied thickenings or minute cross-bars. This character of ornamentation may be traced in surviving examples as far back as the reign of Augustus, when such calligraphic treatment of the book-hand was probably suggested by the fine style of lapidary inscriptions. Instances occur, among others, in the Berlin poetical fragment reproduced in Schubart's *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* (pl. 11 b), which is placed within the first century B.C.; in the small fragments of Demosthenes in Kenyon's *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (pl. xvi), of the latter part of the first century A.D.; and, most conspicuously, in the Hesiodic fragment, also given by Schubart (pl. 19 a), of the early part of the second, if not of the end of the first, century A.D.[1] The last-named papyrus is a very beautiful example of calligraphy, the lettering being rather laterally compressed, and the whole resembling a finely sculptured inscription.

In the accompanying Table of Alphabets of the Literary papyri the student will see the forms of the letters used in the several MSS. from which facsimiles have been given above in illustration of the text, grouped in a leading series from the Timotheus of the fourth century B.C. to the Julius Africanus of the third century A.D.; followed by the specimens of sloping writing and of the hands having affinity to the uncials of the early vellum period. To these have been added, in their proper places, the alphabets of the three early papyri containing the Curse of Artemisia, the marriage contract of 311–310 B.C., and the *Skolia* of before 280 B.C.; of the *Antiope* of the third century B.C.; of the Herculanean Philodemus of the first century B.C.; and of the *Iliad* ii–iv in the sloping hand of the third century A.D. In the case of the papyrus containing Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* it has been thought convenient to give the alphabets of all the four hand-writings of which the MS. is composed, although three of them (the first, third, and fourth) might, strictly, be excluded as being examples of cursive writing.

When the Table of Cursive Alphabets in papyri comes under examination, there will be occasion to refer to the Literary Alphabets again.

[1] First published by Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1900, p. 839.

GREEK LITERARY ALPHABETS (N°1)



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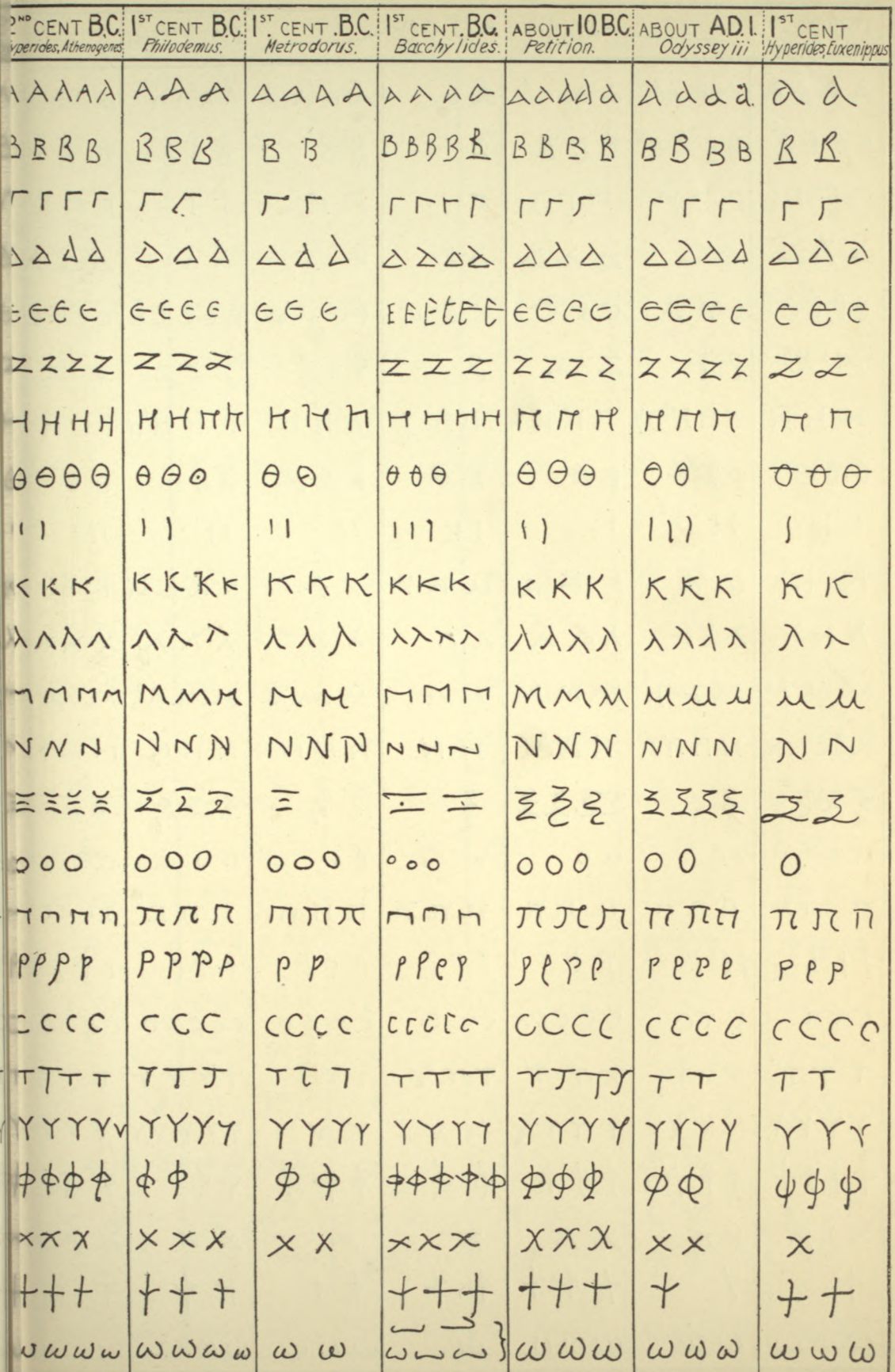

GREEK LITERARY ALPHABETS (No. 3)

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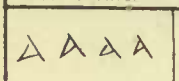	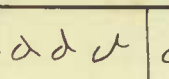		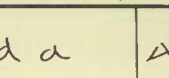	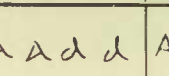	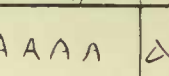	
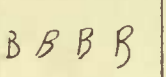	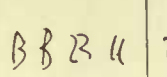	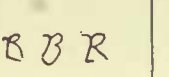		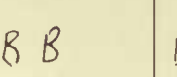	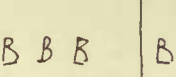	
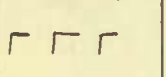	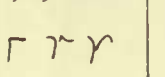	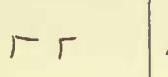			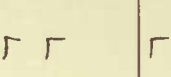	
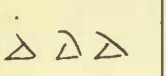	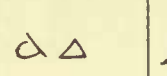	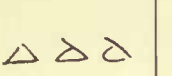	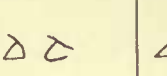	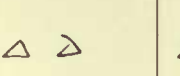	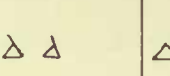	
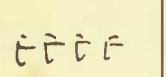	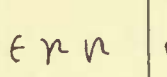	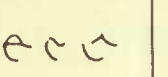	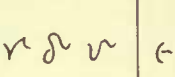	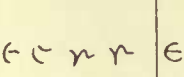	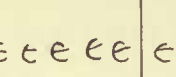	
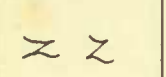	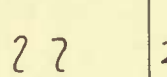	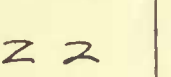		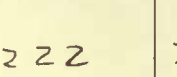		

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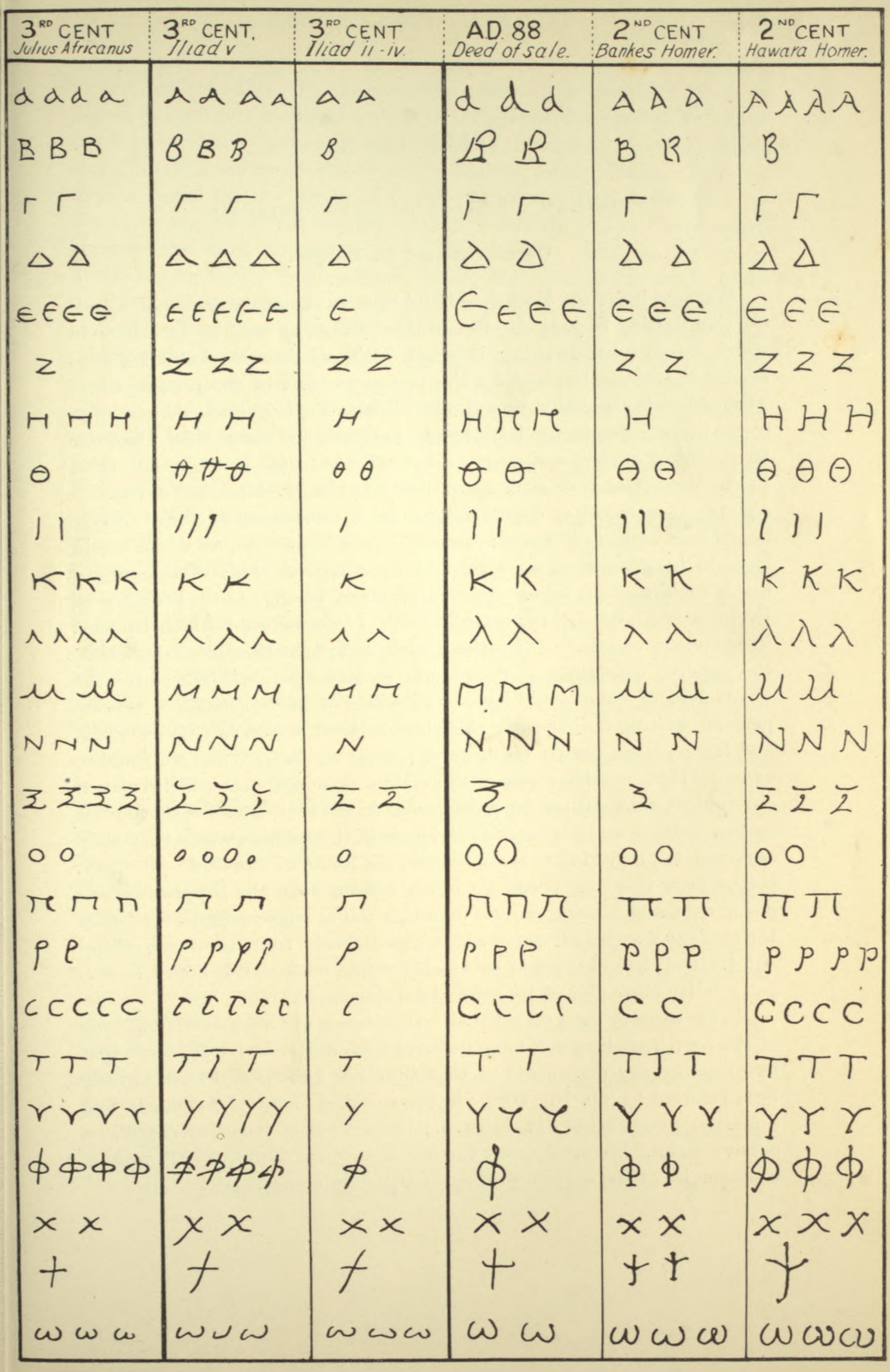


CHAPTER X

GREEK PALAEOGRAPHY (*continued*)

Cursive Script in Papyri.

We now leave the Book-hand and turn to the examination of Greek Cursive writing in papyri. But in this section, as well as in others in which cursive handwriting is dealt with, we must endeavour not to exceed the limits imposed by the primary object of the present work. That object is especially, though not exclusively, to guide to a knowledge of the literary hands, the book-hands, in Greek and Latin MSS.; and our treatment of cursive scripts must not take too wide a range, but must in the first instance be such as to illustrate the developement of literary scripts. In a secondary degree the general developement of official cursive hands falls within our scope; yet much must be passed over which would have to be considered were we making a special study of the cursive hands for their own sake. Such fuller study belongs to the province of Diplomatic, a large and important branch of Palaeography which demands independent treatment. Further, with regard to this present section, the papyrus collections of documents, as already noted, range over the whole field of cursive and include all kinds of handwritings of private persons, writing indifferently their best or their worst, as well as official and legal papers drawn up in more formal scripts. When we come to examine those cursive styles of the middle ages and later which concern our subject, we shall not be embarrassed in the same way, for the private correspondence and papers of individuals of those times, where they have survived, are regarded as lying outside the limits of our field. We may, then, follow this later precedent in our treatment of the papyrus cursive documents, and, leaving minute investigation to papyrologists, lay before the student a series of specimens selected chiefly from the more official and trained clerical types of this handwriting, whence, it is hoped, he will get a fairly clear idea of its general developement.

It has already been stated that no specimens of Greek cursive writing of the fourth century B.C. have hitherto been discovered. It is true that two non-literary documents of that time are known and have already been referred to (pp. 107, 108), viz. the so-called Curse of Artemisia and a marriage contract of 311–310 B.C.; but neither of them is written in a cursive script. We must await further discoveries to put us in possession of examples of the cursive writing of that remote period.

Of cursive writing of the third century B. C. there is now available a very fair quantity. To the collection gathered by Professor Petrie at Gurob, in 1889–90, have been added the fragments recovered at Tebtunis, and from cartonnage mummy-cases at Hibeh, in 1902–3, by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, and the specimens from Elephantine, now at Berlin. Thus we have material for the study of Greek cursive writing as far back as the early decades of the century; but of this material the Gurob series provides the most representative specimens. In addition, it may be worth noting that a few scattered pieces had already for many years been stored in the various museums of Europe; but the antiquity of some of them had not been recognized, and they were thought to belong to the period of the Roman occupation. At Leyden there is a papyrus (Pap. Q), containing a receipt of the twenty-sixth year of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 260 B.C. At Berlin, Paris, and London there are three wooden tablets inscribed with deeds relating to a loan of the thirtieth and thirty-first years of the same king, about 254 B.C. Among the papyri of the British Museum, three, formerly ascribed to a later date, are now more correctly placed in the third century, viz. a petition for redress of grievances (Pap. cvi) of the twenty-fifth year, apparently, of Ptolemy Euergetes I, 223 B. C.; and two others (l and li A) without dates. The Paris collection also contains a long money account for public works (*Not. et Extr.* xviii. 2, pl. xliv) of the same century. A facsimile of a letter of introduction, evidently of this time, is given by Passalacqua.[1] Egger describes a papyrus at Athens;[2] and various Greek endorsements and dockets on Demotic papyri are noticed by Revillout.[3] Ostraka or potsherds also have been found with inscriptions of this period.

Of cursive writing of the second century B. C. we have material in the collection from the Serapeum at Memphis, now preserved in London, Paris, Leyden, etc. (see above, p. 94); other specimens are to be found among the Petrie, Amherst, Tebtunis, Gebelên, and other more recently discovered collections. Of the first century B. C. comparatively little has yet been found, the later middle period of the century in particular being still unrepresented.

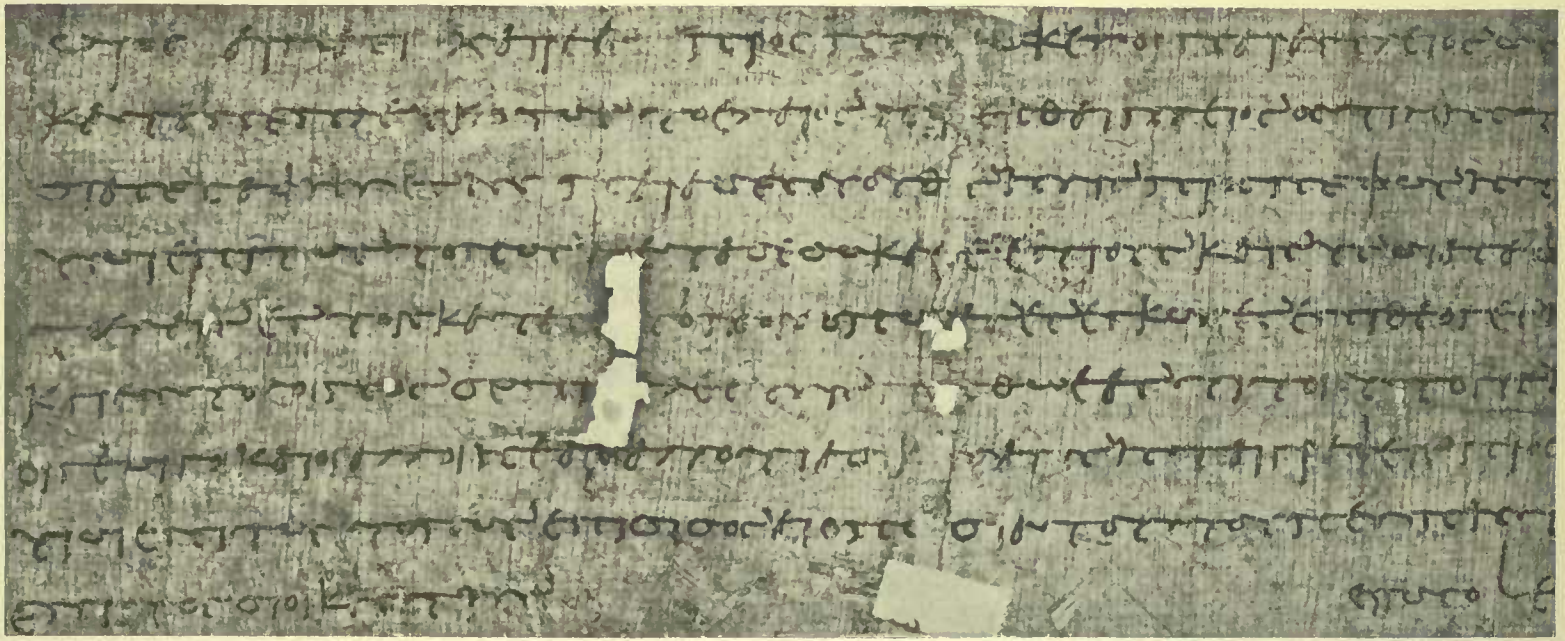
For the first four centuries of our era there is a fairly continuous series of documents. On the other hand, the fifth century is almost a blank, very few papyri of that time having been recovered. In the sixth century, however, the supply revives; and again of the seventh century there is a large series available, particularly of the first half of the century. Cursive writing of the early years of the eighth century is

[1] *Catalogue Raisonné des Antiquités découvertes en Égypte*, Paris, 1826. Also described in *Notices et Extraits des MSS.* xviii. 399.

[2] *Journal des Savants*, 1873, pp. 30, 97.

[3] *Chrestomathie Démotique*, 1880, pp. 241, 277; *Revue Égypt.* ii. 114.

Facsimile No. 19



Official Letter.—242 B. C.

(ωρος αρμαει χαιρειν προσπεπτωκε μοι παρα πλειονων— | καταπεπλευκοτων το ελαιον π[ωλ]εισθαι πλειονος τιμης τ— | διασεσαφημενης παρα δε σου ουθ[ε]ν ημιν προσπεφωνητ— | υιωι επι των τοπων μεταδεδωκα[τ]ε ετι ουν και νυν διασαφ— | το ελαιον εν τοις κατα σε τοποις οπως ανενεγκωμεν επι θεογενη— | και εις το λοιπον δ επι[μ]ελες υμιν τι[θε]σθω εαν τι τοιουτο γιν— | οι γεωργο και οι αλλοι η εαν αλλο τι αδικημα γινηται γραφειν προς— | υιωι επι των τοπων επιδιδοναι οπω[s] δια τουτου πεμπητ[αι]— | επι τον διοικητην

ερρωσο Lϵ)

chiefly illustrated by the more recently acquired collection of documents from Aphroditopolis, which extend to about the year 722.[1]

Greek cursive writing, as found in papyri, has been grouped under three phases, corresponding to the three political administrations which succeeded one another after the fall of the native Egyptian empire. The Ptolemies held the government from 323 to 30 B. C. From the time of the conquest by Augustus down to the reorganization of the empire by Diocletian at the close of the third century, the Romans were in power. From thence to the date of the Arab conquest, A. D. 640–3, Egypt was annexed to the Eastern Division of the Roman empire. With each change of government there was a corresponding change in the general character of the Greek cursive script; obviously to be attributed to the influence of the official handwritings of the time. A change of government was naturally accompanied by a change of officials, and a change of officials by a change in the style of production of official documents. It must also not be forgotten that Greek was the official language employed during all three periods, so that we have the advantage of following the development of one alphabet through the consecutive centuries, although changes in style were periodically effected. It is also to be borne in mind that the Arab conquest in 640–3 did not bring to an abrupt close the use of the Greek language in Egypt. It had, by that time, been employed there for centuries, and as a spoken language it was evidently widespread through the country. Therefore its displacement under the Arab administration was gradual; and the Aphrodito collection proves its survival, at all events for official and business purposes, for another hundred years.

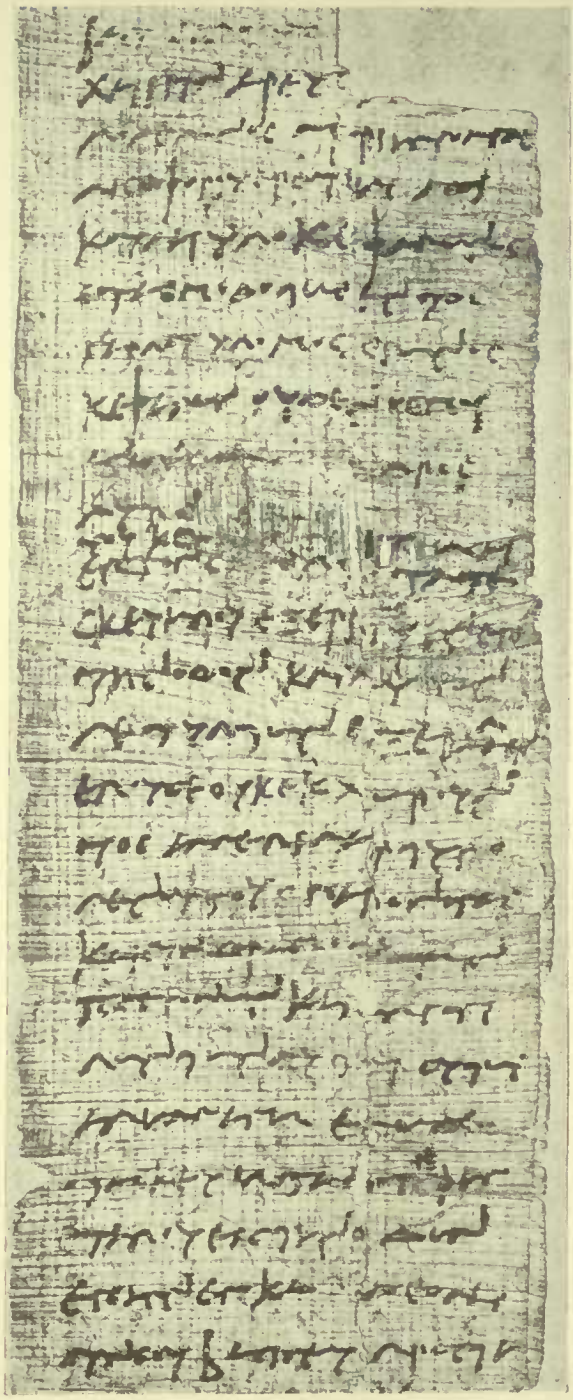
The characteristics of the cursive writing of the three periods, the Ptolemaic, the Roman, and the Byzantine, will be observed in detail as the examples selected as illustrations are passed in review. But, if we were called on to describe briefly and in general terms the distinctive characteristic of each, we would define that of the Ptolemaic hand as rigid strength with natural facility; that of the Roman, as roundness with fluency; that of the Byzantine, as artificiality with exaggeration.

Our first example of Greek cursive writing is from the Gurob collection (*Petrie Papyri*, ii. xxxviii b), a letter from Horos to Harmais, both officials, respecting the sale of oil, dated in the fifth year (the symbol Ⅼ = ἔτους) of Ptolemy Euergetes = 242 B. C. (Bodl. Libr., Gr. class. C. 21 (P)).

No. 19

The writer of this document must have been an expert penman of unusual ability whose handwriting would do credit to any age. And yet he was nothing more than a local official of no particular importance.

[1] Described in *Gk. Papyri in the British Museum*, iv. 1910.



PETITION.—223 B.C.

(*βασιλει πτολεμ[αιωι] | χαιρειν αρευ ..... | πολεμωνος τριπτολιας | μισθοφορου ερετριας αδι|κουμαι υπο κεφαλωνος | σταθμοδοτων οντος | γαρ μου υπο μοσ-χιωνος | κεφαλων ουδενος ποι|ουμενου [υπ εμου] προς | αυτον ..... | του κε L παυνι ζ και | εις τον . . . [τ]οπο[ν] τα τε | σκευη μου εξερριψεν εις | την οδον και αυτον | με τυπτων εξεβαλλ'εν | εμου δε ουκ εκχωρουν|τος αλλ επιμαρτυρο|μενου τους παροντας | και συνδραμοντων | πλειονων και [ε]πιτι|μωντων αυτωι ουτως | απηλλαγη εγω δε | τα σκευη τα αποριφεν|τα μου εις την οδον | εισηνεγκα δεομαι | ουν σου βασιλευ προς τα*)

The general aspect of the writing suggests the suspension of the letters from a horizontal line: an effect produced by the horizontal strokes and links being kept on the same level, and so forming a string sufficiently connected to convey the idea of continuity. Among the letters are to be observed the looped *alpha*; the circular *delta*, the angles of which are altogether merged in the curve; the link attached to the *eta* (a feature of long-lasting persistence); the *lambda* with second leg horizontal; the flat *mu* and *pi*, each one often reduced to a convex curve; the stilted *nu*; and the clipped *omega*. Such a perfect hand, written evidently with the greatest facility, must have a long history behind it; and we await with certainty the discovery of a fully developed cursive handwriting of the fourth century in which we shall find its parent.

The next facsimile exhibits a handwriting of a totally different character. It is taken from a petition for redress of injuries received from a soldier named Kephalon, in the twenty-fifth year of (apparently) Ptolemy Euergetes, 223 B.C. (Brit. Mus., Pap. cvi; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* i. 60, pl. 35).

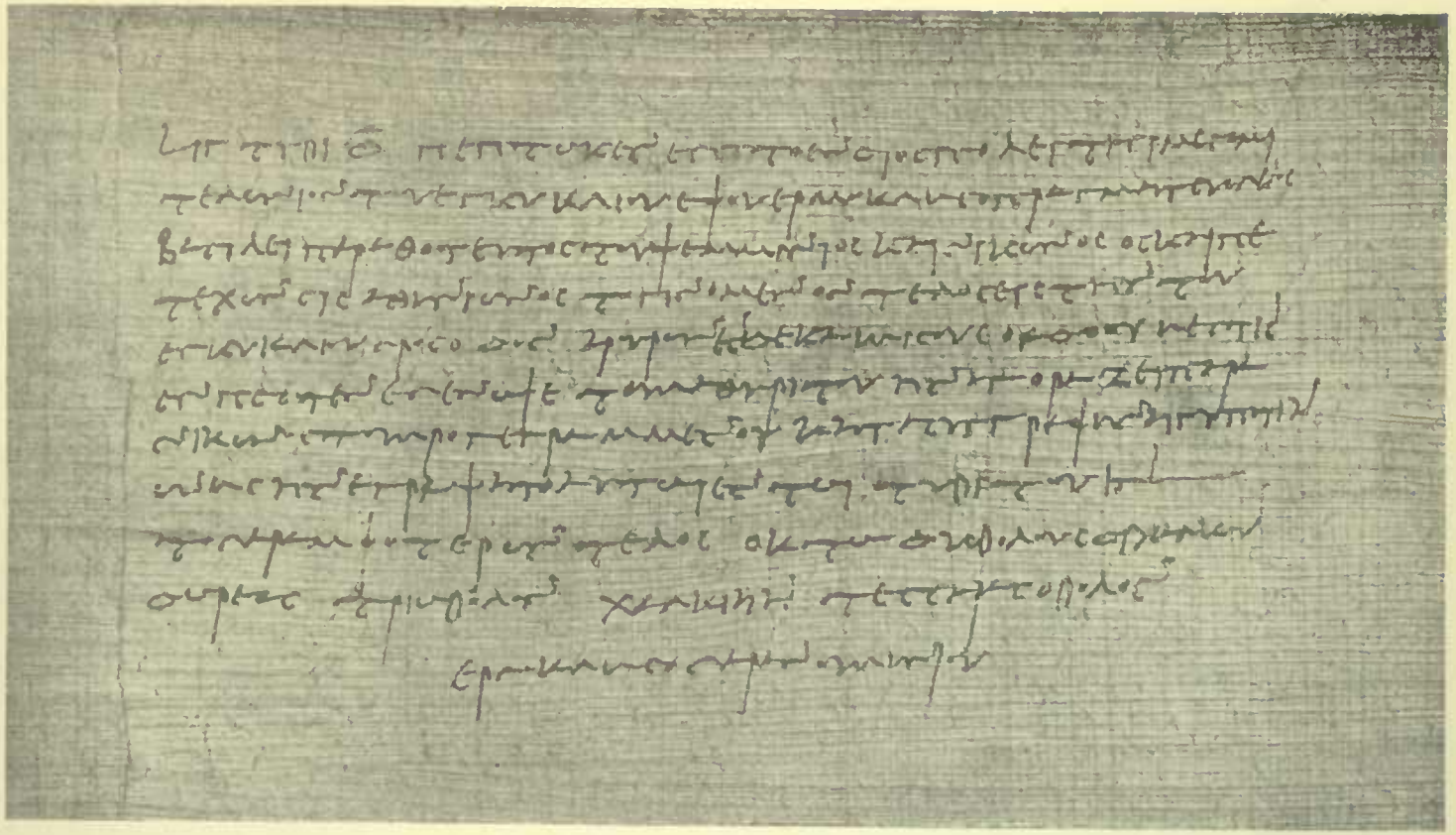
No. 20

This is an example of a very cursive style which, with all its irregular appearance, must have been widely used by expert writers, as well as by ordinary persons. It will be seen that it has none of the calligraphic play with the pen which marked the previous example. The document must have been written with great rapidity, perhaps as a draft, and presumably by an experienced clerk. It is one of the papyri mentioned above (p. 149), which, until recently, have not been recognized as belonging to so early a period as the third century B.C. The same style is found in documents among the Petrie and Hibeh collections. Distinctive forms of letters are the wedge-shaped *alpha*, a peculiarly small form of *beta*, as well as the ordinary letter; the convex *mu* and *pi*; the stilted *nu*; *tau* with the horizontal only on the left of the vertical, and not extending to the right; and the clipped *omega*.

We return to an official type in the next example, a receipt issued by Hermokles, son of Saranoupenios, collector of taxes in Thebes, for payment of a tax on land by Thoteus, son of Psemminis, and another, in the thirteenth year of Ptolemy Philopator = 210–209 B.C. (Brit. Mus., Demot. Pap. 10463; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 143).

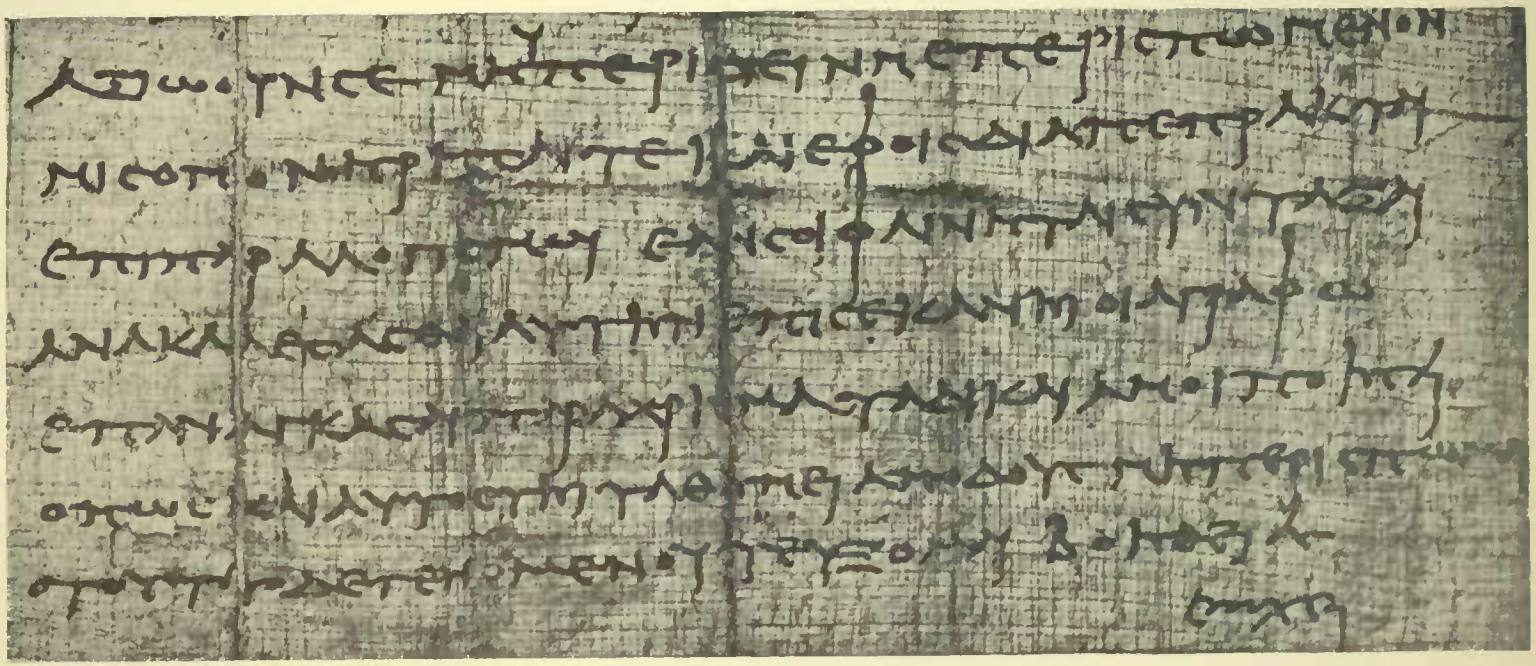
No. 21

In this specimen the descent from the style of the letter of 242 B.C. (Facs. 19) is very apparent; but the calligraphic regularity of that example is here abandoned. Among the characteristic letters will be observed the wedge-shaped *alpha*, the rounded *delta*, the convex forms of *mu* and *pi*, and the clipped *omega*.



TAX RECEIPT.—210–209 B.C.

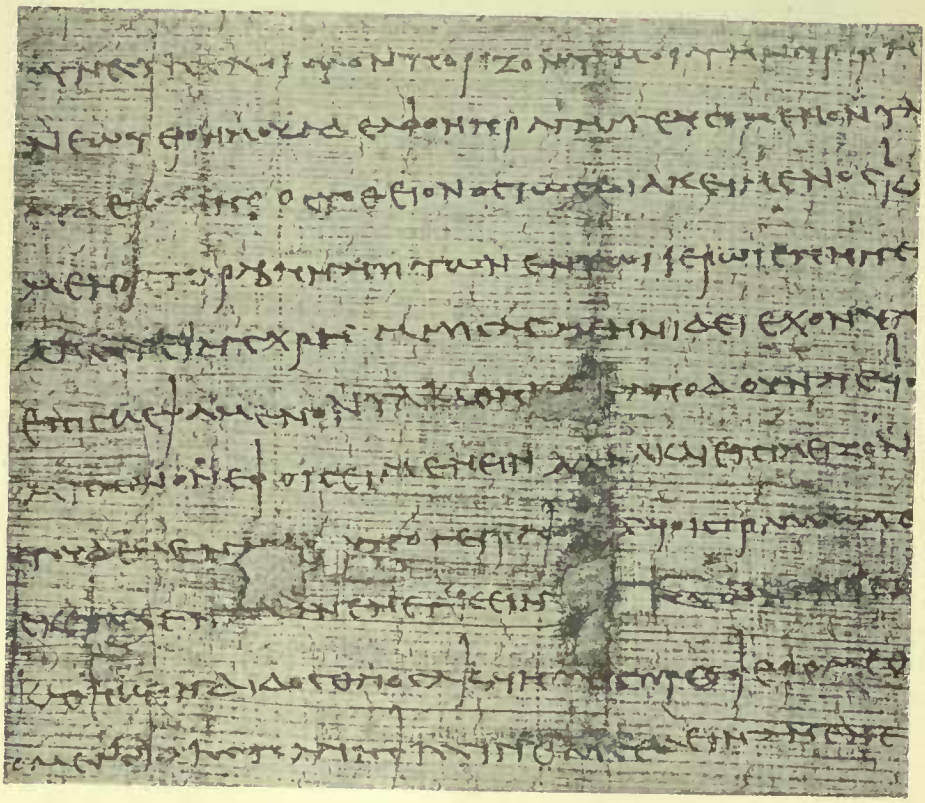
(L [ετους] ιγ τυβι δ πεπτωκεν επι το εν διοσπολει τηι μεγαλη τελωνιον του εγκυκλιου εφ ου ερμοκλης ο πραγματευομενος βασιλει παρα θοτευτος του ψεμμινιος και νικωνος ος και πε τεχωνσις αθανιωνος το γινομενον τελος εις την του εγκυκλιου προσοδον αρουρων ενδεκα ημισους ογδοου η εστιν εν πεστεγεμενωφε του παθυριτου ην αγοραζει παρα νικωνος του προγεγραμμενου κατα συγγραφην αιγυπτιαν ωνης ην εγραψατο αυτωι εν τωι τυβι του ιγ L το παρ αμφοτερων τελος οκτω δυοβολους διχαλκον δωρεας τριωβολον χαλκιαιαν τεσσαρας οβολον ερμοκλης ο σαρανουπηνιου)



PETITION.—163 B.C.

(αξιω ουν σε μη `υ'περιδειν με περισπωμενον
μισοπονηρησαι τε και εφ οις διαπεπρακται
επι παραλογισμωι εαν σοι φαινηται συνταξαι
ανακαλεσασθαι αυτην επι σε καν ηι οια γραφω
επαναγκασαι παραχρημα τα δικαια μοι ποησαι
οπως και αυτος τηι ταθημει αποδους μη περισπωμαι
τουτου δε γενομενου τευξομαι βοηθειας
ευτυχει)

FACSIMILE No. 23



PETITION.—162 B.C.

(συνεστησα σοι τον παριζοντα μοι την τροφη[ν]
νεωτερον μου αδελφον πραγματευσομενον τα[υτα]
συ δε ων προς το θειον οσιως διακειμενος κα[ι ου βουλο]
μενος παραβηναι τι των εν τωι ιερωι επηγγε[λμενων]
απεστειλας χρηματισας μεννιδει εχον υπ[ογραφην]
επισκεψαμενον τα καθηκ[οντα] αποδουναι εφ ο[ις γινοιτο σοι]
μη μονον εφ οις ει μενειν αλλα και επι μειζον[α προαγειν]
του δε μεννιδο[υ] υπογεγραφοτος τοις γραμματε[υσι επι]
σκεψαμενος ανενεγκειν [και το]υτων ανεν[ηνοχοτων]
καθηκειν διδοσθαι οσα και ημεις προεφερομεθ[α]
ο μεννιδης παλιν φησιν επι σε δειν ανενε[χθηναι])

With the next facsimile we shall pass out of the third century, and it will be seen that the distinctive shallow writing of that period forthwith ceases.

This specimen is a section from one of the Serapeum documents: a petition to the strategus of Memphis from Harmais, a recluse and mendicant, for redress of a fraud by which he had suffered; 163 B.C. (Brit. Mus., Pap. xxiv; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* i. 31, pl. 18).

No. 22

The Serapeum papyri include several petitions, a class of documents which, as already noticed, are naturally more carefully written so as to be read without trouble by the person whose favour is solicited. Hence the present example is in only a half-cursive style: the writing very handsome, bold, firm, and strong; the letters carefully formed, without superfluous linking, *eta*, *pi*, and *tau* being those which chiefly lend themselves to that process. A tendency to run into more cursive forms at the ends of lines is noticeable; in which position the facsimile shows the long *eta* and the wedge-shaped *alpha*.

In contrast with the heavy hand, a light delicate script is also found among the Serapeum documents. Here is given a section from another petition, from Ptolemy, son of Glaucias, the Macedonian recluse already mentioned (p. 95) as the champion of the cause of the twin girl attendants in the temple; of the year 162 B.C. (Brit. Mus., Pap. xxi; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* i. 12; *Pal. Soc.* i. 1).

No. 23

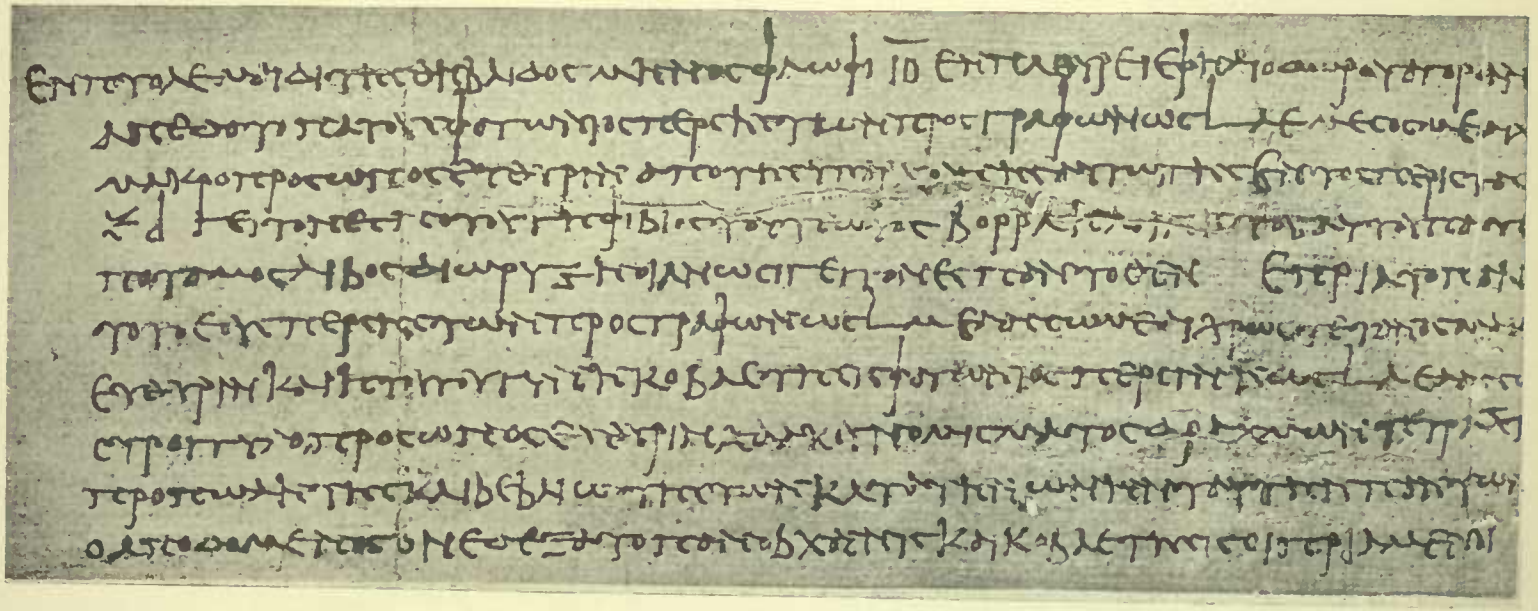
Besides being more delicate in execution than that of the previous example, this style of writing also contains more thoroughly cursive elements, and hence shows greater variety in the shapes of the letters. For example, in the case of *eta*, *kappa*, *nu*, *pi*, *upsilon*, we find variations ranging from the formal to the quite cursive forms. This will be better understood when we come to review the changes undergone by the several letters of the alphabet in their progress from the earliest to the latest examples of cursive papyri.

The next facsimile comes from a deed of sale by Patous, son of Phagonis, a Persian, to Panobchunis, son of Totoes, and his wife Kobaëtesis, of land in Pathyris; 123 B.C. (Brit. Mus., Pap. 879 (i); *Cat. Gk. Pap.* iii. 5, pl. 4).

No. 24

In this example we recognize the same type of writing as in the two preceding deeds, but with some loss of regularity and preciseness, as might be expected with the advance of time. But there is no mistaking the style of the second century. Individual letters show little general

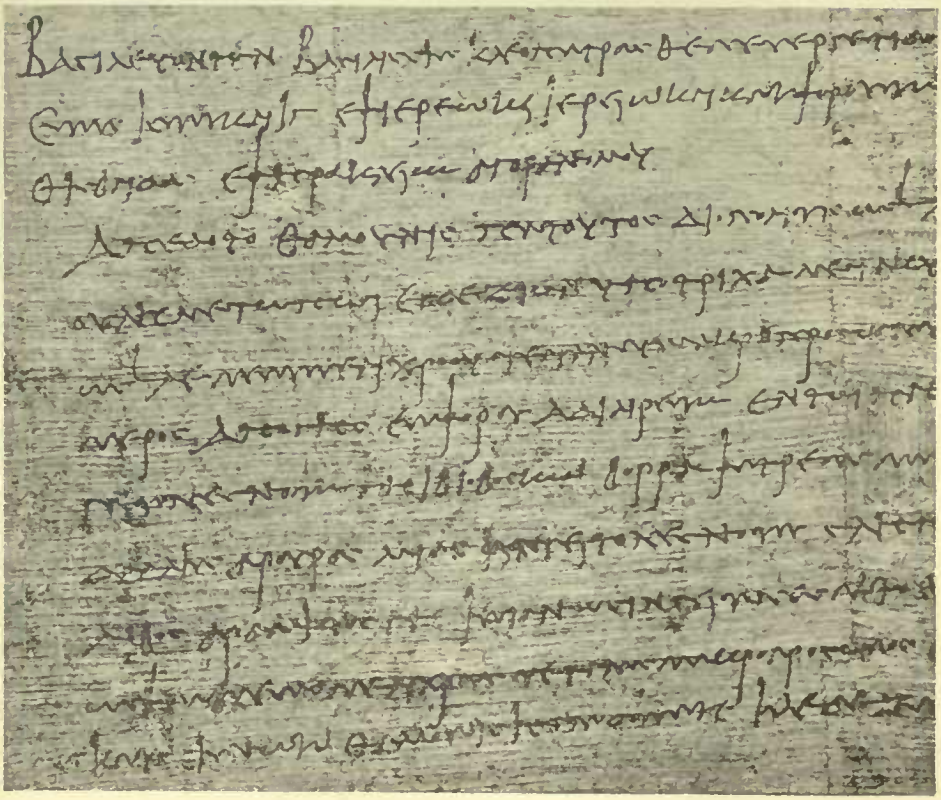
Facsimile No. 24



Sale of Land.—123 B.C.

(Εν πτολεμαιδι της θηβαιδος μηνος φαωφι $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$ εν ποθυρει εφ ηλιοδωρου αγοραν[ομου] | απεδοτο πατους φαγωνιος περσης των προσγραφων ως L λε μεσος μελι[χρως τετανος] | μακροπροσωπος ευθυριν απο της υπαρχουσης αυτωι γης εντος περιστασ[ει παθυρεως] | $\overline{\text{ϡd}}$ γειτονες νοτου γη φιβιος του τεωτος βορρα η λοιπη του αυτου πατ[ουτος απηλ] | ποταμος λιβος διωρυξ η οι αν ωσι γειτονες παντοθεν Επριατο παν[οβχουνις] | τοτοεους περσης των προσγραφων ως L μ ελοσσω μελιχρως τετονος μακ[ροπροσωπος] | ευθυριν και η τουτου γυνη κοβαετησις φαγωνιος περσινη ως Lλ ελασσ[ω μελιχρως] | στρογγυλοπροσωπος ευθυριν χαλκου νομισματος δραχμων τετραχι[σχιλιων] | προπωλητης και βεβαιωτης των κατα την ωνην ταυτην παντω[ν πατους] | ο αποδομενος ον εδεξατο πανοβχουνις και κοβαετησις οι πριαμενοι)

FACSIMILE No. 25

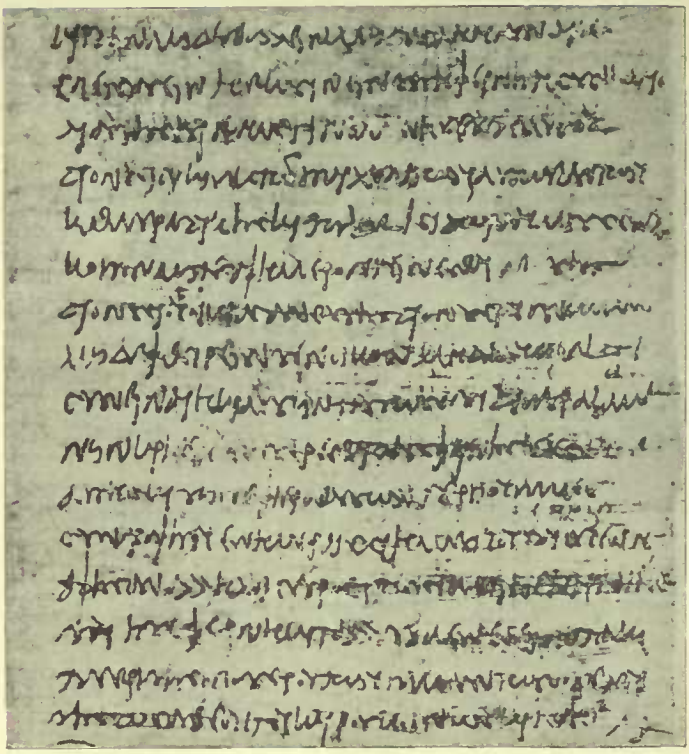


SALE OF LAND.—101 B.C.

(βασιλευοντων βασιλισσης κλεοπατρας θεας ευεργετιδος— | ετους ις του και ιγ εφ ιερεων και ιερειων και κανηφορου των— | θηβαιδος εφ ηρακλειδου αγορανομου

απεδοτο θαμουνις πατουτος διοπολιτις ως L— | ουλη μετωπωι εγ δεξιων υπο τριχα μετα κυ[ριου]— | ως L λε μεσου μελιχροου τετανου μακροπροσωπου— | μερος απο γης εμφορου αδιαιρετου εν τωι παθ[υριτηι]— | γειτονες νοτου γη ιβιοβοσκων βορρα φατρεους μη[τρος]— | δ αλλης αρουρας μιας ης γειτονες νοτου σλην[ιος]— | λιβος αραμητος γη η οι αν ωσιν γειτονες παντοθ[εν] — | ως L μ μεσος μελιχρως τετανος μακροπροσωπος— | κατα την ωνην θαμουνις η αποδομενη την εδεξα[το]—)

FACSIMILE No. 26



MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT.—15–5 B.C.

(βριζειν μηδ εγβαλλειν μηδ αλλην γυναικα
επεισαγειν η εκτινειν την φερνην συν ημιο
λια της πραξεως γινομενης εκ τε αυτου
διονυσιου κ(αι) εκ των υπαρχοντων αυτω παντων
καθαπερ εκ δικης κ(αι) την δε ισιδωραν μητε απο
κοιτον μητε αφημερον γεινεσθαι απο της
διονυσιου οικιας ανευ της διονυσιου γνωμης
μηδε φθειρειν τον οικον μηδε αλλω ανδρι
συνειναι η κ(αι) αυτην τουτων τι διαπραξαμε
νην κριθεισαν στερεσθαι της φερνης θεσθαι δε
αυτους κ(αι) την εφ ιεροθυτων περι του γαμου
συνγραφην εν ημεραις χρηματιζουσαις πεντε
αφ ης αν αλληλοις προειπωσιν καθ ην ενγραφησε
ται η τε φερνη κ(αι) ταλλα τα εν εθει ουτα κ(αι)
τα περι της οποτερου των γαμουντων τελευ
της ως αν επι του καιρου κοινως κριθηι)

disposition to change from established forms, except perhaps in the case of *alpha*, *mu*, and *upsilon*, which occasionally betray a tendency to break into curves.

Continuation of the delicate style of writing of the petition of 162 B.C. at a later date is found in a deed of sale, executed at Diopolis Parva in the last year of Cleopatra III and her son Ptolemy Alexander, conveying land in the Pathyrite nome; 101 B.C. (Brit. Mus., Pap. 882; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* iii. 13, pl. 7).

No. 25

This document brings us to the close of the second century; and yet there is evident but little failure from the firm and steady hand of sixty years earlier. It will, however, be observed how very cursively many of the words are written, individual letters almost losing their identity in the closely linked strokes of which those words are composed. But, if the letters are analysed, it will be seen that old forms are still generally maintained; and that only in certain of them, as *alpha*, *delta*, *mu*, *pi*, *tau*, *upsilon*, is laxity apparent.

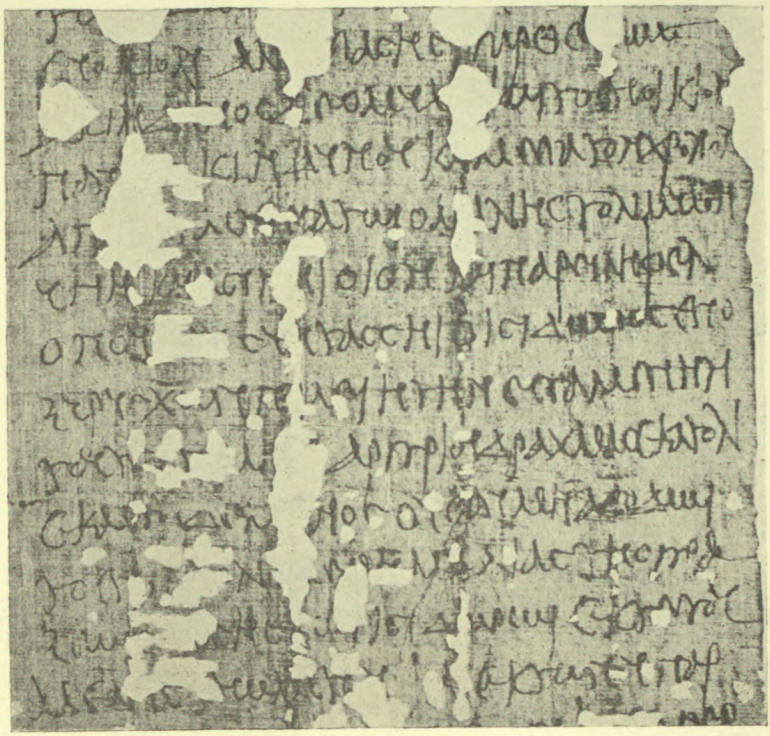
We here leave the Ptolemaic period, for lack of adequate material debars us from more than superficial knowledge of Greek cursive writing in the first century B.C. But it is hoped that the specimens which have been submitted may suffice to convey to the student a fairly correct idea of the character of the Ptolemaic hand, the general attributes of which we have defined as naturalness and vigour. The Ptolemaic is, indeed, a marked style, generally upright and rigid, long resisting that inevitable tendency to pliancy which, as we learn from other phases of handwriting, sooner or later invades and weakens any form of writing, however well-sustained it may remain through a lengthened course of perfection.

We have to pass almost to the end of the first century B.C. before presenting our next facsimile, which stands at the head of the series with which it is proposed to illustrate the Greek cursive handwriting of Egypt under the Roman administration. We enter on the period when the pliancy referred to has taken possession. The contrast of this specimen with those which have preceded it is so self-evident that no words are needed to emphasize it. It is a portion of a marriage settlement of a certain Isidora, wedded to Dionysius, a citizen of Alexandria, at some date between 15 and 5 B.C. (Berlin Mus., Pap. 66 R; *New Pal. Soc.* 176).

No. 26

The writing is unusually small and cursive, and at first sight it appears intricate owing to its pliant character and the prevalence of

FACSIMILE No. 27



LEASE OF A MILL.—A.D. 17

(ενοικιον αι[ευ] πασης [υ]περθεσ[ε]ως | ακινδυνος δε ο μυλ[ος] και το ενοικιον | παν[τος] κινδυνου και μετα τον χρονον | απ[οκα]ταστησατωι ο μανης τον μυλον | υγιηι και ασινηι οιον και παρειληφεν | οπου [εαν] συντασσηι ο ισιδωρος εν ο| ξυρυγχων π[ο]λει η την εσταμενην | τουτου τ[ι]μη[ν] αργυριου δραχμας εκατον | εκαστου δε μ[η]νος ου εαν μη αποδωι | το ενοικιον [μ]εθ ημιολιας της προ|ξεως [ο]υσης [τ]ωι ισιδωρωι εκ τε του | μεμισθωμενου κα[ι] εκ των υπαρ)

ligatures. The document may be a lawyer's copy; and the writing may be classed as a private, as distinguished from an official, hand, but at the same time that of an expert writer, such as a lawyer or lawyer's clerk would be. As such, the specimen lies rather outside the direct line, and might have been left unnoticed but for the dearth of dated examples of this period. However, it has its educational value, in that it illustrates an extremely fluent style in business documents.

The following facsimile exhibits a hand of a more usual type. It is from part of a lease, at Oxyrhynchus, of a mill by a certain Isidorus to Heracleius, son of Soterichus, a Persian; A.D. 17 (Brit. Mus., Pap. 795; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* iii, pl. 18; *Ox. Pap.* 278).

No. 27

A large upright cursive writing of pronounced Roman type; the letters growing loose in construction, with tendency to curves and a round-hand formation. The increasing size of the *omikron* (not universal, but frequent), contrasting with the diminutive letter prevalent in the Ptolemaic period, may be noticed as a mark of the calligraphic effort which now asserted itself to make the body of the letters of a uniform size.

Advancing another half-century we meet with a very neatly written document, which sets before us with admirable clearness the perfect round-hand to which the writing of the Roman period had now attained. It is a sale of a plot of land by one Mysthes to Tesenuphis, in the reign of Vespasian; A.D. 69–79 (Brit. Mus., Pap. cxl; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* ii. 180, pl. 21; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 144).

No. 28

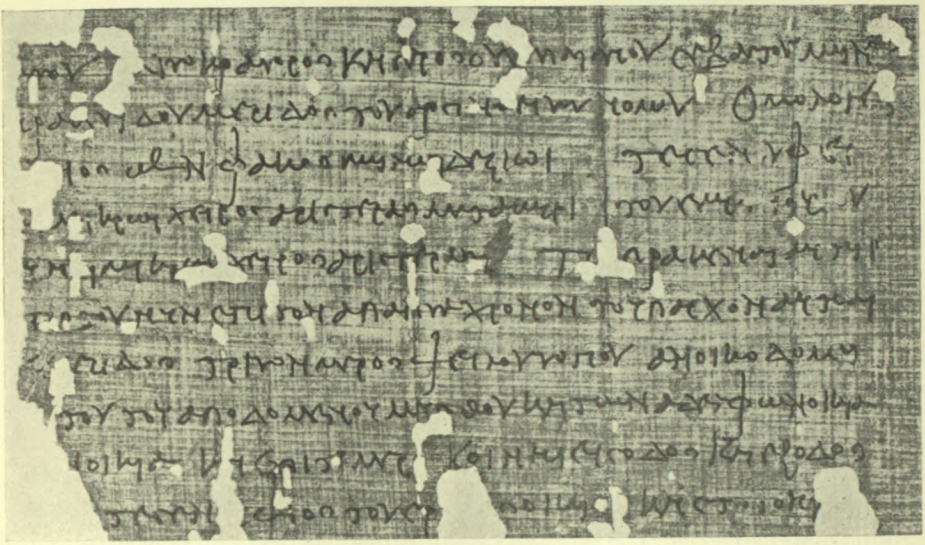
This is an excellent instance of the small cursive hand of a trained scribe. The run of the writing is so even and sustained that, while the writer varies the shapes of his letters to meet the requirements of combination in the different words, there is no hesitation and the pen moves on, line after line, without a fault.

The next facsimile comes from a document of a similar class of writing, on a larger scale, and of about the same time: the farm accounts of a bailiff named Didymus, son of Aspasius, employed by Epimachus, son of Polydeuces, the owner of an estate in the nome of Hermopolis, in the eleventh year of Vespasian, A.D. 78–9 (Brit. Mus., Pap. cxxxi; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* i. 166, pl. 108).

No. 29

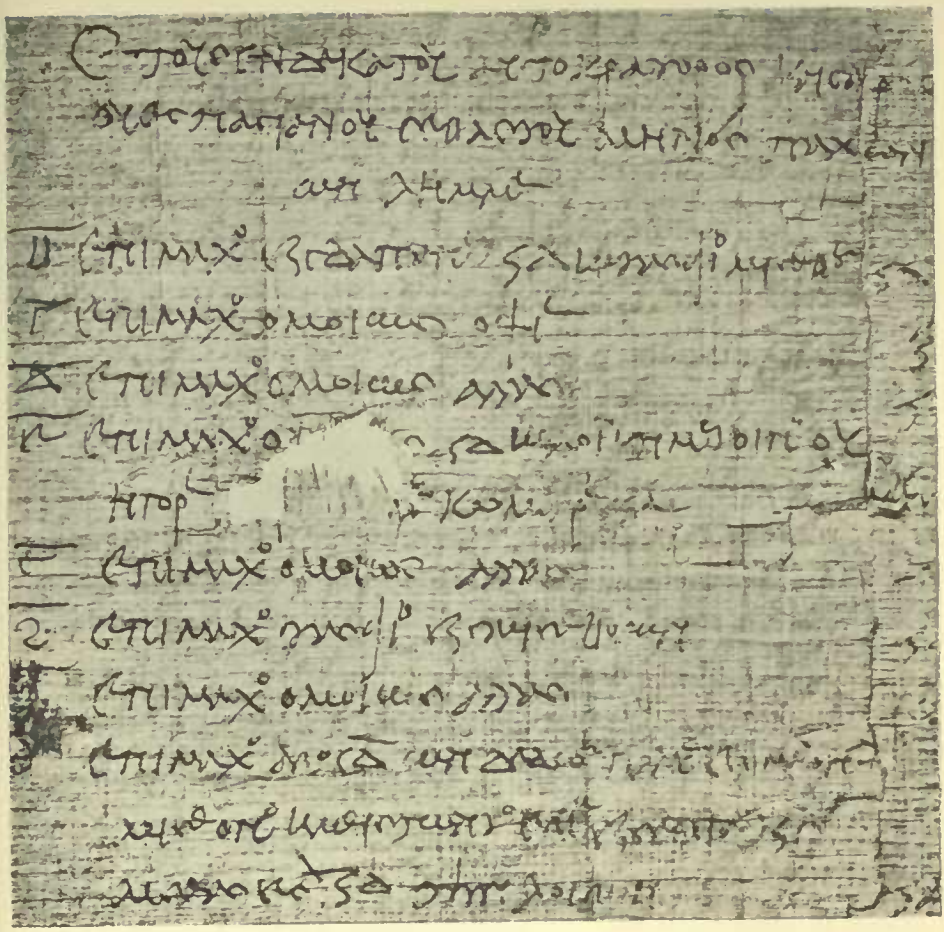
This may be regarded as an example of a good general business hand, written by a man skilled in accounts and using his pen with expedition

FACSIMILE No. 28



SALE OF LAND.—A.D. 69–79

(—του αυτοκρατορος καισαρος ουεσπασιανου σεβαστου μηνος | —ηρακλειδου μεριδος του αρσινοειτου νομου Ομολογει | —ιος ως L ν φακος μηλωι δεξιωι τεσενουφει | —ωι μικρωι χειρος αριστερας μετα κυριου του εαυτης υιου | —υλωι μικρω[ι] χειρος αριστερας Π[ε]πρακεναι αυτηι | —[α]πο του νυν επι τον απαντα χρονον το υπαρχον αυτωι | —υ μεριδος τριτον μερος ψειλου τοπου ανοικοδομη | —του του αποδομενου μυσθου και των αδελφων οικια | —ν οικια και επι τι μερος κοινηι εισοδος και εξοδος | —τεσεν[ου]φιος του ερ[ιεω]ς οικι[α] και στοτοητ)



BAILIFF'S ACCOUNTS.—A.D. 78–9

(Ετους ενδεκατου αυτοκρατορος καισαρος
ουεσπασιανου σεβαστου μηνος παχων
ων λημμ^{L}

$\bar{\beta}$ επιμαχ^{o} εις δαπαν^{η} $\angle\delta$ κ' τας φι^{β} μισ^{θ} βο^{ω} $\angle\delta$

$\bar{\gamma}$ επιμαχ^{o} ομοιως οψι^{L}

$\bar{\delta}$ επιμαχ^{o} ομοιως αλλας

$\bar{\epsilon}$ επιμαχ^{o} ο[μοιω]ς $\angle\delta$ κ' λοι' τιμ^{η} οι$^{ι o}$ ου
ηγορ^{L} . . . . . κωμογρ^{L} $\angle\alpha$

$\bar{\varsigma}$ επιμαχ^{o} ομοιως αλλας

$\bar{\zeta}$ επιμαχ^{o} τας φι^{β} εις μισ^{θ} βοων

$\bar{\eta}$ επιμαχ^{o} ομοιως αλλας

$\bar{\theta}$ επιμαχ^{o} απο $\angle\delta$ ων δεδω^{κ} πολυ^{δ} επιμα^{χ} ονη^{λ}
μισ^{θ} ου^{o} καθιστωντ^{o} επι^{μ} εις ερμου' $\angle\gamma$
μεθ ας εσ^{χ} $\angle\delta$ την λοιπην)

in a legible style, round, flexible, and not ungraceful. It is of the type which is met with in official documents of the time, and which was probably employed very widely throughout the country by trained clerks. This papyrus is one of a set of rolls famous as having on the verso the unique copy of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* written in four different hands. A specimen of one of these hands has already been given among the facsimiles from literary papyri (Facs. 11). A specimen of another hand, cursively written, is here submitted.

No. 30

This specimen of a private hand, cramped and inelegant, is quite different in general appearance from the legible writing of the bailiff's accounts on the recto side of the papyrus. And yet the forms of the letters employed in both writings are the same, proving that the *Constitution* was transcribed not many years after the accounts. The interest aroused by the recovery of this long-lost work of a great writer justifies us in placing the facsimile before the student, although the style of handwriting lies outside the direct line of developement of the trained clerical cursive to which our researches are mainly restricted.

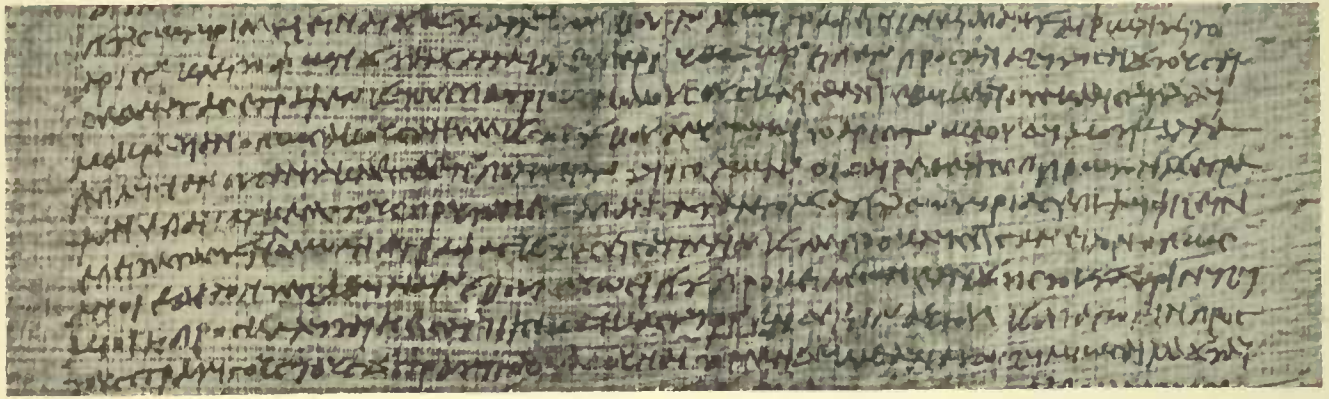
Of the second century the two following facsimiles illustrate the growing laxity of the cursive handwriting. The first is taken from a deed of sale of an ass, sold in Heracleia, in the division of Themistes, by Dioskoros, son of Castor, to one Stotoetis, of the village of Socnopaeinesus, in the fifth year of Antoninus Pius = A.D. 142 (Brit. Mus., Pap. cccliii; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* ii. 195, pl. 51; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 184).

No. 31

This is a very cursive document, and consequently the more cursive forms of letters which have been gradually growing out of the hurriedly written normal shapes (such as *u*-shaped *beta* and *kappa*, and *n*-shaped *pi*) prevail. But, notwithstanding its cursiveness, the writing is legible and the distinctive forms of the several letters are easily followed.

The next example is not so cursive, being a fairly well written document of the upright type. It represents a section of a very interesting papyrus: a diploma of membership of an athletic club which flourished under the patronage of successive emperors. The section is part of the recitation of a letter from the Emperor Claudius, expressing satisfaction at the games performed, in his honour, by the club for the kings of Commagene and Pontus. The diploma is of A.D. 194 (Brit. Mus., Pap. 1178; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* iii. 214, pl. 41).

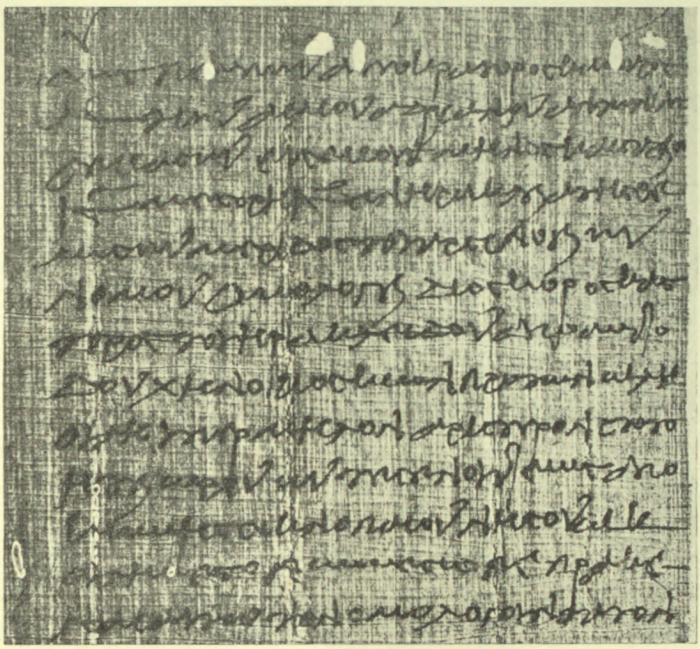
Facsimile No. 30



Aristotle.—About A.D. 90

(π(ερι) τ(ης) σωτηριας εξειναι δ(ε) κ(αι) τ(ων) αλλω(ν) τωι βουλομ(εν)ωι γραφειν ιν εξ απαντ(ων) αἱρωνται το | αριστ(ον) κλειτοφων δ(ε) τα μ(εν) αλλα καθαπερ πυθοδωρο(ς) ειπεν προσαναζητησαι δ(ε) τους αι|ρεθεντας εγραψεν κ(αι) τους πατριους νομους ους κλεισθενη(ς) εθηκεν οτε καθιστη τ(ην) δη|μοκρατιαν οπως ακουσαντες κ(αι) τουτ(ων) βουλευσωνται το αριστον ως ου δημοτικ(ην) αλλα | π(αρα)πλησιαν ουσαν τ(ην) κλεισθενο(υς) πολιτειαν τηι σολωνο(ς) οι δ αιρεθεντες πρωτον μ(εν) εγρα|ψαν επαναγκες (ειναι) τους πρυτανεις απαντα τα λεγομ(εν)α π(ερι) τ(ης) σωτηριας επιψηφιζειν | επειτα τας τ(ων) π(αρα)νομων γραφας κ(αι) τας εισαγγελιας κ(αι) τας προκλησεις ανειλον οπως | αν οι εθελοντες αθηναιω(ν) σ(υμ)βουλευωσι π(ερι) τ(ων) προκειμ(εν)ων εαν δ(ε) τις τουτ(ων) χαριν η ζη|μιοι η προσκαληται η εισαγηι η εις δικαστηριο(ν) ενδειξιν αυτου (ειναι) κ(αι) απαγωγην προς | τους στρατηγους τους δ(ε) στρατηγους π(αρα)δουναι τους ενδεκα θανατωι ζημιωσαι μ(ετα) δ(ε) ταυ[τα])

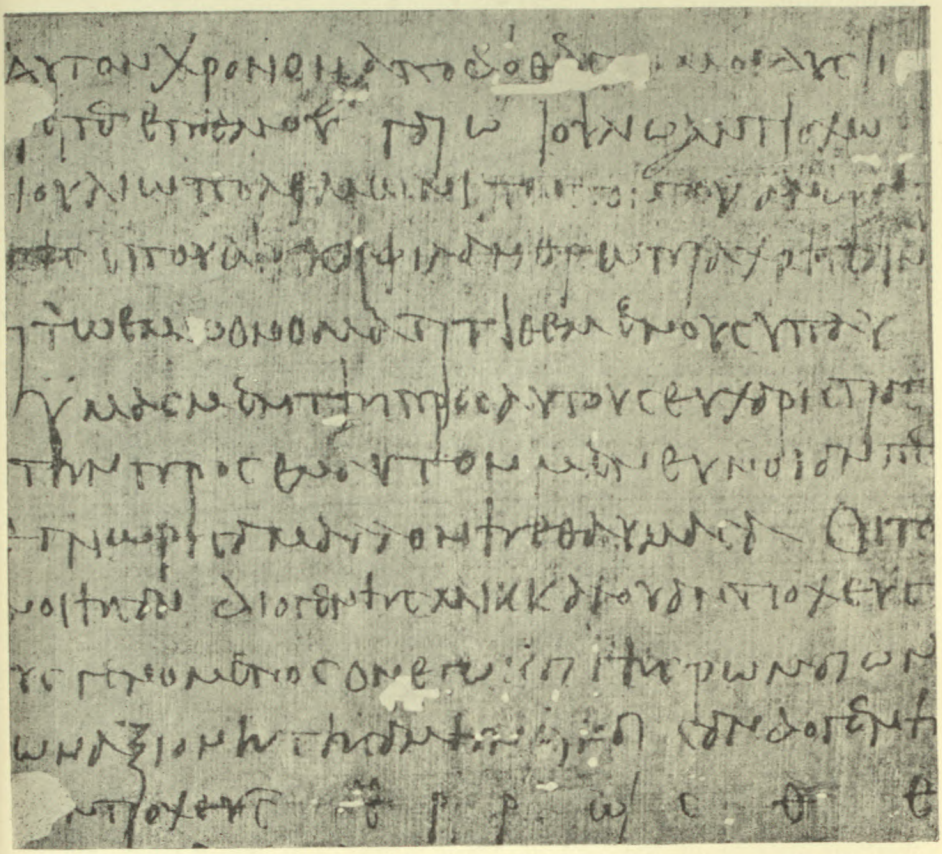
FACSIMILE No. 31



SALE OF AN ASS.—A.D. 142

(ετους πεμπτου αυτοκρατορος καισαρος | τιτου αιλιου αδριανου αντωνινου | σεβαστου ευσεβους μηνος καισαρειου | ις̄ μεσορη ις̄ εν ηρακλεια της θε|μιστου μεριδος του αρσινοειτου | νομου ομολογει διοσκορος κασ|τορος του ηρακλειδου απο αμφο|δου χηνοβοσκιων προτων ως L λη | ουλη υπερ μηλον αριστερον στοτο| ητει ωρου του τεσενουφεως απο | κωμης σοκνοπαιου νησου ως L κ | ουλη μετοπω μεσω πεπρακε|ναι αυτω τον ομολογουντα τον)

FACSIMILE No. 32



DIPLOMA.—A.D. 194

(—αυτον χρονον αποδοθεισ[ι]ν μοι δυσιν | —ειτε επ εμου γαιω ιουλιω αντιοχω | —ιουλιω πολεμωνι τω ποντου ανδρασι | —[πα]ση σπουδη και φιλανθρωπια χρησαιν | —[επ]ι τω εμω ονοματι τιθεμενους υπ αυ | —ϋμας μεν της προς αυτους ευχαριστιας | —την προς εμαυτον μεν ευνοιαν πε | —εγνωρισα μαλλον η εθαυμασα Οι το[ις] | —νοι ησαν διογενης μικκαλου αντιοχευς | —υς γενομενος ον εγω και της ρωμαιων | —ων αξιον ηγησαμην ειναι σανδογενη[ς] | —[α]ντιοχευς ερρωσθε)

No. 32

It may be assumed that the writer of this document was the secretary of the club. Being more formal than the preceding example, the letters are less cursive and follow the older patterns. But the general looseness of the structure of the writing is obvious and marks the tendency of the handwritings of the period.

To illustrate the cursive of the third century three examples are produced. The first two, written in the third decade, are of a fine and unusual type of the well-trained clerical hand. They are, in fact, formed upon the model of the calligraphic writing which was practised at this time in the chancery of the Prefect of Egypt, as it appears in a papyrus, now in Berlin, containing an official notification from the prefect to a strategus of the completion of a convict's term of punishment and his consequent discharge; A.D. 209.[1]

The first facsimile is from an official return by representatives of the five tribes of the priests of Socnopaei-nesus for purposes of taxation, in the fourth year of Elagabalus, associating with him Severus Alexander = A.D. 221 (Brit. Mus., Pap. ccccliii; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* ii. 112, pl. 84; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 186).

No. 33

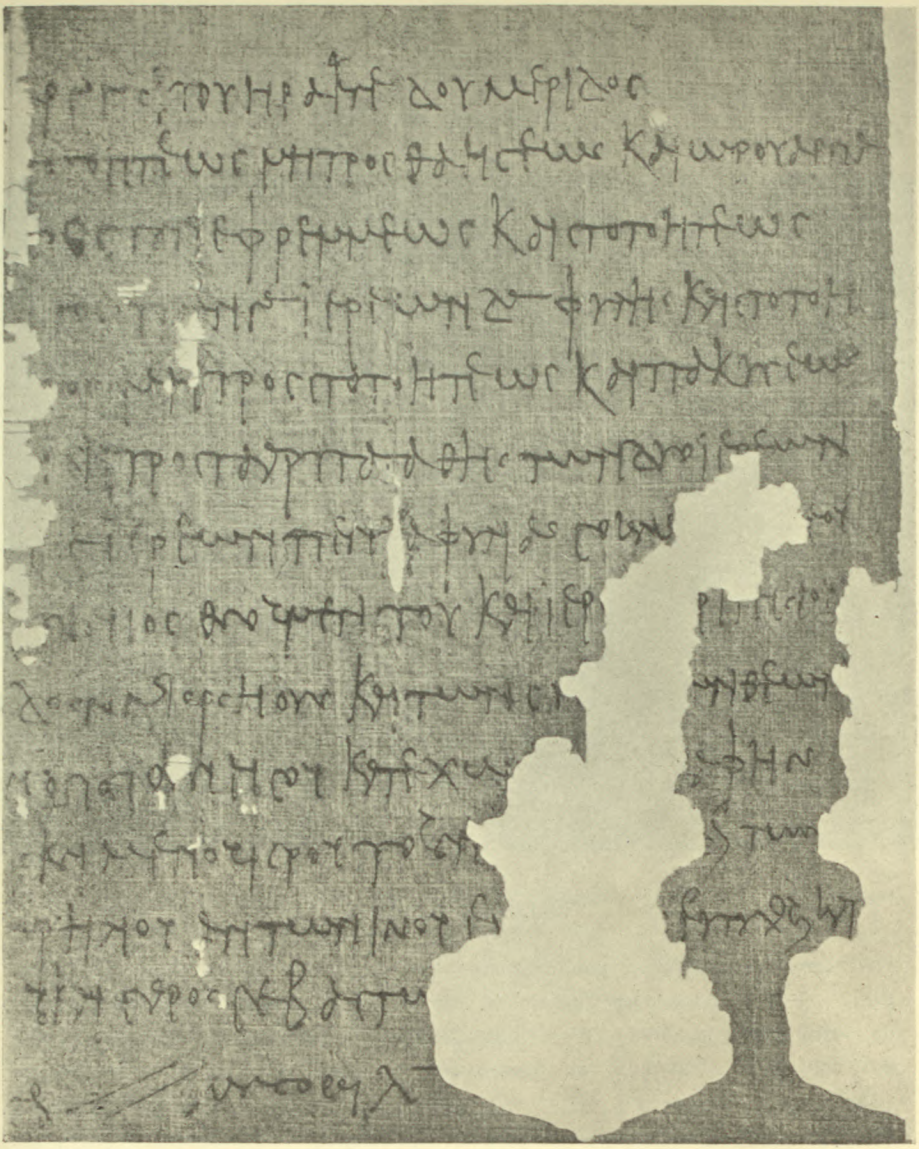
The writing is of a particularly careful and formal character; the letters upright and in many instances stilted, while others are written on a reduced scale and placed high in the line of writing. This stilting and variety in the scale of the letters are characteristic of the chancery hand, as displayed in the document referred to above.

The second is taken from a deed of sale of a share in a house in the western quarter of the fort at Hermopolis; A.D. 226–7 (Brit. Mus., Pap. 1158; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* iii. 151, pl. 55).

No. 34

If anything, this example, while written in the same style, is even more fluent than the preceding one; and the delicate touch is admirable. Both examples show that, while the cursive of the Roman period had been growing in looseness of structure, it was still possible to obtain a calligraphic perfection even in ordinary documents. This, however, would not affect the general law of change in the shapes of the letters, as will be shown presently when the cursive alphabet at different periods is reviewed.

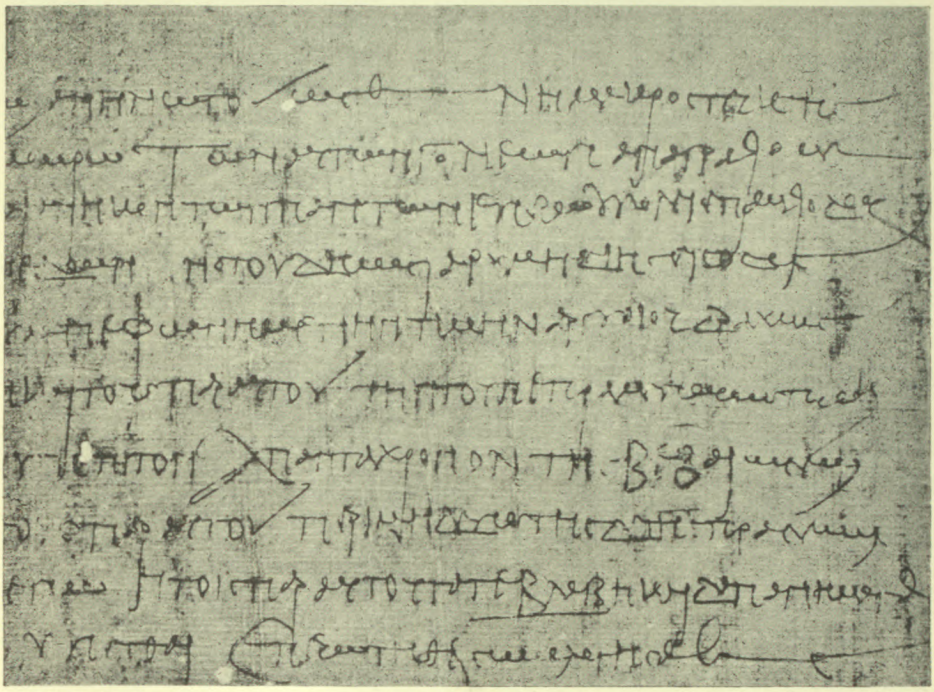
[1] See the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1910, p. 710, in which a facsimile of this interesting document is given. Cf. also Brit. Mus. Pap. cccxlv, of A.D. 193, and Pap. 1164, of A.D. 212—*Cat. Gk. Pap.* ii, pl. 94; iii, pl. 47.



TAXATION RETURN.—A.D. 221

(—αρσινοίτου ηρακλειδου μεριδος | —[στ]οτοητεως μητρος θαησεως και ωρου αρπα | —ρος τανεφρεμμεως και στοτοητεως | —τος των $\bar{\gamma}$ ιερεων $\bar{\delta}$ φυλης και στοτοη | —τος μητρος στοτοητεως και πακυσεως | —μητρος ταarπαγαθης των δυο ιερεων | —τε ιερεων πενταφυλιας σοκνο[παιου θ]εου | —πιαιιος θεου μεγιστου και ιερ[ου χα]ριτησιου | —[ισι]δος νεφορσηους και των συ[νναω]ν θεων | —[σοκ]νοπαιου νησου κατεχω[ρισαμεν γρ]αφην | —[πρ]οκειμενου ιερου του εν[εστωτος δS των | —[α]υρηλιου αντωνινου ευ[σεβους] ευτυχους και | —[αλεξαν-δρο]υ καισαρος σεβαστω[ν]
[δ]S // μεσορη $\lambda^{\bar{}}$.)

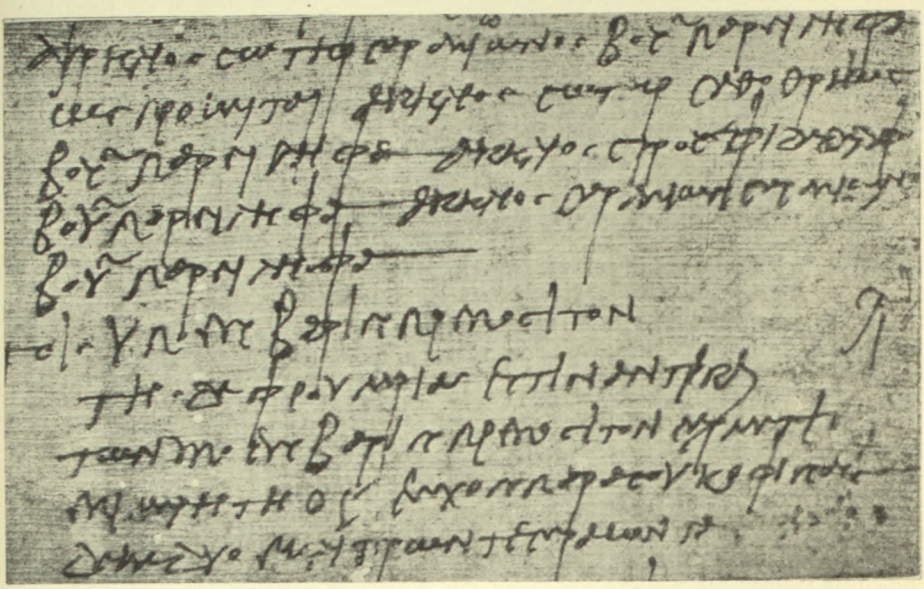
FACSIMILE No. 34



SALE.—A. D. 226–7

(—ς απηλιωτου ως L νη μακρος πυκτης | —μωρω των αυτων γονεων αναγραφομε | —[κ]αι ανηκοντων παντων εν ερμουπολει επ αμφοδου | —πεδων νοτου δημοσια ρυμη δι ης εισοδος | —[σ]υμπεφωνημενην τιμην αργυριου δραχμας | —ν και τους παρ αυτου την του πεπραμενου ως προ^{κ} | —[ν]υν επι τον απαντα χρονον της βεβαιωσεως | —τους παρ αυτου περι μηδενος τησδε της πρασεως | —ενω η τοις παρ αυτου τα τε βλαβη και δαπανηματα | —γενεσθαι επερωτηθεις ωμολογησα L ς)

FACSIMILE No. 35



MILITARY ACCOUNTS.—A. D. 295

(αυρηλιος σωτηρ σαραπιωνος βουλ(ευτης) παρειληφα | ως προκειται αυρηλιος σωτηρ σαθοθρακος | βουλ(ευτης) παρειληφα αυρηλιος συρος φιλαδελφου | βουλ(ευτης) παρειληφα αυρηλιος σαραπιων σαραπιωνος | βουλ(ευτης) παρειληφα

Τοις υπο ενβαριν πρεποσιτον λι(τραι)

της δε φρουμαριας εστιν αντιγρα(φον) | των υπο ενβαριν πρεποσιτον σαρματη | επιμελητη ο(ξυρυγχιτου) εσχον παρα σου κοφινους | δεκα δυο εκ λιτρων τεσαρακοντα)

The last example of the third century comes from some official accounts of supplies to the troops; A. D. 295 (Brit. Mus., Pap. 748; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* iii, pl. 63).

No. 35

This is a good fluent hand of the official type. The character is still Roman, the date of the document almost coinciding with that of Diocletian's redistribution of the empire.

Here, then, we come to the end of the second period of Greek cursive writing, as found in the papyri of Egypt. Casting our eyes again over the series of facsimiles with which we have attempted to illustrate the changes through which that handwriting passed, it is not difficult to appreciate how great those changes have been, starting from the stiff unbending script of the early Ptolemies and ending in the flexible and fluent Roman script of the close of the third century.

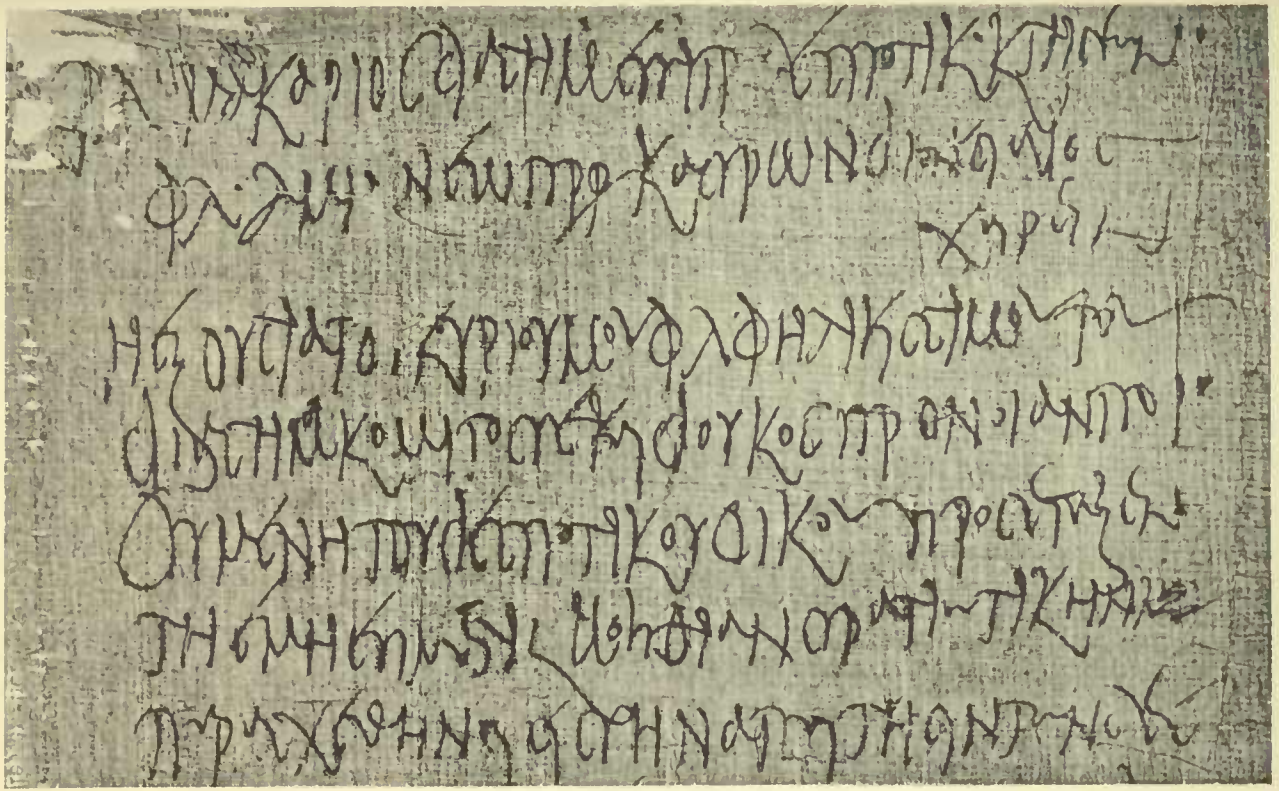
In the Byzantine period the succession of facsimiles is less abundant; we have to be content to select such examples as are typical and instructive for our immediate purpose, and they are not numerous. But they will suffice to give a general idea of the leading characteristics of the Byzantine type of hand. We pass from the round and flexible writing of the Roman period, and find a script of an exaggerated and artificial character, but of the greatest interest as developing those long-limbed forms of letters from which was to be evolved the minuscule book-hand of the middle ages.

The first example is most typical: a class of writing which appears to have been a common one at the time. It is part of a letter from Flavius Macarius, chief officer of finance, to Flavius Abinnaeus, 'praefectus castrorum' of Dionysias, informing him that Flavius Felicissimus, the 'dux', has authorized him to requisition the services of soldiers to assist in levying imperial revenues; about A. D. 350 (Brit. Mus., Pap. ccxxxiv; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 188).

No. 36

An untidy, straggling hand; the letters varying in shape and size; and the lines of writing wavering from the true horizontal level. And yet the general large scale and the uprightness and lateral compression of the letters lend to the writing a certain appearance of regularity. Notice should be taken of the tall *delta*, shaped like a modern Roman d, and of the tendency in *mu* to drop the first limb vertically below the line, as marking a step in the evolution of minuscule forms.

The scarcity of papyri of the fifth century has already been noticed. The following facsimile is but a rough example; yet it carries on the tradition of the Byzantine hand in the particulars noted above. The



LETTER.—ABOUT A. D. 350

(φλ. μακαριος διασημ(οτατος) επιτρ(οπος) δεσποτικ(ων) κτησεων | φλ. αβιννεω πρ(αιποσιτω) καστρων διουυσιαδος χαιρειν
η εξουσια του κυριου μου φλ. φηλικισσιμου του | διασημο(τατου) κομιτος τε και δουκος προνοιαν ποι|ουμενη του δεσποτικου οικου προσεταξεν | τη εμη επιμελια βοηθιαν στρατιωτικην | παρασχεθηναι εις την απαιτησιν των δεσ)

papyrus is a portion of a receipt from Aurelius Alypius, of the village of Kerkethoeris in the Fayûm, to Aurelia Enkia, daughter of Pekysis, in the eleventh indiction year, in the consulship of Flavius Cyrus = A. D. 441 (Berlin, P. 7452; *New Pal. Soc.* 23 a).

No. 37

Again an exaggerated upright style of writing; with a certain strength, notwithstanding. Extravagant forms of letters are conspicuous, as in *epsilon* and *sigma* with oblique head-strokes, and large *theta* and *kappa*. The d-shaped *delta* and the incipient minuscule *mu* also appear.

The same upright style continued to prevail in the sixth century, of which we give two examples, one from the middle, the other from the end, of the century. The first is an acknowledgement from Aurelius Nepheras, son of Isaac, to Flavius Apion, στρατηλάτης and πάγαρχος of Arsinoë and Theodosiopolis in the Fayûm, of the acceptance of a lease of certain rooms in the street Psappallius in Arsinoë, in the fourth indiction year after the consulship of Flavius Basilius = A. D. 556 (Berlin, P. 2558; *New Pal. Soc.* 23 b).

No. 38

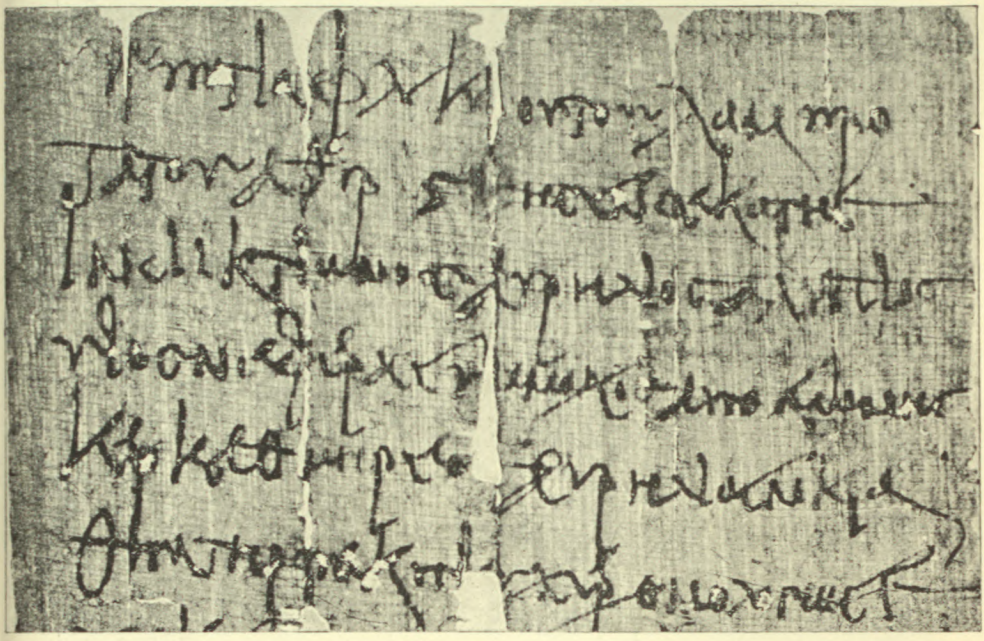
This is an irregular hand of the same upright type of the Byzantine period. During the century elapsed since the date of the preceding example, further progress has been made in the evolution of minuscule forms. In addition to the d-shaped *delta* and the μ-shaped *mu*, here is present also the h-shaped *eta*. The exaggeration of other letters is also characteristic. The date-clause written at the top of the deed, in a straggling sloping cursive, in its general aspect recalls the contemporary Latin cursive writing as seen in the Ravenna deeds. Such a resemblance would naturally be expected.

The example of the close of the sixth century is from a contract for lease of a farm from Phoebammon, 'tabularius' of Arsinoë, to Aurelius John and Aurelius Castous, farmers; A. D. 595 (Brit. Mus., Pap. cxiii. 4; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* i. 208; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 124).

No. 39

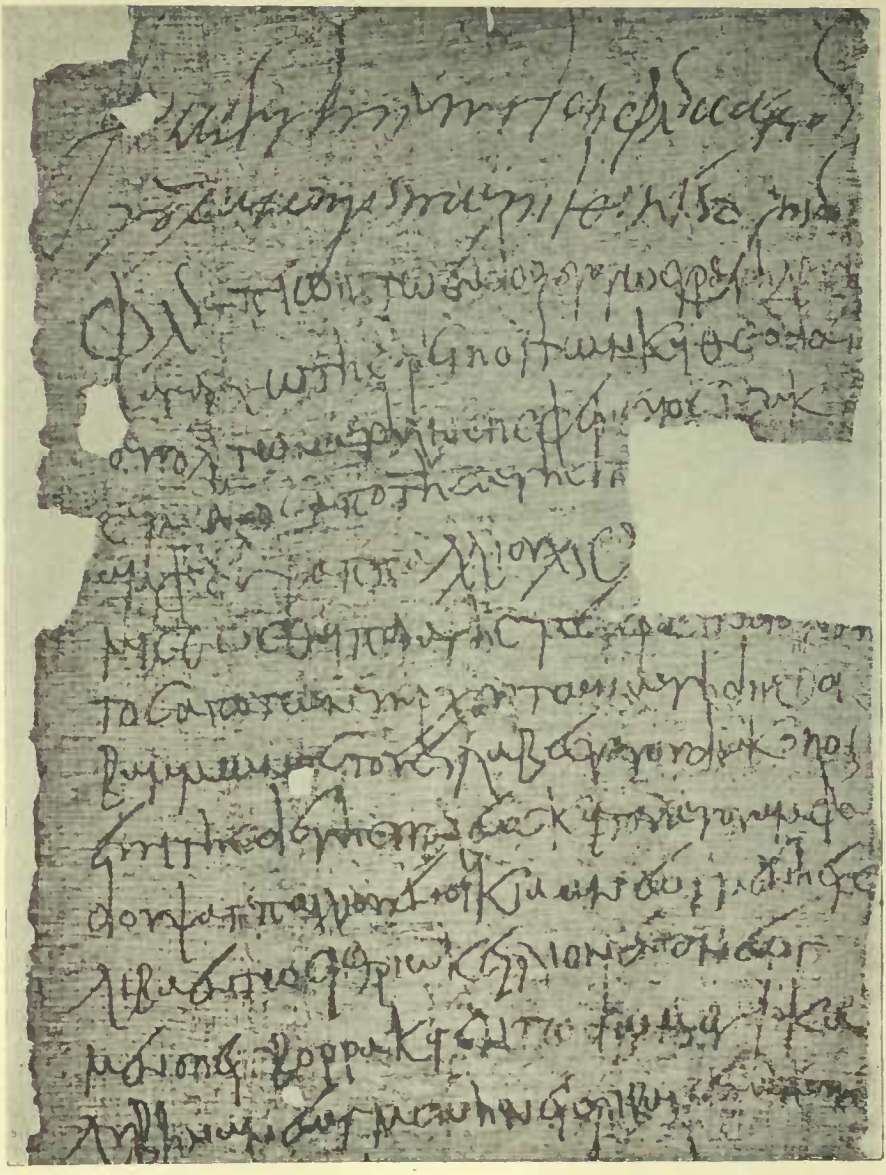
The writing of this deed is of a good, regular, upright type, executed with expert facility. The very great advance in the formation of minuscule letters here exhibited is very striking: *alpha*, *delta*, *eta*, *theta*, *kappa*, *mu*, *xi*, may be especially cited as almost fully developed letters of the minuscule alphabet. The thin sloping cursive of the date-clause again recalls the Latin cursive of the time.

FACSIMILE No. 37



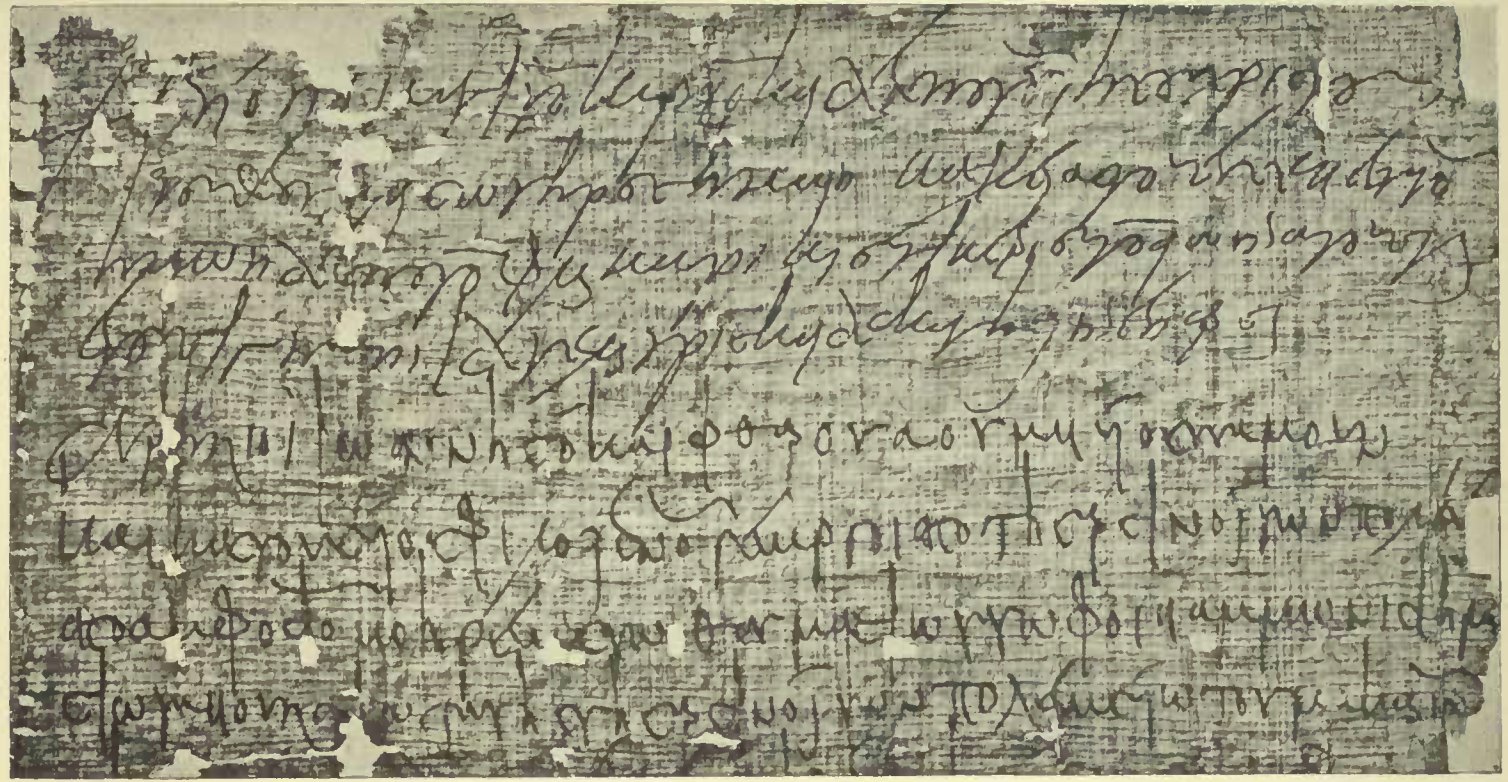
RECEIPT.—A. D. 441

(υπατια φλ. κυ[ρ]ου του λαμπρο|τατου αθυρ ις της ενδεκατης | ινδικτιωνος αυρηλιος αλυπιος | υιος νεφερα συμμαχος απο κωμης | κερκεθωηρεο[ς] αυρηλια ενκια | θυγατηρ πεκυσιου χερ(ειν) ομολογω εσ)



AGREEMENT FOR LEASE.—A. D. 556

(+ μετα την υπατιαν φλ. βασιλιου | του λαμπρ(οτατου) παυνι ιθ : τελ(ει) δ ιι(δικτιωνος) επ [αρσινοης]
Φλ. απιωνι τω ενδοξοτατω στρατηλατη [και] | παγαρχω της αρσινοιτων και θεοδοσι|ουπολιτων αυρηλιος νεφερας υιος ϊσακ | συμμαχος απο της αυτης π[ολεως απ] | αμφου ψαπαλλιου χ(αιρειν) ο[μολογω με] | μισθωσθαι παρα της υμετερας ενδοξοτη|τος απο των υπαρχοντων αυτη δια φοι|βαμμωνος του ευλαβεστατου διακονου | επι τησδε της πολεως και του αυτου αμφο|δου ψαπαλλιου εν οικια ανεωγμενη εις | λιβα εν τω αιθριω κελλιον εν ανεωγ|μενον εις βορρα και εν τω δωματι κα|λυβης ανεωγμενην εις λιβα μετα παν)



CONTRACT FOR LEASE.—A. D. 595

(+ εν ονοματι του κυριου και δεσποτου ϊησου χριστου | του θεου και σωτηρος ημων βασιλειας του ευσεβεστατου | ημων δεσποτου φλ. μαυρικιου τιβεριου του αιων. αυγουστ. | ετους ιγ παυνι ιδ τελ. τρισκαιδεκατης ϊν. εν αρσι.
αυρηλιοι ιωαννης ὁ και φθαρουαουμβ ὑιος παμουν | και καστους υιος φιλοξενου γεωργοι απο της αρσινόιτων πολε[ως] | απο αμφοδου μοιρεως τω θαυμασιωτατω φοιβαμμωνι δημ[ο]σιω ταβουλαριω ταυτης της αρσινόιτων πολεως ὑιω του μακαριου)

To illustrate the writing of the early part of the seventh century a facsimile is given from a lease of land at Thynis near Hermopolis, the parties to which are Christians bearing Jewish names; A. D. 633 (Brit. Mus., Pap. 1012; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* iii. 265, pl. 95).

No. 40

This example of the still prevailing upright cursive type, although roughly written, carries forward the developement of the minuscule alphabet; there being in this instance less linking and connexion between the letters than is usual in cursive writing, their individual formation can be more clearly traced. It will be seen that most of them are in a shape which with a little more calligraphic finish would bring them very close to the literary minuscule; and little more than half a century sufficed to span the narrow space now dividing the two classes of handwriting, as will appear from the next facsimile.

This is taken from a roll of accounts of the pay and allowances of the governor (*σύμβουλος*) of Egypt under the Arab administration and his subordinates, including *mawālī* (freed-men), attendants, and slaves (among the papyri from the ancient Aphroditopolis, found in 1901); the date lying between A. D. 700 and 705 (Brit. Mus., Pap. 1448; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* iv. 359; *New Pal. Soc.* 152).

No. 41

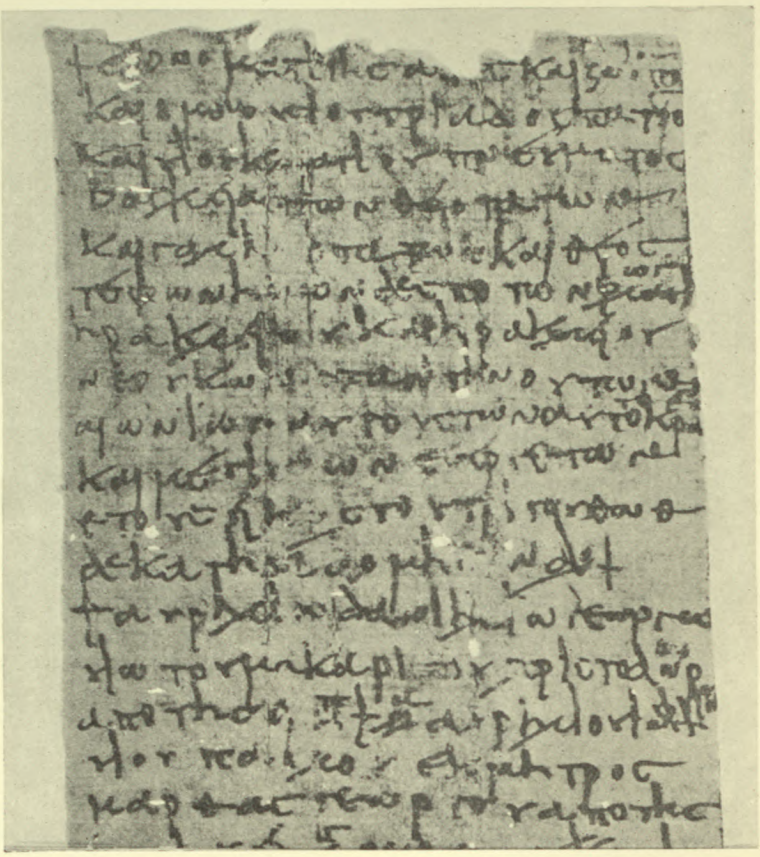
This document written, there can be no doubt, in the best form of the official hand of the time is of the highest palaeographical value. It is also interesting as one of a group of papyri illustrating the continuance of the official use of the Greek language in Egypt for the better part of a century after the date of the Arab conquest of the country. The minuscule hand is here complete; and this example, being written with such calligraphic effect, demonstrates most clearly the connexion between the cursive writing of the papyri and the literary minuscule of the vellum codices.

To bring this section to a close, a reduced facsimile is given of a portion of a fragmentary papyrus, the text of which seems to be a public notice respecting certain fugitives; probably of the first half of the eighth century (Brit. Mus., Pap. xxxii; *Cat. Gk. Pap.* i. 230; *Journ. Hellenic Studies*, xxviii).

No. 42

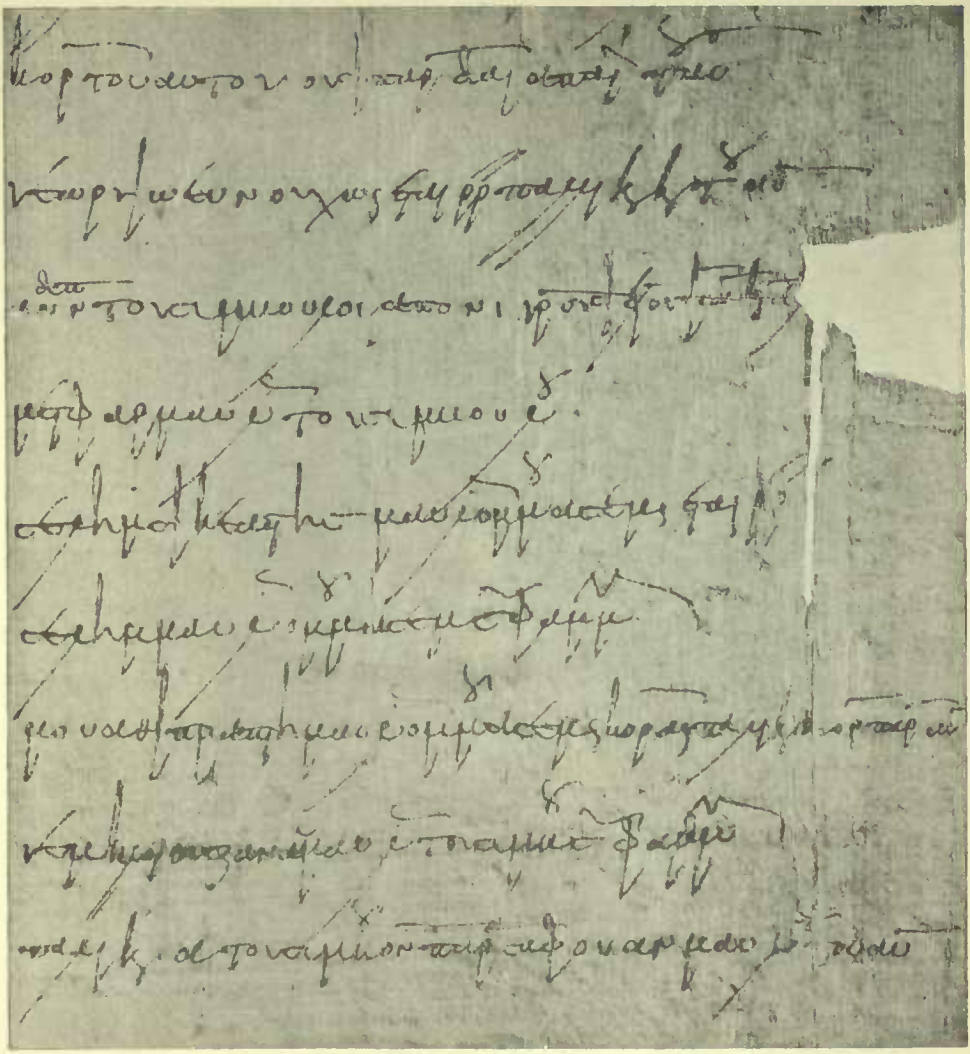
This extremely handsome official writing, it will be seen, is of the same type as the foregoing example from the Aphrodito collection, but written on a larger scale and with bolder sweeps of the pen. It is the only specimen of its kind in the British Museum collections. Any

FACSIMILE No. 40



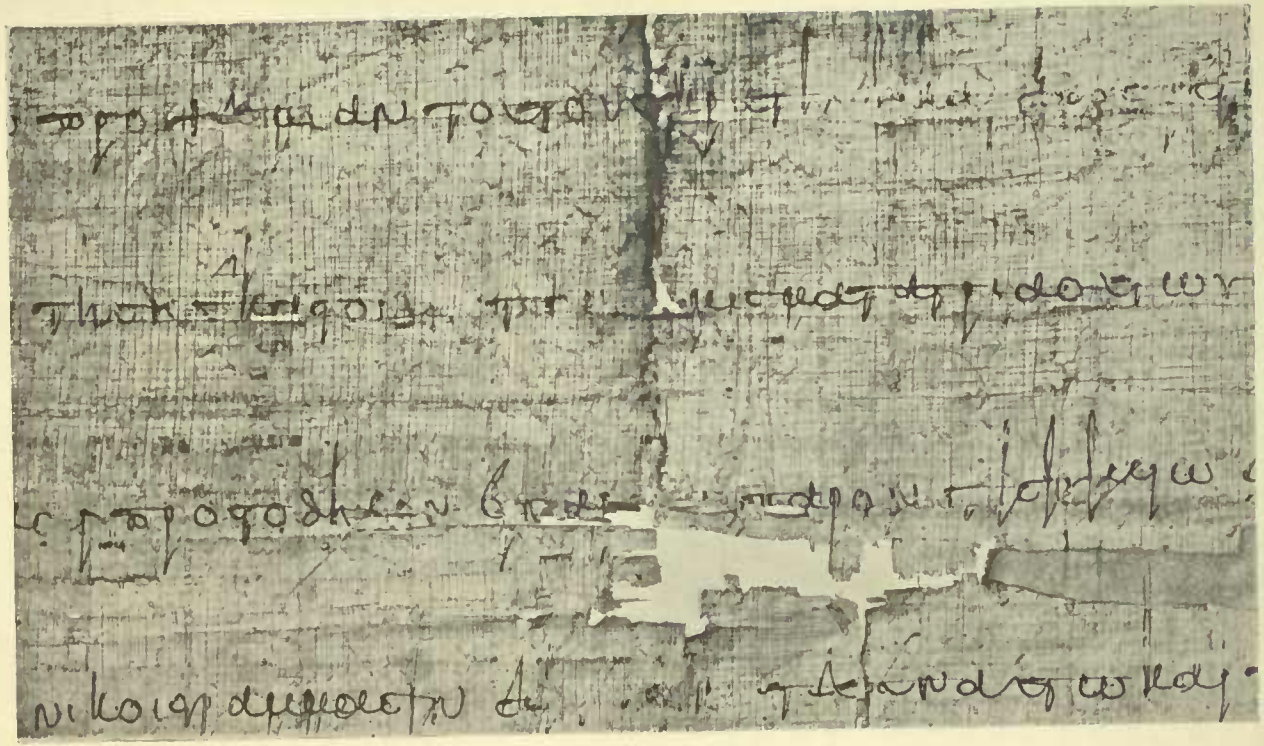
LEASE.—A. D. 633

(+ εν ονοματι της αγιας και ζωοποιου | και ομοουσιου τριαδος πατρος | και υϊου και αγιου πνευματος | βασιλειας των θειοτατων | και γαληνοτατων και θεοσ|τεφων ημων δεσποτων φλαυιων | ηρακλειου και ηρακλειου | νεου κωνσταντινου των | αιωνϊων αυγουστων αυτοκρατορων | και μεγιστων ευεργετων | ετους εικοστου τριτου θωθ | δεκατη εβδομης ινδ° + | + αυρηλιω δανιηλιω γεωργω | υιω του μακαριτου χριστοδωρου | απο της ερμ$^{\pi}$ + π$^{\alpha}$ αυρηλιου ιωσηφιου | υιου παυλου εκ μητρος | μαρθας γεωργου απο της)



PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.—A. D. 700–5

(κορα(σιοις) του αυτου ουσι παρα δαια παι(δος) του αυτ(ου)
γεωργιω ευνουκω (και) εταιρ(οις) παλλικ(αριοις) του αυτ(ου)
ανδ(ρα)π(οδοις) του συμβουλου απο νιγρα(ς) ουσι ει(ς) τ(ην) ουσι(αν) αυ(του) κ(ατ)ελ . . .
μετφαρ μαυλε(ι) του συμβουλου
σελημ σικεαστης μαυλε(ι) ομμου ασεμ (και) εταιρ(οις)
σελημ μαυλε(ι) ομμου ασεμ συ(ν) φαμ(η)λ(ιοις)
μουαθιπ ραπτη μαυλε(ι) ομμου ασεμ (και) κορα(σιω) α (και) παλικ(αριω) α ουτ(ι) παρα αυτ(ου)
γεμηλ υι(ω) ουσζανα μαυλε(ι) του συμβου(λου) συ(ν) φαμ(η)λ(ιοις)
παλικ(αριω) α του συμβου(λου) ουτ(ι) παρα σαφουαν μαυλε(ως) του αυτ(ου))



Public Notice.—Eighth Century

(—προθεσμιαν τουτους κρατηση και α . . . ι ετη—
—τηση εκαστο[υ αυ]των [νο]μισματα τρια ουτω γ[αρ]—
—και προς το δηλον ειναι [τω] παρουτι σιγιλλιω—
—[ελλη]νικοις γραμμασιν επι . . . . . τες εν αυτω και)

documents written on this scale would probably have been more liable to destruction, whether voluntary or accidental, than those of ordinary dimensions. Hence it is to be feared that few specimens of this large hand will ever be recovered.

Of the same type of writing, but of later date, is the fragmentary papyrus in the Archives Nationales, Paris, inscribed with an imperial letter addressed, it is now thought, by an Emperor of the East to Louis le Débonnaire, between 824 and 839; but formerly attributed to the year 756.[1]

In the accompanying Table of Alphabets the student will follow the course of developement and change in the several letters of Greek Cursive writing; and, in the first place, he will learn to appreciate the danger of assuming that a particular form of a letter belongs to a fixed or limited period. The not infrequent survival or recurrence of old forms warns us to proceed with caution, especially as there are still existing many gaps in the chronological sequence of our material. On the other hand, the birth and early growth of particular forms can be usually traced, and the use of any one such form may assist us in placing an anterior limit to the date of the document in which it is found. Thus, the occurrence of the *c*-shaped *epsilon* (ϵ) might confirm an opinion that the document was not earlier than the first century B. C.; but, at the same time, the occurrence of the old normal form would be no criterion of age, as that form keeps reappearing in all times. So, too, the down-curved sigma grows up in the first century; yet the old normal form continued in common use for centuries later. The character of the writing, however, distinctly changes with the lapse of time; and, though particular letters may be archaic in shape, the true age of the text, judged by its general appearance, can usually be fixed with fair accuracy. The natural tendency to slackness and flourishing as time advances is sufficiently apparent to the eye as it passes along the lines of letters in the Table; still more so if it passes over a series of documents, in which the juxtaposition of the letters and the links which connect them are so many aids to forming a judgement.

Viewed as representative of three periods, Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine, the series of letters are fairly distinguishable and capable of being grouped. Those of the Ptolemaic period stand quite apart in their simpler forms from those of the Roman period; and this distinction is made more striking by the paucity of papyri to represent the first century B. C. The letters of the Roman period blend more gradually into those of the Byzantine period; but taken in their entirety the

[1] Wattenbach, *Script. Graec. Specim.* xiv, xv; H. Omont in *Revue Archéologique*, xix (1892), 384. See above, p. 26.

flourished alphabets of the late centuries afford a sufficient contrast to the less untrammelled letters of the Roman period.

Certain letters are seen to change in form in a comparatively slight degree during the eleven hundred years covered by the Table; some are letters which are not very frequently used, others are such as do not very readily connect with following letters. And yet how far the tendency of a cursive writer to link together his letters could affect even those which would not naturally lend themselves to the process is seen in even some of the earliest forms. For example, the occasional horizontal position of the last limb of *alpha* or *lambda* was due to its connexion with a following letter, the junction being effected in the upper level of the line of writing; and the opening of the lower right-hand angle of *delta* and the lifting of the right-hand stroke into a more or less elevated position was owing to the same cause. To the same tendency are due the artificial links which appear attached so early to such letters as *eta*, *mu*, *nu*, *pi*, and, in a less degree, *kappa* and *chi*; and in the case of *tau* this linking may have decided the ulterior shape of the letter (as a cursive), having the cross-bar extending also to the right of the vertical (as in its normal form) instead of being kept only to the left as seen in the earliest examples in the Table.

How soon certain letters in their most cursive forms might become so alike that they might be mistaken for each other is illustrated by the pretty close resemblance between the early convex curved forms of *mu* and *pi*; and, again, there is very little difference between the early *gamma* and the *lambda* with horizontal final stroke. Such similarities naturally increased as the letters, in course of time, assumed more flexible shapes. The *v*-shaped cursive *beta* and the *v*-shaped cursive *kappa* are nearly identical; and the *u*-shaped forms of the same two letters are very similar. *Nu* and *pi* likewise bear a close resemblance to each other in more than one of their forms; and the *γ*-shaped *tau* and the long *gamma* and the long *upsilon* are not unlike.

We will examine the course of the alphabetical changes in detail:—

Alpha.—The capital form of *alpha* written quickly falls naturally into the uncial shape, in which the cross-bar becomes an oblique stroke starting from the base of the first limb: from the first there was a natural effort to round off the lower left-hand angle, ultimately leading to much variety of form. To throw away the final limb and leave the letter as a mere acute angle or wedge was, even in the earliest stages, a natural step for the quick writer to take; and perhaps there is no better example to prove the very great age of cursive Greek writing than this form of the letter, which is found in general use in the third century B. C. and was also employed, though apparently less commonly,

in the following century. Quite early, too, the letter developed other forms which became common in the following centuries, particularly the angular ✓. The round letter looped at the top became a favourite from the third century onwards; and from the fifth century the open u-shaped letter is frequent and is often written on a small scale high in the line, in combination.

Beta.—The history of *beta* is the history of a struggle between a capital form and a cursive form, although it is somewhat difficult to understand why, when once the latter had become established, the older shape, which nearly always appears as a rather clumsy and ungainly letter, should not have been discontinued. In the third and second centuries B. C., by the side of the normal capital, a small cursive letter appears, either somewhat in the shape of the letter n, produced by slurring the bows and leaving the base open, or in a cognate form with the base closed and usually drawn to a point. Then, in the first century B. C., by reversed action of formation, another shape also appears, something like the letter *v*; and this by the addition of a link becomes the *u*-shaped letter, which eventually was to be the most generally employed form and was to lead on to the similar minuscule letter of the vellum book-hand. But it must not be forgotten that the normal capital form was also employed throughout the papyrus period, growing more and more ill-formed and straggling from the third century onwards.

Gamma.—It is remarkable that this letter retained its right-angled normal capital shape and was employed without an alternative for so many centuries. It was not until the first century that it began to show a cursive tendency by arching the horizontal; and it seems that it was only in the fifth century that the long *γ* had fully established itself, and even then only to be accompanied to the end by the normal form, though in a diminishing degree.

Delta.—Although the normal triangular form of this letter was a lasting one, there was, from the first, a constant endeavour to round off the angles, a process which influenced the more cursive forms. There was also the tendency, already noticed, to open the lower angle on the right and to lift the right-hand stroke in order to link it to the following letter. Even among the earliest examples also is seen the incipient growth of the right-hand stroke above the apex, which, ever increasing in length, produces in the Byzantine period the exaggerated form of the letter resembling a Roman d and the other cognate forms with long oblique stroke, single or bent double; whence was evolved the minuscule of the vellum book-hand.

Epsilon.—That this letter, more frequently used than any other in the Greek alphabet, should have been liable to many changes was only to be expected. The most radical alteration of its shape, from the

normal semicircle with the cross-bar to the broken *c* in which the cross-bar survives only as a link-stroke, is seen along with other cursive forms in the first century B. C.; and from this date the cursive forms gradually prevailed over the normal letter, which however was never extinguished.

ZETA.—The normal Z-letter lasted throughout the papyrus period. From the first century B. C. a more cursive form, rounding the two angles and resembling a roughly written numeral 2, was also employed down at least to the fourth century; from that date the Z began to develope a tail, and in the later centuries the tailed letter prevailed.

ETA.—From the first this letter has the form of a truncated Roman h, provided more or less with a horizontal link attached to the shoulder, which lasted in a fairly primitive shape down to the second century A.D. In the second century B. C. we find also instances of the same general form with the vertical produced below the line. The Y-shaped cursive letter, in which the first limb and the horizontal of the normal capital are slurred and become a shallow concave curve which is attached to the final descending stroke usually turned in at the base, is found in an incipient stage even in the second, and in a fairly developed form before the close of the first, century B.C.; and it is not uncommon in the first and second centuries A. D., and survived into the third century. From the first century the truncated h with a loop at the shoulder, which had been growing up in the preceding century and which can be traced even in the second century B.C., prevails. In the fourth century there is a later developement like a complete Roman h, with the vertical at full length; from which the similar minuscule book-hand letter was moulded. In the Byzantine period the letter often appears in the shape of a Roman n.

THETA.—The normal θ is found at all periods in the papyri. Even in the third century B. C. there are also instances of the looped letter, which became common in the first century B.C.; and the two forms then run together to the end. In size, the letter is small in the early centuries; in the first century it tends to range with other letters; in the later centuries it is sometimes exaggerated.

IOTA.—There is little variety in this letter, such as there is being chiefly due to the length of the stem. In the early centuries this is never inordinate; but from the fourth century it tends to exaggeration. In the third and second centuries B. C. the letter is frequently thickened or clubbed or hooked at the head, on the right, as well as on the left; later, any such clubbing or hooking, when it occurs, is on the left side.

KAPPA.—This letter follows very much the course of *beta*, the normal form being an awkward letter to write neatly but, like the other, persisting to the end, and straggling in the Byzantine period. In the early centuries it is often provided with a link from the top of the

upper oblique limb. As early as the second century B. C. the *u*-shaped cursive appears and becomes common by the first century A. D., continuing onwards through the succeeding centuries. In the second century it often takes the form of a *v*. Both these forms resemble like developements of the cursive *beta*; but the *u*-shaped *kappa* is usually distinguished from the *u*-shaped *beta* by a slight lengthening of the first limb. This lengthening tends to increase until, by the sixth century, there is produced a tall letter, somewhat resembling a Roman h.

LAMBDA.—This letter is subject to little change. In the third century B.C., like other letters at that period, it is often written in a very wide angle, almost approaching a convex curve; but thenceforward it is usually in normal shape and restrained, but always showing a growing tendency to thrust the second limb above the apex. In the fourth century it is inclined to run large; and by the sixth century it grows into a straggling letter, produced below the line and ending in a sweeping stroke. From the sixth century also dates the form having the first stroke descending below the line, from which the vellum minuscule is derived.

MU.—The normal capital shape of this letter is, in the third century B.C., made wide and shallow, the central angle being almost flattened; in a still more cursive form it is represented by a convex curve very similar to the like form of *pi*. In the next century it becomes less shallow and recovers more of its angular formation. In this early period linking by means of a horizontal stroke attached to the right shoulder is not uncommon. From the first century B.C. onwards the normal form obtains, but as time proceeds there is a growing tendency to deepen the central angle into a curve and to lengthen the first limb, so that by the fifth century the form μ is fairly established. In the later centuries an ugly sprawling cursive form of the capital is also employed.

NU.—The normal capital form of *nu* survives throughout the papyrus period, gradually, however, receding before the advance of more cursive forms. It is subject to linking, by means of a horizontal stroke attached to the right limb, down to the second century at least. The form of the letter, common in the third century B.C., which throws the last limb high above the line of writing, survives chiefly as a final letter, and can be traced, subject to variations, down to the end. In it we see the origin of the minuscule of the vellum book-hand. The cursive form of the letter, constructed by drawing the middle stroke almost in a horizontal, or waved horizontal, line from the top of the left vertical to the top of the right vertical and connecting therewith in a small loop (resembling one cursive form of *pi*), is found as early as the first century B. C. and becomes common down to the fourth century. A still more cursive

developement, fashioned like a Roman n, also dates back to the first century, and is in frequent use in the Byzantine period.

Xi.—The three-stroke letter, made, with rare exceptions, by three separate strokes of the pen, is the normal form from the third to the first century B.C. At the same time there is existent, though less frequently employed, a cognate three-stroke form made continuously without lifting the pen; and this form is found recurring at later dates in the less-cursively written papyri. But in the course of the first century B.C. and down to the third century A.D. the ordinary form takes the shape of a long-tailed *z*, the tail usually ending in a curve to the right. From the fourth century onwards this tailed letter becomes straggling and exaggerated, and in certain phases runs perilously near in appearance to the long-tailed *zeta*.

Omikron.—Little need be said regarding this letter. It is normally small in the early periods; but from the first century A.D. onwards it is subject occasionally to enlargement. When written very cursively it sometimes takes the form of a loop.

Pi.—The normal capital form of this letter is employed throughout the papyrus period, but more constantly in the earlier centuries, when the archaic type sometimes appears, having the second vertical shortened, and when the letter is frequently provided with a horizontal link attached to the right shoulder. In the third century B.C. the letter also takes a wide and shallow formation; a cursive form resembling a wide n also appears, as well as a further developement in shape of a convex curve, similar to the like form of *mu*. From the second century B.C. onwards the n-form, and a variety of the same (resembling a modern Roman w), created by adding an up-stroke link, are constant. The letter formed like an *omega*, ω, surmounted by a horizontal stroke, appears in the eighth century; and afterwards as a minuscule in the vellum period.

Rho.—This letter is subject to no particular changes. The stem is normally straight, but occasionally curved. The bow is usually small; but in the late centuries it tends sometimes to enlargement.

Sigma.—The normal uncial letter, Ϲ, and the same with a flattened head are constant throughout the papyrus period. During the first century, and in the second and third centuries in particular, the head of the Ϲ is often drawn downwards, especially as a final letter. A cursive form, ϒ, is not uncommon from the first century onwards. The round minuscule σ has its prototype in a cursive form in which the curve is continued almost to a complete circle, and then finishes in a horizontal link-stroke ϲ; this can be traced back to the first century B.C. and reappears at intervals, becoming common in the eighth century, when it also assumes the exact minuscule shape.

Tau.—By the more normal construction of this letter the left portion

of the cross-bar and the vertical are written, by one action of the pen, as a right angle, and the right half of the cross-bar is added separately, serving also as a link. In the third and, to some extent, in the second centuries B.C. the cursive form, without extension of the cross-bar on the right, is common. The above normal form led on to the letter with the cross-bar made in one stroke (in fact the old capital revived), but it also led to the γ- and v-shaped cursives, the elementary forms of which can be traced back to the earliest times, and which came into common use from the first century B.C. In the later Byzantine period the long *gamma*-form is much exaggerated.

Upsilon.—Besides the normal Υ, which was persistent, this letter also took, from the first, the form of a concave curve ending in a vertical main-stroke, but from the beginning showing tendency to curve the main-stroke upwards to the right and hence soon developing the form ϒ, which persisted. In addition, other cursive forms grew up, as ϒ and ν. In the Byzantine period the usual tendency to exaggerate is restrained in regard to this letter, which is then, on the contrary, frequently written on a small scale, sometimes as a mere curve above the line.

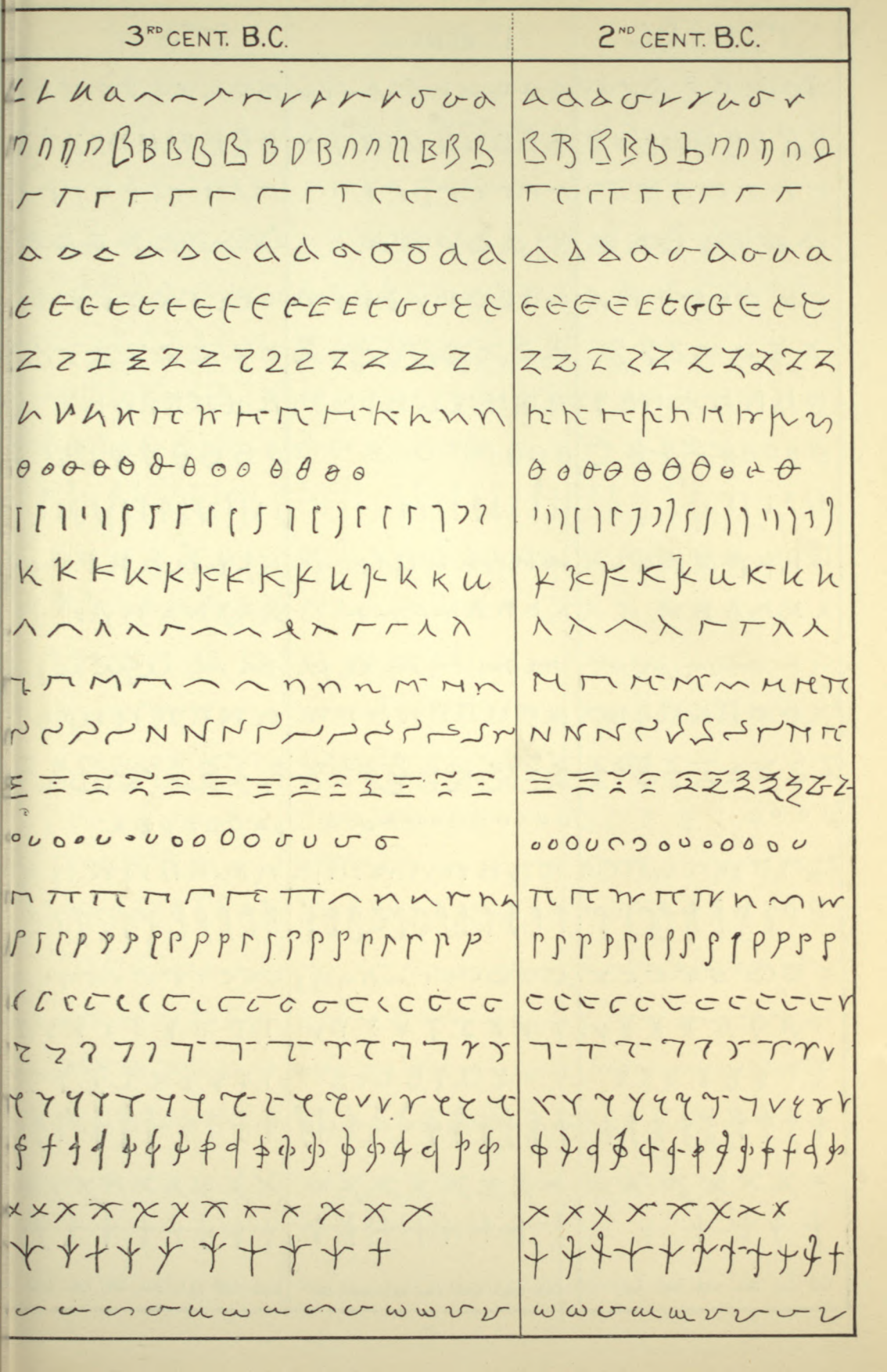
Phi.—There are two forms of this letter: the one, in which the circle and the vertical are distinct; the other, in which they are combined. In a variety of the first, found in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the circle takes the shape of a chain-link ϖ. In the early period the circle is normally small; from the first century its size varies; in the Byzantine period it tends to exaggeration. In the case of the combined form, in the earlier periods the vertical falls on the right, outside the circle; in the Byzantine period, it traverses it.

Chi.—This letter remained almost unchanged in formation; only varying occasionally in size. In the early period it was sometimes furnished with a horizontal link attached to the top of the right-hand limb.

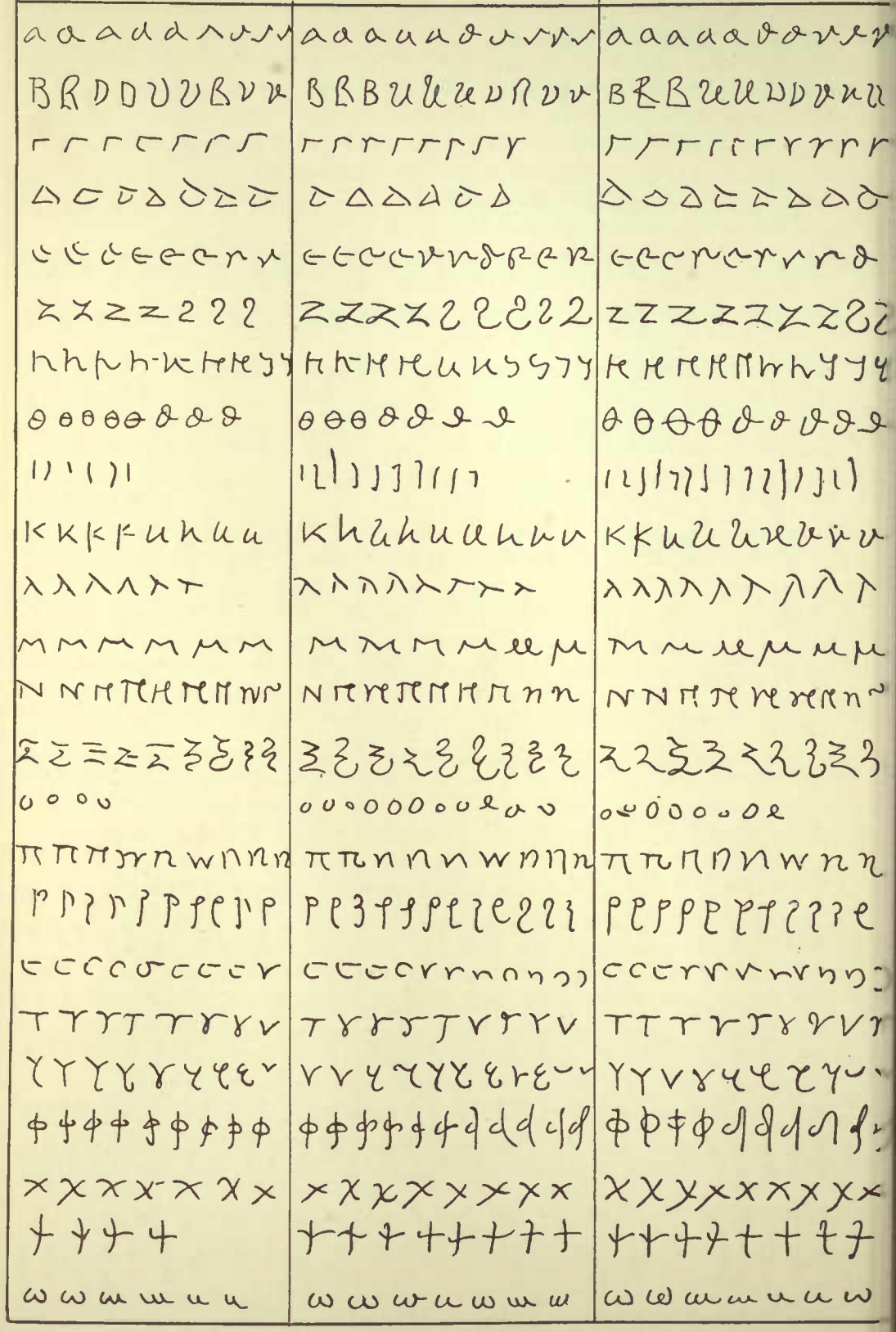
Psi.—This, too, the most rarely used letter of the alphabet, shows little variety. In the earlier period, the transverse bar is usually bent in a curve or in a v-shape; occasionally it is straight. From the first century the straight bar is prevalent.

Omega.—Although the uncial ω was already developed, the common cursive form of the letter, in the third century B.C., was in an incomplete stage, in which the transition from the capital Ω can be but faintly traced. It is generally shallow, and is frequently clipped, that is, the second bow is not completed and has the appearance of having been cut short. This clipped letter was practically discontinued in the following centuries, although occasional instances occur. The normal ω also appears at times with the addition of a linking curve, like the linking curve in our modern cursive *w*.

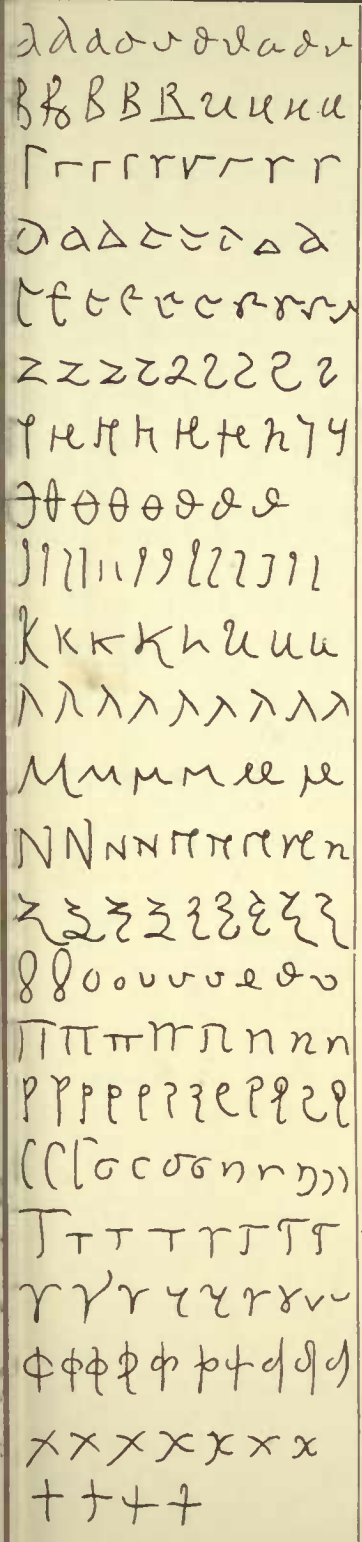
GREEK CURSIVE ALPHABETS (N°1)



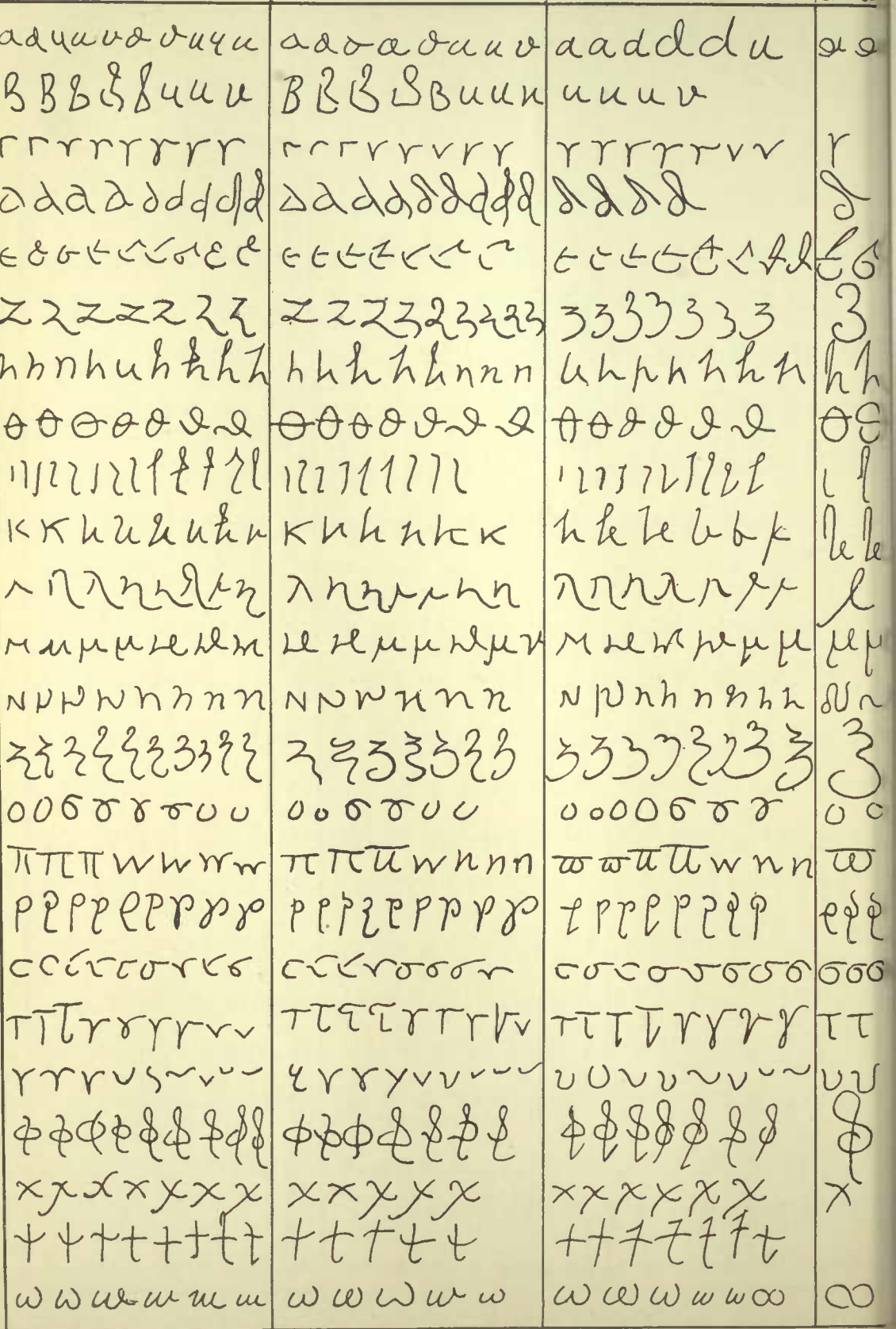
GREEK CURSIVE ALPHABETS (N°2)



GREEK CURSIVE ALPHABETS (No 3)

3RD CENT.	4TH CENT. A.D. 302-359.	5TH CENT. A.D. 441-498.
		

GREEK CURSIVE ALPHABETS (N°4)



Having now had before us the Tables of the Literary and of the Cursive Alphabets of Greek papyri, we may attempt to compare them and endeavour to ascertain to what degree the literary hand was, in the course of time, modified by the current writing.

If we run our eyes along the lines of the Literary Alphabets, it is at once apparent how little change the majority of the letters underwent in their structural forms. Generally the features of the parent capitals remained prominent from beginning to end; and resistance to the aggression of the looser, cursive forms was successful. But the career of a certain number was less constant, and in their varieties we find our opportunity.[1]

The literary *Alpha*, at first modelled directly on the capital, and then adopting the simpler uncial shape, was in both of these forms an angular letter. It was not till the Roman period, practically in the first century of our era, that the lower angle was rounded off and that this new modification took its position as a literary letter. But in cursive alphabets rounded forms of the letter appear in constant use even in the third century B.C. Hence it seems that some two centuries and a half elapsed before the cursive penetrated the literary ranks in respect to this letter.

The literary *Epsilon* in nearly the whole course of its career was the round uncial. But in the third century B.C. we see it wavering between that form and the older square capital; and the latter form appears to have been constant, or nearly so, in the fourth century B.C. On the other hand, the early cursive letter, as far back as we can reach, may be said to be uniformly of the uncial type (an occasional slight squareness, as we think, being accidental and not representative of the square capital). Cursive writing of the fourth century B.C. will probably show the *epsilon* even then in the uncial form.

The literary *Zeta* down to the second century B.C. was an archaic letter, built up with three separate strokes. Only in the course of that century does it appear to have assumed the simpler and more easily written Z-form of three continuous strokes. But the latter form was in full use in cursive alphabets of the third century B.C.; and we may forecast its existence also in cursive writing of the preceding century.

The literary *Eta* follows more or less the model of the parent capital down to the second century B.C. In the following century a letter of looser structure shows itself, which became common from the first century A.D.: a truncated h with loop at the shoulder. This form appears as a cursive letter in the first, and to some extent even in the

[1] The four columns of letters in the Table of Literary Alphabets, representing the four hands employed in the papyrus of the *Constitution of Athens*, of about A.D. 90, must be disregarded in this scrutiny, all being more or less cursive.

second, century B.C. In this instance the influence of the cursive on the literary hand was operative after a comparatively short interval.

In the literary *Mu* the model of the parent capital was followed pretty consistently down to the first century, from which period the central angle tends to take the form of a deep curve. In the cursive letter we have a similar developement at the same period.

The literary *Xi* retains the old form composed of three separate strokes (occasionally modified in two strokes) down to the period of the first century B.C. After that date the letter formed by one action, without lifting the pen, comes into general use in literary papyri. In cursive alphabets we find the latter form employed in the first and second, and even, rarely, in the third, century B.C. It seems then the lapse of two centuries at least was needed for the cursive letter to be established in the literary hand.

The literary *Sigma* appears in the fourth century B.C. in two forms: viz. the older four-stroke capital, and the round C-shaped uncial which subsequently prevailed. The older form had already dropped out of cursive alphabets of the third century B.C., and at that time it had probably ceased to be employed cursively for a considerable period. The practice of drawing downwards the head of the C-letter seems to have come into vogue from the first century, in both literary and cursive hands.

The literary *Upsilon* (if we except those examples of the fourth century B.C. which are not of the purely literary type, and in which the letter shows cursive elements) appears to have been consistently of the normal capital type down to the first century, when more cursive forms began to encroach. But those forms are already conspicuous in cursive alphabets in the third century B.C. This letter, then, affords a further instance of the conservatism of the literary hand and of the resistance of which it was capable against the inroads of the cursive.

The literary *Omega* which, after entering on the third century B.C. and subsequently, adopted the uncial form, still retained, in the fourth century B.C., recognizable traces of the features of the parent capital Ω. In the earliest cursive alphabets, in which the clipped letter predominates, these traces have nearly vanished. When once the uncial ω had been evolved, it prevailed in both the literary and cursive hands with little variation. An exceptional variety is the shallow letter used in the Bacchylides and in the Harris Homer; which is also found in literary papyri of the third century.

In the course of the above remarks it will have been observed that several of the admissions of cursive forms into the literary script are practically contemporaneous with the assumption of the administration

of Egypt by the Romans. This is not surprising; for the radical changes effected in the general character of both the literary and the cursive hands at the time of that political event have already been demonstrated; and the general stimulus would be accountable for the accelerated adoption, into the literary ranks, of forms which, under more normal conditions, might have had to wait for a longer period before gaining admission. In the absence of such adventitious influences, it would seem that the normal interval between the rise of a cursive form and its ultimate recognition as a literary letter might extend to about a couple of centuries.

CHAPTER XI

GREEK PALAEOGRAPHY (*continued*)

The Uncial Book-hand in Vellum Codices

THE chapter in which the developement of the Literary hand or Book-hand in papyri has been described will have prepared the student for the further examination of literary Greek writing at the period when, about the fourth century, the vellum codex had established itself as the recognized vehicle for the dissemination of literature by superseding the ancient vehicle, the papyrus roll.

In that chapter certain papyri were referred to, the writing of which bears, in a greater or less degree, direct relation to the uncial writing in early vellum codices, which it is now proposed to discuss. First there was a deed (Facs. 16) of A.D. 88, written in characters which demonstrate the existence, as early as the first century, of a style of hand which was the forerunner of the vellum uncial script. A nearer approach to the calligraphic style, distinguished by a contrast of light and heavy strokes, of the vellum period, was exhibited in the Bankes Homer (Facs. 17) of the second century. But there are more than one point of contact between the two classes of writing; and there was also cited another important MS., the Hawara Homer (Facs. 18), also of the second century, which brings us to the very frontier separating the two kingdoms of papyrus and of vellum, resembling as it does in the scale and structure of its letters, not in the calligraphic quality just mentioned, the famous vellum fragments of the *Iliad* known as the Ambrosian Homer. As the close resemblance between the two MSS. has affected former opinions as to the period to which the Ambrosian Homer is to be assigned, and has, in fact, raised the latter to pre-eminence as possibly the oldest extant vellum MS. written in formal uncials,[1] it stands first in our series for illustration of this section of our work.

The Ambrosian Homer has enjoyed greater celebrity for the illustrations with which it was adorned than for its script. In fact, in its present state, the MS. is represented only by some fifty fragments containing pictures cut, for their own sake, from the original volume, so that the portions of the text that have survived are only those which happened to be upon the reverse sides of the illustrations so barbarously abstracted.

[1] Here we do not take account of the few stray vellum leaves of earlier dates which have been more recently discovered (see p. 30) and which belong to a different order of handwriting.

This valuable relic, so interesting as an example of ancient art as well as of early uncial writing on vellum, was in its present condition when it was added to the Ambrosian Library of Milan, along with the other collections of Vincenzio Pinelli, by Cardinal Federico Borromeo in 1609.

No. 43

The MS. has hitherto been generally ascribed to the fifth century, and the difference of the style of the writing from that of the typical uncial writing of the time was thought to indicate inferiority in age. But the discovery of the Hawara Homer and other papyrus fragments of the *Iliad* of the second century written in a character so evidently of the style of the Ambrosian Homer caused the question of the period of the latter MS. to be reconsidered, and the probability of its earlier date was at once suggested.[1] The editors of the facsimile edition of the MS.[2] claim the third century to be the true period of its execution; and this claim is now generally allowed. If the writing is compared with that of the Hawara MS. (Facs. 18), the likeness between the two is very striking: the Hawara text is more delicately inscribed, as is fitting, on the more fragile material, papyrus; the Ambrosian text is rather heavier, as the stronger material, vellum, permits; but the general style and structure of the letters bring the two MSS. into one group, and it seems that the difference of a century between them may be as much as it is needful to allow. Certainly the third century is an early period in which to find a vellum codex, such as the Ambrosian Homer, handsomely written and decorated—a period when a papyrus roll might rather have been expected. But it may be urged that vellum was undoubtedly the better material to receive the illustrative paintings, and that, as the paintings must from the first have been the chief object of consideration, vellum was on that account employed.

Passing now to the consideration of the more typical examples of the early vellum uncial codices, in the first place what attracts the eye most of all is the great beauty and firmness of the characters. The general result of the progress of any form of writing through a number of centuries is decadence and not improvement. But in the case of the uncial writing of the early codices there is improvement and not decadence. This is to be attributed to the change of material, the firm and smooth surface of vellum giving the scribe greater scope for displaying his skill as a calligrapher. In other words, there appears to have been a period of renaissance with the general introduction of vellum as the ordinary writing material.

The earliest examples of vellum uncial Greek MSS., which have

[1] Kenyon, *Palaeogr. Gk. Papyri*, 121.

[2] *Homeri Iliadis pictae Fragmenta Ambrosiana*, ed. A. M. Ceriani and A. Ratti, 1905.

survived practically entire, are the three great codices of the Bible: the Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Sinaiticus, and the Codex Alexandrinus.

The famous Codex Vaticanus has been in the Vatican Library certainly since the fifteenth century. It is to all appearance the most ancient and may be ascribed to the fourth century. It is written in triple columns, without enlarged initial letters to mark paragraphs or even the beginnings of the several books. The writing in its original state was beautifully regular and delicate; but, unfortunately, the whole of the text has been touched over, in darker ink, by a hand of perhaps the tenth or eleventh century, only letters or words rejected as superfluous or incorrect being allowed to remain intact.

No. 44

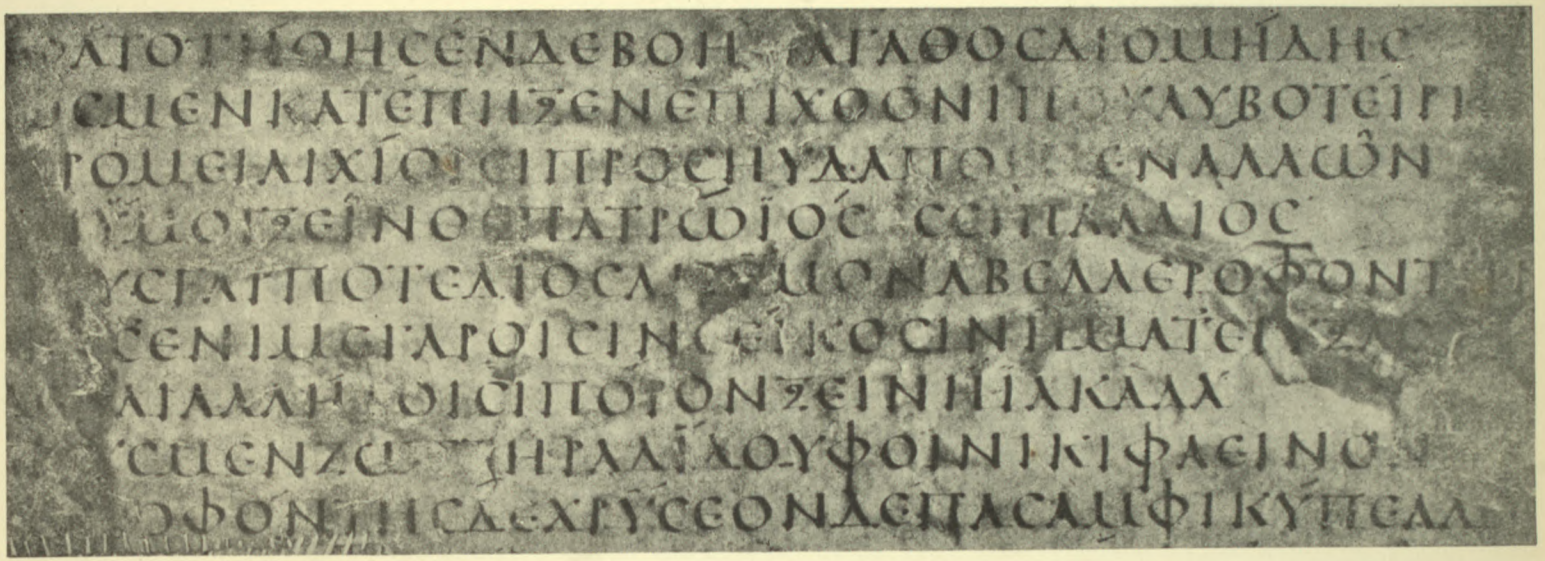
The accents and marks of punctuation are added, probably by the hand that retouched the writing.

The entire text appears to have been the work of a single scribe, who must have been a marvellous workman. As will be seen, the lettering is on a smaller scale than that of the other two great codices, and the writing is of a lighter touch. Although not identical in regard to the forms of the several letters, there is much in the general aspect of the Codex Vaticanus that recalls the papyrus commentary on the *Theaetetus* (Facs. 13) of the second century, which is much of the same scale; and one is accordingly tempted to think that the text or texts which the scribe of this codex used as his prototype may have been papyrus rolls very much of the character of the *Theaetetus*, and that he adapted his style to the excellent older patterns which lay before him.

The Codex Sinaiticus, Tischendorf's great discovery in the monastery of St. Catherine of Mount Sinai, is generally regarded as somewhat younger than the Vatican MS. It can hardly be, in any case, earlier than the year 340; for the Eusebian sections or divisions of the text are indicated in the margins of the Gospels by a contemporary hand. Their author Eusebius died in that year. The period of the MS. may be the latter part of the fourth century.

No. 45

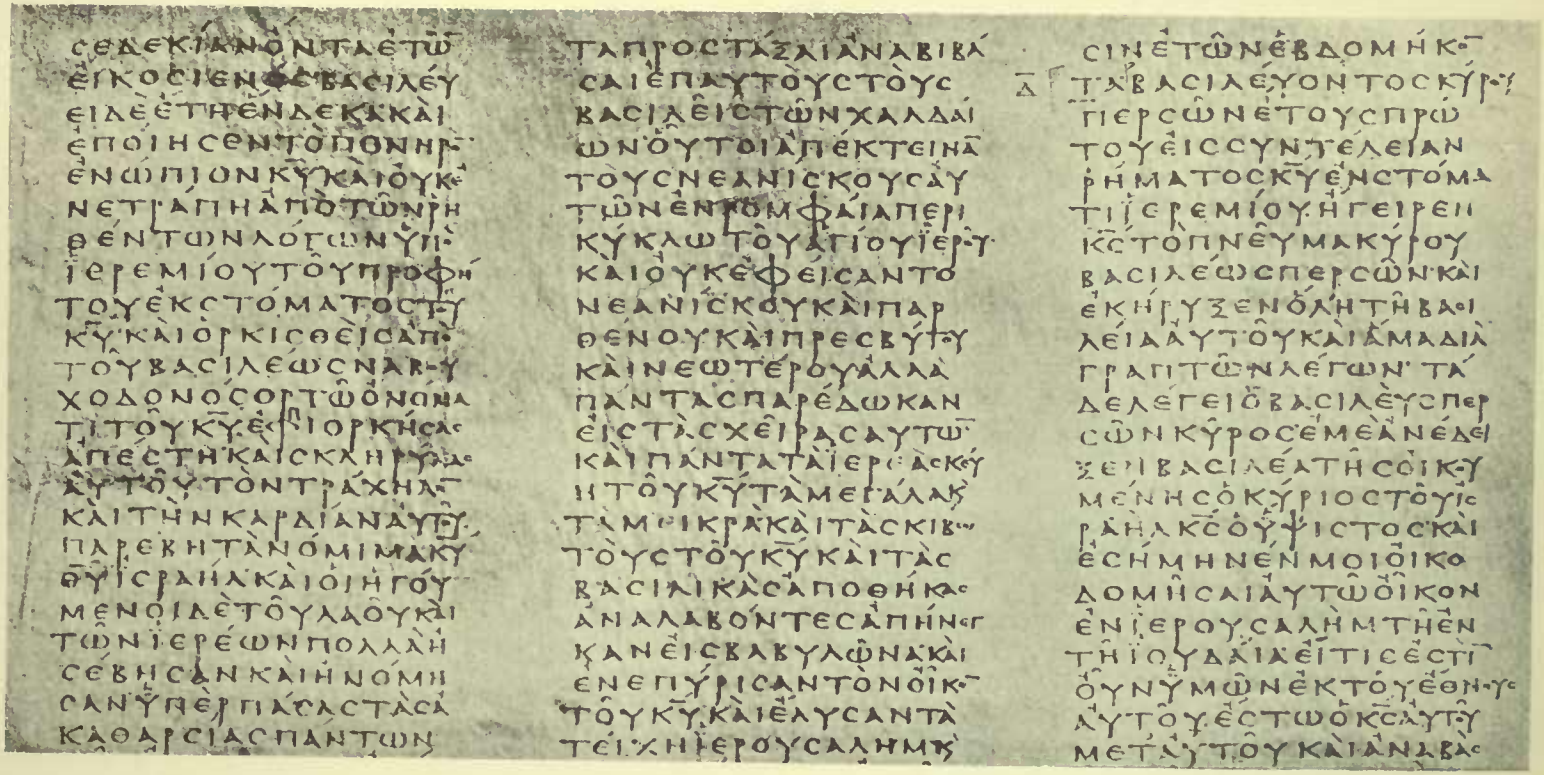
The text is written in four columns to a page, the open book thus presenting eight columns in sequence, and, as has been suggested, recalling the line of columns on a papyrus roll. Like the Vatican MS., it is devoid of enlarged letters; but the initial letter of a line beginning a sentence is usually placed slightly in the margin, as will be seen in the facsimile. The chief characteristic of the letters is squareness, the width being generally equal to the height. The shapes are simple, and horizontal strokes are fine.



AMBROSIAN HOMER.—THIRD CENTURY (?)

([ως] φατο γηθησεν δε βοην αγαθος διομηδης
[εγχ]ος μεν κατεπηξεν επι χθονι πουλυβοτειρη
[αυτα]ρ ο μειλιχιοισι προσηυδα ποιμενα λαων
[η ρα] νυ μοι ξεινος πατρωιος εσσι παλαιος
[οι]νευς γαρ ποτε διος αμυμονα βελλεροφοντην

[ξε]ινισ ενι μεγαροισιν εεικοσιν ηματ ερυξας
[οι] δε και αλληλοισι πορον ξεινηια καλα
[οι]νευς μεν ζωστηρα διδου φοινικι φαεινον
[βε]λλεροφοντης δε χρυσεον δεπας αμφικυπελλον)

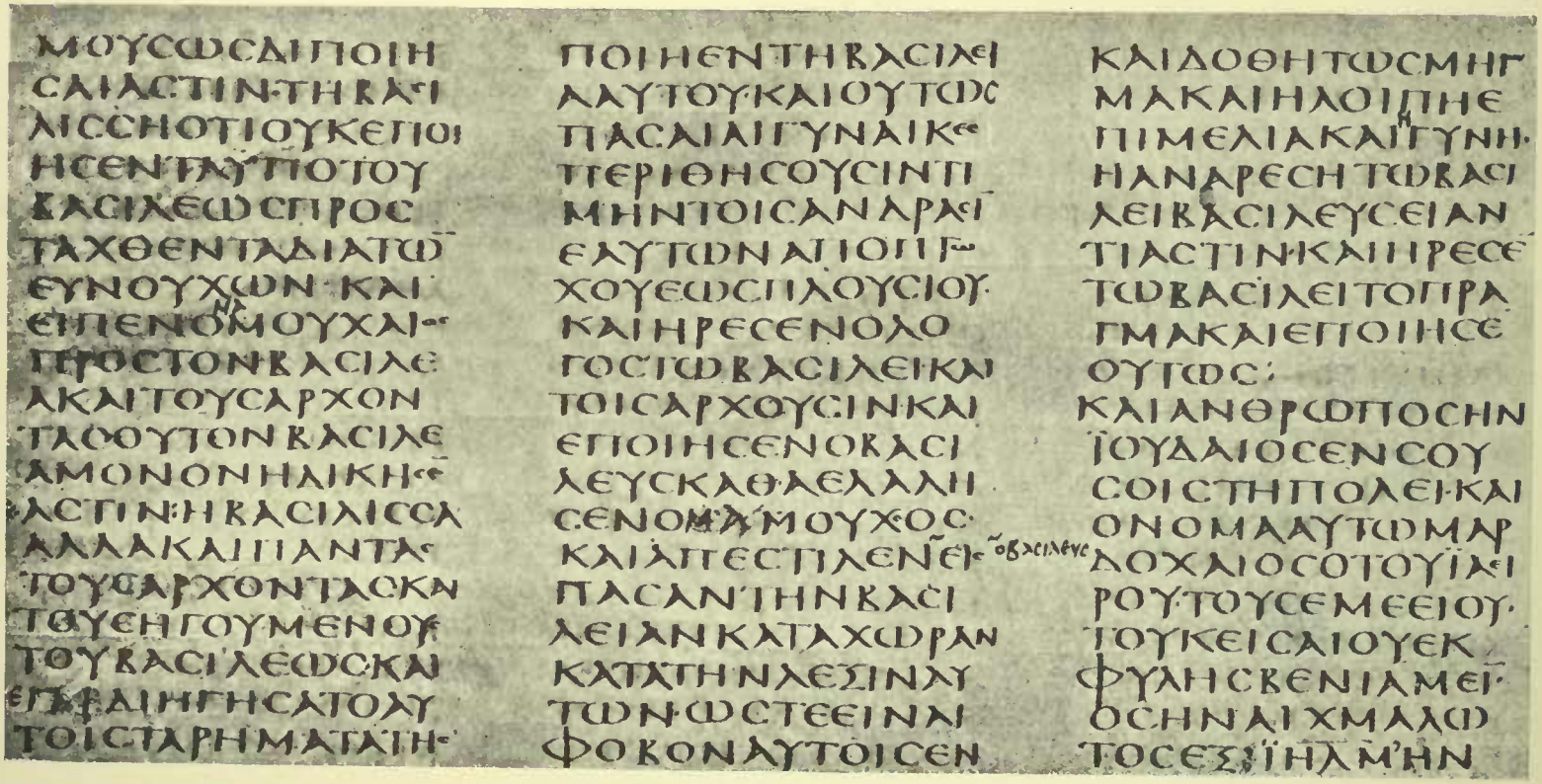


BIBLE (CODEX VATICANUS).—FOURTH CENTURY

(σεδεκίαν ὄντα ἐτῶ(ν)
ἔικοσι ενός· βασιλέυ
ει δὲ ἔτη ἕνδεκα· καὶ
ἐπόιησεν τὸ πονηρὸ(ν)
ἐνώπιον κ(υριο)υ· καὶ οὐκ ἐ
νετράπη ἀπὸ τῶν ῥη
θέντων λόγων ὑπὸ
ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφή
του ἐκ στόματος τοῦ
κ(υρίο)υ· καὶ ὁρκισθὶς ἀπὸ
τοῦ βασιλέως ναβου
χοδονόσορ τῶ ὀνόμα
τι τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἐφιορκήσας
ἀπέστη· καὶ σκληρύνας
αὐτοῦ τὸν τράχηλο(ν)
καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ
παρέβη τὰ νόμιμα κ(υρίο)υ
θ(εο)ῦ ἰσραήλ καὶ ὁι ἡγόυ
μενοι δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ
τῶν ἱερέων πολλὰ ἠ
σέβησαν καὶ ἠνόμη
σαν ὑπὲρ πάσας τὰς ἀ
καθαρσίας πάντων

τα προστάξαι ἀναβιβά
σαι ἐπ ἀυτὸυς τὸυς
βασιλεῖς τῶν χαλδάι
ων· ὁῦτοι ἀπέκτειναν
τὸυς νεανίσκους ἀυ
τῶν ἐν ρομφάια περι
κύκλω τοῦ ἁγίου ἱεροῦ·
καὶ οὐκ ἐφείσαντο
νεανίσκου καὶ παρ
θένου καὶ πρεσβύτου
καὶ νεωτέρου· ἀλλὰ
πάντας παρέδωκαν
εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αυτω(ν)·
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἱερεὰ σκέυ
η τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ τὰ μεγάλα κ(αὶ)
τὰ μεικρὰ· καὶ τὰς κιβω
τὸυς τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ καὶ τὰς
βασιλικὰς ἀποθήκας
ἀναλαβόντες ἀπήνεγ
καν εἰς βαβυλῶνα· καὶ
ἐνεπύρισαν τὸν οἶκο(ν)
τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ καὶ ἔλυσαν τὰ
τέιχη ἱερουσαλὴμ κ(αὶ)

σιν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκο(ν)
δ τα· βασιλέυοντος κύρου
περσῶν ἐτους πρώ
του εἰς συντέλειαν
ῥήματος κ(υρίο)υ ἐν στόμα
τι ἱερεμίου. ἤγειρεν
κ(ύριο)ς τὸ πνεῦμα κύρου
βασιλέως περσῶν· καὶ
ἐκήρυξεν ὅλη τῆ βασι
λέια ἀυτοῦ καὶ ἅμα διὰ
γραπτῶν λέγων· τά
δε λέγει ὁ βασιλὲυς περ
σῶν κῦρος· ἐμὲ ἀνέδει
ξεν βασιλέα τῆς οἰκου
μένης ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἰς
ραὴλ κ(ύριο)ς ὁ ὕψιστος· καὶ
ἐσήμηνέν μοι οἰκο
δομῆσαι ἀυτῶ οἶκον
ἐν ἱερουσαλὴμ τῆ ἐν
τῆ ἰουδάια· ἔι τις ἐστὶ(ν)
ὀῦν ὑμῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους
ἀυτοῦ. ἔστω ὁ κ(ύριο)ς ἀυτοῦ
μετ' ἀυτοῦ καὶ ἀναβὰς)

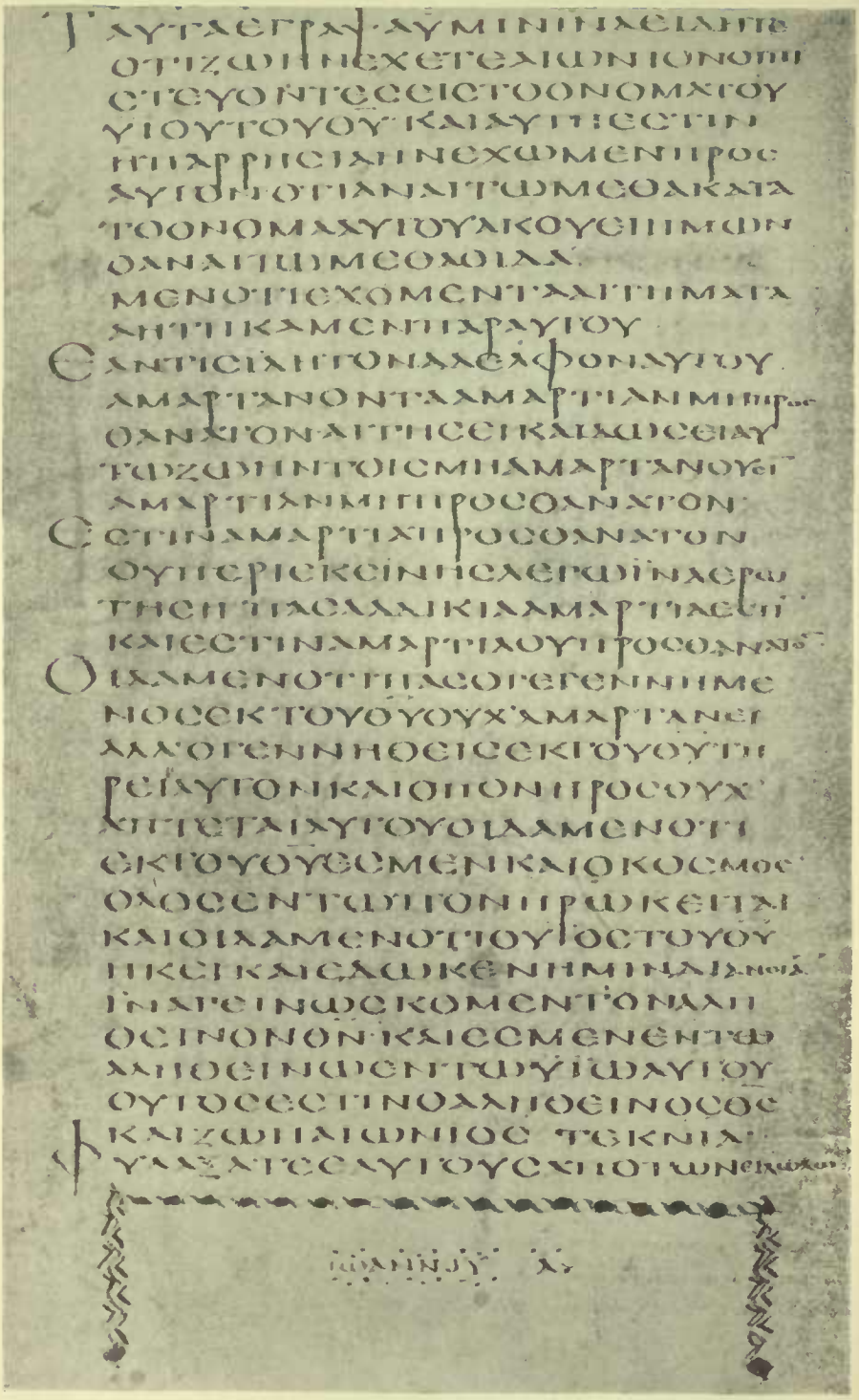


BIBLE (CODEX SINAITICUS).—LATE FOURTH CENTURY

(μους ως δι ποιη
σαι αστιν · τη βασι
λισση οτι ουκ εποι
ησεν τα ὑπο του
βασιλεως προς
ταχθεντα δια τω(ν)
ευνουχων · και
μα
ειπεν ο μουχαιος
προς τον βασιλε
α και τους αρχον
τας ου τον βασιλε
α μονον ηδικησε(ν)
αστιν : η βασιλισσα
αλλα και παντας
τους αρχοντας · και
τους ηγουμενους
του βασιλεως · και
γαρ διηγησατο αυ
τοις τα ρηματα της

ποιη εν τη βασιλει
α αυτου · και ουτως
πασαι αι γυναικες
περιθησουσιν τι
μην τοις ανδρασι(ν)
εαυτων απο πτω
χου εως πλουσιου ·
και ηρεσεν ο λο
γος τω βασιλει · και
τοις αρχουσιν · και
εποιησεν ο βασι
λευς καθ · α ελαλη
σεν ο μαμουχεος ·
και απεστιλεν εις ⌣ ο βασιλευς
πασαν την βασι
λειαν κατα χωραν
κατα την λεξιν αυ
των · ωστε ειναι
φοβον αυτοις εν

και δοθητω σμηγ
μα και η λοιπη ε
η
πιμελια και γυνη ·
η αν αρεση τω βασι
λει βασιλευσει αν
τι αστιν · και ηρεσε(ν)
τω βασιλει το πρα
γμα και εποιησε(ν)
ουτως :
και ανθρωπος ην
ϊουδαιος εν σου
σοις τη πολει · και
ονομα αυτω μαρ
δοχαιος ο του ϊαει
ρου · του σεμεειου ·
του κεισαιου εκ
φυλης βενιαμει(ν) ·
ος ην αιχμαλω
τος εξ ϊ(ερουσα)λημ᾽ ην)



BIBLE (CODEX ALEXANDRINUS).—FIFTH CENTURY

[1 John v. 13–21]

(Ταυτα εγραψα ὑμιν ἱνα ειδητε
οτι ζωην εχετε αιωνιον οι πι
στευοντες εις το ονομα του
ὑἱου του θ(εο)υ · και αυτη εστιν
ἡ παρρησια ην εχωμεν προς
αυτον · οτι αν αιτωμεθα κατα
το ονομα αυτου ακουει ημων
ο αν αιτωμεθα οιδα
μεν οτι εχομεν τα αιτηματα
α ητηκαμεν παρ αυτου ·
Εαν τις ἱδη τον αδελφον αυτου
αμαρτανοντα αμαρτιαν μη προς
θανατον · αιτησει · και δωσει αυ
τω ζωην τοις μη αμαρτανουσι(ν)
αμαρτιαν μη προς θανατον ·
Εστιν αμαρτια προς θανατον
ου περι εκεινης λεγω ἱνα ερω
τηση πασα αδικια αμαρτια εστι(ν)
και εστιν αμαρτια ου προς θανατο(ν) ·
Οιδαμεν οτι πας ο γεγεννημε
νος εκ του θ(εο)υ ουχ' αμαρτανει
αλλ' ο γεννηθεις εκ του θ(εο)υ τη
ρει `ε'αυτον · και ο πονηρος ουχ'
απτεται αυτου · οιδαμεν οτι
εκ του θ(εο)υ εσμεν και ο κοσμος
ολος εν τω πονηρω κειται
και οιδαμεν οτι ο ὑἱος του θ(εο)υ
ηκει και εδωκεν ημιν διανοια(ν)
ἱνα γεινωσκομεν τον αλη
θεινον θ(εο)ν · και εσμεν εν τω
αληθεινω εν τω ὑἱω αυτου
ουτος εστιν ο αληθεινος θ(εο)ς
και ζωη αιωνιος · τεκνια ·
Φυλαξατε εαυτους απο των ειδωλω(ν)
ιωαννου α.)

With the Codex Alexandrinus there is a decided advance; but the MS. is probably not later than the first half of the fifth century. There can be little doubt of the country of its origin being Egypt, for, besides the fact of its having belonged to the Patriarchal Chamber of Alexandria, it also contains in its titles certain forms of the letters *alpha* and *mu* which are distinctly Egyptian. It was sent as a present to King Charles the First by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople and previously Patriarch of Alexandria, who carried away the MS. from the latter city on his promotion.

No. 46

The text, which is written in double columns, has enlarged letters to mark the beginnings of paragraphs; the enlarged letter standing in the margin at the beginning of the first *full* line, whether that be the first line of the paragraph, or whether the paragraph begin in the course of the preceding line after a blank space (see the last line of the Facsimile).

The writing of the Codex Alexandrinus is more carefully finished than that of the Codex Sinaiticus. The letters are rather wide; horizontal strokes are very fine; and there is a general tendency to thicken or club the extremities of certain letters, as *gamma*, *tau*, *epsilon*, and *sigma*.

Other uncial MSS. which have been ascribed to the fifth century and a little later are: the palimpsest MS. of the Bible, known as the Codex Ephraemi, at Paris (ed. Tischendorf, 1845); the Codex Sarravianus of part of the Old Testament, whose extant leaves are divided between Leyden, Paris, and St. Petersburg; the Genesis of the Cottonian Library, once, probably, one of the most beautifully illustrated MSS. of its period, but now reduced by fire to blackened and defaced fragments (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* i, pl. 8); and the Dio Cassius of the Vatican.[1]

Uncial writing of the sixth century shows an advance on the delicate style of the fifth century in the comparatively heavy forms of its letters. Horizontal strokes are lengthened, and are generally finished off with heavy points or finials. The Dioscorides of Vienna (*Pal. Soc.* i. 177; and complete facsimile), written early in the century for Juliana Anicia (died A.D. 527–8), daughter of Flavius Anicius Olybrius, Emperor of the West in 472, is a most valuable MS. for the palaeographer, as it is the earliest example of uncial writing on vellum to which an approximate date can be given.

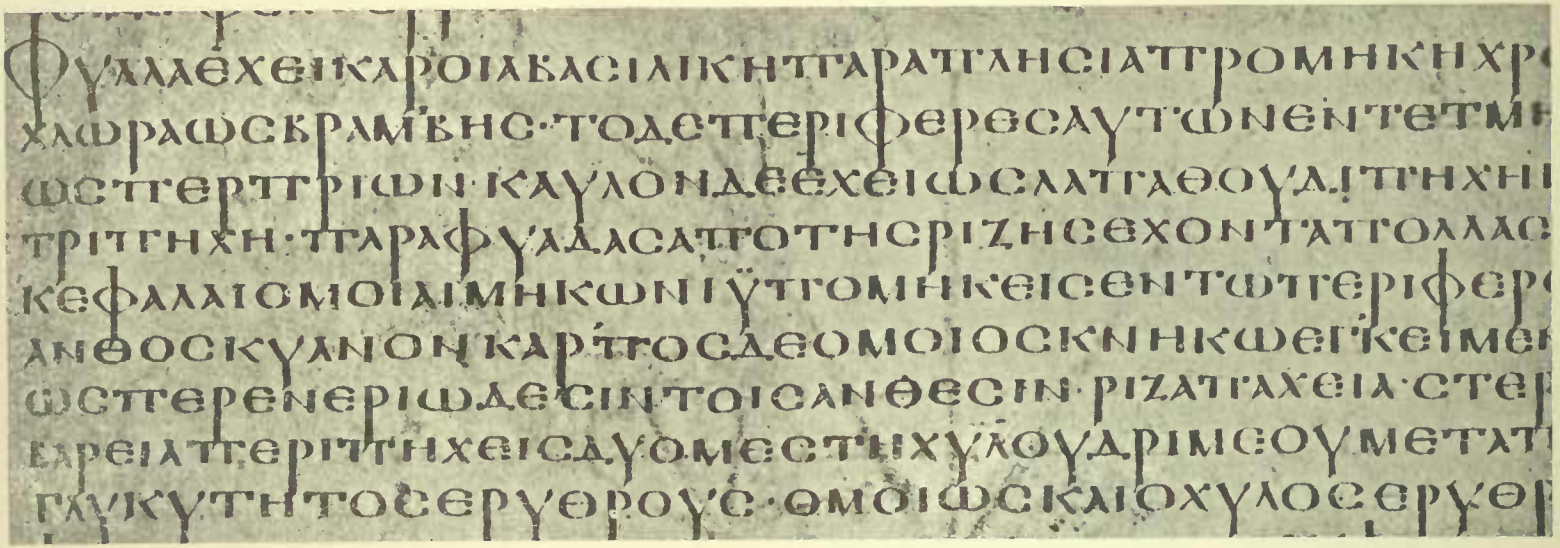
[1] The Codex Sarravianus and the Dio Cassius have both been recently published in complete facsimile, 1897 and 1908. A full list of the principal Greek uncial codices is given in the third edition of Wattenbach's *Anleitung zur griech. Palaeographie*, 1895. See also Omont, *Fac-similés des plus anciens Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibl. Nationale*, 1892, for specimens of many of the MSS. quoted in this chapter.

No. 47

It is also of great interest for the history of art, as, in addition to the coloured drawings of plants, reptiles, insects, etc., which illustrate the text, it contains six full-page designs, one of them being the portrait of the imperial Juliana herself.

This is a specimen of careful writing, suitable to a sumptuous book prepared for a lady of high rank. The letters exhibit a contrast of heavy and fine strokes; the curve of both *epsilon* and *sigma* is thickened at both extremities; the base of *delta* extends right and left and has heavy dots at the ends; the cross-strokes of *pi* and *tau* are treated in the same way. In the second line will be noticed an instance, in the word *βραμβης*, of the use of the apostrophe to separate two consonants, a common practice in this MS.

Other MSS. of this period are: the palimpsest Homer in the British Museum (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* i, pl. 9; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 3), generally named, after its editor, the Cureton Homer, and the palimpsest fragments of St. Luke's Gospel (*Cat. Anc. MSS.*, pl. 10), which together with the Homer were reused by a later Syrian scribe; the fragments of the Pauline Epistles at Mount Athos (complete facsimile, ed. K. Lake, 1905), some leaves of which are in Paris and some in Moscow (Silvestre, pls. 63, 64; Sabas, pl. A); the Gospels (N) written on purple vellum in silver and gold, leaves of which are in London (Cotton MS., Titus C. xv), Rome, Vienna, and Patmos, the place of its origin, and the larger portion of which was recovered in 1896 and is now in St. Petersburg; the fragments of the Eusebian Canons, written on gilt vellum and sumptuously ornamented, in the British Museum (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* i, pl. 11); the Vienna Genesis, with illustrations of very great interest (*Pal. Soc.* i. 178); the Rossano Gospels, written in silver on purple vellum and also having a remarkable series of illustrations (ed. Gebhardt and Harnack, 1880); a portion of St. Matthew's Gospel, in gold on purple vellum, also with miniatures, from Sinope, now in Paris (ed. H. Omont, 1901); the Gospels, in silver on purple vellum, from Berat in Albania (Cod. Φ, ed. Batiffol, 1886); the Dublin palimpsest fragments of St. Matthew's Gospel and of Isaiah (ed. T. K. Abbott, *Par Palimpsestorum Dublin.*), the handwriting of the Gospel having the Egyptian forms of *alpha* and *mu* strongly marked; and the Freer MS. of Deuteronomy and Joshua, also from Egypt (*New Pal. Soc.* 202). There are also two bilingual Graeco-Latin MSS. which are assigned to the sixth century, viz. the Codex Bezae of the Gospels and Acts at Cambridge (*Pal. Soc.* i. 14, 15), and the Codex Claromontanus of the Pauline Epistles at Paris (*Pal. Soc.* i. 63, 64). But these were almost certainly written in France or, at all events, in Western Europe, and rather belong to the domain of Latin palaeography, as the Greek letters are to some extent modelled on the Latin forms. The



DIOSCORIDES.—EARLY SIXTH CENTURY

(Φυλλα εχει καροια βασιλικη παραπλησια προμηκη χρ[ωματι]
χλωρα ως βραμ'βης · το δε περιφερες αυτων εντετμη[ται]
ωσπερ πριων · καυλον δε εχει ως λαπαθου διπηχη [και]
τριπηχη · παραφυαδας απο της ριζης εχοντα πολλας [εφ ων]
κεφαλαι ομοιαι μηκωνι ὑπομηκεις εν τω περιφερ[ει]
ανθος κυανον καρ'πος δε ομοιος κνηκω εγ'κειμεν[ος]
ωσπερ εν εριωδεσιν τοις ανθεσιν · ριζα παχεια · στερ[εα]
βαρεια περι πηχεις δυο μεστη χυλου δριμεου μετα π[οσης]
γλυκυτητος ερυθρους · ομοιως και ο χυλος ερυθρ[ος])

Greek portions of the great Laurentian codex of the Pandects at Florence should also be noticed as of this period.

The decadence of the round uncial hand in the successive centuries may be seen in the second Vienna Dioscorides (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 45), which is thought to be of the early part of the seventh century, and in the Vatican MS. of Pope Gregory's Dialogues (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 81), which was written, probably at Rome, in the year 800. But in these later centuries Greek uncial MSS. were more usually written in another style.

Soon after the year 600, a variety of the round uncial came into ordinary use—a change similar to that which has been noticed as taking place in the writing of the third century on papyrus. The circular letters *epsilon, theta, omikron, sigma* become oval, and the letters generally are laterally compressed and narrow in proportion to their height. The writing slopes to the right, and accentuation begins to be applied systematically.[1] At first the character of the writing was light and elegant, but as time went on it gradually became heavier and more artificial. A few scattered Greek notes are found written in this style in Syriac MSS. which bear actual dates in the seventh century; and there are a few palimpsest fragments of Euclid and of Gospel Lectionaries among the Syriac MSS. of the British Museum, of the seventh and eighth centuries; but there is no entire MS. in sloping uncials bearing a date earlier than the ninth century.

As an early specimen we select a few lines from the facsimile (Wattenbach, *Script. Gr. Specim.*, tab. 8) of the fragment of a mathematical treatise from Bobbio, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, which is assigned to the seventh century.

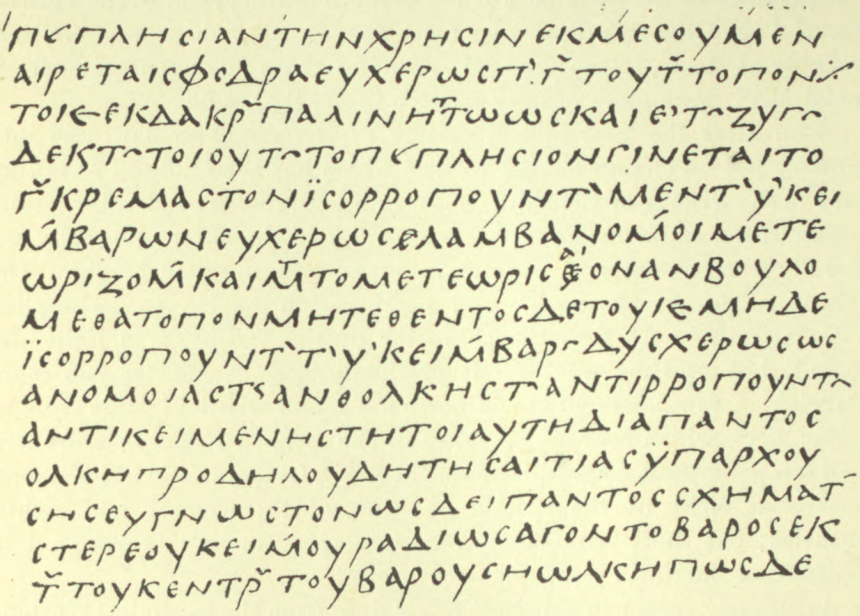
No. 48

It will be seen that in this MS., intended for students' use and dealing with a secular subject, abbreviations are fairly numerous.

Passing on to the middle of the ninth century, we have a MS. with a date: a Psalter of the year 862, belonging to Bishop Uspensky (Wattenbach, *Script. Gr. Specim.*, tab. 10).

[1] Quite recently, in 1907, an early example of sloping uncial writing on vellum, a copy of the Gospels, said to have been found at Akhmim in Egypt, was acquired by Mr. C. L. Freer. Its discovery may open a new chapter in the history of uncial writing in vellum codices, if it is followed by the finding of other MSS. of the same period and character. A facsimile of a page appears in *New Pal. Soc.* 201, the date of the MS. being given as not later than the fifth century; and the style of the writing is compared with that of the Book of Enoch, found at Akhmim in 1886, now in Cairo (facs. in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, ix (1892), pt. 3), and with that of the Magical Papyrus (no. 46) in the British Museum.

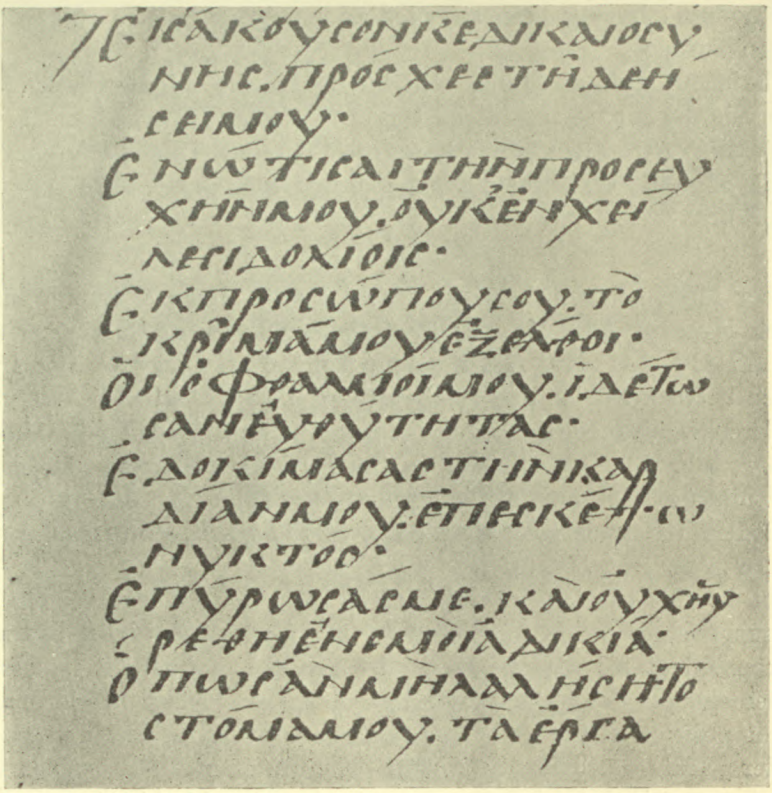
FACSIMILE NO. 48



MATHEMATICAL TREATISE.—SEVENTH CENTURY

(π(αρα)πλησιαν την χρησιν εκ μεσου μεν | αιρεται σφοδρα ευχερως π(ερι) γ(αρ) τουτ(ου) τοπον (εστιν) | το κ(εντρον) εκ δ ακρ(ου) παλιν ηττω ως και ε(πι) τ(ων) ζυγ(ων) | δε κ(αι) τ(ων) τοιουτ(ων) το π(αρα)πλησιον γινεται το | γ(αρ) κρεμαστον ϊσορροπουντ(ων) μεν τ(ων) υ(πο)κει|μ(ενων) βαρων ευχερως ε(πι)λαμβανομ(εν)οι μετε|ωριζομ(εν) και μ(ε)τ(α) το μετεωρισθαι ου αν βουλο|μεθα τοπον μη τεθεντος δε του κ(εντρου) μηδε | ϊσορροπουντ(ων) τ(ων) υ(πο)κειμ(ενων) βαρ(ων) δυσχερως ως | ανομοιας τ(ης) ανθολκης τ(ων) αντιρροπουντ(ων) | αντικειμενης τη τοιαυτη δια παντος | ολκη προδηλου δη της αιτιας ὑπαρχου|σης ευγνωστον ως δει παντος σχηματ(ος) | στερεου κειμ(εν)ου ραδιως αγον το βαρος εκ | τ(ου) του κεντρ(ου) του βαρους η ωλκη πως δε)

FACSIMILE NO. 49



PSALTER.—A. D. 862

(Εἰσάκουσον κ(υρι)ε δικαιοσύ|νης πρόσχες τῇ δεή|σει μου·
Ἐνώτισαι τὴν προσευ|χήν μου, οὐκ' ἐν χεί|λεσι δολίοις·
Ἐκ προσώπου σου, τὸ | κρῖμά μου ἐξέλθοι·
Οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, ἰδέτω|σαν εὐθύτητας·
Ἐδοκίμασας τὴν καρ|δίαν μου, ἐπεσκέψω | νυκτός·
Ἐπύρωσάς με. καὶ οὐχ ηὑ|ρεθη ἐν εμοὶ ἀδικία·
Ὅπως ἂν μὴ λαλήση το | στόμα μου. τὰ ἔργα)

No. 49

In this specimen progress is seen in the extreme contrast of heavy and light strokes; and the general aspect of the writing is one of excessive artificiality. This heavy class of Greek writing has received the name of 'Slavonic', having been accepted as a pattern for the alphabets of Eastern Europe.

The same style continues still later. Of the middle of the tenth century is the only extant uncial MS. of the Greek New Testament (with one possible exception) which has a precise date. This is a copy of the Gospels of A. D. 949, in the Vatican Library (MS. Graec. 354; *New Pal. Soc.* 105).

No. 50

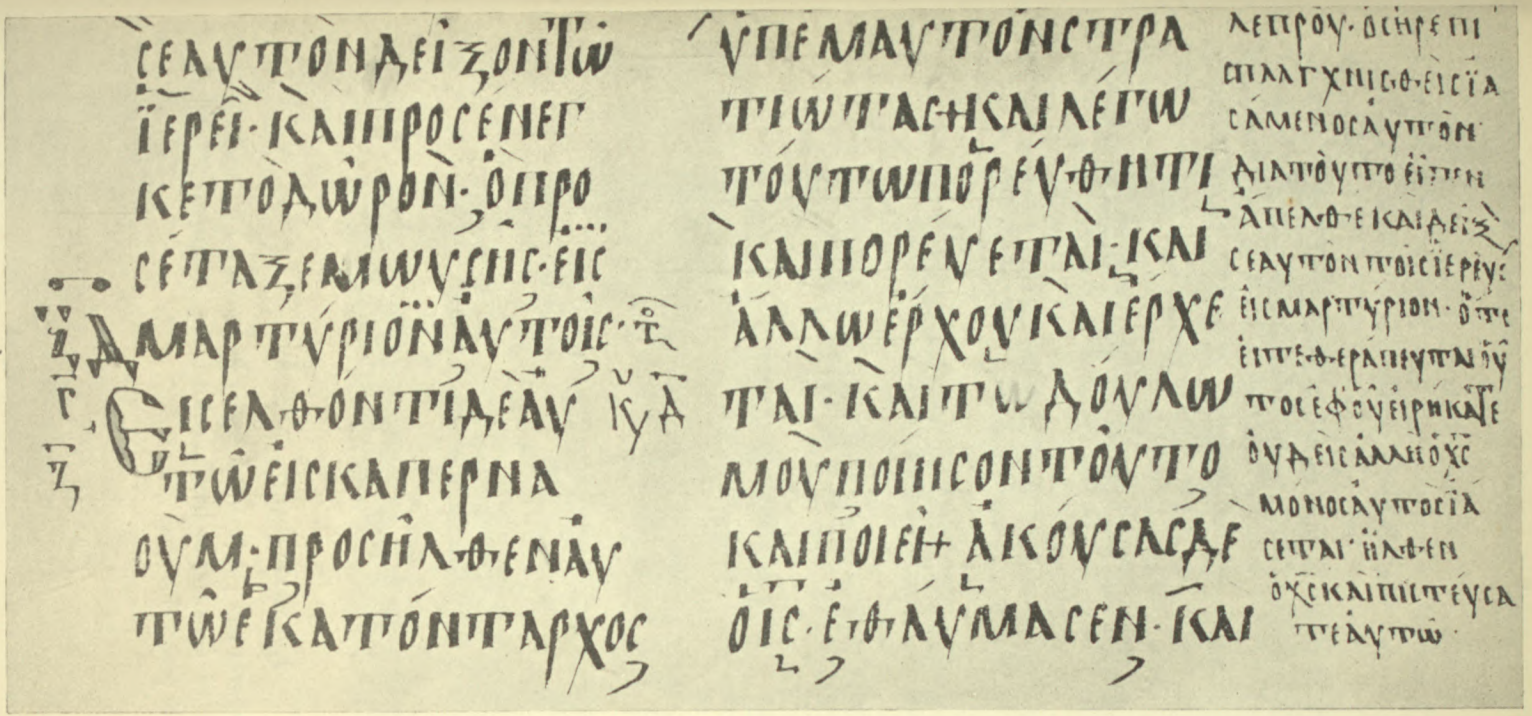
Other MSS. of this character are: a small volume of hymns in the British Museum, Add. MS. 26113, of the eighth or ninth century (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* i. 14; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 4); a copy of Gregory of Nazianzus, written between 867 and 886 (Silvestre, pl. 71); a Dionysius Areopagita at Florence, also of the ninth century (Vitelli and Paoli, *Facsim. Paleogr.*, tav. 17); a Lectionary in the Harleian collection, of the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* i. 17); and the Bodleian Genesis (Gk. Misc. 312), of the tenth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 26; cf. *New Pal. Soc.* 3).

But by this time uncial writing had passed out of ordinary use, and only survived, as a rule, for church-books, in which the large character was convenient for reading in public. In this capacity it underwent another change, the letters reverting from the sloping position to the upright position of the early uncial, and again, after a period, becoming rounder. This was evidently a mere calligraphic modification, the style being better suited for handsome service-books. Of this character are the Bodleian Gospels (Gk. Misc. 313) of the tenth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 7); the Laurentian Evangeliarium of the tenth century (Vitelli and Paoli, *Facsim. Paleogr.*, tav. 7); the Zouche Evangeliarium, of 980 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 154); and the Harleian Evangeliarium (no. 5598), of the year 995 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 26, 27), from which a few lines are here given.

No. 51

As a late instance of uncial writing, a page from a MS. of St. John Chrysostom, which is ascribed to the eleventh century, will be found in Vitelli and Paoli, *Facsim. Paleogr.*, tav. 28. It appears to have lingered on till about the middle of the twelfth century.

There are also a certain number of MSS. in which uncial writing appears to have been used for distinction, or contrast. Thus, in a MS. at Florence of A. D. 886–911, containing Fasti Consulares and other matter



GOSPELS.—A. D. 949

σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τῶ
ἱερεῖ · καὶ προσένεγ
κε τὸ δῶρον · ὃ προ
σέταξε μωυσῆς · εἰς
μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς · το(ῦ)
κυ(ριακου) δ
ΞΔ Γ Ζ Εἰσελθόντι δὲ αὐ
τῶ εἰς καπερνα
ουμ · προσῆλθεν αὐ
τῶ ἑκατόνταρχος

ὑπ ἐμαυτὸν στρα
τιώτας + καὶ λέγω
τούτω πορεύθητι
καὶ πορεύεται · καὶ
ἄλλω ἔρχου καὶ ἔρχε
ται · καὶ τῶ δούλω
μου ποίησον τοῦτο
καὶ ποιεῖ + ἀκούσας δὲ
ὁ ι(ησου)ς · ἐθαύμασεν · καὶ

λεπροῦ · ὁ σ(ωτ)ηρ ἐπι
σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἔα
σάμενος αὐτὸν ·
δια τοῦτο εἶπεν
ἄπελθε καὶ δεῖξ(ον)
σεαυτὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσ(ιν)
εἰς μαρτύριον · ὅτι
εἰ τεθεράπευται οὗ
τος ἐφ' οὗ εἰρήκατε
οὐδεὶς ἀλλ ἢ ὁ χ(ριστο)ς
μόνος αὐτὸς ἰά
σεται · ἦλθεν
ὁ χ(ριστο)ς καὶ πιστεύσα
τε αὐτῶ.

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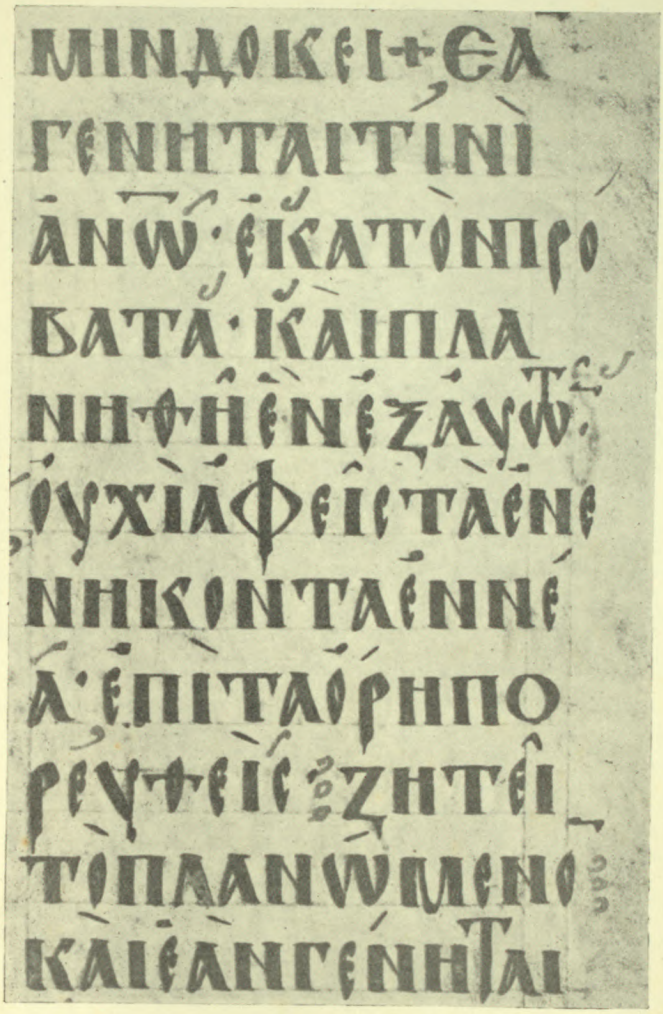


EVANGELIARIUM.—A. D. 995

(μιν δοκεῖ + ἐὰ(ν) | γενηται τινὶ | ἀν(θρωπ)ω· ἑκατὸν πρό|βατα· καὶ πλα|νηθῇ ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶ(ν)· | οὐχὶ ἀφεῖς τὰ ἐνε|νηκοντα ἐννέ|α· ἐπὶ τα ὄρη πο|ρευθεὶς· ζητεῖ | τὸ πλανώμενο(ν) | καὶ ἐὰν γένηται)

arranged in tabulated form, the entries are made in a beautifully neat upright uncial (Vitelli and Paoli, *Facsim. Paleogr.*, tav. 13, 25, 31); so also in the Florentine Dionysius Areopagita of the ninth century, referred to above, while the text is in large slanting uncials, the commentary is in smaller upright uncials; and we have the Vatican Psalter with catena (Cod. Pal. Gr. 44), of the year 897, and the similar Bodleian Psalter (Gk. Misc. 5), of about the year 950 (see below, Facs. 59), in both of which the text of the Psalms is written in upright uncials, while the commentary is in minuscules (*New Pal. Soc.* 129; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 5). The use, too, of small uncial writing for marginal commentaries and notes in minuscule MSS. is not uncommon during the earlier centuries after the establishment of the smaller style of writing as a book-hand.

CHAPTER XII

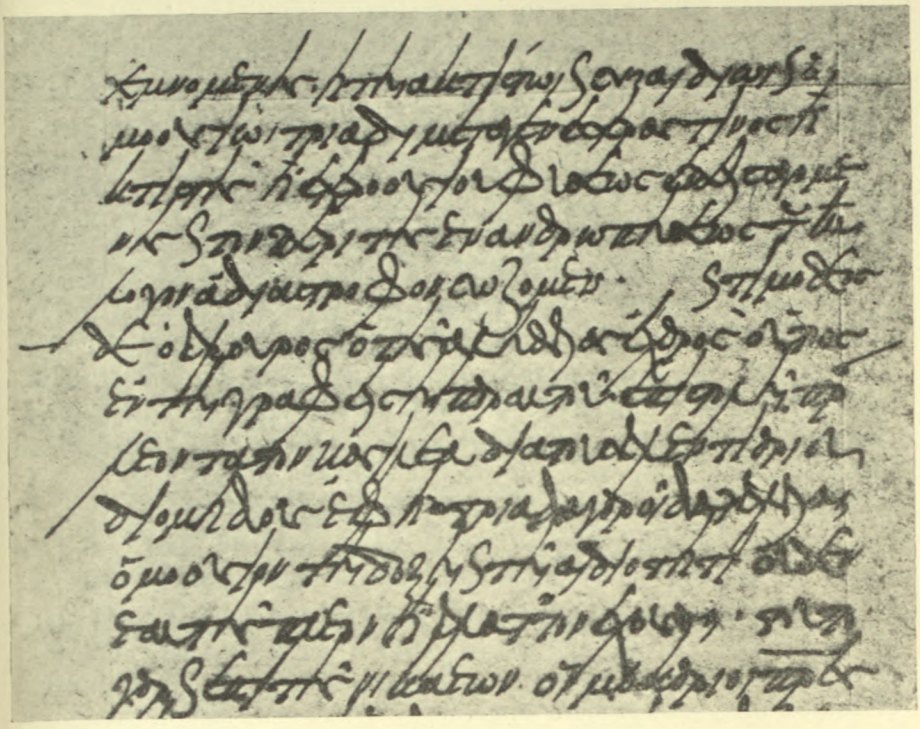
GREEK PALAEOGRAPHY (*continued*)

The Minuscule Book-hand in the Middle Ages

It was shown in Chapter X, on Cursive Writing in Papyri, that in the more formal clerical hands of the later Byzantine period the shapes of the alphabetical letters had been gradually tending towards those with which we are familiar in the vellum minuscule MSS. of the middle ages, and that by the beginning of the eighth century the identity was practically complete. It only required the minuscule clerical handwriting of the papyri of that age to be moulded to a calligraphic measure of exactness and symmetry, for the accomplishment of which the smooth and firm surface of well-prepared vellum was admirably suited, and the new minuscule book-hand at once came into existence. Its appearance as a fully-equipped literary form of writing of great beauty somewhat abruptly in the course of the ninth century could not be satisfactorily explained before the material for the history of the developement of Greek writing on papyrus had been found. That it was the offspring of the minuscule hand developed in the papyri is now a matter of common knowledge; and its progress from the point where we left the parent handwriting will be described in this chapter.

But first we have to notice a very interesting, though small, group of MSS. on vellum which present the new book-hand in an early stage when the parent cursive had already been moulded to calligraphic symmetry, but while its sloping style was still followed. The existence of these examples seems to show that a reformed style of the papyrus hand was at least in partial use on vellum for literary purposes in the interval of the eighth and early ninth centuries before the appearance of the fully formed upright literary minuscule which is the subject of this chapter. A facsimile from one of these MSS., which is ascribed to the eighth century, is given by Gardthausen, *Beiträge zur Griech. Palaeographie*, 1877; and another from a liturgical roll at Mount Sinai, of the ninth century, accompanies a paper by the same writer, *Différences Provinciales de la Minuscule Grecque*, in *Mélanges Graux*, 1884. A third MS., containing a collection of theological works, is in the Vatican Library (Colonna MS. 39), and is probably of the eighth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 126). A facsimile from it is here given.

FACSIMILE No. 52



THEOLOGICAL WORKS.—EIGHTH CENTURY

(τεμνομένης· η τηι ακτιστωι (και) συναιδιωι (και) ὁ|μοουσιωι τριαδι μεταγενεστε-
ρας τινος η | κτισης ἢ ετεροουσιου φυσεως επεισαγομε|νης (και) τον περι της εναν-
θρωπησεως τ(ο)υ κ(υριο)υ | λογον αδιαστροφον σωζομεν· (και) τιμοθεος | δε ὁ
ελουρος ὁ τῆς αληθειας ἐχθρὸς οὑτως | ἐν τηι γραφεισηι παρ αυτοῦ επιστοληι
πρ(ος) | λεοντα τον βασιλεα δια του σελεντιαριου | διομηδους εφη· τριαδα γαρ
οἰδα τελειαν | ὁμοουσιον τηι δοξηι (και) τῆι αιδιοτητι ουδεν | εαυτῆς πλεον ἢ
ελαττον εχουσαν· τουτο | γαρ (και) επι τῆς νικαεων οἱ μακαριοι π(ατε)ρες)

No. 52

The writing slopes after the manner of a current hand, and yet is formed with exact precision; and, if the letters are analysed and compared with those of the cursive papyri of the beginning of the eighth century, they will be seen to be practically identical. A little more moulding is nearly all that is needed to convert them into the letters of the typical minuscule book-hand, exclusive of one or two alternative cursive forms, such as the n-shaped *nu*, which were not adopted.

Greek Minuscule MSS. of the middle ages have been divided into classes, as a convenient method of marking periods in a style of writing which, being used for the language of a limited area, and being subject to no exterior influence, underwent, like all isolated branches of writing, only a gradual change. These classes are:—(1) *codices vetustissimi*, the most ancient MSS. of the ninth century and to the middle of the tenth century; (2) *codices vetusti*, those which range from the middle of the tenth century to the middle of the thirteenth century; (3) *codices recentiores*, from the middle of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century; (4) *codices novelli*, all MSS. of later date.

There are still many hundreds of dated Greek MSS. in existence, in the different libraries of Europe, written before the year 1500. Of these almost all are written in minuscules. Of the ninth century there are four and twenty; of the tenth century there are one hundred and fifteen; of the eleventh century, the number rises to more than two hundred; of the twelfth century there are nearly as many. In the later centuries, of course, they become more numerous.[1] There is no lack of facsimiles, the number of which increases year by year.[2]

Before examining in detail the progress of this literary hand through the different periods or classes which have been enumerated, a few preliminary remarks may be allowed.

The student will experience some difficulty in learning to distinguish the different ages of the undated MSS.; for the minuscule book-hand was decidedly conservative, and particularly so in the earlier centuries. The degeneration of writing from the earliest models of the ninth and tenth centuries to the hurried styles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is apparent enough if we turn over a consecutive series of MSS. or facsimiles. But this degeneration only became rapid, and, so to say, acquired its full impetus, in the later centuries. And certain classes, especially sacred and liturgical MSS., which custom had retained for

[1] I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Gardthausen for these particulars.

[2] See a chronological list of facsimiles of dated Greek MSS., from 800 to 1593, in Omont's *Facsimilés des Manuscrits Grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1891.

special uses, were less tolerant of change, and served in some measure to retard the disuse of the formal hands of older times. It will be seen, when our series of facsimiles is before the student, how stereotyped the writing of such examples may become, and how, for example, century after century, copies of the Gospels continue to be written on one pattern.

In the papyrus cursive writing there was never an entire suppression of the original capital forms. It was, therefore, only to be expected that, however rigorously such capital forms might be excluded from the body of the text written in the set literary minuscule hand in its first stage of exactness, they would afterwards by degrees creep in and show themselves side by side with their purely minuscule equivalents in literary works, just as they did in the ordinary cursive writings of the period. This, in fact, happened; and the presence, in the body of the text, of capital forms in lesser or greater numbers affords some criterion of the age of a MS.

In the earlier centuries breathings and accents are applied in a style in keeping with the exact writing of the text; the breathings are, as a rule, rectangular and the accents are short. Afterwards, the former being more rapidly written become curved; and the latter are dashed on with a bolder stroke. Their last stage is when they even blend with the letters which they mark.

The writing of the period of the *codices vetustissimi*, of the ninth century and to the middle of the tenth century, so far as is shown by surviving examples, is very pure and exact. The letters are most symmetrically formed; they are compact and upright, and have even a tendency to lean back to the left. Breathings are rectangular, in keeping with the careful and deliberate formation of the letters. In a word, the style being practically a new one for literary purposes, the scribes wrote it in their best form and kept strictly to the approved pattern.

The earliest dated example of this class is the copy of the Gospels belonging to Bishop Uspensky, written in the year 835. A facsimile, but not very satisfactory, appears in Gardthausen's *Beiträge* and in Wattenbach and von Velsen's *Exempla Codicum Graecorum*, tab. 1.

Next comes the Oxford Euclid (D'Orville MS. x. 1), which belonged to Arethas of Patras, afterwards Archbishop of Caesaria in Cappadocia, and was written in A. D. 888 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 65).

No. 53

The breadth of the letters will be noticed, as well as a certain squareness in the general character and the slight inclination to the left. Exact finish is best seen in such letters as *α* and *δ*, the final stroke of the former,

when unconnected, being brought up to the top of the line, and the down-stroke of the latter being drawn down to the base. The set forms into which the cursive β, η, and κ are cast should also be noted. The ornamental effect of the writing is added to by the slight turn or hook in which down-strokes terminate. Certain of these characteristics remain in the minuscule writing of succeeding centuries: others wear off and are lost as time advances.

Of the same type of writing is the famous MS. of Plato's Dialogues, also in the Bodleian Library (Clarke MS. 39), written for Arethas of Patras in A.D. 896 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 81).

No. 54

The writing is more flowing and rounder than that of the Euclid; but both MSS. are of the finest character, and are typical instances of the perfection attained by a new class of handwriting in the freshness of its youth. Oxford is fortunate in possessing two of the few extant dated MSS. of the ninth century.

As an example of the early type of the Gospels in minuscules a MS. in the British Museum (Add. MS. 11300) is selected. Unfortunately it is not dated, but it can hardly be later than the first years of the tenth century. The number of στίχοι are noted at the end of each Gospel (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* i. 23).

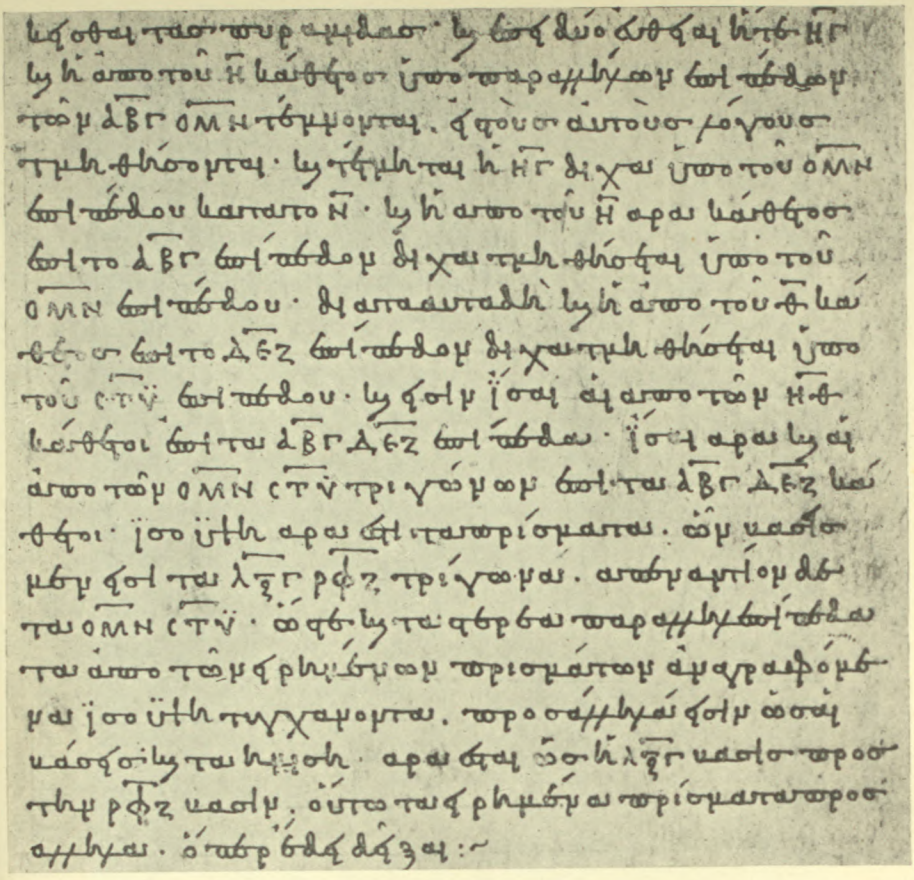
No. 55

The writing is of the most perfect execution; the care bestowed upon the production of the Scriptures at all periods being very conspicuous in the Greek minuscule MSS. of the middle ages. It will be seen, from the later examples that will be submitted, how conservative is the type of writing of sacred books. For this reason there must be always some hesitation in attempting to fix the exact date of a MS. such as the present one, as it may not be quite so old as it appears to be.

The next facsimile is from one of the most beautiful minuscule Greek MSS. of the time, a volume of the works of Lucian, Harley MS. 5694, in the British Museum. It was written by the same hand as the MS. of St. Clement of Alexandria at Paris (Omont, *Facsimilés*, 2), which was also executed for Arethas of Patras, in A.D. 914. Another MS. by the same hand is the Plato of the Vatican, Gr. 1 (Cavalieri and Lietzmann, *Spec. Codd. Graec. Vat.* 9). The MS. before us may, therefore, be dated about the year 915.

No. 56

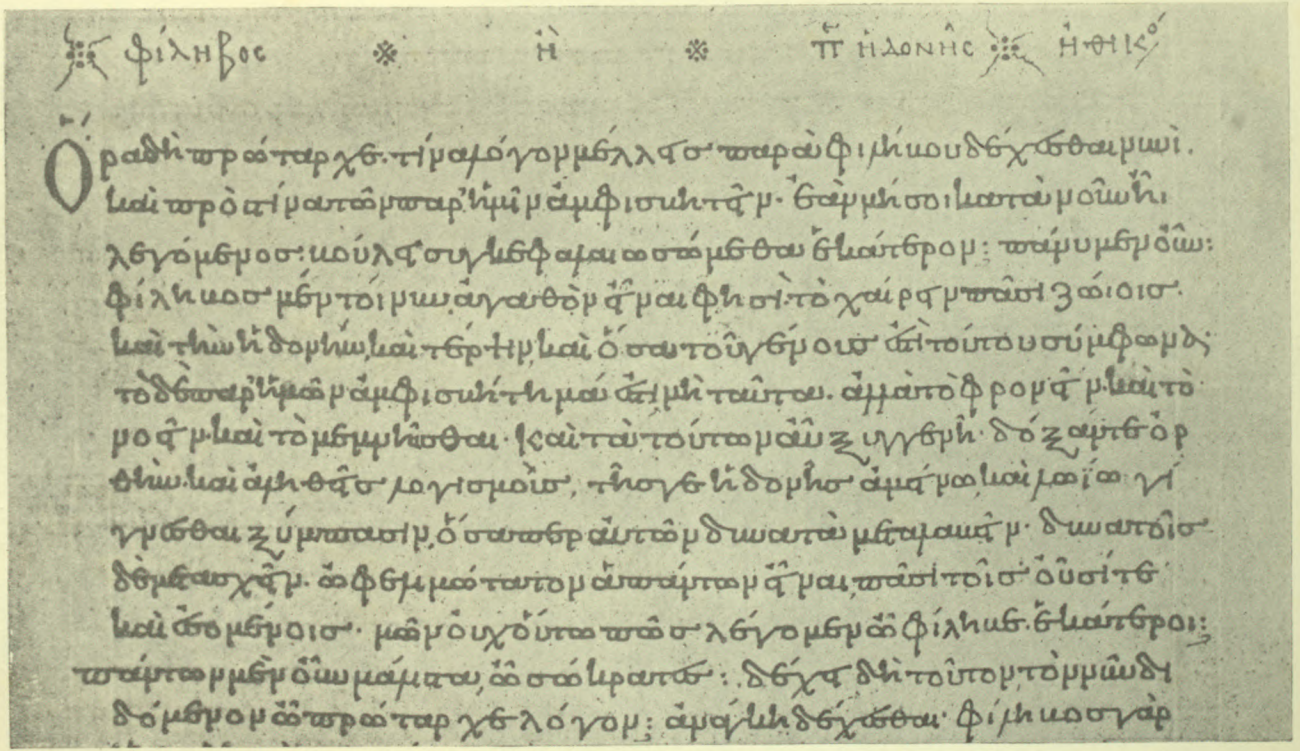
The sustained precision of the writing of this volume, carried on faultlessly page after page, attests the marvellous dexterity of the scribe.



EUCLID.—A. D. 888

(κεισθαι τὰς πυραμιδας · κ(αι) επει δύο ἐυθειαι ἥ τε ΗΓ κ(αι) ἡ ἀπο τοῦ Η κάθετος ὑπο παραλλήλων επιπέδων τῶν ΑΒΓ ΟΜΝ τέμνονται . εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τμηθήσονται · κ(αι) τέτμηται ἡ ΗΓ διχα ὑπο τοῦ ΟΜΝ επιπέδου κατα το Ν · κ(αι) ἡ απο τοῦ Η αρα κάθετος επι το ΑΒΓ επίπεδον διχα τμηθήσεται ὑπο τοῦ ΟΜΝ επιπέδου · δια τα αυτα δὴ κ(αι) ἡ ἀπο τοῦ Θ κάθετος επι το ΔΕΖ επίπεδον διχα τμηθήσεται ὑπο τοῦ ΣΤΫ επιπεδου · κ(αι) εισιν ἴσαι ἀι απο τῶν ΗΘ κάθετοι ἐπι τα ΑΒΓ ΔΕΖ επίπεδα · ἴσαι αρα κ(αι) ἀι ἀπο τῶν ΟΜΝ ΣΤΫ τριγώνων επι τα ΑΒΓ ΔΕΖ κάθετοι · ϊσοϋψη αρα εστι τα πρίσματα . ὧν βασ ε ́ις μεν εισι τα ΛΞΓ ΡΦΖ τρίγωνα . απεναντίον δε τα ΟΜΝ ΣΤΫ · ὥστε κ(αι) τα στερεα παραλληλεπίπεδα τα ἀπο τῶν ειρημένων πρισμάτων ἀναγραφόμενα ϊσοϋψη τυγχανοντα . προς ἀλληλά εισιν ὡς ἀι βάσεις κ(αι) τα ημιση · αρα εσται ὡς ἡ ΛΞΓ βασις προς την ΡΦΖ βασιν . οὕτω τα ειρημένα πρίσματα προς αλληλα . ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι :)

FACSIMILE No. 54

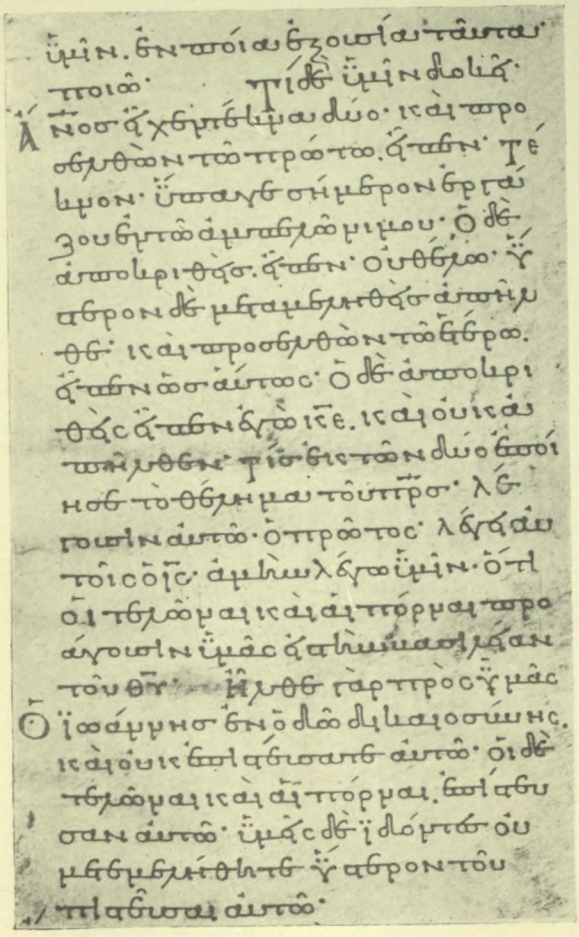


PLATO.—A.D. 896

(⁘ Φίληβος * ἡ * πε(ρι) ἡδονῆς ⁘ ἠθικό(ς)

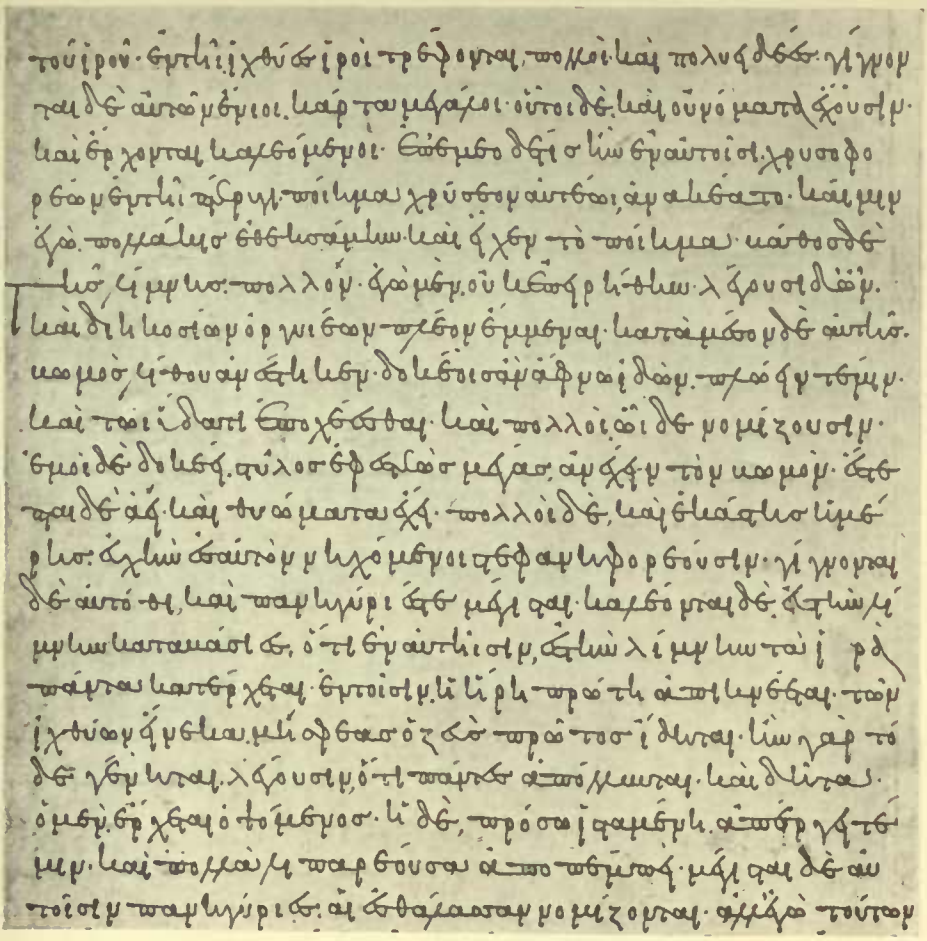
Ὅρα δὴ πρώταρχε · τίνα λόγον μέλλεις παρὰ φιλήβου δέχεσθαι νυνὶ .
καὶ πρὸς τίνα τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀμφισβητεῖν · ἐὰν μή σοι κατὰ νοῦν ἦι
λεγόμενος · βούλει συγκεφαλαιωσώμεθα ἑκάτερον ⁝ πάνυ μεν οὖν :
φίληβος μέν τοίνυν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι φησὶ · τὸ χαίρειν πᾶσι ζώιοις ·
καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν, καὶ τέρψιν, καὶ ὅσα τοῦ γένους ἐστὶ τούτου σύμφωνα ·
τὸ δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀμφισβήτημά ἐστι, μὴ ταῦτα · ἀλλὰ τὸ φρονεῖν · καὶ τὸ
νοεῖν · καὶ τὸ μεμνῆισθαι · καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀῦ ξυγγενῆ · δόξάν τε ὀρ
θὴν · καὶ ἀληθεῖς λογισμοὺς, τῆς γε ἡδονῆς ἀμείνω, καὶ λωΐω γί
γνεσθαι ξύμπασιν. ὅσαπερ ἀυτῶν δυνατὰ μεταλαβεῖν · δυνατοῖς
δὲ μετασχεῖν · ὠφελιμώτατον ἁπάντων εἶναι, πᾶσι τοῖς ὀῦσί τε
καὶ ἐσομένοις · μῶν ὀυχ ὅυτω πῶς λέγομεν ὦ φίληβε · ἑκάτεροι ⁝
πάντων μὲν ὀῦν μάλιστα, ὦ σώκρατες : δέχει δὴ τοῦτον, τὸν νῦν δι
δόμενον ὦ πρώταρχε λόγον ⁝ ἀνάγκη δέχεσθαι · φίληβος γὰρ)

FACSIMILE No. 55



GOSPELS.—EARLY TENTH CENTURY

(ὑμῖν. ἐν ποία ἐξουσία ταῦτα | ποιῶ· Τί δέ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ· | Ἄν(θρωπ)ος εἶχεν τέκνα δύο· καὶ προ|σελθὼν τῷ πρώτῳ εἶπεν· Τέ|κνον· ὕπαγε σήμερον ἐργά|ζου ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι μου· ὁ δὲ | ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω· ὕ|στερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλ|θε· καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ ἑτέρῳ. | εἶπεν ὡς αὕτως· ὁ δὲ ἀποκρι|θεὶς εἶπεν ἐγὼ κ(υρι)ε. καὶ οὐκ ἀ|πῆλθεν· Τίς ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐπόι|ησε τὸ θέλημα τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ο)ς· λέ|γουσιν αὐτῷ· ὁ πρῶτος· λέγει αὐ|τοῖς ὁ ι(ησου)ς· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅτι | οἱ τελῶναι καὶ αἱ πόρναι προ|άγουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν | τοῦ θ(εο)υ· Ἦλθε γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς | Ὁ ϊωάννης ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης | καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ· οἱ δὲ | τελῶναι καὶ αἱ πόρναι ἐπίστευ|σαν αὐτῷ· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰδόντες οὐ | μετεμελήθητε ὕστερον τοῦ | πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ·)



LUCIAN.—ABOUT A.D. 915

(τοῦ ἰροῦ · ἐν τῆι ἰχθύες ἰροὶ τρέφονται πολλοὶ . καὶ πολυειδέες . γίγνον|ται δὲ αὐτῶν ἔνιοι . κάρτα μεγάλοι · οὗτοι δὲ . καὶ οὐνόματα ἔχουσιν · | καὶ ἔρχονται καλεόμενοι . ἐπ' ἐμεο δέ τις ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖσι . χρυσοφο|ρέων ἐν τῆι πτέρυγι . ποίημα χρύσεον αὐτέωι, ἀνακέατο . καὶ μιν | ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἐθεησάμην . καὶ εἶχεν τὸ ποίημα · βάθος δὲ | Τῆς λίμνης . πολλόν . ἐγὼ μὲν . οὐκ ἐπειρήθην . λέγουσι δ' ὧν . | καὶ διηκοσίων ὀργυιέων πλέον ἔμμεναι · κατὰ μέσον δὲ αὐτῆς . | βωμὸς λίθου ἀνέστηκεν · δοκέοις ἂν ἄφρω ἰδὼν . πλώειν τέ μιν. | καὶ τῶι ὕδατι ἐποχέεσθαι · καὶ πολλοὶ ὥιδε νομίζουσιν · | ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέει . στῦλος ἐφεστεὼς μέγας, ἀνέχειν τὸν βωμὸν · ἔστε|πται δὲ ἀεί · καὶ θυώματα ἔχει · πολλοὶ δὲ, καὶ ἑκάστης ἡμέ|ρης . εὐχὴν ἐς αὐτὸν νηχόμενοι στεφανηφορέουσιν · γίγνονται | δὲ αὐτόθι . καὶ πανη-γύριές τε μέγισται · καλέονται δὲ . ἐς τὴν λί|μνην καταβάσιες . ὅτι ἐν αὐτῆισιν, ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὰ ἱρὰ | πάντα κατέρχεται · ἐν τοῖσιν . ἡ ἥρη πρώτη ἀπικνέεται · τῶν | ἰχθύων εἵνεκα . μή σφεας ὁ ζεὺς πρῶτος ἴδηται · ἦν γὰρ τό|δε γένηται . λέγουσιν, ὅτι πάντες ἀπόλλυνται . καὶ ὕῆτα . | ὁ μὲν . ἔρχεται ὀψόμενος · ἡ δὲ, πρόσω ἱστα-μένη . ἀπέργει τέ | μιν . καὶ πολλὰ λιπαρέουσα ἀποπέμπει · μέγισται δὲ αὐ|τοῖσιν πανηγύριες . αἱ ἐς θάλασσαν νομίζονται · ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τούτων)

The MS. is, however, not a singular instance of the beauty to which the Greek minuscule book-hand had attained in the tenth century. The stiff uprightness which contributes to that beauty indicates the leisurely action of a school of scribes, undisturbed by haste or any need for haste. The minuscule lettering is nearly perfect; the forms of *beta*, *eta*, and *kappa* are of the u-shape (varying little from each other except in the height of the initial stroke), to the exclusion of the capital or uncial forms; *epsilon* alone occasionally breaks back to a more cursive shape.

Two other codices of classical authors commend themselves so conspicuously on account of their beautiful execution that, although they are undated, specimens of them may be usefully submitted for comparison. They are both in the Laurentian Library of Florence: the first a MS. of Thucydides (Plut. lxix. 2), the other a volume of Plutarch's 'Lives' (MS. 206); and they may be placed in the middle of the tenth century, or perhaps a little earlier (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 103, 83).

No. 57

The accents and breathings have been touched over by a later hand. Proper names of persons are distinguished by a waved horizontal stroke.

No. 58

It will be observed that in this MS. uncial forms are freely introduced. Their employment, however, appears to be rather an affectation of the scribe than the intrusion referred to above which marks a deterioration of style; for all such forms (excepting those which indicate the beginning of a new paragraph: see line 7) are kept to the scale of the minuscules.

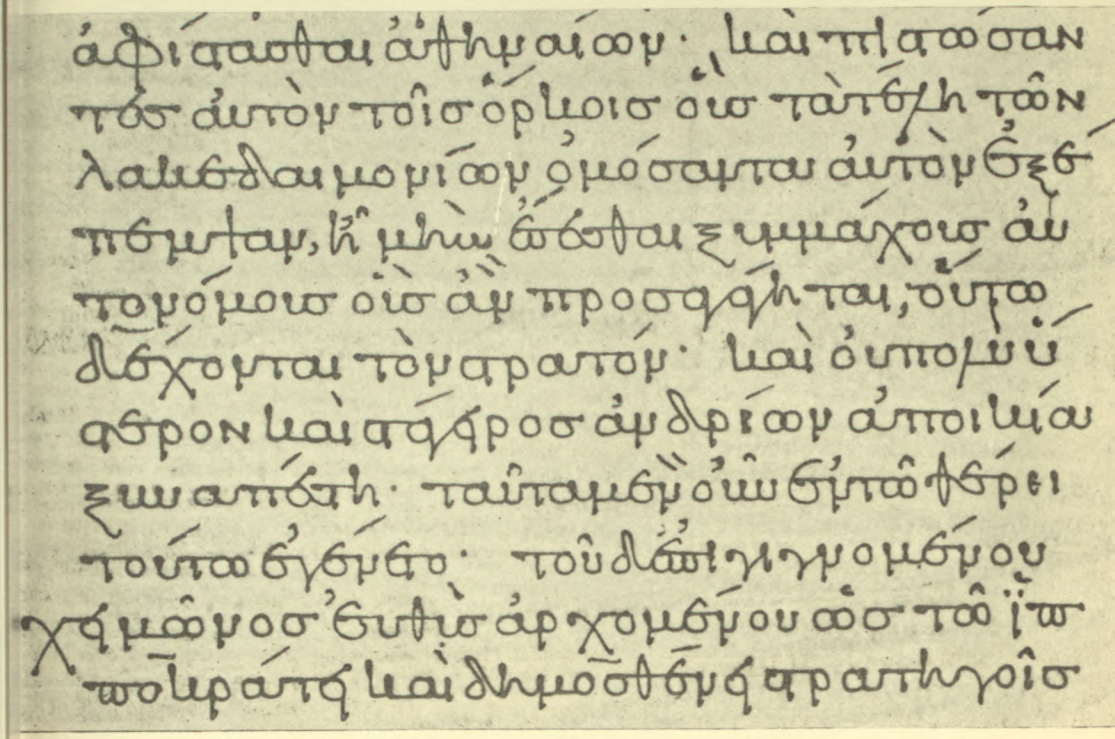
The Bodleian Psalter with catena (Gk. Misc. 5), of which a specimen here follows, is also of the tenth century; and, as the Table of Indictions is calculated for the years 951–956, the MS. may be assigned to the middle of the century. The text of the Psalms is in small upright uncials, the commentaries in minuscules (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 5).

No. 59

Here, again, the minuscules are of a pure type; and the writing is quite of the class of the two preceding specimens. Iota ascript has been added in some instances by a second hand.

We now pass on to the *codices vetusti*, from the middle of the tenth century to the middle of the thirteenth century. But before proceeding to survey the MSS. of this period, a few words should be said regarding a style of writing which is noteworthy, because certain important codices of classical literature are written in it, whose date it is of interest to determine.

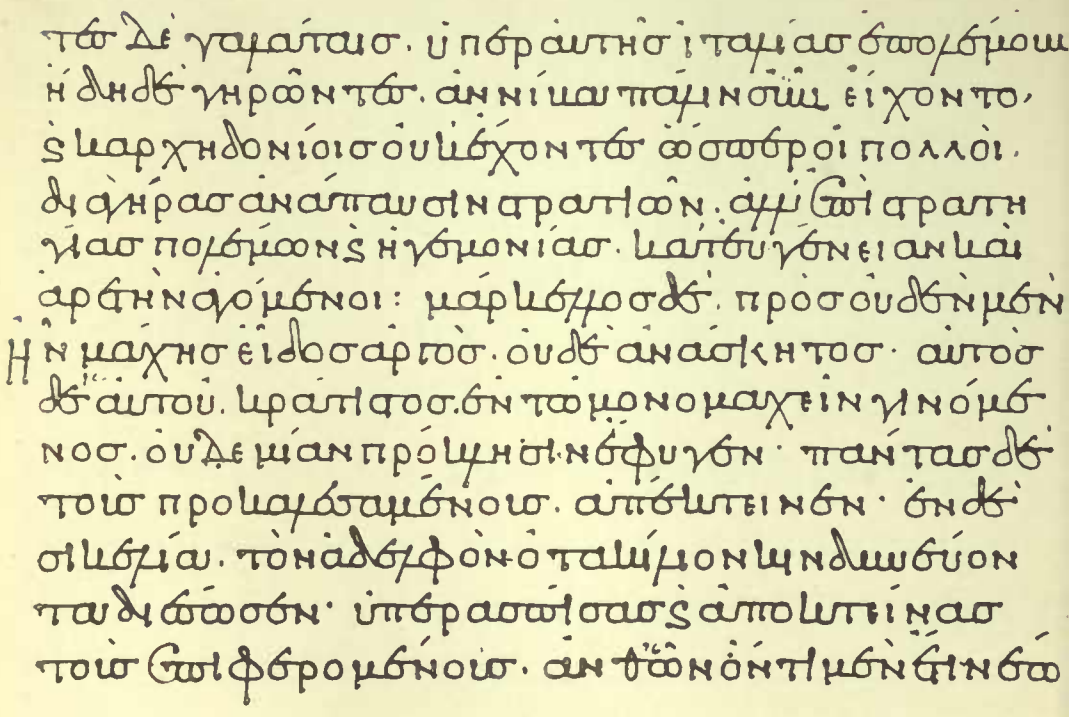
FACSIMILE No. 57



THUCYDIDES.—TENTH CENTURY

(ἀφίστασθαι Ἀθηναίων· καὶ πιστώσαν|τες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅρκοις οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν | λακεδαιμονίων ὀμόσαντα αὐτὸν ἐξέ|πεμψαν, ἢ μὴν ἔσεσθαι ξυμμάχους αὐ|τονόμους οὓς ἂν προσαγάγηται, οὕτω | δέχονται τὸν στρατόν· καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕ|στερον καὶ στάγειρος ἀνδρίων ἀποικία | ξυναπέστη· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ θέρει | τούτῳ ἐγένετο· τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου | Χειμῶνος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου ὡς τῷ ἵπ|πο̄κράτει καὶ δημο̄σθένει στρατηγοῖς)

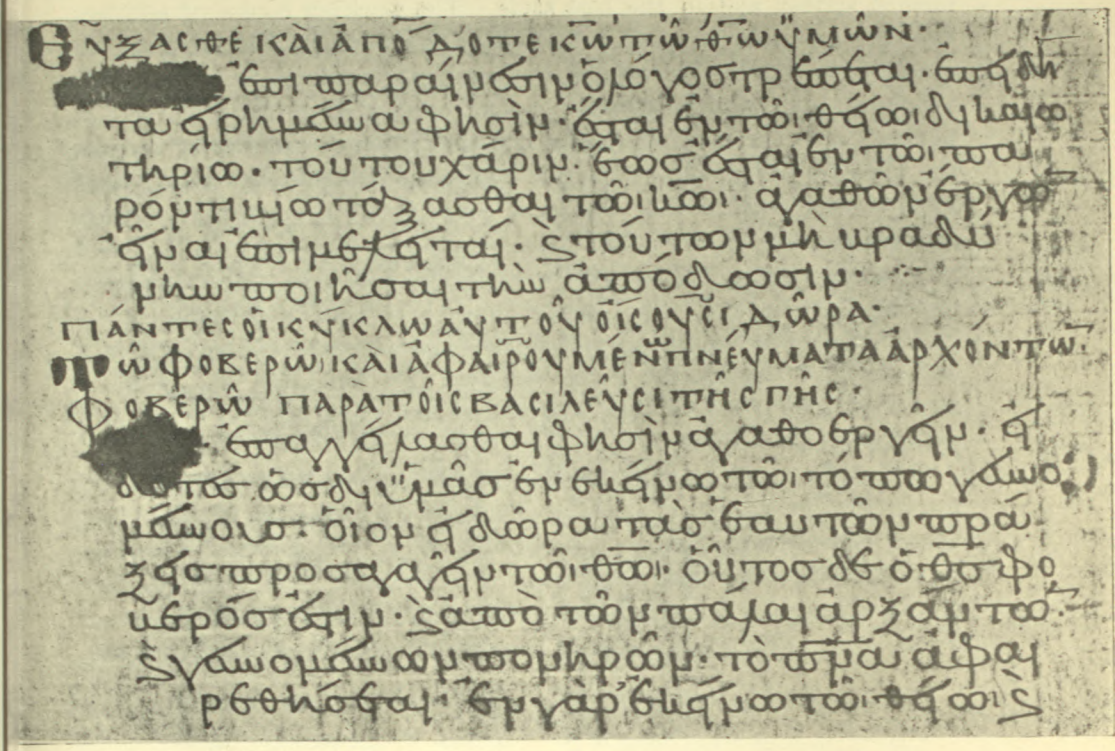
FACSIMILE No. 58



PLUTARCH.—TENTH CENTURY

(τες δὲ γαλάταις . ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἰταλίας ἐπολέμουν · | ἤδη δὲ γηρῶντες . ἀννίβα πάλιν
σὺνεῖχοντο, | (καὶ) καρχηδονίοις . οὐκ ἔχοντες ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ . | διὰ γῆρας
ἀνάπαυσιν στρατιῶν . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ στρατη|γίας πολέμων (καὶ) ἡγεμονίας . κατ' εὐγέ-
νειαν καὶ | ἀρετὴν ἀγόμενοι : μάρκελλος δὲ . πρὸς οὐδὲν μὲν | Ἦν μάχης εἶδος
ἀργὸς . οὐδὲ ἀνάσκητος · αὐτὸς | δὲ αὐτοῦ . κράτιστος . ἐν τῷ μονομαχεῖν γινόμε|νος
οὐδεμίαν πρόκλησιν ἔφυγεν · πάντας δὲ | τοὺς προκαλεσαμένους . ἀπέκτεινεν · ἐν
δὲ | σικελία . τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑτακίλιον κινδυνεύον|τα διέσωσεν · ὑπερασπίσας (καὶ)
ἀποκτείνας | τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους . ἀνθ' ὧν ὕντι μὲν ἔτι νέω)

FACSIMILE No. 59



PSALTER.—MIDDLE OF TENTH CENTURY

(Εὔξασθε καὶ ἀπόδοτε κ(υρι)ῳ τῶ θεω ὑμῶν

ἀθανά(σιος). ἐπι παραίνεσιν ὁ λόγος τρέπεται. ἐπειδη | τὰ εἰρημένα φησὶν. ἔσται ἐν τῶι θείωι δικαιω|τηρίω. τούτου χάριν. ἕως ἔσται ἐν τῶι πα|ρόντι βίω τάξασθαι τῶι κ(υρι)ωι. ἀγαθῶν ἔργω(ν) | εἶναι ἐπιμελειταί. (καὶ) τούτων μὴ βραδύ|νην ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀπόδωσιν.

Πάντες οἱ κύκλω αὐτοῦ οἴσουσι δῶρα·

Τῶ φοβερῶι καὶ ἀφαιρουμένω πνεύματα ἀρχόντω(ν)·

Φοβερῶ παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῆς γῆς·

αθανά(σιος). ἐπαγγείλασθαι φησὶν ἀγαθοεργεῖν. εἰ|δότες ὡς δι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνω τῶι τόπω γενο|μένους. οἷον εἰ δῶρα τὰς ἑαυτῶν πρά|ξεις προσαγαγεῖν τῶι θ(ε)ωι. οὗτος δε ὁ θ(εο)ς φο|βερός ἐστιν. (καὶ) ἀπὸ τῶν πάλαι ἀρξάντω(ν). | (καὶ) γενομένων πονηρῶν. το πν(ευμ)α ἀφαι|ρεθήσεται. ἐν γὰρ' ἐκείνω τῶι θείωι (καὶ))

It is not to be supposed that MSS. of the earlier period of minuscule writing which has been discussed were only written by the most accomplished scribes and in the best style. The working copies of scholars were no doubt then as rough and cursive in comparison with the facsimiles given above as a modern scholar's own composition is in comparison with a printed text; and, except for choice copies, written for some special purpose, such, for example, as the Bodleian Plato or the Harley Lucian, the extreme calligraphic style was not called for in books which were intended for private use. Hence a more fluent character of writing appears to have been practised as a book-hand for copies which would serve ordinary purposes: a good working hand, perfectly clear and well-formed, more set and formal than a domestic cursive hand would be, but yet not finished off with the precise care given to copies of the Scriptures and liturgies adapted for public reading. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, then, we find MSS. written in this style, and no doubt still earlier examples existed.

Presently a specimen of this class of writing will be submitted; but, now proceeding in chronological sequence, our first example of the *codices vetusti* represents the formal book-hand following in direct line of developement from the style last examined. This example is taken from a MS. of the writings of St. Maximus now in the monastery of the Laura of Mount Athos (MS. B. 37), bearing the date of A.D. 970 (*New Pal. Soc.* 49).

No. 60

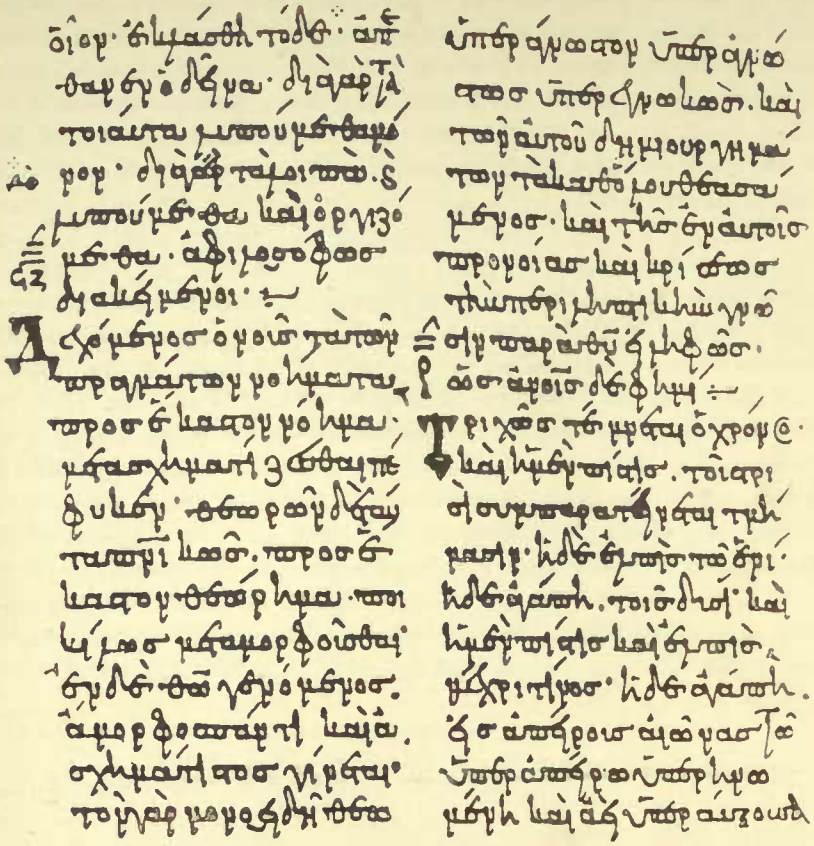
The hand is a good instance of the upright minuscule; but it does not compare in beauty with our previous rounder examples of the tenth century, although it maintains almost wholly the pure minuscule character, save for an occasional uncial *eta*. There is a certain tendency to lateral compression.

The next specimen affords an interesting example of the less formal style of writing, to which reference has just now been made, and which may be called the scholar's hand, in contrast with the ordinary scribe's hand. The MS. which supplies the facsimile is Laud MS. Gk. 75, in the Bodleian Library, containing Homilies of St. Chrysostom, dated A.D. 976. The text is written in double columns; and the first column of one of the pages has been written in the informal hand, the authorized scribe resuming the pen with the second column. It is the upper portion of this page which is here reproduced (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 6).

No. 61

In the set book-hand of the right-hand column uncial forms of letters begin to make their appearance by the side of the pure minuscules. The

FACSIMILE NO. 60



ST. MAXIMUS.—A.D. 970

(οἷον ἐκλάσθη τόδε ἀπέ|θανεν ὁ δεῖνα · διὰ γὰρ τὰ | τοίαυτα λυπούμεθα μό|νον · διὰ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ . (καὶ) | λυπούμεθα καὶ ὀργιζό|μεθα · ἀφιλοσόφως | διακείμενοι · | Δεχόμενος ὁ νοῦς τὰ τῶν | πραγμάτων νοήματα | προς ἕκαστον νόημα · | μετα-σχηματίζεσθαι πέ|φυκεν · θεωρῶν δὲ ταύ|τα πι(ευματ)ικῶς . προς ἕ|καστον θεώρημα· ποι|κίλως μεταμορφοῦσθαι · | ἐν δὲ θ(ε)ῳ γενόμενος . | ὅμορφος πάντι καὶ ἀ|σχημάτιστος γίνεται · | τὸν γὸρ μονοειδῆ θεω

ὑπεράγνωστον ὑπερἀγνώ|στως ὑπερεγνωκὼς · καὶ | τῶν αὐτοῦ δημιουργημά|των τὰ καθ ὅλου θεασά|μενος · καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς | προνοίας καὶ κρίσεως | τὴν περι-ληπτικὴν γνῶ|σιν παρὰ θ(εο)υ εἰληφὼς · | ὡς ἀν(θρωπ)οις δὲ φημί

Τριχῶς τέμνεται ὁ χρόνος · | καὶ ἡ μὲν πίστις . τοῖς τρι|σὶ συμπαρατείνεται τμή-μασιν · ἡ δὲ ἐλπὶς τῷ ἑνί · | ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη . τοῖς δυσί · καὶ | ἡ μὲν πίστις καὶ ἐλπὶς | μέχρι τίνος · ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη . | εἰς ἀπείρους αἰῶνας τῷ | ὑπερἀπείρῳ ὑπερηνω|μένη καὶ ἀεὶ ὑπεραύξουσα)

irregular writing of the first column is characterized by a certain stiffness; the period of pliant strokes has not yet arrived. The fact that this style of hand appears here in a dated MS. is of much palaeographical value for comparison with undated examples. Another dated specimen occurs in a Chrysostom in Paris of A.D. 954 (Omont, *Facsimilés*, 5).

Passing into the eleventh century, the set book-hand is first illustrated by a MS. of the Gospels in the Ambrosian Library of Milan (B. 56. sup.) of the year 1023, which perhaps was written in Southern Italy (*Pal. Soc.* i. 130).

No. 62

The conservative character of the writing is very marked, as is customary in copies of the Gospels and church-books. It will be noticed how the letters are modelled on the pattern of those of the ninth and tenth centuries, and how pure minuscule writing is affected. But place this example by the side of the facsimile from the Gospels of the early tenth century (Facs. 55), and the later period of the present MS. is to be detected in the growing slackness of the text, and in the occasional enlargement of certain letters, as *zeta*, *theta*, *phi*, *chi*, etc., as well as in roundness of the breathings and less precision in the accents.

A strong contrast to the above is a MS. of the mathematical and other writings of Michael Psellus in the University Library of Heidelberg (Cod. Palat. cclxxxi), written at Seleucia in A. D. 1040 (*New Pal. Soc.* 51).

No. 63

The handwriting has individual peculiarities. It is formal, written by a professed scribe, Nicholas the Calligrapher; but at the same time it is rather slack and widespread, and a certain latitude is allowed in the use of uncial forms; while the affected squareness of some of the letters and of the breathings suggests an intention on the part of the writer to lend an archaistic appearance to his text.

Next follows a specimen from a classical MS., written in the light informal hand, as distinguished from the conventional book-hand ordinarily employed in codices of the Scriptures and liturgies: a Demosthenes in the Laurentian Library of Florence (Plut. lix. 9). Unfortunately, like the majority of the classical MSS. of which this one is a fine example, it bears no date; but there seems good reason, from the character of the writing, to place it fairly early in the eleventh century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 89).

No. 64

The writing is obviously that of a practised penman, flowing easily and rapidly with a slight natural slope to the right, and without the

restraint of the conventional hand. It is also to be observed that, with all its freedom, the text exhibits very little tendency to mix enlarged or uncial forms with the minuscules—an indication that the writer was skilled in the practice of the best style of his day, and could therefore no doubt have executed any kind of MS. in a calligraphic manner. The fact that so many classical MSS. of the period are found to be written in this style justifies the assumption that this character of handwriting was specially used for the better MSS. of general literature.

In the next specimen we have an instance of the more conventional character: a good example of the more ordinary type of book-hand of the middle of the eleventh century. It comes from a volume of ecclesiastical canons in the Bodleian Library (Barocci MS. 196), dated A.D. 1042 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 29).

No. 65

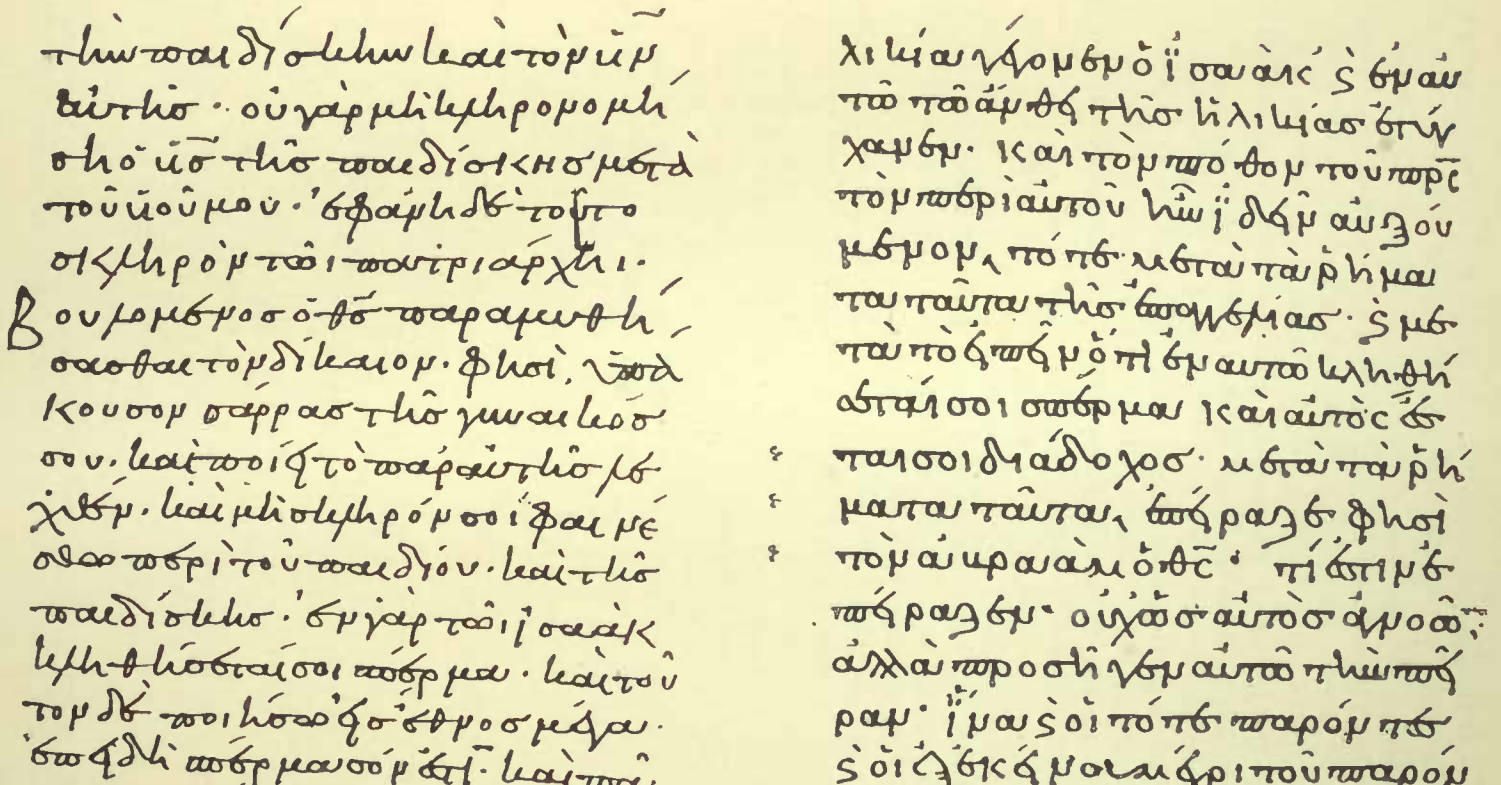
In this hand the conventional Greek minuscule book-hand may be said to have broken with the upright close-set style of the tenth century. There is a tendency to slope the writing, perhaps indicative of more haste; and the letters are more spaced than in the earlier centuries. The growing habit, too, of introducing enlarged letters and uncial forms among the minuscules is manifest; and (a small but not insignificant detail) the circumflex is enlarged. At the same time the lettering itself is still well formed and exact.

The Townley Homer in the British Museum (Burney MS. 86) is a valuable example of a classical MS., with scholia, entering on the second half of the eleventh century. It was purchased by Charles Townley in Rome in 1771. A note at the end of the volume states that it was finished on Saturday, the 18th September, in the thirteenth Indiction, that is, in A.D. 1059 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 67).[1]

No. 66

The writing is a little sloped and is in a fluent style, the scribe being skilful and experienced, and maintaining an even regularity. A few uncial forms are introduced among the minuscules; and there is a tendency to form combinations of letters, as in the case of αγ, αχ, πε, πο, τε, το, and ε and υ with a following letter. There are few contractions in the text, but many in the scholia, which for the most part are contemporaneous and are in the hand of the scribe. The frequent use of a more cursive form of *alpha* in the scholia (occasionally appearing also in the text), with a long, thin, oblique main stroke, is to be noted; as well as the enlargement of the circumflex and of marks of abbreviation.

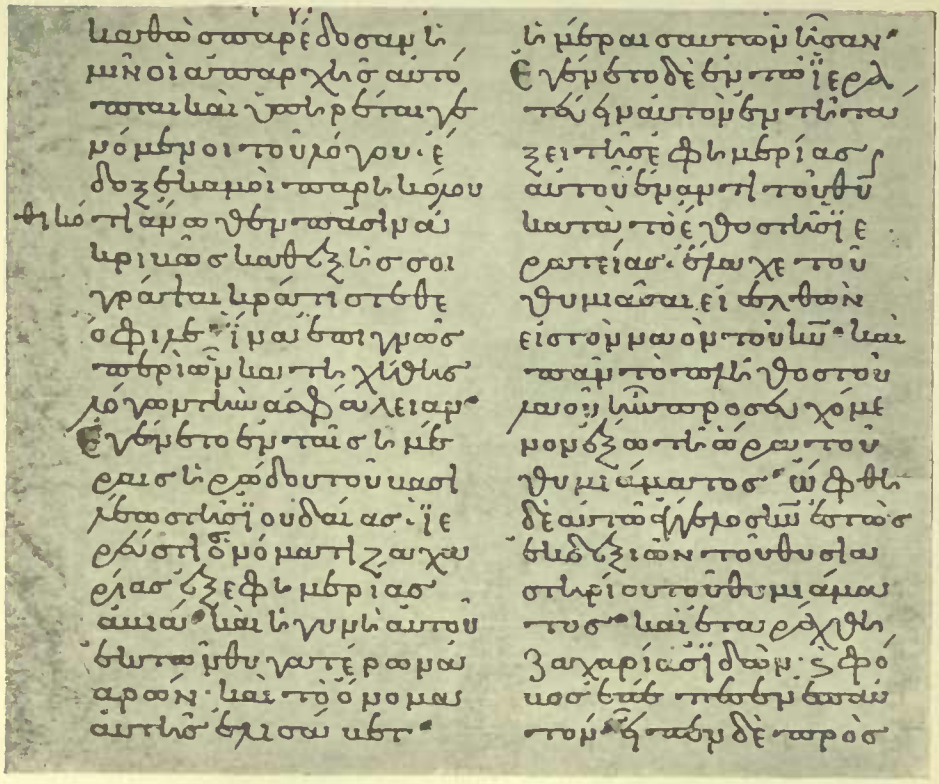
[1] By an error in calculation, the date of the MS. has been stated by the editors of the Palaeographical Society to be A.D. 1255; corrected in *New Pal. Soc.* 204.



(τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱ(ο)ν | αὐτῆς · οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομή|ση ὁ υἱ(ο)ς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ | τοῦ υἱοῦ μου . ἐφάνη δὲ τοῦτο | σκληρὸν τῶι πατριάρχηι . | Βουλομένος ὁ θ(εο)ς παραμυθή|σασθαι τὸν δίκαιον . φησὶ, ὑπά|κουσον σάρρας τῆς γυναικός | σου καὶ ποίει τὸ παρ' αὐτῆς λε|χθέν . καὶ μὴ σκληρόν σοί φαινέ|σθω περὶ τοῦ παιδίου . καὶ τῆς | παιδίσκης . ἐν γὰρ τῶι ἰσαὰκ | κληθήσεταί σοι σπέρμα . καὶ τοῦ|τον δὲ ποιήσω εἰς ἔθνος μέγα . | ἐπειδὴ σπέρμα σόν ἐστι(ν) . καὶ πᾶ—

—λικία γέγονεν ὁ ἰσαὰκ' (καὶ) ἐν αὐ|τῶ τῶ ἄνθει τῆς ἡλικίας ἐτύγ|χανεν . καὶ τὸν πόθον τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ο)ς | τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν ἰδεῖν αὐξ[αν]ού|μενον, τότε μετὰ τὰ ῥήμα|τα ταῦτα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας · (καὶ) με|τὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐν αυτῶ κληθή|σεταί σοι σπέρμα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσ|ται σοι διάδοχος . μετὰ τὰ ῥή|ματα ταῦτα, ἐπείραζε φησὶ | τὸν ἀβραὰμ ὁ θ(εο)ς · τί ἐστιν ἐ|πείραζεν · οὐχ' ὡς αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶ(ν), | ἀλλὰ προσῆγεν αὐτῶ τὴν πεῖ|ραν · ἵνα (καὶ) οἱ τότε παρόντες | (καὶ) οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ παρόν—)

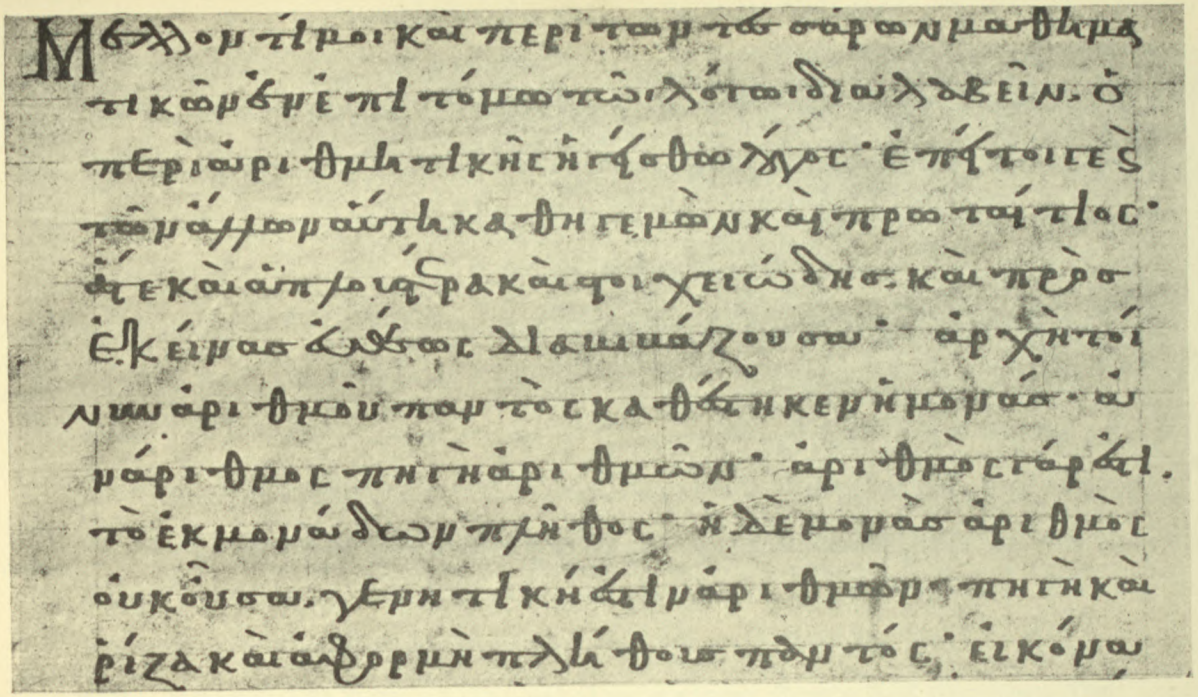
FACSIMILE NO. 62



GOSPELS.—A. D. 1023

(καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡ|μῖν οἱ ἀπαρχῆς αὐτό|πται καὶ ὑπηρέται γε|νόμενοι τοῦ λόγου· ἔ|δοξε καμοὶ παρηκόλου|θικότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀ|κριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι | γράψαι κράτιστε θε|όφιλε· ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς | περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης | λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· | Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέ|ραις ἡρῴδου τοῦ βασι|λέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας. ἱε|ρεύς τις ὀνόματι ζαχα|ρίας ἐξ εφημερίας | ἀβιά· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ | ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων ἀ|ρών· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα | αὐτῆς ἐλισάβετ·

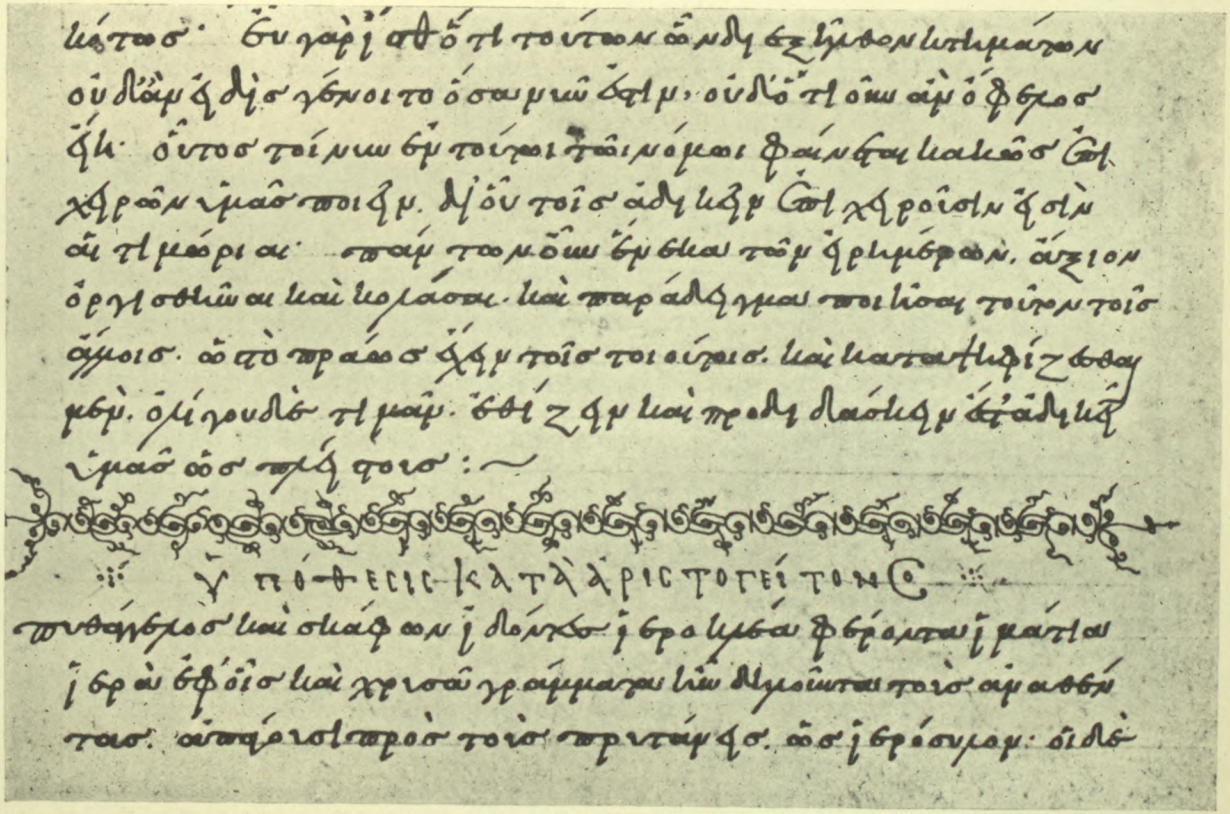
ἡμέραις αυτῶν ἦσαν· | Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερα|τεύειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας | αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ | κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱε|ρατείας. ἔλαχε τοῦ | θυμιᾶσαι εἰσελθὼν | εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ· καὶ | πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ | λαοῦ ἦν προσευχόμε|νον ἔξω τῇ ὥρα τοῦ | θυμιάματος· ὤφθη | δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κ(υρίο)υ ἑστὼς | ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θυσια|στηρίου τοῦ θυμιάμα|τος· καὶ ἐταράχθη | ζαχαρίας ἰδὼν· (καὶ) φό|βος ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ αὐ|τόν· εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς)



M. PSELLUS.—A. D. 1040

(Μέλλοιτί μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημα|τικῶν ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ τῶι λόγωι διαλαβεῖν, ὁ | περὶ ἀριθμητικῆς ἡγείσθω λόγος· ἐπεί τοι γε (καὶ) | τῶν ἄλλων αὕτη καθηγεμὼν καὶ πρωταίτιος· | ἅτε καὶ ἁπλουστέρα καὶ στοιχειώδης, καὶ πρὸς | ἐκείνας εὐθέως διαβιβάζουσα· ἀρχὴ τοί|νυν ἀριθμοῦ παντὸς καθέστηκεν ἡ μονάς· ἀ|ναρίθμος πηγὴ ἀριθμῶν· ἀριθμὸς γάρ ἐστι, | τὸ ἐκ μονάδων πλῆθος· ἡ δὲ μονὰς ἀριθμὸς | οὐκ οὖσα, γενητικὴ ἐστιν ἀριθμῶν· πηγὴ καὶ | ῥίζα καὶ ἀφορμὴ πλήθους παντός· εἰκόνα)

FACSIMILE No. 64



DEMOSTHENES.—EARLY ELEVENTH CENTURY

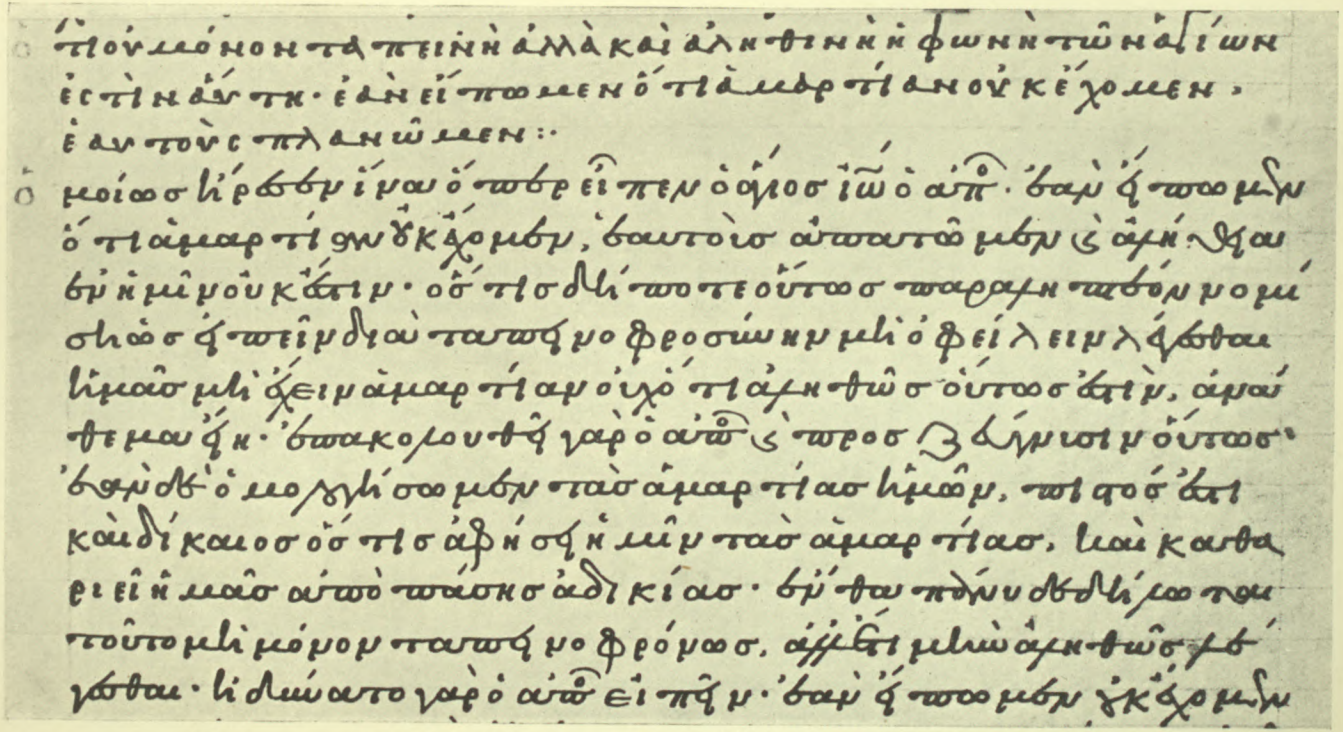
1184 R

(κότως · εὐ γὰρ ἴσθ ὅτι τούτων ὧν διεξῆλθον κτημάτων | οὐδ' ἂν εἰ δὶς γένοιτο ὅσα νῦν ἐστιν, οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἂν ὄφελος | εἴη · οὗτος τοίνυν ἐν τούτωι τῶι νόμωι φαίνεται κακῶς ἐπι|χειρῶν ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν. δι' οὗ τοῖς ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσιν εἰσὶν | αἱ τιμώριαι · πάντων οὖν ἕνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων, ἄξιον | ὀργισθῆναι καὶ κολάσαι . καὶ παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι τοῦτον τοῖς | ἄλλοις . ὡς τὸ πράως ἔχειν τοῖς τοιούτοις. καὶ καταψηφίζεσθαι | μὲν . ὀλίγου δὲ τιμᾶν . ἐθίζειν καὶ προδιδάσκειν ἔστ' ἀδικεί(ν) | ὑμᾶς ὡς πλείστους :—

ὑπόθεσις κατὰ ἀριστογείτονος

πυθάγγελος καὶ σκάφων ἰδόντες ἱεροκλέα φέροντα ἱμάτια | ἱερὰ ἐφ' οἷς καὶ χρυσᾶ γράμματα ἦν δηλοῦντα τοὺς ἀναθέν|τας . ἀπάγουσι πρὸς τοὺς πρυτάνεις . ὡς ἱερόσυλον · οἱ δὲ)

FACSIMILE No. 65

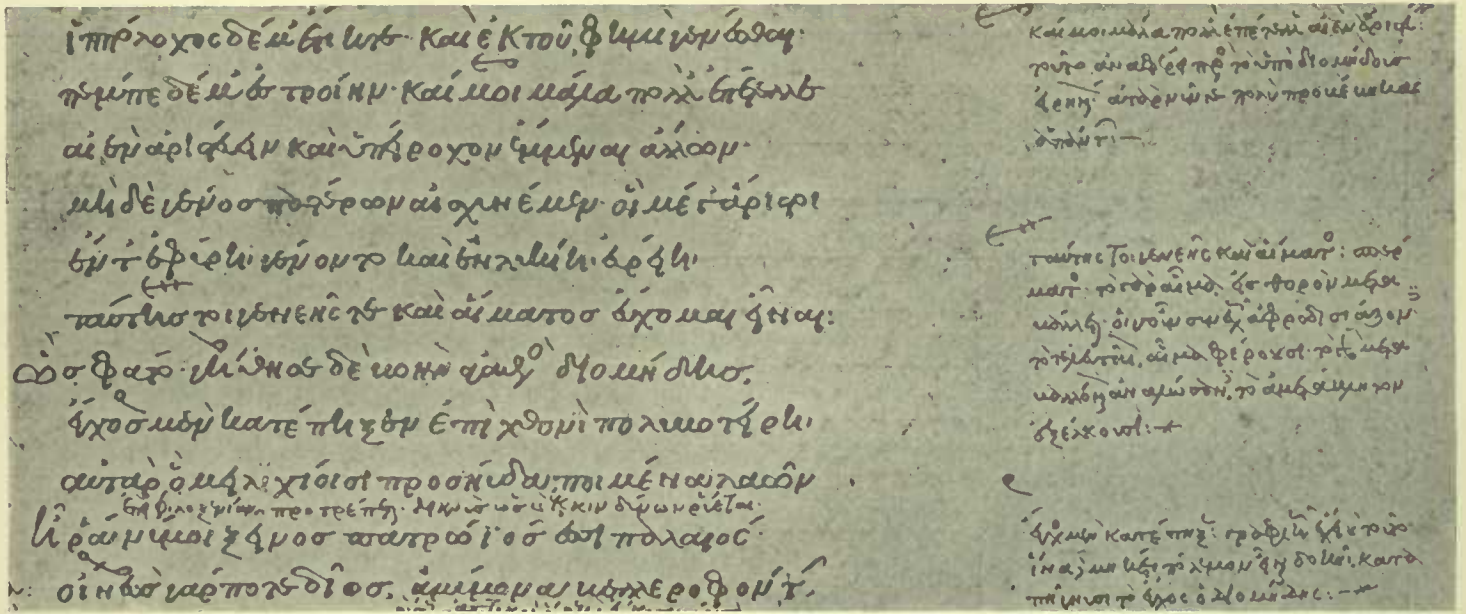


CANONS.—A.D. 1042

(ὅτι οὐ μόνον ταπεινὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθινὴ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν ἁγίων | ἐστὶν αὕτη· ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔχομεν, | ἑαυτοὺς πλανῶμεν.

Ὁμοίως ἤρεσεν ἵνα ὅπερ εἶπεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ ἀπο(στολος)· ἐὰν εἴπωμεν | ὅτι ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔχομεν, ἑαυτοὺς ἀπατῶμεν (καὶ) ἀλήθεια | ἐν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν· ὅστις δήποτε οὕτως παραληπτεόν νομί|ση ὡς εἰπεῖν διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνην μὴ ὀφείλειν λέγεσθαι | ἡμᾶς μὴ ἔχειν ἁμαρτίαν οὐχ ὅτι ἀληθῶς οὕτως ἐστὶν, ἀνά|θεμα εἴη· ἐπακολουθεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἀπο(στολος) (καὶ) προσζεύγνυσιν οὕτως· | ἐὰν δὲ ὁμολογήσωμεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, πιστός ἐστι | καὶ δίκαιος ὅστις ἀφήσει ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ καθα|ριεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀδικίας· ἔνθα πάνυ δεδήλωται | τοῦτο μὴ μόνον ταπεινοφρόνως, ἀλλ' ἔτι μὴν ἀληθῶς λέ|γεσθαι· ἠδύνατο γὰρ ὁ ἀπο(στολος) εἰπεῖν· ἐὰν εἴπωμεν οὐκ ἔχομεν)

FACSIMILE No. 66



ILIAD.—A.D. 1059

(ἱππόλοχος δέ μ' ἔτικτε· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φημὶ γενέσθαι
πέμπτε δέ μ' ἐς τροίην· καί μοι μάλα πολλ'' ἐπέτελλε
αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων·
μὴ δὲ γένος πατέρων αἰσχυνέμεν· οἳ μέγ' ἄριστοι
ἐν δ' ἐφύρηι γένοντο καὶ ἐν λυκίηι εὐρείηι
ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὔχομαι εἶναι :
ὣς φάτο· γήθησε δὲ βοὴν ἀγαθὸ(ς) διομήδης.
ἔγχος μὲν κατέπηξεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πολυβοτείρηι
αὐτὰρ ὁ μείλιχίοισι προσηύδα ποιμένα λαῶν
ἐπὶ φιλοξενίαν προτρέπετ(αι)· δεικνὺς ὡς (καὶ) ἐκ κινδύνων ῥύεται·
ἦ ῥά νύ μοι ξεῖνος πατρώϊός ἐσσι παλαιός·
οἰνεὺς γάρ ποτε δῖος, ἀμύμονα βελλεροφόντ(ην),

Marginal scholia.

καί μοι μάλα πολλ'' ἐπέτελλ(εν) αἰὲν ἀριστεύ(ειν) : | τοῦτο ἀναφέρει πρὸ(ς) τὸ ὑπὸ διομήδους | εἰρημ(ένον)· ἀτὰρ νῦν γε πολὺ προβέβηκας | ἁπάντ(ων) :—
ταύτης τοι γενεῆς καὶ αἵματο(ς) : σπέρ|ματο(ς)· τὸ γὰρ αἷμα εἰς θορὸν μετα|βάλλετ(αι)· οἱ γοῦν συνεχ(ῶς) ἀφροδισιάζοι(τες) | τὸ τελευταῖ(ον). αἷμα φέρουσι· τὸ γ(ὰρ) μετα|βαλλόμ(ενον) ἀναλώσαι(τες). τὸ ἀμετάβλητον ἐξέλκουσι :—
ἔγχο(ς) μὲν κατέπηξ(εν) : γραφικ(ῶς) ἔχει (καὶ) τοῦτο | ἵνα (δὲ) μηκέτι πόλεμον εἶν(αι) δοκῇι. κατα|πήγνυσι τὸ ἔγχος ὁ διομήδης :—)

In the twelfth century the minuscule book-hand maintains traditional regularity, so far as existing examples teach us. Our first specimen is taken from a MS. of the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse in the British Museum (Add. MS. 28816), dated A.D. 1111 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 84).

No. 67

This MS., being a copy of the Scriptures, is written with some care and ostensibly on the lines of the early type of book-hand, upright and regular; not, however, on the stereotyped model which seems to have been reserved for MSS. of the Gospels. Progress in the course of the minuscule book-hand shows itself in the spacing of the letters and in less careful finish in their formation.

A copy of the Gospels in the Vatican Library (Cod. Urbino-Vat. Gr. 2) provides a good typical example of the careful conventional book-hand used for MSS. of this class in the twelfth century. It was apparently executed for John Comnenus, son of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, in A.D. 1128–9 (*New Pal. Soc.* 106).

No. 68

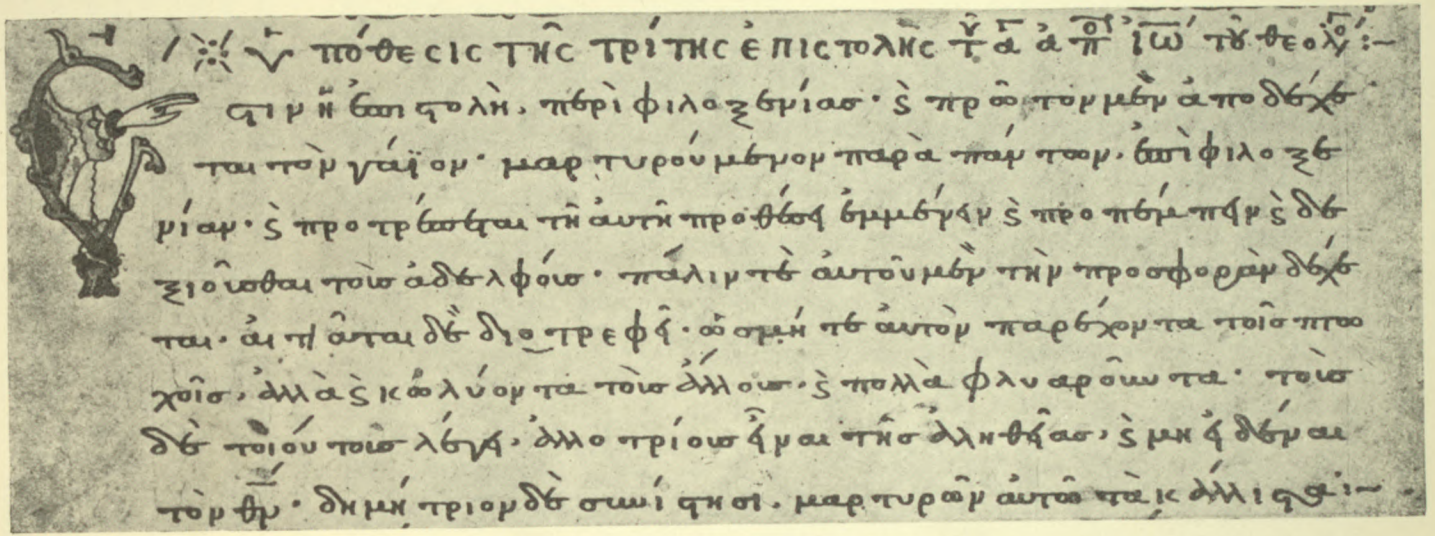
Although the letters generally are formed on the old model, their later date is betrayed by the growing looseness of their structure and their wider spacing. Enlarged letters, such as *epsilon*, *theta*, *kappa*, and *phi*, and the wide *omega*, as well as the long circumflex, catch the eye and warn us that there is a sensible advance in the book-hand. Compare the facsimile with that from the copy of the Gospels a hundred years earlier (Facs. 62), still more with the Gospels of the tenth century (Facs. 55), and it will be seen how conservative in general type the texts of Gospel MSS. continue to be, and at the same time it needs little more than a glance from one to the other to distinguish the general progress made during the two centuries covered by the three specimens.

To give one more specimen of the twelfth century, showing the conventional book-hand as it advances towards the close of that period, we select a facsimile of a few lines from a MS. of Lives of the Martyrs (Brit. Mus., Burney MS. 44) of the year 1184 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 180).

No. 69

This example proves how very gradual might be the changes effected within a given period. The writing is still very conservative; the subject-matter being such as would be used in monastic or church lections, and therefore demanding a clearly written text. But the

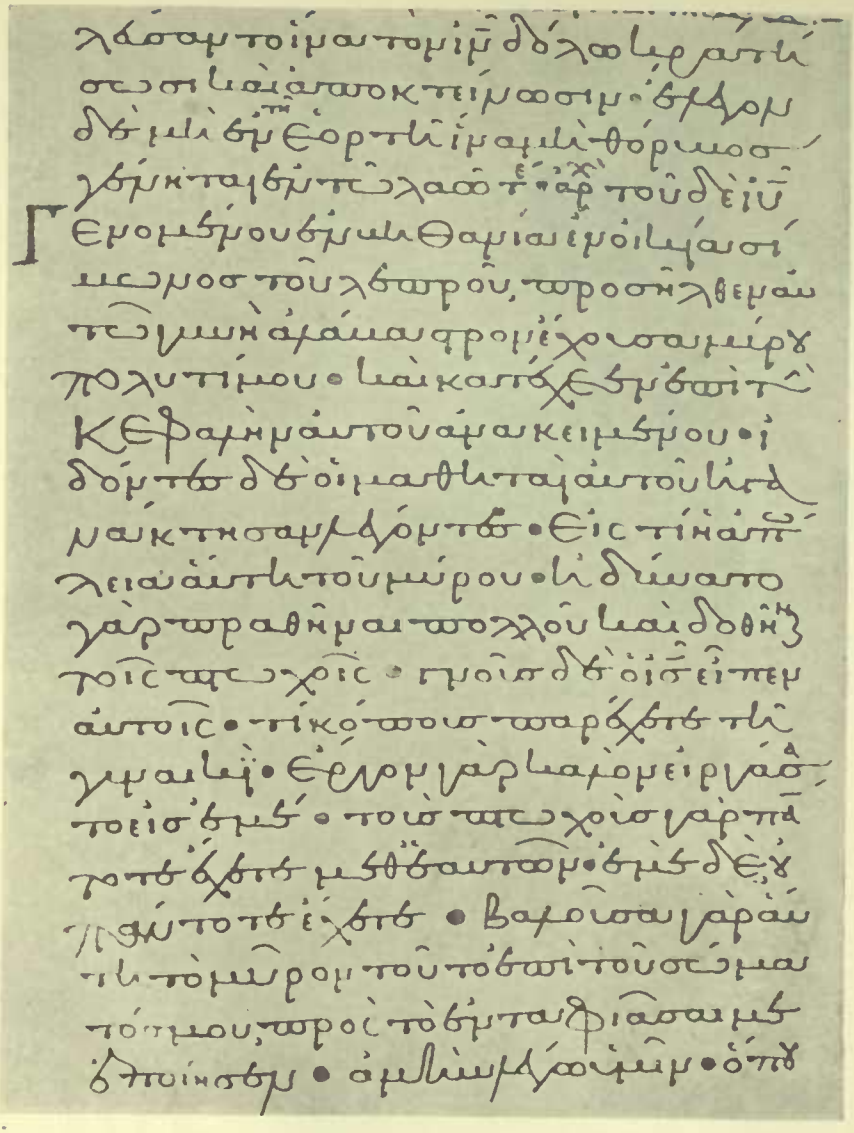
FACSIMILE No. 67



EPISTLES, ETC.—A.D. 1111

(ὑπόθεσις τῆς τρίτης ἐπιστολῆς τ(ο)ῦ ἁγ(ιου) ἀπο(στολου) ἰω(άννου) τοῦ θεολόγ(ου) :—

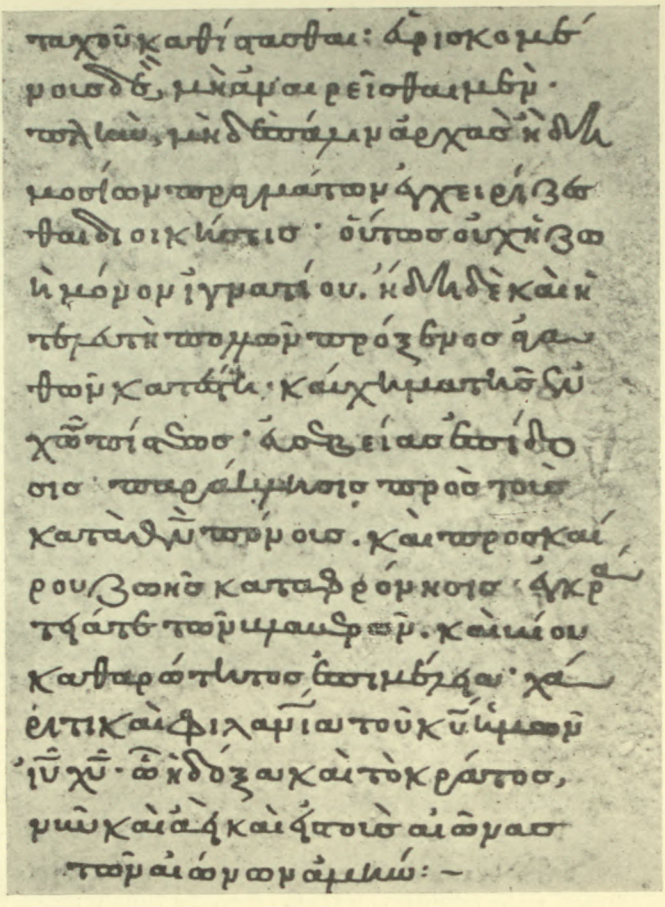
Ἔστιν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ, περὶ φιλοξενίας · (καὶ) πρῶτον μὲν ἀποδέχε|ται τὸν γάϊον · μαρτυρούμενον παρὰ πάντων ἐπὶ φιλοξε|νίαν · (καὶ) προτρέπεται τῇ αὐτῇ προθέσει ἐμμένειν (καὶ) προπέμπειν (καὶ) δε|ξιοῦσθαι τοὺς ἀδελφούς · πάλιν τὲ αὐτοῦ μὲν τὴν προσ-φορὰν δέχε|ται αἰτιᾶται δὲ διοτρεφεῖ · ὡς μή τε αὐτὸν παρέχοντα τοῖς πτω|χοῖς, ἀλλὰ (καὶ) κωλύοντα τοὺς ἄλλους, (καὶ) πολλὰ φλυαροῦντα · τοὺς | δὲ τοιούτους λέγει ἀλλοτρίους εἶναι τῆς ἀληθείας, (καὶ) μη εἰδέναι | τὸν θ(εό)ν · δημήτριον δὲ συνίστησι, μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ τὰ κάλλιστα :—)



GOSPELS.—A. D. 1128–9

(λεύσαιτο ἵνα τὸν ἰ(ησοῦ)ν δόλω κρατήσωσι καὶ ἀποκτείνωσιν· ἔλεγον | δὲ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ἵνα μὴ θόρυβος | γένηται ἐν τῶ λαῶ τέ(λος)· ἀρχ(ὴ) τοῦ δὲ ἰ(ησο)ῦ | Γενομένου ἐν βηθανία ἐν οἰκία σί|μωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ, προσῆλθεν αὐ|τῶ γυνὴ ἀλάβαστρον ἔχουσα μύρου | πολυτίμου· καὶ κατέχεεν ἐπὶ τ(ὴν) | κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου· ἰ|δόντες δὲ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἠγα|νάκτησαν λέγοντες· εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώ|λεια αὕτη τοῦ μύρου· ἠδύνατο | γὰρ πραθῆναι πολλοῦ καὶ δοθῆ(ναι) | τοῖς πτωχοῖς· γνοὺς δὲ ὁ ἰ(ησοῦ)ς εἶπεν | αὐτοῖς· τί κόπους παρέχετε τῇ | γυναικί· ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν εἰ|γάσα|το εἰς ἐμέ· τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πά(ν)|τοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν· ἐμὲ δὲ, οὐ | πάντοτε ἔχετε· βαλοῦσα γὰρ αὕ|τη τὸ μῦρον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ σώμα|τός μου, πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιᾶσαί με | ἐποίησεν· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅπου)

FACSIMILE No. 69



MARTYROLOGY.—A. D. 1184

(ταχοῦ καθίστασθαι· εὑρισκομέ|νους δὲ, μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι μὲν· | πλὴν, μηδὲ πάλιν ἀρχὰς ἢ δη|μοσίων πραγμάτων ἐγχειρίζεσ|θαι διοικήσεις· οὕτως οὐχ ἡ ζω|ὴ μόνον ἰγνατίου. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡ | τελευτὴ πολλῶν πρόξενος ἀγα|θῶν κατέστη· καύχημα τῆς ἐν | χ(ριστ)ῷ πίστεως· εὐσεβείας ἐπίδο|σις παράκλησις πρὸς τοὺς | κατὰ θ(εὸ)ν πόνους. καὶ προσκαί|ρου ζωῆς καταφρόνησις· ἐγκρά|τειά τε τῶν βλαβερῶν. καὶ βίου | καθαρώτητος ἐπιμέλεια· χά|ριτι καὶ φιλαν(θρωπ)ία τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν | ἰ(ησο)ῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ· ὧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, | νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας | τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν :—)

enlargement of letters and the mixture of forms and other signs of advance specified in our other examples of the century mark the date.

The two hundred years from the middle of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century, which are the period of the *codices recentiores*, witness more rapid changes than have appeared in the previous periods. There was naturally a wider diffusion of learning and a consequent multiplication of copies of books of all kinds. Among them are instances of a class which may be regarded as students' books; not the fairly, but at the same time unconventionally, written copies of classical authors to which attention has already been directed and of which instances have been given, but volumes in current script such as would have been employed in domestic life; and not produced for the general market, but for the personal use of students. Such cursively written MSS., it may be assumed, were in existence in earlier times, but none such are known to have survived, and the earliest examples appear in this century.

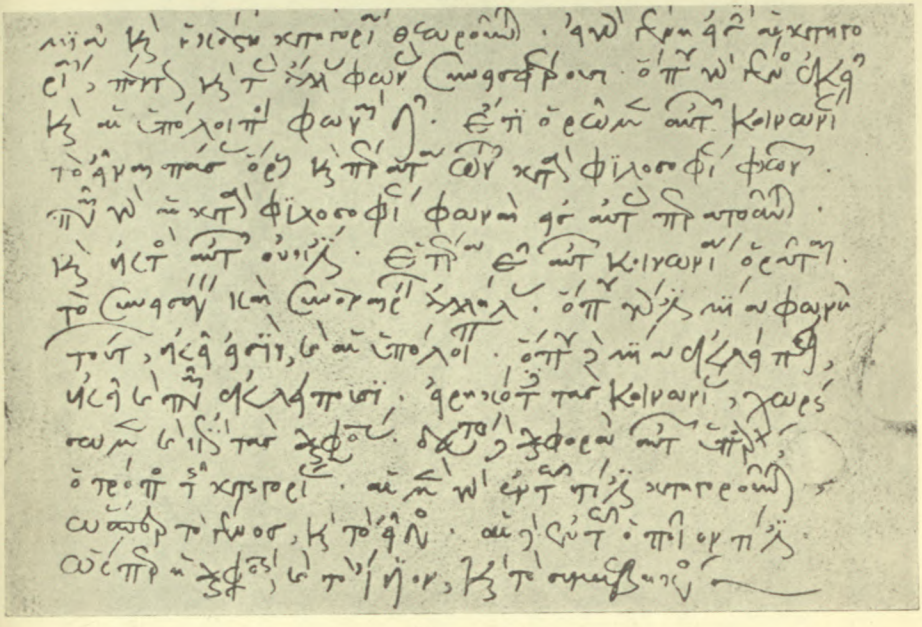
A facsimile is here given from a MS. of this description, which, although in date earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century, may be conveniently classed with the *recentiores*; a Commentary on Porphyry's Introduction to Aristotle in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (MS. grec. 2089; Omont, *Facsim.* 52), written in A.D. 1223.

No. 70

In a MS. intended for the student's use there could be no object in stinting contractions and abbreviations. He would be familiar with such methods of reducing the labour of writing and of saving space, and would be trained to read with facility the texts of books thus treated. Accordingly, in the text before us, there are numerous compendia on a scale quite inadmissible in MSS. of the conventional book-hand minuscule. As to the writing itself, it is to be observed that, although at first sight it may appear intricate, it really presents little difficulty in decipherment, apart from the solution of the compendia. There is a certain stiffness or, if we may use the phrase, a wiry appearance, in the hand, which we may conclude to be characteristic of the domestic cursive of the thirteenth century.

The next example of this century is also from a MS. of the less conventional style, a Commentary on the Octoechus, a service-book of the Greek Church, in the British Museum (Add. MS. 27359) written in A.D. 1252 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 203).

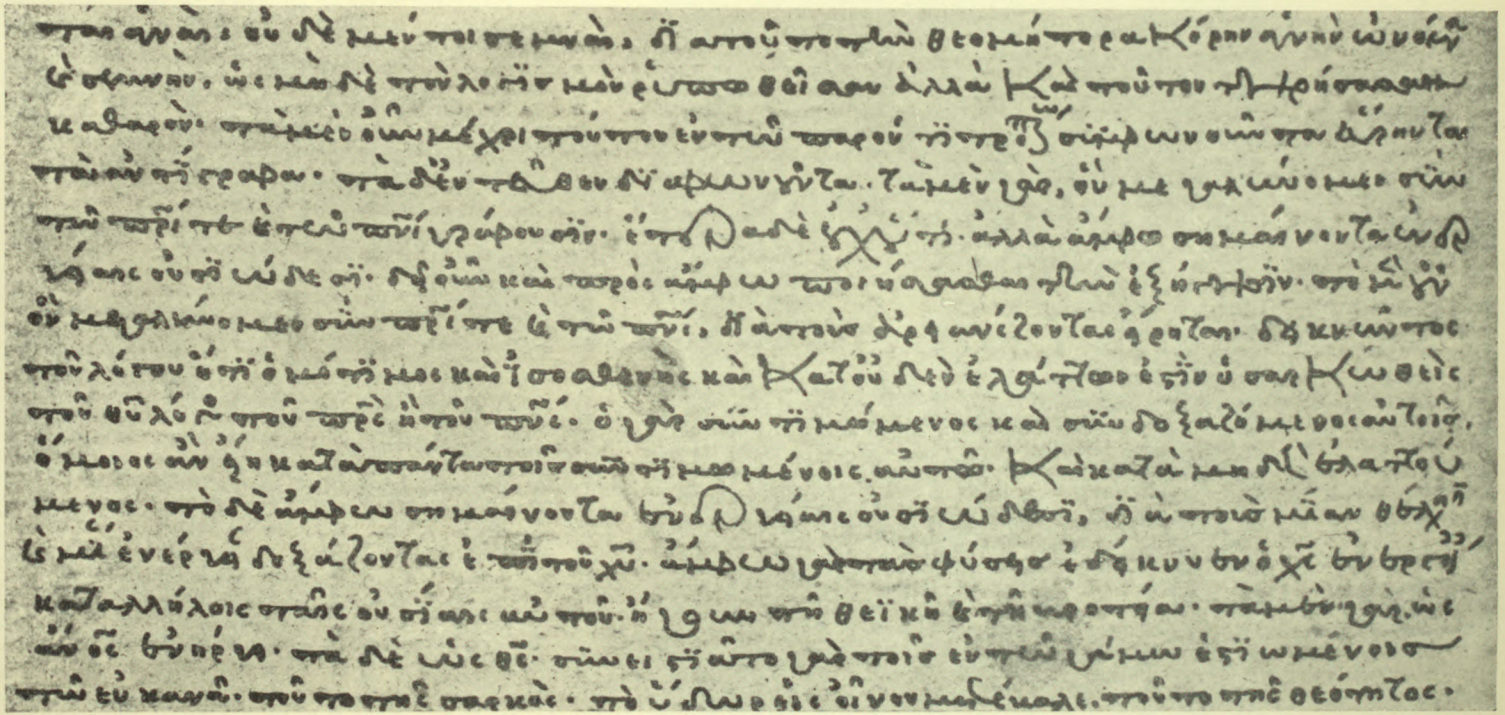
FACSIMILE No. 70



COMMENTARY ON PORPHYRY.—A. D. 1223

(μϊᾶ κ(αὶ) ἑκάστη κ(α)τηγορία θεωρουῦντ(αι). εἰ γ(ὰρ) γένη εἰσ(ὶν) αἱ κ(α)τηγο|ρίαι, πάντ(ως) κ(αὶ) τ(ὰς) ἄλλ(ας) φων(ὰς) συνεισφέρουσι. ὅπου γ(ὰρ) γένο(ς) ἐκεῖ | κ(αὶ) αἱ ὑπόλοιποι φωναὶ (τετάρτην). ἔτϊ ὁρῶμ(εν) αὐτ(ῶν) κοινωνι(αν) | τὸ εἶναι πάσ(ας) ὄρ(ους) κ(αὶ) πέρατα τῶν κ(α)τὰ φϊλοσοφί(αν) φων(ῶν). | π(ᾶσ)αι γ(ὰρ) αἱ κ(α)τὰ φϊλοσοφί(αν) φωναὶ εἰς αὐτ(ὰς) περατοῦντ(αι) | κ(αὶ) ἐκτὸ(ς) αὐτ(ῶν) οὐκ (ἔστιν). ἑτέρα (πέμπτη) αὐτ(ῶν) κοινωνία ὁρᾶται. | τὸ συνεισάγ(ειν) καὶ συναναιρ(εῖν) ἀλλήλ(ας). ὅπου γ(άρ)(ἐστι) μϊα φωνὴ | τούτ(ων), ἐκεῖ εἰσὶν, (καὶ) αἱ ὑπόλοιπ(οι). ὅπ(ο)υ (δὲ) μία ἐκλείπει, | ἐκεῖ (καὶ) π(ᾶσ)αι ἐκλείπουσϊ. εἰρηκότ(ες) τὰς κοινωνί(ας), χωρή|σωμ(εν) (καὶ) ἐπὶ τὰς δ(ια)φο(ράς). δευτ(έρα) (δὲ) δ(ια)φορὰ αὐτ(ῶν) ὑπάρχ(ει), | ὁ τρόπο(ς) τ(ῆς) κ(α)τηγορί(ας). αἱ μ(ὲν) γ(ὰρ) ἐν τῶ τί (ἐστὶ) κ(α)τηγο-ροῦντ(αι)| ὥσπερ τὸ γένος, κ(αὶ) τὸ εἶδο(ς). αἱ (δὲ) ἐν τῶ ὁποῖον τί (ἐστιν)| ὥσπερ ἡ δ(ια)φο(ρὰ), (καὶ) τὸ ἴδϊον, κ(αὶ) τὸ συμβεβηκό(ς))

FACSIMILE No. 71



COMMENTARY ON THE OCTOECHUS.—A.D. 1252

(ται ἁγναὶ· οὐδὲ μέντοι σεμναὶ, δϊα τοῦτο τὴν θεομήτορα κόρην ἁγνὴν ὠνόμα(σε) | καὶ σεμνὴν. ὡς μὴ δὲ τὸν λογϊσμὸν ῥυπωθεῖσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον τηρήσασαν | καθαρὸν· τὰ μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου ἐν τῷ παρόντϊ τροπ(αρί)ω σϋμφωνοῦντα εὕρηνται | τὰ ἀντίγραφα· τὰ δ' ἐντεῦθεν δϊαφωνοῦντα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ, οὗ μεγαλύνομεν σὺν | τῷ π(ατ)ρί τε (καὶ) τῷ πν(εύματ)ι γράφουσϊν· ἕτερα δὲ οὐχ' οὕτ(ως)· ἀλλὰ ἄμφω σημαίνοντα ἐνερ|γείαις οὐσϊώδεσι· δεῖ οὖν καὶ πρὸς ἄμφω ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐξήγησϊν· τὸ μ(ὲν) οὖν | ὃν μεγαλύνομεν σὺν π(ατ)ρί τε (καὶ) τῷ πν(εύματ)ι, δϊὰ τοὺς ἀρειανίζοντας εἴρηται· δεικνῦντος | τοῦ λόγου ὅτϊ ὁμότϊμος καὶ ἰσοσθενὴς καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἐλάττων ἐστὶν ὁ σαρχωθεὶς | τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ λόγο(ς) τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἢ τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς. ὁ γὰρ σϋντϊμώμενος καὶ σϋνδοξαζόμενος αὐτοῖς, | ὅμοιος ἂν εἴη κατὰ πάντα τοῖς σϋντϊμωμένοις αὐτῷ· καὶ κατὰ μηδ(ὲν) ἐλαττού|μενος· τὸ δὲ ἄμφω σημαίνοντα ἐνεργείαις οὐσϊώδεσϊ, δϊὰ τοὺς μίαν θέλη(σιν) | (καὶ) μί(αν) ἐνέργει(αν) δοξάζοντας ἐπὶ τοῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ· ἄμφω γὰρ τὰς φύσεις ἐδείκνυεν ὁ χ(ριστὸ)ς ἐνεργ(ούς) | κατ αλλήλοις ταῖς οὐσίαις αὐτοῦ· ἤγουν τῇ θεϊκῇ (καὶ) τῇ βροτεία· τὰ μὲν γὰρ. ὡς | ἄν(θρωπ)ος ἐνήργει· τὰ δὲ ὡς θ(εό)ς· σϋνειστϊᾶτο γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῷ γάμω ἑστϊωμένοις | τῷ ἐν κανᾶ. τοῦτο τῆς σαρκὸς· τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς οἶνον μετέβαλε. τοῦτο τῆς θεότητος·)

No. 71

The general character of the writing is of the set book-hand type, but written fluently and with ample spacing, and thereby assuming a half-cursive appearance. The thickening of the strokes is to be attributed to the coarse paper of which the MS. is composed. The enlargement of certain letters and the mixture of forms arrest the eye. We may note the appearance of the v-shaped *nu*.

Another instance of a student's book occurs in a MS. of Hesiod, on paper, in the Laurentian Library of Florence (Plut. xxxii. 16), of the year 1280 (*New Pal. Soc.* 154).

No. 72

The text in double columns is arranged in a very unusual fashion, to be read continuously across the page. The writing is very delicate and of a lighter touch than that of the Porphyry of 1223 (Facs. 70); but it is still of the same stiff or wiry character, although approaching the close of the thirteenth century.

In our next facsimile we return to the conventional style of the Gospel MSS. This specimen is from a MS. in the monastery of Serres (MS. Γ. 10) in Macedonia, written in A.D. 1282 (*New Pal. Soc.* 78).

No. 73

Looking back at the facsimiles given above of the Gospels of the tenth century (no. 55), of A.D. 1023 (no. 62), and of A.D. 1128–9 (no. 68), the success with which the traditional style is maintained in this example is remarkable. But the general character of the thirteenth century, and the effect on the eye of enlarged letters, as *zeta*, *theta*, *rho*, *upsilon*, *phi*, and of the mixture of forms, are not to be ignored

Another copy of the Gospels, a third of a century later, is less imitative and discloses its true period more easily. This is a MS. in the British Museum (Add. MS. 37002), written in A.D. 1314–15 (*New Pal. Soc.* 52).

No. 74

The writing is a good typical example of the conventional minuscule book-hand of the fourteenth century. Spacing of the text, enlarged letters, and intermixture of uncial forms, and also the free manner in which the accents are dashed on, sufficiently indicate the period. The use of a waved horizontal stroke to distinguish the proper name Abraam will be observed. It may also be noticed that the ink used is very black, such as is often found in Greek MSS. of the thirteenth century in particular.

In the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries MSS. written by independent hands, not strictly following the conventions of the professional scribes of the minuscule book-hand, necessarily multiply, particularly in the field of classical and general literature and of works not connected with liturgical and Scriptural subjects. Of these independent MSS., the Herodotus of the Laurentian Library of Florence (Plut. lxx. 6), of the year 1318, is an instance (*New Pal. Soc.* 156).

No. 75

Here the writing is clear and simple and the letters are normally formed; but there is no attempt at calligraphic neatness, and there is an element of cursiveness in the general style. By this time the intermixture of uncial with minuscule forms has become normal, and the v-shaped *nu* is the prevalent shape of that letter.

The next, nearly contemporary, specimen is more decidedly cursive and is much abbreviated. It is taken from a MS. of the treatises of St. Athanasius in the British Museum (Harley MS. 5579), written in the year 1321 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 133).

No. 76

The writing has no claim to beauty, but it is quite legible; and, as a working copy, the MS. holds a respectable place. The fact that it is written on paper accounts for a slight thickening or blottiness of the letters; and the exaggeration in the accents and in the signs of abbreviation lends an air of untidiness to the text. But the actual structure of the lettering is fairly neat.

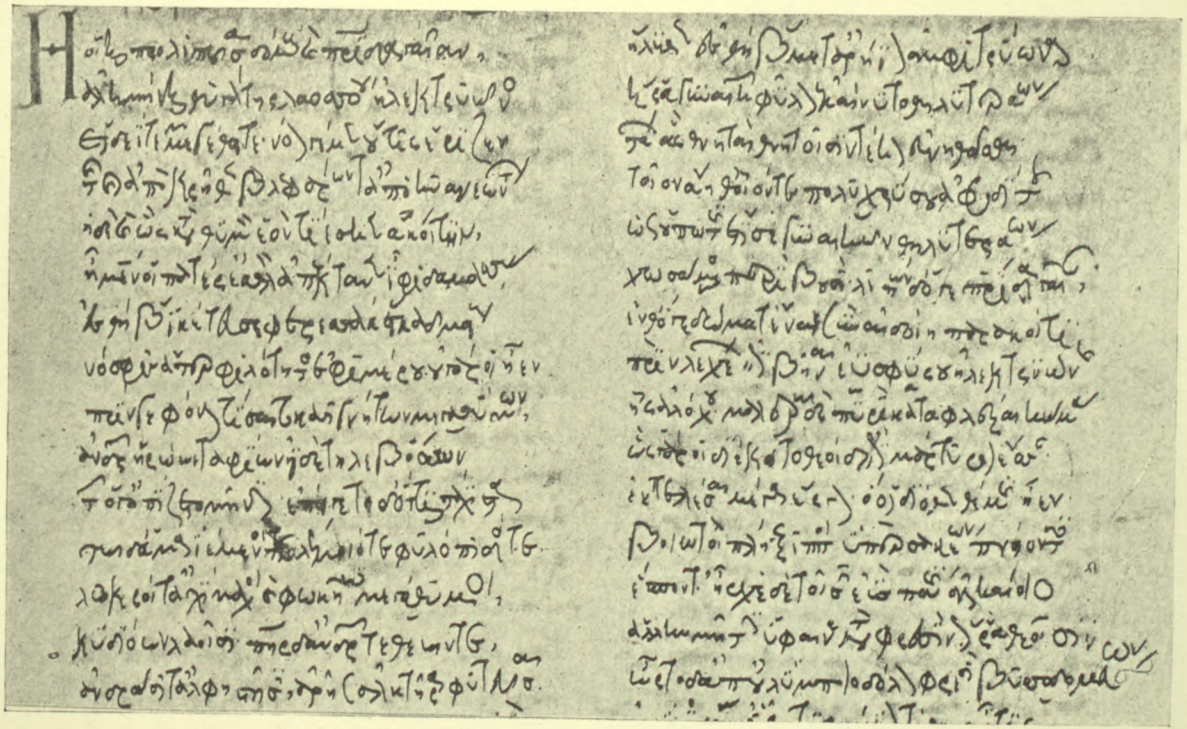
In the next example there is a return to the set hand. The facsimile is from a MS., on paper, of Lives of the Fathers, in the British Museum (Burney MS. 50), of the year 1362 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 207).

No. 77

This MS., probably intended for purposes of monastic lections, follows the conventional style of the book-hand, its late date being manifested in the spacing out of the letters and in the usual exaggerated forms of the period. But the regularity of the writing indicates a practised hand. The paper being apparently of the manufacture of Italy, the MS. may most probably have been executed in that country. The scribe was named John Philagrius.

Our first specimen of the fifteenth century is from a classical MS.: the History of Polybius (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 11728), of the year 1416 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 134).

FACSIMILE No. 72



HESIOD.—A.D. 1280

(Ηοΐη προλιποῦσα δόμ(ους) κ(αὶ) π(ατ)ρίδα γαῖαν,
ἀλκμήνη θϋγάτηρ λαοσσόου ἠλεκτρϋώνο(ς)
εἴδεϊ τε μεγέθει τε· νο(όν) γέ μ(ὲν) οὔτϊς ἔρϊζεν
τ(ῆι) κ(αὶ) ἀπὸ κρῆθ(εν) βλεφάρων τ' ἀπὸ κϋανεωντ(ων)
ἡ δὲ κ(αὶ) ὣς κ(α)τ(ὰ) θϋμ(ον) ἑὸν τἴεσκ(ον) ἀκοίτῆν,
ἣ μέν οἱ πατέρ' ἐσθλ(ὸν) ἀπέκταν(εν) ἴφι δαμάσσας
ἐς θήβ(ας) ἱκέτευσε φερεσσακέ(ας) καδμεί(ους)
νόσφϊν ἄτερ φϊλότητο(ς) ἐφϊμέρου· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἦεν

πρϊν γε φόν(ον) τἴσαιτο κασϊγνήτων μεγαθύμων,
ἀνδρ(ῶν) ἡρώων ταφἴων ἰδὲ τηλεβοάων
τ(ὼν) ὅ γ' ὀπἰζετο μῆνϊν· ἐπείγετο δ' ὅττϊ τάχϊστα
τῶ δ' ἅμα ἑέμενοι πολέμοιό τε φϋλόπἰδό(ς) τε
λοκροί τ' ἀγχἴμαχοι κ(αὶ) φωκῆ(ες) μεγάθυμοι,
κϋδϊόων λαοῖσϊ· π(ατ)ηρ δ' ἀνδρ(ῶν) τε θεῶν τε
ἀνδράσϊ τ' ἀλφηστῆσ(ϊν), ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα φὐτευσαι.

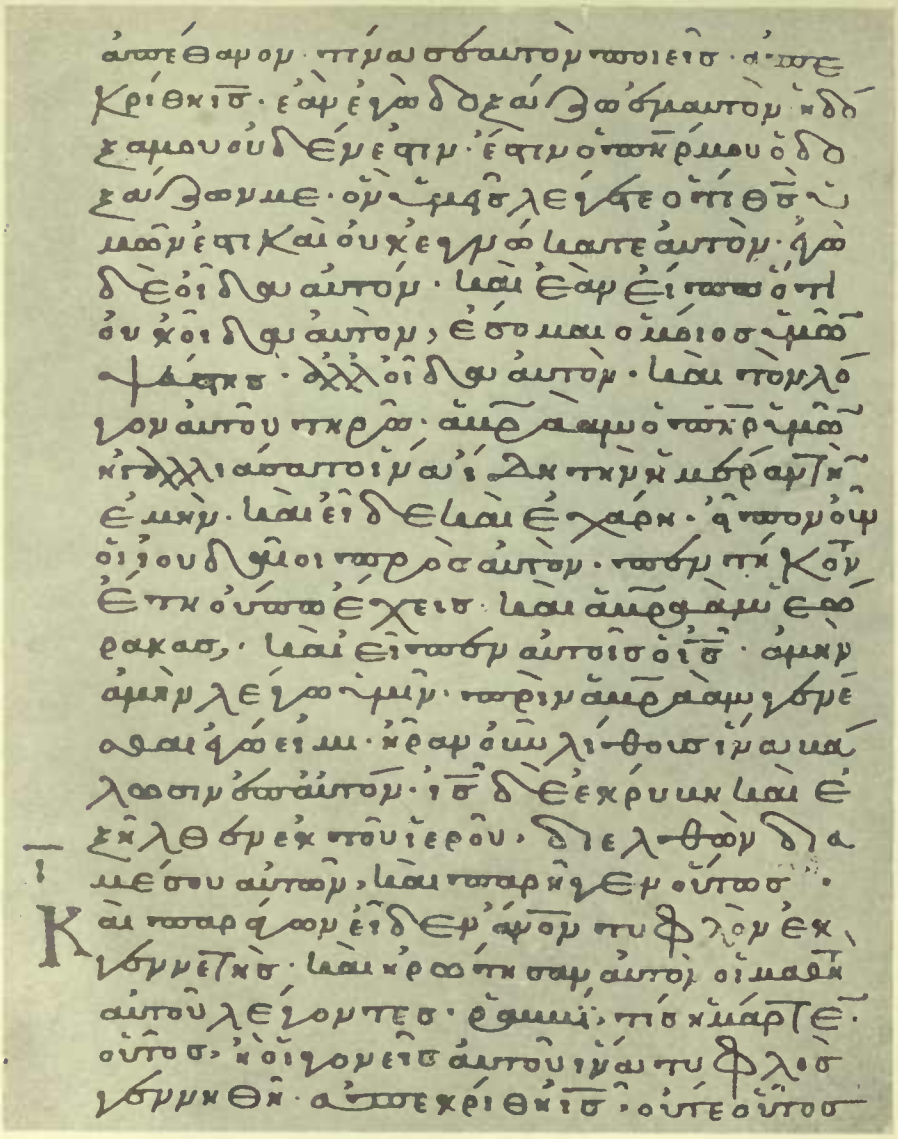
ἦλϋθ(εν) ἐς θήβ(ας) μετ' ἀρήϊ(ον) ἀμφϊτρὕωνα
ἦ ρα γϋναικ(ῶν) φῦλ(ον) ἐκαίνϋτο θηλϋτεράων
τά(ων) ἂς θνηταὶ θνητοῖσϊν τέκ(ον) εὐνηθεῖσαι
τοῖον ἄηθ' οἷόν τε πολϋχρὕσου ἀφροδἴτ(ης)
ὡς οὔπω τϊς ἔτϊσε γϋναικῶν θηλϋτεράων
χωσάμ(εν)ο(ς) περὶ βουσὶ· λιπὼν δ' ὅ γε π(ατ)ρίδα γαῖ(αν),
ἔνθ' ὅ γε δώματ ἔναιε σὺν αἰδοίη παρακοίτϊ
πρὶν λεχέ(ων) ἐπϊβῆναι ἐϋσφὕρου ἠλεκτρϋών(ης)
ἧς ἀλόχου· μαλερῶ δὲ πϋρὶ (β)καταφλέξαι (α)κώμ(ας)
ὣς γάρ οἱ δϊέκειτο θεοὶ δ' ἐπϊμάρτϋροι ἔσσ(αν)·
ἐκτελέσαι μέγα ἔργ(ον)· ὅ οἱ δϊόθ(εν) θέμϊς ἦεν·
βοιωτοὶ πλήξϊπποι ὕπὲρ σακέων πνείοντ(ες)
ἔσποντ'· ἦρχε δὲ τοῖσ(ιν) ἐὺς πάϊς ἀλκαίοιο
ἄλλην μῆτ(ιν) ὕφαινε μ(ε)τ(ὰ) φρεσὶν εἴ ῥα θεοῖσϊν
ὦρτο δ' ἀπ' οὐλὕμποιο δόλ(ον) φρεσὶ βϋσσοδομεύων)

FACSIMILE No. 73



GOSPELS.—A.D. 1282

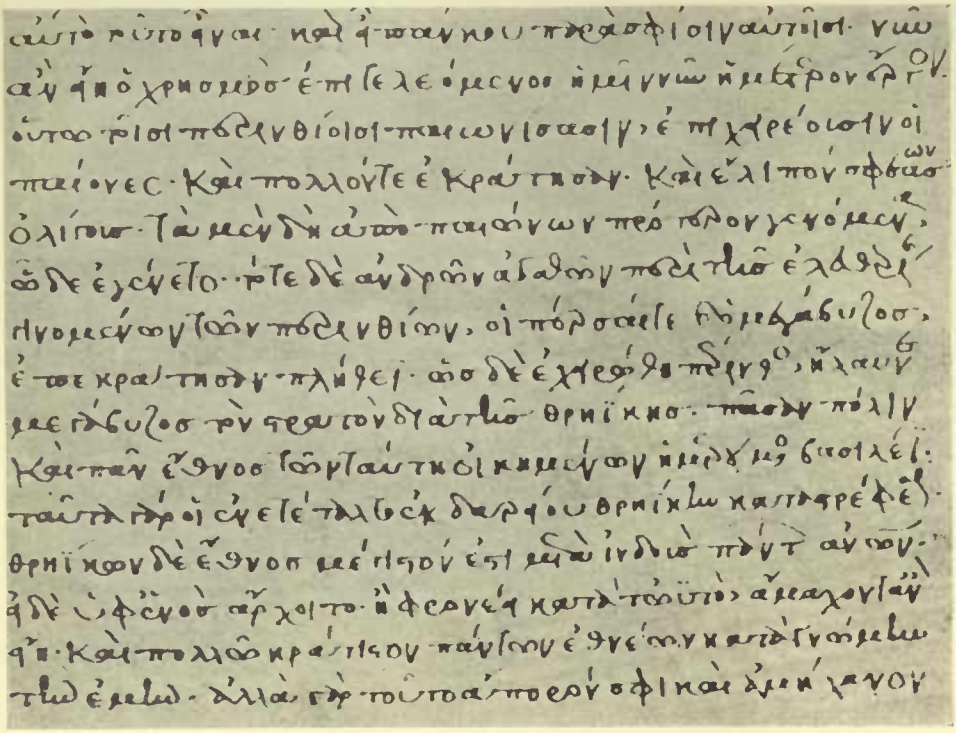
(Ἀρχῆ τοῦ εὐαγγελί|ου ἰ(ησο)ῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ | θ(εο)ῦ, ὡς γέγρα|πται ἐν τοῖς προ|φήταις· ἰδοὺ | ἐγὼ ἀποστελῶ | τὸν ἄγγελόν μου | προ προσώπου σου· | ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν | ὁδόν σου ἔμπροσθέν | σου· φωνὴ βοῶτος | Ἐν τῆ ἐρήμω ἑτοιμά|σατε την ὁδὸν κ(υρίο)υ, εὐ|θεῖας ποιεῖτε τὰς | τρίβους αὐτοῦ· ἐγένε|το ἰωάννης βαπτί|ζων εν τῆ ἐρήμω, (καὶ)—
μολογούμενοι τὰς ἁ|μαρτίας αὐτῶν· ἦν | Δὲ ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμέ|νος τρίχας καμή-λου | καὶ ζώνην δερματί|νην περὶ την ὀσφυν αὐ|τοῦ, καὶ ἐσθίων ἀκρί|δας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον· | Καὶ ἐκήρυσσε λέγων· | ἔρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότε|ρός μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱ|κανὸς κύψας λῦσαι | τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑπο|δημάτων αὐτοῦ· ἐγὼ | μεν ὑμᾶς βαπτιζω | ἐν ὕδατι, αὐτος ὑμᾶς | βαπτίσει ἐν πν(εύματ)ι αγιω· τε(λος))



GOSPELS.—A. D. 1314–15

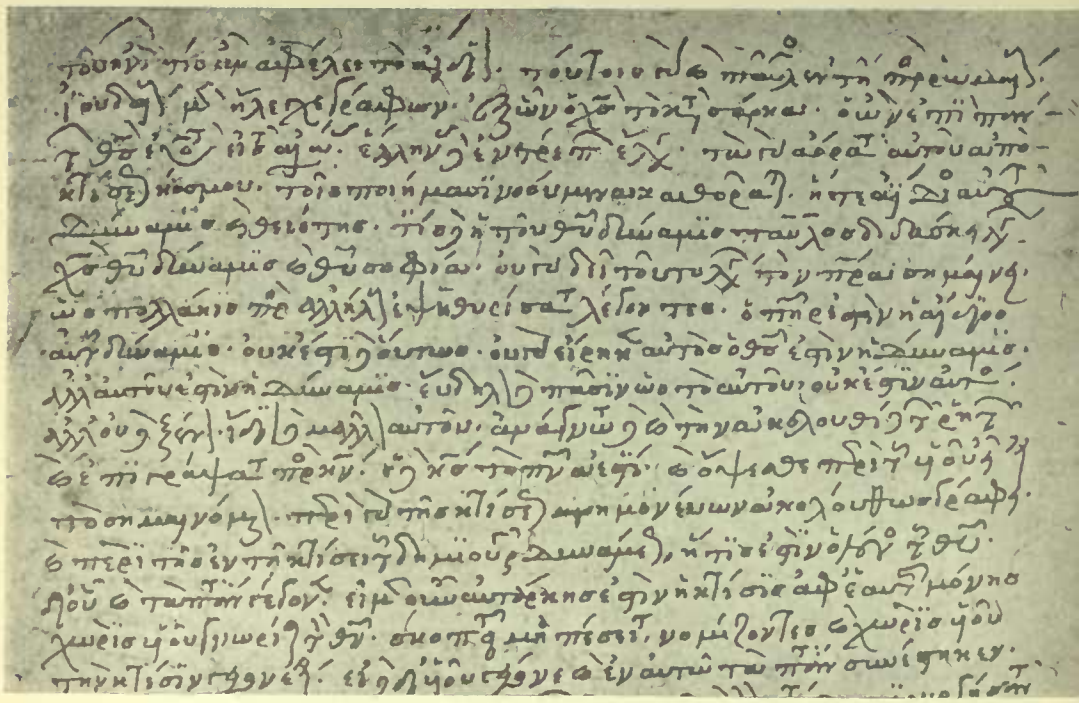
(ἀπέθανον· τίνα σεαυτὸν ποιεῖς· ἀπε|κρίθη ἰ(ησου)ς· ἐὰν ἐγὼ δοξάζω ἐμαυτὸν· ἡ δό|ξα μου οὐδέν ἐστιν· ἔστιν ὁ π(ατ)ήρ μου ὁ δο|ξάζων με· ὃν ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι θ(εὸ)ς ὑ|μῶν ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἐγνώκατε αὐτὸν· ἐγὼ | δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸν· καὶ ἐὰν εἴπω ὅτι | οὐκ οἶδα αὐτὸν, ἔσομαι ὅμοιος ὑμῶ(ν) | ψεύστης· ἀλλ' οἶδα αὐτὸν· καὶ τὸν λό|γον αὐτοῦ τηρῶ· ἀβρᾶὰμ ὁ π(ατ)ὴρ ὑμῶ(ν) | ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴ(ν) | ἐμὴν· καὶ ἐἶδε καὶ ἐχάρη· εἶπον οὖν | οἱ ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς αὐτὸν· πεντή|κοντ(α) | ἔτη οὔπω ἔχεις· καὶ ἀβρᾶὰμ ἑώ|ρακας ; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· ἀμὴν | ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· πρὶν ἀβρᾶὰμ γενέ|σθαι ἐγώ εἰμι· ἦραν οὖν λίθους ἵνα βά|λωσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν· ἰ(ησοῦ)ς δὲ ἐκρύβη καὶ ἐ|ξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, διελθὼν δια | μέσου αὐτῶν, καὶ παρῆγεν οὕτως· τέλο(ς) | Καὶ παράγων εἶδεν ἄν(θρωπ)ον τυφλὸν ἐκ | γεννετῆς· καὶ ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθητ(αὶ) | αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· ῥαββί, τίς ἥμαρτε(ν)· | οὗτος, ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα τυφλὸς | γεννηθῇ· ἀπεκρίθη ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· οὔτε οὗτος)

FACSIMILE No. 75



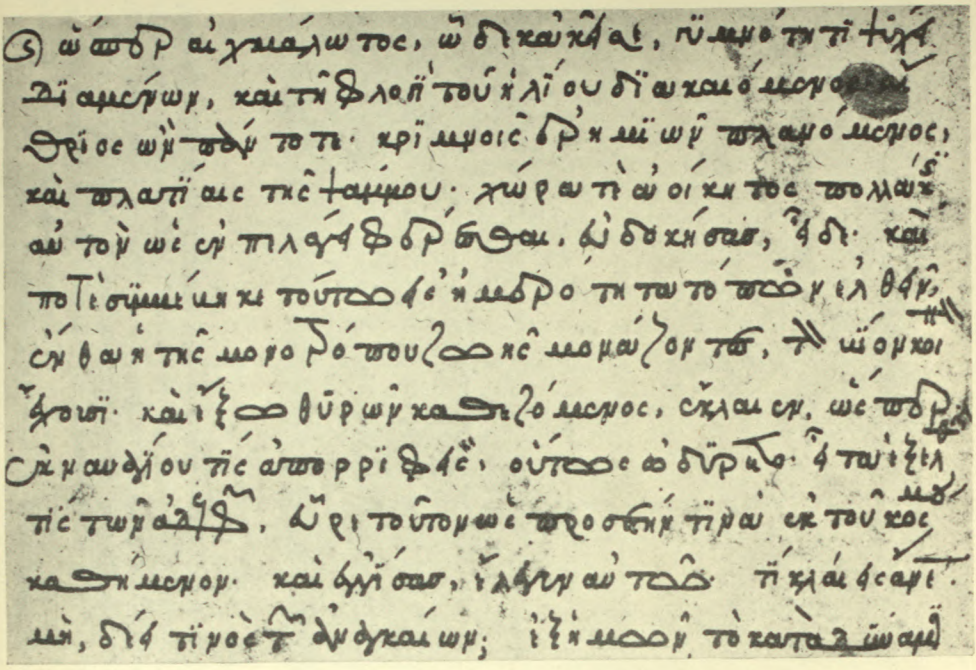
HERODOTUS.—A.D. 1318

(αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι· καὶ εἰπάν κου παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖσι· νῦν | ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν νῦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον· | οὕτω τοῖσι περινθίοισι παιωνίσασιν, ἐπιχειρέουσιν οἱ | παίονες· καὶ πολλόν τε ἐκράτησαν· καὶ ἔλιπόν σφεας ὀλίγους· τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ παιώνων πρότερον γενόμενα, | ὧδε ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερί(ας) | γινομένων τῶν περινθίων, οἱ πέρσαί τε κ(αὶ) ὁ μεγάβυζος, | ἐπεκράτησαν πλήθεϊ· ὡς δὲ ἐχειρώθη πέρινθο(ς), ἤλαυνε | μεγάβυζος τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς θρηΐκης· πᾶσαν πόλιν | καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτη οἰκημένων ἠμερούμ(εν)ο(ς) βασιλεΐ: | ταῦτα γάρ οἱ ἐνετέταλτο ἐκ δαρείου θρηΐκην καταστρέφεσθ(αι)· | [Ε]θρηΐκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι μετὰ ἰνδοὺς πάντ(ων) ἀν(θρώπ)ων· | εἰ δὲ ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἄρχοιτο· ἢ φρονέοι κατὰ τὠϋτὸ, ἄμαχον τ' ἂν | εἴη· καὶ πολλῷ κράτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων κατὰ γνώμην | τὴν ἐμὴν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄπορόν σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον)



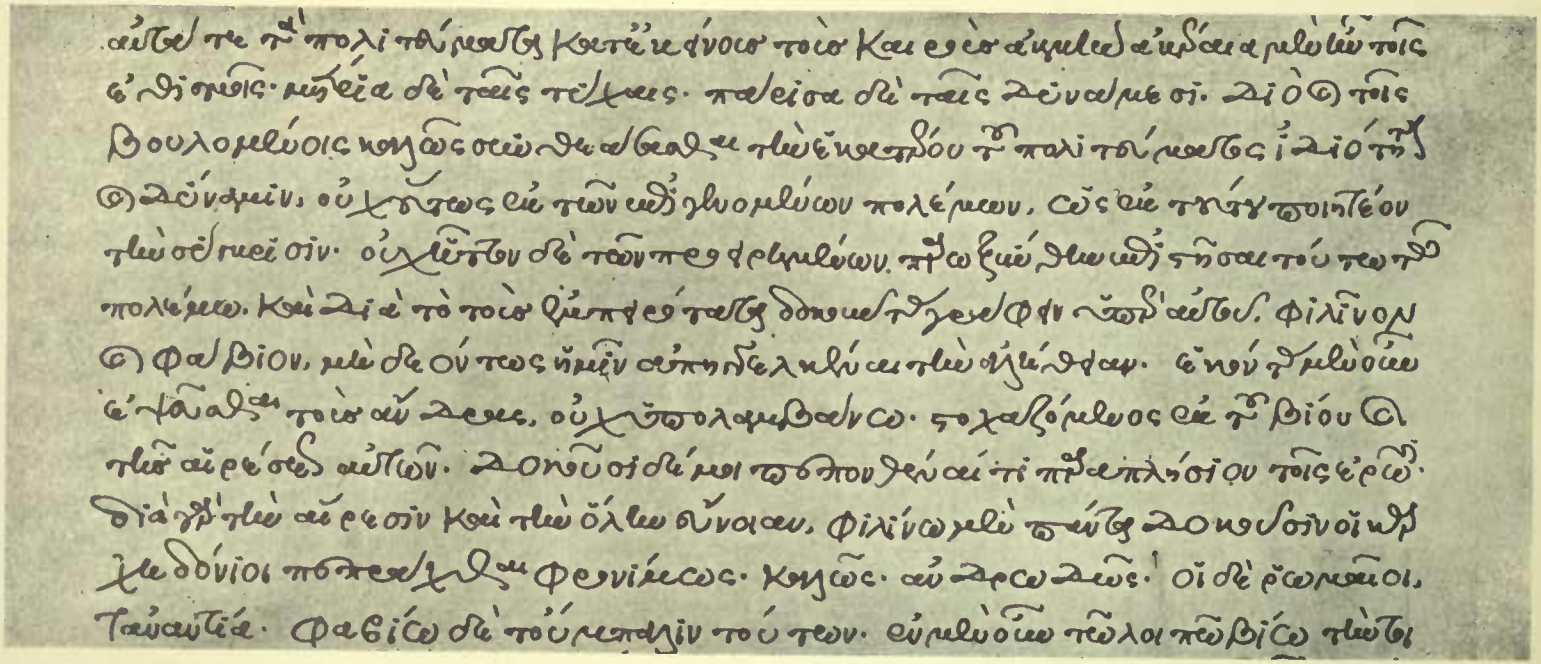
ST. ATHANASIUS.—A.D. 1321

(τοῦ ἦν, τίς ἂν ἀφέλει τὸ ἀΐδϊ(ον) · τούτοις γ(ὰρ) (καὶ) παῦλο(ς) ἐν τῇ πρὸ(ς) ῥωμαί(ους) · | ἰουδαί(ους) μ(ὲν) ἤλεγχε γράφων · ἐξ ὧν ὁ χ(ριστὸ)ς τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) σάρκα · ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάν|τ(ων) θ(εὸ)ς εὐ(λ)ο(γη)τ(ὸς) εἰς τ(οὺς) αἰώ(νας). ἕλλην(ας) (δὲ) ἐντρέπ(ων) ἔλ(ε)γ(ε) · τὰ γ(ὰρ) ἀόρατ(α) αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ | κτίσε(ως) κόσμου. τοῖς ποιήμασϊ νοούμενα καθορᾶτ(αι). ἥ τε ἀΐδιο(ς) αὐτοῦ | δύναμϊς (καὶ) θειότης. τίς (δὲ) ἡ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ δύναμϊς παῦλος διδάσκει λ(έ)γ(ων) | χ(ριστὸ)ς θ(εο)ῦ δύναμϊς (καὶ) θ(εο)ῦ σοφία · οὐ γ(ὰρ) δεῖ τοῦτο λ(έ)γ(ων) τὸν π(ατέ)ρα σημαίνει · | ὡς πολλάκϊς πρὸ(ς) ἀλλήλ(ους) ἐψηθυρίσατ(ε) λέγοντες. ὁ π(ατ)ήρ ἐστϊν ἡ ἀΐδϊος | αὐτ(οῦ) δύναμϊς · οὐκ ἔστϊ (δὲ) οὕτως · οὐ γ(ὰρ) εἴρηκ(εν) αὐτὸς ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἐστϊν ἡ δύναμϊς · | ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐστϊν ἡ δύναμϊς · εὔδηλ(ον) (δὲ) πᾶσϊν ὡς τὸ αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἔστϊν αὐτο(ς). | ἀλλ' οὐ(δὲ) ξέν(ον) · ἴδϊ(ον) (δὲ) μᾶλλ(ον) αὐτοῦ. ἀνάγνωτ(ε) (δὲ) (καὶ) τὴν ἀκολουθί(αν) τ(ῶν) ῥη(μα)τ(ῶν) | (καὶ) ἐπϊγράψατ(ε) πρὸ(ς) κ(ύριο)ν. ὁ (δὲ) κ(ύριο)ς τὸ πν(εῦμ)α ἐστί · (καὶ) ὄψεσθε περὶ τ(οῦ) υἱοῦ εἶ(ναι) | τὸ σημαινό-μ(ενον) · περὶ γ(ὰρ) τῆς κτίσε(ως) μνημονεύων ἀκολούθως γράφει · | (καὶ) περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ κτίσει τ(οῦ) δημϊουργ(οῦ) δυνάμε(ως), ἥτϊς ἐστὶν ὁ λόγο(ς) τ(οῦ) θ(εο)ῦ · | δι' οὗ (καὶ) τὰ πάντ(α) γέγον(εν). εἰ μ(ὲν) οὖν αὐτάρκης ἐστὶν ἡ κτίσϊς ἀφ' ἑαυτ(ῆς) μόνης | χωρὶς υἱοῦ γνωρίσ(αι) τ(ὸν) θ(εὸν) · σκοπεῖτ(ε) μὴ πέσειτ(ε), νομίζοντες (καὶ) χωρὶς υἱοῦ | τὴν κρίσϊν γεγονέ(ναι). εἰ (δὲ) δι' υἱοῦ γέγονε (καὶ) ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντ(α) συνέστηκεν,)



LIVES OF THE FATHERS.—A.D. 1362

((καὶ) ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτος, ὧδε κἀκεῖσε, γϋμνότητι ψϋχει | δϊαμένων, καὶ τῇ φλογὶ τοῦ ἡλίου δϊακαιόμενος· αἴ|θρϊος ὢν πάντοτε· κρϊμνοῖς ἐρημϊῶν πλανόμενος, | καὶ πλατίαις τῆς ψάμμου· χώρα τὲ ἀοίκητος πολλάκ(ϊ)ς | αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν πελάγει φέρεσθαι, εὐδοκήσας, εἶδε· καὶ | ποτὲ σϋμβέβηκε τούτω εἰς ἡμερότητα τόπων ἐλθεῖν, | ἔνθα ἡ τῆς μονοτρόπου ζωῆς μονάζοντες, τ(ὸν) βἴον κοιν(ὸν) | ἔχουσϊ· καὶ ἔξω θϋρῶν καθεζόμενος, ἔκλαιεν, ὥσπερ | ἐκ ναναγἴου τἰς ἀπορρϊφεὶς, οὕτως ὠδὕρετο· εἶτα ἐξελθ(εἰς) | τἰς τῶν ἀδελφ(ῶν), εὗρε τοῦτον ὡς προσέτην τϊνὰ ἐκ τοῦ κύσμου | καθήμενον. καὶ ἐγγἴσας, ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ· τἱ κλαίεις ἄν(θρωπ)ε. | μὴ, δέει τϊνὸς τ(ῶν) ἀναγκαίων; ἐξ ἡμῶν τὸ κατὰ δὕναμ(ϊν))



POLYBIUS.—A. D. 1416

(αὐτά τε τὰ πολιτεύματα κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀκμὴν ἀκέραια μὲν ἦν τοῖς | ἐθισμοῖς · μέτρια δὲ ταῖς τύχαις · πάρισα δὲ ταῖς δυνάμεσι. διὸ (καὶ) τοῖς | βουλομένοις καλῶς συνθεάσασθαι τὴν ἑκατέρου τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἰδιότητα | (καὶ) δύναμιν, οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγενομένων πολέμων, ὡς ἐκ τούτου ποιητέον | τὴν σύγκρισιν · οὐχ ἧττον δὲ τῶν προειρημένων παρωξύνθην ἐπιστῆσαι τούτῳ τῷ | πολέμῳ. καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐμπειρότατα δοκοῦντ(ας) γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. φιλῖνον | (καὶ) φάβιον, μὴ δεύντως ἡμῖν ἀπηγγελκέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν · ἑκόντ(ας) μὲν οὖν | ἐψεῦσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω · στοχαζόμενος ἐκ τοῦ βίου (καὶ) | τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν · δοκοῦσι δέ μοι πεπονθέναί τι παραπλήσιον τοῖς ἐρῶσι · | διὰ γὰρ τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν ὅλην εὔνοιαν, φιλίνῳ μὲν πάντα δοκοῦσιν οἱ καρ|χηδόνιοι πεπράχθαι φρονίμως · καλῶς · ἀνδρωδῶς · οἱ δὲ ῥωμαῖοι, | τἀναντία · φαβίῳ δὲ τοὔμπαλιν τούτων · ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ τὴν τοι)

No. 78

This is an excellent instance of the fluent hand of the period, the letters, in a restrained cursive, being well formed and very legible; and, although enlarged letters are freely employed, they are not aggressively exaggerated. Thus there is a pleasing harmony in the general setting of the text, indicating a skilful and practised scribe.

For the next example we turn to a copy of the Books of the Prophets and Job (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 21259), of the year 1437 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 232).

No. 79

This is a good instance of the conservative, conventional style of writing maintained in MSS. of the Scriptures. Certain pure minuscule forms continue to be used, which in the more independent hands are generally abandoned; and the accents are in most instances unobtrusive. It is a valuable point to note in palaeography that a stereotyped form of writing may persist for special purposes, especially in the case of MSS. produced within a limited area and more or less excluded from foreign influences.

A Menaeum, or monthly offices of the Greek Church for saints' days, provides us with our last example of a liturgy: the Add. MS. 16398 in the British Museum, of A.D. 1460 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 233).

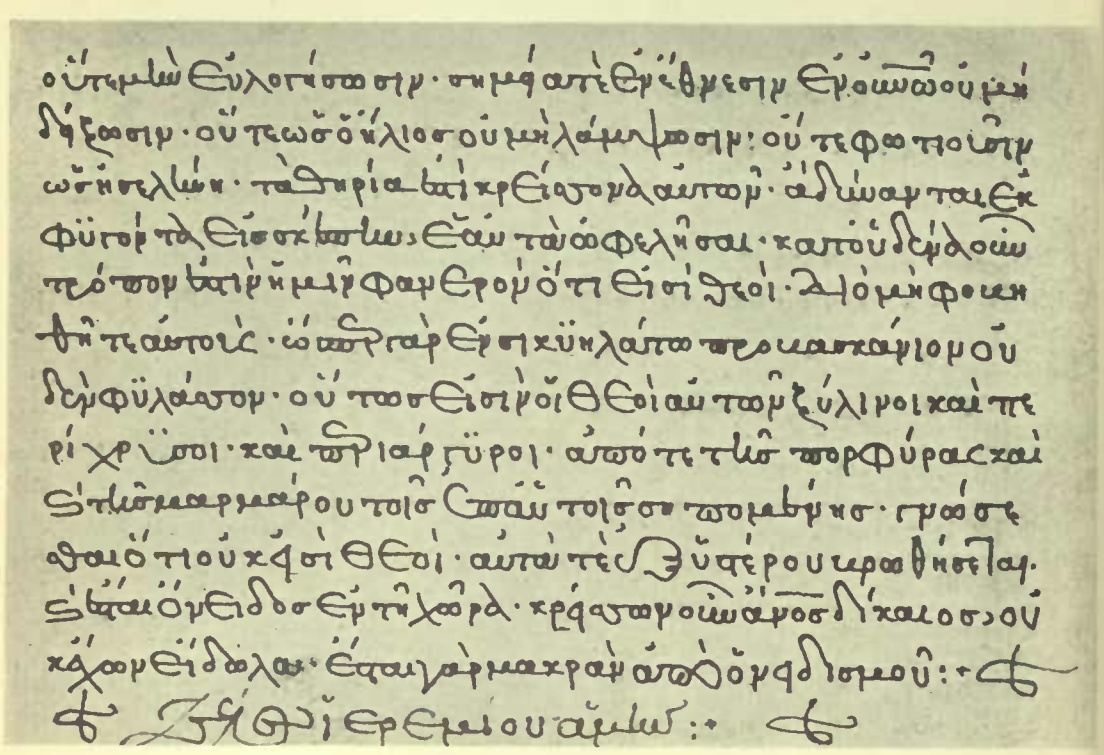
No. 80

This is a less striking instance of conservative adherence to the conventional book-hand than the preceding specimen. The writing is less exact, and shows a certain disposition to combinations and to varieties of forms. But at the same time the text is mostly composed of clearly formed, though small, minuscules which would present no difficulty to the reader in monastic or church service; and abbreviations and contractions are few.

The history of the *codices novelli* lies beyond the scope of this work, for with the middle of the fifteenth century written codices practically give place to the productions of the printing press. The Greek refugee calligraphers, who in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries settled in Italy and in other countries of Western Europe, executed many exquisite MSS. for wealthy patrons, and for a brief period prolonged the existence of an expiring art. But they, too, had to succumb to the march of events, and in many instances turned their knowledge to other uses as correctors of the press.[1]

[1] The student will find an excellent series of reproductions from the MSS. of the Greek calligraphers in Omont's *Facsimilés des Manuscrits grecs des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris, 1887.

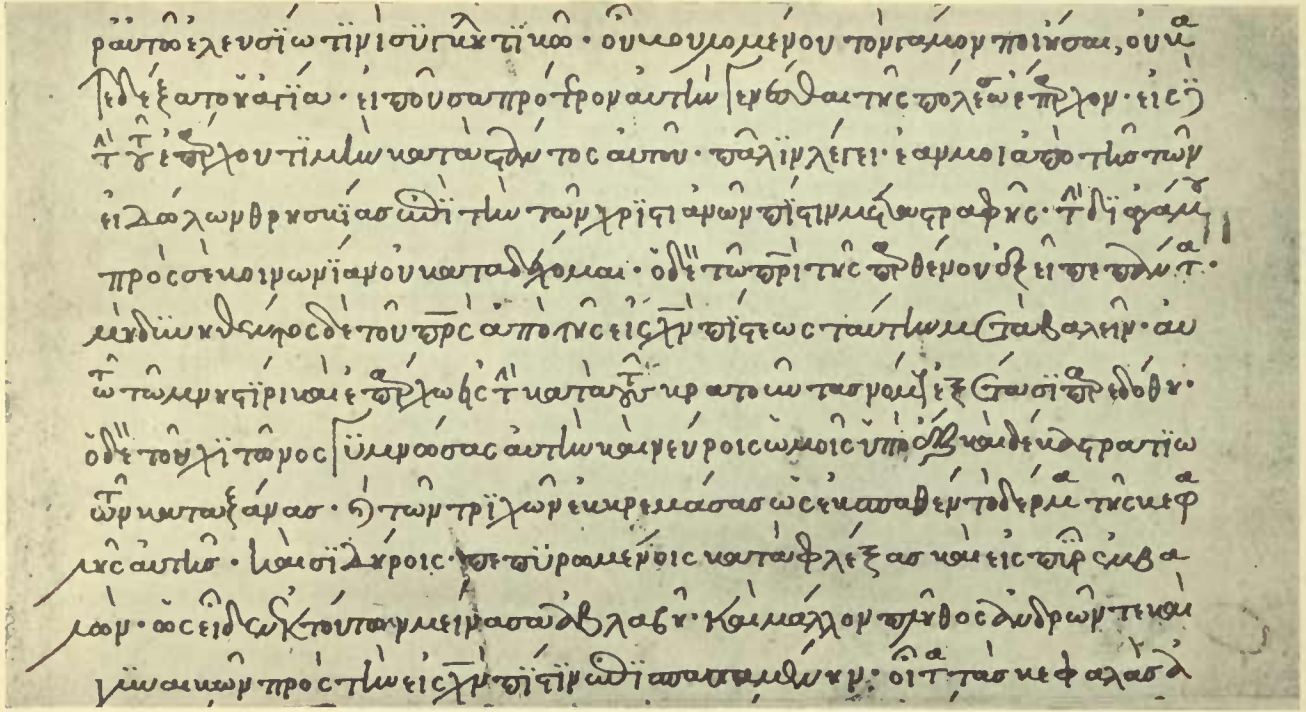
FACSIMILE No. 79



THE PROPHETS.—A.D. 1437

(οὔτε μὴν εὐλογήσωσιν · σημεία τὲ ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἐν οὐ(ρα)νῶ οὐ μὴ | δείξωσιν · οὔτε ὡς ὁ ἥλιος οὐ μὴ λάμψωσιν · οὔτε φωτιοῦσιν | ὡς ἡ σελήνη · τὰ θηρία ἐστὶ κρείσσονα αὐτῶν · ἃ δύνανται ἐκ|φϋγόντα εἰς σκέπην, ἑαυτὰ ὠφελῆσαι · κατ' οὐδένα οὖν | τρόπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν φανερὸν ὅτι εἰσὶ θεοὶ · διὸ μὴ φοβη|θῆτε αὐτοὺς · ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν σικϋηλάτῳ προβασκάνιον οὐ|δὲν φϋλάσσον · οὕτως εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν ξύλινοι καὶ πε|ρίχρϋσοι · καὶ περιάργϋροι · ἀπό τε τῆς πορφύρας καὶ | (καὶ) τῆς μαρμάρου τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς σηπομένης · γνώσε|σθαι ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοὶ · αὐτὰ τὲ ἐξ ὑστέρου βρωθήσεται. | (καὶ) ἔσται ὄνειδος ἐν τῇ χώρα · κρείσσων οὖν ἄν(θρωπ)ος δίκαιος, οὐ|κ ἔχων εἴδωλα · ἔσται γὰρ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ὀνειδισμοῦ : + +

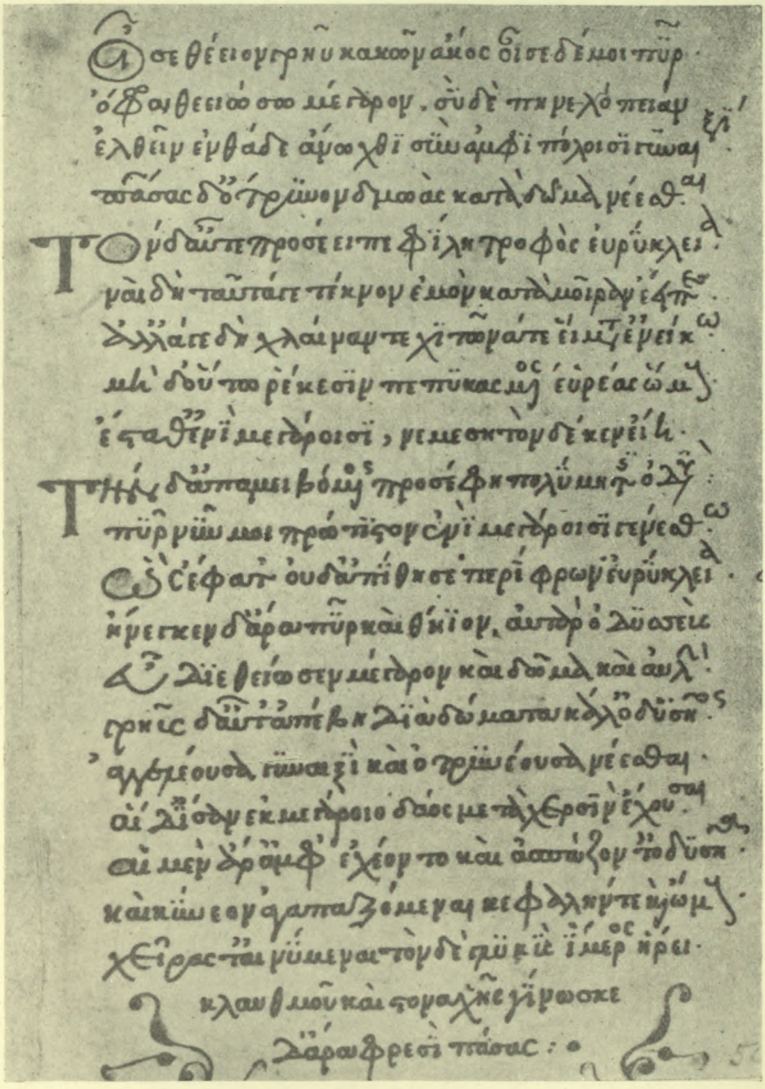
+ τέλος ἱερεμίου ἀμήν : + +)



MENAEUM.—A.D. 1460

(ρ' αὐτῶ ἐλευσίω τινὶ σϋγκλητϊκῶ· οὗ βουλομένου τὸν γάμον ποιῆσαι, οὐ κα|τεδέξατο ἡ ἀγία· εἰποῦσα πρότερον αὐτὴν γενέσθαι τῆς πολέως ἔπαρχον· εἰς (δὲ) | τ(ὴν) τοῦ ἐπάρχου τϊμὴν κατὰστάντος αὐτοῦ· πᾶλϊν λέγει· ἐαν μοι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν | εἰδώλων θρησκίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν χρϊστιὰνῶν πίστιν μεταστραφῆς· τ(ὴν) δϊὰ γάμου | πρὸς σὲ κοινωνίαν οὐ καταδέχομαι· ὁ δὲ τῶ π(ατ)ρὶ τῆς παρθένου ἐξεῖπε πάντα· | μὴ δϋνηθέντος δὲ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς χ(ριστὸ)ν πίστεως ταύτην μετὰβαλεῖν· αὐ|τῶ τῶ μνηστίρι καὶ ἐπάρχω εἰς τ(ὴν) κατὰ τοῦς κρατοῦντας νόμ(ους) ἐξέτασϊ παρεδόθη· | ὁ δὲ τοῦ χϊτῶνος γϋμνώσας αὐτὴν καὶ νεύροις ὠμοῖς ὑπὸ ἕξ καὶ δέκα στρατϊω|τῶν καταξάνας· (καὶ) τῶν τρϊχῶν ἐκκρε-μάσας ὡς ἐκσπαθέν τὸ δέρμα τῆς κεφα|λῆς αὐτῆς. καὶ σϊδήροις· πεπϋρωμένοις κατὰφλέξας καὶ εἰς πῦρ ἐμβα|λὼν· ὡς εἶδεν ἐκ τούτων μείνασα ἀβλαβῆ· καὶ μάλλον πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ | γϋναικῶν πρὸς τὴν εἰς χ(ριστὸ)ν πίστϊν ἐπϊσπα-σαμένην· οἶτα τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀ)

FACSIMILE No. 81



ODYSSEY.—A. D. 1479

(Οἷσε θέειον γρῆυ κακῶν ἄκος οἷσε δέ μοι πῦρ·
ὄφρα θεειώσω μέγαρον. σὺ δὲ πηνελόπειαν
ἐλθεῖν ἐνθάδε ἄνωχθι σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γύναιξί
πᾶσας δ' ὄτρυνον δμωὰς κατὰ δῶμα νέεσθαι.
Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φίλη τροφὸς εὐρυκλεια.
ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε τέκνον ἐμὸν κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες·
ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ χλαίναν τε χἰτῶνά τε εἵματ' ἐνείκω·
μὴ δ' οὕτω ῥέκεσϊν πεπυκασμ(έν)ος εὐρέας ὤμ(ους)·
ἔσταθ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, νεμεσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη.
Τήν δ' ἀπαμειβόμ(εν)ος προσέφη πολυμητ(ι)ς ὀδυ(σσεὺς):
πῦρ νῦν μοι πρώτιστον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γενέσθω.
Ὡς ἔφατ' οὐδ' ἀπίθησε περίφρων εὐρυκλεια·
ἤνεγκεν δ' ἄρα πῦρ καὶ θήϊον, αὐτὰρ ὀδυσσεὺς
εὖ διεθείωσεν μέγαρον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλ(ὴν).
γρῆυς δ' αὖτ' ἀπέβη διὰ δώματα κάλ' ὀδυσῆος.
ἀγγελέουσα γύναιξὶ καὶ ὀτρυνέουσα νέεσθαι·
αἳ δ' ἴσαν ἐκ μεγάροιο δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι.
αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἀμφ' ἐχέοντο καὶ ἀσπάζοντ' ὀδυσῆα·
καὶ κύνεον ἀγαπαζόμεναι κεφαλήν τε κ(αὶ) ὦμ(ους)·
χεῖράς τ' αἰνύμεναι τὸν δὲ γλυκὺς ἵμερος ἤρει·
κλαυθμοῦ καὶ στοναχῆς γίνωσκε
δ' ἄρα φρεσὶ πάσας:)

To conclude this section of our work we give a specimen from a MS. executed by one of these calligraphers. It is a copy of the *Odyssey* written in Italy (probably in Rome) by John Rhosus of Crete (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 5658), in the year 1479 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 182).

No. 81

Greek Writing in Western Europe

A few MSS. may be noted which illustrate the course of Greek writing in Western Europe. We refer only to those MSS. which are written in actual Greek letters or in imitative letters, not to those in which Greek words or texts are inscribed in ordinary Latin letters, of which there are not a few examples.

Two celebrated MSS. of the sixth century containing bilingual texts have already been referred to[1] as having been written in Western Europe. The 'Codex Bezae', of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, at Cambridge, and the 'Codex Claromontanus', of the Epistles of St. Paul, at Paris, are both written in Greek and Latin in uncial letters, the Greek being to some extent modelled on the Latin forms. In a third example of a bilingual text, the Harley MS. 5792 (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* i. 13; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 25), which contains a Graeco-Latin Glossary, written probably in France in the seventh century, the Greek writing betrays its Western origin very palpably. An example of the eighth century is the Graeco-Latin Psalter at Paris, MS. Coislin 186 (Omont, *Facs. des plus anciens MSS. grecs*, 7). Distinctly imitative is the Greek text in the 'Codex Augiensis', of Trinity College, Cambridge, in which the Epistles of St. Paul were written in Latin minuscules and Greek bastard uncials in the latter part of the ninth century, at Reichenau in Baden (*Pal. Soc.* i. 127); in a Graeco-Latin MS. of some of the Psalms, in the Library of St. Nicholas of Cusa, of the same character, written early in the tenth century (*Pal. Soc.* i. 128); and in the 'Codex Sangallensis' and the 'Codex Boernerianus' of Dresden, which once formed one MS. and contain the Gospels and Pauline Epistles in Latinized Greek letters of the tenth century, with an interlinear Latin version (*Pal. Soc.* i. 179). Other MSS. of a like character are: the Pauline Epistles, the 'Codex Sangermanensis', of the ninth century (Omont, *Facsim.* 5 *bis*); a Graeco-Latin Glossary, MS. Lat. 7651, of the ninth century (ibid. 23); and a Psalter, Arsenal MS. 8407, also of the ninth century (ibid. 24).[2]

A few instances survive of the employment of Greek letters in Latin signatures and subscriptions to documents of the sixth and seventh centuries from Ravenna and Naples (Marini, *I Papiri Diplom.* 90, 92,

[1] See p. 209.

[2] See also Wattenbach, *Anleitung zur griech. Palaeographie*, 3rd ed. (1895), 40, 41.

121 ; *Cod. Diplom. Cavensis*, ii, no. 250 ; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 53) ; and the same practice appears to have been followed in France and Spain as late as the eleventh century.[1] There is an instance of a Sardinian charter, of the eleventh or twelfth century, in Latin written in Greek characters.[2] But we may regard such a superfluous use of a foreign alphabet, at least in most instances, as a mere affectation of learning.[3] In the ornamental pages of fanciful letters, also, which adorn early Anglo-Saxon and Franco-Saxon MSS., a Greek letter occasionally finds a place, serving, no doubt, to show off the erudition of the illuminator.[4]

[1] *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vi. 443 ; Delisle, *Mélanges de Paléographie*, 95 ; Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, 596, n. 3.

[2] *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xxxv. 255.

[3] There are, however, early instances of the employment of Greek for Latin letters which may be attributed to imperfect knowledge of the Latin language and alphabet. A form of receipt is thus written in one of the Pompeian waxed tablets, A.D. 57 (*C. I. L.* iv, Suppl. no. xxxii) ; and the British Museum Papyrus cccclxxxi (*Cat. Gk. Pap.* ii. 321) contains a fragmentary Latin-Greek glossary of the fourth century, in which the Latin words are written in Greek letters somewhat phonetically : perhaps a Greek school-boy's list of words.

[4] Delisle, *L'Évangéliaire de Saint-Vaast d'Arras*.

CHAPTER XIII

LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY

We now proceed to trace the history of Latin Palaeography; and the scheme which will be followed in this division of our subject may first be briefly stated.

Latin Majuscule writing, in its two branches of (1) Square Capitals and Rustic Capitals, and (2) Uncials—the most ancient extant forms of the Latin book-hand—claims our first attention. Next, the modified forms of Uncial writing, viz. the mixed hands of uncial and minuscule letters, and the later developed Half-uncial writing, will be examined. We shall then have to pass in review the various styles of Roman Cursive writing, beginning with its earliest examples; and from this we shall proceed to follow the course of the National Minuscule hands, which were derived directly from that source, down to the period of the reform of the Merovingian school in the reign of Charlemagne. The independent history of the early Irish and English schools forms a chapter apart. From the period of Charlemagne to the close of the fifteenth century, the vicissitudes of the literary handwritings of Western Europe will be described; and this portion of our work will be brought to a close with some account of the official Cursive writing of Western Europe and a review of the English Charter-hands.

The Majuscule Book-hand.—Capitals

The Latin Majuscule Book-hand of early MSS. is divided into two branches: writing in Capitals, and writing in Uncials.[1] Capitals, again, are of two kinds: Square Capitals and Rustic Capitals. The most ancient Latin MSS. in existence are in Rustic Capitals; but there is no reason to presume that the rustic hand was employed in MSS. before the square hand, nay, rather, following the analogy of sculptured inscriptions, the priority should be given to square letters. At the same time square capital writing was obviously so tedious a means for preserving literature that we may be pretty certain that it was seldom used, and that the scribes hastened to escape to quicker methods. This seems to be proved by the paucity of extant examples in that character, as compared with those in rustic letters.

Capital writing, in its two styles, copies the letterings of inscriptions which have been classed under the heads of 'scriptura monumentalis'

[1] Traube supplies a list of extant Capital and Uncial MSS. in his *Vorlesungen*, i. 157–263.

and 'scriptura actuaria', as executed in the time of Augustus and successive emperors;[1] the square character following generally the first, and the rustic the second.

In square capital writing the letters are in general of the same height; but F and L, rising above the line, are exceptions. The angles are, by preference, right angles, and the bases and tops and extremities are usually finished off with the fine strokes and pendants which are familiar to all in our modern copies of this type of letters.

Rustic capitals, on the other hand, are, as the name implies, of a more negligent pattern, although, as a style of writing for choice books, they were no less carefully formed than the square capitals. But the strokes are more slender, cross-strokes are short and are more or less oblique and waved, and finials are not added to them. Being thus, in appearance, less finished as perfect letters, although accurately shaped, they have received the somewhat misleading title which distinguishes them. Besides F and L, other letters of the rustic alphabet occasionally show a tendency to rise above the line.

The fact that a large proportion of the surviving MSS. in capital letters of the best class contain the works of Virgil points to the same conclusion as that suggested by the discovery of comparatively so many copies of the *Iliad* of Homer in early papyri, and by the existence of the Bible in three of the most important Greek vellum codices which have descended to us: namely, that a sumptuous style of production was, if not reserved, at least more especially employed, for those books which were the great works of their day. Homer in the Greek world, Virgil in the classical period of Rome, and the Bible in the early centuries of the Christian Church filled a space to which no other books of their time could pretend. And the survival of even the not very numerous copies which we possess is an indication that such fine MSS. were more valued and better cared for than ordinary volumes.

Of Square Capital writing of ancient date there is, as already remarked, very little now in existence, viz. a few leaves of a MS. of Virgil, divided between the Vatican Library and Berlin, which are attributed to the close of the fourth century (Z. W. *Ex.* 14);[2] and a few from another MS. of the same poet, of the fourth or fifth century, preserved in the library of St. Gall in Switzerland (Z. W. *Ex.* 14*a*; *Pal. Soc.* i. 208); and also some palimpsest fragments: of Virgil, at Verona, and of Lucan, at Vienna and Naples. We take a specimen from one of the St. Gall leaves (Cod. 1394):—

[1] See *Exempla Scripturae Epigraphicae Latinae* (*Corpus Inscript. Lat.*), ed. Hübner, 1885.

[2] Zangemeister and Wattenbach, *Exempla Codicum Latinorum litteris maiusculis scriptorum*, Heidelberg, 1876, 1879.

No. 82

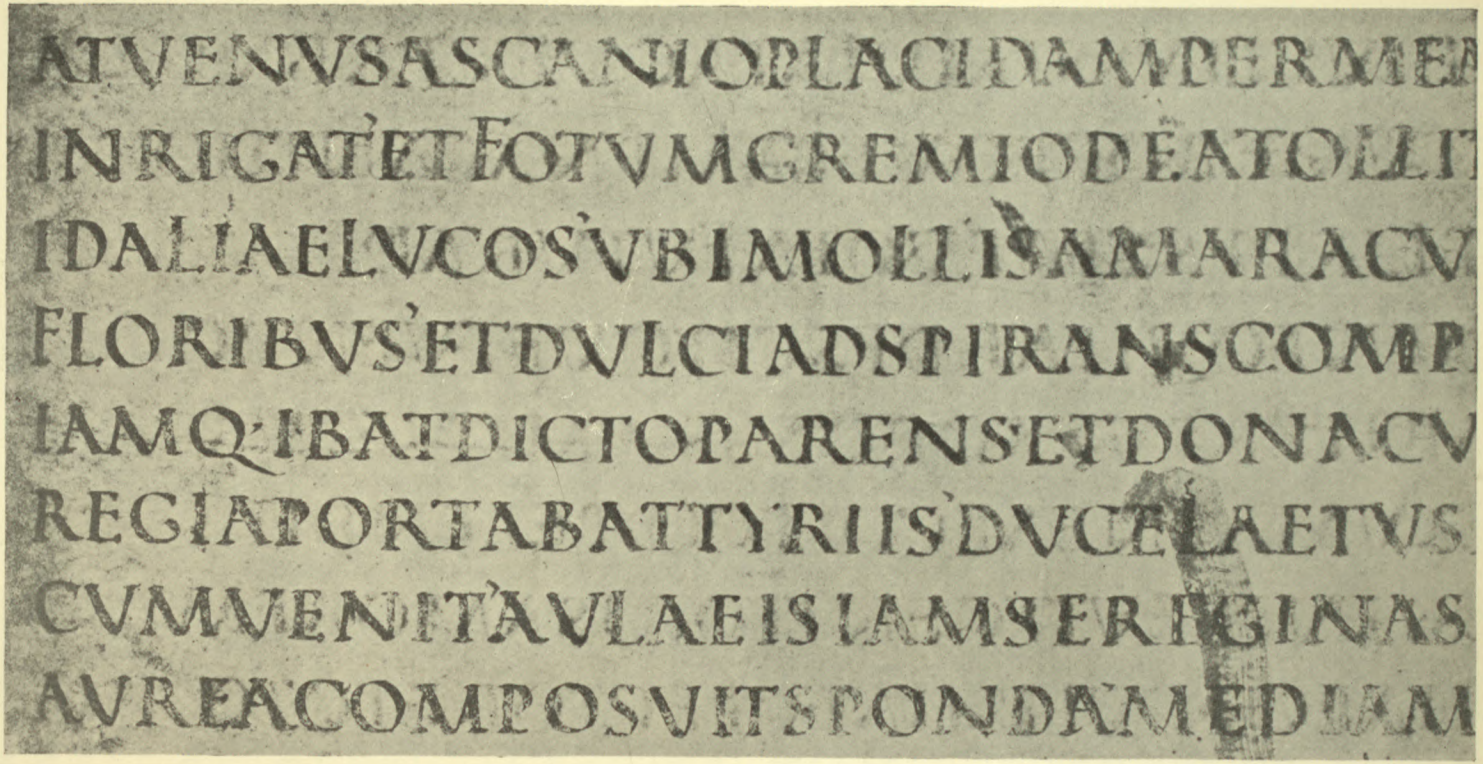
It is certainly remarkable that this large character should still have been employed at the time to which these fragments are attributed, so long after the classical period of Rome. We might have conjectured that the use of so inconvenient a form of writing, and one which covered so much material in the case of any work of average length, would have been entirely abandoned in favour of the more ready uncial character, or at least of the less cumbersome rustic capitals. Its continuance may be regarded as a survival of a style first employed at an early period to do honour to the great national Latin poet; and may, in some degree, be compared with the conservative practice in the middle ages of keeping to an old style of writing for biblical and liturgical MSS. The same remark applies also to the comparatively late employment of Rustic Capital writing under similar conditions.

This latter style of writing is found in the earliest extant Latin codices. Like the square capitals, the rustic alphabet was used for inscriptions on stone and metal; and it appears to have been also employed when an exact and formal type of writing was required for any particular purpose. Thus, we have an example in a muster-roll of the First Cohort of Spain when on service in Egypt in A.D. 156 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 165), a kind of document which naturally demanded a clear and formal script. But in its application to literature, while it was employed in the production of books intended for the market, examples can hardly have been at any time very numerous. It could not have been the only style of literary hand of its time. It was far too cumbersome; and it is probable that the better class of cursive hands also were moulded into uniformity for literary purposes. More will be said on this subject when we come to discuss the formation of uncial writing.

In some of the papyrus fragments recovered at Herculaneum the rustic writing is of a character copied closely from the lettering of inscriptions on stone or metal (Z. W. *Ex.* 1, 2); in others it is of a less severe style. We give a specimen of the latter kind, making use of one of the engraved plates, from the fragments of a poem on the Battle of Actium (*Fragmenta Herculanensia*, ed. W. Scott, 1885), written in light, quickly-formed letters. The year of the destruction of Herculaneum was A.D. 79.

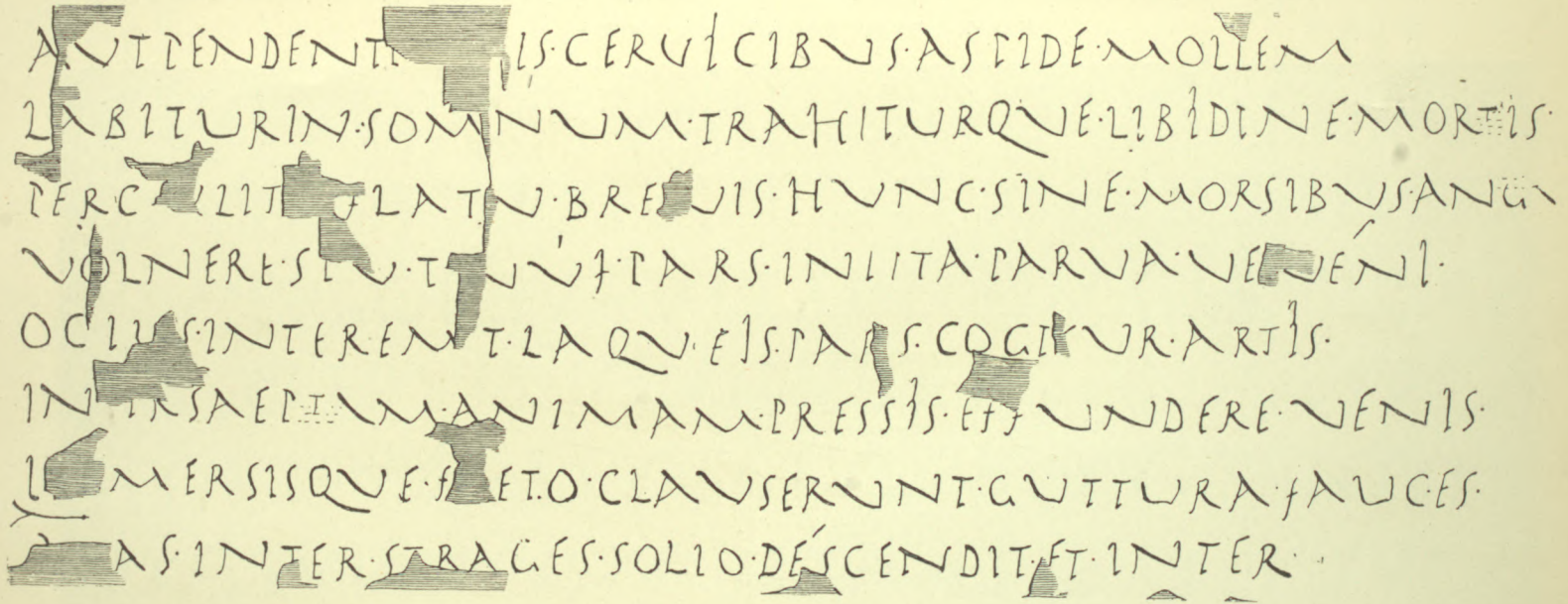
No. 83

Here the words are separated from one another with the full point, as in inscriptions. Long vowels are also, in many instances, marked with an accent; in the case of long i, as an alternative to the accent, the corrector adds to the height of the letter, which then has the



VIRGIL.—FOURTH OR FIFTH CENTURY

(at venus ascanio placidam per mem[bra quietem]
inrigat' et fotum gremio dea tollit [in altos]
idaliae lucos' ubi mollis amaracu[s illum]
floribus' et dulci adspirans comp[lectitur umbra]
iam*que* ibat dicto parens et dona cu[pido]
regia portabat tyriis' duce laetus [achate]
cum venit' aulaeis iam se regina s[uperbis]
aurea composuit sponda' mediam[que locavit])



POEM ON THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM.—BEFORE A.D. 79

(aut pendente [su]is · cervícibus · aspide · mollem
labitur in · somnum · trahiturque · libidine · mortis ·
perculit [ad]flatu · brevis · hunc · sine · morsibus · angu[is ·]
volnere · seu · t[e]nui · pars · inlita · parva · venéni ·
ocius · interem[i]t · laqueis · pars · cogitur · artis ·
in[t]ersaep[t]am · animam · pressis · effundere · venis ·
i[n]mersisque · f[r]eto · clauserunt · guttura · fauces ·
[h]as · inter · strages · solio · déscendit · et · inter)

appearance of being doubled vertically. The paragraph mark will be observed between lines 7 and 8.

Specimens of nearly all the existing vellum MSS. written in rustic capital letters are represented in facsimile in the *Exempla* of Zangemeister and Wattenbach, the publications of the Palaeographical Society, and other works.[1] The writing on this material is of a more careful type than that which we have seen in the last facsimile from a papyrus; and the estimation of the age of the earliest of these MSS. is a matter of uncertainty, as we have no specimen to which a date can be approximately assigned before the latter part of the fifth century. But some of them may be placed earlier than that period. For example, the palimpsest fragments of the Verrine Orations of Cicero, in the Vatican Library (Z. W. *Ex.* 4), are generally assigned to the fourth century. But the MSS. which before all others approach nearest in the forms of their letters to those of inscriptions, are the two famous codices of Virgil, known as the 'Codex Romanus', and the 'Codex Palatinus' (Z. W. *Ex.* 11, 12; *Pal. Soc.* i. 113–15). In these the style of lettering found in formal inscriptions of the first century of our era has been closely followed; and although no one has ever thought of placing the MSS. in so remote a period, yet it has been suggested that, as scribes may have kept up the style without degeneration for one or two centuries, they may therefore be as old as the third century. Others assert that they are merely imitative, and that the Codex Romanus in particular, on account of the barbarisms of its text and the coarse character of the coloured drawings with which it is illustrated, must be of a later date. The general opinion at the present time is that these MSS. are of the fifth century.

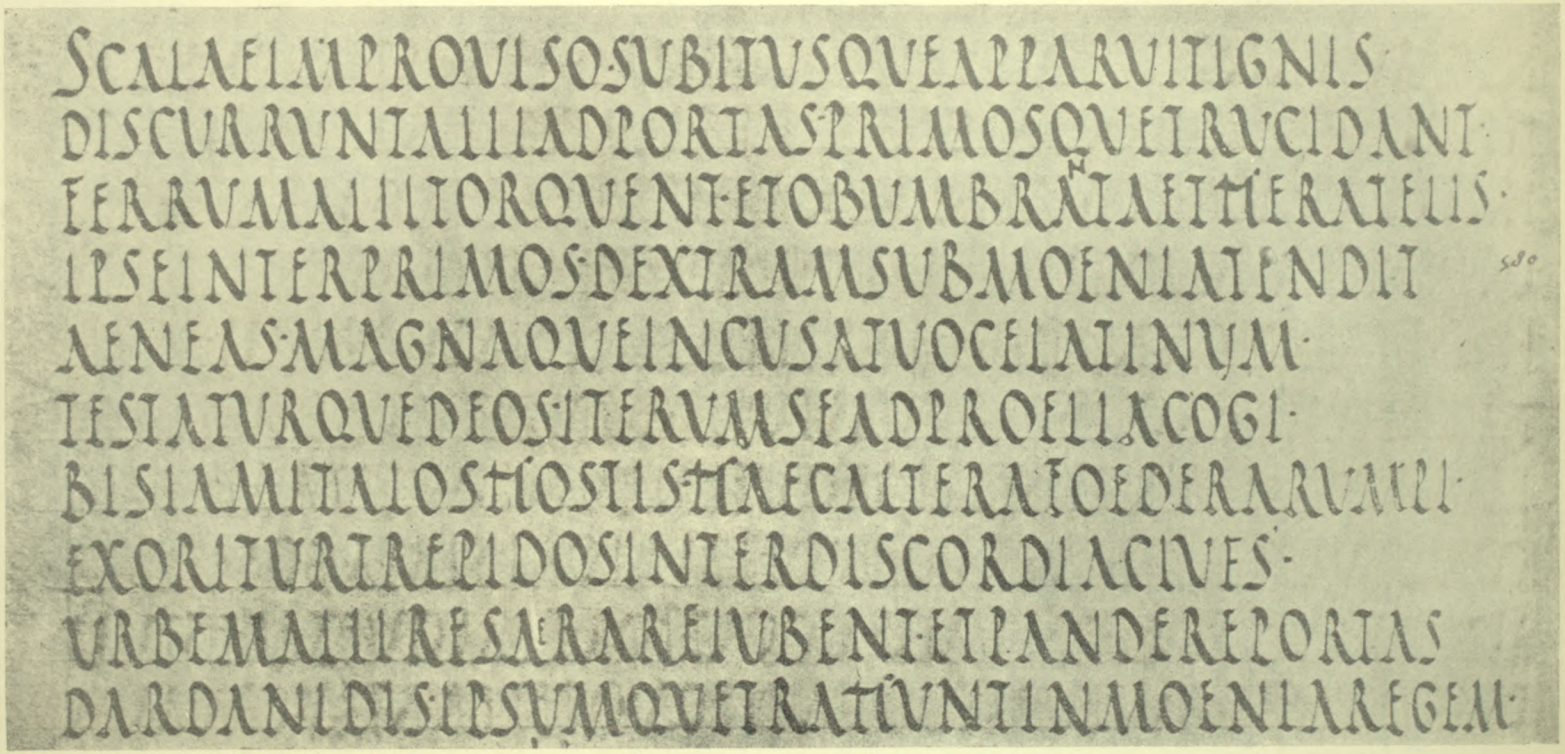
The following facsimile is from the Codex Palatinus (Cod. Vat. 1631):—

No. 84

In this writing the contrast of the heavy and light strokes is as strongly marked as in inscriptions on stone or metal. Shortness of horizontal strokes, smallness of bows, as seen in letters P and R, and general lateral compression are characteristic. The formation of the letter H is easily explained by referring to the same letter in the facsimile from the poem on the Battle of Actium. It recalls the formation of the common truncated h-shaped *eta* in Greek papyri. The points are inserted by a later hand.

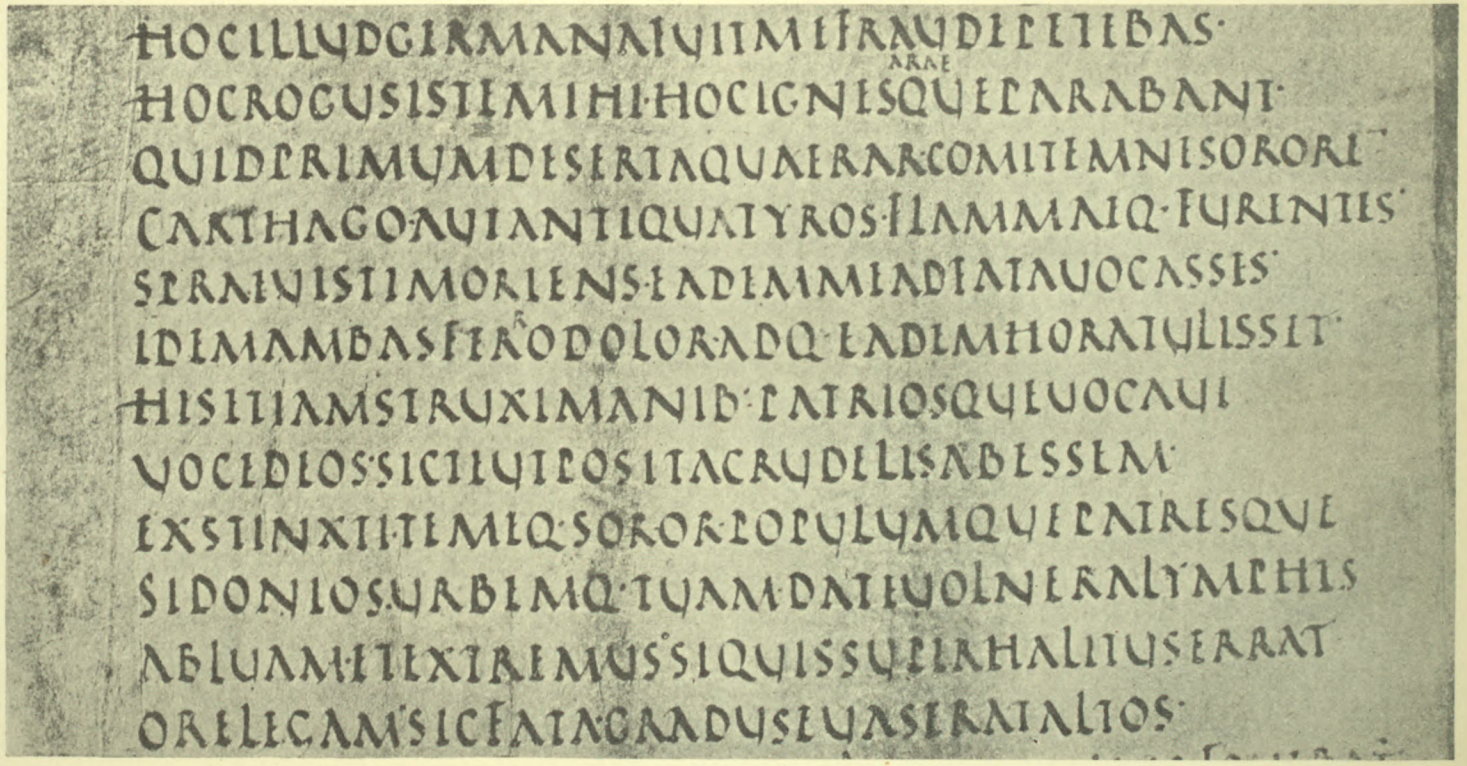
But probably an earlier MS. of Virgil in rustic capitals is that known as the 'Schedae Vaticanae' (Cod. Vat. 3225), which is ornamented with a series of most interesting paintings in classical style, no doubt copied

[1] Traube's list enumerates twenty-three extant MSS.



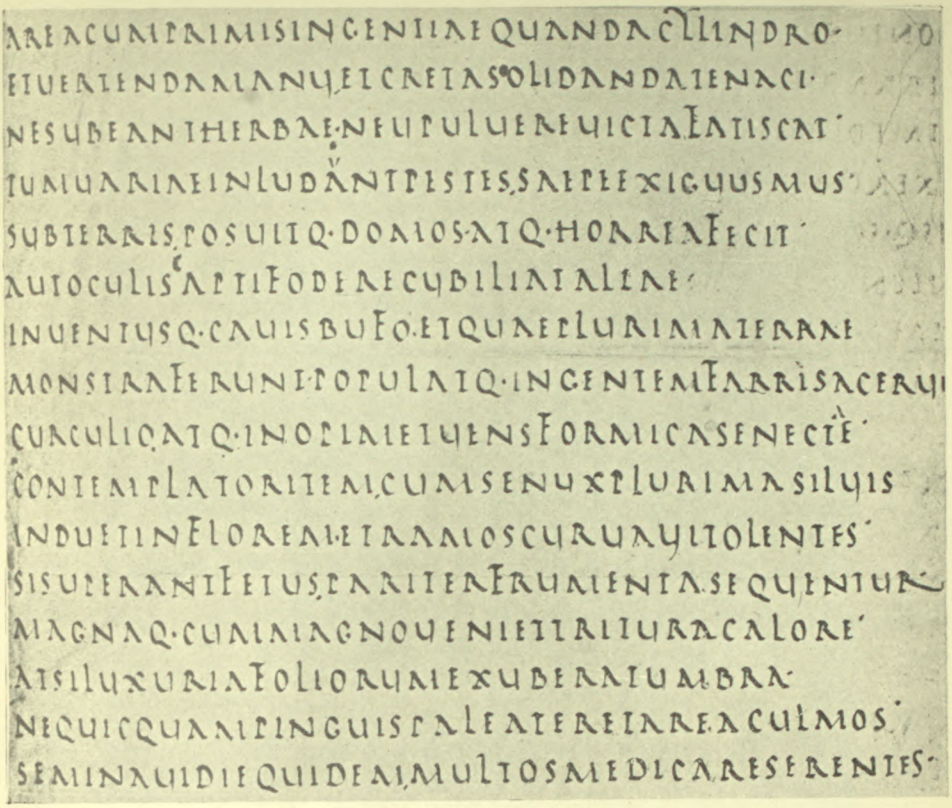
VIRGIL (Cod. Palat.).—FIFTH CENTURY

(Scalae improviso · subitusque apparuit ignis ·
discurrunt alii ad portas · primosque trucidant ·
ferrum alii torquent · et obumbra'n't aethera telis ·
ipse inter primos · dextram sub moenia tendit
aeneas · magnaque incusat voce latinum ·
testaturque deos · iterum se ad proelia cogi ·
bis iam italos hostis · haec altera foedera rumpi ·
exoritur trepidos inter discordia cives ·
urbem alii resaerare iubent · et pandere portas
dardanidis · ipsumque trahunt in moenia regem ·)



VIRGIL (Sched. Vat.).—FOURTH CENTURY (?)

(hoc illud germana fuit me fraude petebas ·
hoc rogus iste mihi · hoc ignes ‘arae´que parabant ·
quid primum deserta quaerar · comitemne sororem
carthago · aut antiqua tyros · flammaeque furentes ·
spraevisti moriens · eadem me ad fata vocasses ·
idem ambas fer‘r´o dolor · adque eadem hora tulisset ·
his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi
voce deos · sic te ut posita crudelis abessem ·
exstinxti · te meque soror · populumque patresque
sidonios · urbemque tuam · date volnera lymphis
abluam · et extremus · si quis super halitus errat
ore legam · sic fata · gradus evaserat altos ·)



VIRGIL (Cod. Medic.).—BEFORE A.D. 494

(area cum primis ingenti aequanda cylindro ·
et vertenda manu et creta solidanda tenaci ·
ne subeant herbae · neu pulvere victa fatiscat ·
tum variae inludant pestes . saepe exiguus mus ·
sub terris . posuitque domos · atque horrea fecit ·
aut oculis 'c'apti fodere cubilia talpae ·
inventusque cavis bufo . et quae plurima terrae
monstra ferunt · populatque ingentem farris acerv[um]
curculio . atque inopi metuens formica senect'a'e ·
contemplator item . cum se nux plurima silvis
induet in florem · et ramos curvavit olentes ·
si superant fetus . pariter frumenta sequentur ·
magnaque cum magno veniet tritura calore ·
at si luxuria foliorum exuberat umbra ·
nequicquam pinguis palea teret area culmos ·
semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentes ·)

from more ancient prototypes (Z. W. *Ex.* 13; *Pal. Soc.* i. 116, 117). It is assigned to the fourth century.

No. 85

The writing of this MS. is less monumental than that of the Codex Palatinus, and may be regarded as a more typical example of the books produced in the fourth and fifth centuries in the rustic hand. Writing in capital letters would be an appropriate style for a finely illustrated codex, such as the present one.

The first rustic MS. to which an approximate date can be given is the Medicean Virgil (Plut. 39. 1) in the Laurentian Library at Florence (Z. W. *Ex.* 10; *Pal. Soc.* i. 86). A note at the end of the Bucolics states that the MS. was read, pointed, and corrected by the 'consul ordinarius' Asterius, who held office in the year 494. Consequently, the text must have been written at or before that date. A specimen is here given.

No. 86

This smaller and more lightly inscribed hand no doubt was written with fair speed; and the MS. may, therefore, represent an ordinary style of codex in rustic capitals when produced for scholastic use and not merely as a handsome book.

Among the remaining older MSS. of the rustic class the most important is the Codex Bembinus of Terence (Z. W. *Ex.* 8, 9; *Pal. Soc.* i. 135) in the Vatican Library, a MS. of the fourth or fifth century, which takes its name from a former owner, Bernardo Bembo, in the fifteenth century, and which is valuable on account of its annotations.

This handsome but inconvenient style of literary writing could not be expected to last, even for *éditions de luxe*, for a very long period. There still survives, however, one very finely executed MS., the poems of Prudentius, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Z. W. *Ex.* 15; *Pal. Soc.* i. 29, 30), written with great skill, but thought not to be earlier than the sixth century. In the Turin Sedulius (Z. W. *Ex.* 16) of the seventh century the rustic letters have altogether passed out of the domain of calligraphy in its true sense, and are rough and misshapen. Lastly, we may notice a MS. which, on account of its contents and history, has attracted more than usual attention: the Utrecht Psalter, which is written in rustic capitals and yet can be scarcely older than the beginning of the ninth century. Copied from an ancient original which was illustrated with drawings, it seems that, in order to maintain the same relative arrangements of text and illustrations, the scribe found it the simplest course to copy the actual character of the letters, the text thus filling the same space as the original and leaving the proper intervals for the insertion of the drawings. And yet the text was not so exactly

copied as to be quite consistent with ancient usage; for titles are introduced in uncial letters—an intrusion which would have been quite impossible in the earlier and purer period of rustic capital writing. In a word, the form in which the Utrecht Psalter is cast must be regarded as accidental, a mere imitation of a style which had practically passed away.

Judging by the specimens which have survived, capital writing may be said to have ceased to exist as a literary hand for entire texts about the close of the fifth century. In the middle ages it survived, in both square and rustic styles, as an ornamental form of writing for titles and initials, and occasionally for a few pages of text. For example, in the Psalter of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, of the beginning of the eighth century, now one of the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, there are several prefatory leaves written in imitative rustic letters (*Pal. Soc.* i. 19; *Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 12, 13); and in the Benedictional of Bishop Æthelwold (*Pal. Soc.* i. 143) of the tenth century, and in a MS. of Aratus at Boulogne (*Pal. Soc.* i. 96) written quite at the end of the tenth century, pages in the same style are to be found. In the profusely ornamented MSS. of the Gospels and other sacred texts of the period of the Carolingian kings the bountiful use of capitals is a prominent feature of their decoration.

Uncials

The second form of Majuscule writing employed as a literary hand for the texts of MSS. is that to which the name of Uncial has been given.[1] It is a modification of the square capital writing. As square letters were the easiest to carve on stone or metal, so was it more simple, when writing letters with the reed or pen on a material more or less soft, to avoid right angles by the use of curves. Uncial, then, is essentially a round hand, and its principal characteristic letters are the curved forms, ⲁ ⲇ ⲉ ⲏ ⲙ. The main vertical strokes generally rise above or fall below the line of writing. This style appears to have come into common use as a literary hand at least as early as the fourth century. How much earlier it may have been employed remains uncertain; but as in the most ancient specimens it appears in a fully developed shape, it is not improbable that it was used for books even in the third century. The period of the growth of the hand has been determined, from the occurrence of isolated uncial forms in inscriptions, etc., to lie between the latter part of the second century and the latter part of the fourth century.[2] But some light is thrown on its developement by the recovery at Oxyrhynchus of a fragmentary papyrus containing a portion of an

[1] See above, p. 102.

[2] Z. W. *Exempla*, p. 5. Uncials were used in Latin inscriptions in Africa in the third century.

epitome of Livy, of the third century.[1] Here the writing is mainly in characters of the uncial type; but certain letters are minuscules derived from cursive writing of the time. Thus we have at this early date an example of the mixed style of writing, to be examined in the next chapter, which may suggest that at that time the uncial script was not definitely developed, or, if, as is more probable, it was so developed, that another, mixed, style of writing was also employed as a literary hand.

From the fifth to the eighth century uncial was the ordinary book-hand of the first rank. In MSS. of the fifth and sixth centuries, and particularly in those of the earlier century, uncial writing is exact, and is generally formed with much beauty and precision of stroke; in the seventh century it becomes more artificial; in the course of the eighth century it rapidly degenerates and breaks down into a rough, badly-formed hand, or, when written with care, is forced and imitative. As a test letter of age, the letter Ꝏ has been selected, which in its earliest forms appears with the first limb straight, or at least not curved inwards at the bottom, as it is seen in later examples. And the shape of the letter ϵ may also be of assistance for determining the period of a MS.: in the earlier centuries, the cross-stroke is consistently placed high, but when the hand begins to give way in its later stages the stroke varies in position, being sometimes high, sometimes low, in the letter. In fact, as is the case with the handwriting of all periods and countries, the first examples of an established hand are the purest and best: the letters are formed naturally, and therefore consistently.

Of MSS. in uncial writing there are still a not inconsiderable number extant,[2] and the earliest and most important have been represented by facsimiles in various palaeographical works. The palimpsest fragments of Cicero (Z. W. *Ex.* 17; *Pal. Soc.* i. 160) in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. 5757) are generally quoted as the most ancient example, and are assigned to the fourth century.

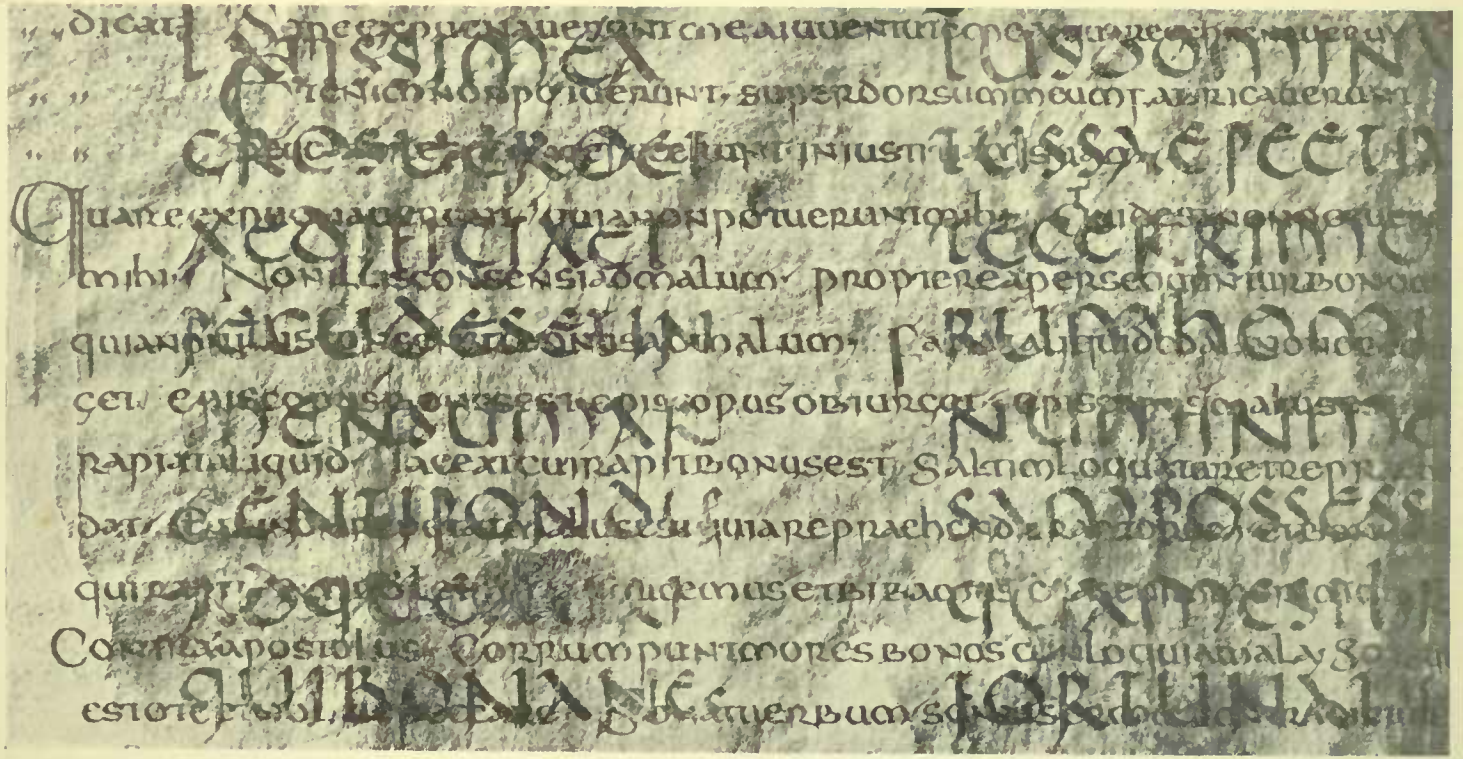
No. 87

The letters are massive and regular, and the columns of writing are very narrow. A few lines will give an idea of the amount of material which must have been required for the whole work, there being only fifteen such lines in each column, or thirty in a page. The later text is St. Augustine's Commentary on the Psalms, of the seventh century.

Probably of a nearly equal age are the fragments of the Gospels of Vercelli (Z. W. *Ex.* 20), a MS. which is traditionally said to have been written by St. Eusebius himself, who died A.D. 371, and which may safely be placed in the fourth century.

[1] See below, p. 298.

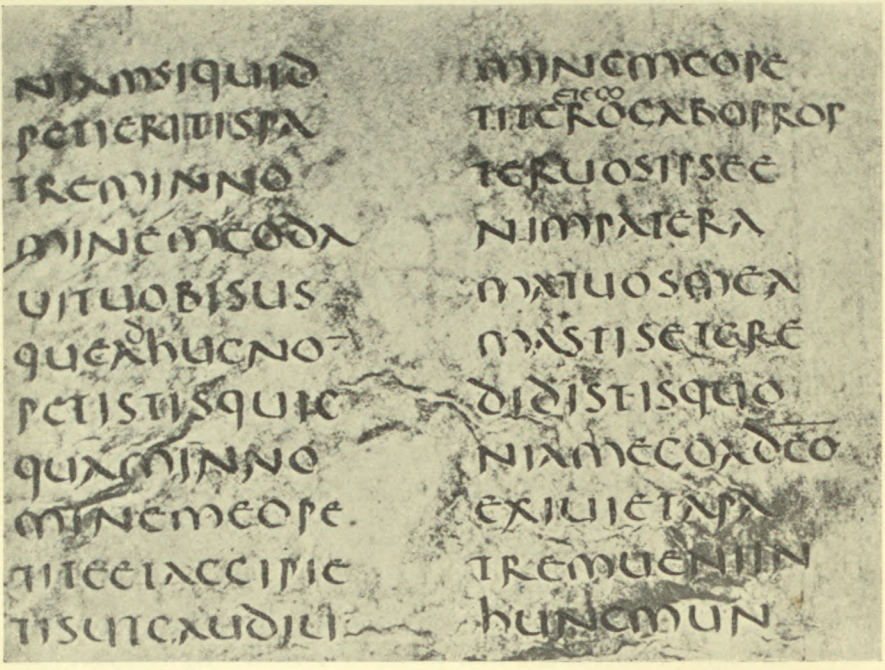
[2] Traube's list extends to 389 nos.



CICERO, DE REPUBLICA.—FOURTH CENTURY

(latissime a mensum ar tus domina num inmen
gros vero et genti pondus tus saepe etiam sam possess—
aedificia et adque auri te terrimo quam est hic
pecudes et in qui bona nec rum homi fortunatus)

FACSIMILE No. 88



GOSPELS OF VERCELLI.—FOURTH CENTURY

(niam si quid | petieritis pa|trem in no|mine meo da|vit vobis us|que a'd'huc non | petistis quic|quam in no|mine meo pe|tite et accipie|tis ut gaudium mine meo pe|tite 'et ego' rogabo prop|ter vos ipse e|nim pater a|mat vos me a|mastis et cre|didistis quo|niam ego a $\overline{deo}$[1] | exivi et a pa|trem veni in | hunc mun)

[1] An instance of the use of the mark of contraction with an uncontracted sacred name. See above, p. 86, note 2.

No. 88

The letters have the characteristics of an early date, such as the straight first limb of ϖ and the consistently high-placed horizontal of ϵ, and the firmness of stroke which signifies practice in a familiar style. In this MS. also we have another example of the early practice of writing the text in extremely narrow columns.

Among early uncial MSS. two of the most famous are the codices of Livy at Vienna and Paris (Z. W. *Ex.* 18, 19; *Pal. Soc.* i. 31, 32, 183). The writing of the Viennese MS. (Cod. Lat. 15) is rather smaller than that of the other. It is also a volume historically interesting to Englishmen, as it is conjectured, from the occurrence of a note in it, to have belonged to the English monk, Suitbert, or Suiberht, one of the apostles to the Frisians, who became their bishop about the year 693. We select from it a specimen as a good example of uncial writing of the fifth century.

No. 89

The uniformity and precision of the writing of this MS. are most remarkable, and testify so perfect a training in the uncial script that the scribe must have written it with all the ease and fluency of a natural hand. These characteristics mark an early period, when this form of writing was in full vigour as the choice hand for the production of books for the market; and there can therefore be no hesitation in placing the MS. in the period stated above. It will be observed that, in accordance with the practice followed in early MSS. of this class, the first letter in the page is enlarged, even though that letter may, as in this instance, occur in the middle of a word (consilia|bula).

As in other series of Western MSS., codices or portions of codices of the Scriptures, especially of the Gospels, form a large proportion of the uncial series of the fifth and sixth centuries. From among them the few leaves of what must have been a noble volume, now preserved in the library of St. Gall in Switzerland (Cod. 1394), may be selected as a representative example of the best class. The date of this MS. has been placed late in the fifth or early in the sixth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 50).

No. 90

Comparing the writing with that of the Vercelli Gospels (Facs. 88), there appears no appreciable difference in the general forms of the letters; but allowance must always be made for the maintenance of a conservative type of hand in sacred and liturgical codices. Other indications, too, such as, perhaps, a little more simplicity in the cast of the lettering, and the narrowness of the columns, mark the greater antiquity of the Vercelli MS.

For an example of uncial writing of the sixth century we are able to turn to a MS. which can be approximately dated—the Fulda MS. of the Gospels and other books of the New Testament, which was revised by Victor, Bishop of Capua, in the years 546 and 547, and is itself probably of about the same period (Z. W. *Ex.* 34).

No. 91

Even in this MS., as early as the middle of the sixth century, there is a falling off in ease and firmness of writing as compared with the earlier examples. There is a wider spacing of the letters, instead of the older more compact script. The curving of the first limb of ϖ is to be noticed; and a certain feebleness in the management of curves, as for example in the letters B and S, appears to indicate that the scribe was not in perfect command of the style.

To illustrate the uncial writing of the seventh century we are again fortunate in being able to draw on a MS. which is actually dated. This is a MS. of homilies of St. Augustine, written in the abbey of Luxeuil in A. D. 669.[1]

No. 92

A rough hand of the Merovingian period; the letters hasty, uneven, and careless in regard to uniformity. These shortcomings indicate surely the failing power of the uncial as a model literary hand.

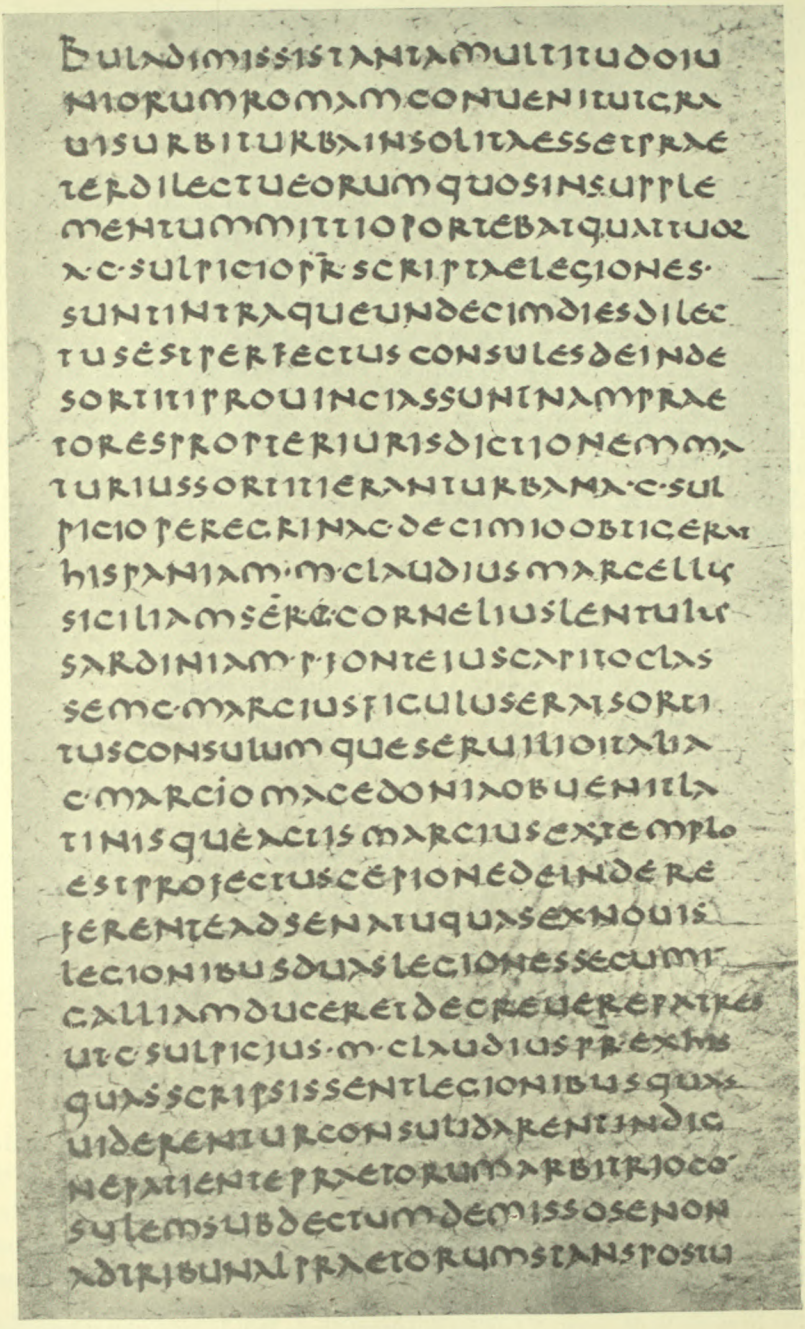
The next facsimile is taken from the great MS. of the Bible known as the Codex Amiatinus (Z. W. *Ex.* 35; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 65, 66), in the Laurentian Library at Florence. It is one of three codices of the Bible which were written by order of Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow in Northumbria from A. D. 690; and it was taken by him on his journey to Italy, during which he died, in 716, for presentation to the Pope. The date of the MS. is therefore about the year 700. It must, however, be remembered that the uncial book-hand appears never to have gained favour in England; and it is probable that the MS. was written by Italian scribes brought over to this country.

No. 93

The text is arranged stichometrically, and the characters are rather ornamental but are bold and in harmony with the large scale of the volume, which measures nearly 20 inches in height and contains more than a thousand leaves. But, if the letters are individually examined, their imitative structure is soon detected; and their lack of uniformity and

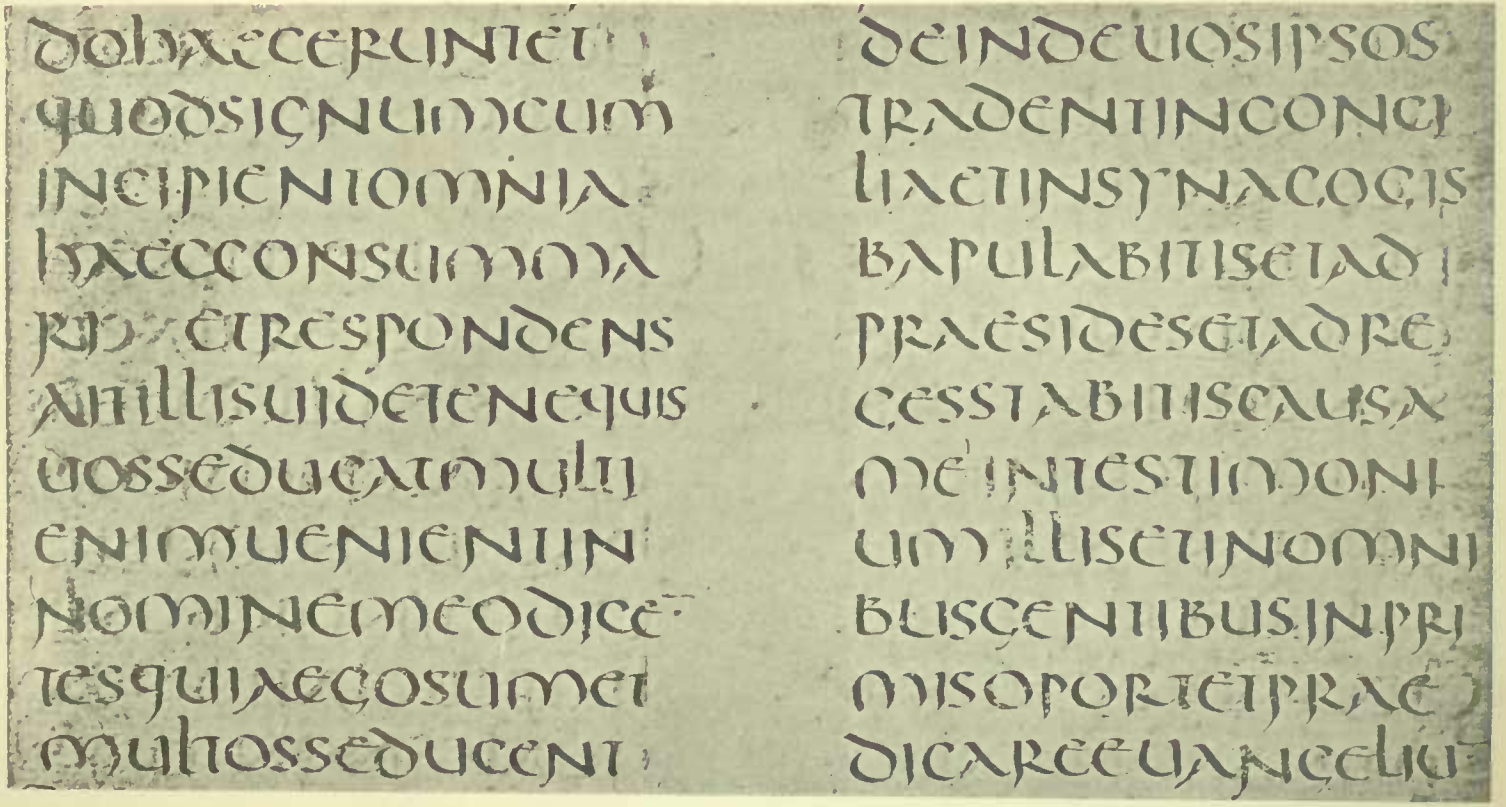
[1] See *Notice sur un Manuscrit de l'Abbaye de Luxeuil*, by L. Delisle, in *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, tom. xxxi; and *Questions Mérovingiennes*, no. iii, by J. Havet, in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xlvi. 430. The MS. is now in the library of Mr. Pierpont Morgan.

FACSIMILE NO. 89



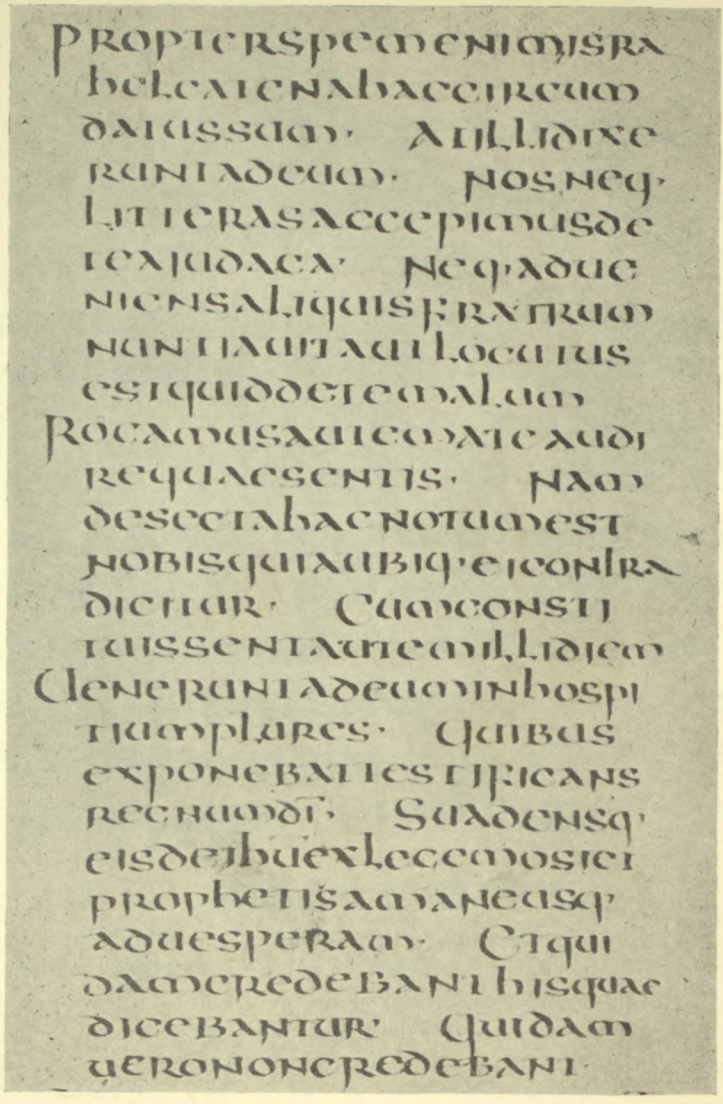
LIVY.—FIFTH CENTURY

(Bula dimissis tanta multitudo iu|niorum romam convenit ut gra|vis urbi turba insolita esset prae|ter dilectu eorum quos in supple|mentum mitti oportebat quattuor | a ·c· sulpicio pr*aetore* scriptae legiones · | sunt intraque undecim dies dilec|tus est perfectus consules deinde | sortiti provincias sunt nam prae|tores propter iurisdictionem ma|turius sortiti erant urbana ·c· sul|picio peregrina c· decimio obtigerat | hispaniam ·m· claudius marcellus | siciliam ser. cornelius lentulus | sardiniam ·p· fonteius capito clas|sem c· marcius figulus erat sorti|tus consulumque servilio italia | c· marcio macedonia obvenit la|tinisque actis marcius extemplo | est profectus cepione deinde re|ferente ad senatu quas ex novis | legionibus duas legiones secum i*n* | galliam duceret decrevere patres | ut ·c· sulpicius ·m· claudius pr*aetores* ex his | quas scripsissent legionibus quas | viderentur consuli darent indig|ne patiente praetorum arbitrio co*n*|sulem subdectum demisso se non | ad tribunal praetorum stans postu)



GOSPELS OF ST. GALL.—FIFTH–SIXTH CENTURY

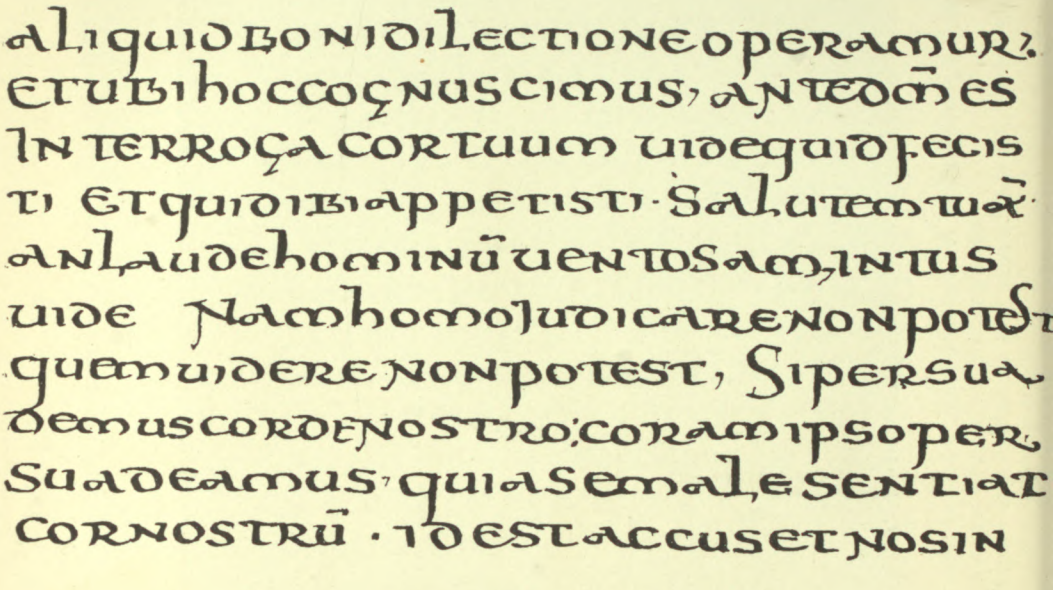
(do haec erunt et | quod signum cum | incipient omnia | haec consumma|ri et respondens | ait illis videte ne quis | vos seducat multi | enim venient in | nomine meo dice*n*|tes quia ego sum et | multos seducent
deinde vos ipsos | tradent in conci|lia et in synagogis | bapulabitis et ad | praesides et ad re|ges stabitis causa | me in testimoni|um illis et in omni|bus gentibus in pri|mis oportet prae|dicare evangeliu*m*)



NEW TESTAMENT OF FULDA.—ABOUT A.D. 546

(Propter spem enim isra|hel catena hac circum|datus sum. At illi dixe|runt ad eum. Nos neq*ue* | litteras accepimus de | te a iudaea. Neq*ue* adve|niens aliquis fratrum | nuntiavit aut locutus | est quid de te malum | Rogamus autem a te audi|re quae sentis. Nam | de secta hac notum est | nobis quia ubiq*ue* ei contra|dicitur. Cum consti|tuissent autem illi diem | Venerunt ad eum in hospi|tium plures. Quibus | exponebat testificans | regnum dei. Suadensq*ue* | eis de iesu ex lege mosi et | prophetis a mane usq*ue* | ad vesperam. Et qui|dam credebant his quae | dicebantur. Quidam | vero non credebant)

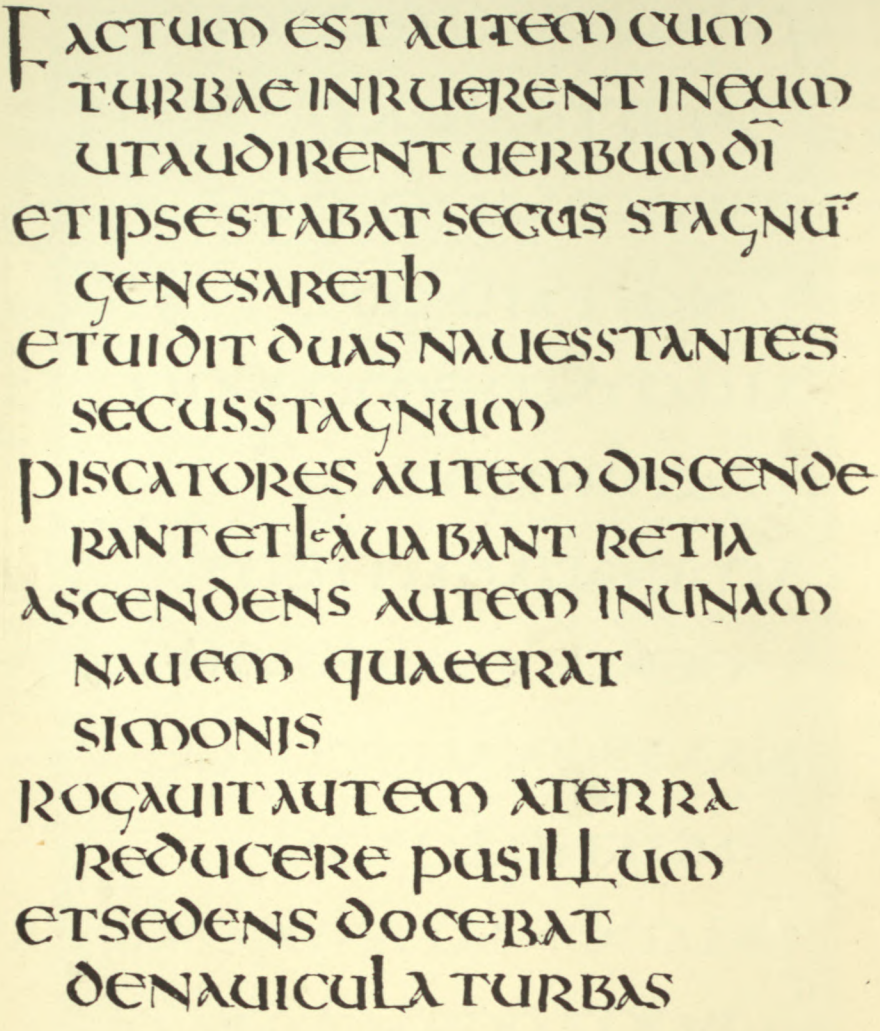
FACSIMILE No. 92



ST. AUGUSTINE.—A.D. 669

(aliquid boni dilectione operamur.′ | et ubi hoc cognuscimus, ante d*eu*m es | interroga cor tuum vide quid fecis|ti et quid ibi appetisti. salutem tua*m* | an laude hominu*m* ventosam, intus | vide Nam homo iudicare non potest | quem videre non potest, Si persua|demus corde nostro: coram ipso per|suade-amus, quia se male sentiat | cor nostru*m*. id est accuset nos in)

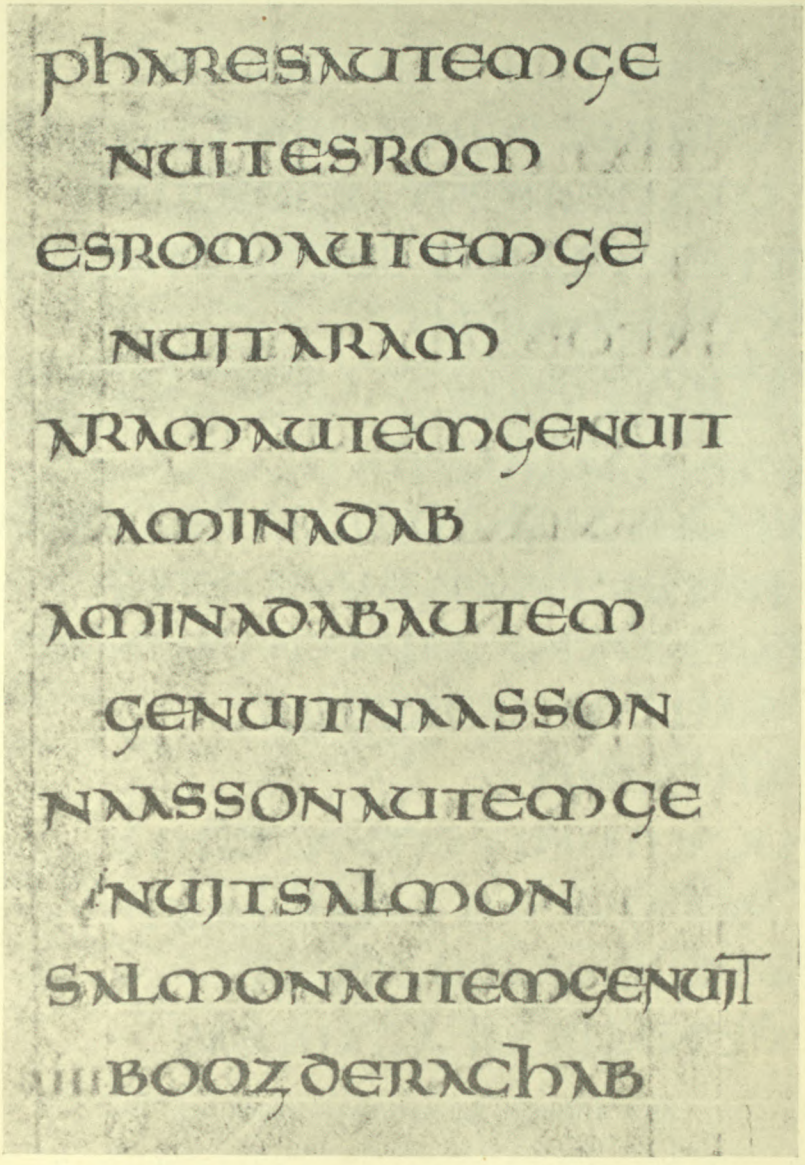
FACSIMILE No. 93



BIBLE (CODEX AMIATINUS).—ABOUT A.D. 700

(Factum est autem cum | turbae inruerent in eum | ut audirent verbum dei | et ipse stabat secus stagnum | genesareth | et vidit duas naves stantes | secus stagnum | piscatores autem discende|rant et leȧvabant retia | ascendens autem in unam | navem quae erat | simonis | rogavit autem a terra | reducere pusillum | et sedens docebat | de navicula turbas)

FACSIMILE No. 94



GOSPELS.—A.D. 739–60

(phares autem ge|nuit esrom | esrom autem ge|nuit aram | aram autem genuit | aminadab | aminadab autem | genuit naasson | naasson autem ge|nuit salmon salmon autem genuit | booz de rachab)

general unsteadiness indicate that the uncial hand is here passing into the period of decadence, although the handsome scale of the writing rather screens its defects.

Of the other two codices mentioned above, which Ceolfrid presented to the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, only a single leaf appears to have survived. This leaf (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 37777; *New Pal. Soc.* 158, 159) is written in the same uncial style, though in a smaller hand, and is evidently of the same date as the Codex Amiatinus. There is every reason to believe that its identification as a leaf from one of Ceolfrid's famous codices is correct. The writing, like that of the Amiatinus, has no distinctively English characteristics.

To illustrate the uncial hand when it had passed further into the imitative stage of the eighth century, a specimen is selected from a MS. of the Gospels (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 5463), written by the monk Lupus at the command of Ato or Atto, abbot, apparently, of the monastery of St. Vincent on the Volturno, in the territory of Benevento, from A.D. 739 to 760 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 236).

No. 94

The writing is quite calligraphic, displaying the fine sense of beauty of form which is conspicuous in the best specimens of Italian writing of all ages; but its imitative character is easily detected if the letters are analysed. It will be seen how inconstant and weak in formation many of them are, in spite of the fine appearance of the MS. as a whole.

It is not necessary to follow the history of the uncial hand in the ninth century, when it was practically dead as a literary hand and was chiefly employed in adding a further air of splendour to the costly MSS. of the Carolingian monarchs.

CHAPTER XIV

LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY *(continued)*

The Mixed Uncial and Minuscule Book-hand

THE fact must not be lost sight of that, after all, the majuscule forms of writing, both capital and uncial, which have been under discussion, represent only one class of the handwritings of the periods in which they were practised, namely, the literary script used in the production of exactly written codices, and therefore a hand of comparatively limited range. By its side, and of course of far more extensive and general use, was the cursive hand of the time, which under certain conditions, and particularly when a book was being produced, not for the general market, but for private or limited circulation, would invade the literary domain of pure majuscule writing and show its presence by the intrusion of minuscule letters which are proper to the cursive alphabet.[1] Thus some of the notes of scholars in the margins of early majuscule MSS., or sometimes a few inserted leaves of additions, are found written in a mixed style of negligently formed uncials with certain cursive forms in limited numbers.

But some recently discovered fragments carry us back still further to a period earlier than our earliest Latin vellum codices (the Ambrosian Homer, perhaps, excepted), and suggest interesting speculations regarding these ancient mixed hands. These fragments are the remains of a papyrus roll containing portions of an epitome of Livy (Brit. Mus., Pap. 1532), found at Oxyrhynchus in 1903 (*Ox. Pap.* iv. 90–116), which may be assigned with confidence to the second half of the third century (*New Pal. Soc.* 53).

No. 95

Here we find a handwriting mainly following the uncial book-hand, but admitting certain minuscule forms, as b, d, m, r; and with the letter f fluctuating between the uncial and minuscule. The MS. therefore, while in no sense a calligraphically written one, may be regarded as a characteristic working copy for ordinary use, and as an ancestor of the mixed-uncial and half-uncial MSS. which form the subject of the present chapter.

[1] In describing these mixed hands it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of the Roman cursive writing.

But the occurrence of this example at so early a date, and at a period when it has been thought that the uncial was only in course of developement, raises the question whether it is an instance of the Latin book-hand making for that developement, or, like the later examples of mixed hands, a variation from the uncial already fully developed. It is more probable that the latter view will turn out to be the correct one, and that further discoveries will prove that the uncial book-hand had reached its final stage of perfection at an earlier period than has been supposed;[1] and, further, that, as the present MS. shows, the uncial was not the only style of book-hand current in the third century.[2]

A good instance of mixed writing occurs in the notes and additions to a MS. of St. Jerome's version of the Chronicle of Eusebius in the Bodleian Library (MS. Auct. T. 2. 26), of the sixth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 129, 130).

No. 96

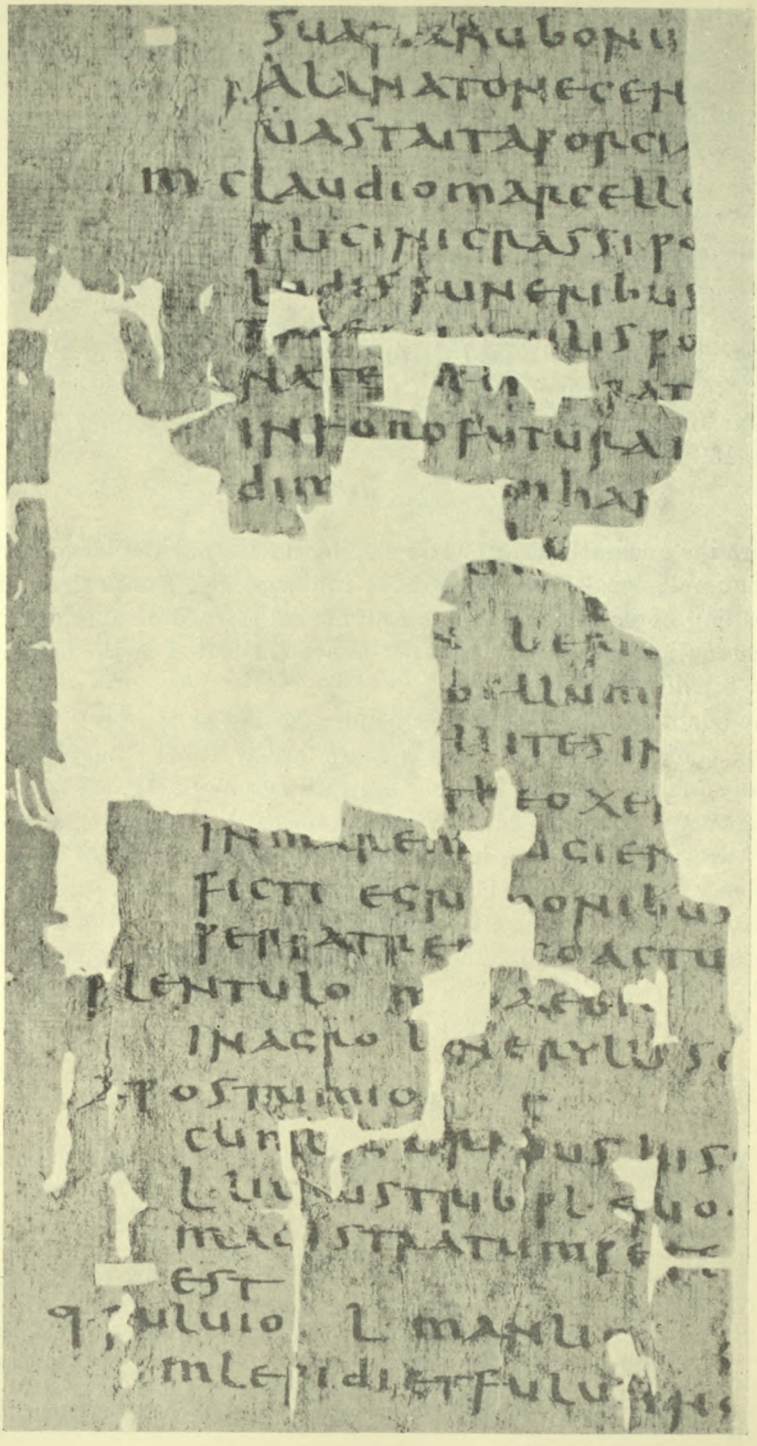
Here the general character is a sloping uncial, but the letters b and d are minuscule forms, and the cursive influence also shows itself in the lengthening of vertical strokes. An unusual method of abbreviation of the termination *bus*, by placing a dot above, instead of at the side of, the bow of b will be noticed in line 7.

The adaptation of this mixed hand, growing as it were by accident into a recognized style of writing, to more formal literary purposes would naturally follow. In the MS. of Gaius at Verona (Z. W. *Ex.* 24) of the fifth century, besides the ordinary uncial forms, the cursive-shaped d and long s[3] are used; and also in the few fragmentary leaves of Ulpian at Strassburg, of the fifth or sixth century, the cursive long s occurs (Berlin Acad., *Sitzungsber.* (1903), 922, 1034; (1904), 1156). In the Florentine Pandects, written by many scribes, several cursive forms appear (Z. W. *Ex.* 54; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 108) in one portion of the MS. And fragments of a Graeco-Latin glossary on papyrus (*Comment. Soc. Gottingen.* iv. 156;

[1] When writing the chapter on 'Palaeography' in *A Companion to Latin Studies*, Cambridge, 1910, I was inclined to take the view of the later perfection of the uncial book-hand.

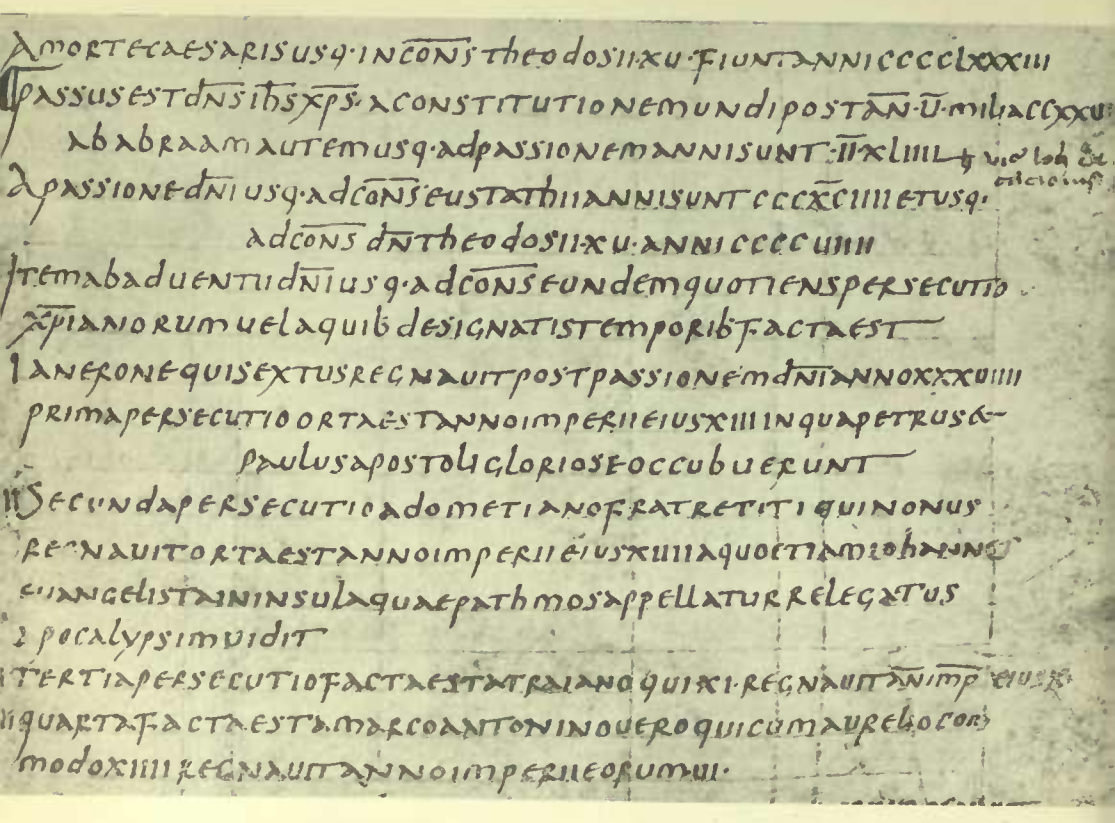
[2] That the mixed hand continued in use in Egypt even for classical works is proved by the papyrus fragments of Virgil (*Aen.* i. 495–507) and Sallust (*Catiline*), of the fifth century, found at Oxyrhynchus (*Ox. Pap.*, nos. 31, 884). In the Rainer collection at Vienna, also, is a fragment of the 'Formula Fabiana', on vellum, in a mixed hand, said to be of the fourth century (*Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung Rainer*, iv. 1).

[3] A curious instance of misunderstanding of the cursive or long s (ſ) by an ignorant scribe is afforded by the Harley MS. 5792, which contains a Graeco-Latin glossary, written probably in France in the seventh century. The archetype from which the MS. was transcribed, evidently had this form of the letter in several places. The scribe of the Harley MS., not understanding it, copied it sometimes as an i without a dot (ı), sometimes as an i with a dot (i).—*Glossae Latino-graecae*, etc., ed. Goetz and Gundermann, 1888, praef. xxii.



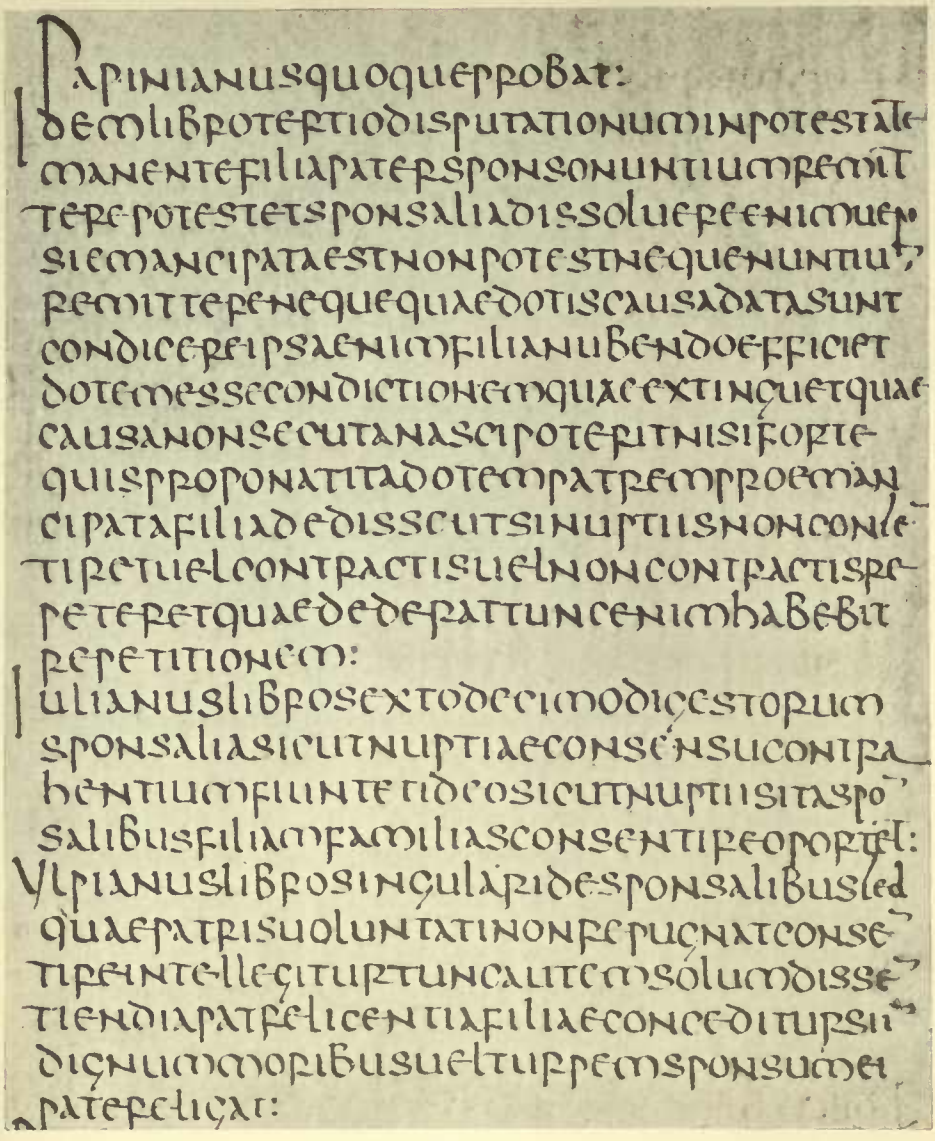
EPITOME OF LIVY.—THIRD CENTURY

(sua manu bonu . . . | a lanatone cen . . . | vastaita porci[a] . . . | m. claudio marcello . . . | p. licini crassi po . . . | ludis funeribus . . . | t[abernac]ulis po . . . | nate . . eci . . rat . . . | in foro futura i . . | dim . . . m han . . . | . . . . . | . . . | . l . . . | . . . n beri . . . | . . . bellum p . . . | . . . llites in . . . | . . . . theoxen . . . | in mare m . ugien . . . | ficti egrimonibus . . . | per patrem coactu . . . | p. lentulo m . . aebio . . . | in agro l.nerylli sc . . . | a· postumio c· | cum l.guribus his . . . | l. livius trib*unus* pl*ebis* quo . . . | magistratum pete . . . | est | q. fulvio l. manlio c . . . | m lepidi et fulv . i no . . .)



CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES.—SIXTH CENTURY

(A morte caesaris usq*ue* in cons*ulatum* theodosii ·xv· fiunt anni ccccIxxxiii | passus est d*omi*nus ies*us* chri*stus* · a constitutione mundi post an*nos* ·v· milia ccxxviiii | ab abraam autem usq*ue* ad passionem anni sunt ·ii· xliiii | A passione d*omi*ni usq*ue* ad cons*ulatum* eustathii anni sunt cccxciiii et usq*ue* | ad cons*ulatum* d*omini* n*ostri* theodosii ·xv· anni cccciiii | Item ab adventu d*omi*ni usq*ue* ad cons*ulatum* eundem quotiens persecutio | chri*stia*norum vel a quib*us* designatis temporib*us* facta est | I a nerone qui sextus regnavit post passionem d*omi*ni anno xxxviiii | prima persecutio orta est anno imperii eius xiii in qua petrus et | paulus apostoli gloriose occubuerunt | II Secunda persecutio a dometiano fratre titi qui nonus | regnavit orta est anno imperii eius xiiii a quo etiam iohannes | evangelista in insula quae pathmos appellatur relegatus | apocalypsim vidit | III tertia persecutio facta est a traiano qui ·xi· regnavit an*no* imp*erii* eius x. | IIII quarta facta est a marco antonino vero qui cum aurelio com|modo xiiii regnavit anno imperii eorum ·vi·)



PANDECTS.—SIXTH-SEVENTH CENTURY

(Papinianus quoque probat
Idem libro tertio disputationum in potestate | manente filia pater sponso nuntium remittere potest et sponsalia dissolvere enimvero | si emancipata est non potest neque nuntium | remittere neque quae dotis causa data sunt | condicere ipsa enim filia nubendo efficiet | dotem esse condictionemque extinguet quae | causa non secuta nasci poterit nisi forte | quis proponat ita dotem patrem pro eman|cipata filia dedisse ut si nuptiis non consen|tiret vel contractis vel non contractis re|peteret quae dederat tunc enim habebit | repetitionem :
Iulianus libro sexto decimo digestorum | sponsalia sicut nuptiae consensu contra|hentium fiunt et ideo sicut nuptiis ita spon|salibus filiam familias consentire oportet :
Ulpianus libro singulari de sponsalibus sed | quae patris voluntati non repugnat consen|tire intellegitur tunc autem solum dissen|tiendi a patre licentia filiae conceditur si in|dignum moribus vel turpem sponsum ei | pater eligat :)

Rhein. Museum, v. 301) are also written in mixed characters.[1] These examples are so many proofs that secular MSS., such as those relating to law and grammar, were not always subject in their production to the same strict calligraphic rules as MSS. for church use or of a specially sumptuous character. The scribe, writing rather for the scholar than for the public reader or book-collector, allowed himself a certain freedom and adopted a style which he could write more rapidly; and yet at the same time the preponderating element remained uncial.

In the following facsimile from the Pandects of the Laurentian Library at Florence (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 108), probably of the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, it will be noticed that the minuscule cursive forms are used at the ends of lines, generally the weak point of texts, where innovations make their first appearance.

No. 97

In other pages of the MS. the minuscule letters adapted from the cursive are more general, extending to b, d, m, r, s, not only at the ends of lines, but promiscuously with the uncial forms, and illustrate a further stage of developement.

But these examples represent the mixed hand in its simpler stages. A reference to the early MSS. in which it is employed by the writers of annotations shows that the proportion of the uncial and cursive minuscule forms depended a good deal on the taste or practice of the writer. He was necessarily limited in the space left for his notes, and was therefore constrained to use a more formal kind of writing than his ordinary current hand would have been, somewhat in the same way as in annotating a printed book we, at the present day, often employ a half-print kind of writing, accommodated to the narrow margins at our disposal. He therefore naturally used a disconnected, and not his ordinary cursive, form of writing; and the negligent uncial, referred to above, seems to have been generally found most suitable for the purpose, qualified, as already described, by an admixture of cursive forms. It is the varying extent to which these cursive forms were admitted by different writers that here claims our attention. The marginal directions for the artist in the Quedlinburg fragment of an illustrated early Italic version of the Bible (Schum, *Theolog. Studien*, 1876), and the scholia and notes in such MSS. as the fragments of Juvenal in the Vatican (Z. W. *Ex.* 5), the Codex Bembinus of Terence (Z. W. *Ex.* 8; *Pal. Soc.* i. 135), the Medicean Virgil

[1] The same mixed style is found in Latin inscriptions of Northern Africa; e. g. the Makter inscription (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 49). It also appears in the more recently discovered inscription of Diocletian's edict, 'de pretiis venalium' of A. D. 301 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 127, 128). Even in inscriptions in square capitals small letters sometimes intruded: see an instance of a small b in an inscription of A. D. 104, given in Letronne, *Inscriptions de l'Égypte*, 1842, 1848, atlas, pl. 31.

(Z. W. *Ex.* 10; *Pal. Soc.* i. 86), the Bible fragment at Weingarten (Z. W. *Ex.* 21), and others, exhibit the hand in various phases between the uncial and minuscule styles.

At length in the scholia on the Bembine Terence, we have the hand in the fully developed condition, in which the minuscule element asserts itself so strongly that but few of the purely uncial forms remain. In this developed stage the mixed hand attains a recognized position. It is the Half-uncial hand which we find employed as far back as the fifth century as a literary hand in the production of formally written MSS.

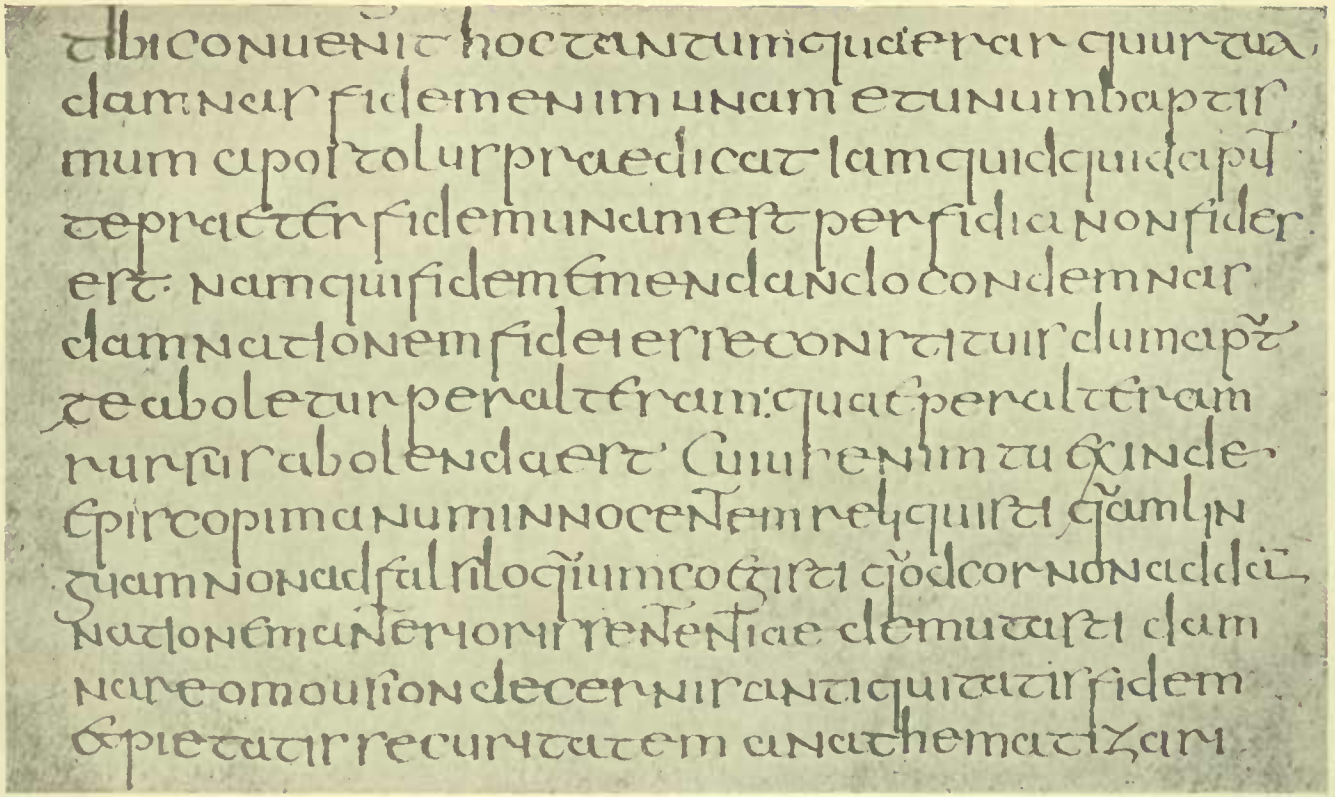
The Half-uncial Book-hand

This writing, as will afterwards be seen, plays a very important part in the history of certain national hands. A modified form of the uncial as just explained, and recommending itself no doubt from the greater ease with which it could be written than the more laborious pure uncial, it was quickly adopted as a book-hand; and the not inconsiderable number of examples which are still extant prove how largely it was practised, at least within a certain area, chiefly comprising, it seems, Italy and Southern France. The earliest example appears to be the Fasti Consulares of the years 487–94 in a palimpsest at Verona (Z. W. *Ex.* 30). Of more importance is the MS. of St. Hilary at Rome, written before 509–10 (Z. W. *Ex.* 52; *Pal. Soc.* i. 136; Facs. 98, below). Other examples are the Sulpicius Severus of Verona, of the year 517 (Z. W. *Ex.* 32); a list of popes to 523, and carried on to 530, together with a collection of canons, in a MS. from Corbie (Z. W. *Ex.* 40–2; *Alb. Pal.*[1] 11); a similar MS. at Cologne (Z. W. *Ex.* 37, 38, 44); a Bible commentary at Monte Cassino earlier than 569 (Z. W. *Ex.* 53; Facs. 100, below); various MSS. at Milan, originally in the monastery of Bobbio (*Pal. Soc.* i. 137, 138, 161, 162); a MS. in the Libri collection (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 10); a Hilary on papyrus at Vienna (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 31); and several MSS. at Lyons, Paris, and Cambrai (*Alb. Pal.* 6–9, 11, 13)—of the sixth or seventh centuries.

As in this style of writing a large proportion of the forms of letters which are afterwards found in the minuscule hand of the Carolingian period are already developed, it has also been called the pre-Caroline minuscule. This title, however, being anticipatory, it is better to give the hand an independent name, and that of Half-uncial is sufficiently distinctive; unless, indeed, the still more exact title of Roman Half-uncial is preferable.

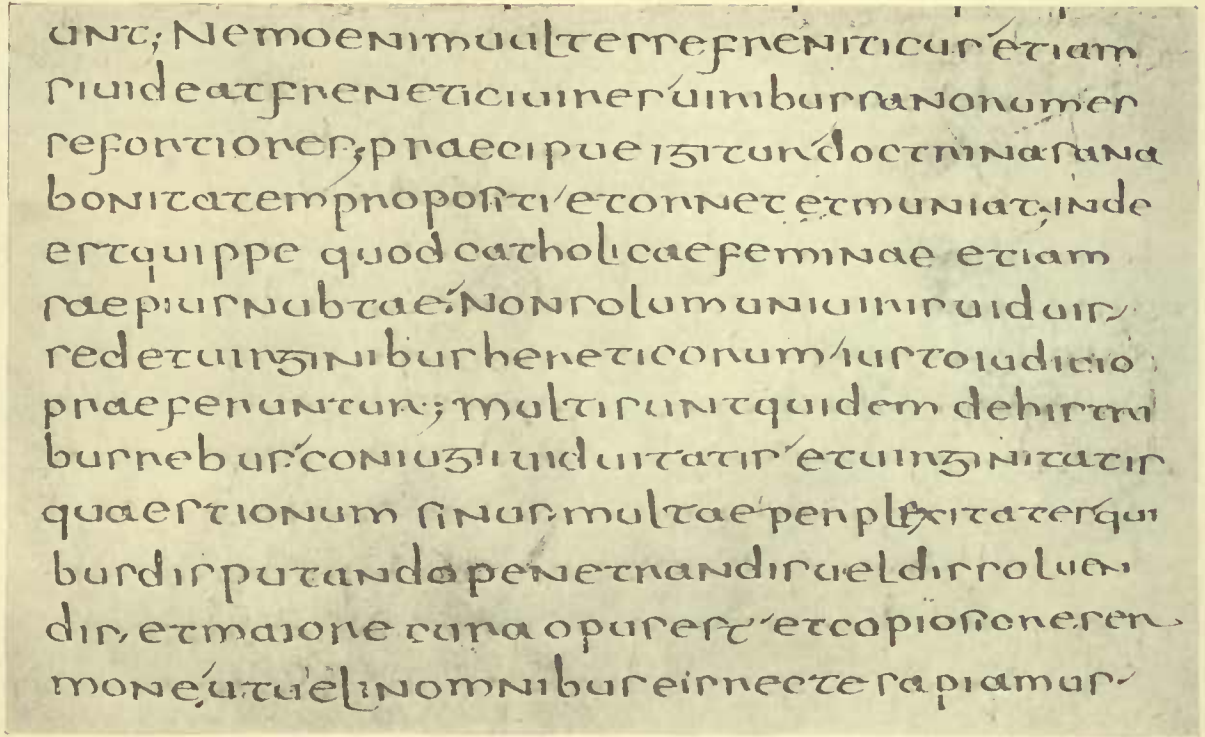
The following specimen is taken from the MS. of St. Hilary on the

[1] *Album Paléographique, avec des notices explicatives par la Société de l'École des Chartes*, Paris, 1887.



ST. HILARY.—BEFORE A.D. 509-10

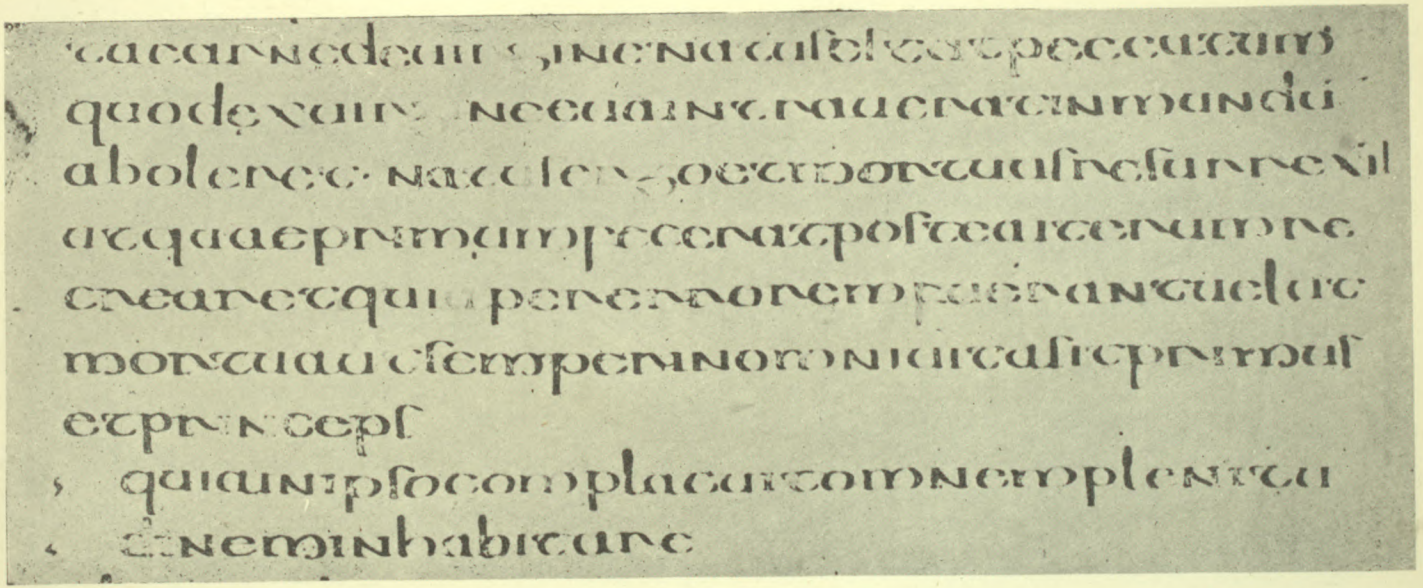
(tibi convenit hoc tantum quaerar quur tua | damnas fidem enim unam et unum baptis|mum apostolus praedicat iam quidquid aput | te praeter fidem unam est perfidia non fides | est · nam qui fidem emendando condemnas | damnationem fidei esse constituis dum aput | te aboletur per alteram: quae per alteram | rursus abolenda est cuius enim tu exinde | episcopi manum innocentem reliquisti quam lin|guam non ad falsiloquium coegisti quod cor non addam | nationem anterioris sententiae demutasti dam|nare omousion decernis antiquitatis fidem | et pietatis securitatem anathematizari)



ST. AUGUSTINE.—SIXTH CENTURY

(unt; Nemo enim vult esse freniticus etiam | si videat frenetici vires viribus sanorum es|se fortiores; praecipue igitur doctrina sana | bonitatem propositi et ornet et muniat; inde | est quippe quod catholicae feminae etiam | saepius nubtae. Non solum univiris viduis | sed et virginibus hereticorum iusto iudicio | praeferuntur; multi sunt quidem de his tri|bus rebus. coniugii viduitatis et virginitatis | quaestionum sinus · multae perplexitates qui|bus disputando penetrandis vel dissolven|dis · et maiore cura opus est et copiosiore ser|mone. ut vel in omnibus eis recto sapiamus)

FACSIMILE No. 100



BIBLICAL COMMENTARY.—BEFORE A.D. 569

(ta carne de virgine natus est ut peccatum | quod ex virgine eva intraverat in mundum | aboleret · natus ergo et mortuus resurrexit | ut quae primum fecerat postea iterum re|crearet quia per errorem fuerant velut | mortua ut semper in omni vita sit primus | et princeps
'quia in ipso complacuit omnem plenitu|dinem inhabitare)

Trinity in the Archives of St. Peter's at Rome, which, as a note records, was revised in the fourteenth year of Trasamund, King of the Vandals, that is, in A.D. 509–10 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 136).

No. 98

In this facsimile an almost complete minuscule alphabet is represented; and it will be seen that, while the round style of uncial writing is still maintained, there are very few of the letters which are really uncials, N being the only one which prominently asserts itself. Several instances of the cursive *v*-shaped u, written above the line, just as the letter is frequently placed in cursive texts, will be noticed.

A carefully executed example of French origin is a MS. of the works of St. Augustine in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (MS. lat. 13367), which at one time belonged to the monastery of Corbie; of the sixth century (*New Pal. Soc.* 80).

No. 99

The style of writing is rather more calligraphic than that of the last example; and the MS. may be regarded as belonging to the class which obviously provided models when the reformation of the minuscule book-hand was being carried out under the authority of Charlemagne. The persistence of the capital form of N in the half-uncial hand was no doubt owing to a desire to avoid ambiguity which would have followed the substitution of the minuscule n, a letter which might be easily confused with the short-stemmed r, as seen in this example. This persistence accounts for the survival of the capital N, side by side with the minuscule letter, in minuscule MSS. Of the marks of punctuation only the full point appears to be original.

But the most beautifully executed MS. of early date in this style of hand is the biblical commentary of Monte Cassino, written before the year 569 (Z. W. *Ex.* 53).

No. 100

This may be accepted as a standard example of the perfect half-uncial, written with a full sense of beauty by an Italian scribe.

Here, then, we bring to a close the section dealing with the Latin majuscule, capital and uncial, literary scripts, and the mixed styles immediately derived from the uncial; and we break off our examination of the formal book-hands to take up that of the Roman Cursive writing which, as we have seen, essentially affected the half-uncial, and which had an all-important influence in forming the later handwritings of Western Europe.

CHAPTER XV

LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY (*continued*)

The Roman Cursive Script

THE poverty of material for the early history of Roman writing, as compared with that for the history of Greek writing, has already been noted. Though we can now follow, more or less perfectly, in the recently recovered papyri, the developement of Greek writing from the fourth century B.C., very few Latin documents, and none that can be placed earlier than the Christian era, have been found among them. While therefore there has been so great an accession of material during the last five-and-twenty years for the study of early Greek palaeography, the condition of things in regard to Latin palaeography and in particular for the history of Roman Cursive writing has undergone but little change.

Much of the earliest material is found among the wall-inscriptions of Pompeii. These inscriptions have been divided into two classes: (1) those traced with the brush, generally in formal and not cursive capitals, and consisting of advertisements, recommendations of candidates, announcements of public games, of lost articles, of houses to let, etc.; and (2) scrawls and scribblings, sometimes written in charcoal, chalk, etc., but more generally scratched with a point (the so-called *graffiti*) in cursive letters, being quotations from poets, idle words, reckonings, salutations, love addresses, pasquinades, satirical remarks, etc. A few are of ancient date, but most of them range between A.D. 63 and the year of the destruction of the city, A.D. 79. Similar inscriptions have been found at Herculaneum and in the excavations and catacombs of Rome. Most of all these have been collected by Zangemeister in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iv, which also contains a carefully compiled table of the forms of letters employed.[1] Some of those found in Rome are represented in the *Roma subterranea Christiana* of De Rossi.

Contemporary with these wall-inscriptions are the waxed tablets found in 1875 at Pompeii, in the house of the banker L. Caecilius Jucundus,[2] inscribed with documents connected with sales by auction

[1] Reproduced, together with the table of letters of the Dacian waxed tablets printed in vol. iii, by permission of the Royal Prussian Academy, in *Pal. Soc.* ii. 30.

[2] See above, p. 18.

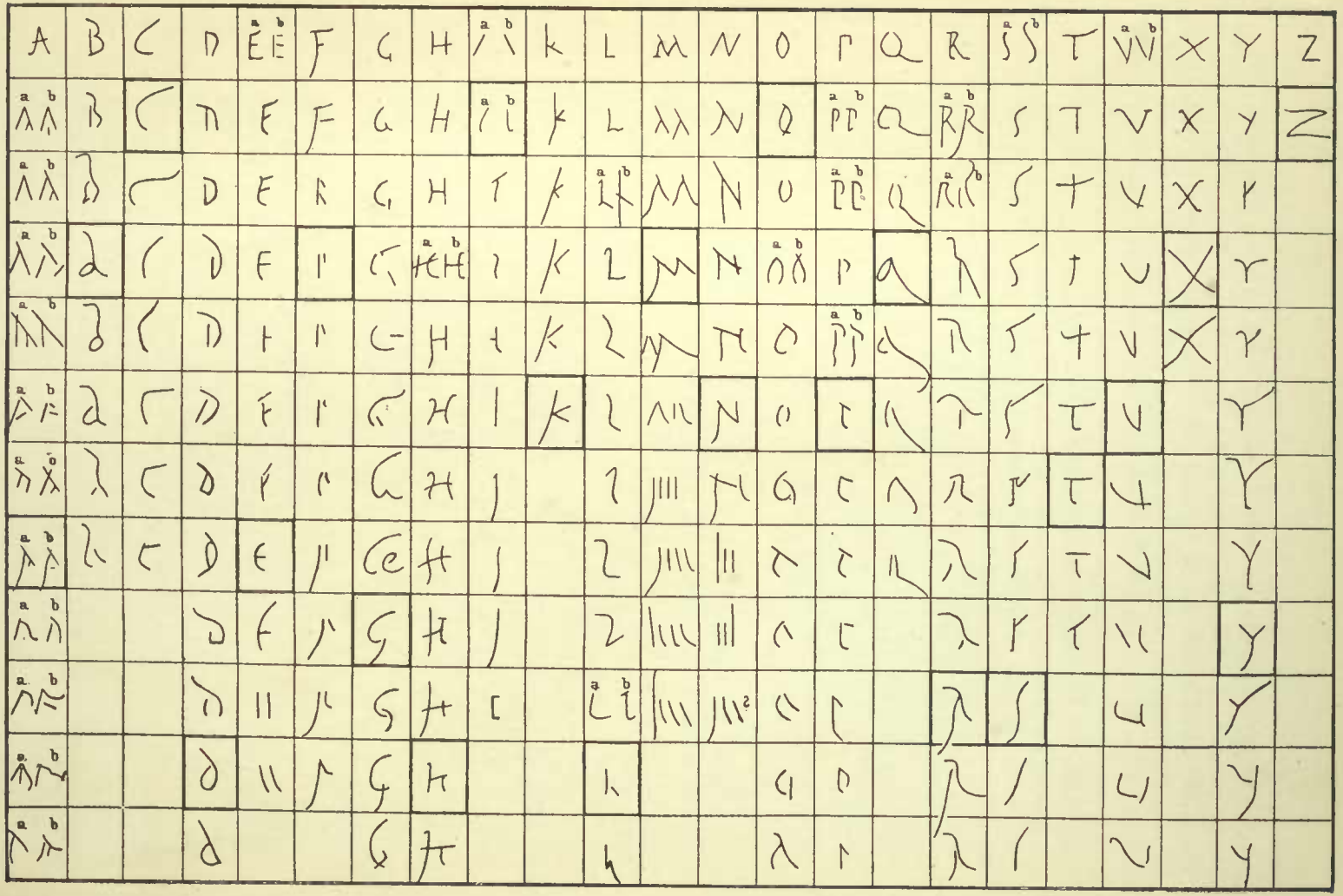
and tax-receipts, in cursive writing, and ranging in date chiefly from A.D. 53 to 62; edited also, in 1898, by Zangemeister in a supplement to the *C. I. L.* iv. Of similar character are the waxed tablets, some of which are dated between A.D. 131 and 167, found in the ancient mining works of Verespatak in Dacia,[1] and published with a table of forms of letters in the *C. I. L.* iii. With these also must be grouped the tiles which have been found on various sites, scratched, before being baked, with alphabets, verses, or miscellaneous memoranda.[2]

Among the single papyrus documents which have been found in recent years in Egypt, and of which facsimiles are given in different works, the following may be enumerated for the convenience of students. At Berlin there is a copy of an Imperial edict, said to be of the time of Tiberius (*Aegypt. Urkunden aus den königl. Museen*, no. 628); and also a papyrus containing portions of two speeches in the senate, ascribed to the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41–54 (Steffens, *Entwicklung der latein. Schrift*, pl. 101). A papyrus at Geneva contains Roman military accounts of the first century (Nicole and Morel, *Archives Militaires du premier siècle*). A similar papyrus, of the second century, is printed by Grenfell and Hunt, *Fayûm Towns*, no. cv. From Oxyrhynchus there are a note of enrolment of recruits of A.D. 103 (*Ox. Pap.* vii, no. 1022), a fragmentary military account of A.D. 205 (ibid. iv, no. 735), and a declaration of birth, A.D. 194–6 (ibid. vi, no. 894). A roll, now in Berlin, of the First Augustan cohort of Spain, when serving in Egypt, A.D. 156, is reproduced by the *Palaeographical Society*, ii. 165. The most perfect Latin document on papyrus is in the British Museum, and records the purchase of a slave by an officer of the Roman fleet on the Syrian coast, A.D. 166 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 190). Two letters of the first century are given in facsimile in Wessely's *Schrifttafeln zur aelteren lateinischen Palaeographie*, Vienna, 1898; one of A.D. 167, by Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, ser. ii, no. cviii (now Brit. Mus., Pap. 730); and one of the second century, by the same, in *Ox. Pap.* i, no. 32; and a declaration of the year 237 and a petition of 247 appear in *Ox. Pap.* viii, no. 1114, and iv, no. 720.

All the above examples of Roman cursive writing represent the ordinary writing of the people for about the first three centuries of the Christian era. The letters are essentially the old Roman letters written with fluency, and undergoing certain modifications in their forms, which eventually developed into the minuscule hand. The same original Roman letters written carefully became, as we have seen, the formal

[1] See above, p. 18.

[2] Some of them are inscribed with memoranda of the brickfields. One found at Aquileia bears the warning of a severe taskmaster to some unfortunate workman: 'Cave malum, si non raseris lateres DC; si raseris minus, malum formidabis.'—*C. I. L.* v, no. 8110 (176).



ROMAN CURSIVE LETTERS FROM GRAFFITI.—BEFORE A.D. 79

capital alphabets in use in inscriptions under the Empire and in the sumptuous MSS. of the early centuries of our era. It is probable that the wall-scribblings of Pompeii essentially represent the style of cursive writing which had been followed for some two or three centuries before their date; for, in the other direction, the difference between the style of the Dacian tablets and that of the Pompeian period, although they are separated by a long interval, is not so marked as might have been expected.

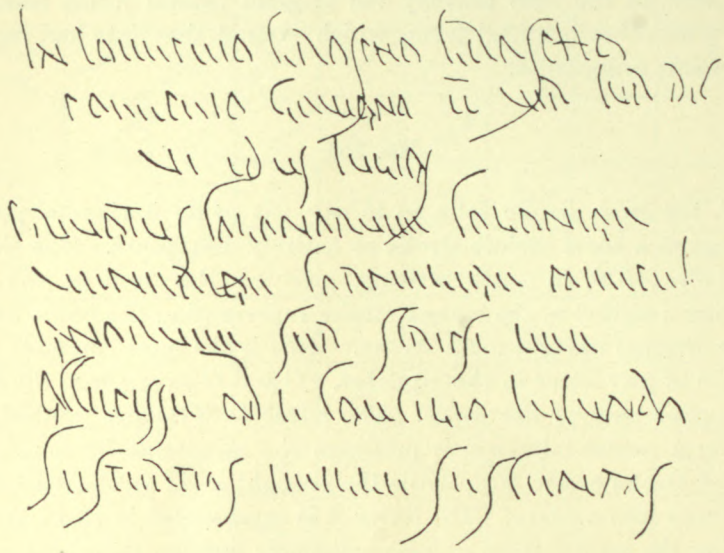
If we turn to the table of letters employed in the *graffiti* of Pompeii, we see how in the first century the original capital forms stand side by side with other modified forms which even at that date had begun to tend towards minuscules.

No. 101

In A the cross stroke falls, so to say, out of its horizontal position, and hangs as a short middle stroke or entirely disappears. The slurring of the bows of B, in quick writing, produces the form of the letter resembling a stilted a, the waved stroke representing the bows, and the loop the original upright main stroke. This is the most complete transformation of any letter in the alphabet. C and G exaggerate the length of the upper part of the curve. The letter D developes gradually the uncial form, which afterwards produces the minuscule by lengthening the upper stroke of the bow, while the straight main stroke, like that of the B, turns into a curve. The letter E is represented in two forms, the first being the capital more or less negligently written (later, worn down into a mere tick or hook, ⊬), the second being the double vertical-stroke letter, used also in inscriptions and in the Faliscan alphabet. F in like manner takes the form of a long and a short stroke, both more or less vertical, the short stroke gradually degenerating into a curve. In the changes of H we see the origin of the minuscule in the shortening of the second main stroke. Besides the normal capital form, we have M represented by four vertical strokes, ||||, the first usually longer than the rest; and so, too, N appears also in the form of three strokes, |||. The hastily written O is no longer a circle, but is formed by two curves; and, the natural tendency when writing with a hard point being to form concave rather than convex curves, the second curve of the letter also becomes concave. In the letter P we see the gradual wearing down of the bow into a mere oblique stroke; in R the slurring of the bow into a waved stroke; and in S the straightening of the lower curve and the developement of the upper one into an oblique stroke.

This style of cursive lettering, in vogue during the first three centuries of our era, was of course subject to modifications arising through

FACSIMILE No. 102



POMPEIAN WAXED TABLET.—A.D. 59

(cn. pompeio grospho grospho | pompeio gaviano ii̅ vir iur dic | vi idus iulias | privatus colonorum coloniae | veneriae corneliae pompei|ianorum ser[vus] scripsi me | accepisse ab l caecilio iucundo | sestertios mille se scentos

progress of time and from the nature of the writing material employed, whether the smooth but clinging surface of wax scratched with the point of the stilus, or the less impeding papyrus or wood or vellum inscribed in ink with the reed or pen.

We will now turn our attention to specimens from the two collections of waxed tablets mentioned above, viz., the earlier series found in the house of the banker L. Caecilius Jucundus at Pompeii, and the later Dacian series of the second century.

In the tablets found at Pompeii we have writing on two kinds of material, and differing accordingly: that of the deeds themselves, incised on the waxed pages with the stilus in decidedly cursive characters; and that of the endorsements and lists of witnesses, written in ink upon the bare wood of the pages which were not coated with wax,[1] in a generally more restrained style and employing other forms of certain letters. But at this moment we are considering only the writing on the waxed surfaces; and as a well written example a page is selected from a tablet of A.D. 59 (*C. I. L.* iv, suppl. cxliii; Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, 768).

No. 102

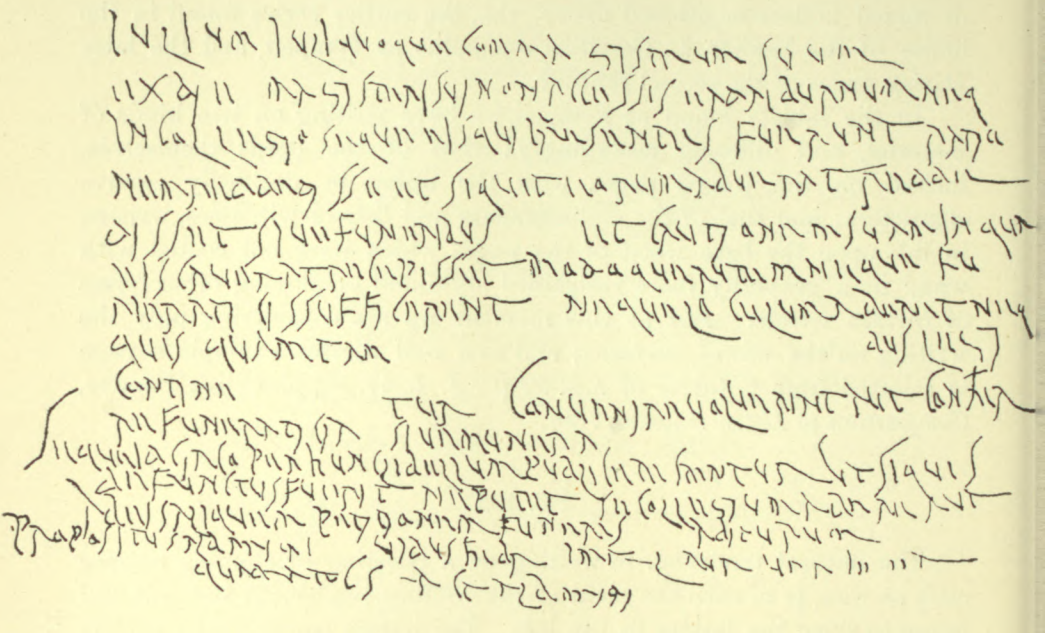
The natural tendency, in writing on a resisting or clinging surface such as wax, is to turn the point of the writing implement inwards and hence to slope the letters to the left. The letters employed by preference, where a choice is possible, would usually be those which are more easily written in disconnected strokes, such as the two-stroke E and the four-stroke M, as used in this example. On the other hand, we find here the ordinary capital N, instead of the letter formed of three vertical strokes; perhaps to avoid ambiguity. The handwriting is that of a practised scribe, regular and clear; nor at this time is the lettering complicated by the linking and monogrammatic combinations of two or more letters, which occur particularly in the Dacian tablets.

The forms of the letters inscribed with the stilus in the Pompeian tablets are given in the Table of Latin Cursive Alphabets (Plate 1, col. 2) at the end of this chapter; the forms of the letters written in ink will be found in the Table (Plate 2, col. 3).

Next follows a facsimile from the Dacian tablets of the second century. It is taken from one of the pages of a tablet recording the dissolution of a burial club at Alburnus Major, or Verespatak, in the year 167 (Massmann, *Lib. aur.*, tab. 2; *C. I. L.* iii. 926–7).

[1] See above, p. 19.

FACSIMILE No. 103



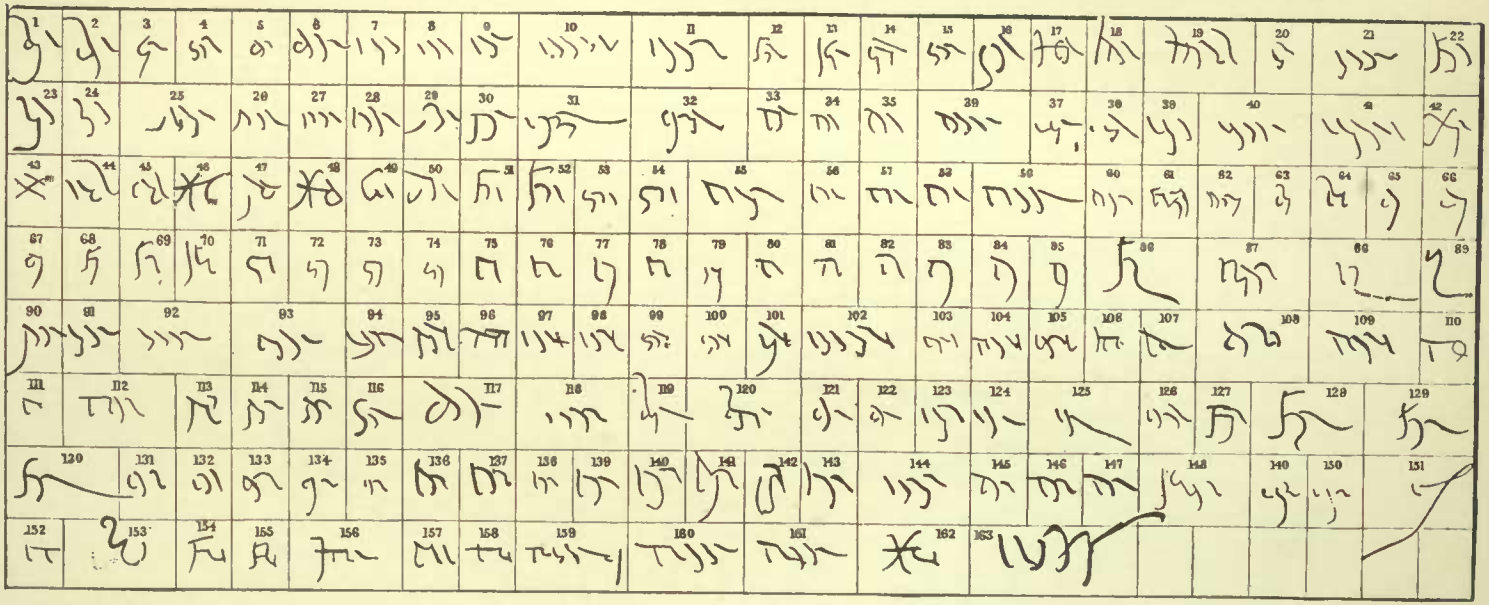
DACIAN WAXED TABLET.—A.D. 167

(iulium iuli quoque commagistrum suum | ex die magisteri sui non accessise ad alburnum neq*ue* | in collegio seque eis qui presentes fuerunt ratio|nem reddedisse et si quit eorum abuerat redde|disset sive funeribus et cautionem suam in qua | eis caverat recepisset modo que autem neque fu|neraticis sufficerent neque loculum aberet neq*ue* | quisquam tam [magno tempore diebus qui]bus legi | continetur convenire voluerint aut confer|re funeraticia sive munera | seque idcirco per hunc libellum publice testantur ut si quis | defunctus fuerit ne putet se collegium abere aut | ab eis aliquem petitionem funeris abiturum | propositus alb maiori v idus febr imp l aur ver iii et | quadrato cs act alb maiori)

FACSIMILE No. 104

LETTERS FROM DACIAN TABLETS.—SECOND CENTURY

FACSIMILE No. 105



LINKED LETTERS.—SECOND CENTURY

(1, 2. BA ; 3. CA ; 4. CAR ; 5. DA ; 6. DAR ; 7–9. EA ; 10. EAM ; 11. EAR ; 12, 13. FA ; 14–16. GA ; 17, 18. HA ; 19. HAB ; 20. IA ; 21. IAM ; 22. KA ; 23, 24. LA ; 25–27. MA ; 28. PAR ; 29, 30. RA ; 31. ERA ; 32. ORA ; 33–35. TA ; 36. TAM ; 37–39. VA ; 40. VAM ; 41. VAN ; 42, 43. XA ; 44. EB ; 45. OB ; 46. XC ; 47. AD ; 48. XD ; 49. CE ; 50. DE ; 51, 52. FE ; 53, 54. GE ; 55. PER ; 56. PE ; 57, 58. TE ; 59. TEM ; 60. TER ; 61. EGI ; 62. MAI ; 63, 64. BI ; 65–67. DI ; 68–70. FI ; 71–74. GI ; 75–78. PI ; 79. RI ; 80–85. TI ; 86. FL ; 87. PLAR ; 88. PL ; 89. VL ; 90. AM ; 91. IM ; 92. IMA ; 93. OM ; 94. VM ; 95, 96. AN ; 97, 98. EN ; 99, 100. GN ; 101. IN ; 102. EMN ; 103. ON ; 104. TON ; 105. ON ; 106. HO; 107. PO ; 108. DRO; 109. TON ; 110, 111. TO ; 112. TOR ; 113. AP ; 114, 115. AR ; 116. CAR ; 117. DAR ; 118. EAR ; 119. BR ; 120. BRA ; 121, 122. DR ; 123–125. ER ; 126. ERA ; 127–130. FR ; 131–135. OR ; 136–143. PR ; 144. ERR ; 145–147. TR ; 148. FVR ; 149, 150. VR ; 151. OS ; 152. PT ; 153. BV ; 154, 155. FV ; 156. HV ; 157. PV ; 158. TV ; 159. TVMQ ; 160, 161. TVM ; 162. XV ; 163. IVK (?).)

No. 103

In following the structure of the writing, it will be of advantage to the student to have before him the table of the letters of the Dacian tablets, carefully compiled by Zangemeister (*C. I. L.* iii, tab. A).

No. 104

It will be noticed that the form of M composed of four, as well as that of N composed of three, vertical strokes has disappeared: perhaps such forms had been found to cause too frequent ambiguities in a script consisting so largely of detached strokes; and the ordinary capital M and N are not difficult in formation. But the two-stroke E was too useful a form, as against the capital, to be set aside: and it still predominates. Among other letters we may note the growth of the flat-headed G, a shape which has a later history in the mediaeval book-hands. A system of linking also has grown up, which dismembers the letters and leaves the initial stroke of a letter attached to its predecessor, while the rest stands quite separate, thus intensifying the natural disposition to write in disjointed strokes upon such a material as wax, and increasing the difficulty of reading. It is useful to examine these monogrammatic linkings, for some of them are the ancestors of similar combinations which occur in later cursive scripts and are imitated even in book-hands.

No. 105

The typical forms of the letters of the wall inscriptions or *graffiti*, of the Pompeian Tablets, and of the Dacian Tablets are set out in the Table of Latin Cursive Alphabets (Plate 1) at the end of this chapter; affording the student a means of comparing the alphabets written with the stilus. There will be occasion for some observations upon them, after tracing the developement of the Roman cursive as written with the pen, when the whole series of cursive alphabets, whether produced by pen or stilus, as shown in the three plates of the Table, can be reviewed.

Turning to the Roman cursive script as written in ink on papyrus or plain wood or vellum, we find a more fluent style naturally accompanying the more easily moving hand when using the pen on an unresisting surface. The following examples, limited in number but usefully supplemented by the Table of Alphabets, will, it is hoped, give a fairly general idea of its developement.

A papyrus at Berlin (P. 8507) containing portions of speeches delivered in the Senate, which are ascribed to the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41–54, supplies the first facsimile (Steffens, *Lat. Palaeogr.*, ed. 1906, tab. 101).

No. 106

The words are separated by a full point; and accents, perhaps as a guide in reading aloud, are numerous. It is noteworthy that the writing, although of a more flowing type than that of the contemporary waxed tablets and *graffiti*, is still somewhat restrained, and that the letters are generally unconnected, as though the writer's hand was influenced by a habit of also writing with the stilus.

Two of the few surviving Latin papyrus documents of the second century happen to fall in date close to the waxed tablet of A.D. 167 (Facs. 103), and as the three are written in three varieties of the Roman cursive they offer an opportunity for useful comparison. The first (Brit. Mus., Pap. ccxxix), written in a formal style appropriate to a legal instrument, is a deed whereby C. Fabullius Macer, 'optio' or adjutant of the trireme *Tigris*, in the fleet of Misenum, purchases from G. Julius Priscus, a soldier of the same ship, an Arab boy named Abbas or Eutyches; dated at Seleucia Pieria, a naval station on the Syrian coast, 24 May, A.D. 166 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 190; *Archaeologia*, liv. 433).

No. 107

There is no difficulty in this bold clear writing; and, if the eye is carried along the lines, the general evenness of the lettering is appreciated. But, though thus evenly written, the forms of the letters are of the cursive type, and in structure are very close to those of the Dacian tablets. The cursive B and the flat-headed P are conspicuous by reason of their height. The employment here of the cursive type demonstrates the lasting influence of the style acquired in writing on wax, which brought it into general use, to the exclusion of the old capital shapes, even in formally written documents.[1]

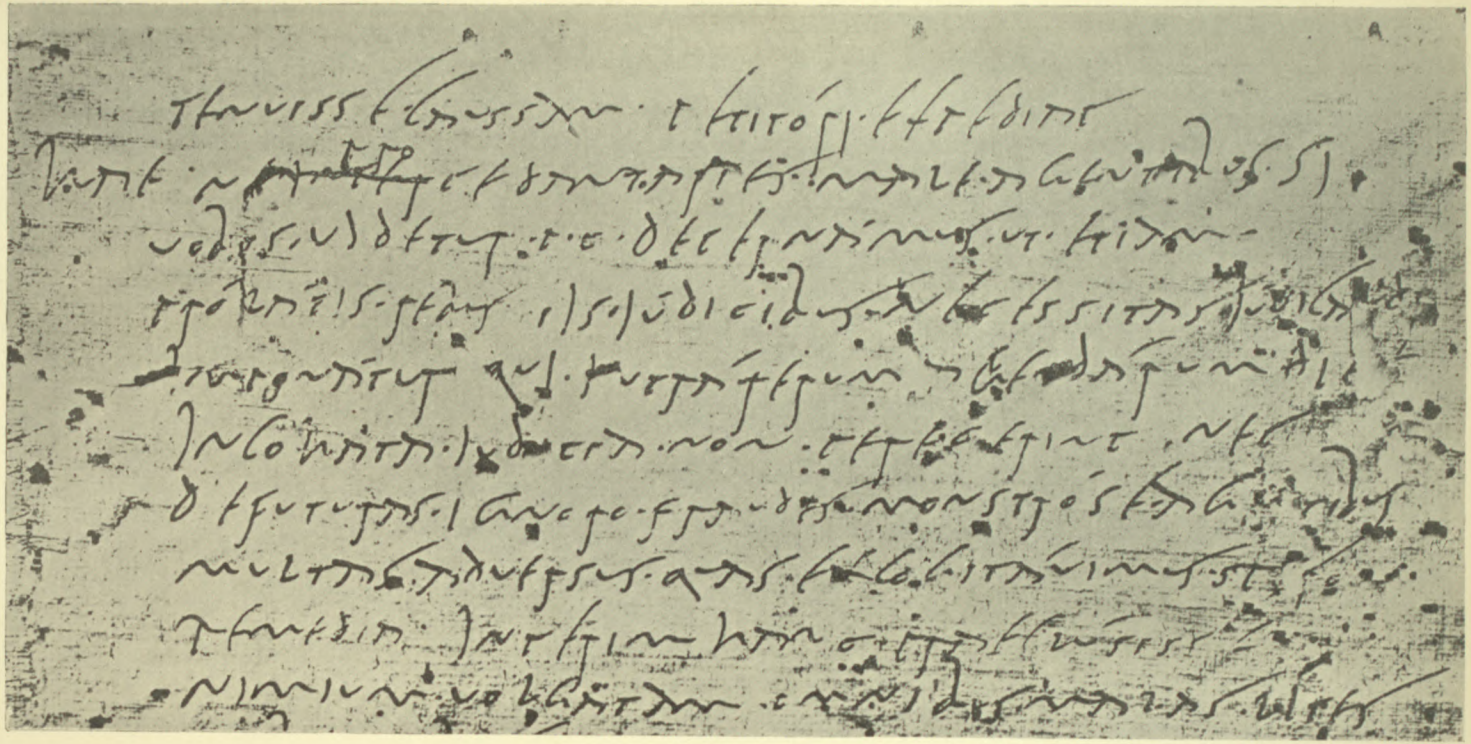
The second papyrus of the two referred to above is a fragment of a letter written in very illiterate Latin (Brit. Mus. Pap. 730), and dated in the year 167 (Grenfell and Hunt, *Gk. Papyri*, ii. 157, pl. v).

No. 108

In this example, while the forms of the letters remain fairly conservative, indications of an easier flow may be observed in the curves adopted in certain letters and in their connecting links.

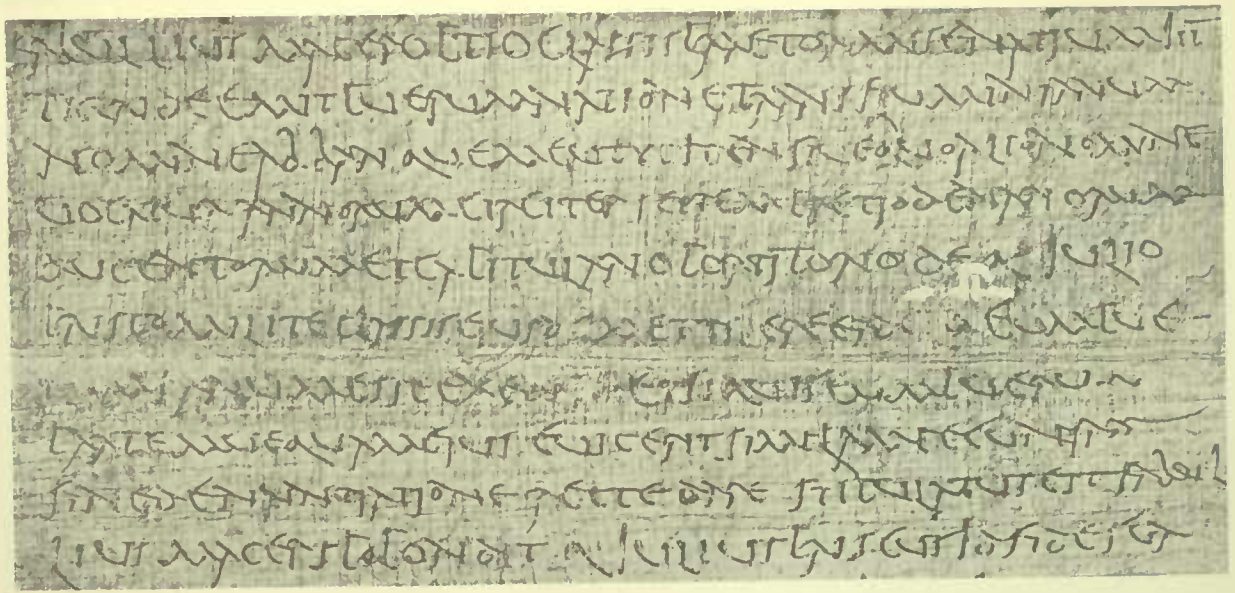
To represent the Roman cursive hand of the third century there is a fragmentary petition addressed to the Prefect of Egypt, Claudius Valerius Firmus, by a woman named Aurelia Ammonarion, to appoint a

[1] The letters in the Table of Alphabets (Pl. 2, col. 7) are those of the very cursive subscriptions.



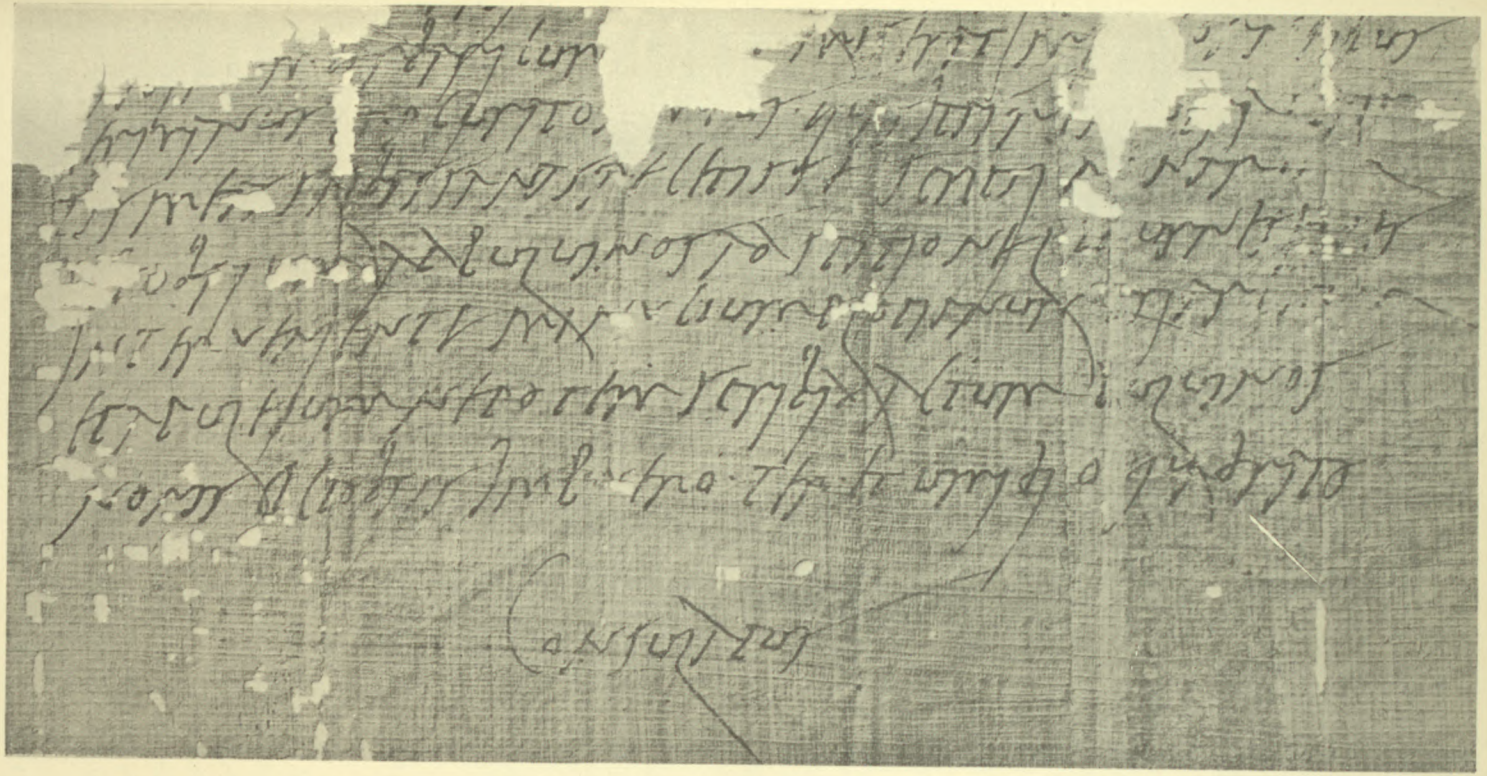
SPEECHES.—A. D. 41–54

(tenuisse . caussam . petitóri . expediat | hae . ne . procedant [*p. m.* intercedant] . artes . male . agentibus . si | vobis . videtur . *patres* . *conscripti* . decernámus . ut . etiam | prólátis . rebus . iis . iúdicibus . necessitas . iudicandi | imponátur qui . intrá . rerum . agendárum . dies | incohata . iudicia . non . peregerint . nec | defuturas . ignoro . fraudes . monstróse . agentibus | multas . adversus . quas . excogitávimus . spero | remedia . interim . hanc . praeclúsisse | nimium . volgatam . omnibus . malas . lites)



SALE OF A SLAVE.—A.D. 166

([c.] fabullius macer optio classis praetor*iae* misenatium lii (*triere*) | tigride emit puerum natione transfluminianum | nomine abban quem eutychen sive quo alio nomine | vocatur annorum circiter septem pretio denariorum | ducentorum et capitulario portitorio de q. iulio | prisco milite classis eiusdem et triere eadem eum pue|rum sanum esse ex edicto et si quis eum puerum | partemve quam eius evicerit simplam pecuniam | sine denuntiatione recte dare stipulatus est fabul|lius macer spopondit q. iulius priscus id fide sua)



Letter.—A.D. 167

(. . . . m barbaricum . . . . . miserat mi[hi c]ornelius | [g]ermanus procurator meus quas has res [in]trascrip[tas meas salbas sanas recepisse scripsi nonarum | octobrium ad pulvinos ad statione liburne seides (?) | interveniente minucium plotianum triarchum | et apuleium nepotem scriba actum pulvinos | nonis octobris imp*eratore* vero ter et umidio quadrato | consulatus)

certain person her guardian, in accordance with the Lex Julia et Titia, in A.D. 247 (*Ox. Pap.* iv. 720, pl. vii; Bodl. Libr., Lat. class. D. 12 (P)).[1]

No. 109

The writing is in a well-formed cursive hand, sloping, and still remaining true to old forms.

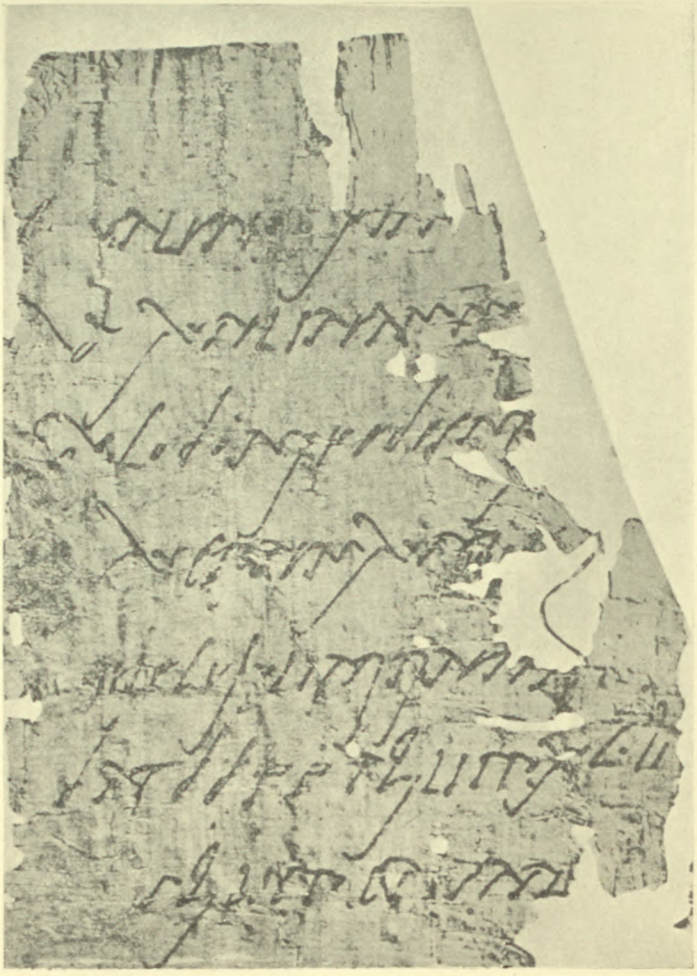
So far as we may gather from the few examples set before us of the Roman cursive in the first three centuries of our era, it seems that the influence of the style acquired from the habitual practice of writing on waxed surfaces had a strong controlling effect on the handwriting with the pen on papyrus and other smooth surfaces. We should, indeed, have expected the latter to have developed earlier a more flowing character than it did; and we must, it seems, attribute the restraint and disconnected fashion of inscribing the letters, which was so long maintained, to the above influence, and also to difficulties in adapting forms of letters which had grown up under a rigid single-stroke system to a more pliant and current style. But, when we emerge from the third century, we find a great change: an enlarged and flowing hand of a rounder type, as seen in the Latin translation of the fables of Babrius in the fragmentary papyrus of the Amherst collection (no. xxvi), probably of the fourth century; and in a letter of recommendation from an Egyptian official, probably of the middle of the fourth century, now at Strassburg. The handwriting of the latter recalls the large style of Greek cursive of the Byzantine period; and we may conjecture, as indeed would be natural, that Latin writing on papyrus passed through phases not very dissimilar to those of Greek writing on the same material. A few lines from the Strassburg letter (Pap. lat. Argent. i) are here given. (See H. Bresslau in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, iii. 2, p. 168.)

No. 110

By this time the influence of the disjointed script of the waxed tablets has ceased. The writing is quite fluent; the formation of the letters inclines to curves, and the letters individually are for the most part written off in connected strokes, and, although certain of them stand independently, there is much linking and combining among them; c, e, t, in particular, lend themselves to such combinations, with consequent variations in their structure to suit the occasion. We here have practically a complete minuscule alphabet. The letter a, like the Greek *alpha* in contemporary papyri, is often a mere pot-hook, connected with the following letter, sometimes with a tendency to rise high in the line,

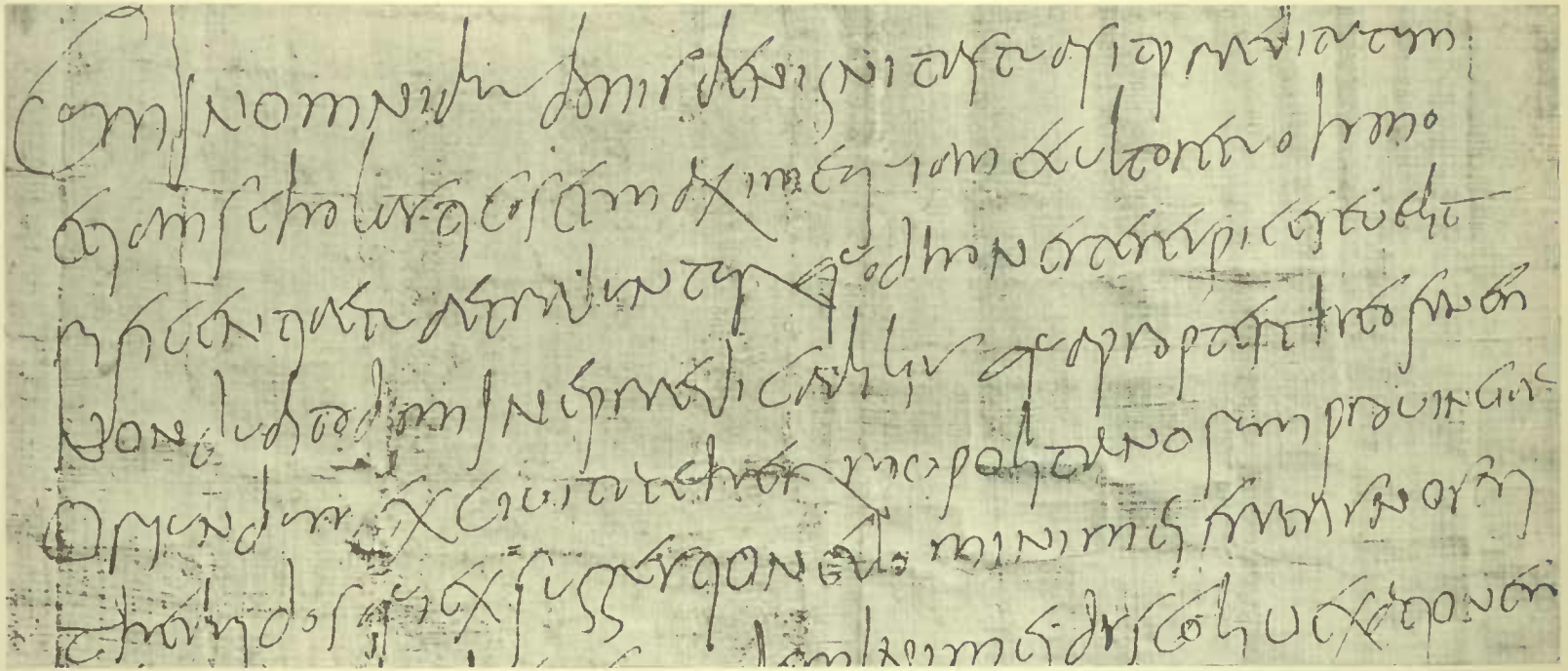
[1] Since this was written, a more perfect document, of the year 237, has been published in *Ox. Pap.* viii, pl. vii. It has been made use of for the Table of Latin Cursive Alphabets.

Facsimile No. 109



Petition.—a.d. 247

([C]l(audio) valerio firm[o praefecto Aegypti] | ab aurelia e ammo[nario] | rogo domine des mi[hi....] | auctorem aurel(ium) p[lutammonem] | e lege iulia titia et..... | dat(um) dd. nn. (*dominis nostris*) philippo aug(usto) ii [et] | philippo caesar[e (?) consulibus])



LETTER.—FOURTH CENTURY

(Cum in omnibus bonis benignitas tua sit praedita tum | etiam scholasticos et maxime qui a me cultore tuo honorificentiae tuae traduntur quod honeste respicere velit | non dubito domine praedicabilis quapropter theofanen | oriundum ex civitate hermupolitanorum provinciae | thebaidos qui ex suggestione domini mei fratris(nostri | [filippi usque ad officium] domini mei dyscoli vexationem)

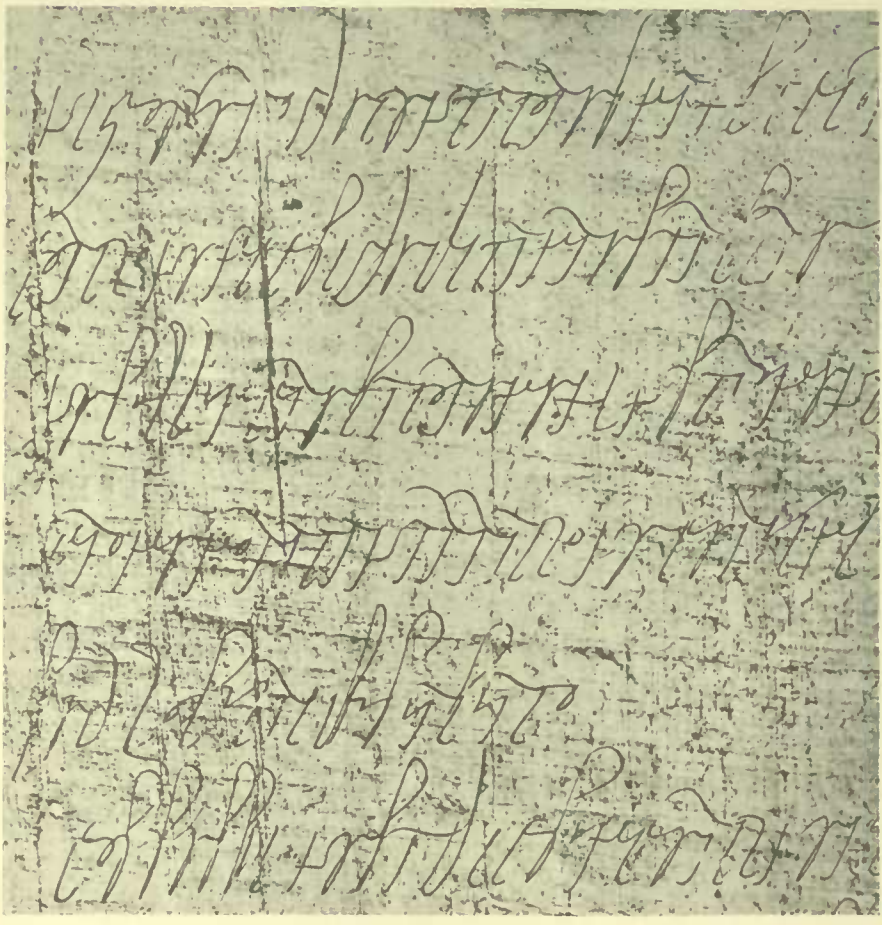
a position which is often found in later cursive writing; b still keeps the bow on the left (although it has become transferred to the right in the fragments of Babrius), but it can be distinguished from d, in that it is linked by a down-stroke with a following letter, while d is not so connected; m is now altogether minuscule; while N appears both as a capital N and as a minuscule n; o varies in size from a full letter to a diminutive oval or loop; u, always *v*-shaped, often appears as a small curve placed high in the line, as it is found in later cursive and in other scripts. The general style of the hand is not unlike that of some of the Greek cursive papyri of the middle of the fourth century, with which this document may be compared: e.g. the deed of sale of a slave of A.D. 359 (Wilcken, *Tafeln*, xvi).

Next in order we examine some interesting fragments of papyrus, in Paris and Leyden, inscribed in a character which is otherwise quite unknown, being a modification of the Roman cursive, no doubt specially devised for official purposes. The documents contained in them are portions of two rescripts addressed to Egyptian officials; said to have been found at Philae and Elephantine. The writing is the official cursive of the Roman chancery in Egypt, and is ascribed to the fifth century. Both documents are in the same hand. For a long time they remained undeciphered; and Champollion-Figeac, while publishing a facsimile (*Chartes et MSS. sur papyrus*, 1840, pl. 14), was obliged to admit his inability to read them. Massmann, however, after his experience of the writing of the waxed tablets, succeeded in deciphering the Leyden fragment (*Libellus aurarius*, 147), and the whole of the fragments were subsequently published by De Wailly (*Mém. de l'Institut*, xv. 399). Mommsen and Jaffé (*Jahrbuch des gem. deut. Rechts*, vi. 398; see also *Pal. Soc.* ii. 30) have discussed the text and given a table of the letters compared with those of the Dacian tablets. The following facsimile gives portions of a few lines on a reduced scale (Steffens, *Lat. Palaeogr.*, 1st ed., suppl. 6).

No. 111

The body of the writing is large, being above three-quarters of an inch high. The letters are tall and narrow. Their affinity to the forms of the *graffiti* and waxed tablets is closer than that of the preceding specimen of the fourth century: an official class of writing is naturally more conservative than independent hands. Thus we go back behind the fourth century cursive and approach nearer to the forms of the waxed tablets in such letters as A, P, and R. The looped form of E is probably a fanciful variety of the wedge-shaped letter of the earlier centuries; M and N are stilted; and o and u (v) are on a minute scale and are placed high in the line.

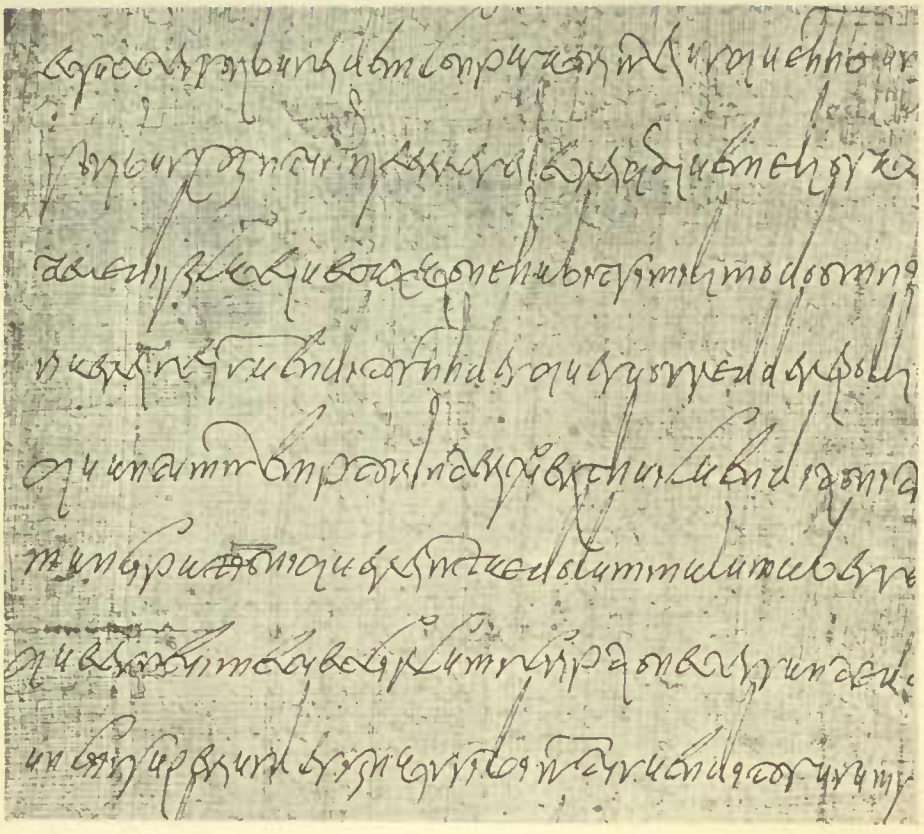
FACSIMILE No. 111



IMPERIAL RESCRIPT.—FIFTH CENTURY

(iniquos vero detentatores mancipior[um ad eum pertinentium]
portionem ipsi debitam resarcire
nec ullum precatorem ex instrument[o emptionali]
pro memorata narratione per vim c[onfecto praeiudicium pati]
sed hoc viribus vacuato
possessiones ad ipsum pertinen[tes])

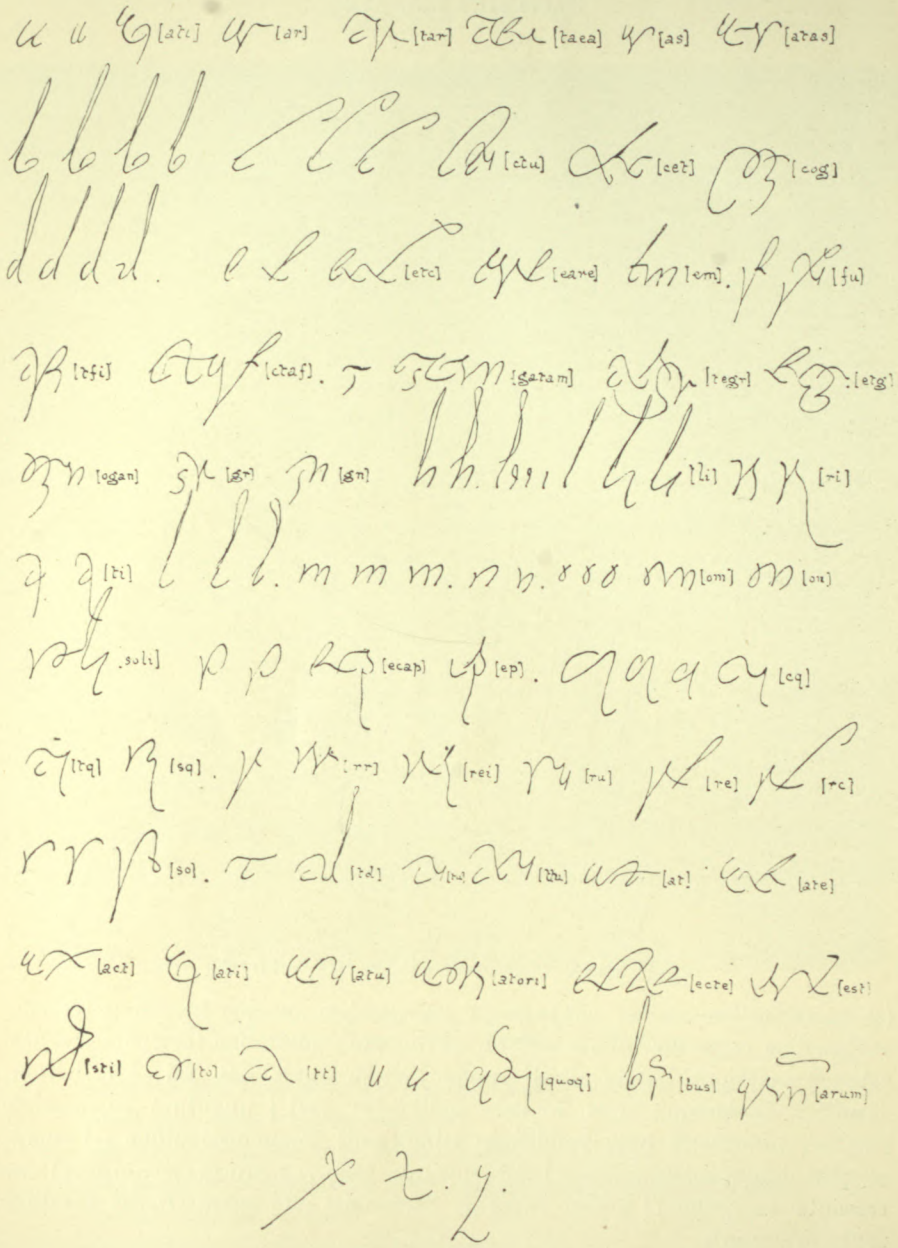
FACSIMILE No. 112



RAVENNA DEED OF SALE.—A. D. 572

(et successoribus eidem conparatori *suprascripto* eiusque *heredi*bus [et succes]soribus cogantur inferre sed et rei quoque meliorat[ae instruc]tae aedificateque taxatione habita simili modo omni[a dupla]riae rei se *qui supru* venditor *here*desque suos reddere polli[cetur vel] | quantum *suprascripto* emptori interfuerit huic venditioni ti[aditioni] | mancipationique rei *suprascript*ae dolum malum abesse [afuturum]que esse vi metu et circumscriptione cessante d[e quibus] | unciis superius designatis sibi *suprascript*us venditor usum f[ructum])

FACSIMILE No. 113



LETTERS OF RAVENNA DEED.—A.D. 572

It is remarkable that these features—tall and narrow structure, stilting, and small-scale letters high in the line—are conspicuous in the Greek official hand of the Roman chancery in Egypt as far back as the beginning of the third century (see above, p. 170). Their occurrence both there and in this Latin deed can hardly be accidental; and we may be entitled to find in the fact of their presence in documents so far apart a proof that the style of the chancery hand became so traditional that it maintained leading features for centuries.

This official hand, however, is exceptional, and we turn to the documents on papyrus from Ravenna, Naples, and other places in Italy, dating from the fifth century, for examples of the less trammelled developement of the Roman cursive. The largest number are brought together by Marini (*I Papiri Diplomatici*); other examples will be found in Mabillon (*De Re Diplomatica*), Champollion-Figeac (*Chartes et MSS. sur papyrus*), Massmann (*Urkunden in Neapel und Arezzo*), Gloria (*Paleografia*); in *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in Brit. Mus.* iv, nos. 45, 46; and in *Pal. Soc.* i. 2, 28, ii. 51–3. The following facsimile is from a deed of sale in Rimini (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 5412), drawn up at Ravenna, A. D. 572 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 2). The writing, not only of the deed itself, but also of the attestations, is on a large scale; here reduced.

No. 112

This hand is a direct developement of that of the fourth century. Most of the letters have now assumed the shapes from which the minuscules of the literary hand of the Carolingian period were derived. The letter a is now the open u-shaped minuscule, the derivation of which from the capital can be traced through the intermediate form of the fourth century; it is sometimes written in a small form high in the line, and, in that position, when combined with other letters, it is also reduced to a diminutive curve; and it is to be noticed that it is always connected with the next following letter, and on this account may be distinguished from the letter u, which is never thus connected. The letter b has finally thrown away the open bow on the left in favour of that on the right, and appears in the form familiar in modern writing. The rest of the letters follow those of the fourth century in structure; but the capital form of N no longer appears as an alternative of the minuscule.

No. 113

A good knowledge of the structure of the Roman cursive at this period is so important for a right understanding of certain points which arise in the developement of the minuscule book-hands of the middle ages, that it is useful to place before the student a scheme of the letters and of their combinations as they appear in the Ravenna deed.

The Table of Latin Cursive Alphabets is arranged in three plates. The first comprises alphabets written with the stilus, compiled from the Pompeian wall-inscriptions or *graffiti* and from the two series of waxed tablets of Pompeii and Dacia. The second and third plates exhibit alphabets written with the pen, selected from a series of documents ranging from the beginning of our era to A. D. 572, some of which have already provided our Facsimiles 106–13.

The difference between the stilus-written and the ink-written alphabets is marked by the cessation in the latter of those peculiar forms which were of special convenience in plying the stilus, namely, the vertical-stroke forms of E, F, M, and N. The best illustration of this difference is to be sought by comparing the contemporaneous stilus-written and pen-written alphabets which are drawn from the same series of documents, the Pompeian waxed tablets, as shown in Plate 1, col. 2, and Plate 2, col. 3. It will there be seen that the scribe, on laying down the stilus and assuming the pen, abandons those special forms and employs the ordinary capitals or direct modifications of them.

Other minor distinctions between the two classes of writing will be observed as the several letters, as represented in the three plates of the Table, are passed in review.

The shifting of the cross-bar of the capital A from its normal position to that of a suspended vertical has already been noticed above. The next developement of this action was to attach the suspended stroke to the end of the second limb, thus producing a form which is found under both stilus and pen in the first century; but thenceforward it is superseded by the simpler form of the letter composed of only the two oblique limbs, which appeared in the earliest period and became the prevailing letter of the second and third centuries. The change from this angular shape to the rounded letter leading on eventually to the minuscule was accomplished in the fourth century.

The capital form of B, which appears among the stilus-written letters of Pompeii, vanishes from the contemporary pen-written alphabets; and the alternative form, shaped like a tall Roman a or d, the structure of which has been explained, is consistently employed down to the fourth century, when the minuscule letter of the modern type appears under the influence of the flowing round-hand. But the letter with the bow on the left was not entirely superseded until the sixth century.

The simple structure of C does not invite much variety. We may notice the tendency in the earlier centuries to flatten the head of the letter; but that tendency was naturally corrected when the round-hand fashion set in. The fantastic shape given to the letter in the alphabet of the Imperial Rescripts of the fifth century (Plate 3, col. 6) may be

dismissed, along with other fanciful shapes in that alphabet, as an extravagance of the Chancery scribes—a class of officials who in all ages appear to have taken a perverse, though professional, pleasure in sacrificing legibility to ornamental complication.

The letter D, which, soon changing from the capital to the minuscule, is under the stilus a stiff disjointed letter, gradually assumes, under the pen, more pliant shapes wherein, during the third and fourth centuries, a distinct advance towards the later minuscule is visible.

The letter E, as already noticed, has under the stilus its special, as well as the normal, form. The normal capital passes naturally into the rounded uncial, and, under the pen, a modification of the latter is the wedge or tick-shaped letter which appears as early as the first, and continues down to the third, century.

The capital form of F, which under the stilus divided honours with the special cursive, under the pen held the field down to the transitional period of the fourth century, leading on to the later minuscule letter.

The letter G, like its fellow-letter C, has an early tendency to flatten the head. In the Dacian tablets a form is already developed, with flattened head and lengthened tail, which is practically identical with the later flat-headed minuscule. A similar, but less developed, form is found under the year 156, and in the fourth century we have it again, fully developed, leading on to the letter of the Ravenna deed of 572.

The growth of the minuscule form of H is to be traced from the earliest examples under both stilus and pen, the influence of the latter gradually lengthening the shaft and rounding the body.

The letter I, long and short, and the little used letter K call for no remarks. Nor need the letter L detain us further than to notice that the scribe using the stilus often found it easier to indicate the base line by a short oblique stroke.

We have noticed the use of the vertical cursive form of M by the side of the normal capital under the stilus. The capital, sometimes rounded almost into an uncial, prevailed, under stilus or pen, through the first three centuries. The minuscule letter is established in the fourth century.

So, too, in the case of N, the normal capital (save the limited use of the vertical-stroke letter in the *graffiti*) is constant in the first three centuries, its modifications in many instances resembling those in the Greek cursive; and the round-headed minuscule appears in the fourth century.

The letter O naturally recovers its oval shape under the pen, which it had partially lost under the stilus, as already described.

The bow-less P, which had developed under the stilus, survived under the pen for a longer period than might have been expected. The

Table shows the revival of the normal form only as late as the second century.

Again, in the case of Q, the letter sloping backwards to the left, a convenient formation under the stilus, continued in the first century under the pen; and not until the next century is the slope turned over to the right, an easier position for the pen.

The developement of the bow-less R from the normal capital is to be traced in the stilus-written alphabets. It prevails under the pen (and may often be easily confounded with the letter A of like structure) down to the fourth century, when, under the influence of the flowing, connected style, it developes a shoulder and thus passes into the minuscule form.

So, too, the letter S, proceeding with little variety, but persistently exhibiting a tendency in the first three centuries to flatten the head in an oblique stroke, only attains the roundness of the tall minuscule letter when the flowing style is established.

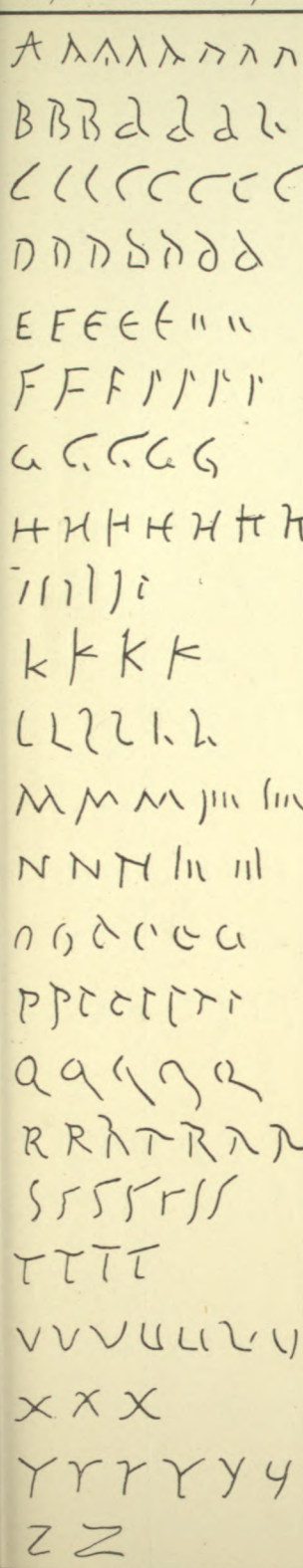
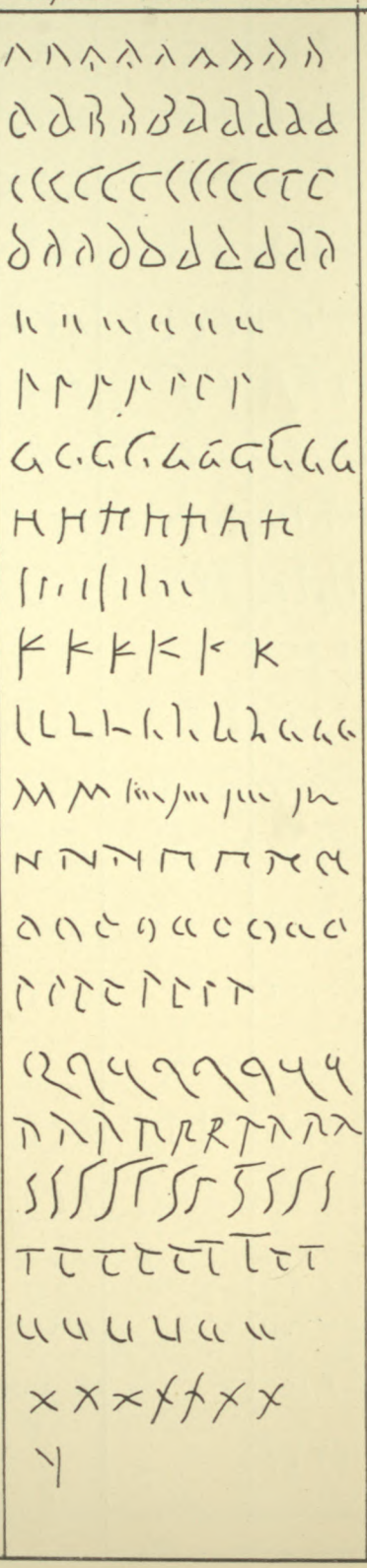
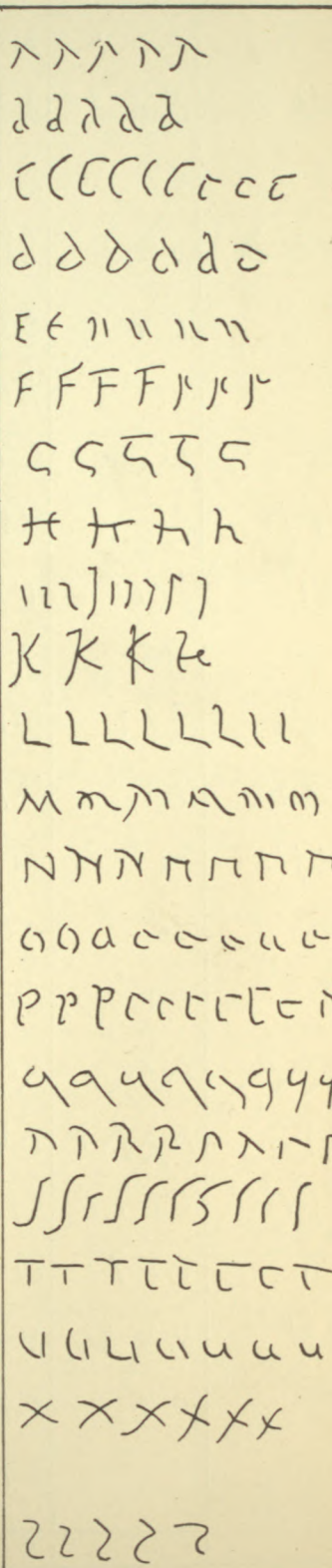
The monotony of the stiff letter T is only relieved by the intermittent appearance of the curved base, which at last becomes constant.

The letter U or V, which under the stilus sometimes assumed a form not unlike the ordinary late minuscule u, keeps to the v-shape (with either pointed or round base) under the pen, being sometimes, like the Greek cursive letter, written in a diminutive size high in the line. The minuscule form developes again under the flowing style of the Ravenna deed.

The uninteresting letter X, and the little used, and almost foreign, letters Y and Z may be dismissed without observation.

LATIN CURSIVE ALPHABETS (N°1)

Written with the stilus

BEFORE A.D. 79. *Pompeian Wall-Inscriptions.*	A.D. 15-61. *Pompeian Waxed Tablets.*	A.D. 131-167. *Dacian Waxed Tablets.*
		

LATIN CURSIVE ALPHABETS (N°2)

Written in ink.

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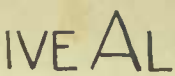
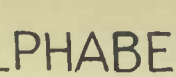
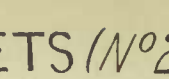
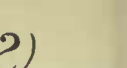
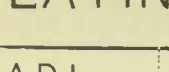
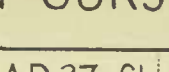
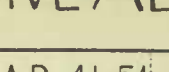
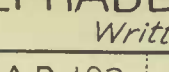
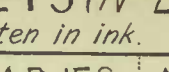
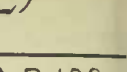
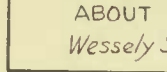
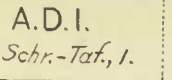
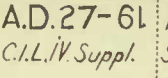
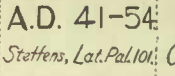
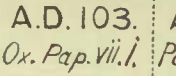
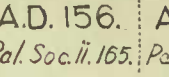
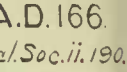
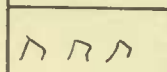
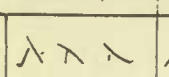
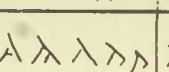
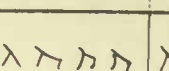
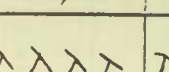
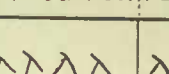
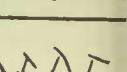
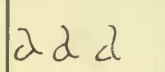
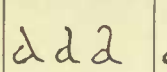
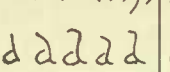
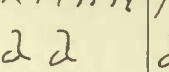
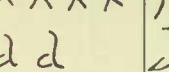
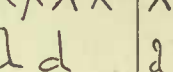
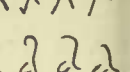
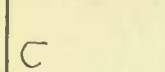
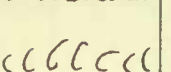
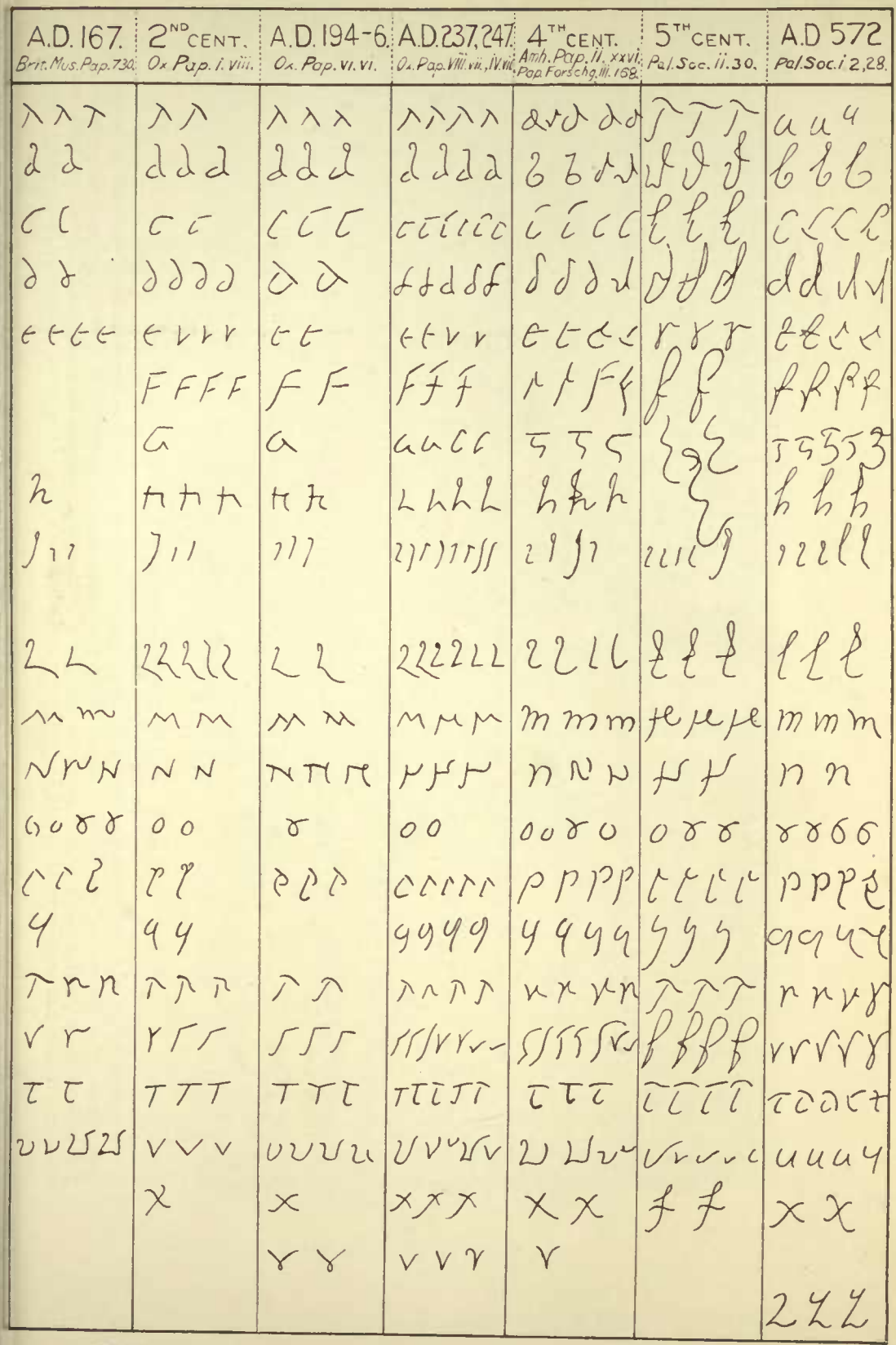
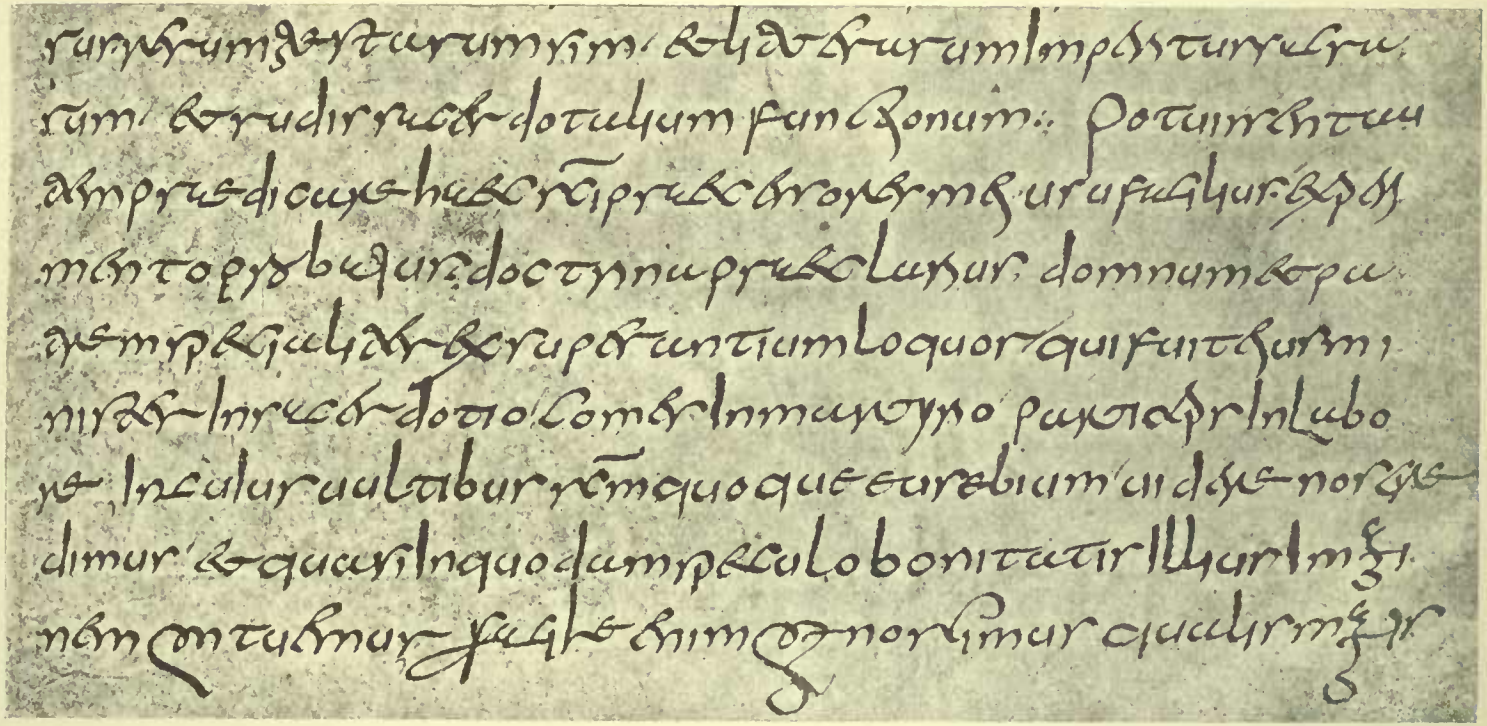
						
						
						
						
						
						

LATIN CURSIVE ALPHABETS (N°3)

Written in ink.





ST. MAXIMUS.—SEVENTH CENTURY

(rus rerum gestarum sim. et litterarum imperitus sacra|rum. et rudis sacerdotalium functionum. Potuissent au|tem praedicare haec *sancti* praecessores mei usu facilius. experi|mento probatius. doctrina praeclarius. domnum et pa|trem specialiter exsuperantium loquor qui fuit eius mi|nister in sacerdotio comes in martyrio particeps in labo|re in cuius vultibus *sanctum* quoque eusebium videre nos cre|dimus et quasi in quodam speculo bonitatis illius imagi|nem contuemur facilo enim cognoscimus qualis magis)

The general application of the Roman cursive hand to the purposes of literature would hardly be expected: but a few surviving instances of its employment for annotations and even for entire texts are found in the notes written, probably in the fifth century, by the Arian bishop Maximin in the margins of a MS. at Paris containing the Acts of the Council of Aquileia; in a short Graeco-Latin vocabulary on papyrus (the Greek words being written in Roman letters), perhaps of the fifth or sixth century (*Not. et Extr. des MSS.* xviii, pl. 18); in the grammatical treatise of the sixth century in the palimpsest MS. of Licinianus in the British Museum (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii, pls. 1, 2); and in the texts of the Homilies of St. Avitus at Paris, perhaps of the sixth century (*Pal. Soc.* i. 68), the Ambrosian Josephus on papyrus, ascribed to the seventh century (*Pal. Soc.* i. 59), and the Homilies of St. Maximus of Turin, also in the Ambrosian Library of Milan (MS. C. 98. P. Inf.), of about the same period (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 32); and in other MSS. From the survival of comparatively so many literary remains in this style, it may be inferred that it was used as a quick and convenient means of writing texts intended probably for ordinary use rather than for the market. As an example, we give a few lines from the MS. of St. Maximus.

No. 114

In this handwriting we see the Roman cursive in course of being moulded into the minuscule script of the pre-Carolingian period and already developing characteristics in forms of letters and in thickening or clubbing of tall main strokes, which continued to mark the Western continental book-hands for many generations.

The connexion of the Roman cursive script with the national hands of continental Western Europe will be described in the next chapter. In direct descent it was employed in the legal documents of Italy for some centuries, ever becoming more and more corrupt and complicated and illegible: see Fumagalli, *Delle Istituzioni diplomatiche*; Sickel, *Monumenta Graphica*; *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, vol. i; and *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino*. The illegible scrawl into which it finally degenerated was at length suppressed by decrees of Frederic II in 1220 and 1231.[1]

[1] In the thirteenth century the Roman cursive was unintelligible. Simon of Genoa, *Clavis Sanctionis* (1514, f. 37), says: 'Ego vidi Romae in gazophilaciis antiquorum monasteriorum Romae libros et privilegia ex hac materia (*sc.* charta) scripta ex litteris apud nos non intelligibilibus, nam figurae nec ex toto Graecae nec ex toto Latinae erant.' And again, when speaking of papyrus (f. 47), he uses these words: 'Ego vidi Romae in aliquibus monasteriis antiquissima volumina ex eisdem litteris semi-graecis scripta ac nullis modernis legibilia.' See De Rossi, *Codd. Palatini Latini*, 1886, Introd. ci.

CHAPTER XVI

LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY (*continued*)

National Minuscule Book-hands

We have now to investigate the very interesting subject of the formation of the national handwritings of Western Europe, derived from Roman writing. As long as the Roman Empire was the central power dominating her colonies and subject nations, the Roman script in all countries where it was employed, and however far apart those countries lay, naturally remained the same. Wherever the Latin language was adopted, the Roman form of writing accompanied it as a matter of course; and, whether it was written by an educated Italian or Gaul or Frank or Spaniard or Briton, in all cases it remained the Roman script pure and simple. But when the Empire was broken and independent nationalities arose and began to advance on their own independent paths of civilization, the handwriting which they had learned from their Roman masters gradually assumed distinctive characteristics, and in each country where it was used it took the complexion of its surroundings and finally developed into a national hand; unless from some particular cause the continuity of the effects of the Roman occupation was interrupted, as it was in Britain by the Saxon invasions and conquests. On the Continent the cursive hand which has been described in the last chapter became the basis of the writing of Italy, Spain, and Frankland, and from it were moulded the three national hands which we know as Lombardic, Visigothic, and Merovingian. The common origin of all three is sufficiently evident on an inspection of the earliest charters of those countries which, dating generally from the seventh century, remained fairly close to each other in the character of their writing. Something will be said in a future chapter regarding the cursive hands in which these documents are written. In this place we are dealing with the literary scripts.

In the book-hands elaborated by professional scribes from the cursive, with a certain admixture of uncial and half-uncial forms, we shall find the lines of demarcation between the three kinds of writing more clearly defined. But it was only to be expected that, particularly in the earlier stages of the growth of the national literary hands, there should be examples which it would be difficult to assign definitely to

either one or other of these national divisions; and, as a matter of fact, the difference between a MS. written in France and another written in Italy is not always so strongly marked as to enable us to call the one decidedly Merovingian or the other decidedly Lombardic in its style. For this reason it seems the best course to examine the Visigothic script first, as being more independent of the other two national handwritings; and afterwards to take up the history of the Lombardic and the Merovingian hands, reserving to the end the consideration of the mixed hands which lead on to the pre-Carolingian series, and thence to the minuscule book-hand resulting from the Carolingian reform.[1]

Visigothic

Visigothic is the title given to the national writing of Spain derived from the Roman cursive. It developed a book-hand of distinctive character, which is well established in the eighth and ninth centuries and lasts down to the twelfth century. Its final disuse was due, as in the case of the other continental national hands, to the advance of the Carolingian minuscule hand, which, however, as was to be expected, could only displace the native hand by degrees, making its presence felt at first in the north of the Peninsula.[2] In the collection of photographic facsimiles *Exempla Scripturae Visigoticae*, edited by Ewald and Loewe (Heidelberg, 1883), the course of the Visigothic writing can be fairly well followed. In the cursive hand of the seventh century there is little variation from the Roman cursive; but soon after we find a half-cursive book-hand (*op. cit.*, tab. 4) which has already assumed

[1] Dr. E. A. Loew, who has made a particular study of the continental national scripts, has recently described in his *Studia Palaeographica* (*Sitzungsber. d. kgl. Bayerischen Akademie*, 1910), the employment in South Italian, or Beneventan, and in Visigothic MSS. of the *i-longa* or tall i, and of the ligatured ti, for special purposes.

(i) In Visigothic MSS. the *i-longa* was employed initially for convenience of marking the beginning of the word (in fact, as a capital initial), as *Iam*, *In*, *Iste*. But, if the letter following the i happened to be a tall letter, then the use of *i-longa* was not obligatory; thus *ibi*, *id*, *ille* might be preferred to *Ibi*, *Id*, *Ille*. It was employed medially to represent the semi-vocal i, as *maIas*, *aIebat*, *eIus*. In Beneventan MSS. the same rules obtained, with this difference that the *i-longa* was not used initially, if the second letter of the word was shafted either above or below the line; thus, *ibi*, *ille*, *ipse* (not *Ibi*, *Ille*, *Ipse*).

(ii) In both Visigothic (after about A. D. 900) and in Beneventan MSS. the scribes appear to have consistently written ti in form of a ligature (as found in the cursive hands) to represent the assibilated sound: it being the general rule that before a vowel ti has the assibilated sound; but, if preceded by the letter s, it has the unassibilated sound.

[2] 'Dans un des volumes acquis par nous se trouve le catalogue des livres que le monastère de Silos possédait au commencement du XIIIe siècle . . . . Le rédacteur du catalogue a pris soin d'avertir que plusieurs des livres de son abbaye étaient écrits en lettres françaises. . . . C'est une allusion à la révolution qui s'introduit au XIIe siècle, et peut-être dès le XIe, dans les habitudes des copistes espagnols, probablement sous l'influence des colonies françaises que notre grande abbaye de Cluni envoya dans plusieurs diocèses d'Espagne.'—Delisle, *Mélanges de Paléographie*, 59.

a distinctive character, as will be seen from the following facsimile. It comes from a treatise of St. Augustine in the Escurial (R. ii. 18) written apparently in the first half of the eighth century.

No. 115

In this specimen the forms of the later Roman cursive letters are treated in a peculiar method, the inclination of the writing to the left imparting a compressed and angular character. The high-shouldered letter r and letter t are already in the shapes which at a later period are prominent in Visigothic MSS., and the letter g is beginning to take the q-form which makes it the most characteristic letter of the Visigothic alphabet. It is interesting to notice the shapes of a, frequently written above the line, and of u (the linking of the a, which distinguishes it, as in its Roman prototype, from the independently written u, still being observed), the forms of p, and the different changes of t when in combination with other letters—all referable to their Roman ancestors. Further there are instances of the use of *i-longa* (see p. 341 note) and, in line 6, of the ligature for assibilated ti.

In many of the specimens of the eighth and ninth centuries we find a small evenly-written hand, in which the light and heavy strokes are in strong contrast, the inclination of the letters being still rather to the left. As a fine example of the writing of the ninth century, we select a facsimile from an Orationale Gothicum, or prayers for the services in the early Mozarabic liturgy, in the British Museum (Add. MS. 30852) from the monastery of S. Domingo de Silos near Burgos (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 58).

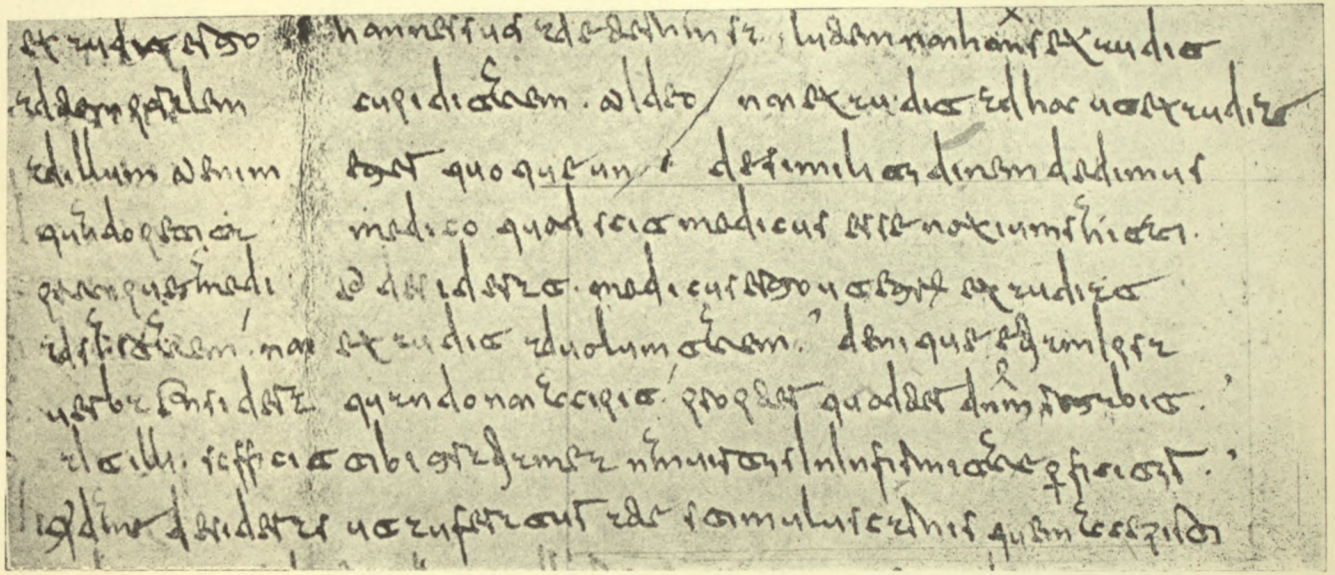
No. 116

The letters of the Visigothic hand are here fully developed; and at the same time the thickening or clubbing of the tall vertical strokes seems to indicate the influence of the French school. The MS. being for liturgical use is written on a large scale.

Advancing some hundred years, our next facsimile is from a Martyrology in the British Museum (Add. MS. 25600), which was written in the monastery of S. Pedro de Cardeña in the diocese of Burgos in the year 919 (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 65; *Pal. Soc.* i. 95).

No. 117

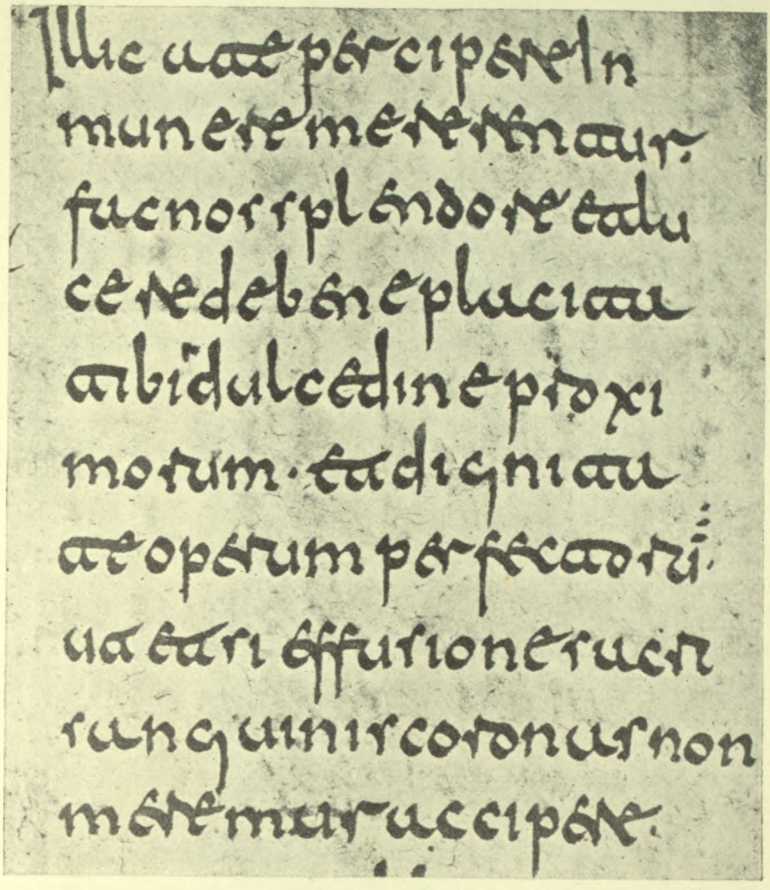
It will be seen that this specimen differs from the last one in being rather squarer in form of letters and in having the vertical strokes finer. There is, in fact, a decided loss as regards actual beauty of writing.



ST. AUGUSTINE.—EIGHTH CENTURY

(exaudit ergo homnes suos ad eternam salutem non hom*nes* exaudit | ad temporalem cupiditatem . et Ideo non exaudit ad hoc ut exaudiat | ad illum etenim eger quoque unde similitudinem dedimus | quando petit a medico quod scit medicus esse noxium sanitati . | precipue a medico desiderat . medicus ergo ut *egrum* exaudiat | ad sanitatem . non exaudiat ad volumtatem . denique etiam Ipsa | verba considera quando non accipit . propter quod ter *domin*um rogabit . | aIt illi . sufficit tibi gratia mea nam virtus In Infirmitate *per*ficitur | *quid* a me desideras ut auferatur a te stimulus carnis quem accepisti)

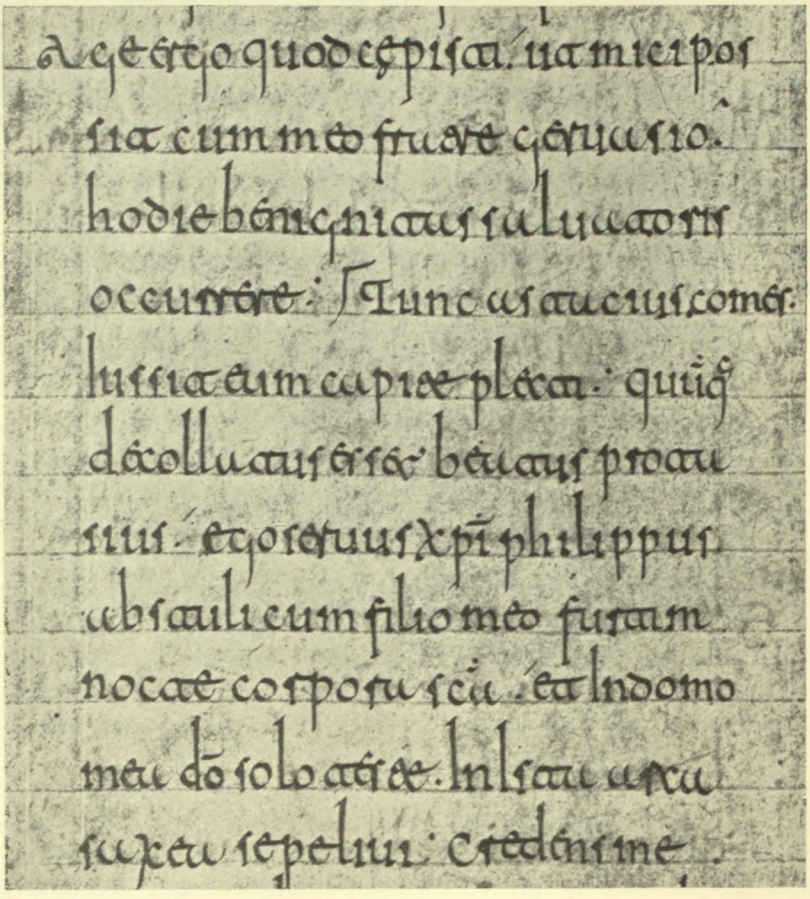
FACSIMILE No. 116



ORATIONALE GOTHICUM.—NINTH CENTURY

(Illic a te percipere In | munere mererentur . | fac nos splendore et lu|cere de beneplacita | tibi dulcedine proxi|morum . et dignita|te operum perfectorum . | ut etsi effusione sacri | sanguinis coronas non | meremur accipere .)

FACSIMILE No. 117



MARTYROLOGY.—A. D. 919

(Age ergo quod cępisti ⁄ ut mici pos|sit cum meo fratre gervasio ⁄ | hodie benignitas salvatoris | occurrere : Tunc astacius comes | Iussit eum capite plecti : quu*mque* | decollatus esset beatus prota|sius ⁄ ego servus chr*isti* philippus | abstuli cum filio meo furtim | nocte corpora *sancta* ⁄ et In domo | mea deo solo teste . In Ista arca | saxea sepelivi : credens me)

The MS. is one which may be classed as a specimen of calligraphy, and therefore rather in advance of others of the same period which still retain much of the older character; and it is dominated by the increasing influence of the French hand. In passing, the use of the conjunction *quum* in our specimen may be noticed, a practice of Visigothic scribes, while those of other nations usually employ the form *cum*.[1]

Squareness and thinness of type increase in course of time, and are most characteristic of later Visigothic writing of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. In this change we may trace the same influence which was at work in other handwritings of Western Europe of that period.

In illustration of this more meagre style, a facsimile is given from a MS. of the Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse, in the British Museum (Add. MS. 11695), which was written in the monastery of S. Domingo of Silos in the year 1109 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 48).

No. 118

In lines 3 and 4 are instances of medial *i-longa* in *eIus*, and in line 8 of the ligature for the assibilated ti in *congregatio*; and attention may be called to the use of the abbreviated form of *per* (or *par*) peculiar to the Visigothic hand, which in other countries would represent *pro*.

The few examples of the Visigothic book-hand which have been submitted may suffice to show that the Spanish scribes, in forming their literary hand, fastened on certain prominent features in the later Roman cursive and manipulated them in a fashion which to our modern ideas might seem affected. But the same remark, as will be presently seen, may be applied also to the methods of other national hands. In this script the Roman cursive u-shaped a of the Ravenna deeds becomes the open Visigothic letter; g assumes its characteristic q-shape; the shoulder of r is inclined to exaggeration; the incipient backward curve of the cross stroke of t, as seen in the later Roman cursive, is here brought right down to the base producing the *a*-shaped letter, which, however, like its prototype, takes other forms in combination with other letters. In certain signs of abbreviation, too, we find a survival of the cursive u written as a curve above the line, as in terminations *ue* and *us*. But of course at the same time there is also the national character inherent in the script, which, quite independently of any peculiar forms of letters, reveals the nationality of a handwriting as clearly as personal handwriting reveals the individual.

[1] To quote an exception to the general rule, the forms *quum* and *quius* occur in a Corbie MS. of St. Augustine, ascribed to the fifth century, now at St. Petersburg.—Chatelain, *Uncialis Scriptura*, iii.

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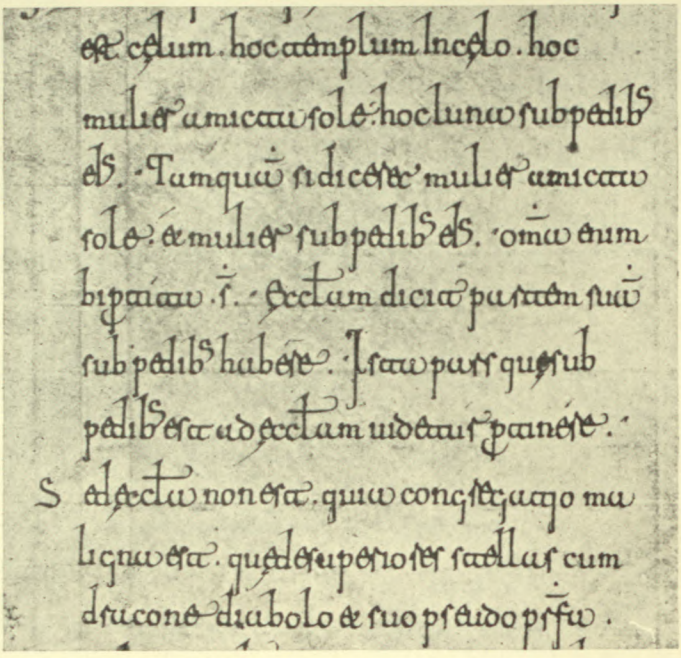


BEATUS ON THE APOCALYPSE.—A. D. 1109

(est cęlum. hoc templum In cęlo. hoc | mulier amicta sole: hoc luna sub pedib*us* | el*us* ⁄ Tamqua*m* si diceret mulier amicta | sole ⁄ et mulier sub pedib*us* el*us* ⁄ omn*ia* enim | bip*ar*tita s*unt* ⁄ Ęccle*si*am dicit partem sua*m* | sub pedib*us* habere ⁄ Ista pars quę sub | pedib*us* est ad ęccle*si*am videtur p*er*tinére ⁄ | Sed ęccl*es*ia non est. quia congregatio ma|ligna est. quę desuperiores stellas cum | dracone diabolo et suo pseudo pr*ofe*ta)

Lombardic

That the national handwriting of Italy, founded on the old Roman cursive, should not have developed on the same lines throughout the country is attributable to political causes. The defeat of the Lombards in Northern Italy by Charlemagne subjected it there to new influences, and checked its developement in the direction which it continued to follow in the Lombard duchies of the south, and particularly in the monasteries of Monte Cassino near Naples and La Cava near Salerno. Therefore, although the title of Lombardic is applied as a general term to the writing of Italy in the early middle ages, that title might be more properly restricted to its particular developement in the south, to which the titles of Beneventan is also given, covering the period from the ninth to the thirteenth century, and reaching its climax in the eleventh century.

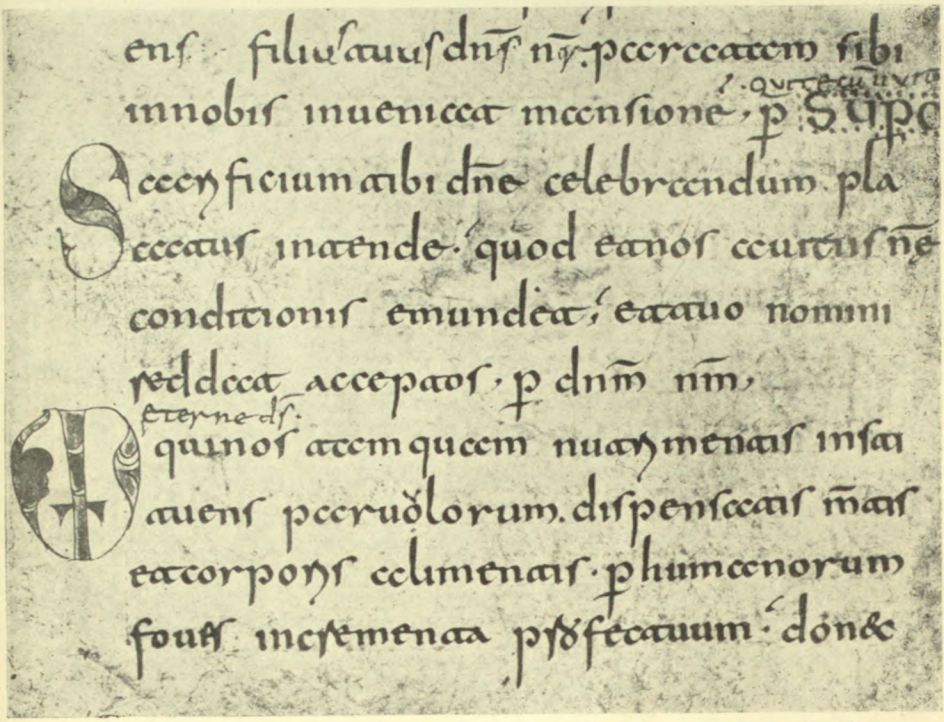
In the early specimens of the Italian literary hand the marked character which it developed at a later time is only incipient. In an example of the book-hand of Northern Italy in the seventh century, the Verona Augustine (Sickel, *Mon. Graph.* iii. 1), we find the half-uncial element very strong, and what would be termed the Lombardic element, the peculiar adaptation of certain cursive forms, rather subordinate. Again, in the Sacramentarium (MS. 348) of St. Gall, which belonged to Remedius, Bishop of Chur (A.D. 800–20), and which may therefore be placed at least as early as the beginning of the ninth century, if not at the end of the eighth century, the writing is rather of a type which we should prefer to call incipient Lombardic. In the facsimile here given, while the descent of the writing from the Roman cursive can pretty readily be traced, the national character of the hand is not as yet very marked (*Pal. Soc.* i. 185).

No. 119

In this hand, as in the Visigothic, the letters a and t are characteristic, the latter letter being constructed on the same lines as the Visigothic letter; but it will be observed that it is not universally employed (see *conditionis*, l. 5). The letter a, open and in the form of double-c, marks the Lombardic hand. The occasional use of the high-shouldered r, and its cursive combination with i and o, will also be noticed.

The next facsimile is from a MS. of Alcuin *De Trinitate*, of the year 812, in the monastery of Monte Cassino (*Pal. art. di M. C.* xxxvii).

FACSIMILE No. 119



SACRAMENTARIUM.—ABOUT A. D. 800

(ens filiu's tuus *domin*us *nos*ter . paratam sibi | in nobis inveniat mansione*m* . *per* 'qui tecu*m* vivit' Super o[blationem] | Sacrificium tibi d*omi*ne celebrandum . pla|catus intende . quod et nos a vitiis *nostr*ę | conditionis emundet . et tuo nomini | reddat acceptos . *per* *domin*um *nostr*um . | O 'ęterne d*eus*' qui nos tamquam nutrimentis insti|tuens parvolorum . dispensatis m*en*tis | et corporis alimentis . *per*humanorum | foves incrementa profectuum . donec)

No. 120

In this example we see the characteristic shapes of the letters a and t now quite developed; and the growth of the tall e, with indented back-curve, which also became a characteristic Lombardic letter. Instances of the use of the ligature for assibilated ti are to be seen in lines 5 and 7. And even at this early period there is discernible the tendency to give a finish to short vertical strokes, as in m, n, and u, by adding heavy oblique heads and feet, which later became so marked a characteristic of the Lombardic book-hand.

In a script which thus early displayed a partiality for extreme ornament, it is obvious that the tendency to artificiality would strengthen, as scribe after scribe sought to maintain the tradition of the standard thus set up. This we find to be the case; and, as time proceeds, the artificiality is intensified.

The next facsimile, taken from a MS. of the *Achilleis* of Statius in Eton College Library (MS. Bl. 6. 5), shows the Lombardic book-hand at the end of the tenth century, having made comparatively small progress on the style of the previous example; the inherent conservatism of any extremely artificial form of writing naturally running in a narrow groove and resisting changes from outside influence (*New Pal. Soc.* 110).

No. 121

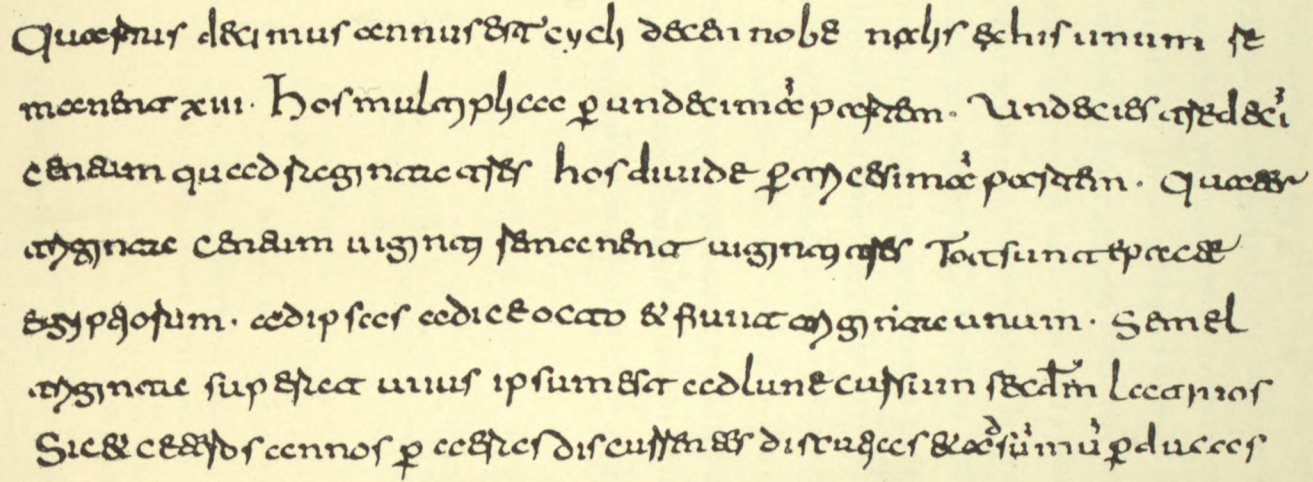
The hand is here in settled form, with its characteristic letters quite defined. The double-c form of a is generally so close-set that it more nearly resembles oc combined, and it occasionally runs a risk of confusion with letter t. The memory of the varieties in Roman cursive still finds expression in the changes of letters r and t in different positions.

The style of ornamental finish noticed above was carried to its height in the course of the eleventh century, and had the result of imparting to Lombardic writing of that period, by the strong contrast of the fine and heavy strokes, the peculiar appearance which has gained for it the name of *broken* Lombardic. The facsimile which follows is a handsome specimen of this type. It is from a Lectionary written at Monte Cassino between the years 1058 and 1087 (*Pal. art. di M. C.* xlv).

No. 122

It will be observed that in the structure of the letters, especially in the case of the short square letters i, m, n, u, and partially in others, the natural methods of writing are in some measure inverted; a fine stroke often taking the place of the heavy stroke of the ordinary hand, and a heavy stroke the place of the fine stroke. Using a broad-pointed pen,

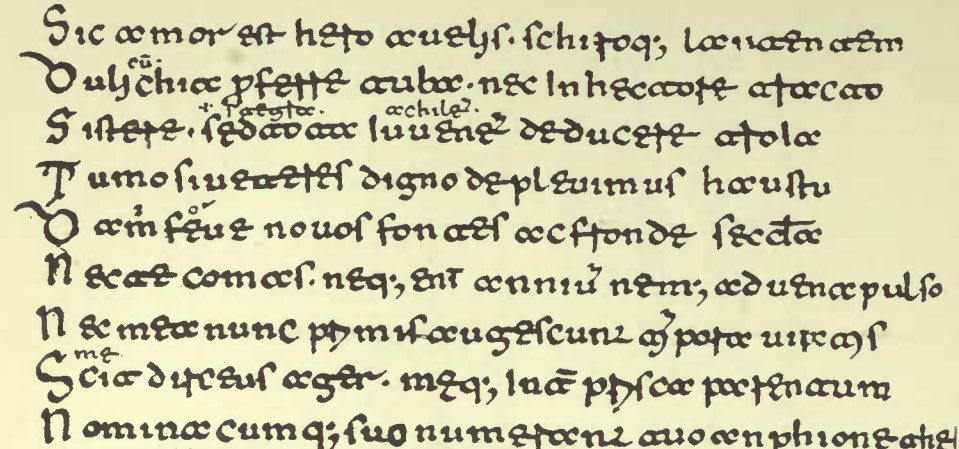
FACSIMILE No. 120



ALCUIN.—A. D. 812

(quartus decimus annus est cycli decennobennalis ex his unum re|manent xiii . Hos multiplica *per* undecima*m* partem . Unde*cies* tredeci*m* | centum quadraginta tres hos divide *per* tricesima*m* partem . Quater | triginta centum viginti remanent viginti tres Tot sunt epacte | egyptiorum . ad ipsas adice octo et fiunt triginta unum . Semel | triginta superat unus ipsum est ad lune cursum sec*und*um latinos | Sic et ceteros annos *per* aeras discurrentes discutias et a'd' su*m*mum *per*ducas)

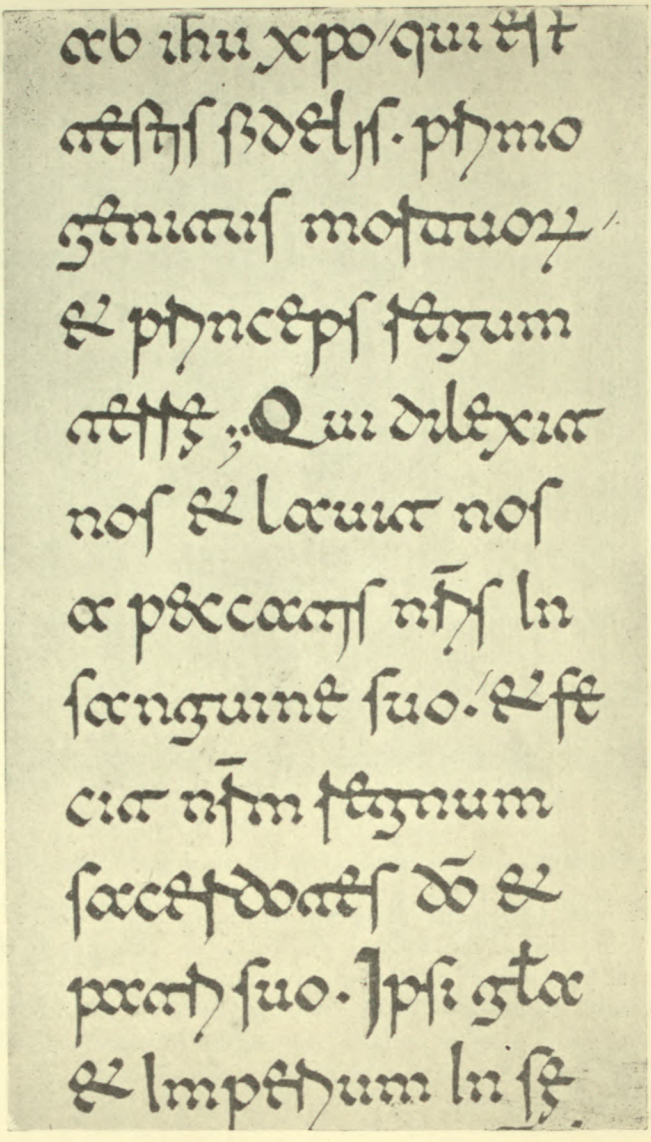
FACSIMILE NO. 121



STATIUS.—END OF TENTH CENTURY

(Sic amor est hero avelis · schiroque latentem
cum
Dulichia proferre tuba · nec In hectore tracto
id est integra. achilem.
Sistere · sed tota Iuvenem deducere troia
Tu mo si veteres digno deplevimus haustu
o'
Da mihi feve novos fontes ac fronde secunda
Necte comas · neque enim annium nemus advena pulso
Nec mea nunc primis augescunt timpora vittis
me
Scit dirceus ager · meque Inter prisca parentum
Nomina cumque suo numerant tuo anphione the[be]
octavine vel domitiane i.d est multum.
At tu quem longe primum stupet Itala virtus
Graiaque cui gemine florent vatumque ducumque
Certatim laurus · olim dolet altera vinci
Da veniam ' ac trepidum patere hoc sudare parumper
Pulvere · te longo nondum fidente paratu
Molimur · magnusque tibi preludit achilles)

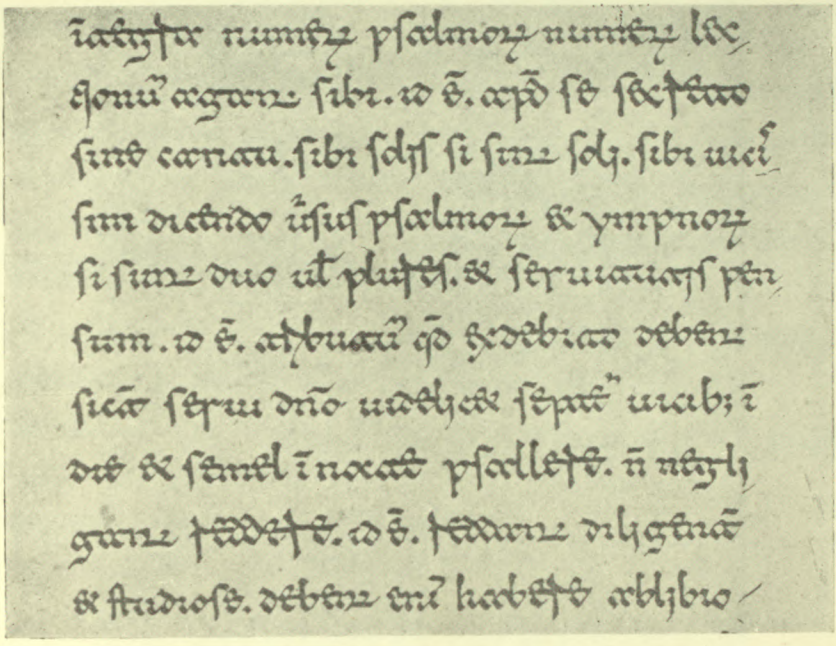
FACSIMILE No. 122



LECTIONARY.—A.D. 1058–87

(ab iesu chr*isto* qui est | testis fidelis . primo|genitus mortuor*um* | et princeps regum | terrę . Qui dilexit | nos et lavit nos | a peccatis n*ost*ris In | sanguine suo . et fe|cit n*ostrum* regnum | sacerdotes d*eo* et | patri suo . Ipsi gl*oria* | et Imperium In sę[cula])

FACSIMILE No. 123



COMMENTARY ON MONASTIC RULES.—A.D. 1264–82

(*in*tegra numer*um* psalmor*um* numer*um* lec|tionu*m* agant sibi . id e*st* . ap*ud* se secreto | sine cantu . sibi solis si sint soli . sibi vicis|sim dicendo v*er*sus psalmor*um* et ympnor*um* | si sunt duo v*el* plures . et servitutis pen|sum . id *est* . tributu*m* q*uo*d ex debito debent | sic*ut* servi d*omi*no videlicet septem vici-bu*s* *in* | die et semel *in* nocte psallere . n*on* negli|gant reddere . id e*st* . reddant diligenter | et studiose . debent eni*m* habere a blibio[theca])

the scribe turns his hand inwards and thus gives full breadth and solidity to oblique strokes drawn from left to right, while the vertical strokes of the short square letters named above, and the oblique strokes, from right to left, of others, are little more than hair-lines. It is this inversion of the customary practice of penmanship that lends to broken Lombardic its striking aspect of ornamentation.

After this period the Lombardic hand declines in beauty, though it still maintains its artificial character. A specimen of the later style is found in a commentary on monastic rules by Bernard, abbot of Monte Cassino from 1264 to 1282 (*Pal. art. di M. C.* liii).

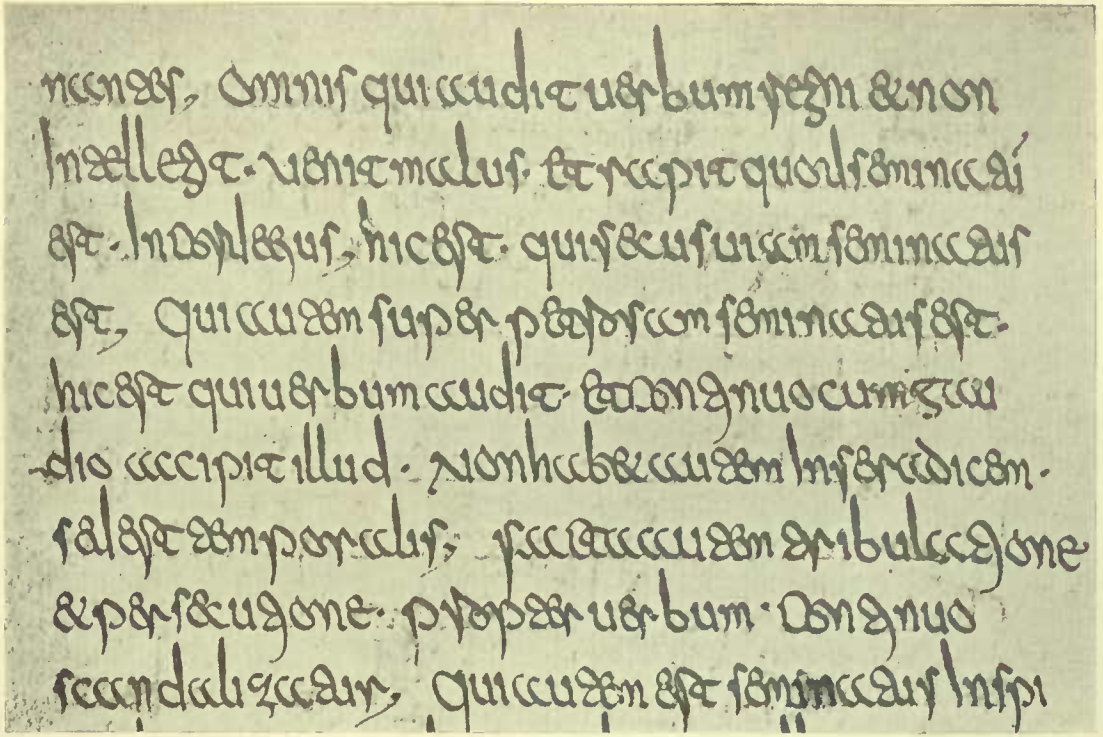
No. 123

There is an instance of the use of the ligature for the assibilated ti at the beginning of line 2.

In the above specimens the developement of the Lombardic book-hand has been followed only in the direct line, leaving out of account those varieties, to which reference has been made, lying on the border-land between Lombardic and Frankish styles of writing. It is more convenient to place them in a class which may be styled Franco-Lombardic, to be noticed in succession to the purely Merovingian literary hand which has now to be described.

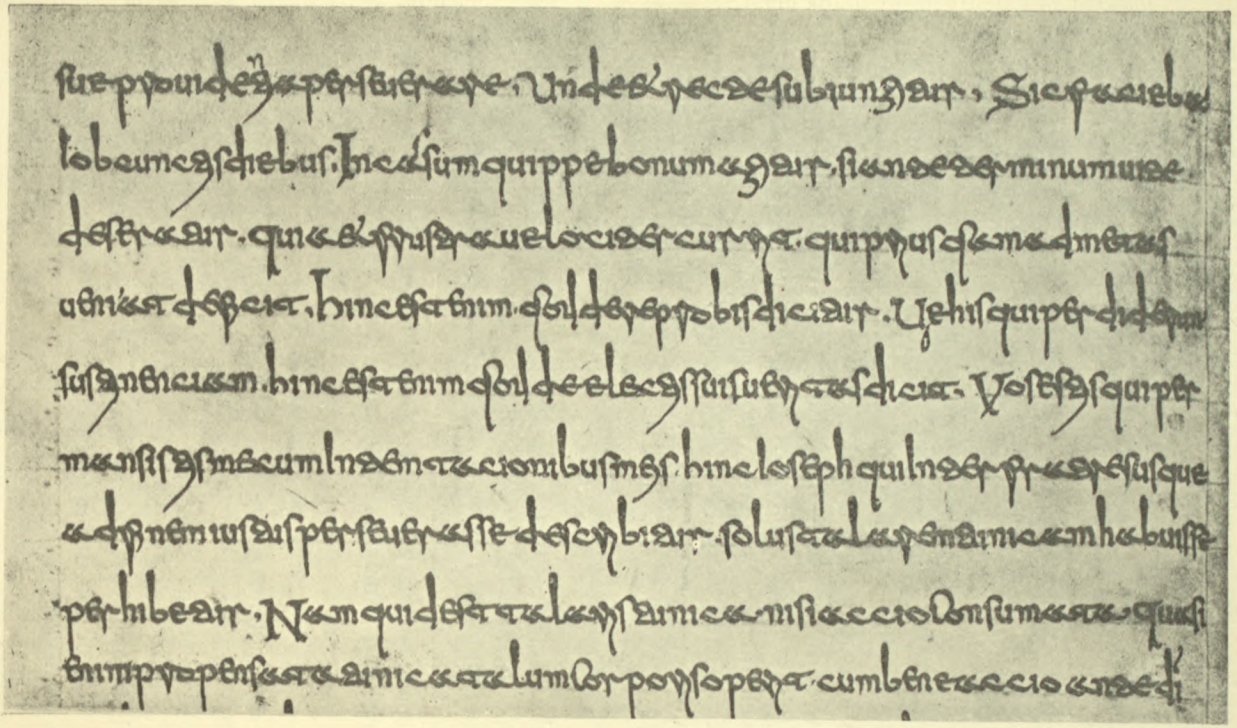
Merovingian

The many hands which have been classed as Merovingian, practised as they were through the wide extent of the Frankish Empire, were necessarily of different types; and, as we have already stated, the boundary lines between the several national hands are not always to be accurately defined. The style of writing to which the name of Merovingian may *par excellence* be applied, is seen in its cursive form in the diplomas still existing of the Merovingian sovereigns; but this official cursive writing and its later developement in the scripts employed in the Imperial Chancery will be considered in a later chapter, in conjunction with other official cursive hands of Western Europe. It may suffice in this place to state briefly that there is no difficulty in tracing the descent of the various forms of letters employed in these documents from the parent stock, the Roman cursive. But, besides shapes and varieties of Roman cursive origin, to be found here as well as in other national hands, special notice may be taken of the narrow double-c shaped a, which is characteristic in the Merovingian hand, and, in a less degree, of the u, worn down into a curved or sickle-shaped stroke—a form which is also found in Frankish literary writing, not only as an over-written u, but also as a letter in the body of the writing.



LECTIONARY.—LATE SEVENTH CENTURY

(nantes . omnis qui audit verbum regni et non | Intellegit . venit malus . et rapit quod seminatum | est . In corde eius . hic est . qui secus viam seminatus | est, qui autem super petrosam seminatus est . | hic est qui verbum audit . et continuo cum gaudio accipit illud . non habet autem In se radicem . | sed est temporalis, facta autem tribulatione | et persecutione . propter verbum . continuo | scandalizatur, qui autem est seminatus In spi)



ST. GREGORY.—EIGHTH CENTURY

(sue provide'n'tia perseverare . Unde et recte subiungitur, Sic faciebat | Iob cunctis diebus . Inca's'sum quippe bonum agitur . si ante terminum vite | deseratur . quia et frustra velociter currit . qui prius-quam ad metas | ven'i'at deficit . Hinc est enim quod de reprobis dicitur . Vę hisquiperdiderunt | sustinenciam . hinc est enim quod de electis suis veritas dicit . Vos estis qui per|mansistis mecum In temtacionibus meis . hinc Ioseph qui Inter fratres usque | ad finem iustus perseverasse describitur . solus talarem tunicam habuisse | perhibetur, Nam quid est talaris tunica . nisi accio consumata . quasi | enim propensata tunica talum corporis operit . cum bene accio ante dei)

The Merovingian book-hand, immediately derived from the official cursive writing, is, in fact, that hand moulded into a set calligraphic style, and appears in certain, not very numerous, MSS. of the seventh and eighth centuries. Professor Traube has classed this book-hand as the Luxeuil script.[1] We select a specimen from the Lectionary of Luxeuil Abbey (Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds lat. 9427); late seventh century.[2]

No. 124

The points to be noticed are: the characteristic open a, formed by two curves like a double-c, but generally with thin pointed heads, and wanting the dots or thickenings seen in the Lombardic letter; the letter t having the hinder curve of the cross stroke joined to the main stroke at the centre, instead of, as usually in the Visigothic and Lombardic forms, at the base; the varying shapes of the same letter in different combinations; and the long and high-shouldered r under certain conditions, in place of the more ordinary letter—all of Roman cursive origin. Especially is the clubbing of the main strokes of tall letters to be noted as influencing the character of the later, Carolingian, hand.

Another example of the Luxeuil type, but of later date, is taken from a MS. of Pope Gregory's *Moralia*, of the eighth century (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 31031; *Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 51).

No. 125

Here are the same features as in the previous example: the same style of letters, combinations, and clubbing of the tall main strokes. The strongly-defined angularity of the two limbs of a has been noted as characteristic of this later hand.[3]

These two specimens may suffice to show the Merovingian book-hand as normally developed from the official cursive.

Franco-Lombardic

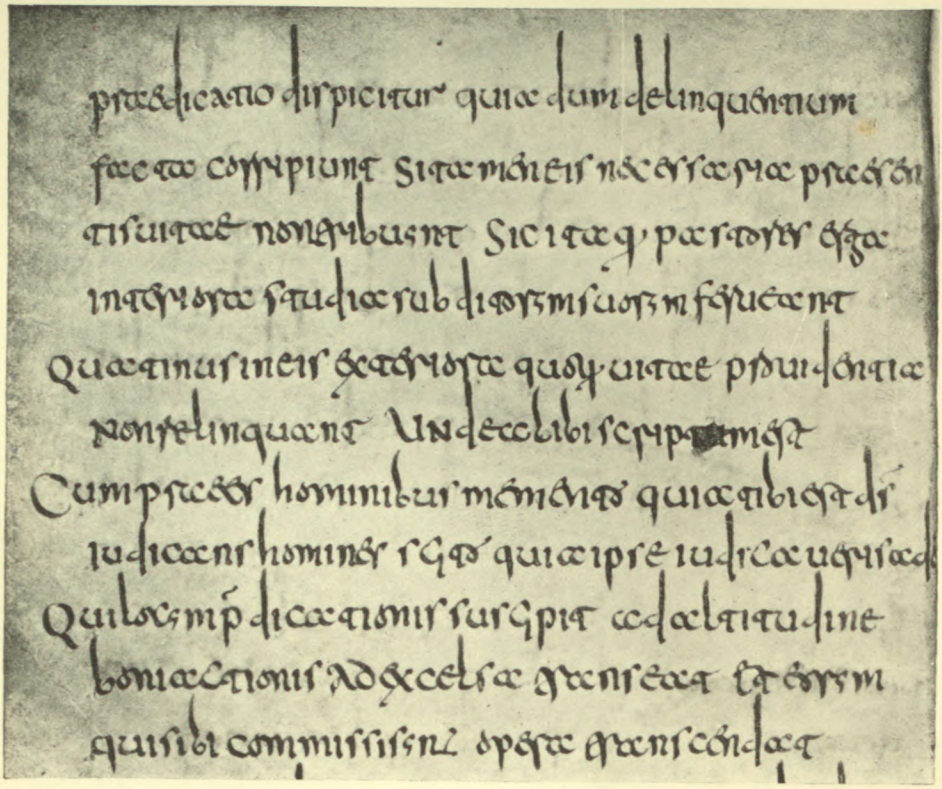
The mixed styles above referred to, as used within the limits of the Frankish Empire, we have, for convenience, classed under the general title of Franco-Lombardic. For this particular section the material is still far from complete, and it is more prudent to await the result of special research before venturing on a more definite classification. To give a general idea of the diversity of these handwritings, we must be content with a few examples.

[1] *Vorlesungen*, ii. 22–27. See a list of MSS. in Loew, *Studia Palaeogr.* 31.

[2] See *Notice sur un Manuscrit de l'Abbaye de Luxeuil*, by L. Delisle, in *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, tome xxxi. pl. iv.

[3] Loew, 33–4.

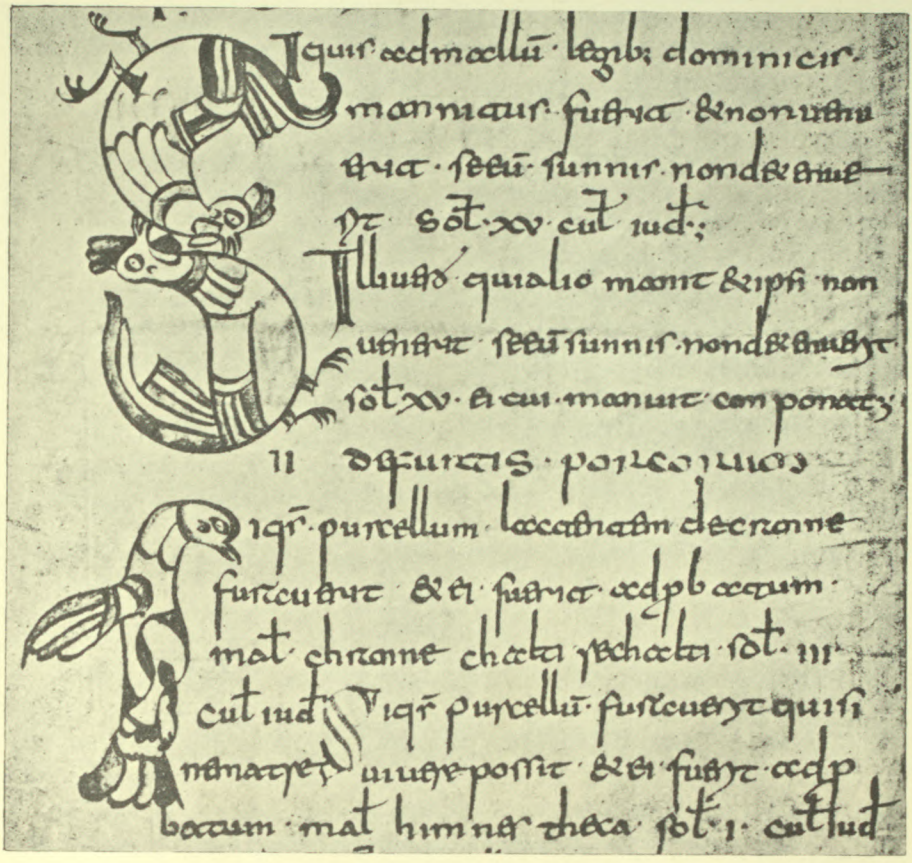
FACSIMILE No. 126



HOMILIES.—SEVENTH OR EIGHTH CENTURY

(praedicatio dispicitur quia dum delinquentium | facta corripiunt Si tamen eis necessaria praesen|tis vitae non tribuunt Sic itaque pastores erga | interiora studia subditorum suorum ferveant | Quatinus in eis exteriora quoque vitae providentia | non relinquant Unde alibi scriptum est | Cum praees hominibus memento quia tibi est deus | iudicans homines scito quia ipse iudicaveris a deo | Qui locum predicationis suscipit ad altitudine | boni actionis ad excelsa transeat et eorum | qui sibi commissi sunt opera transcendat)

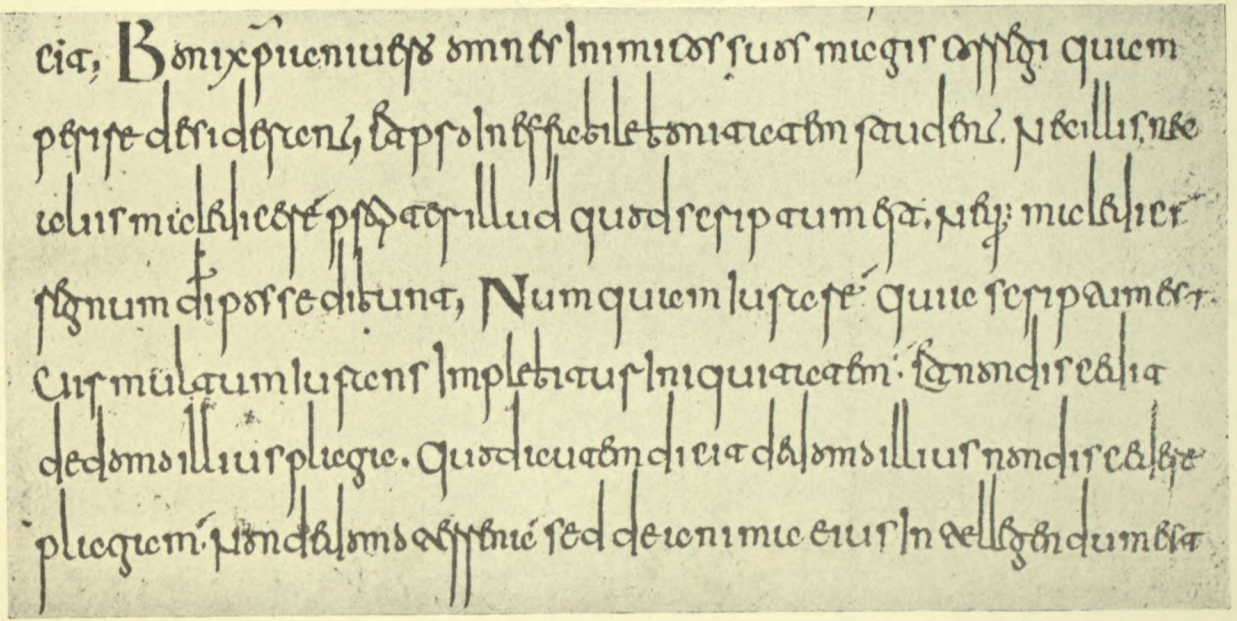
FACSIMILE No. 127



LEX SALICA.—A.D. 794

(Si quis ad mallum . legibus dominicis . | mannitus . fuerit . et non venu|erit . se eum . sunnis non detenue|rit . solidos . xv . culpabilis iudicetur . | Illi vero . qui alio manit et ipsi non | venerit . se eum sunnis . non detenuerit . | solidos xv . ei . cui . manuit . conponat . | II . DE FVRTIS . PORCORVM | Si quis . purcellum . lactentem de cranne | furaverit . et ei . fuerit . adprobatum | malberg chranne chalti rechalti . solidos . iii . | culpabilis iudicetur Si quis purcellum furaverit qui si|ne matre vivere possit . et ei . fuerit adpro|batum . malberg himnes theca . solidum . i . culpabilis iudicetur)

FACSIMILE No. 128



HOMILIES.—EIGHTH CENTURY

(cit . Boni chr*isti*ani vero omnes Inimicos suos magis corregi quam | perire desiderant , et pro Ineffabile bonitatem student . nec illis , nec | aliis maledicere propter illud quod scriptum est . neq*ue* maledici | regnum d*e*i possedibunt , Numquam Iurare ⁊ quia scriptum est | vir multum Iurans Implebitur Iniquitatem ⁊ et non discedit | de domo illius plaga . Quod autem dicit de domo illius non discedere | plagam ⁊ non de domo terrena sed de anima eius Intellegendum est)

The following specimen is from the Harley MS. 5041, in the British Museum, containing theological treatises and homilies, of the seventh or eighth century.

No. 126

This MS. has been grouped with those of the Luxeuil type,[1] but it can hardly claim a close affinity. A characteristic is the bent or broken stem of b and l; and other letters to be specially noticed are the a, which is of a type neither decidedly Merovingian nor decidedly Lombardic, though rather inclining to the latter; and the sickle-shaped u.

Next, we select a facsimile from an interesting MS. of the Lex Salica at St. Gall (Cod. 731) written in a mixed hand in A.D. 794 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 184).

No. 127

Here, although the writing has been classed as Lombardic, the style is mixed, and the test letter a appears in Lombardic, Merovingian, and Carolingian forms.

Above all, there is a class of MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries of a conventional type, which Professor Traube has identified as of the Corbie script,[2] but which has hitherto been usually described as Lombardic. Among other examples[3] are the Paris MS. 3836, containing a collection of Ecclesiastical Canons, of the eighth century (*Pal. Soc.* i. 8, 9); some leaves of the eighth century added to a MS. of Homilies, etc., written at Soissons;[4] and the Harley MS. 3063, the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Pauline Epistles (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 35), of the ninth century. We select a few lines from the Soissons MS. of the eighth century (Brussels, Royal Library, MS. 9850–2).

No. 128

The characteristic letters to be noted in this hand are: open a, formed as if a combination of u and c, the first limb straight, the second curved; and b with an abnormally small bow, and a connecting stroke proceeding at right angles from the shaft. We may also observe the letter e generally rising above the line; looped o; long r; and looped t, changing in shape according to its combinations.

Pre-Carolingian

But it must not be forgotten that the Uncial and Half-uncial styles were still employed in the Frankish Empire for the production of the

[1] Loew, 34. [2] Ibid. 36. [3] Loew, 36, gives a list of seventeen MSS.

[4] See *Notice sur un Manuscrit Merovingien de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, by L. Delisle, in *Notices et Extraits des MSS*, tome xxxi. Delisle classes these leaves as Lombardic, and remarks: 'Il nous fait voir combien l'emploi de l'écriture lombardique, importée chez nous par des moines italiens, devait être ordinaire dans les abbayes franques.'

greater number of literary MSS.: and that the professional scribes, who were of course expert both in those formal book-hands and in the more cursive characters of the Merovingian, would naturally, when writing without special care or in a rough and ready style, mix the characters of the different hands. Thus we are prepared to find the influence of the uncial and half-uncial showing itself in modifying the extravagances of the cursive Merovingian, and, on the other hand, the cursive breaking out even in lines written in a more formal character.

First we select an example of writing which may be said to form a link with the miscellaneous class which we have named Franco-Lombardic. This is in a MS. of the Epistles of St. Cyprian, written in several hands of the eighth century, which in the fifteenth century was in the abbey of Murbach in Alsace; but there is nothing to show that it was written there. The MS. now belongs to the John Rylands Library in Manchester (MS. Lat. 15) (*New Pal. Soc.* 160, 161).

No. 129

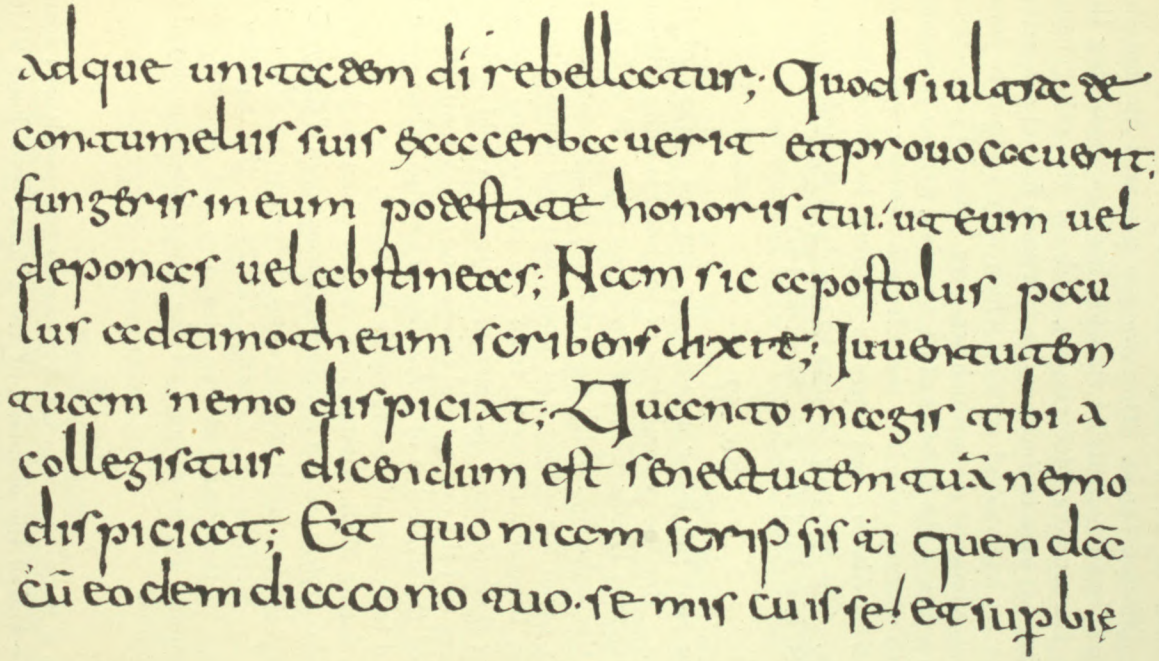
It will be seen that the letter a is usually, but not always, of the Lombardic pattern. But the general style of the hand is quite different from either the standard Lombardic or Merovingian type. It is, in fact, a good example of the book-hand which was gradually being constructed in the eighth century under the influence of uncial and half-uncial literary scripts, combining, however, elements from the cursive and national hands. Regarding it simply as a specimen of writing, its bold style and well-rounded letters, and the ornamental thickening of tall main strokes, all give promise of the evolution of a fine literary script, when once it had been subjected to systematic calligraphic treatment.

Two very interesting MSS. written in a variety of hands have been described by Delisle: *Notice sur un Manuscrit Mérovingien d'Eugyppius* (1875) written early in the eighth century, and *Notice sur un Manuscrit Mérovingien de la Bibliothèque d'Épinal* (1878) of the Epistles of St. Jerome, written in the year 744 (see also *New Pal. Soc.* 207, 208). The following facsimile represents one of the many hands employed in the MS. of Eugyppius.

No. 130

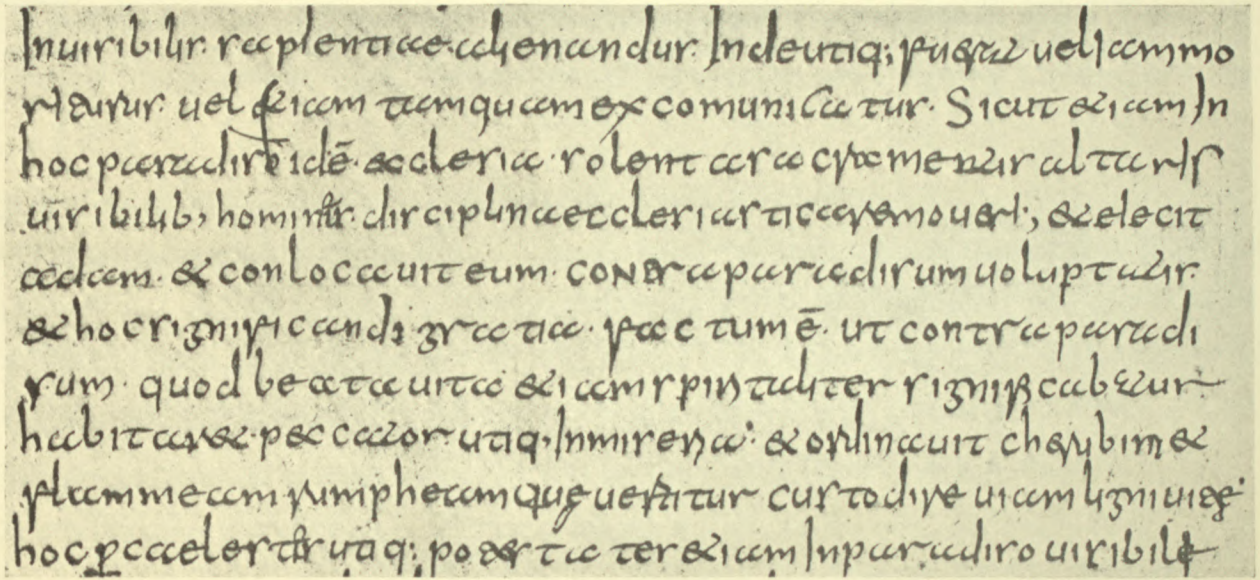
Here we have a hand cast into a fairly simple but uncultured form, in which are to be traced the elements of the refined book-hand which eventually emerged out of material of this kind under the correcting hands of the new schools under Charlemagne. We see still the lingering influence of the Roman cursive, breaking out here and there, as in the tall c (in line 2), the open a written above the line (in line 7), the high-shouldered r, and the varying forms of t.

FACSIMILE No. 129



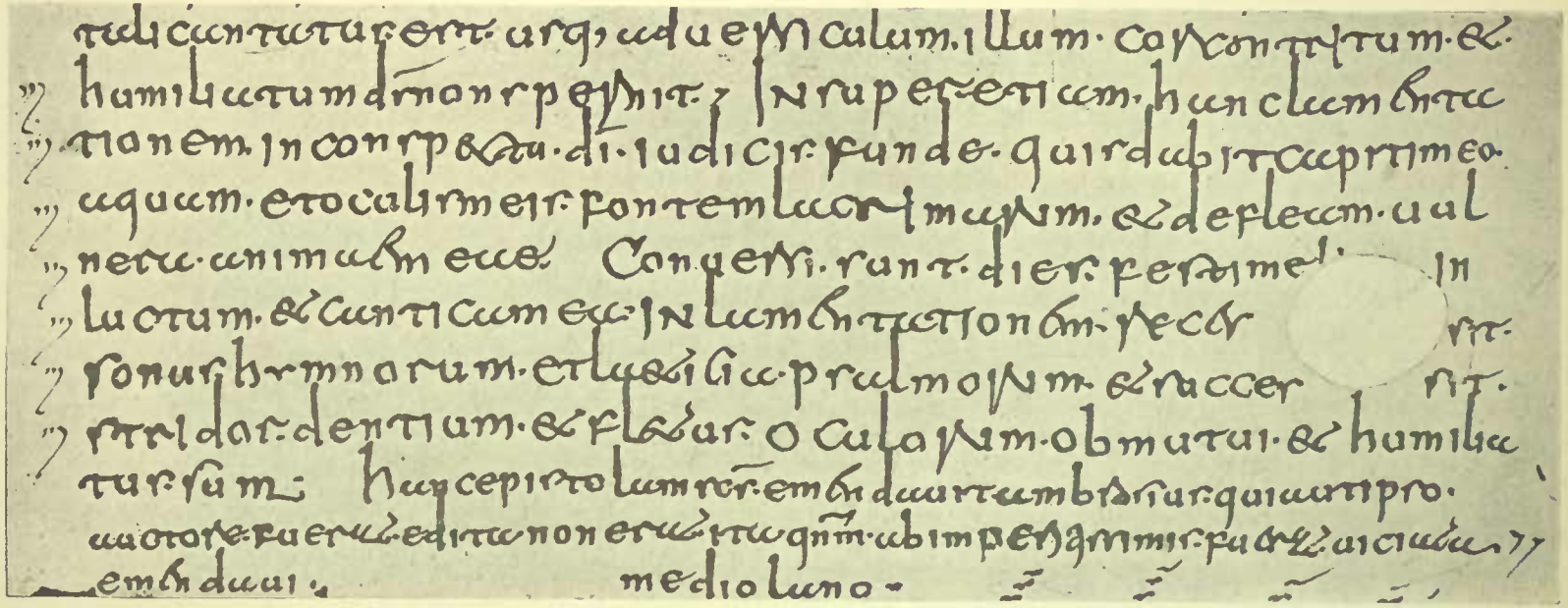
ST. CYPRIAN.—EIGHTH CENTURY

(adque unitatem dei rebellatur ; Quod si ultra te | contumeliis suis exacerbaverit et provocaverit ; | fungeris in eum potestate honoris tui ⁄ ut eum vel | deponas vel abstineas ; Nam sic apostolus pau|lus ad timotheum scribens dixit ; Iuventutem | tuam nemo dispiciat ; Quanto magis tibi a | collegis tuis dicendum est senectutem tua*m* nemo | dispiciat ; Et quoniam scripsisti quenda*m* | cu*m* eodem diacono tuo · se miscuisse ⁄ et sup*er*bię)



EUGYPPIUS.—EARLY EIGHTH CENTURY

(invisibilis . sapientiae . alienandus . Inde utique fuerat vel Iam mo|riturus . vel etiam tamquam ex-comunicatus . Sicut etiam In | hoc paradiso id est . ecclesia . solent a sacramentis altaris | visibilibus homin'e's . disciplina ecclesiastica removeri ; et eIecit | adam . et conlocavit eum . contra paradisum voluptatis . | et hoc significandi gratia . factum est . ut contra paradi|sum . quod beata vita etiam spiritaliter significabatur | habitaret . peccator utique In miseria . et ordinavit cherubim et | flammeam rumpheam quę vertitur custodire viam ligni vitę | hoc per caelestes utique potestates etiam In paradiso visibili)



ST. JEROME.—A.D. 744

(tali cantatus est . usque ad versiculum . illum . cor contritum . et . | humiliatum deus non spernit . Insuper etiam . hanc lamentationem . in conspectu . dei . iudicis . funde . quis dabit capiti meo . | aquam . et oculis meis . fontem lacrimarum . et defleam . vulnera . animae meae . Conversi . sunt . dies . festi mei in | luctum . et cantica mea . in lamentationem . recessit . | sonus hymnorum . et laeticia . psalmorum . et successit . | stridor . dentium . et fletus . oculorum . obmutui . et humiliatus . sum . Hanc epistolam sanctus emendavit ambrosius . quia ut ipso . | auctore . fuerat . edita non erat . ita quoniam . ab imperitissimis . fuerat . viciata . | emendavi . mediolano)

In the next example, taken from the Épinal St. Jerome of A.D. 744, there is a rather better attempt at uniformity, in which the influence of the half-uncial style is more evident.

No. 131

It will be observed that the note of emendation at the end is written with a larger proportion of cursive forms; probably having been incorporated in the text from a cursively-written marginal note.

MSS. of the pre-Carolingian style, such as those which have been here submitted, are still sufficiently numerous to prove that during the eighth century there was a growing effort to mould into a serviceable form a minuscule book-hand which should be free from the difficulties and intricacies of the national hands. The finishing touch was now to be applied.

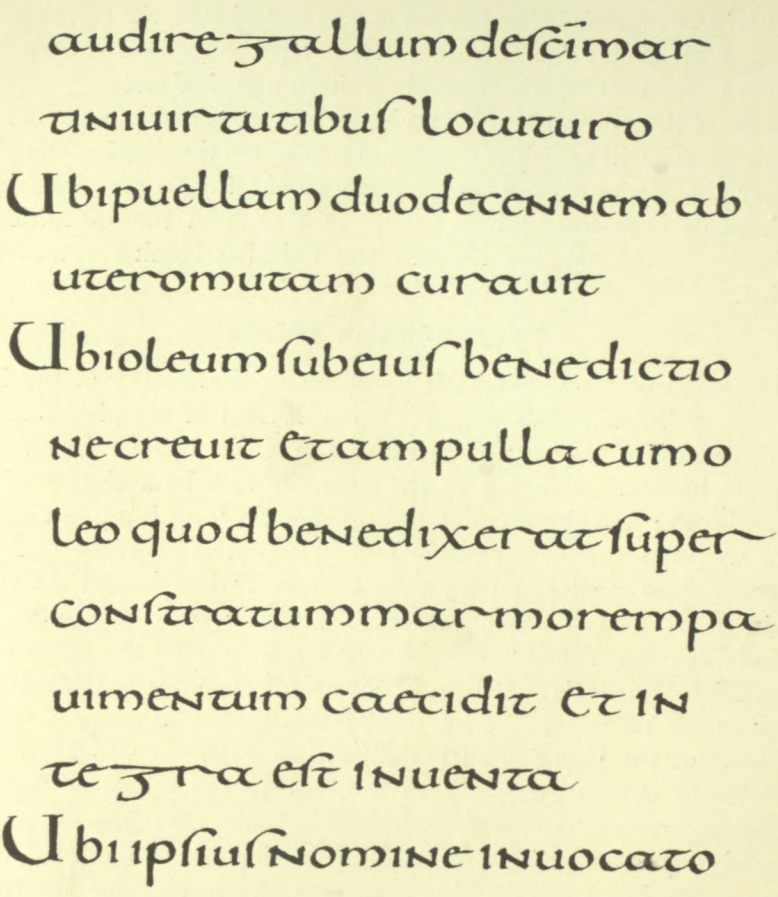
The Carolingian Reform

The reign of Charlemagne is an epoch in the history of the handwritings of Western Europe. With the revival of learning naturally came a reform of the writing in which the works of literature were to be made known. A decree of the year 789 called for the revision of church-books; and this work naturally brought with it a great activity in the writing schools of the chief monastic centres of France. And in none was there greater activity than at Tours, where, under the rule of Alcuin of York, who was abbot of St. Martin's from 796 to 804, was specially developed the exact hand which has received the name of the Carolingian Minuscule. Delisle, in his useful *Mémoire sur l'École calligraphique de Tours au ixe siècle* (1885)[1] enumerates as many as twenty-five MSS. of the Carolingian period still in existence which, from the character of the writing, may be ascribed to the school of Tours or at least to scribes connected with that school. The general practice followed in the production of fine MSS. in this school, and no doubt in other contemporary schools also, which set the fashion for the future, was to employ majuscule letters, either capitals or uncials, for titles and other ornamental parts of the volume; for the general text, minuscule script; but for special passages which it was desired to bring into prominence, such as tables of chapters, prefaces, and introductory sentences or paragraphs of sections of the work, a handsome style of writing was reserved which was adapted from the old half-uncial script of the fifth and sixth centuries.

Delisle has cited an excellent example of the reformed Carolingian book-hand in a MS., now at Quedlinburg, containing collections relating

[1] *Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tome xxxii.

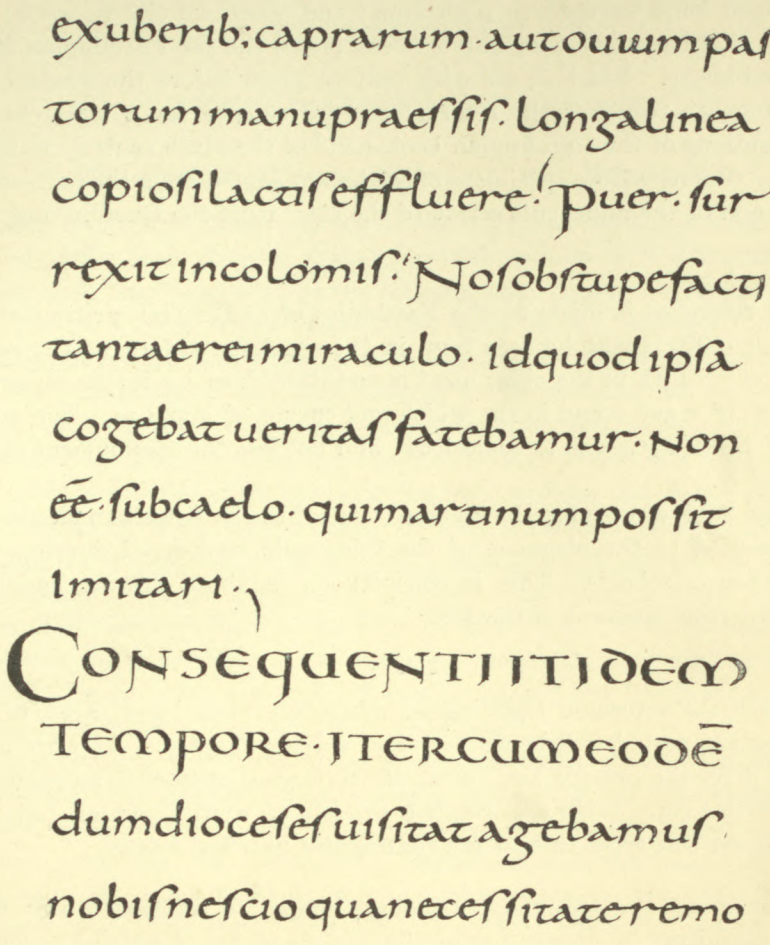
FACSIMILE No. 132



SULPICIUS SEVERUS.—EARLY NINTH CENTURY

(audire gallum de *sancti* mar|tini virtutibus locuturo | Ubi puellam duodecennem ab | utero mutam curavit | Ubi oleum sub eius benedictio|ne crevit et ampulla cum o|leo quod benedixerat super | constratum marmorem pa| vimentum caecidit et in|tegra est inventa | Ubi ipsius nomine invocato)

FACSIMILE No. 133



SULPICIUS SEVERUS.—EARLY NINTH CENTURY

(ex uberib*us* caprarum . aut ovium pas|torum manu praessis . longa linea | copiosi lactis effluere.' Puer . sur|rexit incolomis.' Nos obstupefacti | tantae rei miraculo . id quod ipsa | cogebat veritas fatebamur . non | *esse* . sub caelo . qui martinum possit | imitari . | Consequenti itidem | tempore . iter cum eod*em* | dum dioceses visitat agebamus | nobis nescio qua necessitate remo)

to the life and cult of St. Martin, and including epistles and dialogues of Sulpicius Severus; written in the abbey of St. Martin of Tours in the early part of the ninth century. This MS. shows the Carolingian reformed hand brought to perfection; and, when we cite it, we do not forget that there is a wide gap between it and the pre-Carolingian MSS. noticed above. But here we wish only to place before the student the consummate result of the reform; and we reserve for a later chapter illustrations of the Carolingian book-hand of the ninth century in fuller detail. We reproduce specimens of the hand adapted from the half-uncial style and of the minuscule script of the text, from the Quedlinburg MS.

No. 132

If reference is made to the Facsimiles of half-uncial writing above (nos. 98–100) it will be seen how in the specimen before us the sentiment of breadth in the older hand is maintained, as e.g. in the sweeping strokes of r and s and in the width and curves of a and m. The shape of flat-headed g is also to be noticed; and not less the employment of the capital N.

The habit of copying the fine bold type of the half-uncial undoubtedly contributed to the elegance of the minuscule book-hand developed in the French schools. This is conspicuous in the following facsimile selected from the text of the MS.

No. 133

How the reformed Carolingian minuscule book-hand fared in the subsequent period will be described in a later chapter. Here we must leave it for the present and devote the following chapter to an examination of the early Irish and English schools of writing, which followed a different line from that of the continental national hands.

Surveying the facsimiles, although limited in number, which have been submitted in illustration of the various styles of writing practised in the Frankish empire and here classed under the heads of Merovingian, Franco-Lombardic, and Pre-Carolingian, closing with specimens of the perfected book-hand of the Carolingian Reform, the student will appreciate the wide field over which the national hands of that empire ranged, and the difficulties to be confronted in their study. The outline which has been sketched may serve as a general guide; a more intimate knowledge of the varieties of these scripts must be sought in special investigation. As we have already noted, the subject still offers a field for expert research.[1]

[1] A work by Dr. E. A. Loew, *Scriptura Latina Minuscula Antiquior*, is announced, but is not yet published.

CHAPTER XVII

LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY (*continued*)

The Irish Book-hand (Half-uncial and Minuscule)

THE origin and developement of the early handwritings of our own Islands differ from those of the continental nations of Western Europe which have been examined in the last chapter. While on the Continent the Roman Cursive hand formed the basis of the national forms of writing, in Ireland and England the basis was the Roman Half-uncial.

The foundation of the early Church in Ireland and the consequent spread of civilization naturally fostered learning and the developement of a national school of writing; while at a later period the isolation of the country prevented the introduction of new ideas and of the changes which contact with neighbouring nations invariably effects. Ireland borrowed the types for her handwriting from the MSS. which the Roman missionaries brought with them; and we must assume that most of those MSS. were written in the literary half-uncial character, and that there was an unusually scanty number of uncial MSS. among the works thus imported; otherwise it is difficult to account for the developement of the Irish hand on the line which it followed.

In writing of the course of Greek Palaeography we had occasion to notice the very gradual changes which came over the handwriting of Greece, confined as it was to a comparatively small district and to a single language. In Ireland this conservatism is still more strongly marked. The hand which the modern Irish scholar writes is essentially, in the forms of its letters, the pointed hand of the early middle ages; and there is no class of MSS. which can be more perplexing to the palaeographer than Irish MSS. Having once obtained their models, the Irish scribes developed their own style of writing and went on practising it, generation after generation, with an astonishing uniformity. The English conquest did not disturb this even course. The invaders concerned themselves not with the language and literature of the country. They were content to use their own style of writing for grants of land and other official deeds; but they left it to the Irish scribes to produce MSS. in the native characters.

The early Irish handwriting appears in two forms: the round and the pointed; and it is necessary to state that we have to do with both forms only as literary hands. There are no early Irish charters in

existence to show us positively what was the style of the legal and official cursive writing in Ireland in remote times, although, judging from the practice in England, we may be pretty confident that the pointed hand was employed.

Of pure uncial writing we have to take no account. There are no undisputed Irish MSS. in existence which are written in that style; although the copy of the Gospels in uncials, which was found in the tomb of St. Kilian and is preserved at Würzburg, has been quoted as an instance of an Irish uncial MS. The writing is in ordinary uncial characters and bears no indication of Irish nationality (Z. and W., *Exempla*, 58).

The round Irish hand is half-uncial, and in its characters there is close relationship with the Roman half-uncial writing as seen in the MSS. of Italy and France dating from the fifth and sixth centuries. A comparison of the earliest surviving Irish MSS. with specimens of this style leaves no room to doubt the origin of the Irish round-hand; and, without accepting the traditional ascription of certain of them to St. Patrick or St. Columba or other Irish saints, there can be no hesitation in dating some as far back as the seventh century. We may therefore place the period of the first developement of the Irish round-hand somewhat earlier, namely, in the sixth century, the Roman half-uncial MSS. of that time and earlier evidently serving as models.

Among the oldest extant Irish MSS. of this character is the fragmentary copy of the Gospels, of an early version, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, which may be placed in the latter part of the seventh century (*Nat. MSS. Ireland*, i. 2; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 33).

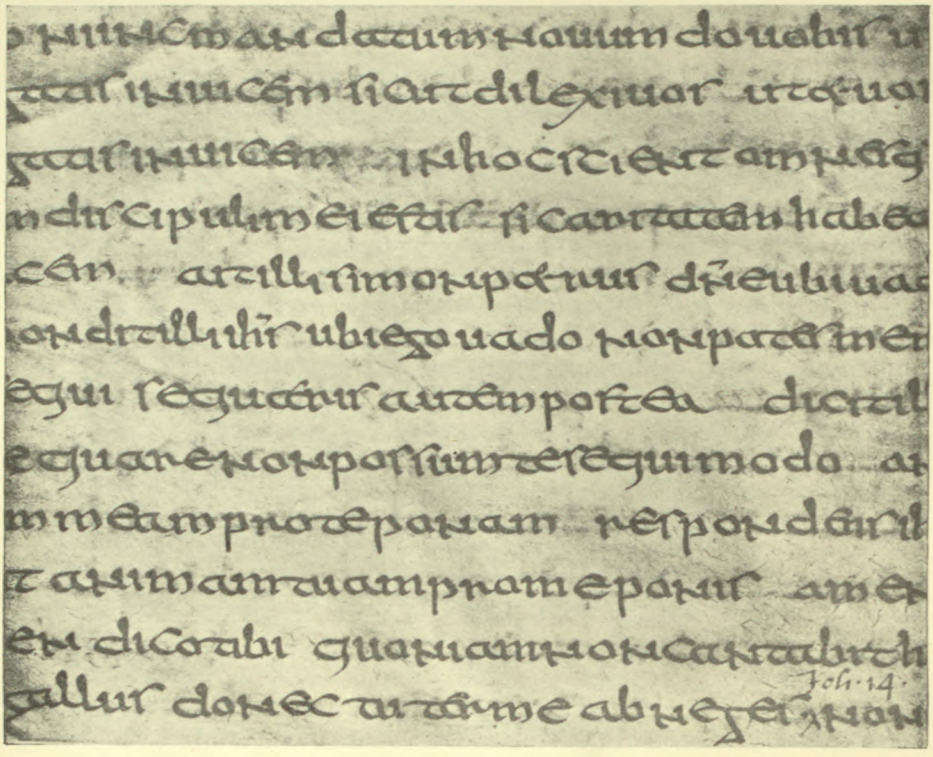
No. 134

The writing bears a very close resemblance to the continental half-uncial hand, but at the same time it has the distinct impress of its Irish nationality, indicated generally in a certain angular treatment of some of the strokes which in the Roman half-uncial MSS. are round. Among the letters it will be noticed that the capital N is more commonly employed, the minuscule appearing but rarely.

The MS. may be cited as a specimen of a style of writing which was, no doubt, pretty widely used at the time for the production of MSS. of a good class—a careful working book-hand, which, however, did not compete with the sumptuous style for which the Irish scribes had by this time become famous. The same kind of writing, but more ornamental, is found in a Psalter (*Nat. MSS. Ireland*, i. 3, 4) traditionally ascribed to St. Columba, but probably also of the same date as the Gospels just described.

No school of writing developed so thoroughly, and, apparently, so quickly, the purely ornamental side of calligraphy as the Irish school. The wonderful interlaced designs which were introduced as decorative

FACSIMILE NO. 134



GOSPELS.—LATE SEVENTH CENTURY

(o nunc mandatum novum do vobis u[t di|li]gatis invicem sicut dilexi vos ut et vos [di|li]gatis invicem in hoc scient omnes q[uon|ia]m discipuli mei estis si caritatem habea[tis ad | invi]cem . ait illi simon petrus *domi*ne ubi vad[is | resp]ondit illi ie*sus* ubi ego vado non potes me m[od|o s]equi sequaeris autem postea dicit il[li | *domi*n]e quare non possum te sequi modo an[i|ma]m meam pro te ponam respondens ie[*sus* | dici]t animam tuam pro me ponis amen | [am]en dico tibi quoniam non cantabit h[o|die] gallus donec tu ter me abneges non)

adjuncts to Irish MSS. of the seventh and eighth centuries are astonishing examples of skilful drawing and generally of brilliant colouring. And this passion for ornamentation also affected the character of the writing in the more elaborately executed MSS.—sometimes even to the verge of the fantastic. Not only were fancifully formed initial letters common in the principal decorated pages, but the striving after ornamental effect also manifested itself in the capricious shapes given to various letters of the text whenever an opportunity could be found, as, for instance, at the end of a line. The ornamental round-hand, which was elaborated under this influence, is remarkable both for its solidity and its graceful outlines.

The finest MS. of this style is the famous copy of the Gospels known as the 'Book of Kells', now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, in which both text and ornamentation are brought to the highest point of excellence. Although tradition declares that the MS. belonged to St. Columba, who died in A.D. 507, it does not appear to be earlier than the close of the seventh century (*Nat. MSS. Ireland*, i. 7–17; *Pal. Soc.* i. 55–8, 88, 89).

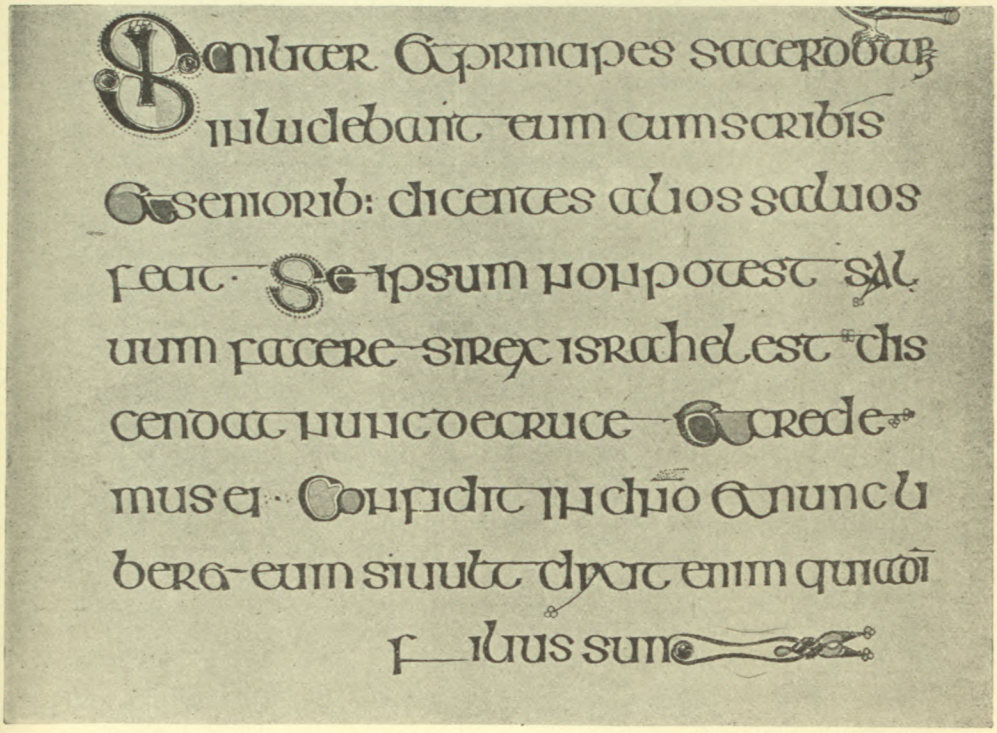
No. 135

In this hand (reduced in the Facsimile) there is a departure from the strictly normal forms of some of the half-uncial letters. Both forms of s are used, the round capital and the tall half-uncial, varying in prevalence in different parts of the MS. This scribe also prefers the capital R; but there is a return to the orthodox half-uncial form in other parts of the MS. written in other, lighter styles. The capital N, too (here in its characteristic Irish form), in other hands is replaced by the minuscule. These shifting uses of these two letters in particular seem to indicate the presence in the minds of the scribes of a desire to avoid the risk of confusion between the minuscule n and the somewhat similar half-uncial r. The letters b and l with bent main-strokes should be noticed as characteristic of this hand, as practised both in Ireland and in England.

It was a volume of this description, if not the Book of Kells itself, which Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, saw at Kildare, and which he declared was so wonderful in the execution of its intricate ornamental designs, that its production was rather to be attributed to the hand of an angel than to human skill. The oftener and the more closely he examined it, the more he found in it to excite his admiration.[1]

[1] 'Sin autem ad perspicacius intuendum oculorum aciem invitaveris et longe penitius ad artis arcana transpenetraveris, tam delicatas et subtiles, tam arctas et artitas, tam nodosas et vinculatim colligatas, tamque recentibus adhuc coloribus illustratas notare poteris intricaturas, ut vere haec omnia potius angelica quam humana diligentia iam asseveraveris esse composita. Haec equidem quanto frequentius et diligentius intueor, semper quasi novis abstupeo, semper magis ac magis admiranda conspicio.'—*Topographia Hiberniae*, ii. 38. See *Nat. MSS. Ireland*, ii. 66.

FACSIMILE No. 135



GOSPELS (BOOK OF KELLS).—END OF SEVENTH CENTURY

(Similiter et principes sacerdotu*m* | inludebant eum cum scribis | et seniori-b*us* dicentes alios salvos | fecit. Se ipsum non potest sal|vum facere si rex israhel est dis|cendat nunc de cruce et crede|mus ei. Confidit in d*omi*no et nunc li|beret eum si vult dixit enim quia d*ei* | filius sum)

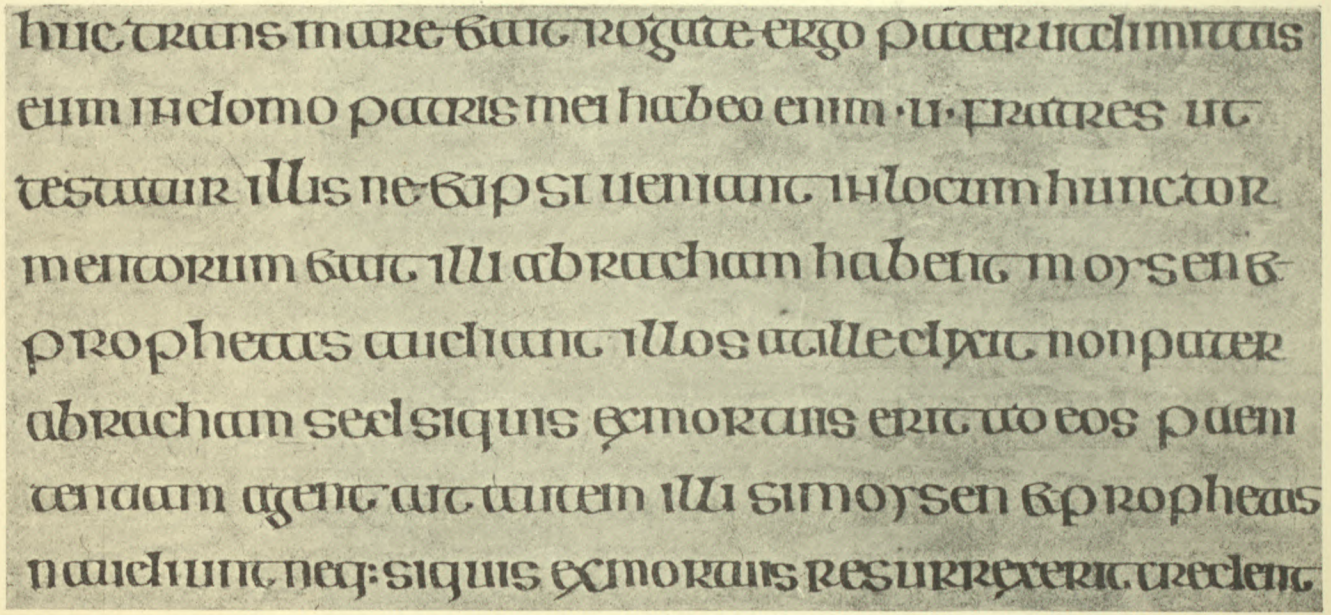
Another MS. of Irish style but of Welsh origin, of the same character but not nearly so elaborate as the Book of Kells, is the copy of the Gospels of St. Chad, at Lichfield, formerly belonging to the church of Llandaff (*Pal. Soc.* i. 20, 21, 35): and an imperfect Anglo-Irish copy of the Gospels at Durham (A. ii 16) may also be compared (*New Pal. Soc.* 30). But the grand style of round half-uncial writing which is used in these MSS. was not adapted for the more ordinary purposes of literature or the requirements of daily intercourse, and, after reaching the culminating point of excellence in the Book of Kells, it appears to have quickly deteriorated—at all events, the lack of surviving examples would appear to indicate a limit to its practice.

No. 136

The MS. of the Gospels of MacRegol, written about the year 800, now in the Bodleian Library (Auct. D. 2. 19), is a late specimen, in which the comparative feebleness and inexact style of the writing contrast very markedly with the practised exactness of the older MSS. (*Pal. Soc.* i. 90, 91).

The pointed Irish hand was derived from the same source as the round-hand. On the Continent we have seen that the national cursive hands were but sequels of the Roman cursive subjected to varying conditions, and were distinct from the literary or book-hands which were used contemporaneously by their side. The Irish scribes had, or at least followed, but one model—the Roman Half-uncial. The pointed hand is nothing more than a modification of the round-hand, with the letters subjected to lateral compression and drawn out into points or hair-lines; it is a minuscule hand.[1] There cannot be much doubt that this style of writing came into existence almost contemporaneously with the establishment of a national hand. The round-hand may have preceded it; but the necessity for a more cursive character must immediately have made itself felt. The pointed hand, of an ornamental kind, appears in some of the pages of the Book of Kells, a fact which proves its full establishment at a much earlier period. The Book of Dimma (*Nat. MSS. Ireland*, i. 18, 19) has been conjecturally ascribed to the period of about the year 650, but can scarcely be older than the eighth century. The first dated example, of native origin, is the Book of Armagh (*Nat. MSS. Ireland*, i. 25–9; Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule*

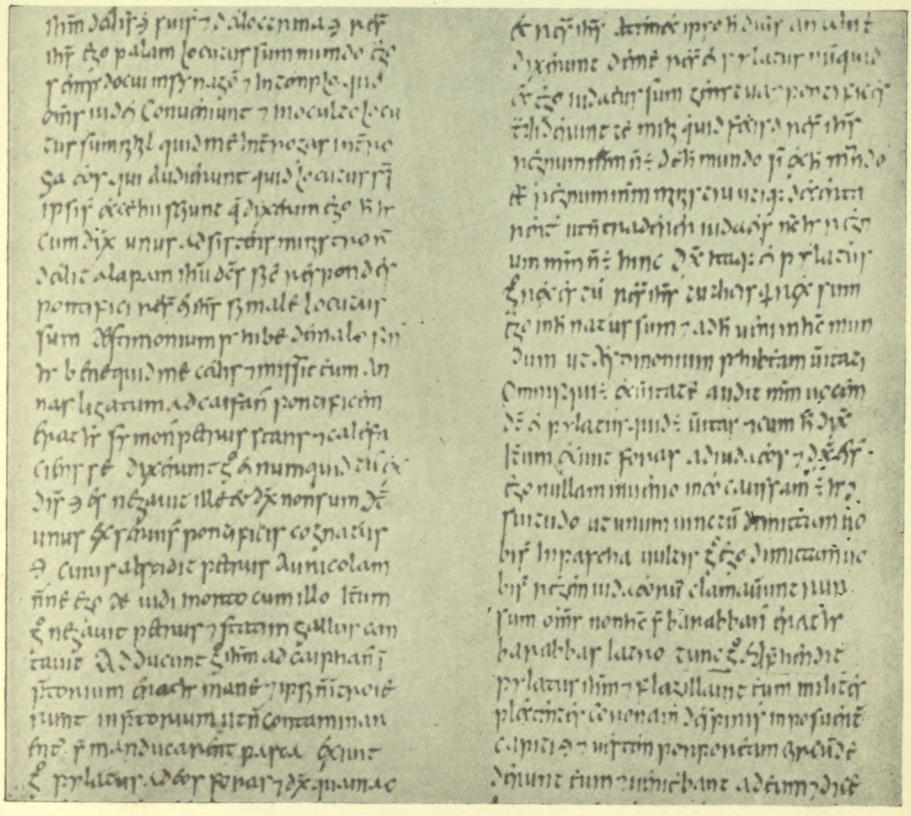
[1] This seems to be the proper place to mention the classification which has been made of the Insular (Irish and English, or Hiberno-Saxon) minuscule script into four types: Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Welsh, and Cornish. Examples of the last two types, which naturally should be associated with the Irish type, are rare; of the Cornish type, indeed, there appears to be only one, or possibly two, recognized at the present time (see letters in *The Athenaeum*, Dec. 23 and 30, 1911).



Gospels of Macregol.—About a.d. 800

(huc trans mare et ait rogate ergo pater ut dimittas | eum in domo patris mei habeo enim .v. fratres ut | testatur illis ne et ipsi veniant in locum hunc tor|mentorum et ait illi abracham habent moysen et | prophetas audiant illos at ille dixit non pater | abracham sed si quis ex mortuis erit ad eos paeni|tentiam agent ait autem illi si moysen et prophetas | *non* audiunt neq*ue* si quis ex mortuis resurrexerit credent)

FACSIMILE No. 137



NEW TESTAMENT (BOOK OF ARMAGH).—A. D. 807

(ie*s*um de dis*c*ipulis *eius* suis *et* de doctrina *eius* res*p*ondit | ie*s*us ego palam locutus sum mundo ego | semp*er* docui in synago*ga et* in templo quo | om*n*es iudei conveniunt *et* in oculto locu tus sum nihil quid me inte*r*rogas inte*r*ro ga eos qui audierunt quid locutus s*um* | ipsis ecce hii sciunt q*ue* dixerim ego h*oc autem* | cum dix*isset* unus adsistens ministro*rum* dedit alapam iesu d*icens* sic respondes | pontifici res*p*ondit ei ie*s*us si male locutus | sum testimonium p*er*hibe de malo sin | *autem* bene quid me cedis *et* missit eum an nas ligatum ad caifán pontificem | erat *autem* symon petrus stans *et* calefa ciens se dixerunt *er*go ei numquid tú ex | dis*c*ipulis *eius* es negavit ille et d*ixit* non sum d*icit* | unus ex servis pontificis cognatus | *eius* cuius abscidit petrus auricolam | *non*ne ego te vidi in orto cum illo Ite*r*um | *er*go negavit petrus *et* statim gallus can tavit Adducunt *er*go ie*s*um ad caiphán *in* | p*re*torium erat *autem* mane *et* ipsi *non* *in*troie runt in p*re*torium ut *non* contaminar ent*ur* *sed* manducarent pasca exivit | *er*go pylatus ad eos foras *et* d*ixit* quam ac cussationem]
et res*p*ondit ie*s*us a temet ipso h*oc* dicis an alii t*ibi* | dixerunt de me res*p*ondit ei pylatus nu*m*quid | et ego iudaeus sum gens tua *et* pontifices | t*r*adiderunt te mihi quid fecisti res*p*ondit ie*s*us | regnum m*eum* n*on est* de h*oc* mundo si ex h*oc* mundo | ess*et* regnum m*eum* ministri utiq*ue* decerta rent ut *non* traderer iudaeis n*unc* *autem* regn um m*eum* n*on est* hinc D*ixit* itaq*ue* ei pylatus | *er*go rex es tú res*p*ondit ie*s*us tu dicis q*uia* rex sum | ego in h*oc* natus sum *et* ad h*oc* veni in h*unc* mun dum ut testimonium p*er*hibeam v*er*itati | Omnis qui *est* ex v*er*itate audit m*eum* vocem | d*icit* ei pylatus quid *est* v*er*itas *et* cum h*oc* dix*isset* | Ite*r*um exivit foras ad iudaeos *et* d*ixit* eis | ego nullam invenio in eo caussam *est* *autem* *con*suitudo ut unum vinctu*m* dimittam vo bis in pascha vultis *er*go ego dimittam vo bis regem iudaeoru*m* clamav*er*unt rur sum om*n*es non h*unc* *sed* barabbăn erat *autem* | barabbas latro tunc *er*go . adp*re*hendit | pylatus ie*s*um *et* flagellavit eum milites | plectentes coronam de spinis inposuer*unt* | capiti *eius et* vestem porpoream circu*m*de derunt eum *et* veniebant ad eum *et* dice[bant])

Script, pl. ix), a MS. containing portions of the New Testament and other matter, written, by the scribe Ferdomnach, in A. D. 807.

No. 137

This very delicate and minutely written MS. is a good instance of the patience and facility which the Irish scribes of the ninth century could bring to their work. The principal object of the present scribe appears to have been to pack into the page as much as possible; and this perhaps may explain the lateral compression of the writing, for a rather wider-spread script might have been expected so early in the century. The large number of abbreviations and contractions is also to be noted.

Little later than the Book of Armagh is the MS. of Priscian in the University Library of Leyden (Cod. Lat. 67), written, probably on the Continent, in various hands of Anglo-Irish type, and having at the beginning Priscian's Periegesis in hexameters, written by the Irish scribe Dubthach in A. D. 838 (*New Pal. Soc.* 32).

No. 138

This beautiful hand is notable for the easy formation of the letters and the ample space allowed for the flow of the writing, which we missed in the compressed style of the preceding MS. The scribe had complete command of his pen, and while forming his letters gracefully must at the same time have written with considerable speed. The prevalence of open a is to be remarked, a form of the letter which is not so much employed in the Irish book-hand of this period. Perhaps the style of the Carolingian minuscule, in which the open a was a leading feature, may have had some influence upon the practice of the scribe, if the MS., as suggested, was written abroad.

The MS. of the Gospels of MacDurnan, in the Lambeth Library (*Nat. MSS. Ireland*, i. 30, 31), of the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, may be referred to as another specimen of the very delicate and rather cramped writing which the Irish scribes at this time affected.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the pointed hand took the final stereotyped form which it was to follow in the future, and had assumed the angular shapes which are henceforth characteristic of the Irish hand. As a good example of the early part of the twelfth century we select a passage from the Gospels written by the scribe Mælbrigte (Brit. Mus., Harl. MS. 1802; *Nat. MSS. Ireland*, i. 40–2; *Pal. Soc.* i. 212).

No. 139

In the writing of this MS. the old forms of letters have undergone but little change, but at the same time it has assumed the essential character of the Irish mediaeval hand.

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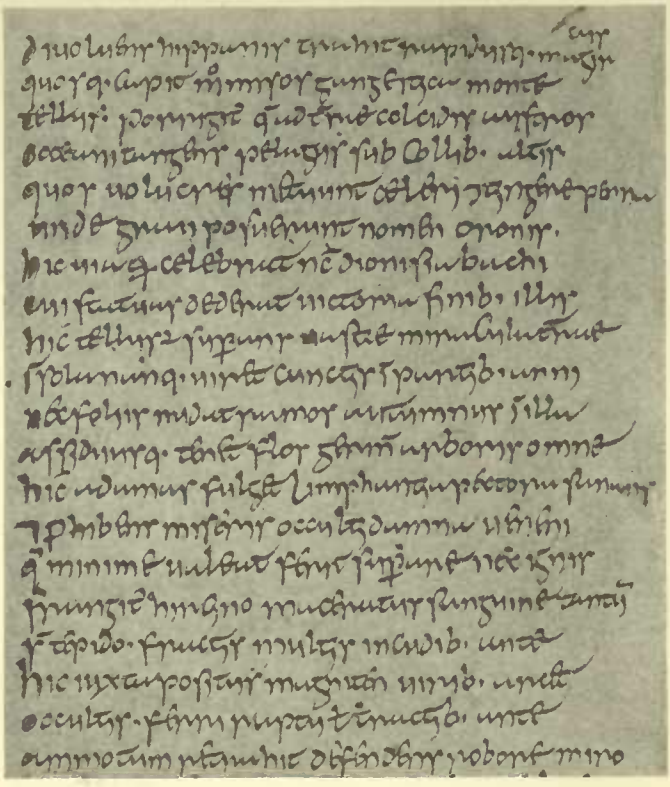
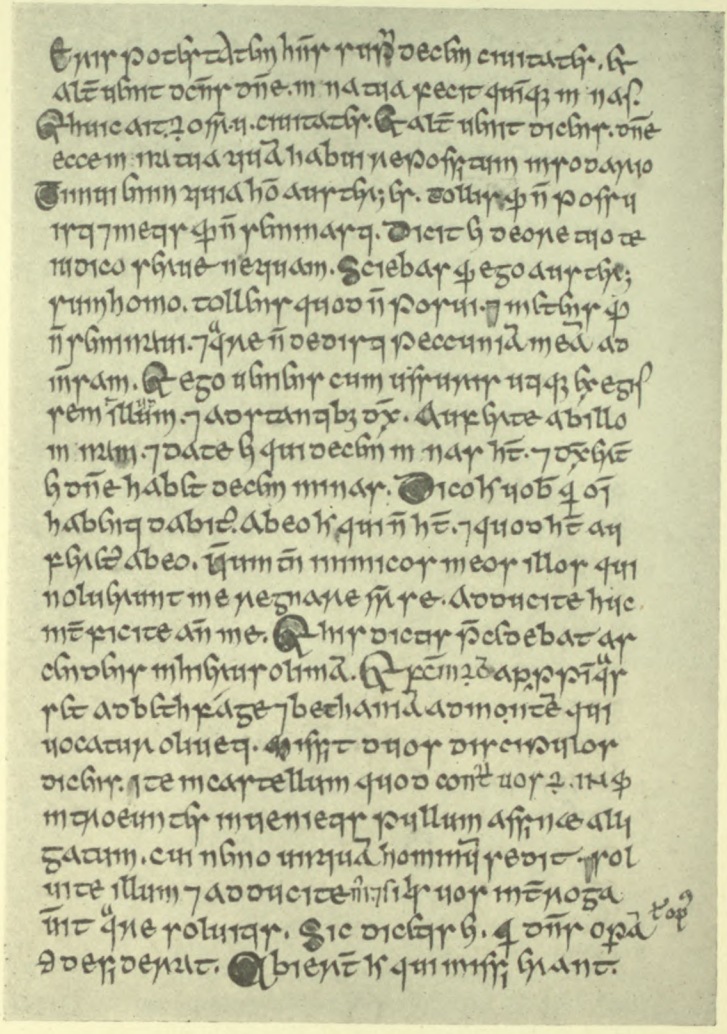


PRISCIAN.—A. D. 838.

(divolvens hippanis trahit rapidus*que* magircus
quos*que* capit *modo* misos gangeitica monte
tellus . porrigit*ur* *quae* ad *terrae* colcidis austros
occeani tangens pelagus sub colli*bus* altis
quos volucres metuunt celeri *con*tingere penna
unde graii posuerunt nomen oronis .
hic via *quam* celebrat *nunc* dionisia bachi
cui statuas dederat victoria finib*us* illis
hic tellus *est* super*ans* vastae miracula *terrae*
*in*sola nanq*ue* viret cunctis *in* partib*us* anni
nec foliis nudat ramos autumnus *in* illa
assiduusq*ue* tenet flos germ*en* arboris omne
hic adamas fulget limphantia pectora sanans
et pro*hibens* miseris occulti damna veneni
quem minime valeat ferr*um* super*are* nec ignis
frangit*ur* hircino maceratus sanguine tantu*m*
sed tepido . fractis multis incudib*us* ante
hic iuxta positus magniten virib*us* arcet
occultis . ferri raptu *vel* tractib*us* ante
ammotum retrahit defendens robore miro)

FACSIMILE No. 139



GOSPELS OF MÆLBRIGTE.—A. D. 1138

(eris potestatem h*abe*ns sup*e*r decem civitates . et | alt*er* venit d*ice*ns d*omi*ne . mina[1] tua fecit qui*nque* minas . | Et huic ait *esto* s*upe*r v. civitates . Et alt*er* venit dicens . d*omi*ne | ecce mina tua qua*m* habui repositum in sodario | Timui enim quia h*omo* auster*us* es . tollis q*uod* n*on* possu|isti *et* metis q*uod* n*on* seminasti . Dicit ei de ore tuo te | iudico serve nequam . Sciebas q*uod* ego auster*us* | sum homo . tollens quod n*on* posui *et* metens q*uod* | n*on* seminavi . *et* q*u*are n*on* dedisti pecunia*m* mea*m* ad | m*en*sam . Et ego veniens cum ussuris utiq*ue* exegis|sem illum[2] . *et* adstantib*us* d*ixit* . Auferte ab illo | minam . *et* date ei qui decem minas h*abe*t . *et* d*i*xer*unt* | ei d*omi*ne habet decem minas . Dico *autem* vob*is* q*uia* o*mn*i | habenti dabit*ur* . ab eo *autem* qui n*on* h*abe*t . *et* quod h*abe*t au|feret*ur* ab eo . V*er*umt*amen* inimicos meos illos qui | noluerunt me regnare s*upe*r se . adducite huc | int*er*ficite an*te* me . Et his dictis p*rece*debat as|cendens in hierusolima*m* . Et f*actu*m *est* c*um* app*ropinqu*as|set ad bethpháge *et* bethania*m* ad monte*m* qui | vocatur oliveti . missit duos discipulos | dicens . ite in castellum quod contr*a* vos *est* in q*uod* | introeuntes invenietis pullum assinae alli|gatum . cui nemo unqua*m* hominu*m* sedit . sol|vite illum *et* adducite m*ihi* . *et* si q*u*is vos int*er*roga|v*er*it q*u*are solvitis . Sic dicetis ei . q*uia* d*omi*n*us* op*eram*[3] | *eius* desiderat . Abier*unt* *autem* qui missi erant .)

[1] The i erased, as elsewhere, by the corrector. [2] Correction: *vel* [ill]ud.
[3] In margin: *vel* op*us*.

While the writing of Ireland remained untouched by external influences, and passed on from generation to generation with little change, the influence which, in revenge, it exercised abroad was very wide. We shall presently see how England was almost entirely indebted to Ireland for her national handwriting. In the early middle ages Irish missionaries spread over the Continent and founded religious houses in France and Italy and other countries; and where they settled there the Irish form of handwriting was practised. At such centres as Luxeuil in France, Würzburg in Germany, St. Gall in Switzerland, and Bobbio in Italy, it flourished. At first, naturally, the MSS. thus produced were true specimens of the Irish hand. But thus distributed in isolated spots, as the bonds of connexion with home became loosened and as the influence of the native styles of writing in their neighbourhoods made itself more felt, the Irish writers would gradually lose the spirit of their early teaching and their writing would become traditional and simply imitative. Thus the later MSS. produced at these Irish settlements have none of the beauty of the native hand; all elasticity disappears, and we have only the form without the life.

The Early English Book-hand (Half-uncial and Minuscule)

The history of writing in England previous to the Norman Conquest has a wider range than that of writing in Ireland, although, at least in the earlier periods, it runs on the same lines. Here we have to take into account influences which had no part in the destinies of the Irish script. In England there were two early schools of writing at work: the one originating from Ireland, in the north, from which emanated the national hand, holding its own and resisting for a long time foreign domination; the other, the school of the Roman missionaries, essentially a foreign school making use of the foreign styles which they brought with them but which never appear to have become naturalized.

We may commence with stating what little can be gathered regarding the foreign school from the few remains which it has left behind. That the Roman Rustic capital writing was made use of by the missionaries and was taught in their school, whose principal seat must have been at Canterbury, is proved by the occurrence of such specimens as those found in a Psalter of about A. D. 700, in the Cottonian collection (Vespasian A. 1), which belonged to St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 12, 13), and in one or two charters, or, more properly, copies of charters. The Psalter just referred to also affords an example of the character which the foreign uncial assumed in this Canterbury school—an unmistakably local character, of which, however, so few specimens have survived that perhaps no better proof, negative as it is,

could be found of the failure of the Roman majuscule styles of writing to make their way in this country. We must suppose that the Canterbury, foreign, school of writing ceased to exist at a comparatively early period; and, as it had no influence upon the native hand, its interest for us is merely academic.

The introduction of the foreign Carolingian minuscule hand in the tenth century was due to later political causes and to the growth of intercourse with the Continent; and it is altogether unconnected with the early foreign school which has just been referred to.

As to the native school of writing—

St. Columba's settlement in Iona was the centre from whence proceeded the founders of monasteries in the north of England; and in the year 634 the Irish missionary Aidan founded the see of Lindisfarne (Holy Isle), which became a great centre of English writing. At first the writing was indeed nothing more than the Irish script transplanted into new soil, and for a time the English style is scarcely to be distinguished from that of the sister island. But gradually distinctions arose; and the English school, under wider influences, developed more graceful forms and threw off the restraints which fettered the growth of Irish writing.

We have, then, first to follow the course of the English script on the same lines as that of Ireland, and to examine the two styles, the round and the pointed, which here, as in Ireland, were adopted as national forms of writing; but it is proposed to confine our attention in this place to the employment of these hands for literary purposes, and to postpone what has to be said regarding the charter-writing of the Anglo-Saxon period to a later chapter where it will be more conveniently considered along with other forms of official and legal cursive writing.

The earliest and most beautiful MS. of the English round half-uncial is the copy of the Lindisfarne Gospels, or the 'Durham Book', in the British Museum (Cotton MS., Nero D. iv), said to have been written, in honour of St. Cuthbert, by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, about the year 700 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 3–6, 22; *Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 8–11).

No. 140

This very beautiful hand leaves nothing to be desired in the precision and grace with which it is executed, and the MS. fairly rivals the great Irish codices of the same period. How nearly it follows the Irish model needs no demonstration. The remarks made on the forms of the letters in the specimen from the Book of Kells apply generally to this example. At the same time, a difference is discernible between the two MSS., which seems to indicate the difference of country of origin. The letters of the Lindisfarne Gospels, besides being of a more solid type, are rather broader

and the curves are even more symmetrically drawn than in the Book of Kells. The glosses in the Northumbrian dialect were added by Aldred, a priest of the tenth century.

The round-hand was used for books, and, less frequently, even for charters, during the eighth and ninth centuries; but, although in very carefully written MSS. the writing is still solid, the heavy-stroke style of the Lindisfarne Gospels appears generally to have ceased at an early date. We give a specimen of a lighter character from a fragmentary copy of the Gospels (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 1. E. vi) which belonged to the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury, though not necessarily written there. It is probably of the end of the eighth century (*Pal. Soc.* i. 8; *Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 17, 18).

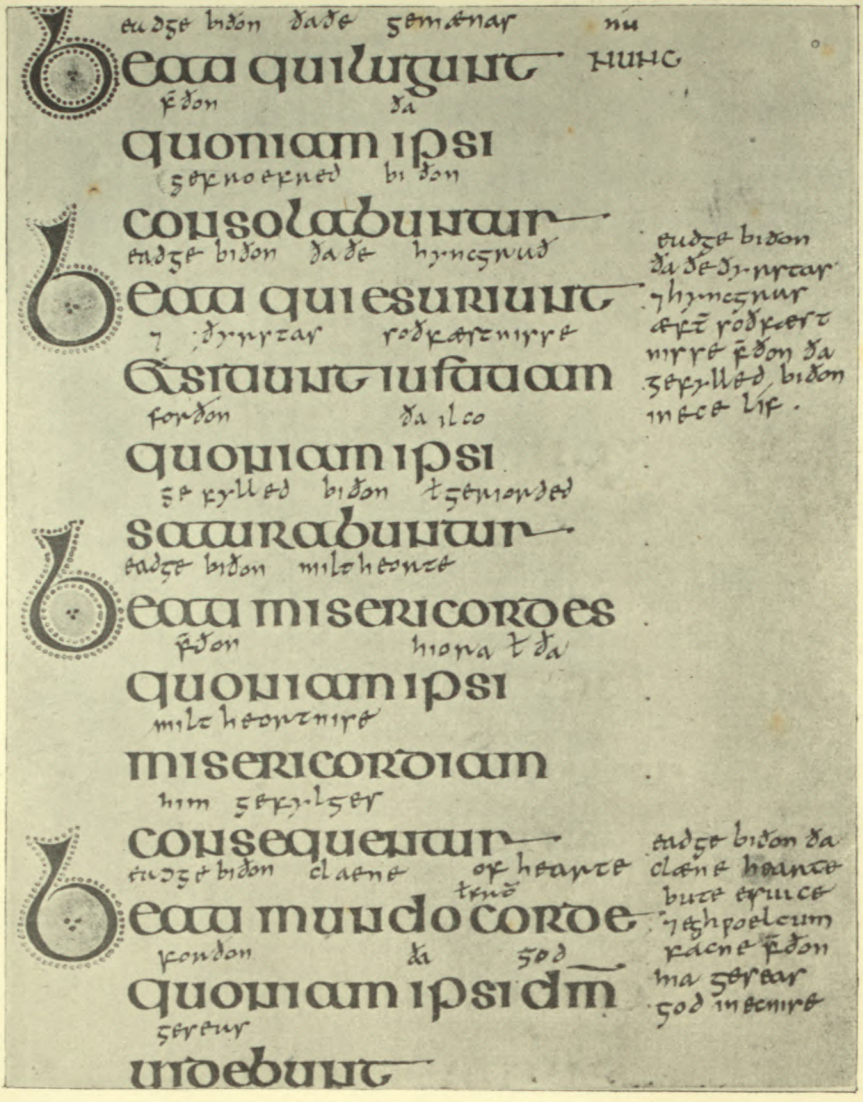
No. 141

In its original state this MS. must have been a volume of extraordinary magnificence, adorned with paintings and illuminated designs, and having many leaves stained, after the ancient method, with a beautiful purple, a few of which still remain. The general structure of the letters in this lighter style is the same as in the Lindisfarne Gospels; but the greater prevalence of the half-uncial r and the minuscule n is observable.

Other specimens of this hand are found in the Durham Cassiodorus (*Pal. Soc.* i. 164), in a MS. of the Gospels at Durham (*New Pal. Soc.* 56), in the Épinal Glossary (*Early Engl. Text Soc.*), and in some charters (*Facs. Anc. Ch.* i. 15, ii. 2, 3; *Pal. Soc.* i. 10). One of the latest MSS. in which the hand is written in its best form is the 'Liber Vitae', or list of benefactors of Durham (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 25; *Pal. Soc.* i. 238), which was compiled about the year 840.

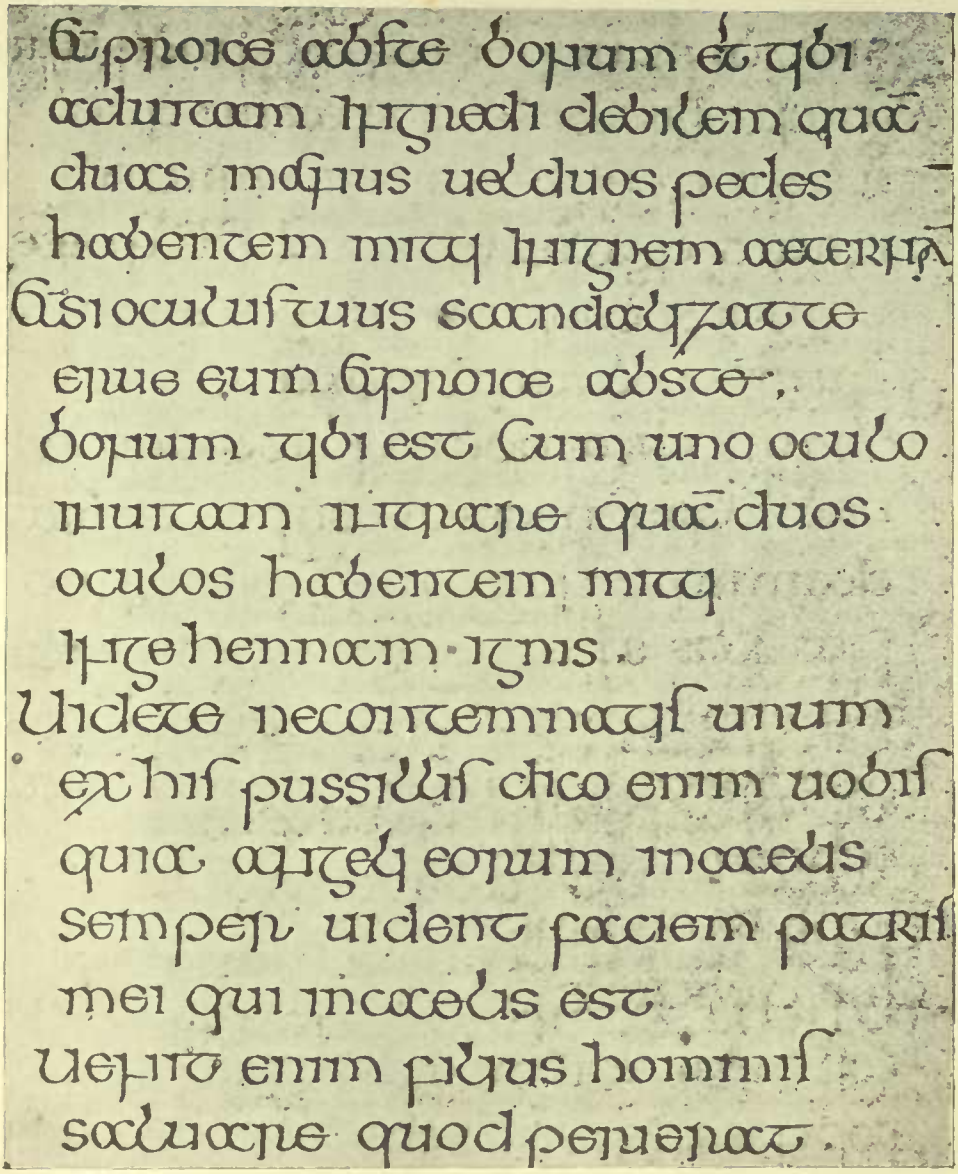
For study of the pointed English hand there has survived a fair amount of material, ranging from the eighth to the tenth century; later than this time, the changes effected in its structure by contact with southern influences mark a new departure. In the oldest specimens the writing generally exhibits that breadth of form and elegance of shape which we have noticed in other handwritings in their early stages. Then comes, in the ninth century, the tendency to lateral compression and fanciful variations from the older and simpler types; but the script still retains the sense of grace and fineness of touch.

Our first example shall be selected from the remarkably handsome copy of Beda's *Ecclesiastical History*, in the University Library of Cambridge (MS. Kk. v. 16), written probably not long after the year 730 and, it has been conjectured, at Epternach or Echternach, near Luxemburg, or some other Anglo-Saxon colony on the Continent. The MS. is also famous as containing the original Anglo-Saxon of the song of Cædmon (*Pal. Soc.* i. 139, 140).



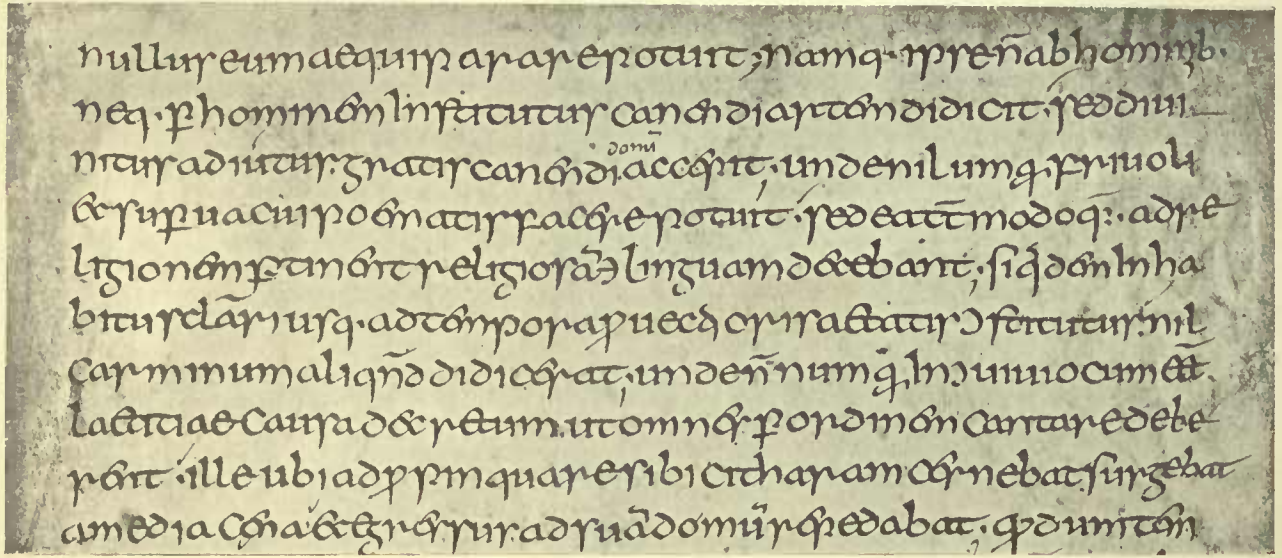
LINDISFARNE GOSPELS.—ABOUT A.D. 700

(Beati qui lugunt nunc | quoniam ipsi | consolabuntur | Beati qui esuriunt | et sitiunt iustitiam | quoniam ipsi | saturabuntur | Beati misericordes | quoniam ipsi | misericordiam | consequentur | Beati mundo corde | quoniam ipsi *deum* | videbunt || *Gloss :* eadge biðon ða ðe gemænas nú | *for*ðon ða | gefroefred biðon | eadge biðon ða ðe hyncgrað | *and* ðyrstas soðfæstnisse | forðon ða ilco | gefylled biðon *vel* geriorded | eadge biðon miltheorte | *for*ðon hiora *vel* ða | miltheortnise | him gefylges | eadge biðon claene of *vel* fr*om* hearte | forðon ða god | geseas || eadge biðon ða ðe ðyrstas *and* hyncgras æft*er* soðfæstnisse f*or*ðon ða gefylled biðon in ece líf. || eadge biðon ða clæne hearte bute esuice *and* eghwoelcum facne f*or*ðon hia geseas god in ecnise)



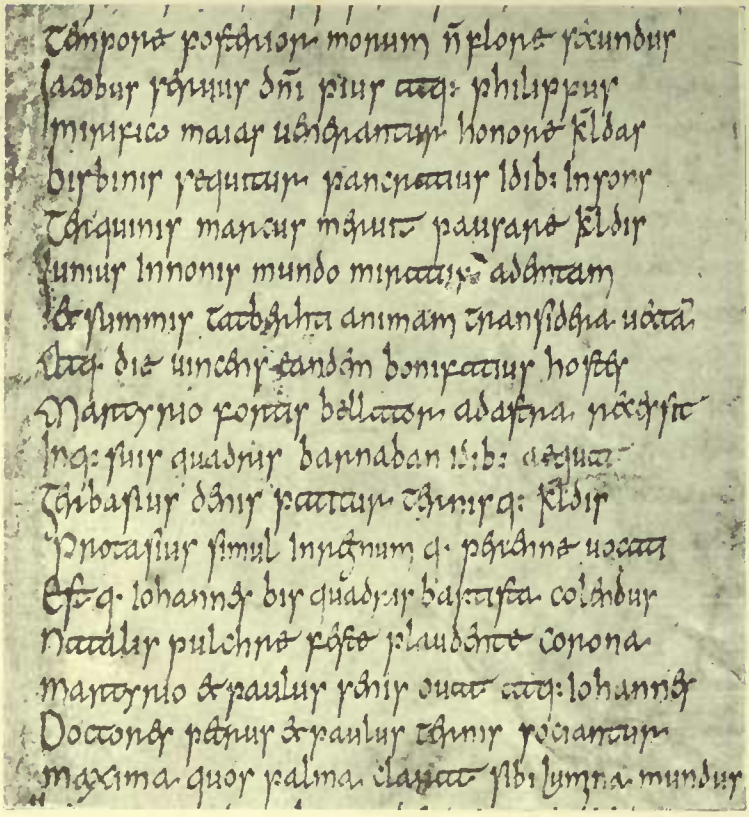
CANTERBURY GOSPELS.—LATE EIGHTH CENTURY

(et proice abs te bonum e\s't tibi | ad vitam ingredi debilem quam | duas manus vel duos pedes | habentem mitti in ignem aeternam | Et si oculus tuus scandalizat te | erue eum et proice abs te . | bonum tibi est cum uno oculo | in vitam intrare quam duos | oculos habentem mitti | in gehennam ignis . | Videte ne contemnatis unum | ex his pussillis dico enim vobis | quia angeli eorum in caelis | semper vident faciem patris | mei qui in caelis est | Venit enim filius hominis | salvare quod perierat.)



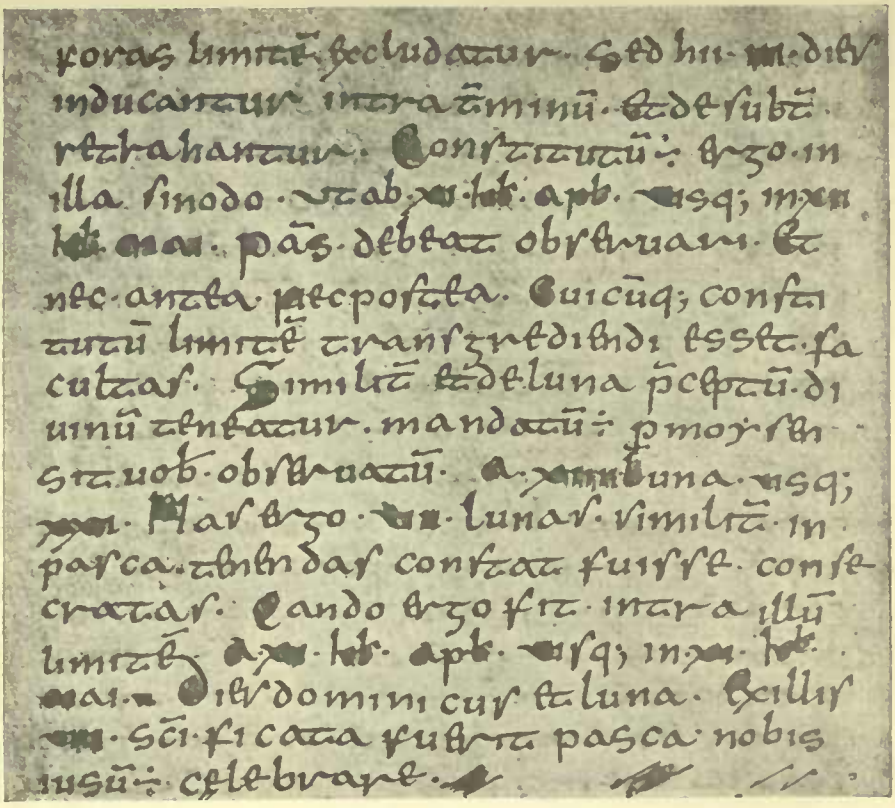
BEDA'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.—MIDDLE OF EIGHTH CENTURY

(nullus eum aequiparare potuit; namque ipse non ab hominibus | neque per hominem institutus canendi artem didicit.' sed divi|nitus adiutus . gratis canendi 'donum' accepit; unde nil umquam frivoli | et supervacui poematis facere potuit.' sed ea tantummodo quae ad re|ligionem pertinent religiosam eius linguam decebant; siquidem in ha|bitu saeculari usque ad tempora provectioris aetatis constitutus.' nil | carminum aliquando didicerat; unde nonnumquam in convivio cum esset | laetitiae causa decretum . ut omnes per ordinem cantare debe|rent.' ille ubi adpropinquare sibi citharam cernebat . surgebat | a media cena.' et egressus ad suam domum repedabat . quod dum tem)



BEDA'S MARTYROLOGIUM POETICUM.—A.D. 811–14

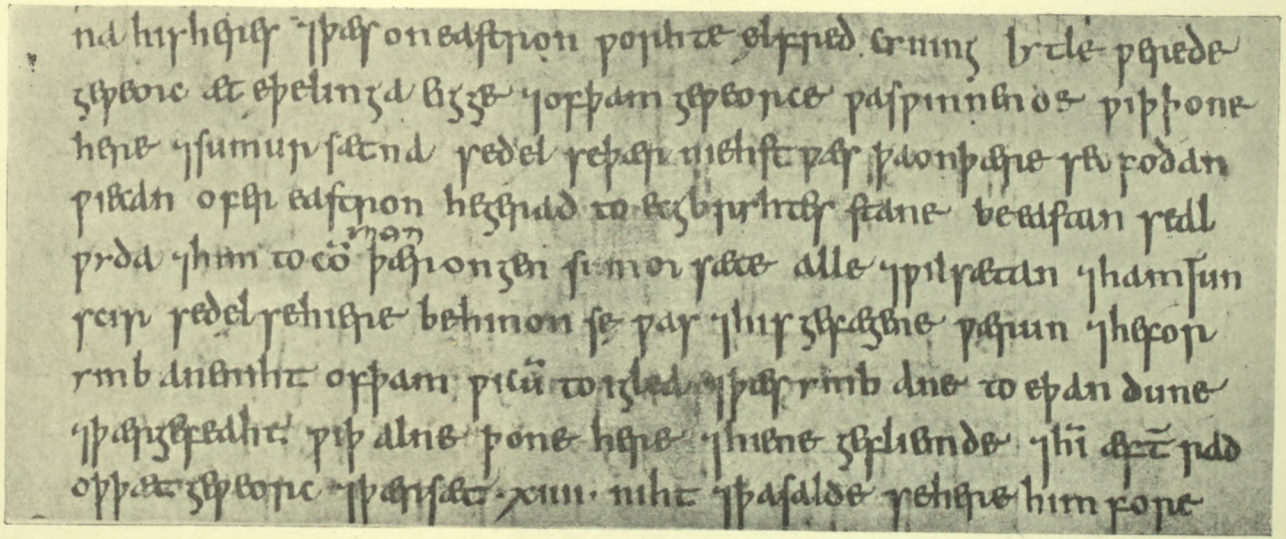
(Tempore posterior morum n*on* flore secundus
Iacobus servus d*omi*ni pius at*que* philippus
Mirifico maias venerantur honore k*alen*das
His binis sequitur pancratius idib*us* insons
Ter quinis marcus meruit pausare k*alen*dis
Iunius in nonis mundo miratur ademtam
Et summis tatberhti animam tran sidera vectam
Atq*ue* die vincens eandem bonifatius hostes
Martyrio fortis bellator ad astra recessit
Inq*ue* suis quadris barnaban idib*us* aequat
Gerbasius denis patitur ternisq*ue* k*alen*dis
Protasius simul in regnumq*ue* perenne vocati
Estq*ue* iohannes bis quadris baptista colendus
Natalis pulchre feste plaudente corona
Martyrio et paulus senis ovat atq*ue* iohannes
Doctores petrus et paulus ternis sociantur
Maxima quos palma clarat sibi lumina mundus)



Paschal Computations.—Middle of Ninth Century

(foras limitem . excludatur . Sed hii .iii. dies | inducantur intra terminum . et desubter | retrahantur . Constitutum *est* ergo . in | illa sinodo . ut ab .xi. kl. Aprilis . usque in .xii. | kl. Mai . Pasca debeat observari . Et | nec . antea . nec postea . Cuicumque consti tutum limitem transgrediendi esset . fa|cultas . Similiter et de luna preceptum di vinum teneatur . mandatum *est* per moŷsen | sit vobis . observatum . a .xiiii. luna . usque | xxi. Has ergo .vii. lunas . similiter . in | pasca . tenendas constat fuisse . conse|cratas . Qando ergo fit . intra illum | limitem . a .xii. kl. Aprilis . usque in .xi. kl. | Mai .v. Dies dominicus et luna . Ex illis | viii. sanctificata fuerit pasca . nobis | iusum *est* cęlebrare .)

FACSIMILE No. 145



ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.—ABOUT A. D. 891

(na his heres *and* þæs on eastron worhte ælfred cyning lytle werede | geweorc æt æþelinga eigge *and* of þam geweorce was winnende wiþ þone | here *and* sumursætna se dæl se þær niehst wæs þa on þære seofoðan | wiecan ofer eastron he gerad to ecgbryhtes stane be eastan seal | wyda *and* him to *com* 'mon' þær ongen sumorsæte alle *and* wilsætan *and* hamtun | scir se dæl se hiere behinon sę was *and* his gefægene wærun *and* he fór | ymb ane niht of þam wicum to iglea *and* þæs ymb ane to eþandune | *and* þær gefeaht wiþ alne þone here *and* hiene gefliemde *and* him æfter rád | oþ þæt geweorc *and* þær sæt ·xiiii· niht *and* þa salde se here him fore)

No. 142

Nothing could be finer of its kind than the broad, bold, style of this hand, carrying on the best traditions of its ancestor, the Roman half-uncial, and combining simplicity of form with symmetry in the structure of the letters. Although the MS. may have been executed abroad, the writing is purely native without any mark of foreign influence.

For the next specimen a MS. is selected, containing chronological notes and computations, with lists of kings and bishops, etc. (Brit. Mus., Cotton, Vespasian B. vi). The lines here given come from Beda's *Martyrologium Poeticum*. The MS. was written in Mercia between the years 811 and 814 (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 79; *Pal. Soc.* i. 165).

No. 143

The writing, being some eighty years later, is more laterally compressed than the preceding example, and is of the refined and elegant style which is found in many Mercian documents of this period, proving the existence of an advanced school of penmanship in the Mercian kingdom.

In contrast with this elegant style of writing we find a hand practised chiefly in Wessex, and less widely in Kent, in which the letters are roughly formed and adopt in some instances peculiar shapes. The following specimen is taken from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (Digby MS. 63), which was written at Winchester, apparently before the year 863, and contains collections relating to the paschal cycle and other computations (*Pal. Soc.* i. 168).

No. 144

It will be observed that in this MS., although the writing is cast into a fairly regular mould as a book-hand, the letters are rather straggling in shape: as for example long s and r, and particularly t, the bow of which is rather contracted and terminates in a short thickened stroke or dot. These characteristics show themselves more prominently in the more cursive writing of the Wessex charters.

A MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in Corpus Christi College Library (no. 173), Cambridge, the text of which was taken up by different hands at successive intervals, affords a good example of a careful hand of about the year 891 (*New Pal. Soc.* 134).

No. 145

This again is a Wessex MS., written at Winchester, but showing none of the rather rustic peculiarities of the previous specimen, except in the heavy dot terminating final or disconnected t. Otherwise the writing is well formed and regular, such as a trained monastic scribe would write.

The change which took place in the English pointed hand in the course of the tenth century is very marked, and towards the close of the century the influence of the Carolingian minuscule hand begins to assert itself, and even, under certain conditions, to usurp the place of the native hand. Characteristic is the disposition to flatten the top of such letters as a and q, and, so to say, cut it off at an oblique angle. This is well shown in the following specimen from the collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry in the Wessex dialect in a volume known as the 'Exeter Book', belonging to the Chapter Library of Exeter (no. 3501), written in the middle of the century (*New Pal. Soc.* 9).

No. 146

The large scale on which the text is written renders this MS. of particular value as a standard example of the Anglo-Saxon hand of the tenth century. The advance upon the writing of the ninth century is conspicuous in the growing squareness of the letters, in contrast with the more elegant pointed style of the older period; and yet something of that elegance remains in the balance of light and heavy strokes in the formation of the letters.

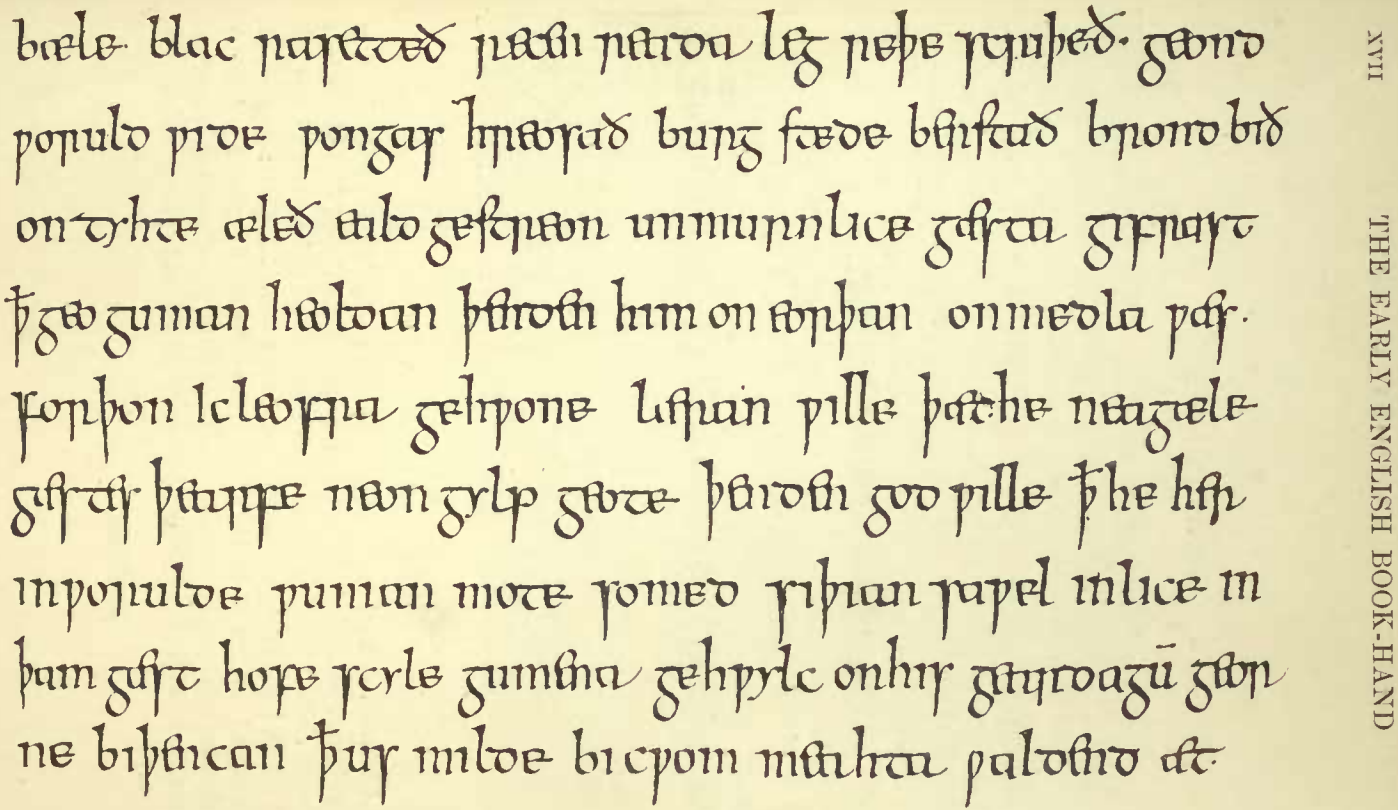
A little later is the next specimen from a Latin Psalter in Salisbury Chapter Library (MS. 150) of about the year 969, with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss (*Pal. Soc.* i. 189).

No. 147

The text is written with regularity in well-formed minuscules; but the influence of the foreign school can be detected in the fluctuations of certain forms, as e.g. in the letter s, the round shape being more generally used than the long Saxon letter, and the tall Carolingian letter also appearing (lines 1 and 2).

The establishment of the foreign minuscule hand as an independent form of writing in England will engage our attention when the history of that script will be treated as a whole and its progress throughout the different countries of Western Europe will be taken into one view. But here it should be noticed that foreign minuscules generally take the place of the native hand in the course of the tenth century for Latin texts, while the Saxon writing still holds its own for texts in the vernacular. Thus, in charters of this period we find the two styles standing side by side, the body of the document, in Latin, being written in the foreign minuscule hand, and the boundaries of the property conveyed, expressed in Anglo-Saxon, being in the native hand. This foreign invasion naturally made its chief impression in the south.

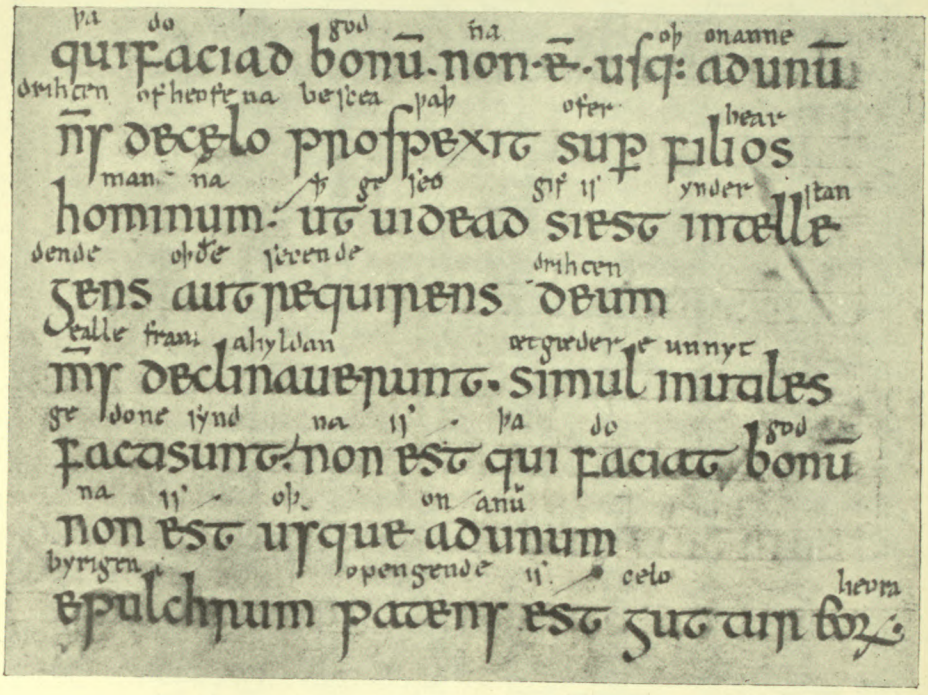
To bring the tenth century to a close, we select an example from



Anglo-Saxon Poems (Exeter Book).—About A. D. 950

(bæle blac rasetteð recen reada leg reþe seriþeð . geond | woruld wide wongas hreosað burg stede berstað brond bið | on tyhte æleð eald gestreon unmurnlice gæsta gifrast | þæt geo guman heoldan þenden him on eorþan onmedla wæs. | forþon ic leofra gehwone læran wille þæt he ne agæle | gæstes þearfe neon gylp geote þenden god wille þæt he her | in worulde wunian mote somed siþian sawel in lice in | þam gæst hofe seyle gumena gehwyle on his geardagum geor|ne biþencan þæt us milde biewom meahta waldend æt)

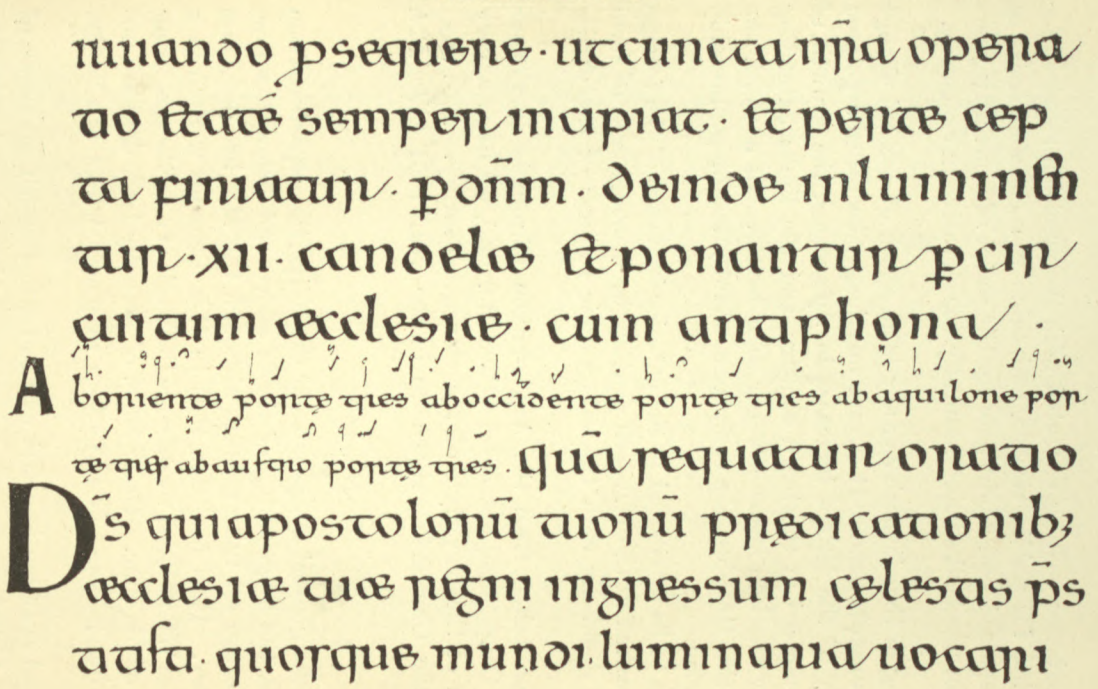
FACSIMILE No. 147



PSALTER.—ABOUT A.D. 969

(qui faciad bonum . non est usque ad unum | [Domi]nus de cęlo prospexit super filios | hominum.' ut videad si est intelle|gens aut requirens deum | [O]mnes declinaverunt . simul inutiles | facti sunt.' non est qui faciat bonum | non est usque ad unum | [S]epulchrum patens est guttur eorum. || *Gloss*: þa do god na oþ on anne | drihten of heofena besceawaþ ofer bear | manna þæt geseo gif is ynderstan|dende oþðe secende drihten | ealle fram ahyldan ætgædere unnyt | gedone synd na is þa do god | na is oþ on anum | byrigen opengende is celo heora)

Facsimile No. 148



Sherborne Pontifical.—About A.D. 992–5

(iuvando *pro*sequere . ut cuncta *nos*tra opera|tio etate semper incipiat . et per te cep|ta finiatur . *per* d*omin*um . deinde inluminen|tur .xii. candelæ et ponantur *per* cir|cuitum æcclesiæ . cum antiphona | Ab oriente portę tres ab occidente portę tres ab aquilone por|tę tres ab austro portę tres . quam sequatur oratio | D*eus* qui apostolorum tuorum prędicatio-nib*us* | æcclesiæ tuæ regni ingressum cęlestis p*res*|titisti . quosque mundi luminaria vocari)

a pontifical, apparently of the church of Sherborne, in Dorset, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. lat. 943), Paris, which was written about A. D. 992–5 (*New Pal. Soc.* 111, 112).

No. 148

This very handsome writing, executed with the precision required for a volume intended for public service, maintains the characteristics of its century unimpaired, and might pass for the script of some fifty years earlier, church service-books being naturally conservative in execution.

The beginning of the eleventh century is an epoch of decided change in the native minuscule hand. It cannot any longer be called a pointed hand. The body of the letters increases in squareness, the growth of which we have noticed in the tenth century, and the limbs extending above and below the line become longer than before. In a word, the writing has by this time lost the compactness and graceful penmanship of the earlier period.

The change is to be attributed to the exterior influence of the foreign style which is marked in the eleventh century by a meagreness of form contrasting very decidedly with the calligraphic fullness of the earlier script.

In a specimen taken from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, described above (no. 145), we have a very good illustration of the new style of the eleventh century. It is from the portion of the Chronicle written up in the year 1001 (*New Pal. Soc.* 136).

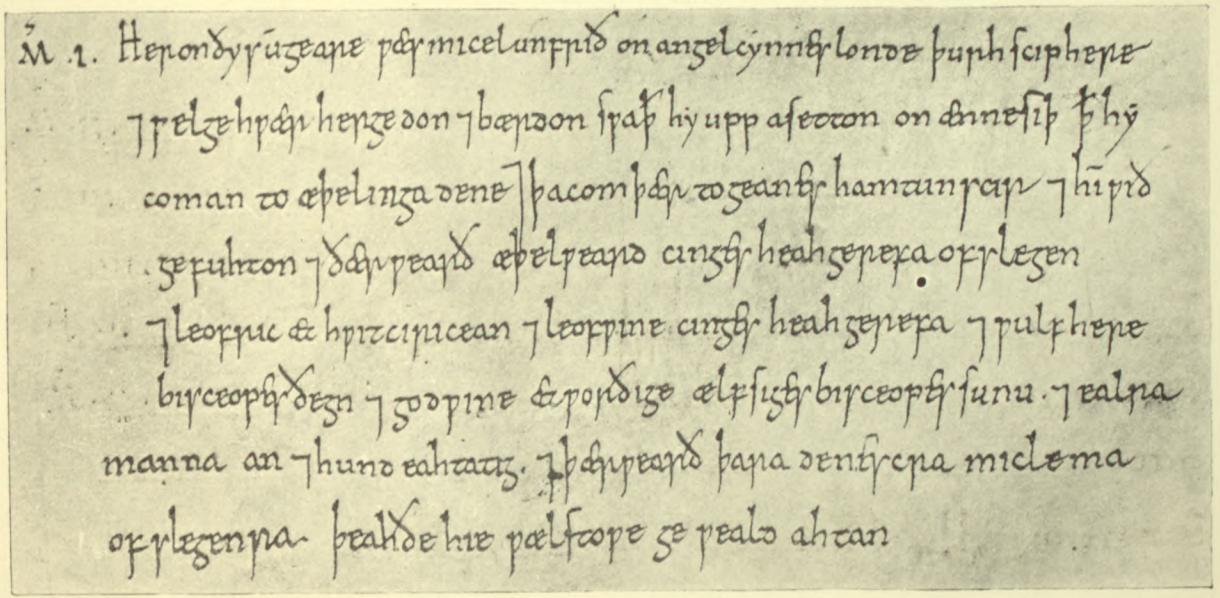
No. 149

In this hand the general meagreness of the script, the departure from the pointed style, the lengthening of limbs above and below the line, referred to above, are all fully present, although the MS. has only just turned the century. It is probable that in this example, written in a busy centre such as Winchester, we may see the work of a scribe practising the newest style of his time. Many MSS. of actually later date are not so advanced, having perhaps been written in places where life moved more placidly.

Another typical example is a MS. of the Latin-English grammar of Ælfric, Abbot of Cerne in Dorset, now in the Cambridge University Library (MS. HH. 1. 10), written in the first half of the eleventh century (*New Pal. Soc.* 137).

No. 150

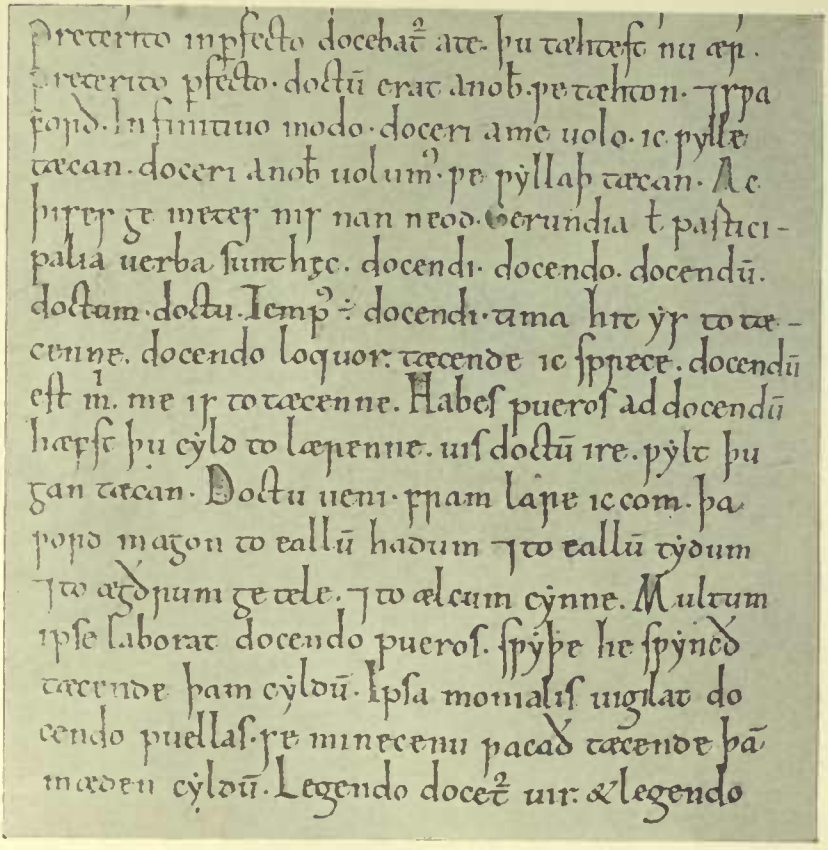
This is an instance of writing in two alphabets, the scribe being equally versed in the continental minuscule for the Latin portions of



ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.—A.D. 1001

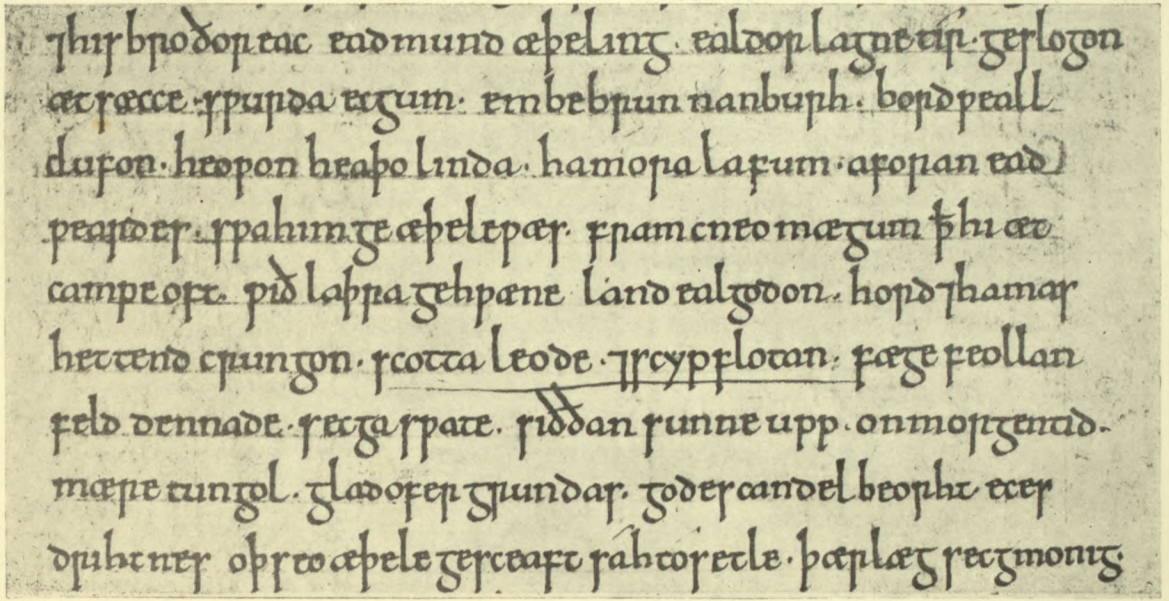
(M.i. Her on ðýsum geare wæs micel únfrið ón angelcynnes londe þurh sciphere | *and* wel gehwær hergedon *and* bærdon swa þæt hý upp asetton on ænne siþ þæt hý | coman to æþelinga dene *and* þa com þær togeanes hamtun scir *and* him wið | gefuhton *and* ðær wearð æþelweard cinges heahgerefa ofslegen | *and* leofric æt hwitciricean *and* leofwine cinges heahgerefa *and* wulfhere | bisceopes ðegn *and* godwine æt worðige ælfsiges bisceopes sunu . *and* ealra | manna an *and* hundeahtatig . *and* þær wearð þara denescra micle ma | ofslegenra . þeah ðe hie wælstowe geweald ahtan)

FACSIMILE No. 150



ÆLFRIC'S GRAMMAR.—EARLY ELEVENTH CENTURY

(Preterito in*perfecto* docebat*ur* a te . þu tæhtest nu ær . | Preterito *per*fecto . doctum erat a nob*is* . we tæhton . *and* swa | forð . Infinitivo modo . doceri a me volo . ic wylle | tæcan . doceri a nob*is* volum*us* . we wyllaþ tæcan . Ac | þises gemetes nis nan neod . Gerundia *vel* partici|palia verba sunt hęc . docendi . docendo . docendum . | doctum . doctu . Temp*us est* docendi . tima hit ys to tæ|cenne . docendo loquor . tæcende ic sprece . docendum | est m*ihi* . me is to tæcenne . Habes pueros ad docendum | hæfst þu cyld to lærenne . vis doctum ire . wylt þu | gan tæcan . Doctu veni . fram lare ic com . þa | word magon to eallum hadum *and* to eallum tydum | *and* to ægðrum getele . *and* to ælcum cynne . Multum | ipse laborat docendo pueros . swyþe he swynċð | tæcende þam cyldum . Ipsa monialis vigilat do|cendo puellas . se minecenu wacað tæcende þam | mæden cyldum . Legendo docet*ur* vir . et legendo)



ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.—ABOUT A.D. 1045

(*and* his broðor eac eadmund æþeling . ealdorlagne tír . geslogon | æt sæcce . swurda ecgum . embe brunnanburh . bordweall | clufon . heowon heaþolinda . hamora lafum . aforan ead| weardes . swa him geæþele wæs . fram cneomægum þæt hi æt | campe oft . wið laþra gehwæne . land ealgodon . hord *and* hamas | hettend crungon . scotta leode . *and* scýpflotan . fæge feollan | feld dennade . secga swate . siððan sunne upp . on morgentid . | mære tungol . glad ofer grundas . godes candel beorht . eces | drihtnes oþ seo æþele gesceaft sáh tó setle . þær læg secg monig .)

the text, and in the Anglo-Saxon script for the vernacular. It will be observed that he is careful to keep up the distinction even between such letters of the two alphabets as might be easily interchanged; for example, the Anglo-Saxon form of e is differentiated from the foreign letter only by a small hook at the back of the loop.

To close our Anglo-Saxon specimens we give a facsimile from a MS. written near the middle of the century and within appreciable distance of the Norman Conquest, a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Brit. Mus., Cotton, Tiberius B. i) of about the year 1045 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 242).

No. 151

This is a good hand, written with great firmness and regularity, and heavier in style than the two previous specimens; with the tendency to square formation and to long limbs above and below the line, characteristic of the period.

With the Norman Conquest the native English form of writing was doomed. From the tenth century, as we have seen, the continental minuscule had been displacing it as the handwriting for Latin MSS. There remained for it only books composed in the native tongue; and there it continued, for a certain time, to survive, but gradually losing its independent character, and being evermore overshadowed and superseded by the new writing of the continental school, until at length the memory of the old hand survives in our modern writing only in the paradoxical employment of the letter y to represent the old Saxon long thorn þ. We break off, then, with the period of the Norman Conquest as virtually marking the end of the English hand of the Anglo-Saxon type.

CHAPTER XVIII

LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY (*continued*)

The Minuscule Book-hand in the Middle Ages

We have now examined the various national handwritings of Western Europe, as they were developed within the borders of their respective countries. We have seen how they had their origin in different styles of Roman writing, and how they followed their own lines and grew up in different forms under different conditions. We have now to gather the threads together and follow the course of the handwritings of Western Europe along a new line. One form of handwriting had been developed, which by its admirable simplicity recommended itself at once as a standard script. The Carolingian minuscule, which we have already found brought to perfection at Tours and at other centres of France, was the literary hand of the Frankish Empire, and extended its influence and was gradually adopted in neighbouring countries. But at the same time, with this widespread use of the reformed hand, uniformity of character could not be ensured. National idiosyncrasies show themselves as manifestly in the different scripts of different peoples as they do in their mental and moral qualities; and, although the Carolingian minuscule hand formed the basis of all modern writing of Western Europe, which thus started with more chance of uniformity than the old national hands which we have been discussing, yet the national character of each country soon stamped itself upon the adopted script. Thus in the later middle ages we have again a series of national hands, developed from the Carolingian minuscule, and clearly distinguishable from each other, although in some degree falling into groups.

We now follow the course of the mediaeval minuscule script as a book-hand, reserving for a later chapter what we have to say regarding the more cursive styles used in official and legal documents.

We have already described the final calligraphic moulding of the Carolingian minuscule book-hand, the literary hand of the Frankish Empire. Its course through the ninth and tenth centuries, particularly on the Continent, can be traced with fair precision by means of the excellent facsimiles which have been published during recent years. Its general characteristics during the ninth century, at least in the better written examples, are these: the contrast of fine and heavy

strokes is marked, the old tendency to thicken or club the stems of tall letters, as in b, d, h, is still maintained; the letter a is often in the open u-form, and the bows of the letter g frequently remain unclosed, somewhat after the fashion of the numeral 3. In the tenth century, the strokes are usually of less solidity; the clubbing gradually declines; the open a (in its pure form) is less frequently used, and the upper bow of g closes. No fixed laws can, however, be laid down for distinguishing the MSS. of the two centuries, and the characteristics which have been named must not be too rigidly exacted. As in all other departments of our subject, practice and familiarity are the best guides; and, as a considerable number of MSS. written in this book-hand have survived, many of them of classical and other literary value, the student will not find the time wasted which he will bestow in acquiring a nearer acquaintance with this form of writing, and in thus preparing himself to form a judgement of the ages of the undated MSS. in the series.

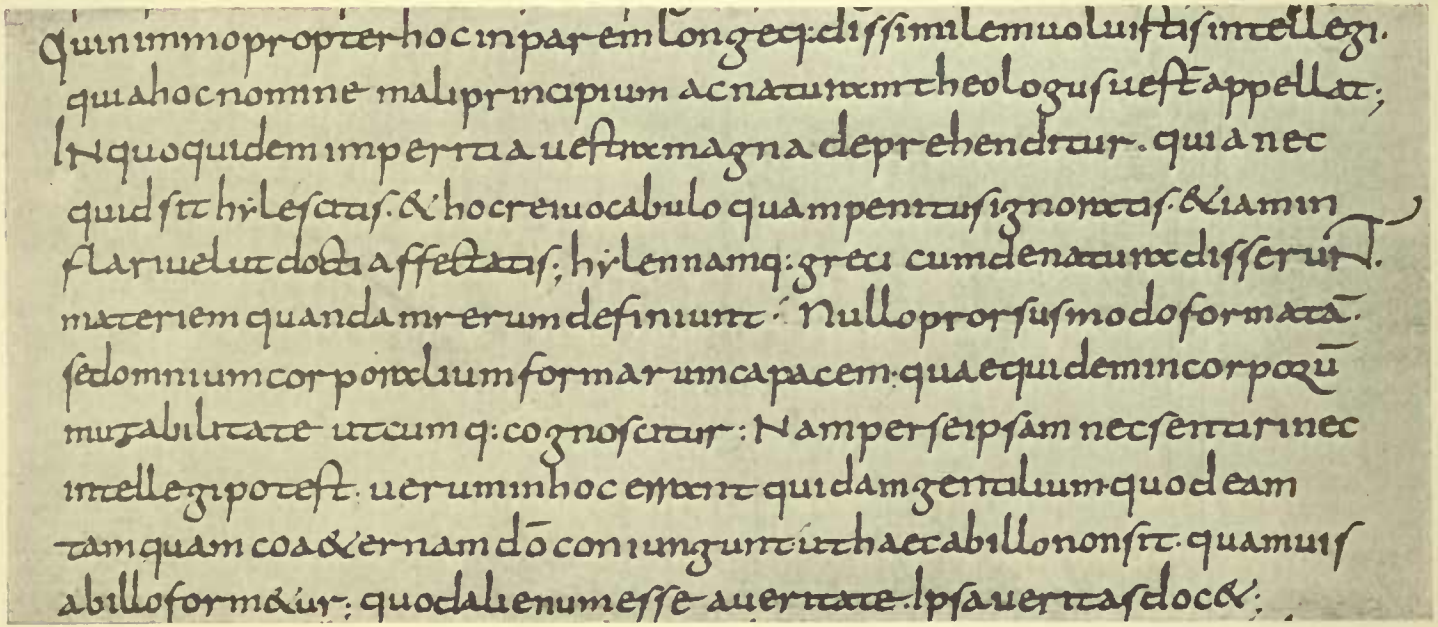
In dealing with a type of book-hand so widely diffused as was the Carolingian minuscule in Western Europe, we must expect great diversity of style, of personal or local character, among surviving MSS. Naturally we look for the best written examples within the boundaries of France itself, and necessarily a less accomplished style in parts more distant, and thus more removed from the central influence of the reformed hand. Hence in the following series of examples it will be found that there are variations which are to be explained as resulting from the above conditions, and that one common standard is not to be set up for MSS. written in different districts and countries.

Our first example is from a MS. of St. Augustine *contra Faustum* at Lyons (MS. 610), which was presented to the cathedral church by Bishop Leidrade who held the see in A.D. 798–814, and which may therefore be placed in the early years of the ninth century (*New Pal. Soc.* 58).

No. 152

The writing here is of the French type, showing the Carolingian minuscule still in a progressive stage but fairly on its way towards calligraphic completion. The old-fashioned form of the letter a will be noticed in places, when following r; as well as the occasional employment of the high-shouldered form of the last-named letter, and the use of the combined et, both as a separate word and as part of another word. It is true that such survivals persist even to later times, but they become gradually more exceptional.

For the next specimen a MS. with a curious history is selected. This is a volume of Lives of the Fathers by Paschasius and others, now in the Royal Library of Brussels (MS. 8216–18), which was commenced



St. Augustine.—Before A.D. 814

(quin immo propter hoc inparem longeque dissimilem voluistis intellegi . | quia hoc nomine mali principium ac naturam theologus vester appellat ; | In quo quidem imperitia vestra magna deprehenditur . quia nec | quid sit hylé scitis . et hoc rei vocabulo quam penitus ignoratis . etiam in flari velut docti affectatis ; hylen namque greci cum de natura disserunt . | materiem quandam rerum definiunt.' Nullo prorsus modo formatam . | sed omnium corporalium formarum capacem ; quae quidem in corporum | mutabilitate utcumque cognoscitur : Nam per se ipsam nec sentiri nec | intellegi potest ; verum in hoc errant quidam gentilium . quod eam | tamquam coaeternam deo coniungunt.' ut haec ab illo non sit . quamvis | ab illo formetur : quod alienum esse a veritate . Ipsa veritas docet ;)

during a military expedition and was completed at the Abbey of St. Florian near Linz in Upper Austria in A.D. 819 (*New Pal. Soc.* 31).

No. 153

In this example, an instance of a MS. written at a distance from restraining and correcting influence, the writing lacks the more perfect finish. The letters are of a thinner type; the tall main strokes rather meagre. The prevalent, though not universal, employment of the open a, rather of the old double-c form, will be noticed.

Two MSS. written by order of Baturich, Bishop of Regensburg, and formerly belonging to the monastery of St. Emmeran of Regensburg, may be taken as illustrating the Carolingian minuscule written in Germany early in the ninth century. The first is a volume of theological and canonical tracts, now in the Royal Library in Munich (MS. Lat. 14468), dated A.D. 821 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 122).

No. 154

The handwriting is of a good character, though it does not rise to the standard of the best-written MSS. of France. The clubbing of the tall main strokes is partial; open a is rarely used: an instance of the employment of the high-shouldered cursive r in conjunction with t will be observed in line 7.

The second MS. from Regensburg is the commentary of St. Augustine on the First Epistle of St. John, now at Munich (MS. Lat. 14437), of the year 823 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 123).

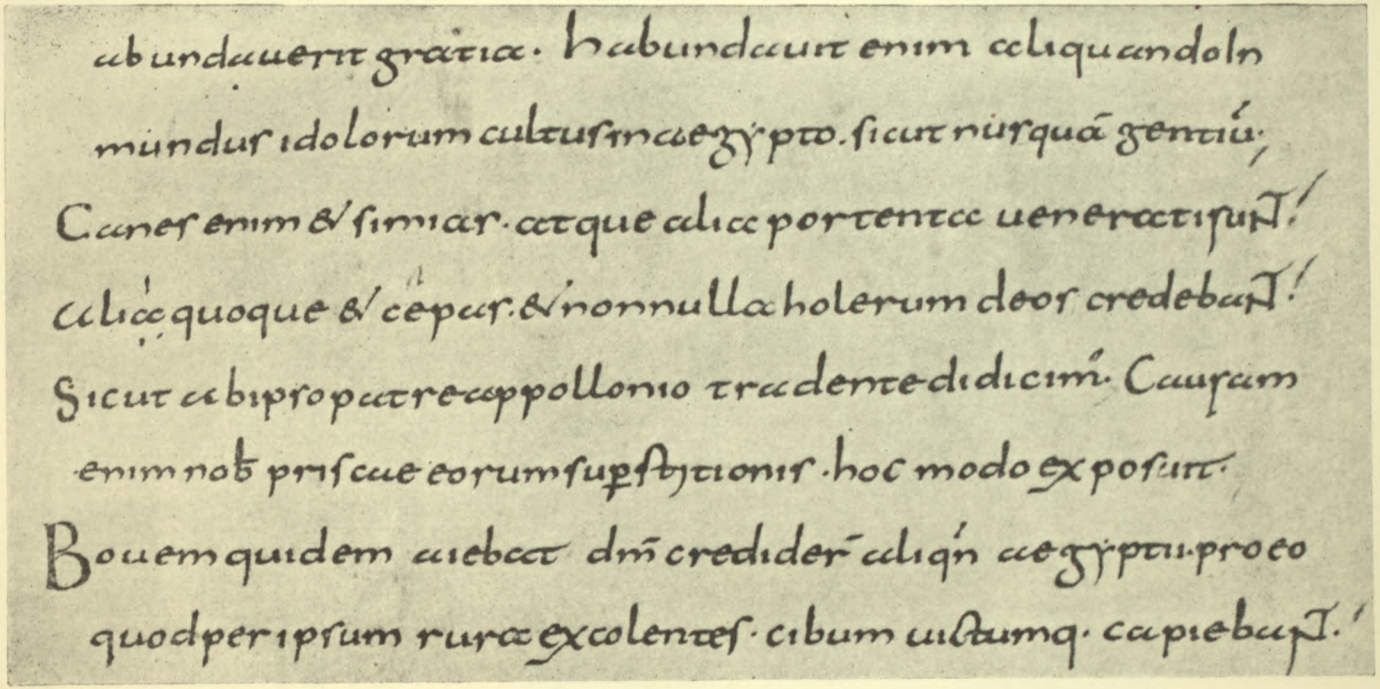
No. 155

This writing is more archaic in style than the foregoing example. The open a is in general use, of the double-c type. The clubbing of tall main strokes is fairly consistent. An instance of the surviving cursive i, drawn under the line after r, will be seen in line 7.

A MS. of the *Capitularia*, or Constitutions, of Charlemagne in the Library of St. Gall (Cod. 733) provides our next example. It was written in A.D. 825 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 209).

No. 156

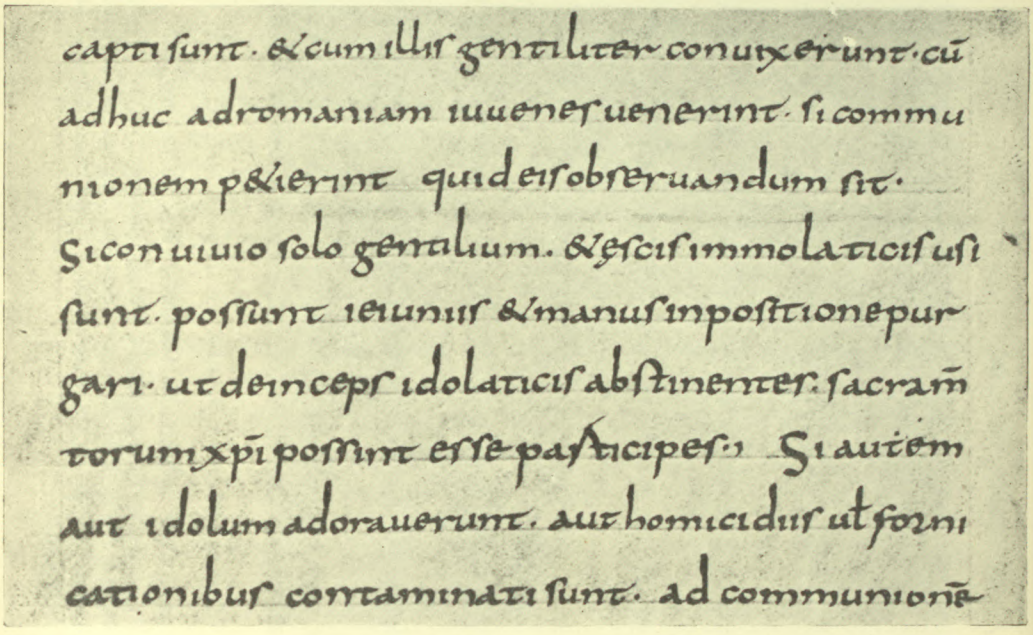
This hand approaches more nearly to the French type in the contrast of light and heavy strokes, and in the more ornamental clubbing of the vertical main strokes. The two forms, too, of a are used at discretion, the open letter, it will be noticed, being not exactly of the double-c type, but rather following the Franco-Lombardic (Corbie) pattern as seen above in Facs. 128, the first limb being pointed and the second only having the curved head of a c.



Paschasius.—a. d. 819

(abundaverit gratia . Habundavit enim aliquando in|mundus idolorum cultus in aegỳpto . sicut nusquam gentium ; | Canes enim et simias . atque alia portenta venerati sunt .′ | Aliȧ quoque et cepas . et nonnulla holerum deos credebant .′ | Sicut ab ipso patre appollonio tradente didicimus . Causam | enim nobis priscae eorum superstitionis . hoc modo exposuit . | Bovem quidem aiebat deum crediderunt aliquando aegỳptii . pro eo | quod per ipsum rura excolentes . cibum victumque capiebant .′)

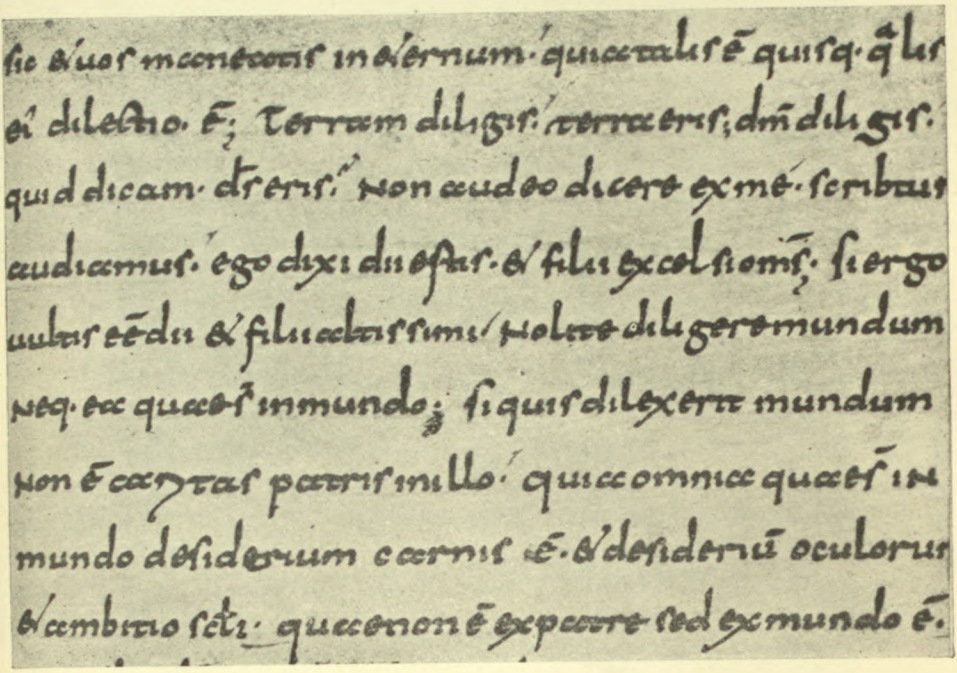
FACSIMILE NO. 154



THEOLOGICAL TRACTS.—A.D. 821

(capti sunt · et cum illis gentiliter convixerunt · cum | adhuc ad romaniam iuvenes venerint · si commu|nionem petierint quid eis observandum sit · | Si convivio solo gentilium · et ęscis immolaticis usi | sunt · possunt ieiuniis et manus inpositione pur|gari · ut deinceps idolaticis abstinentes · sacramen|torum christi possint esse participes ·· Si autem | aut idolum adoraverunt · aut homicidiis vel forni|cationibus contaminati sunt · ad communionem)

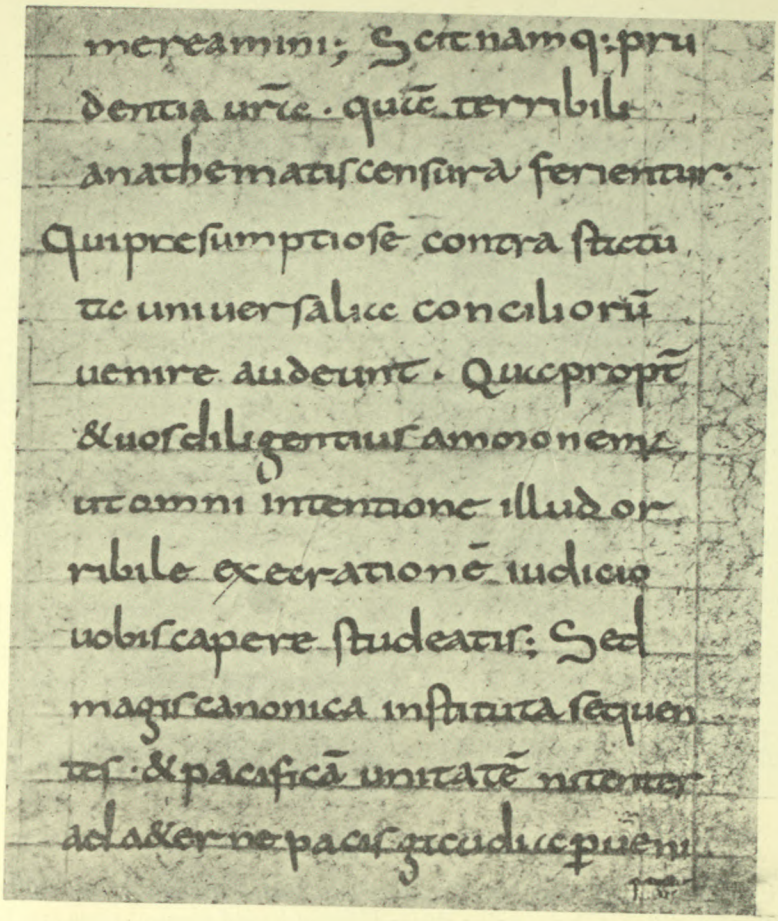
FACSIMILE No. 155



ST. AUGUSTINE.—A.D. 823

(sic et vos maneatis in eternum ⁝ quia talis e*st* quisq*ue* q*u*alis | ei*us* dilectio · e*st* ; Terram diligis ⁝ terra eris ; d*eu*m diligis ⁝ | quid dicam · d*eu*s eris ? Non audeo dicere ex me ⁝ scribtur[as] | audiamus ⁝ ego dixi dii estis · et filii excelsi om*nes* ; si ergo | vultis e*sse* dii et filii altissimi ⁝ nolite diligere mundum · | neq*ue* ea quae s*unt* in mundo · si quis dilexerit mundum | non e*st* caritas patris in illo ⁝ quia omnia quae s*unt* in | mundo desiderium carnis e*st* · et desideriu*m* oculorum | et ambitio sec*u*li · quae non e*st* ex patre sed ex mundo e*st* ·)

FACSIMILE No. 156



CONSTITUTIONS OF CHARLEMAGNE.—A.D. 825

(mereamini ; Scit namque pru|dentia *vestra* · quam terribili | anathematis censura ferientur · | Qui presumptiose contra statu|ta universalia concilio-rum | venire audeunt. Quapropter | et vos diligentius ammonemus | ut omni intentione illud or|ribile execrationem iudicio | vobis capere studeatis : Sed magis canonica instituta sequen|tes · et pacificam unitatem nitentes | ad aeterne pacis gaudia perveni|re)

A fine example of the Carolingian minuscule in the best style is a copy of the Gospels (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 2790) which was given by Herimann, Bishop of Nevers, to the cathedral church of St. Cyr of Nevers. Herimann held the bishopric from A.D. 840 to 860; and it seems probable that he would have presented the MS. early in his episcopate. We may, then, fairly place the period of its execution before the middle of the century. As the MS. is of palaeographical value as a standard of handsome writing, specimens are given of two different hands (Brit. Mus., *Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 24; *Pal. Soc.* i. 239).

Nos. 157, 158

In the first hand there is a greater effort at an ornamental style, the letters deliberately formed, and the open a inclining to the double-c type common. The second hand is an excellent example of the finished form of the Carolingian minuscule used generally for texts. In both hands the surviving influence of the half-uncial hand is seen in such a detail as the sweeping head-stroke of the letter r.

Another perfect example of the same period is to be found in the Gospels of the Emperor Lothair (A.D. 840–55), executed in the middle of the century in the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (MS. lat. 266; *Album Paléogr.* 22).

No. 159

For such a book the most skilful writers were of course employed, and the handwriting was formed in the most accurate and finished style of the new school.

This MS. and the Gospels of Nevers, it is to be noted, being texts of the Scriptures, naturally follow the more conservative style, and therefore should be compared with the MS. of Quedlinburg, quoted above (Facs. 132, 133). It will be seen that the fine standard of writing therein achieved, at the beginning of the century, is maintained in these two Gospel MSS.: and the script of the three examples may be accepted as the purest form of the Carolingian minuscule of the ninth century.

A MS. of Beda *De Temporum Ratione* in the British Museum (Cotton MS., Vespasian B. vi), written before A.D. 848, is an example of the Carolingian minuscule used for a secular work, and is therefore less conservatively written than the Gospel MSS. which have been last discussed (*Pal. Soc.* i. 166, 167).

No. 160

The writing is a good specimen of the usual type of the ninth century which was carried on without much variation into the tenth

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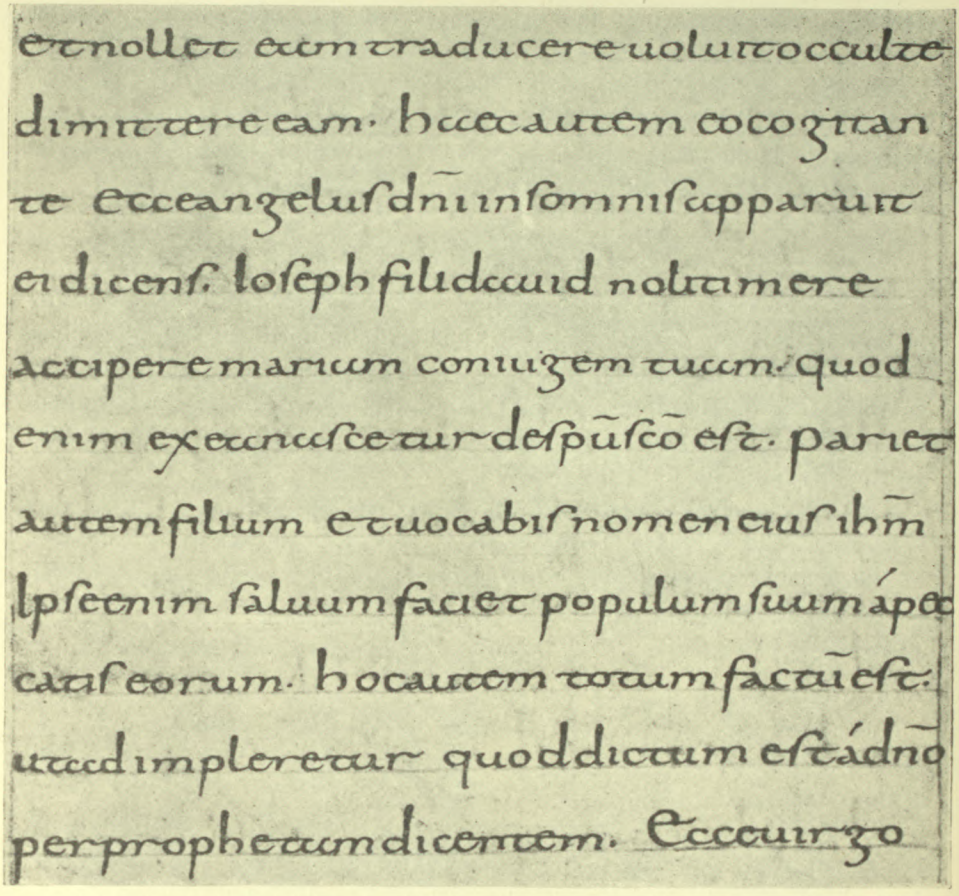
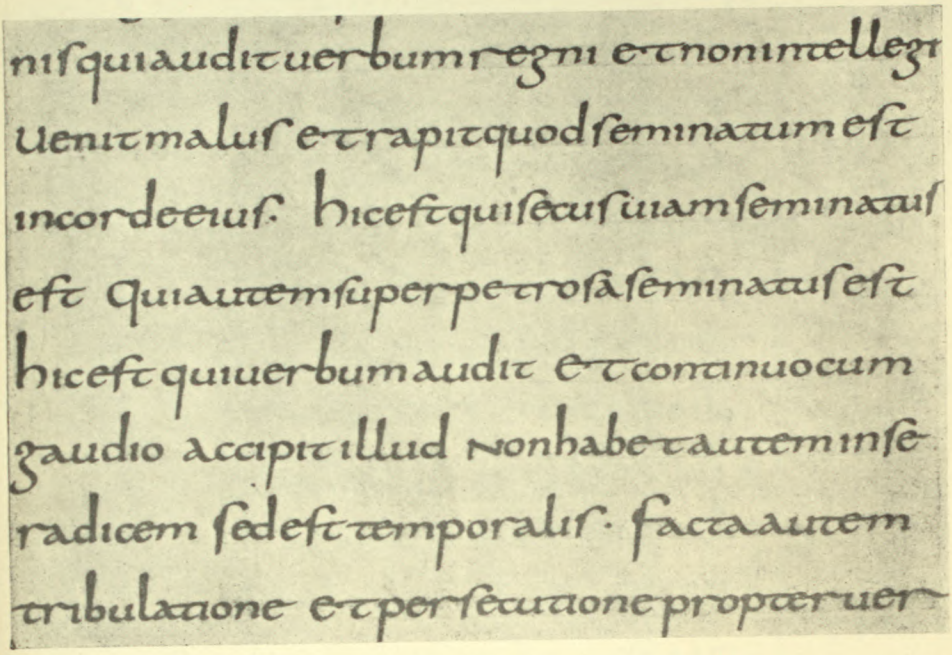


GOSPELS OF NEVERS.—ABOUT A.D. 840

(et nollet eam traducere voluit occulte | dimittere eam. Haec autem eo cogitan|te ecce angelus d*omi*ni in somnis apparuit | ei dicens. Ioseph fili david noli timere | accipere mariam coniugem tuam. quod | enim ex ea nascetur de sp*iritu sancto* est. Pariet | autem filium et vocabis nomen eius ie*sum* | Ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum á pec|catis eorum. Hoc autem totum factu*m* est. | ut adimpleretur quod dictum est á d*omi*no | per prophetam dicentem. Ecce virgo)

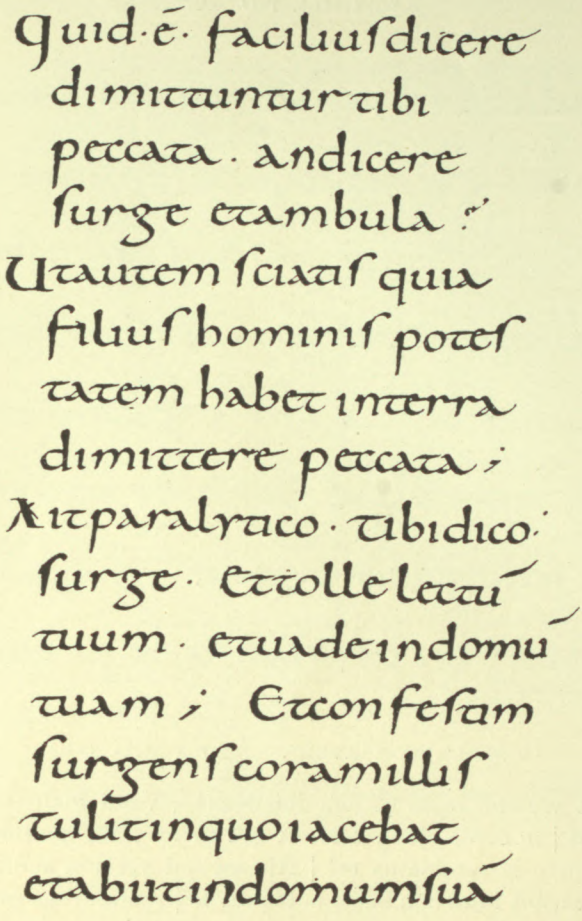
FACSIMILE No. 158



GOSPELS OF NEVERS.—ABOUT A.D. 840

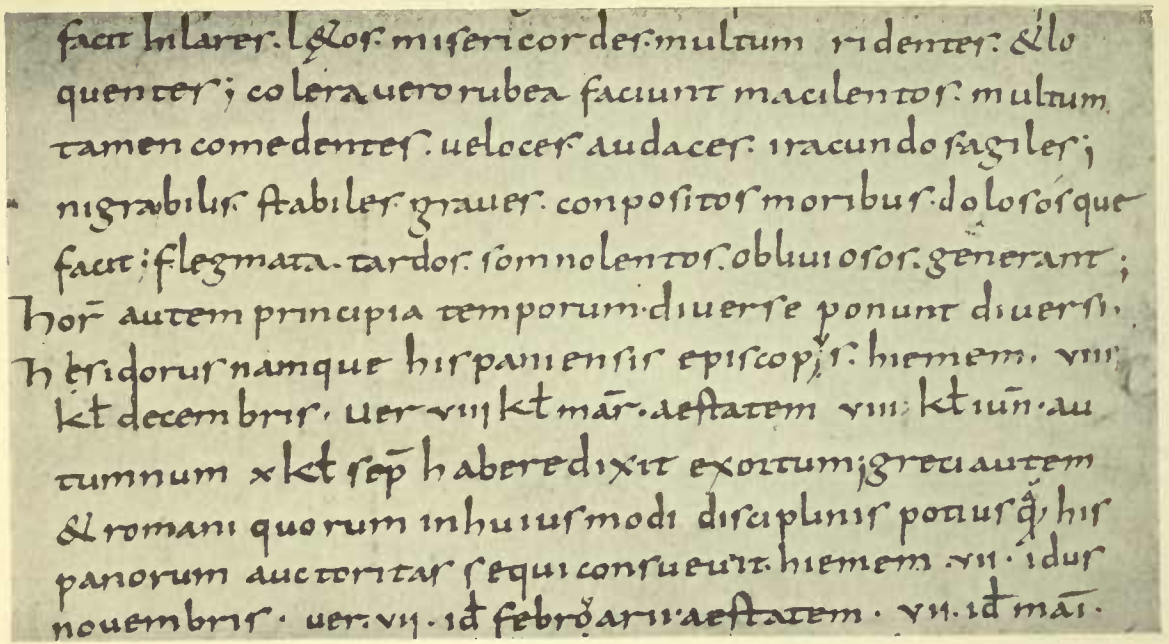
(nis qui audit verbum regni et non intellegi[t] | Venit malus et rapit quod seminatum est | in corde eius . Hic est qui secus viam seminatus | est Qui autem super petrosa seminatus est | Hic est qui verbum audit et continuo cum | gaudio accipit illud non habet autem in se | radicem sed est temporalis . facta autem | tribulatione et persecutione propter ver)

FACSIMILE No. 159



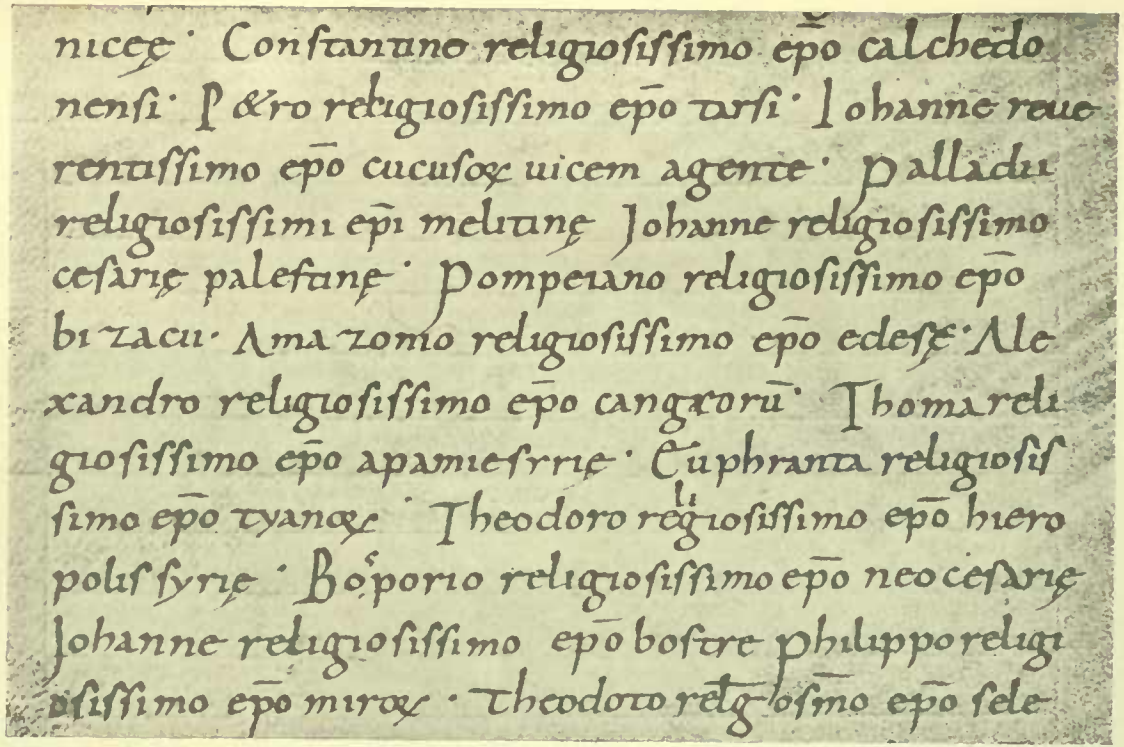
GOSPELS OF LOTHAIR.—ABOUT A. D. 850

(Quid *est* facilius dicere | dimittuntur tibi | peccata . an dicere | surge et ambula? | Ut autem sciatis quia | filius hominis potes|tatem habet in terra | dimittere peccata; | Ait paralytico . tibi dico | surge . et tolle lectum | tuum . et vade in domum | tuam; Et confestim | surgens coram illis | tulit in quo iacebat | et abiit in domum suam)



Beda.—Before A. D. 848

(facit hilares · lętos · misericordes · multum ridentes · et lo|quentes; colera vero rubea faciunt macilentos · multum | tamen comedentes · veloces · audaces · iracundos · agiles; | nigrabilis · stabiles · graves · conpositos moribus · dolosósque | facit; flegmata · tardos · somnolentos · obliviosos · generant; | Hor*um* autem principia temporum · diverse ponunt diversi · | Hęsidorus namque hispaniensis episcopus · hiemem · viii · | k*alendas* decembris · ver viii k*alendas* mar*tii* · aestatem viii k*alendas* iun*ii* · au|tumnum x k*alendas* sep*tembris* habere dixit exortum; greci autem | et romani quorum in huiusmodi disciplinis potius *quam* his|panorum auctoritas sequi consuevit · hiemem · vii · idus | novembris · ver · vii · id*us* febr̥arii · aestatem · vii · id*us* maii ·)


niceę · Constantino religiosissimo epō calchedo
nensi · Petro religiosissimo epō tarsi · Iohanne reue
rentissimo epō cucusoȩ uicem agente · Palladii
religiosissimi epi melitanę Iohanne religiosissimo
cesarię palestanę · Pompeiano religiosissimo epō
bizacii · Amazomo religiosissimo epō edesę · Ale
xandro religiosissimo epō cangrorū · Thoma reli
giosissimo epō apamiesyrię · Euphranta religiosis
simo epō tyanoȩ · Theodoro religiosissimo epō hiero
polis syrię · Boporio religiosissimo epō neocesarię
Iohanne religiosissimo epō bostre philippo religi
osissimo epō miroȩ · Theodoto religiosissimo epō sele

CANONS. ABOUT A. D. 888

(niceę · Constantino religiosissimo epiſcopo calchedo|nensi · Petro religiosissimo epiſcopo tarsi · Iohanne reve|rentissimo epiſcopo cucusorum vicem agente · Palladii | religiosissimi epiſcopi melitinę Iohanne religiosissimo | cesarię palestinę · Pompeiano religiosissimo epiſcopo | bizacii · Amazomo religiosissimo epiſcopo edesę · Ale|xandro religiosissimo epiſcopo cangrorum · Thoma reli|giosissimo epiſcopo apamie syrię · Euphranta religiosis|simo epiſcopo tyanorum · Theodoro re'li'giosissimo epiſcopo hiero|polis syrię · Bo's'porio religiosissimo epiſcopo neocesarię | Iohanne religiosissimo epiſcopo bostre Philippo religi|osissimo epiſcopo mirorum · Theodoto religiosissimo epiſcopo sele)

century, having now settled down into a fairly conventional character, with only occasional reminiscences of the lingering influence of the Roman cursive. The contrast of light and heavy strokes is still fairly maintained and the clubbing of vertical main strokes continues; on the other hand the open a becomes less frequent, and the upper bow of the old 3-shaped g gradually closes.

To conclude the ninth century we give a specimen from a MS. of the Canons of the Second Council of Constantinople, written at St. Gall (Cod. 672) about A. D. 888 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 186).

No. 161

In this writing we recognize a different style from the MSS. of France: a greater tendency to slope the letters, and a loss of symmetry in their formation. The MS. is interesting as being one of the earliest displaying these characteristics, which later marked the script of MSS. written in Germany. The letter g is particularly characteristic.

The transition from the ninth to the tenth century is not prominently defined in the Carolingian minuscule book-hand. As a general rule, in the latter century the writing may be classed as of a thinner type, the clubbing of the vertical main strokes not so pronounced, open a less frequently employed, and the bows of the letter g showing a tendency to close up. But exceptions so frequently occur, and the influence of locality also appears to have been so determining a factor in the character of the script employed (old-fashioned hands, as it seems, prevailing in isolated places, while the newer and more advanced style would be in vogue in the busier centres), that no exact rules can be safely laid down for deciding the ages of the MSS. of this period. Our difficulties are further increased by the comparative scarcity of examples bearing actual dates within the tenth century. Therefore, perhaps more than in any other period, does it seem expedient to exercise caution in discriminating between MSS. in this script of the ninth and tenth centuries.

Our first specimen of the tenth century is selected from a MS. which, in the style of its writing, satisfies the general conditions of this period, as noted above. The MS. is a collection of Alcuin's Letters (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 8 E. xv), which may be assigned to the early years of the century (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 87).

No. 162

The generally thin character of the letters, the absence of the open a, and the closing up of the ring of the g, are points to be noted.

In the next example we find a rather more conservative style. This

is a copy of the Gospels (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 1 A. xviii) which was given by King Æthelstan (A. D. 925–40) to the church of St. Augustine, Canterbury, written in Germany early in the tenth century (*Cat. Anc. MSS.* ii. 37). The volume was a gift to Æthelstan from his brother-in-law, the Emperor Otto (A.D. 936–73).

No. 163

As a MS. of the Scriptures the writing, in accordance with observed practice, follows an older pattern and retains much of the general character of the ninth century; but its want of uniformity and the formation of certain letters indicate a later date.

A MS. in the British Museum (Add. MS. 22820) containing the commentary of Rabanus Maurus on Jeremiah, was written by order of Mayeul, Abbot of Cluny from 948 to 994. It was probably executed at an early period of his abbacy, and may be placed in the middle of the century. Specimens of two different hands are here given (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 109, 110).

No. 164

This is a somewhat old-fashioned hand, retaining some of the characteristics of the ninth century, as in the clubbing of the vertical main strokes. It will be noticed also that the scribe makes use of three forms of a, one of them being the open letter. On the other hand the letter g is closed up; and there is a certain squareness, or loss of pliancy, in the general formation of the letters.

No. 165

This hand is more palpably of the later style, of the tenth century, in the general meagreness of the script and in the increasing squareness in the formation of the letters. But here also the scribe employs three forms of a, of which the open letter appears with unusual frequency.

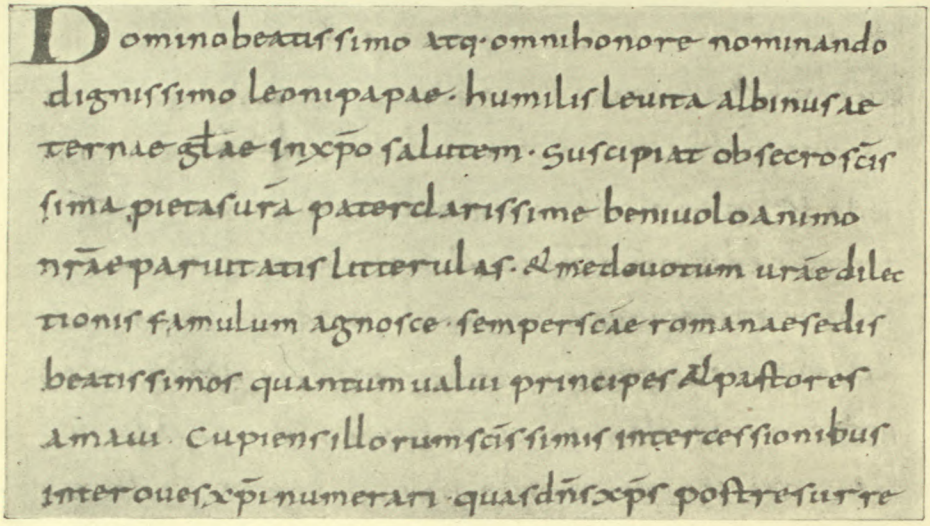
The peculiarities of these two hands are of interest, for they may be regarded as marking apparently a conservative tendency to follow old models in the locality where the MS. was produced: viz. Cluny in East-central France.

Another example of the Carolingian minuscule, written in the extreme west of France, is in a MS. of the *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis* of Amalarius of Metz, now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 192), written in the Breton monastery of Landevenec, Finisterre, in A. D. 952 (*New Pal. Soc.* 109).

No. 166

Here a more disconnected style prevails. The letters in most instances standing apart, with more than ordinary spacing; and their

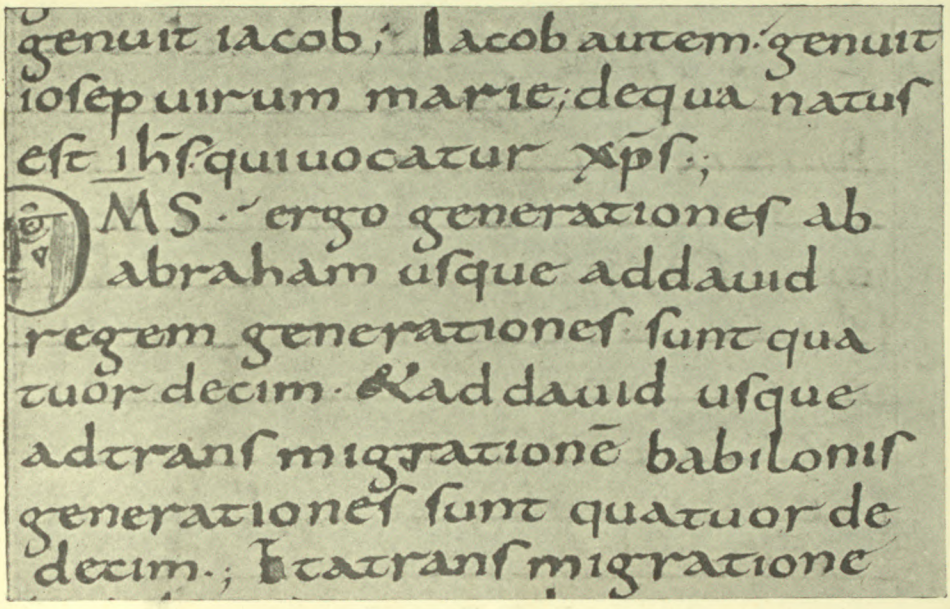
FACSIMILE No. 162



ALCUIN.—EARLY TENTH CENTURY

(Domino beatissimo atque omni honore nominando | dignissimo leoni papae . humilis levita albinus ae|ternae gloriae in christo salutem . Suscipiat obsecro sanctis|sima pietas vestra pater clarissime benivolo animo | nostrae parvitatis litterulas . et me devotum vestrae dilec|tionis famulum agnosce . semper sanctae romanae sedis | beatissimos quantum valui principes et pastores | amavi . Cupiens illorum sanctissimis intercessionibus | inter oves christi numerari . quas dominus christus post resurre)

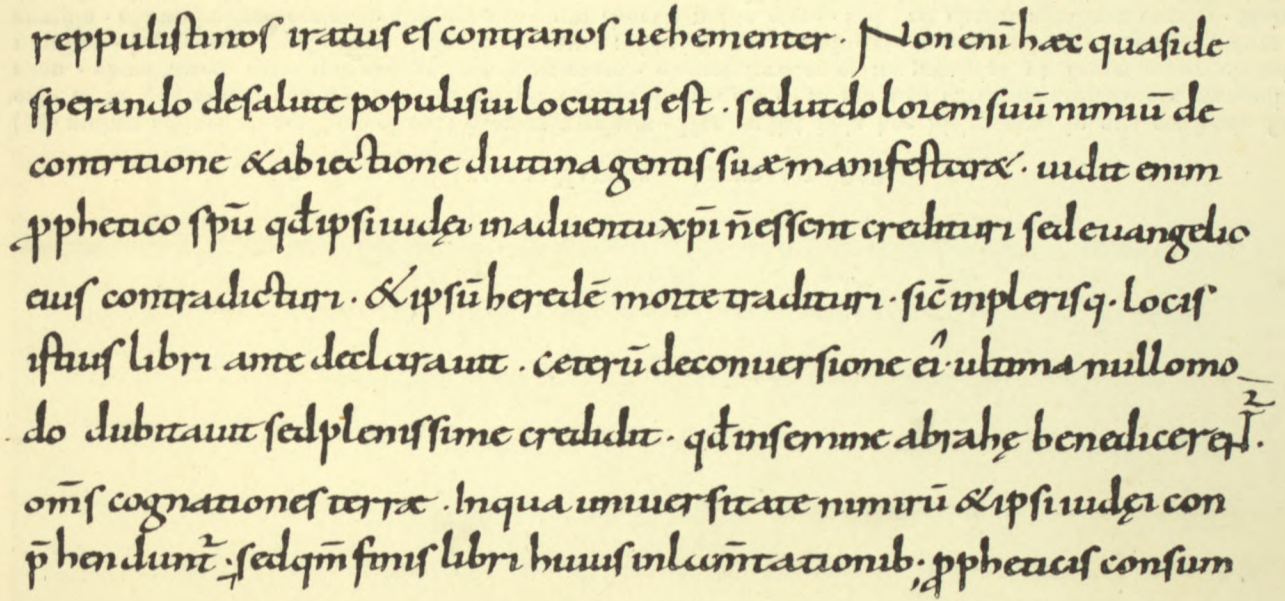
FACSIMILE No. 163


genuit iacob; Iacob autem genuit
ioſep uirum marie; de qua natuſ
eſt ihſ qui uocatur xpſ;
MS. ergo generationeſ ab
abraham uſque addauid
regem generationeſ ſunt qua
tuor decim. & ad dauid uſque
adtranſmigrationē babiloniſ
generationeſ ſunt quatuor de
decim.; Et a tranſmigratione

GOSPELS OF KING ÆTHELSTAN.—EARLY TENTH CENTURY

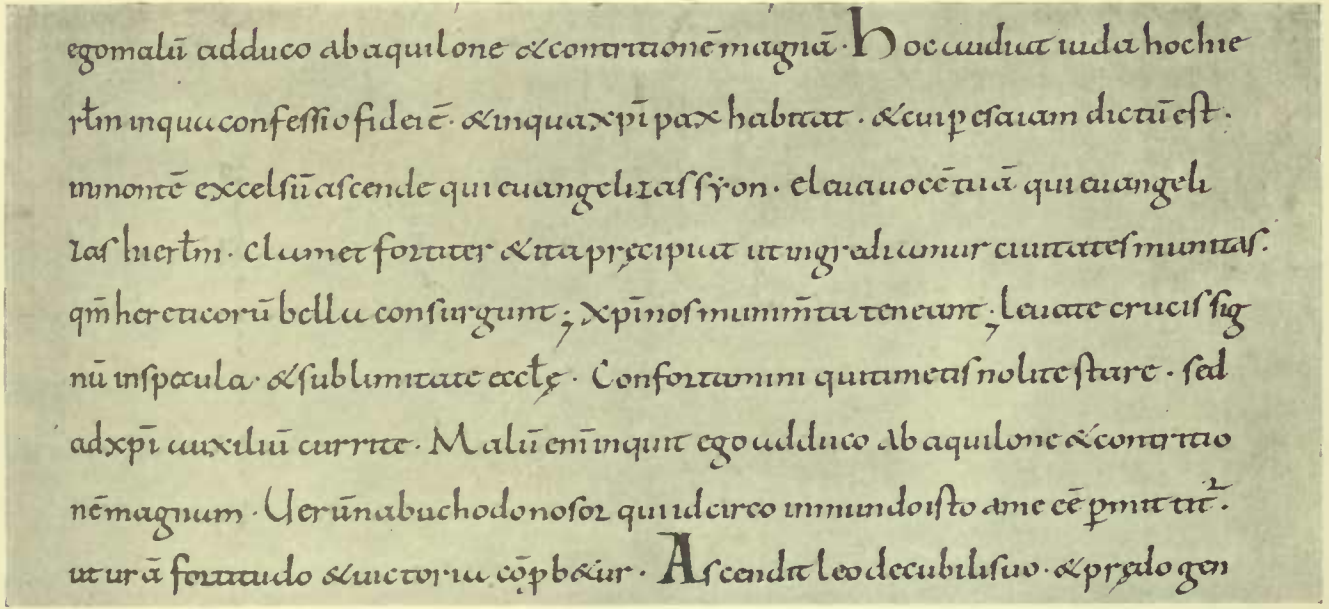
(genuit iacob ; Iacob autem ⁊ genuit | iosep virum marie ; de qua natus | est ie*sus* ⁊ qui vocatur chr*istus* . ; | Om*nes* ⁊ ergo generationes ab | abraham usque ad david | regem generationes sunt qua|tuordecim . et ad david usque | ad transmigration*em* babilonis | generationes sunt quatuorde|decim . ; Et a transmigratione)

FACSIMILE No. 164



RABANUS MAURUS.—AFTER A. D. 948

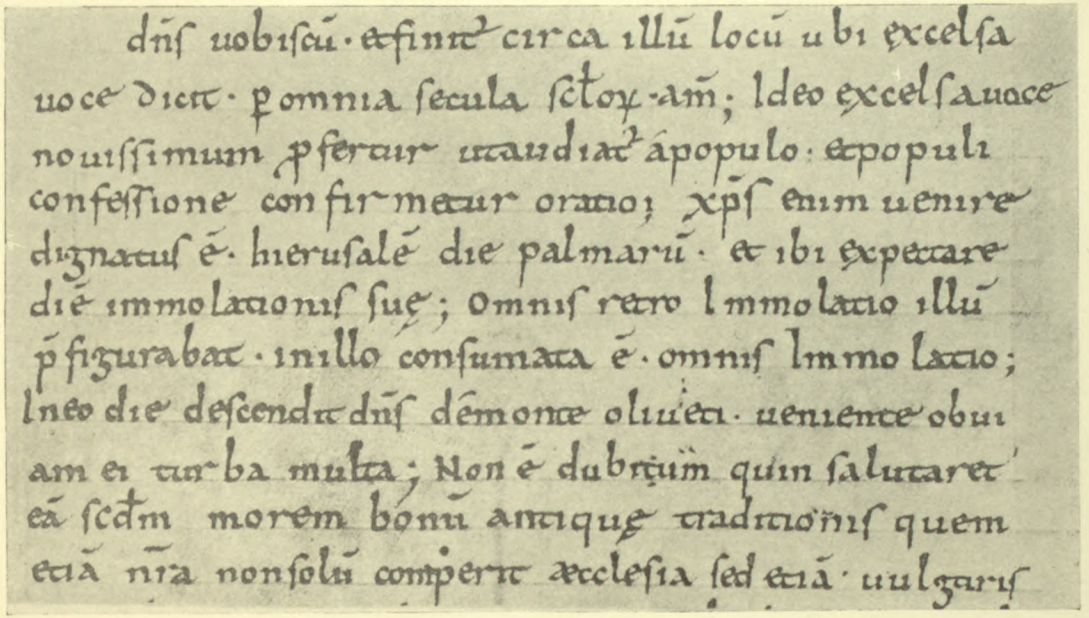
(reppulisti nos iratus es contra nos vehementer · Non enim haec quasi de|sperando de salute populi sui locutus est · sed ut dolorem suum nimium de | contritione et abiectione diutina gentis suae manifestaret · vidit enim | prophetico spiritu quod ipsi iudęi in adventu christi non essent crediturі sed evangelio | eius contradicturi · et ipsum heredem morte tradituri · sicut in plerisque locis | istius libri ante declaravit · ceterum de conversione eius · ultima nullo mo|do dubitavit sed plenissime credidit · quod in semine abrahę benedicerentur | omnes cogitationes terrae · in qua universitate nimirum et ipsi iudęi con|prehenduntur ; sed quoniam finis libri huius in lamentationibus propheticis consum)



RABANUS MAURUS.—AFTER A. D. 948

(ego malum adduco ab aquilone et contritionem magnam · Hoc audiat iuda hoc hie|rusalem in qua confessio fidei est · et in qua christi pax habitat · et cui per esaiam dictum est · | in montem excelsum ascende qui evangelizas sion · eleva vocem tuam qui evangeli|zas hierusalem · clamet fortiter et ita precipiat ut ingrediamur civitates munitas · | quoniam hereticorum bella consurgunt ; Christi nos munimenta teneant ; levate crucis sig|num in specula · et sublimitate ecclesię · Confortamini qui timetis nolite stare · sed | ad christi auxilium currite · Malum enim inquit ego adduco ab aquilone et contritio|nem magnam · Verum nabuchedonoser qui idcirco in mundo isto a me esse permittitur · | ut vestra fortitudo et victoria comprobetur · Ascendit leo de cubili suo · et prędo gen)

FACSIMILE No. 166



AMALARIUS.—A. D. 952

(*dominus* vobiscum · et finit*ur* circa illum locum ubi excelsa | voce dicit · *per* omnia secula *seculorum* · amen ; Ideo excelsa voce | novissimum *pro*fertur ut audiat*ur* á populo · et populi | confessione confirmetur oratio ; chr*istus* enim venire | dignatus *est* hierusalem die palmarum · et ibi expectare | diem immolationis suę ; omnis retro Immolatio illum | *pre*figurabat · in illo consumata *est* omnis Immolatio ; | In eo die descendit *dominus* dé monte oliveti · veniente obviam ei turba multa ; Non *est* dubitum quin salutaret | eam *secundum* morem bonum antiquę traditionis quem | etiam *nostra* non solum comperit aecclesia sed etiam · vulgaris)

general formation tending to squareness. The scribe does not use the open a; on the other hand his g is of the old open pattern, and to some extent he follows the old style in clubbing vertical main strokes. But the spacing and the square formation of letters are indications that the tradition of the Carolingian school is passing away and that we are approaching a new phase in the mediaeval book-hand.

In the eleventh century lies the period in which the handwritings of the different countries of Western Europe, cast and consolidated in the new mould, began to assume their several national characters, and which may be said to be the starting-point of the modern hands employing the Roman lettering. In the course of the century many old practices and archaisms which had lingered were cast off, and general principles were more systematically observed. The words of the text were now more systematically separated from one another; abbreviations and contractions were more methodical; and the handwriting made a palpable advance towards the rigid and exact character which culminates in the MSS. of the thirteenth century. At the same time it would be a mistake to suppose that the new developement was equally progressive in all districts and in all countries. For example, in the north of France it appears to have made a more rapid advance than in the south, and to have resulted in a beautiful form of writing which had a lasting influence on the book-hand of the English school.

The few specimens which here follow will suffice to indicate generally the character of the eleventh century literary minuscule hand in the west of Europe.

The first is from a MS. of Milo *De Sobrietate* (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 5 A. xi), written by order of Rodericus, Abbot of St. Bertin in the diocese of St. Omer, and presented by him to Lefwin (or Ledwin), Abbot of St. Vedast at Trier, between the years 1022 and 1041.

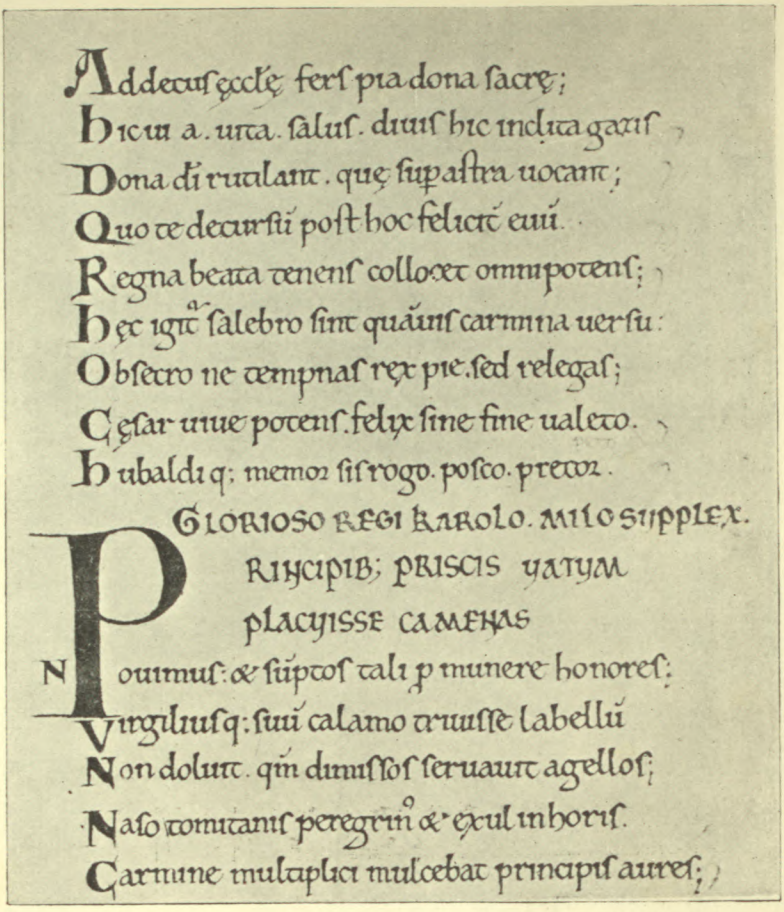
No. 167

Comparing this writing with that of Facs. 166, one appreciates the important change that has been effected in the book-hand of Northern France within a century. We have literally emerged into a modern atmosphere. The connexion with the past is severed; and we are in presence of the new style which was to be the basis of the later scripts.

But we take up another MS. from the south: a copy of the Martyrology of Udo, Bishop of Vienne, written at Avignon (Musée Calvet, MS. 98) between the years 1040 and 1069 (*New Pal. Soc.* 59).

No. 168

This hand is altogether of the old type, and might very well pass for writing of the end of the tenth century. The scribe uses two forms

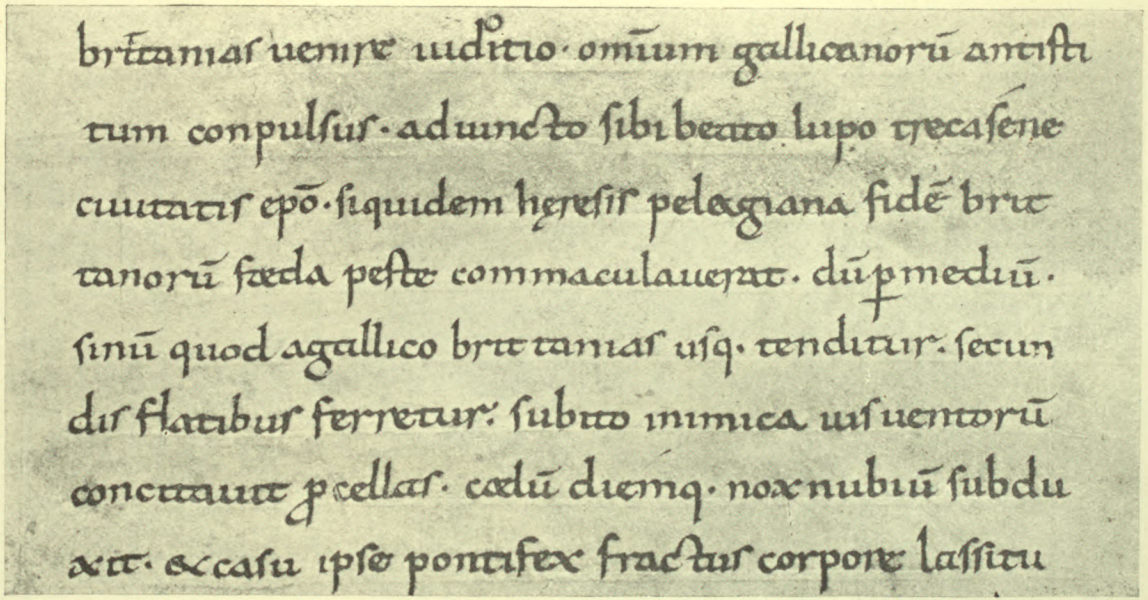


Ad decus ęccl̄ę fers pia dona sacrę;
Hic uia. uita. salus. diuis hic inclita gazis
Dona dei rutilant. quę supastra uocant;
Quo te decursum post hoc felicit̄ euum.
Regna beata tenens collocet omnipotens;
Hęc igitur salebro sint quamuis carmina uersu:
Obsecro ne tempnas rex pie. sed relegas;
Cęsar uiue potens. felix sine fine ualeto.
Hubaldiq; memor sis rogo. posco. precor.
GLORIOSO REGI KAROLO. MILO SUPPLEX.
PRINCIPIB; PRISCIS VATVM
PLACVISSE CAMENAS
Nouimus: & sumptos tali p munere honores:
Virgiliusq: suum calamo triuisse labellum
Non doluit. qm̄ dimissos seruauit agellos;
Naso tomitanis peregrinus & exul in horis.
Carmine multiplici mulcebat principis aures;

MILO.—A. D. 1022–41

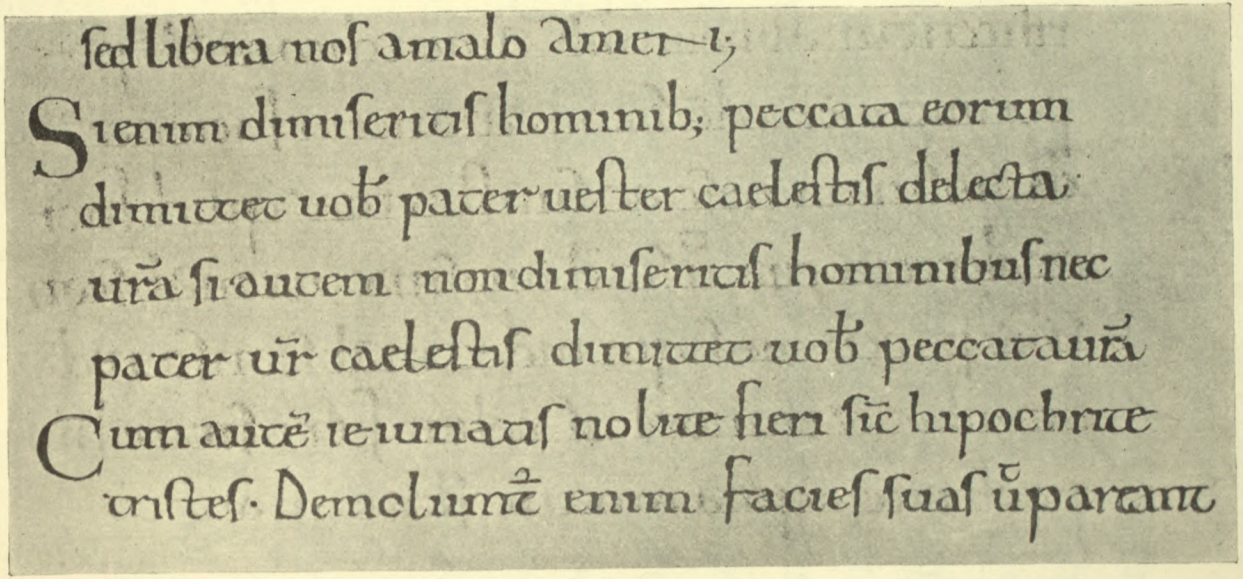
(Ad decus ęccl*esię* fers pia dona sacrę ;
Hic via . vita . salus . divis hic inclita gazis
Dona d*ei* rutilant . quę sup*er* astra vocant ;
Quo te decursu*m* post hoc felicit*er* evu*m* .
Regna beata tenens collocet omnipotens ;
Hęc igit*ur* salebro sint qua*m*vis carmina versu.
Obsecro ne tempnas rex pie . sed relegas ;
Cęsar vive potens . felix sine fine valeto .
Hubaldiq*ue* memor sis rogo . posco . precor .
Glorioso regi karolo . milo supplex.
Principib*us* priscis vatum placuisse camenas
Novimus. et su*m*ptos tali p*ro* munere honores ;
Virgiliusq*ue* suu*m* calamo trivisse labellu*m*
Non doluit . q*uonia*m dimissos servavit agellos ;
Naso tomitanis peregrin*us* et exul in horis.
Carmine multiplici mulcebat principis aures ;)

FACSIMILE No. 168



MARTYROLOGY.—A. D. 1040–69

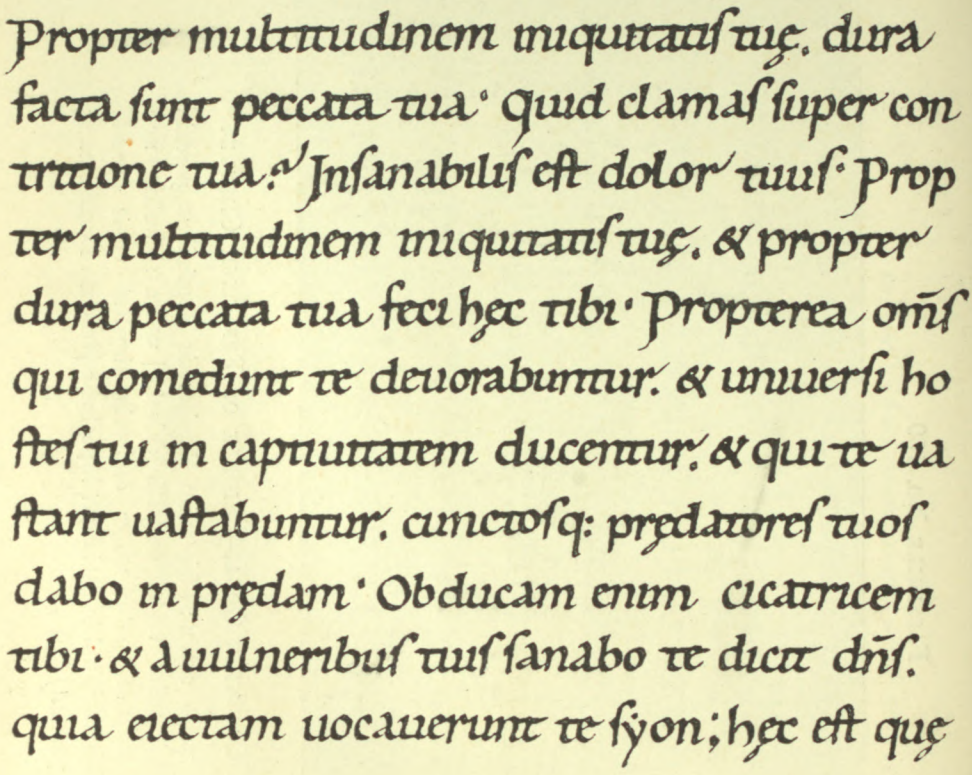
(bri't'tanias venirei uditio · om*n*ium gallicanoru*m* antisti|tum conpulsus · adiuncto sibi beato lupo trecaséne | civitatis ep*iscopo* · siquidem hęresis pelagiana fide*m* brit|tanoru*m* faeda peste commaculaverat · du*m* *per* medium · | sinu*m* quod a gallico brittanias usq*ue* tenditur · secun|dis flatibus ferretur · subito inimica vis ventoru*m* | concitavit p*ro*cellas · caelum diémq*ue* nox nubiu*m* subdu|xit · et casu ipse pontifex fractus corpore lassitu)



Gospels of the Countess Goda.—Middle of Eleventh Century

(sed libera nos a malo amen; | Si enim dimiseritis hominib*us* peccata eorum | dimittet vob*is* pater vester caelestis delecta | ves*t*ra si autem non dimiseritis hominibus nec | pater ves*ter* caelestis dimittet vob*is* peccata ves*t*ra | Cum aute*m* ieiunatis nolite fieri sic*ut* hipochrite | tristes . Demoliunt*ur* enim facies suas ut pareant)

FACSIMILE NO. 170



BIBLE.—A. D. 1094–7

(Propter multitudinem iniquitatis tuę dura | facta sunt peccata tua . Quid clamas super con|tritione tua? Insanabilis est dolor tuus . Prop|ter multitudinem iniquitatis tuę . et propter | dura peccata tua feci hęc tibi . Propterea om*nes* | qui comedunt te devorabuntur . et universi ho|stes tui in captivitatem ducentur . et qui te va|stant vastabuntur . cunctosq*ue* prędatores tuos | dabo in prędam . Obducam enim cicatricem | tibi . et a vulneribus tuis sanabo te dicit d*omin*us . | quia eiectam vocaverunt te sȳon ; hęc est quę)

of a, one being the old round letter. Generally the writing is rather weak, and may be the work of an old man; a circumstance which might explain the archaic style of the script. In any case the MS. illustrates the conservative influence which may be exercised by local schools of writing.

From the south we turn again to the north of France, where it is pretty certain that the MS. now to be examined was written. This is a copy of the Gospels which belonged to, and may have been written for, the Countess Goda, or Godgifu, sister of Edward the Confessor (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 1 D. iii). The volume might therefore have been written in England; but, as the style of ornamentation is foreign, it is more probable that it was imported from Normandy, or at least from Northern France. It may be placed in the middle of the eleventh century.

No. 169

This writing is of the fine calligraphic type which we saw in the St. Bertin MS. (Facs. 167), and which was probably widely employed through Northern France: the structure of the individual letters carefully exact, vertical strokes rigidly upright, and curves symmetrically formed.

Of the close of the century is the next facsimile, from a Bible (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 28106) written at Stavelot, in the Low Countries, between the years 1094 and 1097 (*Pal. Soc.* ii, pl. 92).

No. 170

In this example we see the growth of the style leading on to the large scale of script which was a striking feature of fine MSS. of the twelfth century. The tendency shown in this MS. to slope the letters and rather to cramp them laterally was first noticed above in the specimen of A. D. 888 (Facs. 161), as characteristic of the German book-hand of the late middle ages.

At this point it is necessary to turn to England and to see how far the Carolingian minuscule was adopted in our country, in order to bring the history of English literary writing into line with that of the Continent at the period of the Norman Conquest. Reference has already been made above to the acceptance, under the Anglo-Saxon rule, of the foreign hand for Latin texts, as early as the tenth century; and the following examples will illustrate the process of its adoption.

The first is from a MS. of Aldhelm *De Virginitate* in the Lambeth Library (MS. 200), which may be placed in the second half of the tenth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 191).

No. 171

This is a very interesting instance of transition: a compromise between the native script and the foreign lettering. The shapes of the letters are mainly of the Carolingian type, but the general character of the writing is that of the pointed Anglo-Saxon. The letters g and r, especially, in their uncertain formation disclose the native scribe's difficulty in dealing with new forms.

But at least some of the English scribes of the tenth century had mastered the foreign hand and could write it in a bold style, such as appears in the famous Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester from A. D. 963 to 984 (now belonging to the Duke of Devonshire), written by Godeman, afterwards Abbot of Thorney, probably between A. D. 970 and 980 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 142).

No. 172

Written at Winchester and in the best style of that scriptorium, this hand follows the pattern of the Carolingian minuscule very closely. It will be observed that the scribe has been careful to differentiate the character of the letter a when it follows r (ll. 4, 6), using in that position the round letter or modification of the old double-c form.

Our next example is from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (MS. Bodl. 708) of the *De Cura Pastorali* of Pope Gregory, probably of the beginning of the eleventh century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 69).

No. 173

Here again we have an instance of the English scribe contending with a form of writing not quite familiar to him. As in the case of Facs. 171, we see the compromise between the flat-headed Saxon g and the 3-shaped French minuscule; but generally in the other letters the foreign type is fairly attained. The relationship of the calligraphic character of the writing to that practised in the North of France, as seen in nos. 167 and 169, is very evident, and indicates the growing connexion between our country and the Continent.

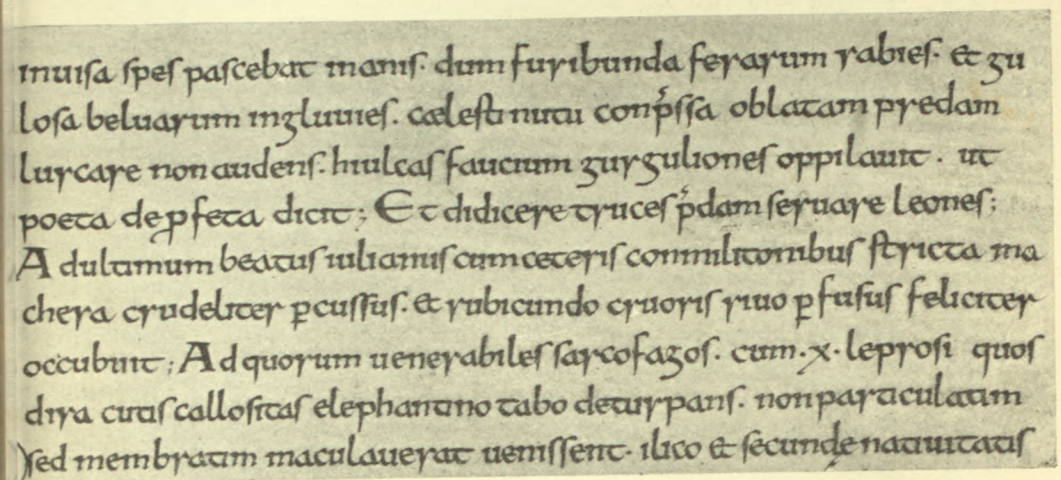
The next specimen is from a copy of the Gospels, now in Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. B. 10. 4), written, probably at Winchester, between the years 1008 and 1023 (*New Pal. Soc.* 12).

No. 174

Here the forms of the letters are entirely on the foreign model, and, except perhaps for the general character of symmetry which now is a marked feature in English writing, the MS. has no specially insular appearance, as distinct from the similar writing of Northern France.

The last specimen, to close this English section, is from a Benedictional

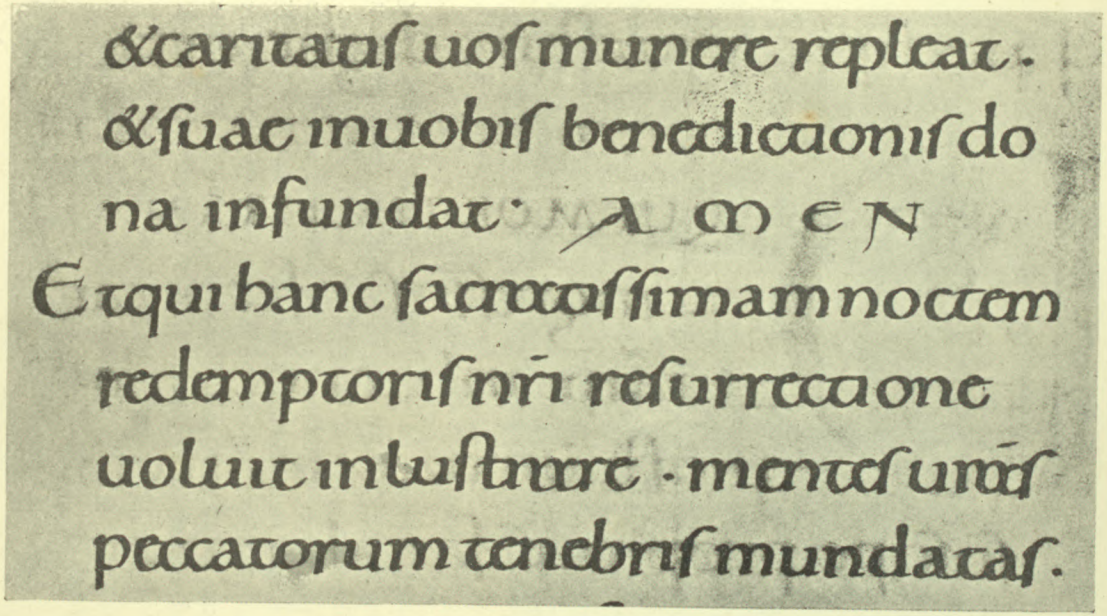
FACSIMILE No. 171



ALDHELM.—TENTH CENTURY

(invisa spes pascebat inanis · dum furibunda ferarum rabies · et gu|losa beluarum ingluvies . caelesti nutu con*p*ressa oblatam predam | lurcare non audens . hiulcas faucium gurguliones oppilavit . ut | poeta de *p*rofeta dicit ; Et didicere truces p*r*edam servare leones ; | Ad ultimum beatus iulianus cum ceteris conmilitonibus stricta ma|chera crudeliter p*er*cussus . et rubicundo cruoris rivo p*er*fusus feliciter | occubuit ; Ad quorum venerabiles sarcofagos . cum ·x· leprosi quos | dira cutis callositas elephantino tabo deturpans . non particulatim | sed membratim maculaverat venissent . ilico et secundę nativitatis)

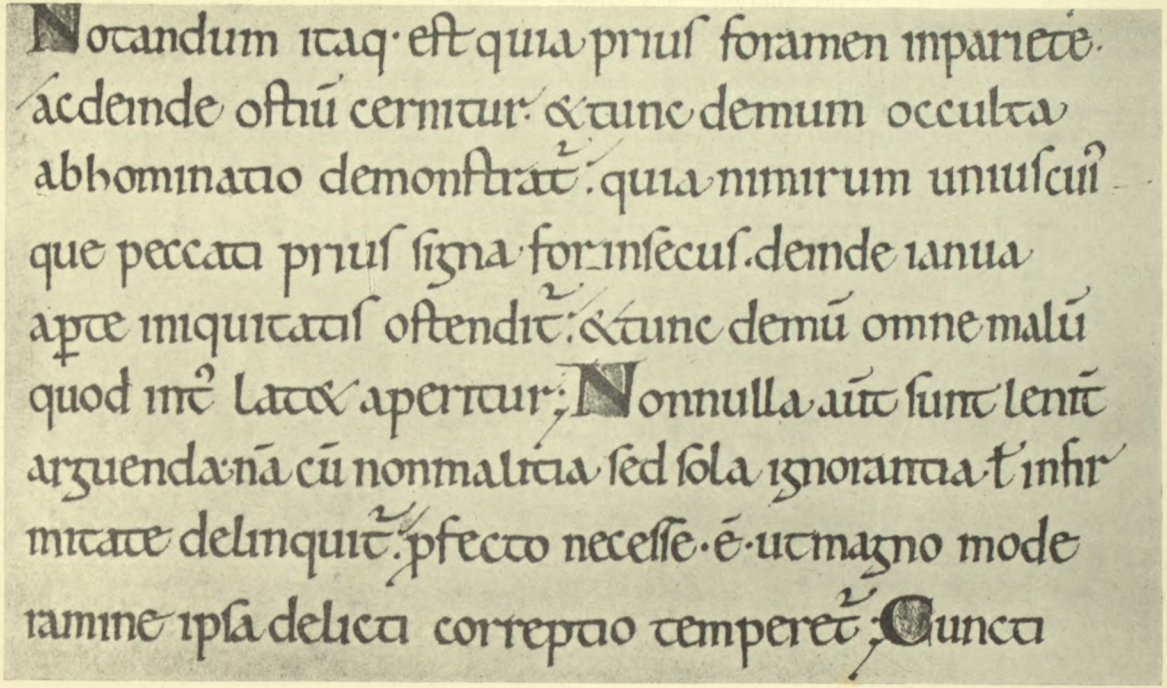
FACSIMILE No. 172



BENEDICTIONAL.—A. D. 963–84

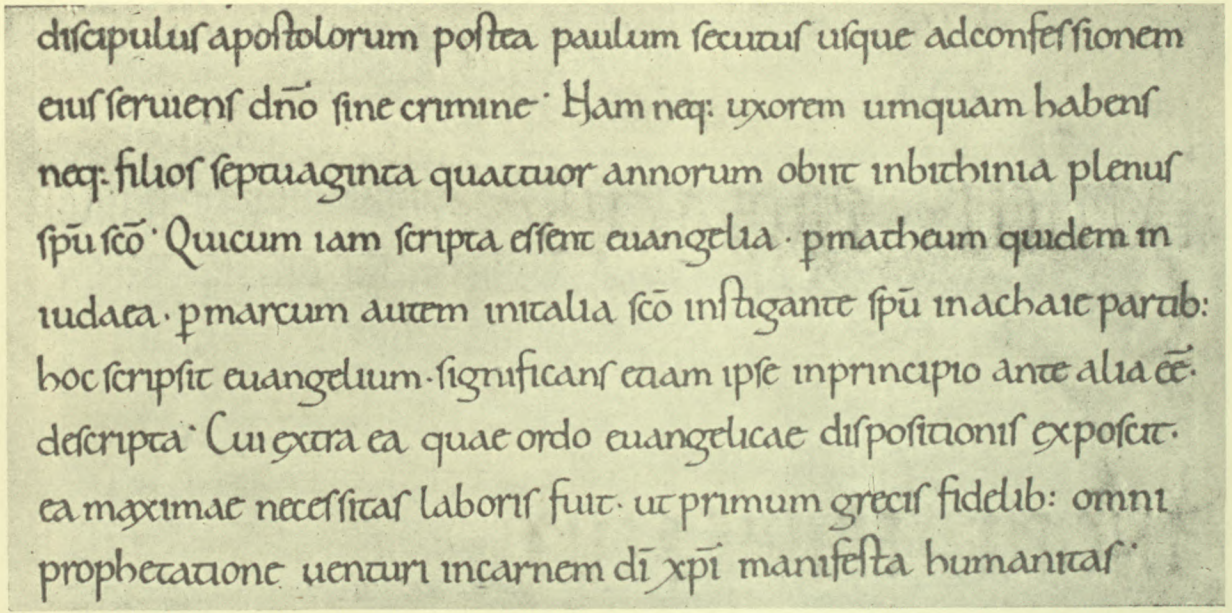
(et caritatis vos munere repleat | et suae in vobis benedictionis do|na infundat. Amen | Et qui hanc sacratissimam noctem | redemptoris *nos*tri resurrectione | voluit inlustrare. mentes *ves*tras | peccatorum tenebris mundatas.)

FACSIMILE No. 173



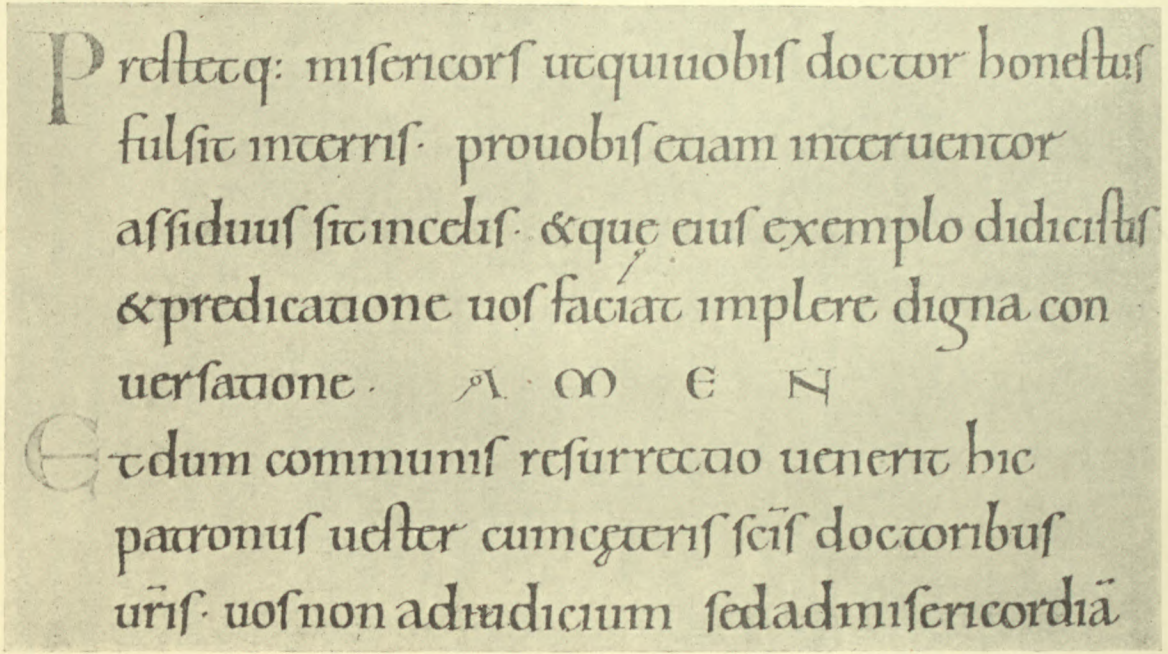
POPE GREGORY THE GREAT.—EARLY ELEVENTH CENTURY

(Notandum itaque est quia prius foramen in pariete | ác deinde ostium cernitur . et tunc demum occulta | abhominatio demonstratur: quia nimirum uniuscuius|que peccati prius signa forinsecus . deinde ianua | aperte iniquitatis ostenditur: et tunc demum omne malum | quod intus latet aperitur ; Nonnulla autem sunt leniter | arguenda . nam cum non malitia sed sola ignorantia vel infir|mitate delinquitur: profecto necesse est ut magno mode|ramine ipsa delicti correptio temperetur ; Cuncti)


discipulus apostolorum postea paulum secutus usque adconfessionem
eius seruiens dn̄o sine crimine · Nam neq: uxorem umquam habens
neq: filios septuaginta quattuor annorum obiit inbithinia plenus
spū scō · Quicum iam scripta essent euangelia · pmatheum quidem in
iudaea · pmarcum autem initalia scō instigante spū inachaie partib:
hoc scripsit euangelium · significans etiam ipse inprincipio ante alia ēē ·
descripta · Cui extra ea quae ordo euangelicae dispositionis exposcit ·
ea maximae necessitas laboris fuit · ut primum grecis fidelib: omni
prophetatione uenturi incarnem dī xpī manifesta humanitas ·

GOSPELS.—A. D. 1008–23

(discipulus apostolorum postea paulum secutus usque ad confessionem | eius serviens *domi*no sine crimine · Nam ne*que* uxorem umquam habens | ne*que* filios septuaginta quattuor annorum obiit in bithinia plenus | sp*iritu sancto* · Qui cum iam scripta essent evangelia · *per* matheum quidem in | iudaea · *per* marcum autem in italia *sancto* instigante sp*iritu* in achaie partib*us* | hoc scripsit evangelium · significans etiam ipse in principio ante alia *esse* | descripta · Cui extra ea quae ordo evangelicae dispositionis exposcit · | ea maximae necessitas laboris fuit · ut primum grecis fidelib*us* omni | prophetatione venturi in carnem *dei* chr*isti* manifesta humanitas ·)



BENEDICTIONAL.—A. D. 1030–40

(Prestet*que* misericors ut qui vobis doctor honestus | fulsit in terris · pro vobis etiam interventor | assiduus sit in celis · et quę eius exemplo didicistis | et predicatione vos faciat implere digna con|versatione · amen | Et dum communis resurrectio venerit hic | patronus vester cum ceteris *sanctis* doctoribus | *vestris* · vos non ad iudicium sed ad misericordia*m*)

of English origin, now in Paris (Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 987), and is taken from a portion of the MS. which was written between 1030 and 1040 (*New Pal. Soc.* 83, 84).

No. 175

This example brings us near to the period of the Norman Conquest, and shows us that at that time, for Latin texts, the Saxon scribes had learned to write quite efficiently in the style used on the other side of the Channel. So far, then, the Conquest itself would not have caused any abrupt disarrangement in the Latin literary script of the country.

We now resume our survey of the general progress of the literary handwritings of the middle ages; and, entering on the twelfth century, we reach the finest period. It is the period of large volumes, with writing on a large scale, and adorned with initials and borders of bold design. With the increasing diffusion of literature, MSS. rapidly multiplied, and now the book-hands of the several countries of Western Europe, all now derived, as we have seen, from the Carolingian minuscule, exhibit their individual characteristics; each one developing its own national style and, in course of time, diverging more and more from the rest. The MSS. of the northern countries of Western Europe are now to be distinguished from those of the south: the book-hands of England, France, and the Low Countries being modelled on one pattern, and, especially at first, bearing a family resemblance to each other; and those of Italy, Southern France, and the Peninsula being of a type which was the creation of the Italian scribes. The German script, which belongs to the northern group, rather holds a place by itself, being generally of a less graceful character than the others.

In a work of limited scope, such as the present one, it is impossible to follow in detail the developements and varieties of the several national literary hands of the later middle ages. We must be content to illustrate the main line of our subject by typical examples; and in making the selection we shall depend mostly upon MSS. of English origin, as being of more practical value to those who will make the chief use of this book.

In the twelfth century the scribes seem to have vied with each other in producing the best types of book-writing of which they were capable, with the result that remarkable precision in the formation of the letters was attained, and that the century may be named as excelling all others for the beauty of its MSS. Perfect symmetry of letters, marvellous uniformity in their structure, sustained contrast of light and heavy strokes, and unerring accuracy of the practised hand, are all conspicuous in the finest examples. The sense of beauty which pervades the lettering is even extended to such small details as the marks of

abbreviation and contraction. The common mark of abbreviation in English MSS. in particular is a short up-turned and gracefully formed curve, which was so generally employed that it has become characteristic of the century.

The first specimen illustrating the English book-hand at the beginning of the century is from a MS. of the Life and Miracles of St. Augustine, by Goscelin, a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS., Vespasian B. xx); written in the abbey between A. D. 1100 and 1125 (*New Pal. Soc.* 85).

No. 176

In this handwriting we have a worthy developement of the fine symmetrical hand which we saw adopted by the Anglo-Saxon scribes for their Latin MSS. before the Norman Conquest, and which was to influence the English book-writing for many generations. From this and the next following examples it will be seen how generally this handsome type of book-script was practised in the monastic scriptoria of England.

Next in date, and falling within the second quarter of the twelfth century, is a MS. of the Miracles of St. Edmund (belonging to Sir George Holford), written in St. Edmund's Abbey, Bury, probably before A. D. 1135 (*New Pal. Soc.* 113).

No. 177

Passing to the west of the country, we find a very beautiful hand in a MS. of Beda's Commentary on Ezra (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 3 A. xii), written in Cirencester Abbey between the years 1147 and 1176 (*Pal. Soc.* ii 72).

No. 178

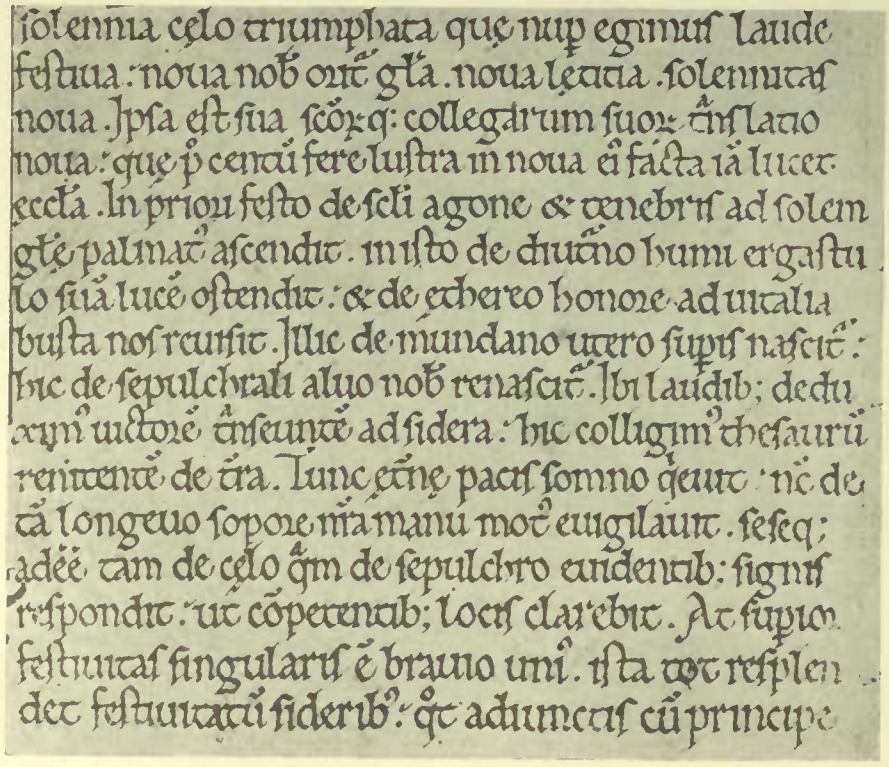
And rivalling this last example in its solidity and in its accuracy and firmness of stroke is a MS. of Leviticus (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 3038), written in the monastery of St. Mary of Buildwas, Shropshire, in A. D. 1176 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 37).

No. 179

In the foregoing four examples of the twelfth-century book-hand in England perfection is wellnigh attained. And it is to be borne in mind that, fine as they are, they are not unique or even specially exceptional, for they can be matched by extant MSS. of the time executed in other religious houses in different parts of the country. If, then, among the volumes that have survived the havoc wrought at the time of the Dissolution so many exquisite specimens of this script are to be found, we have no difficulty in appreciating the extraordinary skill developed by the English scribes.

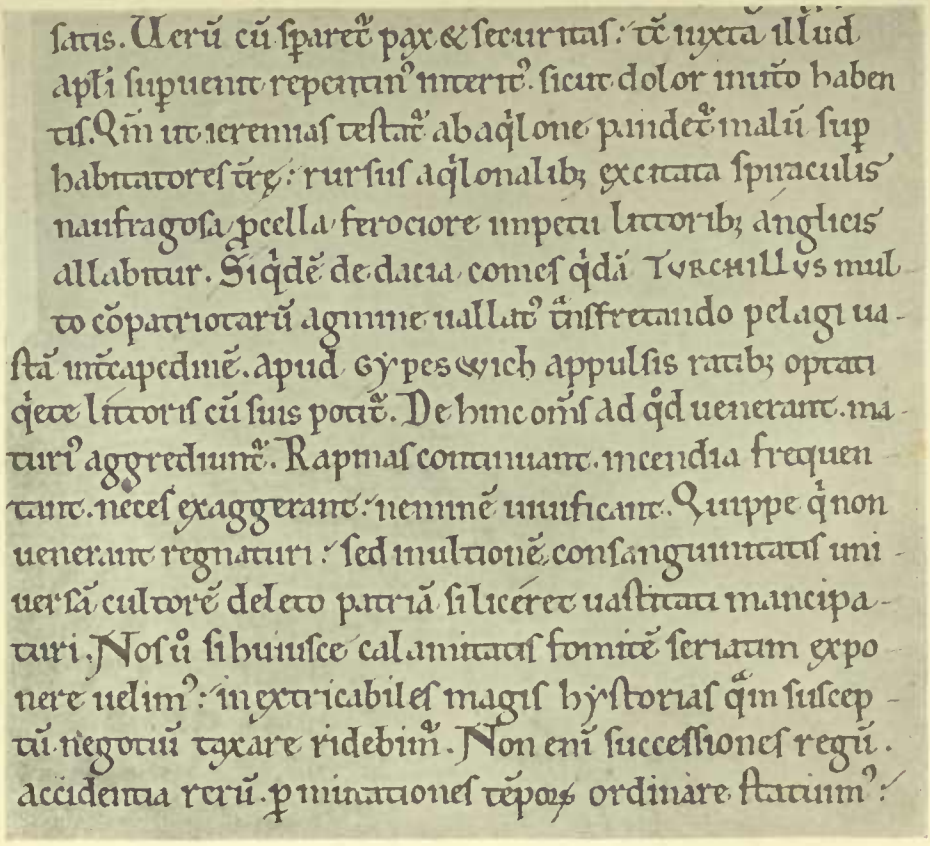
The MSS. of the twelfth century of northern French origin are generally of much the same type as those of England.

FACSIMILE No. 176



LIFE OF ST. AUGUSTINE.—A. D. 1100–25

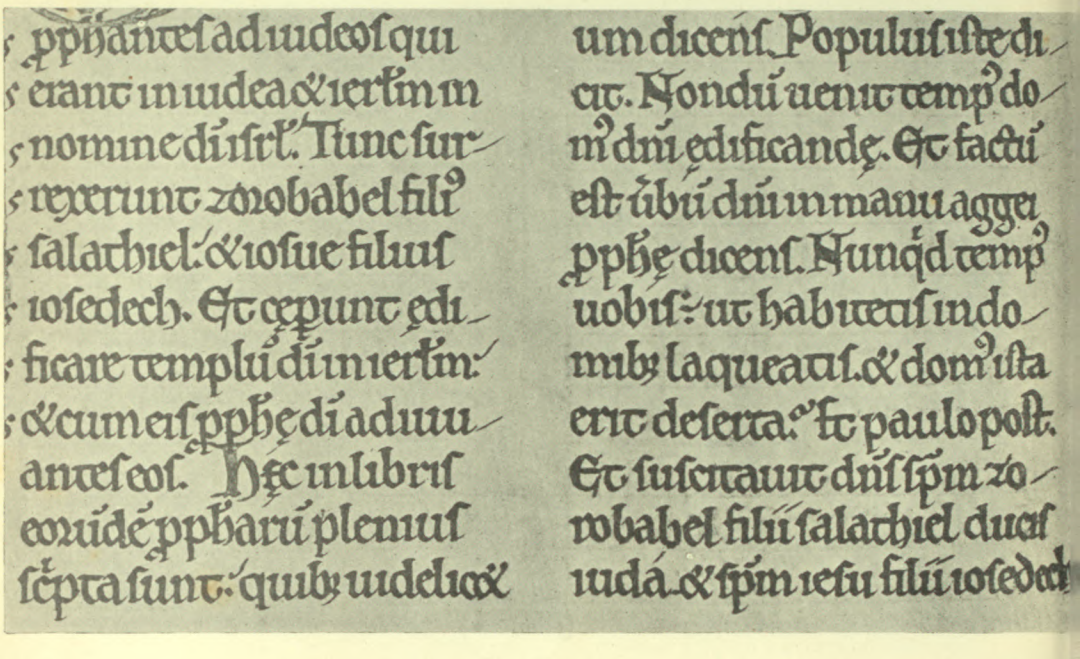
(solennia cęlo triumphata quę nuper egimus laude | festiva : nova nobis oritur gloria . nova lętitia . solennitas | nova . Ipsa est sua sanctorumque collegarum suorum translatio | nova : quę post centum fere lustra in nova eius facta iam lucet | ęcclesia . In priori festo de seculi agone et tenebris ad solem | glorię palmatus ascendit . in isto de diuturno humi ergastu|lo suam lucem ostendit : et de ęthereo honore ad vitalia | busta nos revisit . Illic de mundano utero superis nascitur : | hic de sepulchrali alvo nobis renascitur . Ibi laudibus dedu|ximus victorem transeuntem ad sidera : hic colligimus thesaurum | renitentem de terra . Tunc ęternę pacis somno quievit : nunc de | tam longevo sopore nostra manu motus evigilavit . seseque | adesse tam de cęlo quam de sepulchro evidentibus signis | respondit : ut competentibus locis clarebit . At superior | festivitas singularis est bravio unius . ista tot resplen|det festivitatum sideribus : quot adiunctis cum principe)



MIRACLES OF ST. EDMUND.—BEFORE A. D. 1135

(satis . Verum cum sperarętur pax et securitas : tunc iuxta illud | apostoli supervenit repentinus interitus . sicut dolor in utero haben|tis . Quoniam ut ieremias testatur ab aquilone pandetur malum super | habitatores terrę : rursus aquilonalibus excitata spiraculis | naufragosa procella ferociore impetu littoribus ánglicis | allabitur . Síquidem de dacia comes quidam Turchillus mul|to compatriotarum agmine vallatus transfretando pelagi va|stam intercapedinem . apud Gýpeswich appulsis ratibus optati | quiete littoris cum suis potítur . Dehinc omnes ad quod venerant . ma|turius aggrediuntur . Rapinas continuant . incendia frequen|tant . neces exaggerant : neminem vivificant . Quippe qui non | venerant regnaturi : sed in ultionem consanguinitatis uni|versam cultorem deleto patriam si licéret vastitati mancipa|turi . Nos vero si huiusce calamitatis fomitem seriatim expo|nere velimus : inextricabiles magis hýstorias quam suscep|tum negotium taxare ridebimur . Non enim successiones regum . | accidentia rerum . permutationes temporum ordinare statuimus :)

FACSIMILE No 178

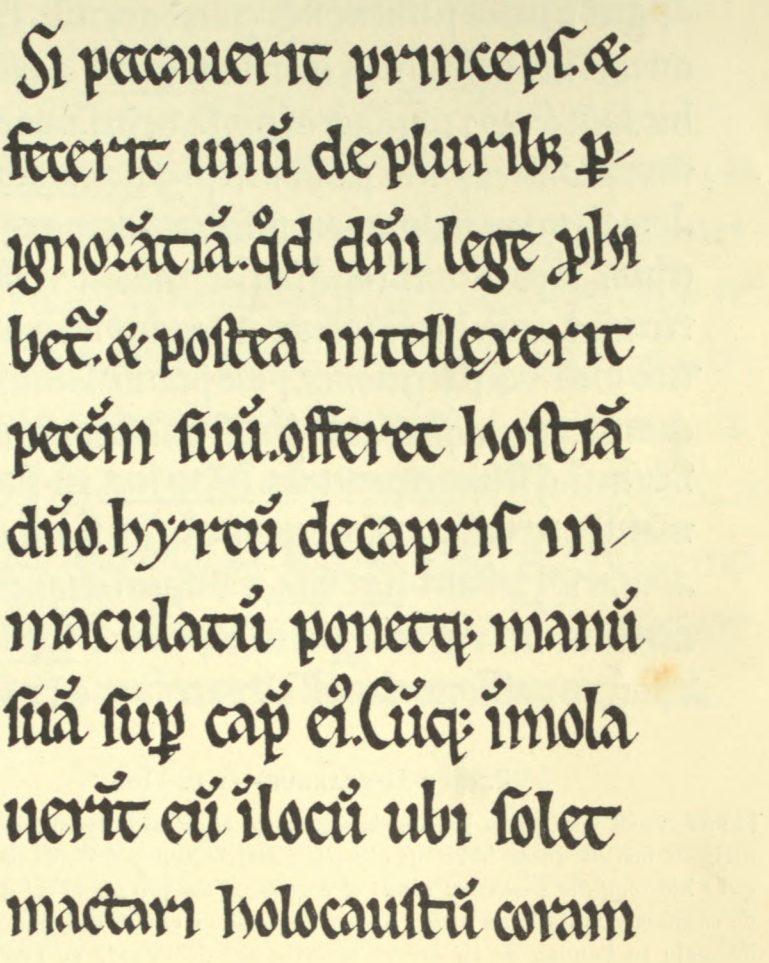


BEDA.—A. D. 1147–76

(*prophet*antes ad iudeos qui | erant in iudea et ier*usalem* in | nomine d*e*i isr*ael*. Tunc sur|rexerunt zorobabel fili*us* | salathiel : et iosue filius | iosedech . Et cęp*er*unt ędi|ficare templ*um* d*e*i in ier*usalem* : | et cum eis *prophet*ę d*e*i adiuv|antes eos . Hęc in libris | eor*um*d*em* *prophet*arum plenius | sc*ri*pta sunt : quibus videlicet

um dicens . Populus iste di|cit . Nondu*m* venit temp*us* do|m*us* d*omi*ni ędificandę . Et factu*m* | est v*er*bu*m* d*omi*ni in manu aggei | *prophet*ę dicens . Nunq*uid* tempus | vobis *est* ut habitetis in do|mib*us* laqueatis . et dom*us* ista | erit deserta ? Et paulo post . | Et suscitavit d*omin*us sp*iritu*m zo|robabel filíí salathiel ducis | iudá . et sp*iritu*m iesu filíí iosedech)

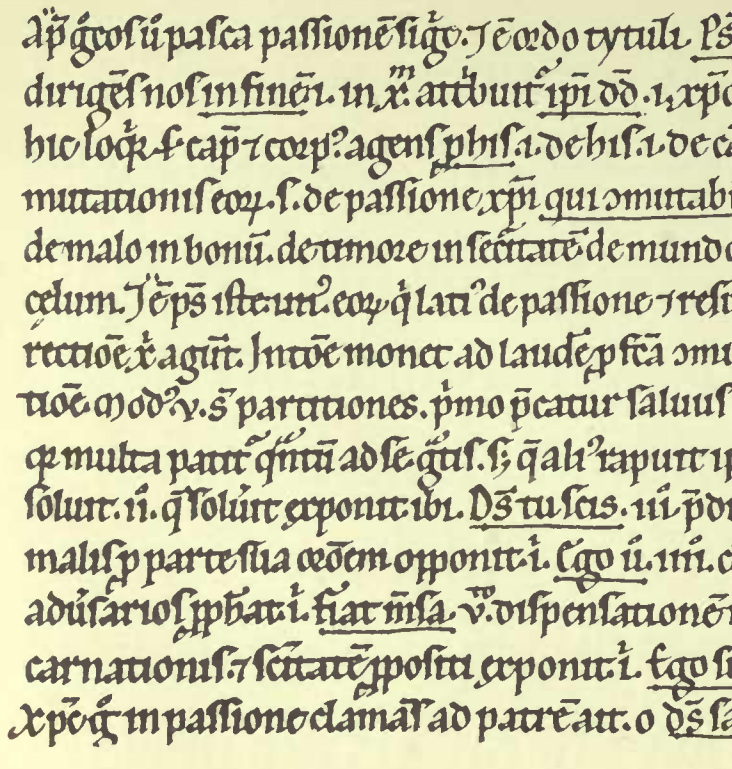
FACSIMILE No. 179



LEVITICUS.—A. D. 1176

(Si peccaverit princeps . et | fecerit unum de pluribus per | ignorantiam . quod domini lege prohi|betur . et postea intellexerit | peccatum suum . offeret hostiam | domino . hýrcum de capris in|maculatum ponetque manum | suam super caput eius . Cumque immola|verint eum in locum ubi solet | mactari holocaustum coram)

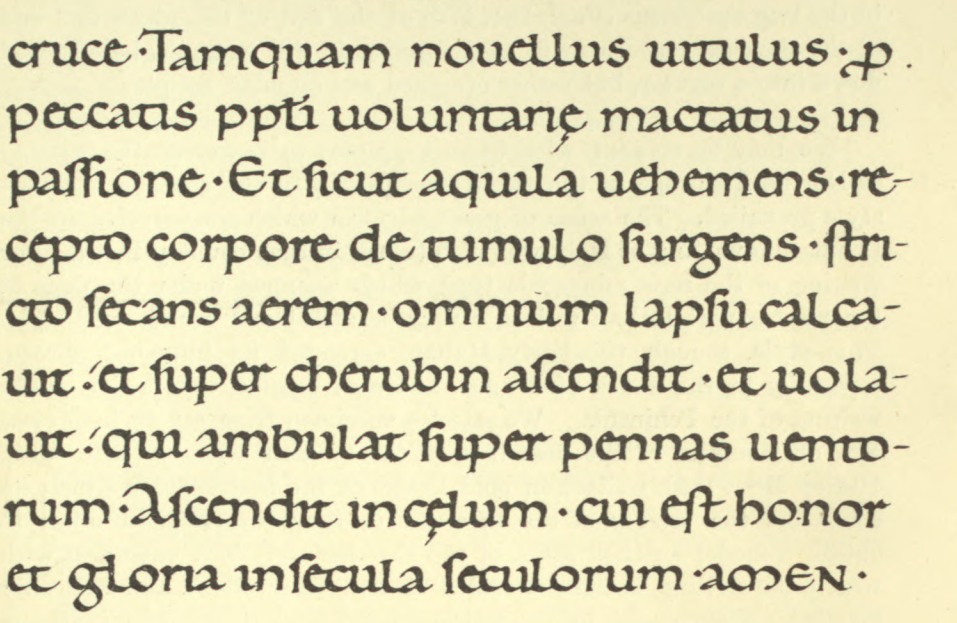
FACSIMILE No. 180



PETRUS LOMBARDUS.—A. D. 1166

(Apud grecos vero pasca passionem significat. et est ordo tytuli. Psalmus iste | dirigens nos in finem id est in christum attribuitur ipsi david id est christo. qui | hic loquitur secundum caput et corpus. agens pro his id est de his id est de causa com|mutationis eorum scilicet de passione christi qui commutabuntur | de malo in bonum. de timore in securitatem. de mundo ad | cęlum. Et est psalmus iste .iiii.us eorum qui latius de passione et resur|rectione christi agunt. Intentione monet ad laudem pro facta commuta|tione. Modus. v. sunt partitiones. primo precatur salvus fieri. | quia multa patitur quantum ad se. gratis. sed quę alius rapuit ipse | solvit. ii°. quę solverit exponit. ibi. Deus tu scis. iii°. predictis | malis pro parte sua orationem opponit. ibi. Ego vero. iiii°. circa | adversarios prophetat. ibi. Fiat mensa. v^to. dispensationem in|carnationis. et sanctitatem propositi exponit. ibi. Ego sum p[auper]. | Christus ergo in passione clamans ad patrem ait. o deus sal[vum])

FACSIMILE No. 181


cruce · Tamquam nouellus uitulus · p̄ .
peccatis p̄pli uoluntarię mactatus in
passione · Et sicut aquila uehemens · re-
cepto corpore de tumulo surgens · stri-
cto secans aerem · omnium lapsu calca-
uit · et super cherubin ascendit · et uola-
uit · qui ambulat super pennas uento-
rum · Ascendit in cęlum · cui est honor
et gloria in secula seculorum · amen ·

HOMILIES.—EARLY TWELFTH CENTURY

(cruce · Tamquam novellus vitulus · *pro* | peccatis *popu*li voluntarię mactatus in | passione · Et sicut aquila vehemens · re|cepto corpore de tumulo surgens · stri|cto secans aerem · omnium lapsu calca|vit · et super cherubin ascendit · et vola|vit · qui ambulat super pennas vento|rum · Ascendit in cęlum · cui est honor | et gloria in secula seculorum · amen ·)

In Germany a less elegant style was followed, as will be seen from the specimen here given from a MS. of the Commentary of Petrus Lombardus on the Psalms (belonging to Mr. Dyson Perrins), written for Hartwig, Archbishop of Bremen, in A. D. 1166 (*New Pal. Soc.* 188).

No. 180

The characteristics of the German type of writing which were shown in the two specimens (Facs. 161, 170) of the end of the ninth and end of the eleventh centuries will be recognized in this example, here settled down into a regular, but rather cramped and angular, script.

We may be content with these examples to represent the writing of Northern Europe in the twelfth century. In the south a different style prevailed. The sense of grace of form which we perceive in the Lombardic writing of Italy was maintained in that country in the later writing of the new minuscule type, which assumed under the pens of the most expert Italian scribes a very beautiful and round, even style. This style, though peculiarly Italian, extended its influence abroad, especially to the south of France, and also became the model of the writing of the Peninsula. We select a specimen from a very handsome MS. of Homilies of the first half of the twelfth century (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 7183), written in bold letters of the best type, to which we shall find the scribes of the fifteenth century reverting in order to obtain a model for their MSS. of the Renaissance. The exactness with which the writing is here executed is truly marvellous, and was only rivalled, not surpassed, by the finished handiwork of its later imitators (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 55).

No. 181

It will of course be understood that this was not the only style of hand that prevailed in Italy. Others of a much rougher cast were also employed. But as a typical book-hand, which was the parent of the hands in which the greater proportion of carefully written MSS. of succeeding periods were produced in Italy, it is to be specially noticed.

The change from the grand style of the twelfth century to the general minuteness of the thirteenth century is very striking. In the latter century we reach the height of exact formation, in which the vertical strokes are perfectly correct and are brought into closer order, the letters being laterally compressed, the round bends becoming angular, and the oblique strokes being fined down into hair-lines. In this century, too, there was a great demand for copies of the Bible, of which there are a large number of surviving examples; and the minuteness with which many of them were written enabled the scribes to compress

their work into small volumes, in extreme contrast to the large folios so common in the preceding century. The wide practice of this minute style for a special and numerous class of MSS. naturally led to its adoption in other branches of literature; and it may be counted as one of the factors in determining the new calligraphy.

If we review our examples illustrating the period of the twelfth century, we may already trace indications of a coming change. Facs. 179, of the year 1176, while it retains the grand style of its century, yet shows a certain tendency to compression, as, for example, in the narrow formation of g and o. Passing out eyes over nos. 176–8, productions of the broad style, and then resting them on no. 179, we are conscious of a difference. If we then pass on to the example which is now to be submitted, we recognize in it and in no. 179 stepping stones towards the new hand of the thirteenth century. This example shows a transitional hand of the end of the twelfth century, in which the writing is reduced to a small size, but yet is not compressed with the rather artificial precision of some fifty years later. It is a MS. of the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 7 F. iii), written for Elstow Abbey, in Bedfordshire, in A. D. 1191 or 1192 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 74).

No. 182

The increase in the number of abbreviations and contractions, as well as the smaller scale of the writing in this MS., is a token of the necessity imposed upon the scribes of economizing their material in order to meet the growing demands of literature.

We will open the thirteenth century with an example from the scriptorium of St. Alban's Abbey, again a MS. of the *Historia Scholastica* (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 4 D. vii), written before A. D. 1215.

No. 183

The change from the easier style of the preceding century to the rigid lettering of the thirteenth century is now complete in this MS. written in one of the most famous monastic schools of the South of England, where the new style would have been quickly adopted.

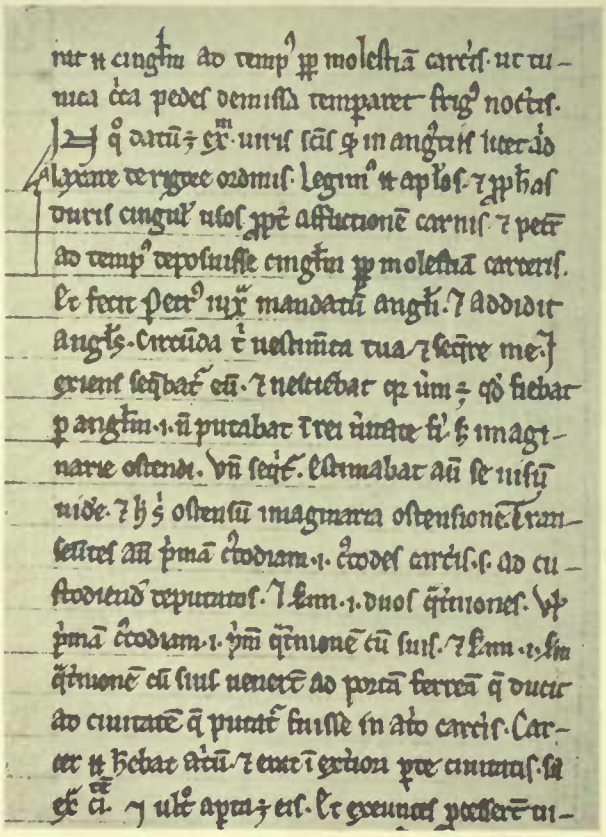
Turning next to France, we have an early example of the century in a Missal (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 17742), written in the north in A. D. 1218 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 194).

No. 184

Another nearly contemporary specimen is taken from a Pontifical of Sens, in the Library of Metz (Salis MS. 23), written about the year 1222 (*New Pal. Soc.* 36).

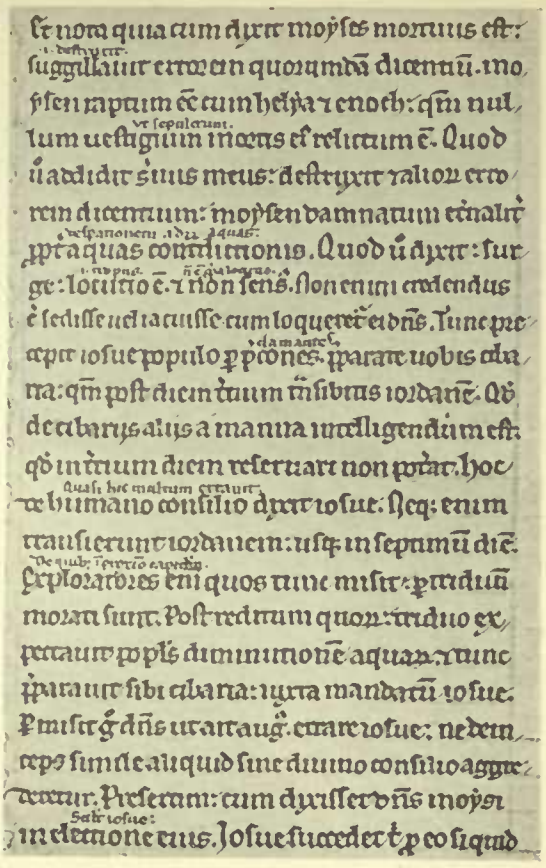
No. 185

These two specimens of French liturgical writing, it is to be observed, are almost identical with the contemporary English book-hand for such



PETRUS COMESTOR.—A. D. 1191–2

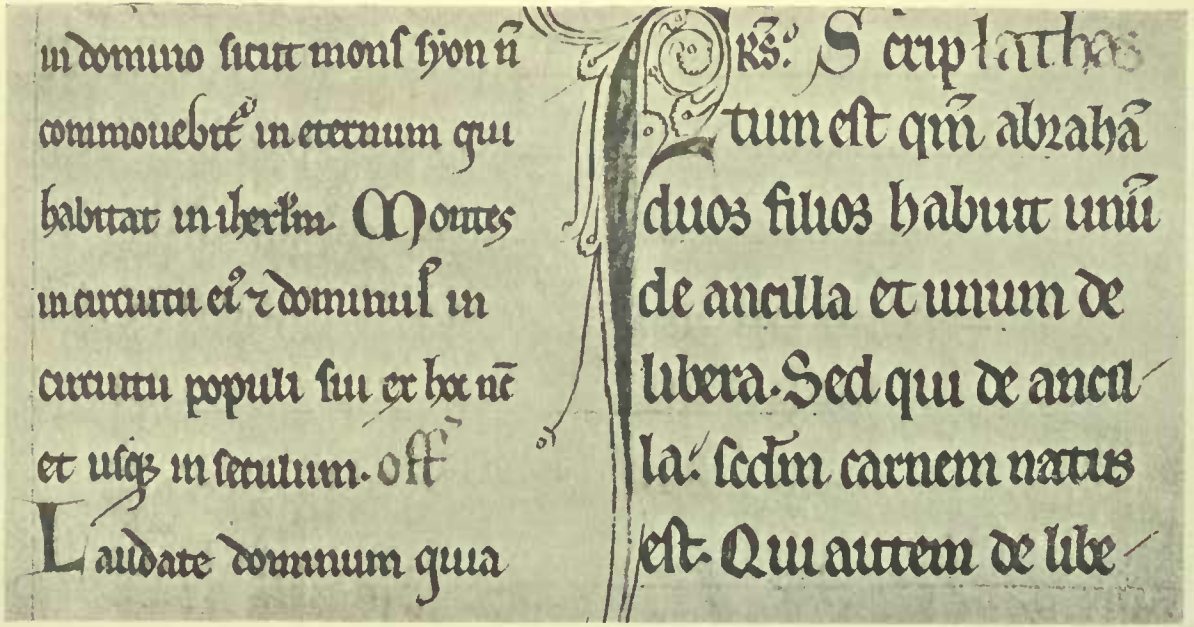
(rat *enim* cingulum ad tempus *propter* molestiam carceris · ut tu|nica circa pedes demissa temperaret frigus noctis · | In quo datum *est* exemplum viris sanctis quod in angustiis licet aliquid | laxare de rigore ordinis · legimus *enim* apostolos · *et* prophetas | duris cingulis usos *propter* afflictionem carnis · *et* petrum | ad tempus deposuisse cingulum *propter* molestiam carceris · | Et fecit Petrus iuxta mandatum angeli · *Et* addidit | angelus · Circumda *tibi* vestimenta tua · *et* sequere me · *Et* | exiens sequebatur eum · *et* nesciebat quia verum *est* quod fiebat | per angelum · id *est* non putabat in rei veritate fieri · sed imagi|narie ostendi · unde sequitur · Estimabat autem se visum | videre · *et* hoc sibi ostensum imaginaria ostensione · Tran|seuntes autem primam custodiam · id *est* custodes carceris · scilicet ad cu|stodiendum deputatos · *Et* secundam · id *est* duos quaterniones · vel | primam custodiam · id *est* primum quaternionem cum suis · *et* secundam · id *est* secundum | quaternionem cum suis · venerunt ad portam ferream que ducit | ad civitatem que putatur fuisse in atrio carceris · Car|cer *enim* habebat atrium · *et* erat in exteriori parte civitatis · sive | extra civitatem · *et* ultro aperta *est* eis · Et exeuntes processerunt vi)



PETRUS COMESTOR.—BEFORE A. D. 1215

(Et nota quia cum dixit moÿses mortuus est.' | suggillavit errorem quorumdam dicentium . moÿsen raptum esse cum helÿa *et* enoch.' *quoniam* nullum vestigium mortis ei*us* relictum *est* . Quod | *vero* addidit *servus* meus.' destruxit *et* alior*um* erro|rem dicentium.' moÿsen damnatum et*ernaliter* | *propter* aquas contradictionis . Quod *vero* dixit.' sur|ge.' locutio *est* . *et* non sens*us* . Non enim credendus | *est* sedisse vel iacuisse cum loqueretur ei d*omin*us . Tunc pre|cepit iosue populo *per* pre*cones* . *pre*parate vobis ciba|ria.' *quoniam* post diem *tertium* *transibitis* iordanem . *Quod* | de cibariis aliis á manna intelligendum est . | *quod* in *tertium* diem reservari non pote*rat* . Hoc | de humano consilio dixit iosue . Neq*ue* enim | transierunt iordanem.' usq*ue* in septimu*m* diem . | Exploratores en*im* quos tunc misit.' *per* triduum | morati sunt . Post reditum quor*um*.' triduo ex|pectavit popu*lus* diminutionem aquarum . *et* tunc | *pre*paravit sibi cibaria.' iuxta mandatum iosue . | *Per*misit *ergo* d*omin*us ut ait aug*ustinus* errare iosue.' ne dein|ceps simile aliquid sine divino consilio aggre|deretur . Presertim.' cum dixisset d*omin*us moÿsi | in electione eius . Iosue succedet *tibi* *pro* eo si quid)

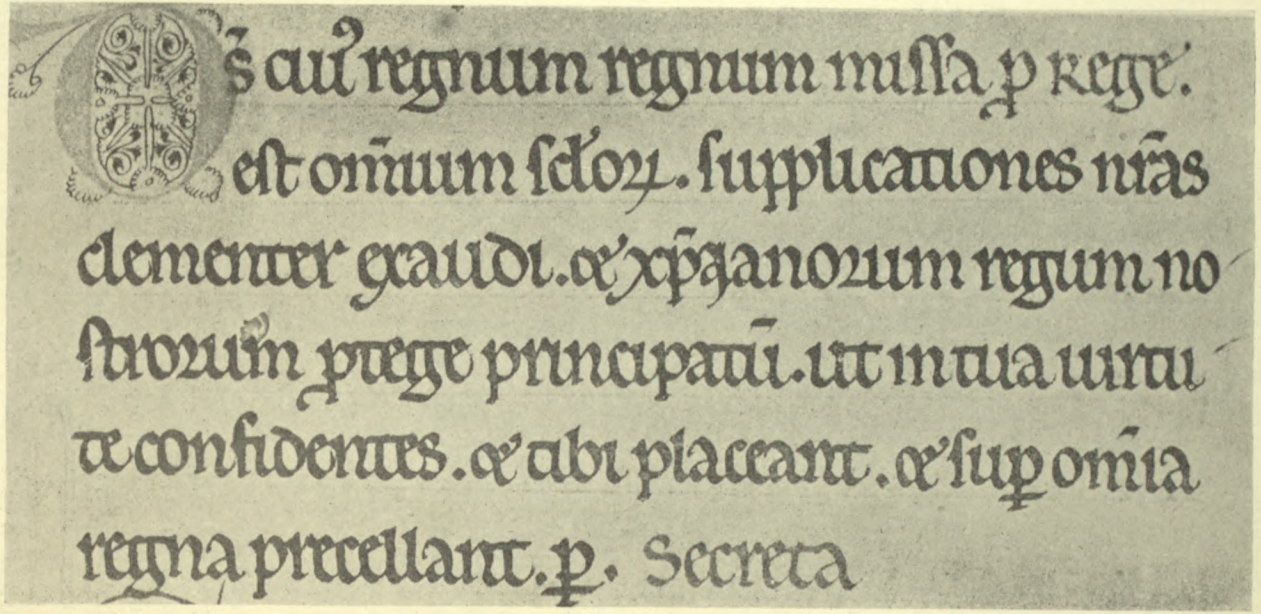
FACSIMILE No. 184



MISSAL.—A. D. 1218

(in domino sicut mons sȳon *non* | commovebit*ur* in eternum qui | habitat in iher*usalem* . Montes | in circuitu ei*us et* dominus in | circuitu populi sui ex hoc n*unc* | et usq*ue* in seculum . off*icium* | Laudate dominum quia
Fr*atres*! Scrip([ad ga]lathas) tum est *quoniam* abraham | duos filios habuit unum | de ancilla et unum de | libera . Sed qui de ancil|la ! *secundum* carnem natus | est . Qui autem de libe)

FACSIMILE No. 185


Ds cui⁹ regnum regnum missa p rege.
est om̄ium scl'oꝝ. supplicationes nr̄as
clementer exaudi. et xp̄ianorum regum no
strorum ꝑtege principatū. ut in tua uirtu
te confidentes. et tibi placeant. et sup om̄ia
regna precellant. ꝑ. Secreta

PONTIFICAL.—ABOUT A. D. 1222

(D*eus* cui*us* regnum regnum (missa p*ro* Rege) | est om*n*ium s*ecu*lor*um* . supplicationes n*ost*ras | clementer exaudi . et chr*ist*ianorum regum no|strorum p*ro*tege principatu*m* . ut in tua virtu|te confidentes . et tibi placeant . et sup*er* om*n*ia | regna precellant . p*er* . Secreta)

MSS. If there is a difference, perhaps it consists in a little more hardness in the French hands. It will be noticed that the conservative character of the writing in these Church Service-books retains a good deal of the style of the twelfth century, especially in the second example.

As a specimen of the numerous class of Bibles which are among the chief productions of the scriptoria of the thirteenth century, a facsimile is selected from a MS. written at Canterbury (Brit. Mus., Burney MS. 3) between the years 1225 and 1252 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 73).

No. 186

Here the thirteenth-century hand has settled down into its normal character, exhibiting great accuracy in the formation of the letters, with the characteristic lateral compression which gives room for close-packing of the lines of writing.

An interesting instance of a MS. written by an Englishman abroad is a Lectionary in the British Museum (Egerton MS. 2569), which was the work of John of Salisbury at Mons in Hainault, A. D. 1269 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 113).

No. 187

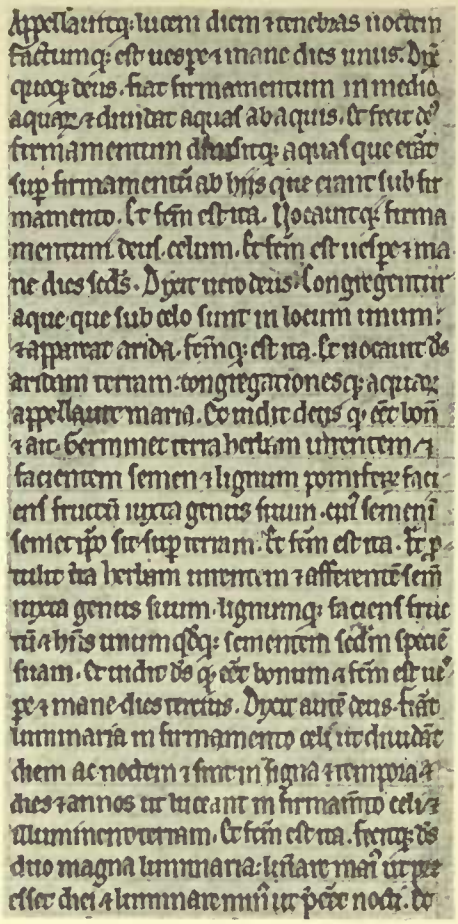
John of Salisbury, however, does not write an English hand. The foreign (that is, Flemish) type of the writing shows itself in the hard outlines and angularity of some letters, such as the small round s, and in the rather ornamental flourishes of the smaller capitals.

For the last example of the century we draw upon another copy of that common work of the period, the *Historia Scholastica*, in the Royal MS. 3 D. vi, in the British Museum, which was executed for Edmund, Earl of Cornwall (died A. D. 1300), and was given by him to Ashridge College, co. Bucks, which he founded about A. D. 1283. The date of the MS. therefore falls between 1283 and 1300, and probably nearer to the first of those years (*New Pal. Soc.* 13).

No. 188

Here the simplicity of the earlier part of the century has passed; and this writing is to be placed in what may be styled the decorated class, which, departing from the rigid formation of the time and employing an ornamental pliancy in the formation of the letters, contributed to the opening of the way to the great change to be effected in the literary hands in the course of the fourteenth century.

With the fourteenth century we enter on a new phase in the history of Latin palaeography; and this and the following century are a period of gradual decadence from the high standard which had been attained in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As if wearied by the exactness

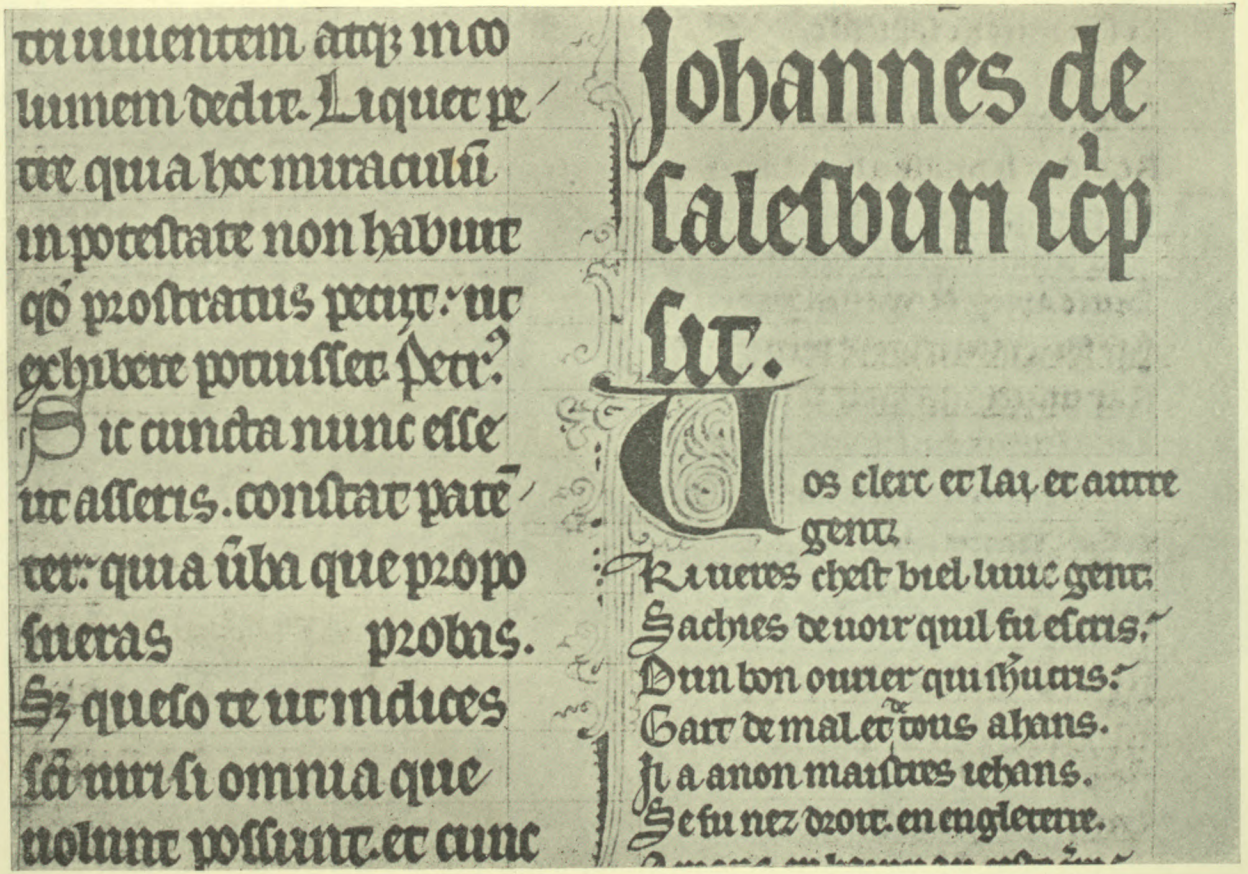


BIBLE.—A. D. 1225–52

(Appellavitque lucem diem *et* tenebras noctem | Factumque est vespere *et* mane dies unus . Dixit | quoque deus . fiat firmamentum in medio | aquarum *et* dividat aquas ab aquis . Et fecit deus | firmamentum divisitque aquas que erant | super firmamentum ab hiis que erant sub firmamento . Et *factum* est ita . Vocavitque firma|mentum [1] deus celum . Et *factum* est vespere *et* ma|ne dies *secundus* . Dixit vero deus . Congregentur | aque que sub celo sunt in locum unum ⁊ | *et* appareat arida . *factum*que est ita . Et vocavit deus | aridam terram ⁊ congregationesque aquarum | appellavit maria . Et vidit deus *quod* esset bonum | *et* ait . Germinet terra herbam virentem . *et* | facientem semen *et* lignum pomiferum faci|ens fructum iuxta genus suum . cuius semen *in* | semet ipso sit super terram . Et *factum* est ita . Et *pro*tulit terra herbam virentem *et* afferentem semen | iuxta genus suum . lignumque faciens fruc|tum *et* habens unumquodque sementem *secundum* speciem | suam . Et vidit deus *quod* esset bonum *et factum* est ves|pere *et* mane dies tercius . Dixit autem deus . Fiant | luminaria in firmamento celi ut dividant | diem ac noctem *et* sint in signa *et* tempora *et* | dies *et* annos ut luceant in firmamento celi . *et* | illuminent terram . Et *factum* est ita . Fecitque deus | duo magna luminaria : luminare maius ut pre|esset diei *et* luminare minus ut *pr*eesset nocti . Et)

[1] The oblique double hair-lines above the words 'Vocavitque' and 'firmamentum' are marks of transposition.

FACSIMILE No. 187



tri uiuentem atq; in co
lumem dedit. Liquet pe
tre quia hoc miraculū
in potestate non habuit
qd̄ prostratus petiit: ut
exhibere potuisset. Petr⁹.
Sic cuncta nunc esse
ut asseris. constat patē
ter: quia ūba que propo
sueras probas.
Sz queso te ut indices
sc̄i uiri si omnia que
uolunt possunt. et cunc

Johannes de
salesburi scr̄p
sit.

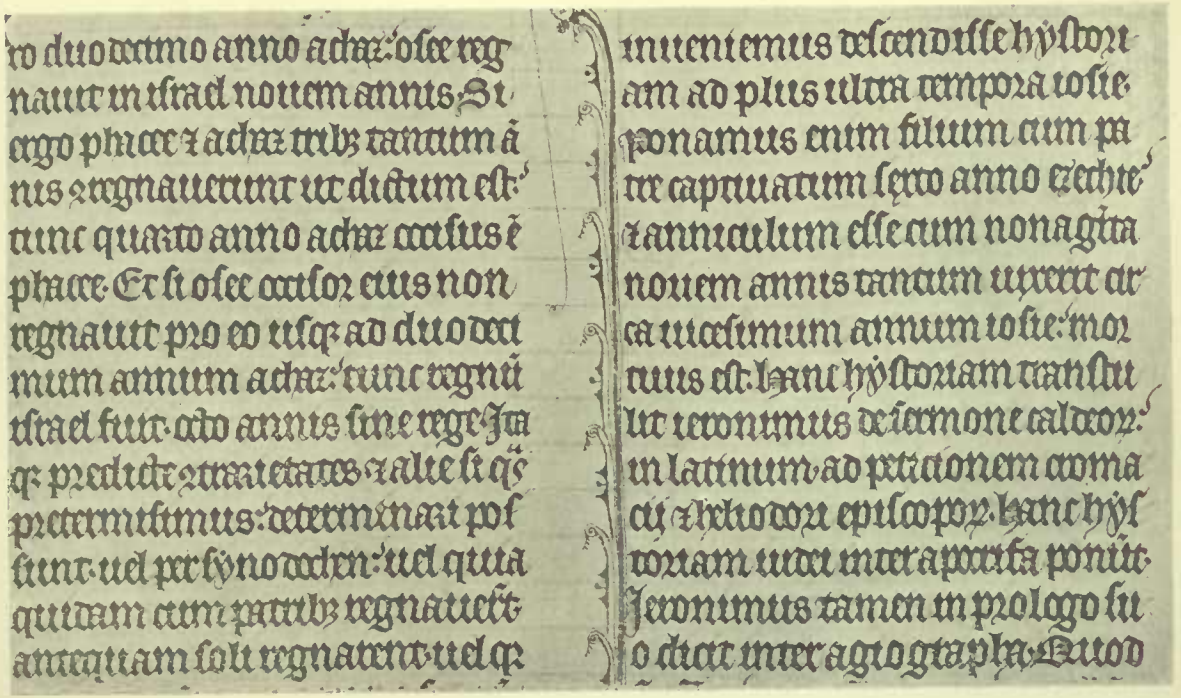
Vos clerc et lai et autre
gent.
Ki ueres chest biel liuic gent.
Sachies de uoir quil fu escris.
Dun bon ourier qui sh̄ucris.
Gart de mal et de tous ahans.
Il a anon maistres iehans.
Se fu nez droit. en engleterre.

LECTIONARY.—A. D. 1269

(tri viventem at*que* inco|lumem dedit . Liquet pe|tre quia hoc miracul*um* | in potestate non habuit | q*uo*d prostratus peciit ⁄ ut | exhibere potuisset . Petr*us* . | Sic cuncta nunc esse | ut asseris . constat pate*n*|ter ⁄ quia v*er*ba que propo|sueras probas . | S*ed* queso te ut indices | *sancti* viri si omnia que | volunt possunt . et cunc

Iohannes de salesburi s*cr*ipsit .
Vos clerc et lai et autre gentz
Ki veres chest biel livre gentz
Sachies de voir quil fu escris ⁄
Dun bon ovrier qui iesu cris ⁄
Gart de mal . et ' de ´ tous ahans .
Il a a non maistres iehans .
Se fu nez droit . en engleterre .)

FACSIMILE No. 188



PETRUS COMESTOR.—A. D. 1283–1300

(ro duodecimo anno achaz ⁊ osee reg|navit in israel novem annis . Si | ergo phacee *et* achaz trib*us* tantum a*n*|nis *con*regnaverunt ut dictum est ⁊ | tunc quarto anno achaz occisus e*st* | phacee . Et si osee occisor eius non | regnavit pro eo usq*ue* ad duodeci|mum annum achaz ⁊ tunc regnu*m* | israel fuit . octo annis sine rege . Ita|q*ue* predicte *con*trarietates . *et* alie si q*uas* | pretermisimus ⁊ determinari pos|sunt . vel per sỳnodochen ⁊ vel quia | quidam cum patrib*us* regnaver*un*t . | antequam soli regnarent . vel q*uia*
inveniemus descendisse hỳstori|am ad plus ultra tempora iosie . | Ponamus enim filium cum pa|tre captivatum sexto anno ezechie ⁊ | *et* anniculum esse cum nonagi*n*ta | novem annis tantum vixerit cir|ca vicesimum annum iosie ⁊ mor|tuus est . Hanc hỳstoriam transtu|lit ieronimus de sermone caldeor*um* ⁊ | in latinum . ad peticionem croma|cii *et* heliodori episcopor*um* . Hanc hỳs|toriam iudei inter apocrifa ponu*n*t . | Ieronimus tamen in prologo su|o dicit inter agiographa . Quod)

and rigidity of the book-hand of the thirteenth century, literary handwriting now became more lax, the letters fell away in beauty of shape, and in those MSS., such as biblical and liturgical works, in which the old form of script still remained prevalent, it degenerated into a mechanical and imitative hand. New styles of writing entered the field. The cursive element began to prevail and break up the formal conservatism of the old school; a round pliant character took the place of the older serried script; and mixed hands came into vogue, sometimes expressive of the particular classes of literature for which they were employed. For example, in this period, and including even the latter part of the thirteenth century, we have numerous instances of charter-hands being employed in the production of books, as well as for single documents. In England particularly, a large number of legal MSS., which date from the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, are written in this hand.

Space does not permit us to give more than a few illustrations of the general character of the change effected in the literary scripts of Western Europe during the two centuries which close our period; but even from the limited number of our examples it will be seen how, while the book-hands of England and France, and of Germany and the Netherlands, declined, that of Italy pushed forward and at length occupied the first position at the time when hand-written books were superseded by the printing-press.

The first MS. to be cited affords an instance of the influence exercised by the cursive element referred to above. It contains the ritual for the coronation, apparently of Edward II (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 2901), which took place in A.D. 1308. The specimen gives the king's oath (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 196).

No. 189

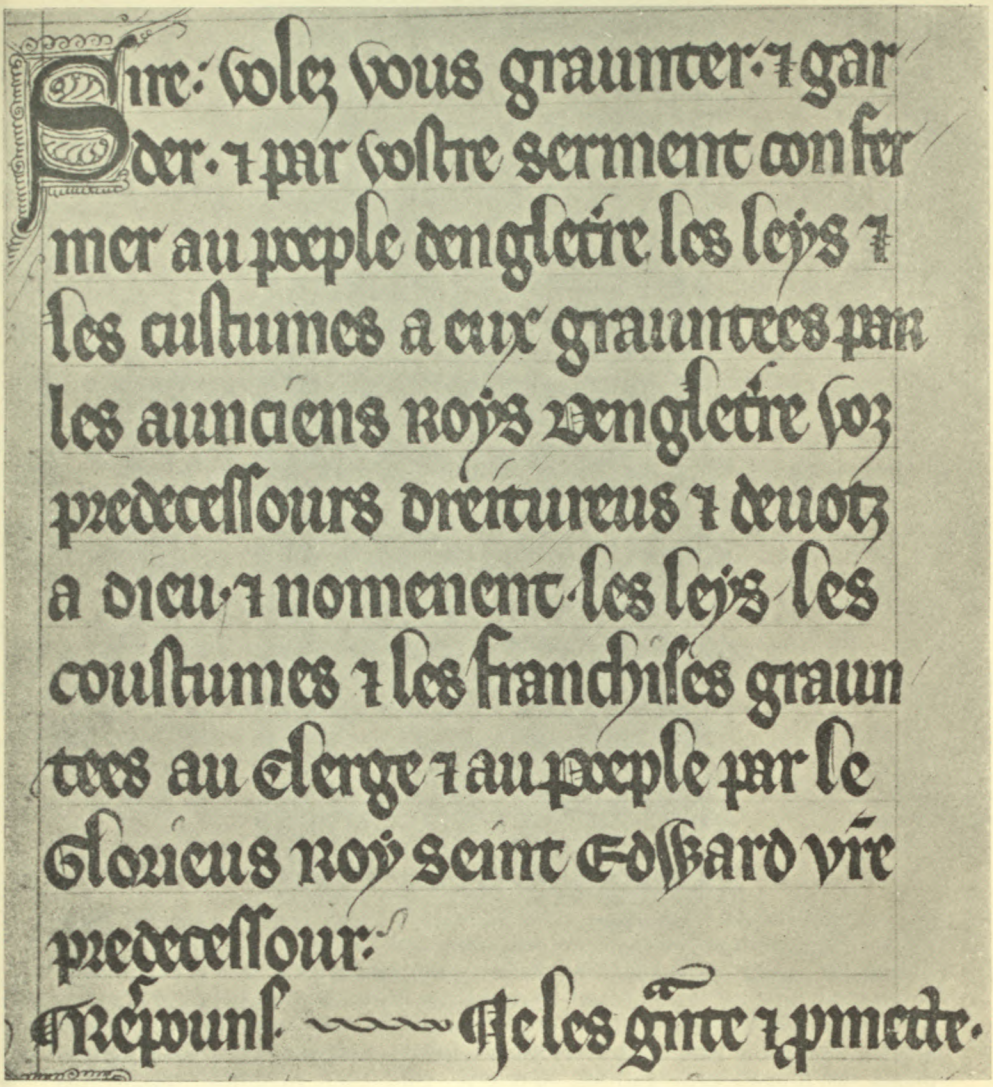
The MS. generally is written in fine bold characters of the book-hand type; but the text of the oath is here varied by the introduction of an element from the charter-hand of the time, viz. the finishing off of certain letters, h, l, v, y, in hair-lines.

A class of writing not uncommon in the first half of the century is shown in a MS. of the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (Brit. MS., Add. MS. 11882), written in Paris in A.D. 1312 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 222).

No. 190

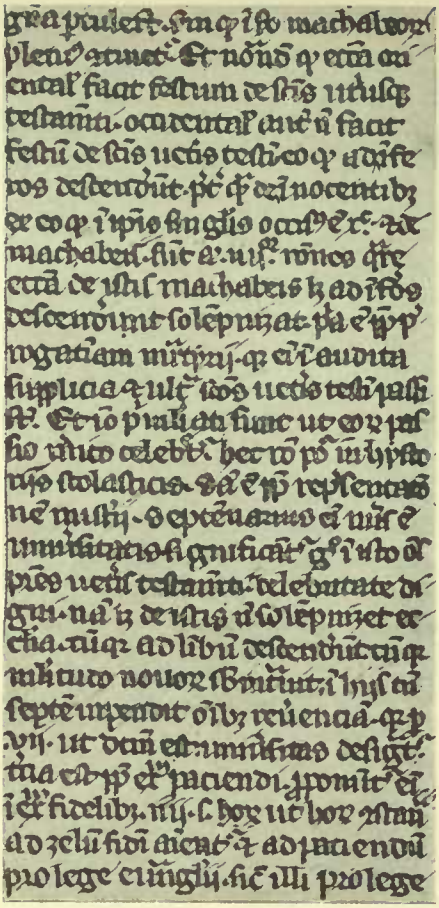
Here will be observed the incipient roundness and looser formation of letters which marks the book-hand of this period and distinguishes it from the unbending and close-packed script of the previous century. The letter a, which in the thirteenth century was usually open in the upper bow, is now closed.

FACSIMILE No. 189


Sire: volez vous graunter · ⁊ gar
der · ⁊ par vostre serment confer
mer au poeple dengletere les leys ⁊
les custumes a eux grauntees par
les aunciens Roys Dengletere voz
predecessours dreitureus ⁊ deuotz
a dieu · ⁊ nomenent · les leys les
coustumes ⁊ les franchises graun
tees au clerge ⁊ au poeple par le
Glorieus Roy seint Edward vre
predecessour ·
Respouns · Je les grante ⁊ promette ·

CORONATION OATH.—A.D. 1308

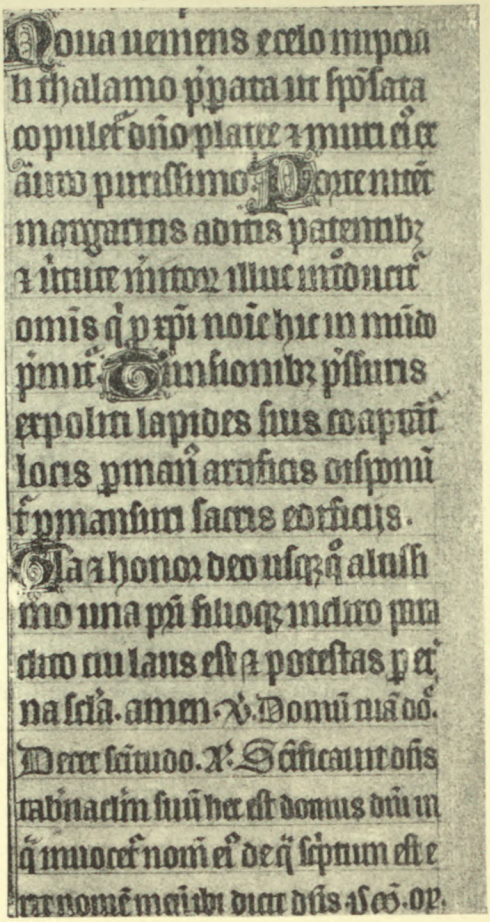
(Sire : volez vous graunter · *et* gar|der · *et* par vostre serment confer|mer au poeple dengleterre les leys *et* | les custumes a eux grauntees par | les aunciens Roys Dengleterre voz | predecessours dreitureus *et* devotz | a dieu · *et* nomenent · les leys les | coustumes *et* les franchises graun|tees au Clerge *et* au Poeple par le | Glorieus Roy seint Edward vostre | predecessour. Respouns.—Je les grante *et* promette.)



JACOBUS DE VORAGINE.—A.D. 1312

(genera pertulerunt . secundum quod in secundo machabeorum | plenius continetur . Et notandum quod ecclesia ori|entalis facit festum de sanctis utriusque | testamenti . occidentalis autem non facit | festum de sanctis veteris testamenti . eo quod ad infe|ros descenderunt . preterquam de innocentibus | ex eo quod in ipsis singulis occisus est christus : et de | machabeis . sunt autem . iiij^{or} . rationes quare | ecclesia de istis machabeis licet ad inferos | descenderint solempnizat . prima est propter pre|rogativam martyrii . quia enim inaudita | supplicia et ultra sanctos veteris testamenti passi | sunt . Et ideo privilegiati sunt ut eorum pas|sio merito celebretur . hec ratio ponitur in hysto|riis scolasticis . secunda est propter representatio|nem misterii . septennarius enim numerus est | universitatis . significantur ergo in isto omnes | patres veteris testamenti : celebritate di|gni . nam licet de istis non solempnizet ec|clesia . tum quia ad limbum descenderunt . tum quia | multitudo novorum subintravit . in hiis tamen | septem inpendit omnibus reverenciam . quia per | . vij . nt dictum est . universitas designatur . | tercia est propter exemplum paciendi . proponuntur enim | in exemplum fidelibus . iiij . scilicet horum ut horum constantia | ad zelum fidei animentur et ad paciendum | pro lege evangelii . sicut illi pro lege)

FACSIMILE No. 191



BREVIARY.—A.D. 1322–7

(Nova veniens e celo nupcia|li thalamo p*repar*ata ut spo*n*sata | copulet*ur* d*omi*no platee *et* muri ei*us* ex | auro purissimo . Porte nite*n*t | margaritis aditis patentib*us* | *et* vi*r*tute m*er*itor*um* illuc int*r*oducit*ur* | om*n*is q*ui* p*ro* chr*isti* no*mi*ne hic in mu*n*do | p*re*mit*ur* . Tunsionib*us* p*re*ssuris | expoliti lapides suis coapta*ntur* | locis p*er* man*us* artificis disponu*n*|t*ur* p*er*mansuri sacris edificiis . | Gl*or*ia *et* honor deo usq*ue*q*uo* altissi|mo una p*at*ri filioq*ue* inclito para|clito cui laus est *et* potestas p*er* et*er*|na sec*u*la . amen . V*ersus* . Domu*m* tua*m* do*mine* . | Decet s*anct*itudo . A*ntiphona* . S*anct*ificavit d*omi*n*us* | tab*er*nac*ul*u*m* suu*m* hec est domus d*omi*ni in | q*ua* invocet*ur* nom*en* ei*us* de q*ua* sc*r*iptum est e|rit nome*n* meu*m* ibi dicit d*omi*nus . P*salmus* M*agnificat*. Or*atio* .)

Next is selected a specimen from a liturgical MS., a Breviary of English use adapted to the service of Norwich (Brit. MS., Stowe MS. 12), and written between the years 1322 and 1327 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 197).

No. 191

The MS., as a liturgy and written for public reading, carries on the earlier traditional set hand of the thirteenth century, but with the loss of the firm incisive strokes of that time. An air of softness, if the expression may be allowed, pervades the writing. The type of hand grows mechanical and is continued, as we shall find, with little modification, into the next century, being in the end adopted for printed books of this class.

An example of the careful book-hand written in France, as the century advances, is found in a MS. of the Travels of Sir John Mandeville (Bibl. Nat., Nouv. acq. franç. 4515), written in A.D. 1371 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 168).

No. 192

The hand is very neat; but is subject to the remark made on the foregoing specimen, that it betrays the softness of style which distinguishes the set writing of the fourteenth from that of the thirteenth century.

Next, we select a facsimile of a not uncommon type of the English hand of the latter part of the century, which has a slightly cursive element in it, and which developed into the ordinary hand of the fifteenth century. It is taken from a Chronicle of English history (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 3634), written about the year 1388 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 170).

No. 193

The letters which in particular are borrowed from the charter-hand are the round d which is almost in constant use, and the 6-shaped s as seen in the word 'sexto' in the first line.

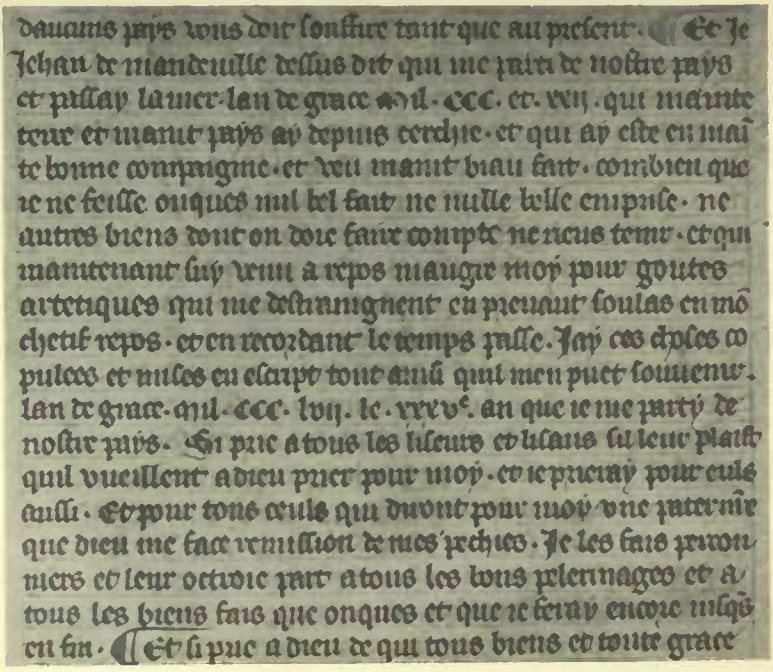
By this time the curves characteristic of the fourteenth century are beginning in many instances to become pointed: a phase of the book-hand which indicates the approach of the carelessness of the fifteenth century.

Reference has been made above to the important position which the book-hand of Italy was assuming in the course of the fourteenth century. A specimen is here given from a MS. of Horace (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 11964), written at Cremona in A.D. 1391 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 249).

No. 194

It is not difficult to recognize the descent of this script from the fine Italian writing which had been evolved in the twelfth century from the Carolingian minuscule and which is represented in Facs. 181;

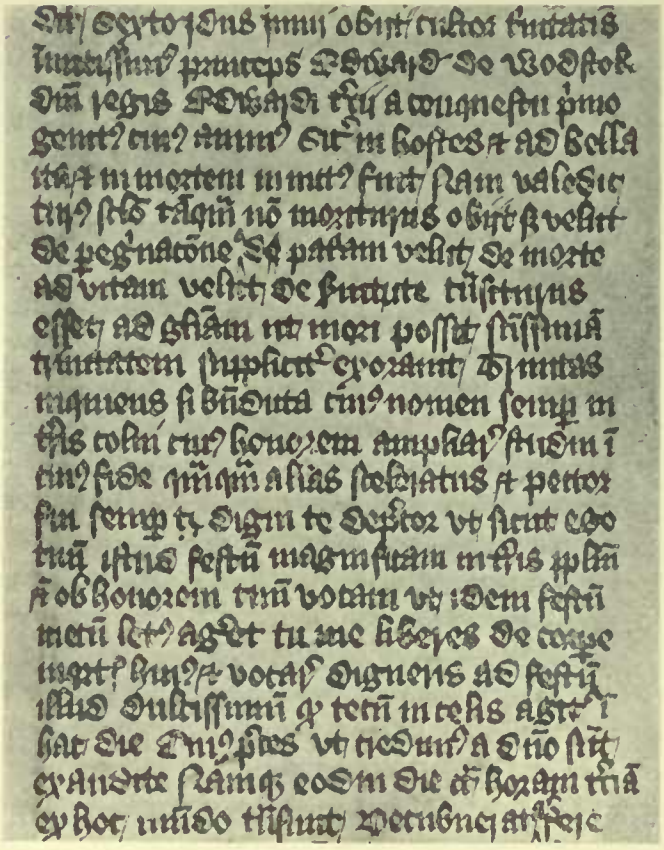
FACSIMILE No. 192



MANDEVILLE.—A.D. 1371

(daucuns paỳs vous doit souffire taut que au present . Et Je | Jehan de mandeville dessus dit qui me parti de nostre paỳs | et passay la mer . lan de grace Mil . ccc . et . xxij . qui mainte | terre et maint paỳs aỳ depuis cerchie . et qui aỳ este en main|te bonne compagnie . et veu maint biau fait . combien que | ie ne feisse onques nul bel fait ne nulle belle emprise . ne | autres biens dont on doie faire compte ne riens tenir . et qui | maintenant suỳ venu a repos maugre moỳ pour goutes | artetiques qui me destraingnent en prenant soulas en mon | chetif repos . et en recordant le temps passe . Jaỳ ces choses co|pulees et mises en escript tout ainsi quil men peut souvenir . | lan de grace . Mil . ccc . lvij . le . xxxv^{e} . an que ie me partỳ de | nostre paỳs . Si prie a tous les liseurs et lisans sil leur plaist | quil vueillent a dieu prier pour moỳ . et ie prieraỳ pour euls | aussi . Et pour tous ceuls qui diront pour moỳ une pater nostre | que dieu me face remission de mes pechies . Je les fais percon|niers et leur octroie part a tous les bons pelerinages et a | tous les biens fais que onques et que ie feraỳ encore iusques | en fin . Et si prie a dieu de qui tous biens et toute grace)

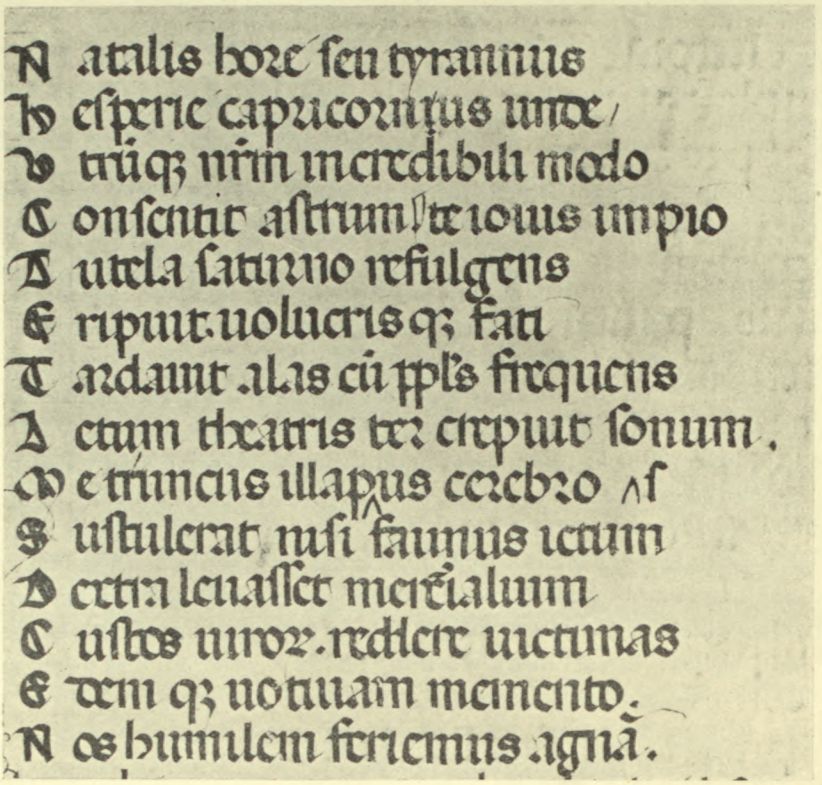
FACSIMILE No. 193



CHRONICLE.—ABOUT A.D. 1388

(dit sexto Idus Iunii obiit cultor *tr*initatis | *in*victissim*us* princeps Edward*us* de Wodstok | d*omi*ni regis Edwardi t*er*cii a conquestu p*r*imo|genit*us* cui*us* anim*us* sic*ut* in hostes *et* ad bella | ita *et* in mortem invict*us* fuit Nam valedic|tur*us* sec*u*lo tam*qu*am no*n* moriturus obiit s*ed* velut | de p*er*eg*r*inac*i*one `a'd pat*r*iam velut de morte | ad vitam velut de s*er*vitute t*r*ansiturus | esset ad gl*or*iam ut mori possit *sanct*issim*am* | trinitatem suppliciter exoravit Trinitas | inquiens si b*en*edicta cui*us* nomen semp*er* in | t*er*ris colui cui*us* honorem ampliar*e* studui i*n* | cui*us* fide q*u*amq*u*am alias sceleratus *et* pec[ca]tor | fui semp*er* digui te dep*r*ecor ut sicut ego | tuu*m* istud festu*m* magnificavi in t*er*ris pop*ul*um | *etiam* ob honorem tuu*m* vocavi ut idem festu*m* | mecu*m* let*us* ag*er*et tu me liberes de corp*or*e | mort*is* hui*us* *et* vocar*e* digneris ad festu*m* | illud dulcissimu*m* q*uod* tecu*m* in celis agit*ur* i*n* | hac die Cui*us* p*r*eces ut credim*us* a d*omi*no su*n*t | exaudite Namq*ue* eod*em* die c*ir*ca horam *ter*cia*m* | ex hoc mu*n*do t*r*ansivit . Decubuerat ` a*utem* ' fere)

FACSIMILE No. 194



HORACE.—A.D. 1391

(Natalis hore seu tyrannus | Hesperie capricornius unde | Utrum*que* no*strum* incredibili modo | Consentit astrum . te iovis impio | Tutela saturno refulgens | Eripuit . volucrisque fati | Tardavit alas cum *populus* frequens | Letum theatris ter crepuit sonum . | Me truncus illap's'us cerebro | Sustulerat nisi faunus ictum | Dextra levasset merc*ur*ialium | Custos viror*um* . reddere victimas | Edemque votivam memento . | Nos humilem feriemus agnam .)

making allowance, however, for stiffness and lateral compression inherited from the tradition of the thirteenth century. The sense of beauty, so conspicuous in that example, did not fail the Italian book-hand in its best specimens during the succeeding centuries. As compared with other national scripts, the high level of general excellence maintained by the Italian scribes is very striking. And it was this general excellence that placed them in the position to take the lead at the crucial moment of the adoption of printing in Europe.

The course of the fifteenth century witnessed the final dissolution of the mediaeval minuscule book-writing. In this century there is, necessarily, an ever-increasing number of varieties of hands. The charter-hand is now very generally used for books as well as for documents. And while the formal minuscule hand is still employed for liturgical and other books, and under certain conditions is written with exactness, it generally betrays an increasing tendency to slackness and to malformation or exaggeration of individual forms of letters. If we make an exception in favour of the calligraphic MSS. of Italy, we place the general character of the book-hand of the fifteenth century at a low standard. It had become too artificial. Further, between those written in the cursive charter-hand and the formal minuscule book-hand, there is that large mass of MSS., all more or less individual in their characteristics, which are written with a freedom partaking of the elements of both styles: the ordinary working hands of scholars and other independent writers, which have no pretensions to beauty of form, and which, in course of time, grow more and more angular, not with the precise serried formation of letters as in the thirteenth century, but with the careless disregard of curves which accompanies rapid writing. And lastly, when the art of printing was established, and after the early type-cutters had selected their first models in the contemporary MS. book-hands of their several countries, it is no wonder that, in the end, the type copied from the Italian script prevailed over all others.

We cannot here do more than select a few specimens to illustrate some of the many varieties of handwritings of this century.

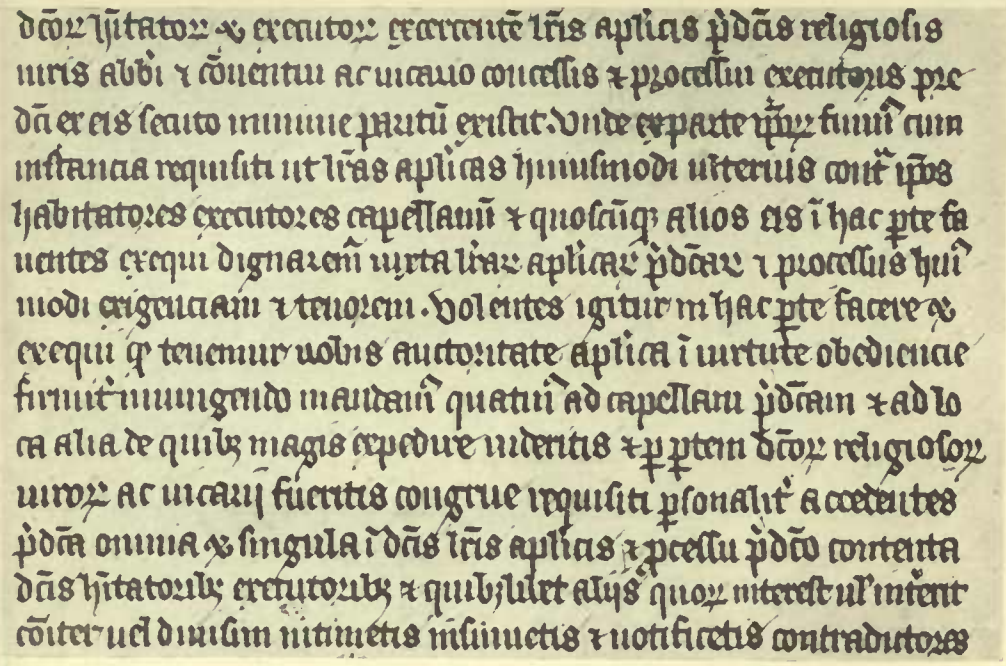
The first is from a MS. containing the catalogue of the library of, and collections relating to, Titchfield Abbey, co. Hants (Duke of Portland's Library), written between the years 1400 and 1405 (*New Pal. Soc.* 19).

No. 195

The writing is in the formal square literary hand, but is entirely wanting in the old regularity. In the nature of things, the set book-hand was generally practised in the monastic scriptoria rather than the more cursive styles; and hence a volume such as the present one,

FACSIMILE No. 195

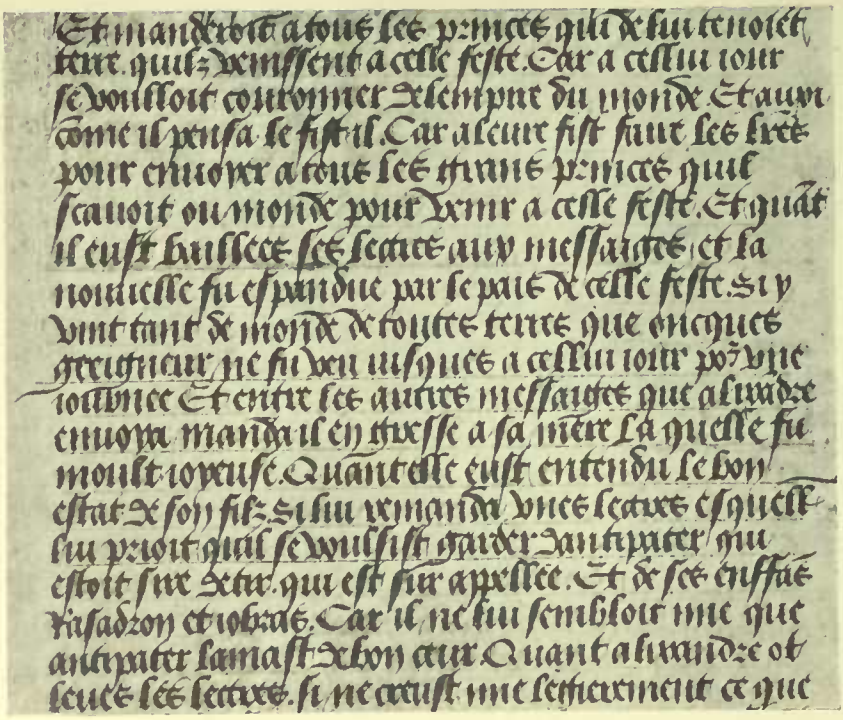
dcōr hitatorꝝ ꝛ executorꝝ excercentē lr̄is aplicis p̄dc̄is religiosis
uiris abbi ꝛ cōuentui ac uicario concessis ꝛ processui executoris pre
dc̄i ex eis secuto minime paritū existit. Unde ex parte ipsorꝝ fuimꝰ cum
instancia requisiti ut lr̄as aplicas huiusmodi ulterius contra ipsos
habitatores executores capellanū ꝛ quoscūq; alios eis ī hac pte fa
uentes exequi dignaremꝰ iuxta lr̄arꝝ aplicarꝝ p̄dc̄arꝝ ꝛ processus hui
modi exigenciam ꝛ tenorem. Volentes igitur in hac pte facere ꝛ
exequi q̄ tenemur uobis auctoritate aplica ī uirtute obediencie
firmit̄ iniungendo mandamꝰ quatinꝰ ad capellam p̄dc̄am ꝛ ad lo
ca alia de quibꝫ magis expedire uideritis ꝛ p pte dc̄orꝝ religiosorꝝ
uirorꝝ ac uicarij fueritis congrue requisiti psonalit̄ accedentes
p̄dc̄a omnia ꝛ singula ī dc̄is lr̄is aplicis ꝛ pcessu p̄dc̄o contenta
dc̄is hitatoribꝫ executoribꝫ ꝛ quibꝫlibet alijs quorꝝ interest ul̄ interit
cōiter uel diuisim intimetis insinuetis ꝛ notificetis contradictores



TITCHFIELD ABBEY COLLECTIONS.—A.D. 1400–5

(d*ict*or*um* h*ab*itator*um* et executor*um* excercente*m* l*itte*ris ap*ost*olicis p*redict*is religiosis | viris abb*ati* *et* co*n*ventui ac vicario concessis *et* processui executoris pre|d*ict*i ex eis secuto minime paritu*m* existit. Unde ex parte ipsor*um* fuim*us* cum | instancia requisiti ut l*itte*ras ap*ost*olicas huiusmodi ulterius cont*ra* ipsos | habitatores executores capellanu*m* *et* quoscu*m*q*ue* alios eis i*n* hac p*ar*te fa|ventes exequi dignarem*ur* iuxta l*itte*rar*um* ap*ost*olicar*um* p*redict*ar*um* *et* processus hui*us*|modi exigenciam *et* tenorem . Volentes igitur in hac p*ar*te facere et | exequi q*uod* tenemur vobis auctoritate ap*ost*olica i*n* virtute obediencie | firmit*er* iniungendo mandam*us* quatin*us* ad capellam p*redict*am *et* ad lo|ca alia de quib*us* magis expedire videritis *et* p*er* p*ar*tem d*ict*or*um* religiosor*um* | viror*um* ac vicarii fueritis congrue requisiti p*er*sonalit*er* accedentes | p*redict*a omnia et singula i*n* d*ict*is l*itte*ris ap*ost*olicis *et* p*ro*cessu p*redict*o contenta | d*ict*is h*ab*itatorib*us* executorib*us* *et* quib*us*libet aliis quor*um* interest vel int*er*erit | co*mmun*iter vel divisim intimetis insinuetis *et* notificetis contradictores)

FACSIMILE No. 196



ROMANCES.—A.D. 1445

(Et manderoit a tous les princes qui de lui tenoient | terre quilz venissent a celle feste . Car a cellui iour | se voulloit couronner de lempire du monde . Et auxi | comme il pensa le fist il . Car a leure fist faire les lectres | pour envoyer a tous les grans princes quil | scavoit ou monde pour venir a celle feste . Et quant | il eust baillees ses lectres aux messaiges, et la | nouvelle fu espandue par le pais de celle feste . Si y | vint tant de monde de toutes terres que oncques | greigneur ne fu veu iusques a cellui iour pour une | iournee Et entre les autres messaiges que alixandre | envoya manda il en gresse à sa mere La quelle fu | moult ioyeuse . Quant elle eust entendu le bon | estat de son filz . Si lui remanda unes lectres esquelles | lui prioit quil se voulsist garder dantipater qui | estoit sire de tir . qui est sur appellee . Et de ses enffans | Rasadron et iobras . Car il ne lui sembloit mie que | antipater lamast de bon ceur . Quant alixandre ot | leues les lectres . si ne creust mie legierement ce que)

written within the walls of the abbey, would be preferably drawn up in the customary hand of the house. This preference for a set hand, in cases where a cursive hand would be more usual, is specially noticeable in mediaeval monastic charters, which are so frequently written in a book-hand instead of the ordinary charter-hand of the time.

In France a form of writing, founded on the cursive legal script, came into use as a literary hand, and was employed in the north, and beyond the frontier in the Low Countries subject to French influence. The well-known collection of Romances (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 15 E. vi), which was presented by John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, to Margaret of Anjou, on her marriage to Henry VI in A.D. 1445, is written in this style (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 173).

No. 196

It is not a pleasing example of writing; and in many instances this hand degenerates into coarseness. It has, however, a typographical interest as the basis of a common form of early French printing founts.

The next specimen, of the English liturgical script of the fifteenth century, is from a Missal (Brit. Mus., Arundel MS. 109), which was given to the Church of St. Laurence in the Old Jewry, London, before A.D. 1446 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 203).

No. 197

Comparing this example with that in the same style of writing of the first half of the fourteenth century (Facs. 191), we find the tradition of the older hand closely adhered to. There is little change in forms of letters; but the general character of the writing is harder and appears more mechanically executed. Its rather ornate style is to be noticed.

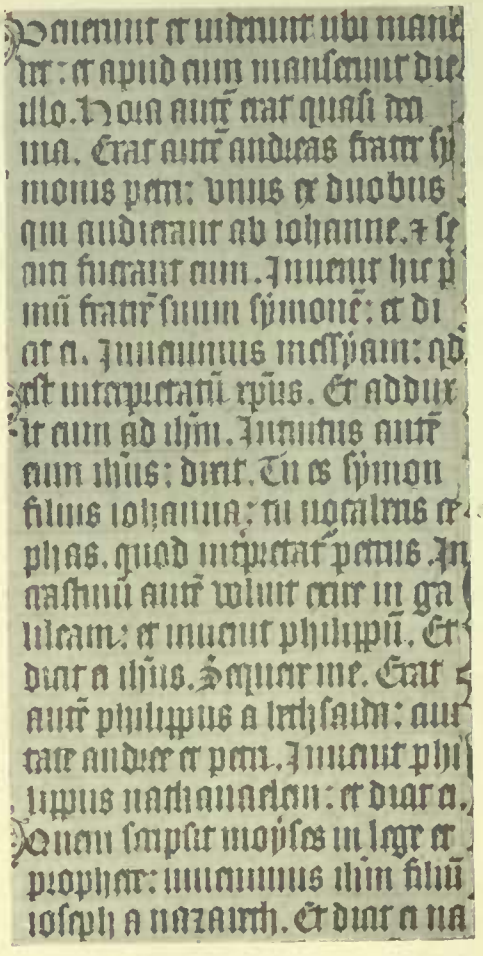
Turning to other countries, we give a typical specimen of a common class of handwriting found in MSS. of the Netherlands and Northern Germany at this period. The facsimile is taken from a MS. of St. Augustine *De Civitate Dei* (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 17284), written at Op-linter in Belgium, in A.D. 1463.

No. 198

This angular style, with pointed forms of letters, is characteristic of the North German and Flemish ordinary book-hands of this century. In South Germany the influence of the Italian school imparted to the native hands a more graceful form. But while the German book-hand in general was of a rough and careless character, it is to be remembered that, as in England and other countries, a traditional set hand survived for liturgical and biblical works.

We close our series of examples of the fifteenth century with two specimens of Italian writing. The first is from a MS. of the Politics

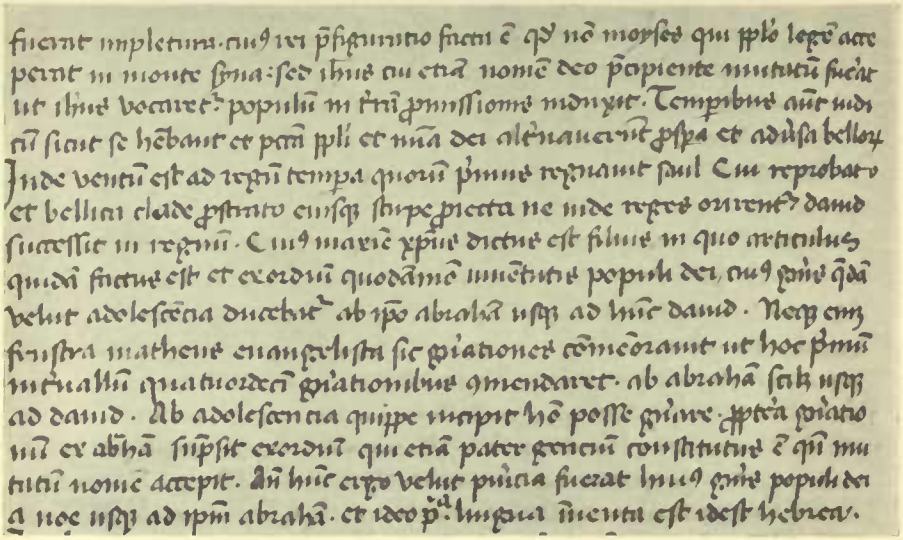
FACSIMILE No. 197



MISSAL.—BEFORE A.D. 1446

(Venerunt et viderunt ubi mane|ret : et apud eum manserunt die | illo . Hora aute*m* erat quasi deci|ma . Erat autem andreas frater sy|monis petri : unus ex duobus | qui audierant ab iohanne . *et* se|cuti fuerant eum . Invenit hic pri|mum fratre*m* suum symone*m* : et di|cit ei . Invenimu|s messyam : quod | est interpretatu*m* chri*s*tus . Et addux|it eum ad ie*s*u*m* . Intuitus aute*m* | eum iesus : dixit . Tu es sym̃on | filius iohanna : tu vocaberis ce|phas . quod inte*r*pretatu*r* petrus . In | crastinu*m* aute*m* voluit exire in ga|lileam : et invenit philippu*m* . Et | dicit ei iesus . Sequere me . Erat | aute*m* philippus a bethsaida : civi|tate andree et petri . Invenit phi|lippus nathanaelem : et dicit ei . | Quem scripsit moyses in lege et | prophete : invenimus ie*s*u*m* filiu*m* | ioseph a nazareth . Et dicit ei na)

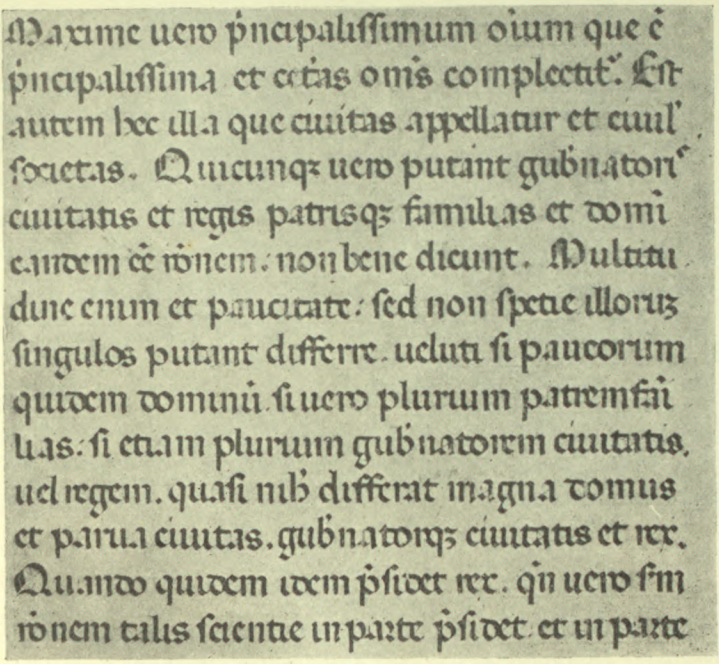
FACSIMILE No. 198



ST. AUGUSTINE.—A.D. 1463

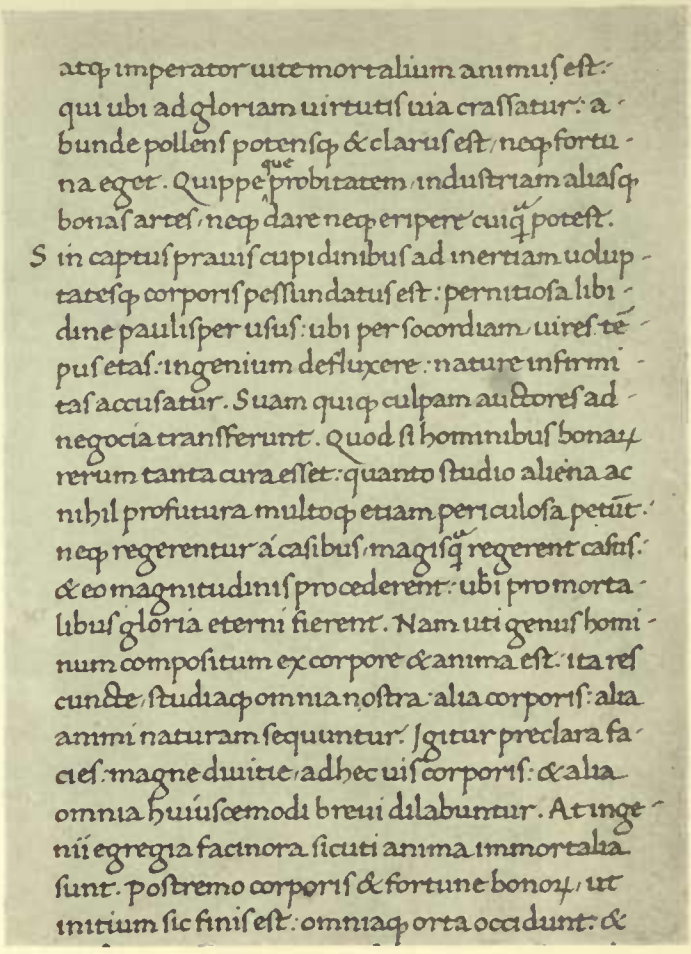
(fuerat impletura . cuius rei prefiguratio facta est . quod non moýses qui populo legem acce|perat in monte sýna : sed iesus cui etiam nomen deo precipiente mutatum fuerat | ut iesus vocaretur . populum in terram promissionis induxit . Temporibus autem iudi|cum sicut se habebant et peccata populi et misericordia dei alternaverunt prospera et adversa bellorum | Inde ventum est ad regum tempora, quorum primus regnavit saul Cui reprobato | et bellica clade prostrato eiusque stirpe proiecta ne inde reges orirentur . david | successit in regnum . Cuius maxime christus dictus est filius, in quo articulus | quidam factus est et exordium quodammodo inventutis populi dei, cuius generis quedam | velut adolescencia ducebatur ab ipso abraham usque ad hunc david . Neque enim | frustra matheus evangelista sic generationes commemoravit ut hoc primum | intervallum quatuordecim generationibus commendaret . ab abraham scilicet usque | ad david . Ab adolescencia quippe incipit homo posse generare . propterea generatio|num ex abraham sumpsit exordium, qui etiam pater gencium constitutus est quando mu|tatum nomen accepit . Ante hunc ergo velut puericia fuerat huius generis populi dei | a noe usque ad ipsum abraham . et ideo prima lingua inventa est id est hebrea .)

FACSIMILE No. 199



ARISTOTLE.—A.D. 1451

(Maxime vero principalissimum omnium que est | principalissima et ceteras omnes complectitur. Est | autem hec illa que civitas appellatur et civilis | societas. Quicunque vero putant gubernatoris | civitatis et regis patrisque familias et domini | eandem esse rationem ⁊ non bene dicunt. Multitu|dine enim et paucitate ⁊ sed non specie illorum | singulos putant differre . veluti si paucorum | quidem dominum . si vero plurium patremfami|lias ⁊ si etiam plurium gubernatorem civitatis . | vel regem . quasi nihil differat magna domus | et parva civitas . gubernatorque civitatis et rex. | Quando quidem idem presidet rex . quando vero secundum | rationem talis scientie in parte presidet et in parte)



atq; imperator uite mortalium animus est:
qui ubi ad gloriam uirtutis uia crassatur: a
bunde pollens potensq; & clarus est, neq; fortu
na eget. Quippe q̃ probitatem, industriam, aliasq;
bonas artes, neq; dare neq; eripere cuiq̃ potest.
S in captus prauis cupidinibus ad inertiam uolup
tatesq; corporis pessundatus est: pernitiosa libi
dine paulisper usus: ubi per socordiam, uires, tẽ
pus etas: ingenium defluxere: nature infirmi
tas accusatur. Suam quiq; culpam auctores ad
negocia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonaꝝ
rerum tanta cura esset: quanto studio aliena ac
nihil profutura multoq; etiam periculosa petũt:
neq; regerentur á casibus, magisq̃ regerent casus:
& eo magnitudinis procederent: ubi pro morta
libus gloria eterni fierent. Nam uti genus homi
num compositum ex corpore & anima est: ita res
cuncte, studiaq; omnia nostra: alia corporis: alia
animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur preclara fa
cies: magne diuitie, adhec uis corporis: & alia
omnia huiuscemodi breui dilabuntur. At inge
nii egregia facinora sicuti anima immortalia
sunt. postremo corporis & fortune bonoꝝ, ut
initium sic finis est: omniaq; orta occidunt: &

SALLUST.—A.D. 1466

(atq*ue* imperator vite mortalium animus est.' | qui ubi ad gloriam virtutis via crassatur: a|bunde pollens potensq*ue* et clarus est, neq*ue* fortu|na eget. Quippe 'que' probitatem, industriam, aliasq*ue* | bonas artes, neq*ue* dare neq*ue* eripere cuiq*uam* potest. | Sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad inertiam volup| tatesq*ue* corporis pessundatus est: pernitiosa libi|dine paulisper usus: ubi per socordiam, vires. tem|pus etas: ingenium defluxere: nature infirmi|tas accusatur. Suam quiq*ue* culpam auctores ad | negocia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonar*um* | rerum tanta cura esset: quanto studio aliena ac | nihil profutura multoq*ue* etiam periculosa petu*nt*: | neq*ue* regerentur á casibus, magis q*uam* regerent casus.' | et eo magnitudinis procederent.' ubi pro morta| libus gloria eterni fierent. Nam uti genus homi|num compositum ex corpore et anima est.' ita res | cuncte, studiaq*ue* omnia nostra.' alia corporis: alia | animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur preclara fa|cies: magne divitie, ad hec vis corporis. et alia | omnia huiuscemodi brevi dilabuntur. At inge|nii egregia facinora sicuti anima immortalia | sunt. Postremo corporis et fortune bono-r*um* ut | initium sic finis est · omniaq*ue* orta occidunt: et)

and Economics of Aristotle, translated by Leonardo Aretino, in the library of Mr. Dyson Perrins, which was written at Milan in A. D. 1451 (*New Pal. Soc.* 122).

No. 199

This is an extremely neat example of the book-hand of the Italian Renaissance period; but still of the rather compressed type seen in the previous specimen, Facs. 194, of A. D. 1391.

The second example shows a further advance. It is from a MS. of Sallust's Catiline and Jugurtha (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 16422), written at Florence, A. D. 1466.

No. 200

Here the scribe has closely followed the pattern of the twelfth century (see Facs. 181), and has produced a beautiful MS. successfully imitating the graceful roundness of the older hand. The early printers of Italy had, happily, ample material of the same excellence as this MS. from which to construct their choice founts of type. For the widely diffused taste for choice volumes written in this beautiful style is proved by the survival of numerous examples which once adorned the libraries of wealthy patrons and collectors.

It is not necessary to pursue the history of the Latin minuscule literary hand beyond the fifteenth century. Indeed, after the general adoption of printing, MS. books ceased to be produced for ordinary use, and the book-hand practically disappeared in the several countries of Western Europe. As regards the small number of extant literary MSS. of a later date than the close of the century, it is noticeable that a large proportion of them are written in the style of the book-hand of the Italian Renaissance. The scribes of these late examples only followed the taste of the day in preferring its clear and simple characters to the rough letters of the native scripts.

The English Vernacular Book-hand in the Middle Ages

A work on Palaeography which is intended chiefly for the use of English students would be incomplete without dealing separately with the scripts employed by English scribes of the later middle ages when writing in the vernacular.

We have already followed the course of minuscule literary writing in England down to the period of the Norman Conquest. At that date, as we have seen, the foreign hand had already become a recognized literary hand and was employed for Latin literature; and after the Conquest the old Saxon hand was no longer required in that department. For vernacular works, however, the latter naturally continued in use; and

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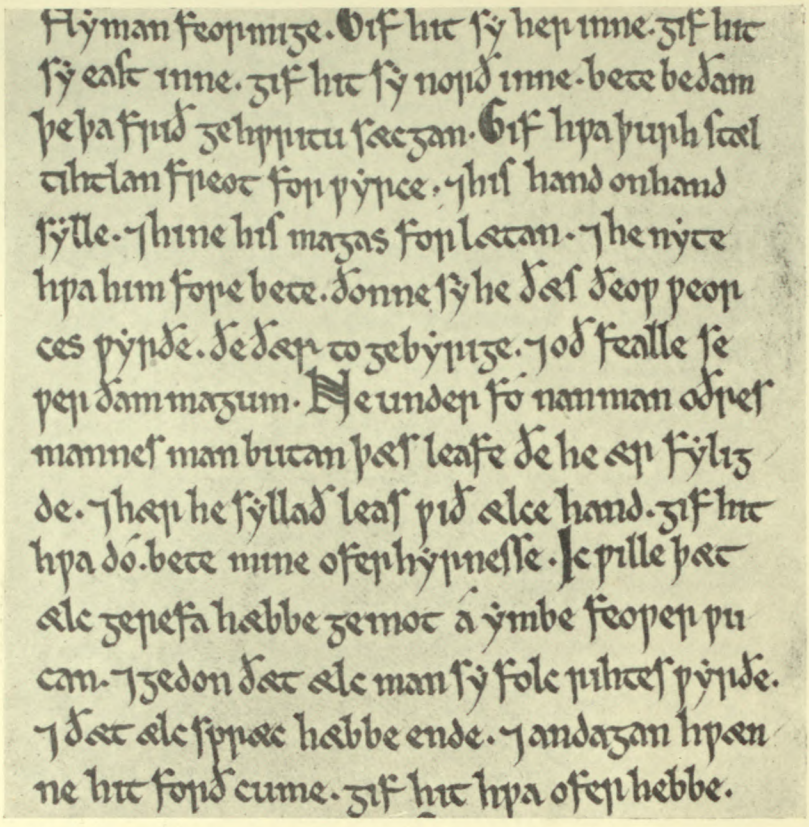

ENGLISH LAWS (TEXTUS ROFFENSIS).—BEFORE A.D. 1125.

(flŷman feormige. Gif hit sŷ her inne . gif hit | sŷ east inne . gif hit sŷ norð inne . bete be ðam | þe þa frið gehwritu sæcgan. Gif hwa þurh stæl | tihtlan freot forwyrce . *and* his hand on hand | sylle . *and* hine his magas forlætan . *and* he nyte | hwa him fore bete . ðonne sŷ he ðæs ðeow weor|ces wyrðe . ðe dær to gebyrige . *and* oðfealle se | wer ðam magum. Ne underfó nan man oðres | mannes man butan þæs leafe ðe hé ær fylig|de . *and* hær he sylað leas wið ælce hand . gif hit | hwa dó . bete mine oferhyrnesse. Ic wille þæt | ælc gerefa hæbbe gemot á ymbe feower wu|can . *and* gedon ðæt ælc man sŷ folc rihtes wyrðe . | *and* ðæt ælc spræc hæbbe ende . *and* andagan hwæn|ne hit forð cume . gif hit hwa ofer hebbe .)

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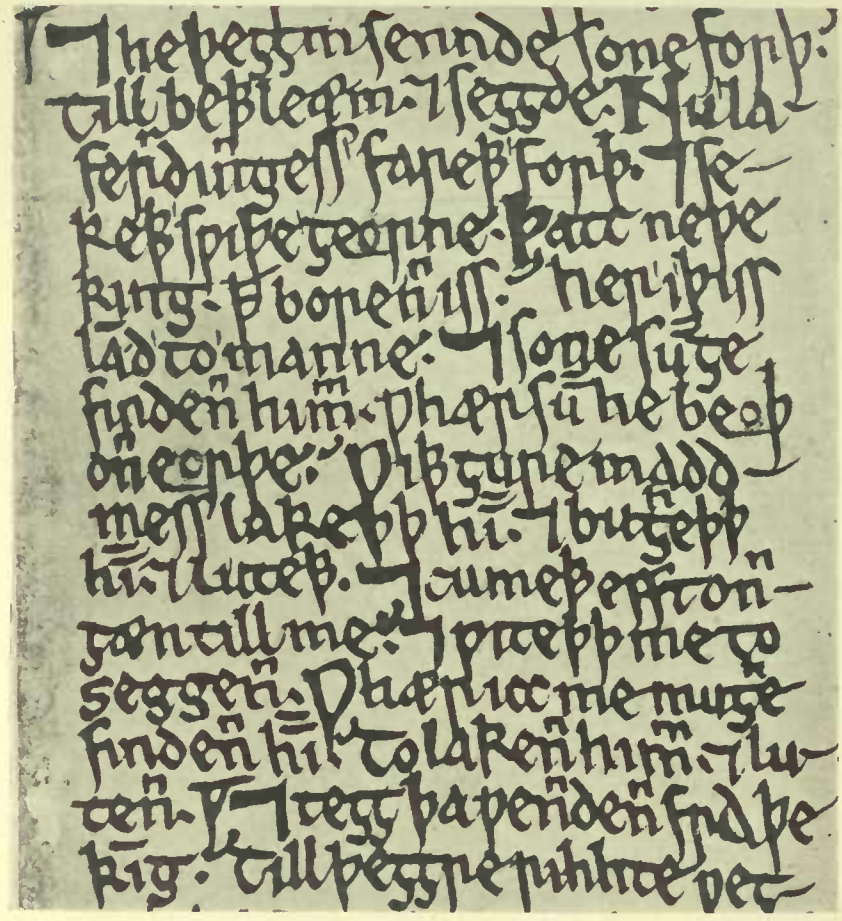


THE ORMULUM.—EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

(*And* he þe33m sennde sone forþ.' | Till beþþleæm . *and* se33de . Nu la|ferrdinn-gess fareþþ forþ . *And* se|keþþ swiþe 3eorne . Þatt newe | king . *þatt* borenn iss.' Her i þiss | la*n*d to manne . *And* sone su*mm* 3e|findenn himm . Whær su*mm* he beoþ | onn eorþe.' Wiþþ 3ure madd|mess lakeþþ hi*mm* . *And* bu3heþþ | hi*mm* . *and* luteþþ . *And* cumeþþ efft onn|3æn till me.' *And* witeþþ me to | seggenn . Whær icc me mu3he | findenn hi*mm*.' To lakenn himm . *and* lu|tenn . *And* te33 þa wenndenn fra þe | ki*n*g.' Till þe33re rihhte we3-)

eventually, after its cessation as a separate style of writing, a few special Saxon forms of letters, the g, the thorn (þ and ð), and the w, still survived in MSS. to later times. But it must be remembered that, as we have seen above, the influence of the foreign minuscule had already begun to tell upon the native script even before the Conquest. In the eleventh century the spirit of the developement which marks the general progress of the handwriting of Western Europe is also evident in the cast of Anglo-Saxon writing, and after the Conquest the assimilation of the native hand to the imported hand, which was soon practised in all parts of the country, naturally became more rapid. In some English MSS. of the twelfth century we still find a hand which, in a certain sense, we may call Anglo-Saxon, as distinguished from the ordinary Latin minuscule of the period; but, later, this distinction disappears, and the writing of English scribes for vernacular books became practically nothing more than the ordinary writing of the day with an admixture of a few special Old-English letters. On the other hand, it is observed that there was a tendency to prefer the use of the charter-hand for books in the English language, and in many MSS. of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries we find a kind of writing, developing from that style, which may be called an English hand, in the sense of a hand employed in vernacular MSS.

To illustrate the handwriting of the twelfth century referred to above, we select a specimen from a copy of the *Textus Roffensis*, a collection of the Laws of Kent and of Anglo-Saxon kings and William the Conqueror, now in the Chapter Library of Rochester, which was written before A.D. 1125 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 73).

No. 201

The forms of the letters are for the most part Anglo-Saxon; but the general aspect of the writing is that of the Norman script, inclining to the charter-hand type. If we compare this specimen with the contemporary example of the fine book-hand of Canterbury, written with elaborate care, as shown in Facs. 176, it will be seen that the writing of the Rochester MS. is of quite a different class. The lettering, while firm and well formed, is not so calligraphic and is more compressed. At the same time the hand ranks as a thoroughly good one for general literary purposes. If we now turn to the contemporary charter of Henry I, Facs. 225, we appreciate the influence so manifestly exercised on the character of the writing before us by the vigorous style of the official Chancery hand of the charter.

The Ormulum, or homilies on the Gospel Lessons, composed in metre by Orm, or Ormin, an Austin canon, in the East-Midland dialect, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Lincoln, is preserved in the Bodleian Library

(Junius MS. 1), and was written probably in the early years of the thirteenth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 133).

No. 202

The hand is peculiarly rough, but strong; and is the work of a writer who could use his pen effectively and with simple uniformity, but without any attempt at beauty. Both shapes of the thorn are used; the soft or guttural sound of g is represented by the flat-headed Saxon letter, the hard sound by the same form with the addition of a curve which converts the bow under the head into a loop like that of the Roman letter. A peculiar feature is the doubling of the consonant after a short vowel. The second consonant is frequently written above the first; and, in cases where the first consonant is soft g, its duplication is represented by h; the over-written r is of the ordinary Roman form; and some double consonants are written on one stem, as in the case of þ and h.

Another example of a strong, unadorned style is a collection of Homilies (Brit. Mus., Stowe MS. ~~240~~), also of the early part of the thirteenth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 94).

No. 203

This again is writing of the charter-hand type and, like the Ormulum, displays the virile strength which is so conspicuous in the cursive hands of this period, as found, not only in legal documents, but also in the literary annotations, generally written with the plummet, whether by scribe or scholar, in the margins of their books.

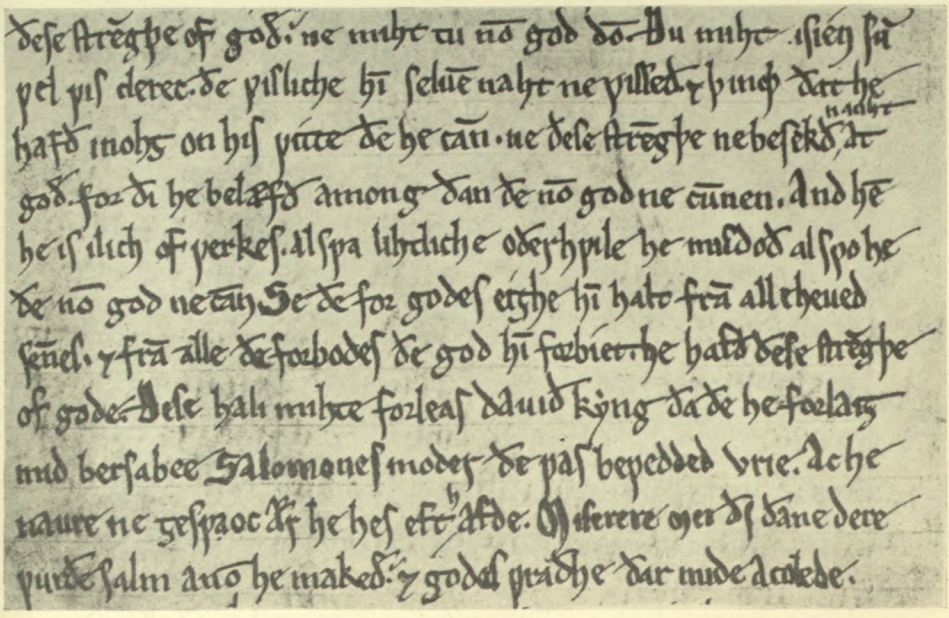
A very pretty and regular book-hand appears in a copy of the Ancren Riwle, or Rule for Anchoresses (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Titus D. xviii), written at the beginning of the thirteenth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 75).

No. 204

For a work in the vernacular this MS. is unusually well executed. In general style, the writing may be compared with that of Facs. 182, of A. D. 1191–2, though the latter is rather more formal. The hand before us has all the vigour that we have noticed as characteristic in the two foregoing examples.

Following on the same lines as the Latin hands, the transition from the stiff characters of the thirteenth century to the more pliant style of the fourteenth century is seen in the Ayenbite of Inwyt, or Remorse of Conscience (Brit. Mus., Arundel MS. 57), written by Dan Michael, of Northgate, in Kent, a brother of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, A. D. 1340 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 197).

FACSIMILE No. 203



HOMILIES.—EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

(ðese strengþe of gode: ne miht tu non god don. Ðu miht isien sum | wel wis clerec. ðe wisliche him selven naht ne wisseð. and þinceþ ðat he | hafð inohȝ on his witte ðe he cann. ne ðese strengþe ne beseked 'nauht' at | gode for ði he belæfð among ðan ðe non god ne cunnen. And hem | he is ilich ot werkes. alswa lihtliche oðerhwile he misdoð alswo he | ðe non god ne cann. Se ðe for godes eiȝhe him halt fram alle heved | sennes. and fram alle ðe forbodes ðe god him forbiet. he hafð ðese strengþe | of gode. Ðese hali mihte forleas david kyng ða ðe he forlaiȝ | mid bersabee Salomones moder þe was bewedded urie. Ac he | navre ne ȝeswaoc ær he hes eft 'h'afde. Miserere mei deus ðane dere|wurðe salm anon he makede: and godes wrað he ðar mide acolede)

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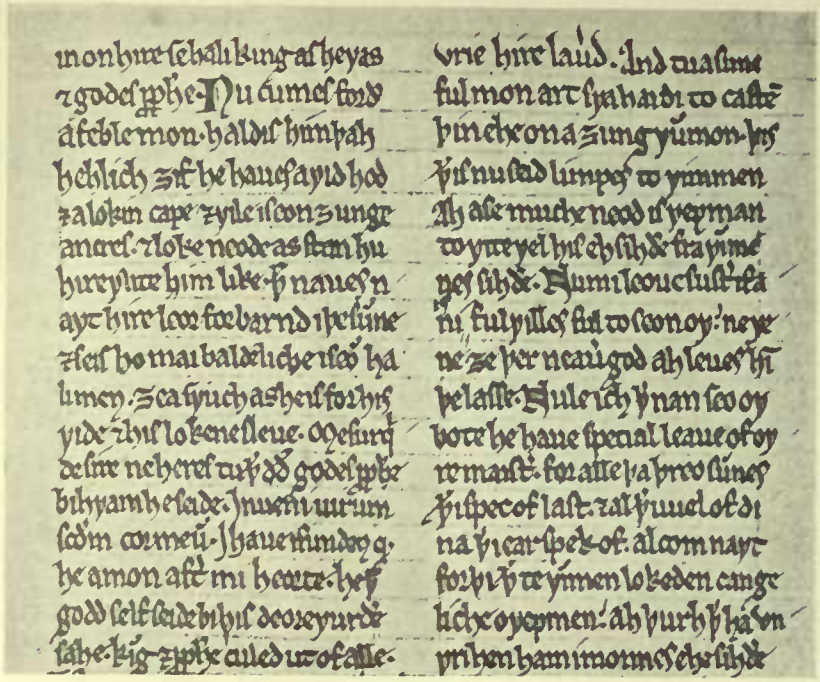
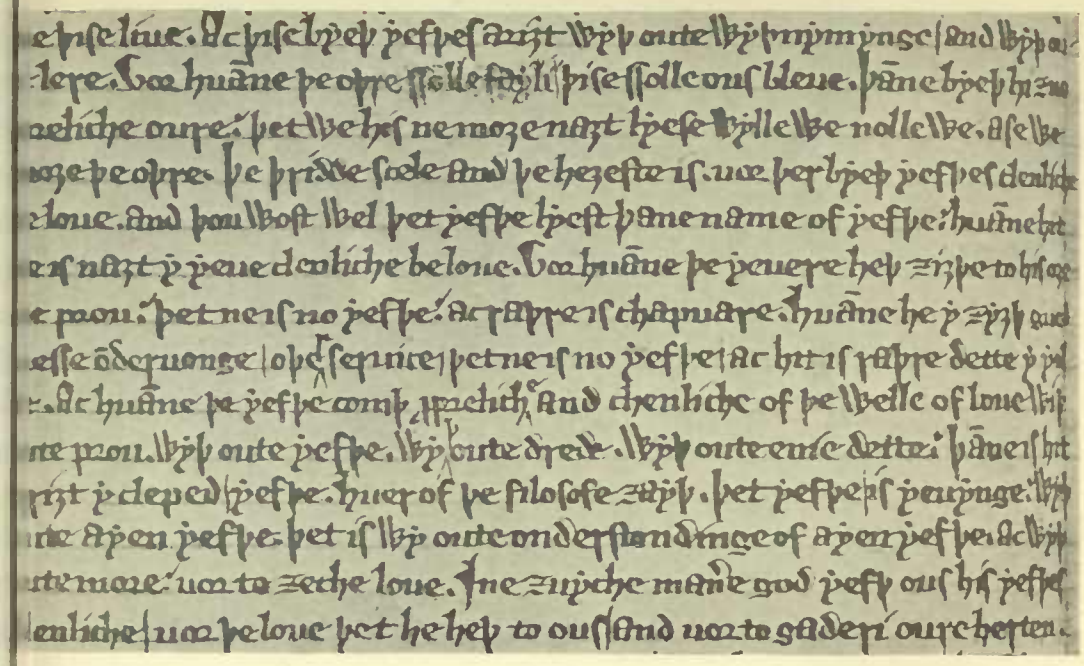


THE ANCREN RIWLE.—BEGINNING OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY

(in on hire se hali king as he was | *and* godes *prophete*. Nu cumes forð | a feble mon . haldis him þah | hehlich 3if he haves a wid hod | *and* a lokin cape . *and* wile iseon 3unge | ancres . *and* loke neode as stan hu | hire wlite him like . *þat* naves n|awt hire leor forbarnd i þe sunne | *and* seis ho mai baldeliche iseon ha|li men . 3ea swuch as he is for his | wide *and* his lokene sleve . Mesur *qui* | desire ne heres tu *þat* *david* godes *prophete* | bi hwam he seide . Inveni virum | *secundum* cor meum . I have ifunden *quoð* | he a mon after mi heorte . He *þat* | godd self seide bi þis deorewurðe | sahe . *king* *and* *prophete* culed ut of alle.

urie hire laverd . And tu a sune|ful mon art swa hardi to casten | þin ehe on a 3ung wummon . þis | *þat* is nu seid limpes to wimmen | ah ase muche neod is wepman | to wite wel his ehsihðe fram wimmen|nes sihðe . Nu mi leove suster if a|ni 'is' ful willesful to seon ow : ne we|ne 3e þer neaver god ah leves him | þe lasse. Nule ich *þat* nan seo ow | bote he have special leave of ow|re maister . for alle þa þreo sunnes | *þat* i spec of last . *and* al *þat* uvel of di|na *þat* i ear spek of . al com nawt | for þi *þat* te wimmen lokeden cange|liche o wepmen : ah þurh *þat* ha un|wrihen ham i monnes ehesihðe)

FACSIMILE No. 205



AYENBITE OF INWYT.—A.D. 1340

(ine þise live. Ac þise bỳeþ ẏefþes ariȝt wỳþoute wỳþnỳmỳnge / and wỳþoute lere. Vor huanne þe oþre ssolle faỳli / þise ssolle ous bleve. Þanne bỳeþ hi zuo | *pro*preliche oure : þet we his ne moȝe naȝt lỳese wỳlle we nolle we. ase we | moȝe þe oþre. Þe þridde scele and þe heȝeste is. vor þer bỳeþ ẏefþes clenliche | be love. and þou wost wel þet ẏefþe lỳest þane name of ẏefþe : huanne hit | ne is naȝt ẏẏeve clenliche be love. Vor huanne þe ẏevere heþ ziȝþe to his oȝe|ne prov : þet ne is no ẏefþe : ac raþre is chapvare. Huanne he ẏzỳȝþ guod|nesse *on*dervonge / oþe'r' service / þet ne is no ẏefþe / ac hit is raþre dette ẏẏol|de. Ac huanne þe ẏefþe comþ *pro*preliche' and chenliche of þe welle of love wiþ|oute prov. wỳþoute ẏefþe. wỳ'þ'oute drede. wỳþoute enie dette : þanne is hit | ariȝt ẏcleped / ẏefþe. Huerof þe filosofe zaỳþ. þet ẏefþe / is ẏevỳnge : wỳþ|oute aỳenỳefþe. þet is wỳoute onderstondinge of aỳenỳefþe. ac wỳþ|oute more : vor to zeche love. Ine zuỳche man*ere* god ẏefþ ous his ẏefþes | clenliche / vor þe love þet he heþ to ous / and vor to gaderi oure herten.)

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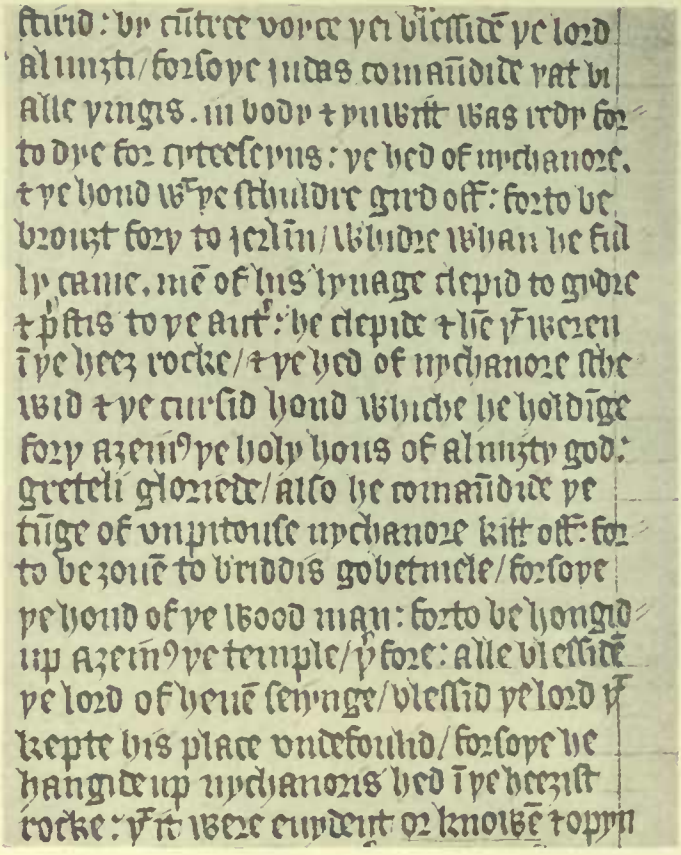
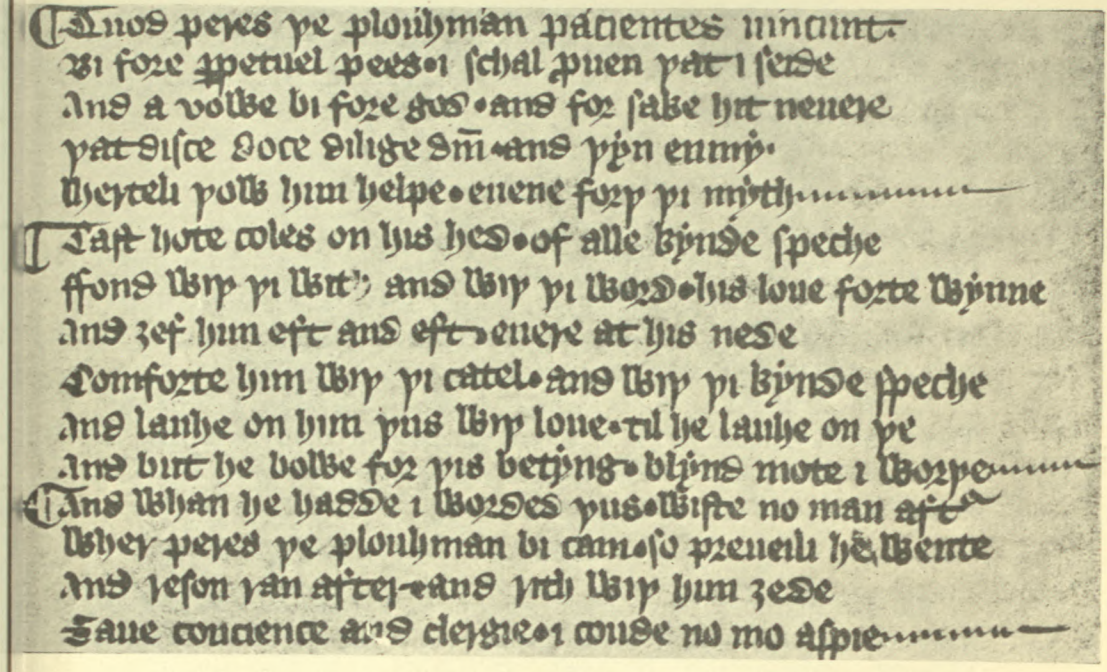


WYCLIFFITE BIBLE.—LATE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

(stirid : by cuntree voyce þei blessiden þe lord | almiȝti / forsoþe Iudas comaundide þat bi | alle þingis . in body *and* ynwitt was redy for|to dye for cyteeseyns : þe hed of nychanore . | *and* þe hond *with* þe schuldre gird off : forto be | brouȝt forþ to Ierusalem / whidre whan he fully came . men of his lynage clepid togydre | *and* prestis to þe autre : he clepide *and* hem þat weren | in þe heeȝ rocke / *and* þe hed of nychanore sche|wid *and* þe cursid hond whiche he holdinge | forþ aȝeinus þe holy hous of almiȝty god : | greteli gloriede / also he comaundide þe | tunge of unpitouse nychanore kitt off : for|to be ȝoven to briddis gobetmele / forsoþe | þe hond of þe wood man : forto be hongid | up aȝeinus þe temple / þerfore : alle blessiden | þe lord of heven seiynge / blessid þe lord þat | kepte his place undefoulid / forsoþe he | hangide up nychanoris hed in þe heeȝist | rocke : þat it were evydent or knowen *and* opyn)

FACSIMILE No. 207



PIERS PLOWMAN.—ABOUT A. D. 1380

(Quod peres þe plouhman pacientes vincunt . | Bifore perpetuel pees . i schal proven þat i seide | And a vowe bifore god . and forsake hit nevere | Þat disce doce dilige deum . and þyn enmy . | Herteli þow him helpe . evene forþ þi myth | Cast hote coles on his hed . of alle kynde speche | Fond wiþ þi wit and wiþ þi word . his love forte wynne | And 3ef him eft and eft . evere at his nede | Comforte him wiþ þi catel . and wiþ þi kynde speche | And lauhe on him þus wiþ love . til he lauhe on þe | And but he bowe for þis betyng . blynd mote i worþe | And whan he hadde iworded þus . wiste no man aftur | Wher peres þe plouhman bicam . so preveili he wente | And reson ran after . and rith wiþ him 3ede | Save concience and clergie . i coude no mo aspie)

No. 205

In this example we have a heavy broad minuscule akin to the charter-hand type. The writing, while perfectly legible and of a good serviceable form, is of a somewhat rustic appearance, the lettering being clumsy and irregular and lacking the uniformity of a well-trained hand.

Next, as a contrast, we take a few lines from a Wycliffite Bible of the earlier version (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 15580), of the latter part of the fourteenth century (*Pal. Soc.* i. 75).

No. 206

The square character in which this MS. is written is akin to the formal script maintained in the contemporary Latin liturgical and biblical codices, and is therefore suitable to the nature of the volume, which, we may fairly assume, was drawn up in this style with a view to being read aloud in the household, and not only for private study.

A MS. of the Vision of Piers Plowman (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Vespasian B. xvi), from which the next specimen is selected, may be placed in the latter part of the fourteenth century, perhaps about the year 1380 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 56).

No. 207

The writing, in a round book-hand, partly formed on the charter-hand of the time, may be compared with the Facs. 193 from a Chronicle of about the year 1388. This style, as already stated, was employed in England very commonly at this period. Of a good legible type, it could be written with fair speed by a skilled penman; and it appears ordinarily in MSS. of general literature. Without criticizing the forms of the letters, which are generally those of the more flowing character of the time, it may be allowed to refer to one in particular, which seems to thrust itself upon the notice: this is the small round d of the shape seen especially in Facs. 193, which appears to be typical of this hand.

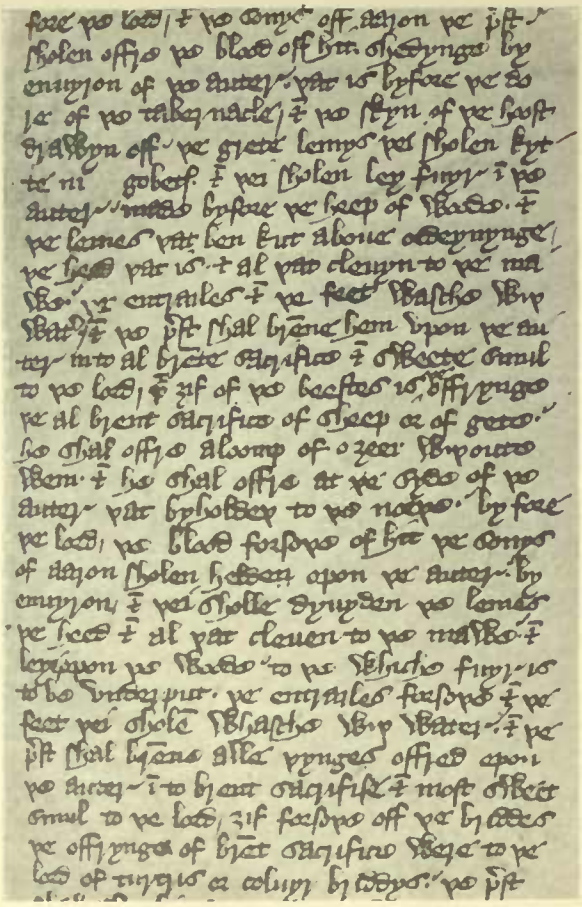
A carelessly written volume is the original MS. of the Wycliffite version of the Old Testament at Oxford (Bodley MS. 959), by Nicholas Hereford, the date of which may be placed about A.D. 1382 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 151).

No. 208

This is one of the five hands in which the MS. is written, and is of the cursive charter-hand type which became common in the next century.

The palaeographical interest of this volume chiefly consists in its being an author's MS. The style of the writing was naturally unim-

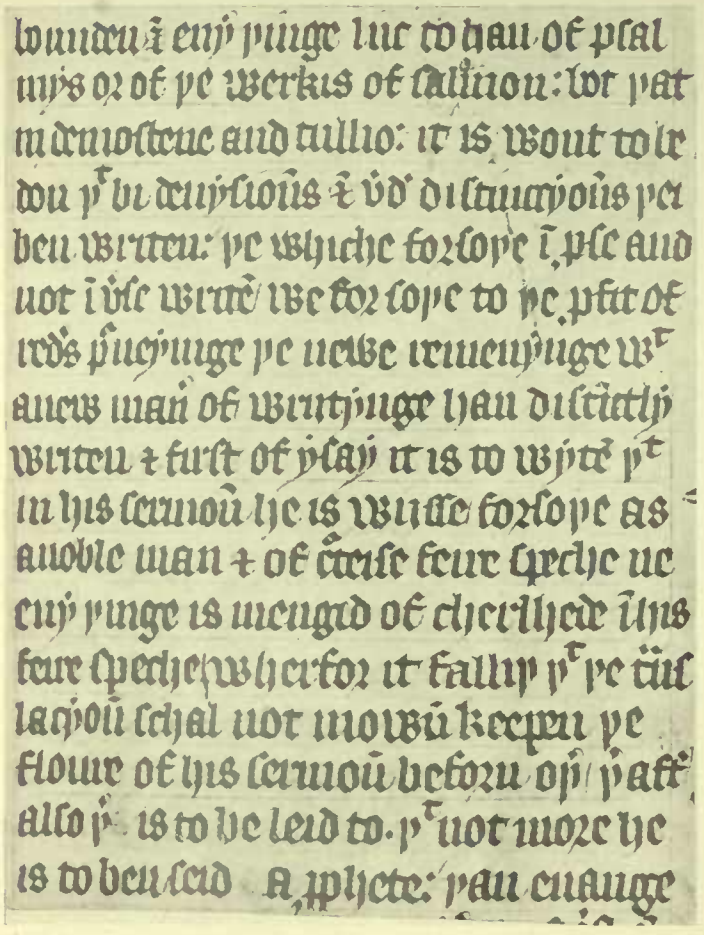
FACSIMILE No. 208



WYCLIFFITE BIBLE.—ABOUT A.D. 1382

(fore þe lord / *and* þe sonys off aaron þe p*re*st | sholen offre þe blood off hit . shedynge by | envyron of þe auter . þat is byfore þe do|re of þe tabernacle / *and* þe skyn of þe hoost | drawyn off ⁊ þe grete lemys þei sholen kyt|te in gobet*es* . *and* þei sholen ley fuyr i*n* þe | auter ⁊ made byfore þe heep of woode . *and* | þe lemes þat ben kut above ordeynynge / | þe heed þat is . *and* al þat clevyn to þe ma|we ⁊ þe entrailes *and* þe feet wasche wiþ | wat*er* / *and* þe p*re*st shal bre*n*ne hem upon þe au|ter into al bre*n*te sacrifice *and* sweete smul | to þe lord / þat 3if of þe beestes is ꝑe offrynge | þe al brent sacrifice of sheep or of gete ⁊ | he shal offre a loomp of o 3eer . wiþoute | wem . *and* he shal offre at þe syde of þe | auter þat byholdeþ to þe norþe ⁊ byfore | þe lord / þe blood forsoþe of hit þe sonys | of aaron sholen helden opon þe auter ⁊ by | envyron / *and* þei sholle dyvyden þe lemes | þe heed *and* al þat cleven to þe mawe ⁊ *and* | leye opon þe woode ⁊ to þe whiche fuyr is | to be under-put . þe entrailes forsoþe *and* þe | feet þei sholen whasche wiþ water . *and* þe | p*re*st shal bre*n*ne alle þynges offred opon | þe auter i*n* to brent sacrifise *and* most sweet | smul to þe lord / 3if forsoþe off þe briddes | þe offrynge of bre*n*t sacrifice were to þe | lord of turtris or colvyr briddys ⁊ þe p*re*st)

FACSIMILE No. 209



WYCLIFFITE BIBLE.—BEFORE A.D. 1397

(bounden *and* enỳ þinge liic to han of psal|mỳs or of þe werkis of sal'o'mon : bot þat | in demostene and tullio : it is wont to be | don þat bi devỳsioun*s* *and* verder distinccỳoun*s* þei | ben writen : þe whiche forsoþe *in* pro*s*e and | not *in* ver*s*e writ*e*n / we forsoþe to þe pro*f*it of | red*er*s p*ur*veỳinge þe newe remenỳnge w*ith* | a new man*er* of wriitỳnge han distinctlỳ | writen / *and* first of ỳsaỳ it is to wỳte*n* þat | in his sermoun he is wiisse / forsoþe as | a noble man *and* of *cur*teise feire speche ne | enỳ þinge is mengid of cherlhede *in* his | feire speche / wherfor it falliþ þat þe trans|lacỳoun schal not mowun keepen þe | floure of his sermoun beforn oþ*er* þ*er*after | also þ*er* is to be leid to . þat not more he | is to ben seid a pro*p*hete : þan evange)

portant, provided that it was legible. The cramped character of the hand is in strong contrast to the handsome and leisurely script of the foregoing example. We have here, in this unguarded and natural hand, indications of the impending change to the hurried and ill-formed scripts of the fifteenth century. Among the forms of letters we have to notice the common use of the round 6-shaped cursive s.

Another, finely written, Wycliffite Bible of the earlier version is that executed for Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward the Third, who was put to death in 1397 (Brit. Mus., Egerton MSS. 617, 618). The MS. must therefore date before that year (*Pal. Soc.* i. 171).

No. 209

In this instance again, as in the Wycliffite Bible quoted above (Facs. 206), the writing is rather of the liturgical type: a set book-hand.[1] It is not, however, of the precise calligraphy that would be found in a MS. actually written by a professional scribe for church use. It will be noticed that it is of a rather rougher character. But, at the same time, the MS. is a very handsome one and is on a large scale in two folio volumes, a fact pointing to the conclusion (which has its historical significance) that, like Facs. 206, it was written for reading aloud, and that it was so used in Thomas of Woodstock's household.

We will open the fifteenth century with a specimen from a very handsome MS. of Chaucer (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 7334), which must probably have been written quite at the beginning of the century (*Pal. Soc.* i. 101).

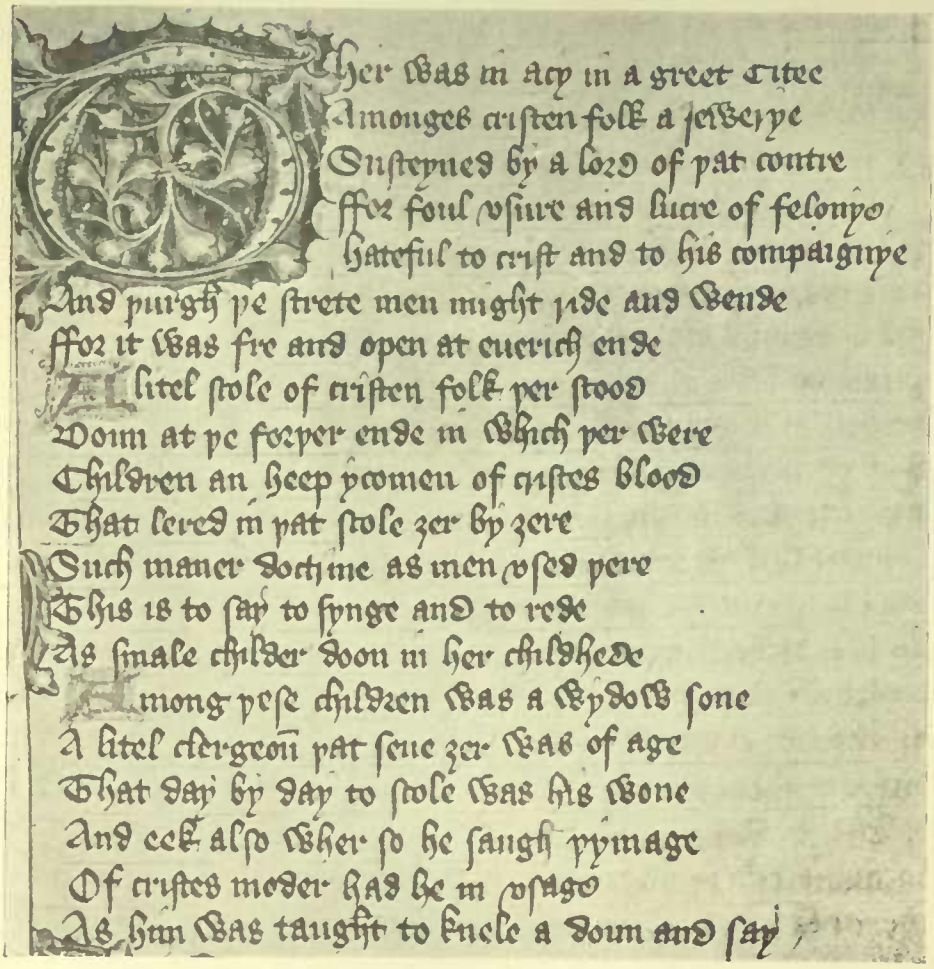
No. 210

This is the best style developed by the scribes of the vernacular MSS. at this time. We recognize its connexion with the class of writing to which Facs. 193 and 207 belong, and also its superiority in calligraphic finish. Remembering that it is a script in the composition of which the cursive element is prominent, we may be satisfied with the measure of success attained in moulding it into a book-hand not wanting in symmetry. It will be noticed that the dot which marks the letter y in older MSS. is here generally indicated by a faint hair-line, like that marking the letter i.

The next specimen is from a MS. of Trevisa's translation of Ralph Higden's Polychronicon (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 24194), written at the beginning of the fifteenth century (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 171).

[1] It may here be noted that the exact liturgical hand, as used for Latin service-books, was also employed in the MSS. of the English prymer (see *New Pal. Soc.* 93).

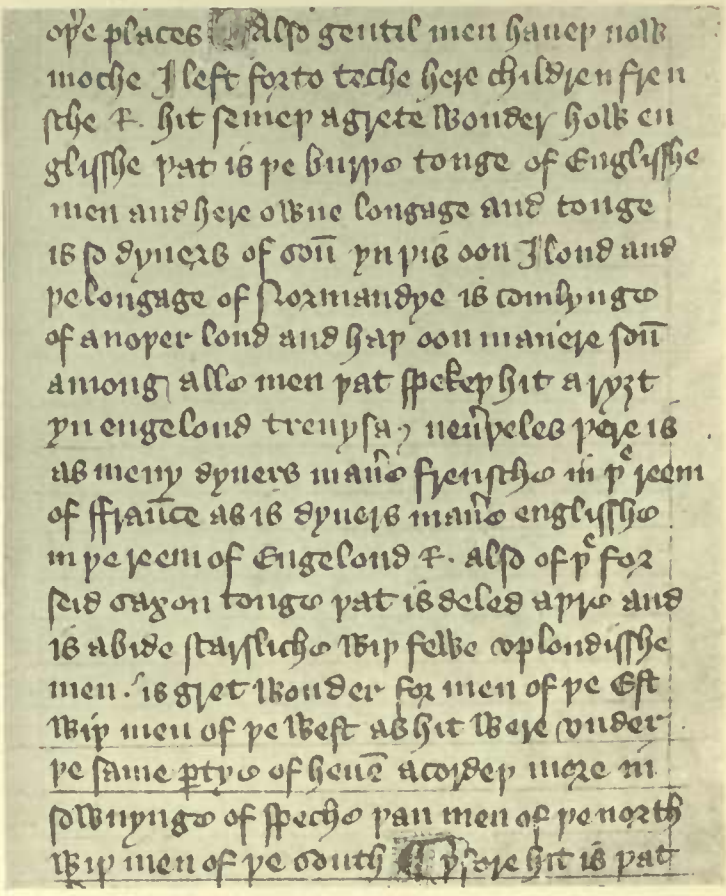
FACSIMILE No. 210


Ther was in acy in a greet Citee
Amonges cristen folk a Jewerye
Susteyned by a lord of pat contre
ffor foul usure and lucre of felonye
Hateful to crist and to his compaignye
And purgh pe strete men might ride and wende
ffor it was fre and open at everich ende
A litel scole of cristen folk per stood
Doun at pe forper ende in which per were
Children an heep yeomen of cristes blood
That lered in pat scole zer by zere
Such maner doctrine as men used pere
This is to say to synge and to rede
As smale childer doon in her childhede
Among pese children was a wydow sone
A litel clergeoun pat seve zer was of age
That day by day to scole was his wone
And eek also wher so he saugh pymage
Of cristes moder had he in usage
As him was taught to knele a doun and say

CHAUCER.—ABOUT A.D. 1400

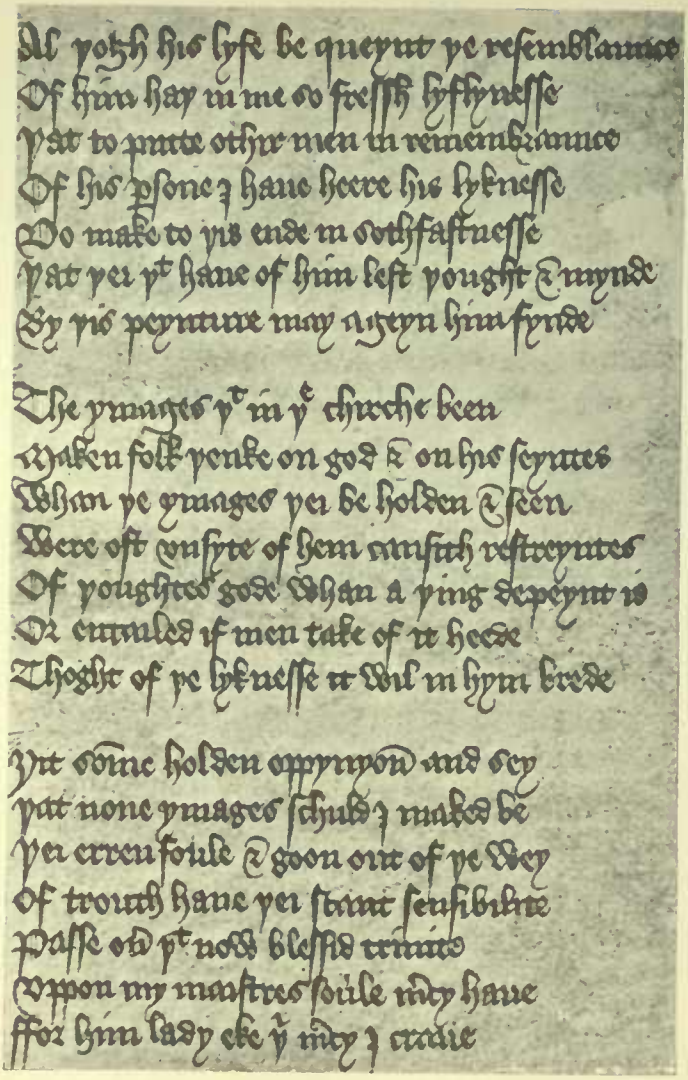
(Ther was in acy in a greet Citee | Amonges cristen folk a Jewerye | Susteyned by a lord of þat contre | For foul usure and lucre of felonye | Hateful to crist and to his compaignye | And þurgh þe strete men might ride and wende | For it was fre and open at everich ende | A litel scole of cristen folk þer stood | Doun at þe forþer ende in which þer were | Children an heep yeomen of cristes blood | That lered in þat scole zer by zere | Such maner doctrine as men used þere | This is to say to synge and to rede | As smale childer doon in her childhede / | Among þese children was a wydow sone | A litel clergeoun þat seve zer was of age | That day by day to scole was his wone | And eek also wher so he saugh þymage | Of cristes moder had he in usage | As him was taught to knele a doun and say)

FACSIMILE No. 211



TREVISA.—BEGINNING OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(o*þe*re places . Also gentil men haveþ now | moche Ileft forto teche here children fren|sche R[anulphus] hit semeþ a grete wonder how en|glisshe þat is þe burþe tonge of Englisshe | men and here owne longage and tonge | is so dyvers of sou*n* yn þis oon Ilond and | þe longage of Normandye is com-lynge | of anoþer lond and haþ oon manere sou*n* | among alle men þat speke þ hit aryȝt | yn engelond trevysa / nev*er*þeles þere is | as meny dyvers man*er*e frensche in þe reem | of Frau*n*ce as is dyvers man*er*e englisshe | in þe reem of Engelond R[anulphus] also of þe for|seid saxon tonge þat is deled aþre and | is abide scarsliche wiþ fewe uplondisshe | men . is gret wonder for men of þe Est | wiþ men of þe west as hit were under | þe same p*ar*tye of heve*n* acordeþ more in | sownynge of speche þan men of þe north | wiþ men of þe south . þerfore hit is þat)



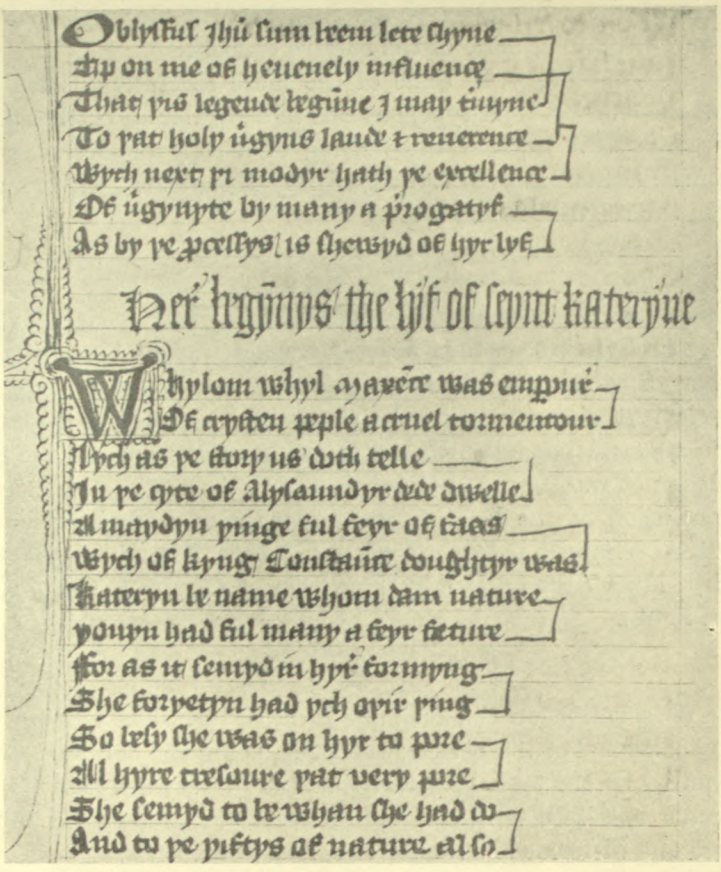
OCCLEVE.—EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(Al þoȝh his lyfe be queynt þe resemblaunce | Of him haþ in me so fressh lyflynesse | Þat to putte othir men in remembraunce | Of his *per*sone I have heere his lyknesse | Do make to þis ende in sothfastnesse | Þat þei þ*at* have of him lest þought *and* mynde | By þis peynture may aȝeyn him fynde

The ymages þ*at* in þe chirche been | Maken folk þenke on god *and* on his seyntes | Whan þe ymages þei beholden *and* seen | Were oft unsyte of hem causith restreyntes | Of þoughtes gode whan a þing depeynt is | Or entailed if men take of it heede | Thoght of þe lyknesse it wil in hym brede

Yit so*mm*e holden oppynyou*n* and sey | Þat none ymages schuld Imaked be | Þei erren foule *and* goon out of þe wey | Of trouth have þei scant sensibilite | Passe ov*er* þ*at* now blessid trinite | Uppon my maistres soule m*er*cy have | For him lady eke þi m*er*cy I crave)

FACSIMILE No. 213


O blysful Jhū sum beem lete shyne
Up on me of hevenely influence
That þis legende begunne I may termyne
To þat holy virgyns laude and reverence
Wych next þi modyr hath þe excellence
Of virgynyte by many a prerogatyf
As by þe processys is shewyd of hyr lyf

Here begynnys the lyf of seynt katerýne

Whylom whyl Maxence was emperoure
Of crysten peple a cruel tormentour
Lych as þe story us doth telle
In þe cyte of Alysaundyr dede dwelle
A maydyn þinge ful feyr of faas
Wych of kyng Constaunce doughtyr was
Kateryn be name whom dam nature
Yovyn had ful many a feyr feture
For as it semyd in hyre formyng
She forgetyn had ych oþir þing
So besy she was on hyr to pore
Al hyre tresoure þat very pore
She semyd to be whan she had do
And to þe yiftys of nature also

OSBERN BOKENHAM.—A.D. 1447

(O blysful Iesu sum beem lete shyne | Upon me of hevenely influence | That þis legende begunne I may termyne | To þat holy virgyns laude *and* reverence | Wych next þi modyr hath þe excellence | Of virgynyte by many a prerogatyf | As by þe processys is shewyd of hyr lyf

Here begynnys the lýf of seynt katerýne

Whylom whyl Maxence was emperoure | Of crysten peple a cruel tormentour | Lych as þe story us doth telle | In þe cyte of Alysaundyr dede dwelle | A maydyn þinge ful feyr of faas | Wych of kyng Constaunce doughtyr was | Kateryn be name whom dam nature | Yovyn had ful many a feyr feture | For as it semyd in hyre formyng | She forgetyn had ych oþir þing | So besy she was on hyr to pore | Al hyre tresoure þat very pore | She semyd to be whan she had do | And to þe yiftys of nature also)

No. 211

This is of the same class of hand as the last, but not so exactly written and displaying more of the cursive element.

Early in the century, in some of the more carefully written MSS., a hand of the charter-hand type, but cast in a regular and rather pointed form, is employed. Such is the writing of a copy of Occleve's poem *De Regimine Principum* (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 4866; *Pal. Soc.* ii. 57), written in the reign of Henry IV.

No. 212

If this example is compared with the MS. of Chaucer (Facs. 210) the change of style is seen to be from one which was growing in breadth to another of which the leading feature is compression. Here the pointed element characteristic of the fifteenth century is prominent, treated in a decorative and rather artificial manner; but, on the whole, the result is not wanting in success.

In conclusion of the English vernacular series, a specimen is given from a MS. of Saints' Lives in verse by Osbern Bokenham, an Austin Friar (Brit. Mus., Arundel MS. 327), written at Cambridge in A.D. 1447 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 58).

No. 213

Little observation on this example is called for. The writing is the ordinary book-hand of the period; the thorn being the only Old-English letter required by the text. By this time the literary script in England, except under special conditions, had deteriorated and passed into the featureless and ill-formed character of careless decadence.

CHAPTER XIX

LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY (*continued*)

Official and Legal Cursive Scripts

THE history of the official and legal Cursive Scripts of Western Europe in the middle ages covers nearly as wide a field as that of the literary hand. Practically, however, a full knowledge of the peculiarities of the different official hands of Europe is not so necessary and is not so easily attainable as that of the various kinds of literary MSS. Each country has naturally guarded its official deeds with more or less jealousy, and such documents have therefore been less scattered than the contents of ordinary libraries. And while the student will find it of chief advantage to be familiar with the history of the book-hands of all countries—because his researches, in most instances, will be connected with literary matters, and his labours will mainly lie among MS. books—he will be generally content with a slighter acquaintance with the official handwritings of foreign countries, for the study of which the available material is limited. A fair knowledge, however, of the official and legal hands of his own country is as necessary to him as the knowledge of the literary hands, if he wishes to be in a position to make use of the vast mass of historical information to be extracted from the official and private records which lie ready to hand in the national repositories.

With the object, then, of assisting the student to have, though it be only to a limited extent, acquaintance with the official and legal cursive scripts, it is proposed to touch very briefly on the developement of the foreign hands of this character, and to deal more fully with that of our own country. For a full treatment of the subject the reader must be referred to the various works on Diplomatic, a study which embraces the history, often very complex, of the developement of the practices of the several national Chanceries of Europe, as well as of the different styles of writings employed. Here we confine our attention and remarks to the palaeography of the documents which will be cited, regarding them in their quality of specimens of particular scripts, and not in their quality of official diplomas or legal instruments.

In dealing above with the national literary scripts of Western Europe, we followed the developement of the Visigothic, the Lombardic, and the Merovingian styles, as practised respectively in the Peninsula, in Italy,

and in the Merovingian or Frankish Empire. It was there shown how those scripts had their origin in the Roman cursive hand. But it was more convenient in that place to omit the intermediate national cursive examples which led up from the Roman hand to the literary scripts, and to defer quoting them until this chapter, where they can be produced together and can be compared with one another. It is not proposed, however, to do more than give early specimens of those several hands, in order to illustrate their origin and their connexion with one another.

Of the Visigothic cursive the available material is limited. We have to be content with an example from a cursive MS. in the Escurial (Ewald and Loewe, *Exempla Script. Visigot.* iii) containing the liturgy for the *Benedictio cerei*, written in the seventh century.

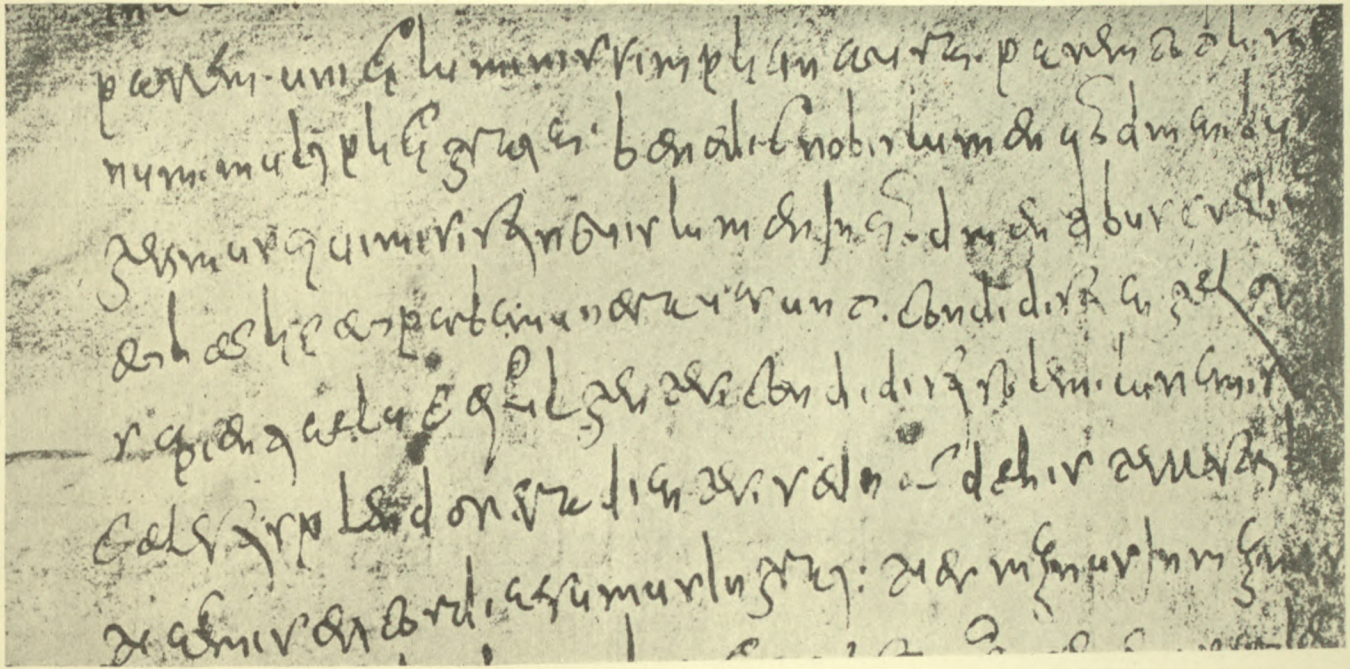
No. 214

In this writing little variation is to be observed from the Roman cursive as it appears in its later stage (Facs. 112); and the distinctively typical letters which mark the Visigothic book-hand are not yet developed. The example given above (Facs. 115) from a MS. of St. Augustine, written in a half-cursive book-hand of the first half of the eighth century, contains some of the typical letters in an incipient stage. From this it would appear that the typical letters took shape in the literary hand in the course of that century. In the seventh century the cursive hand, as exemplified by the present specimen, was still too strongly affected by the pattern Roman hand to vary greatly from it.

To illustrate the Lombardic or old Italian cursive hand, a specimen is selected from a deed, very illiterate, of Grimoaldus IV, Duke of Benevento, of A.D. 810 (*Paleogr. artistica di Montecassino*, xxxiv).

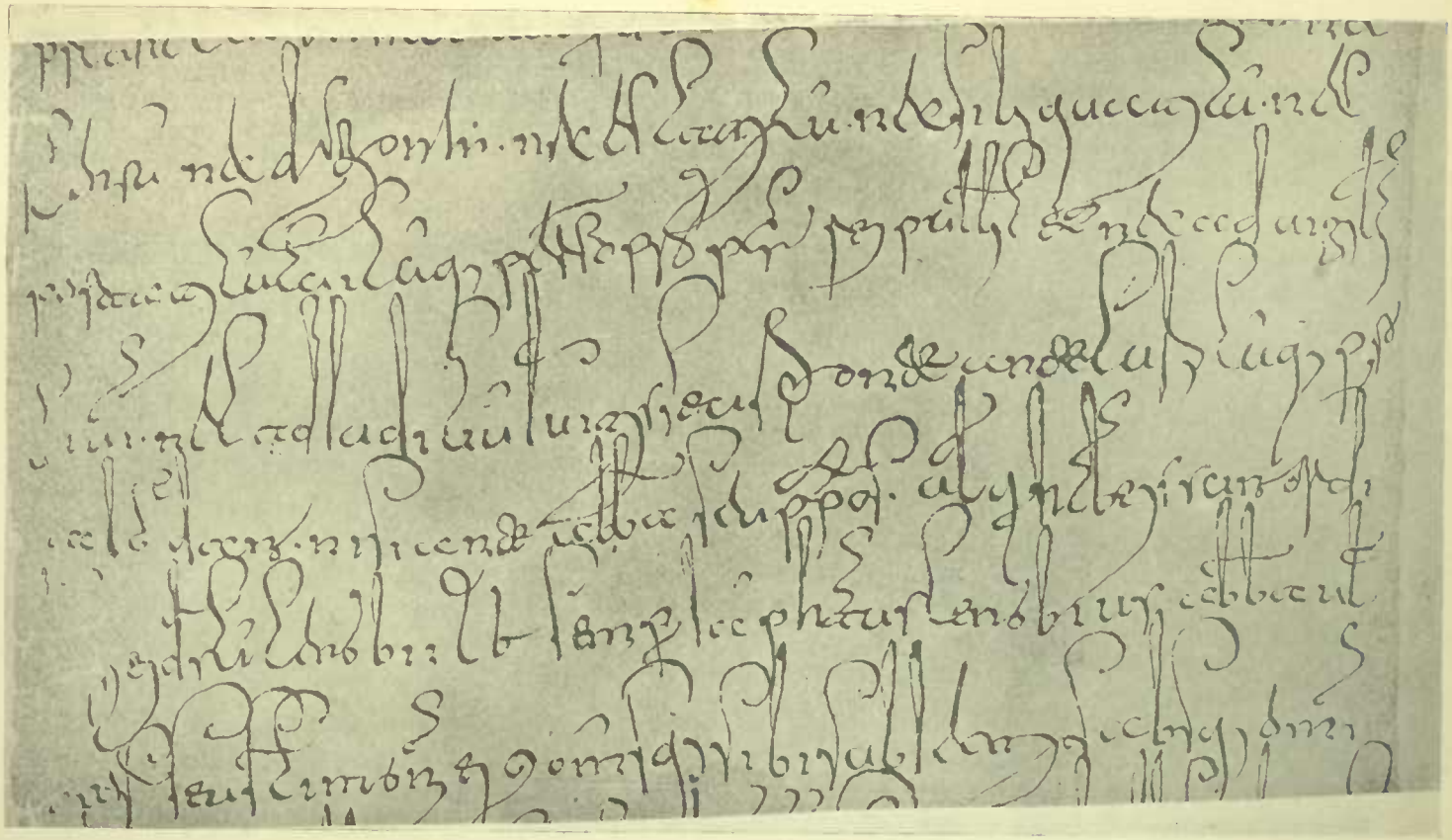
No. 215

The connexion between this writing and the Roman cursive is obvious. The scribe has not stinted himself in extravagant flourishes; but even in his fantastic tall c and in his exaggerated long s, as well as in other letters, he only caricatures, but does not depart from, the lines of the parent alphabet. The zigzag form of a (as in *hab*, l. 4, and in *phatus*, l. 5) is a curious developement of the open letter written above the line in the Roman cursive. The document being of a fairly advanced period, it is seen that the forms of certain letters, as the looped t and the e with indented back, which are characteristic of the Lombardic book-hand, are developed. The exaggeration which tended to make the cursive writing of this type, as it did the Merovingian, so involved and difficult to decipher became more aggressive in process of time; but, with the natural conservatism attaching to official and legal practice, the employment of this script persisted in spite of hindering causes. As a con-



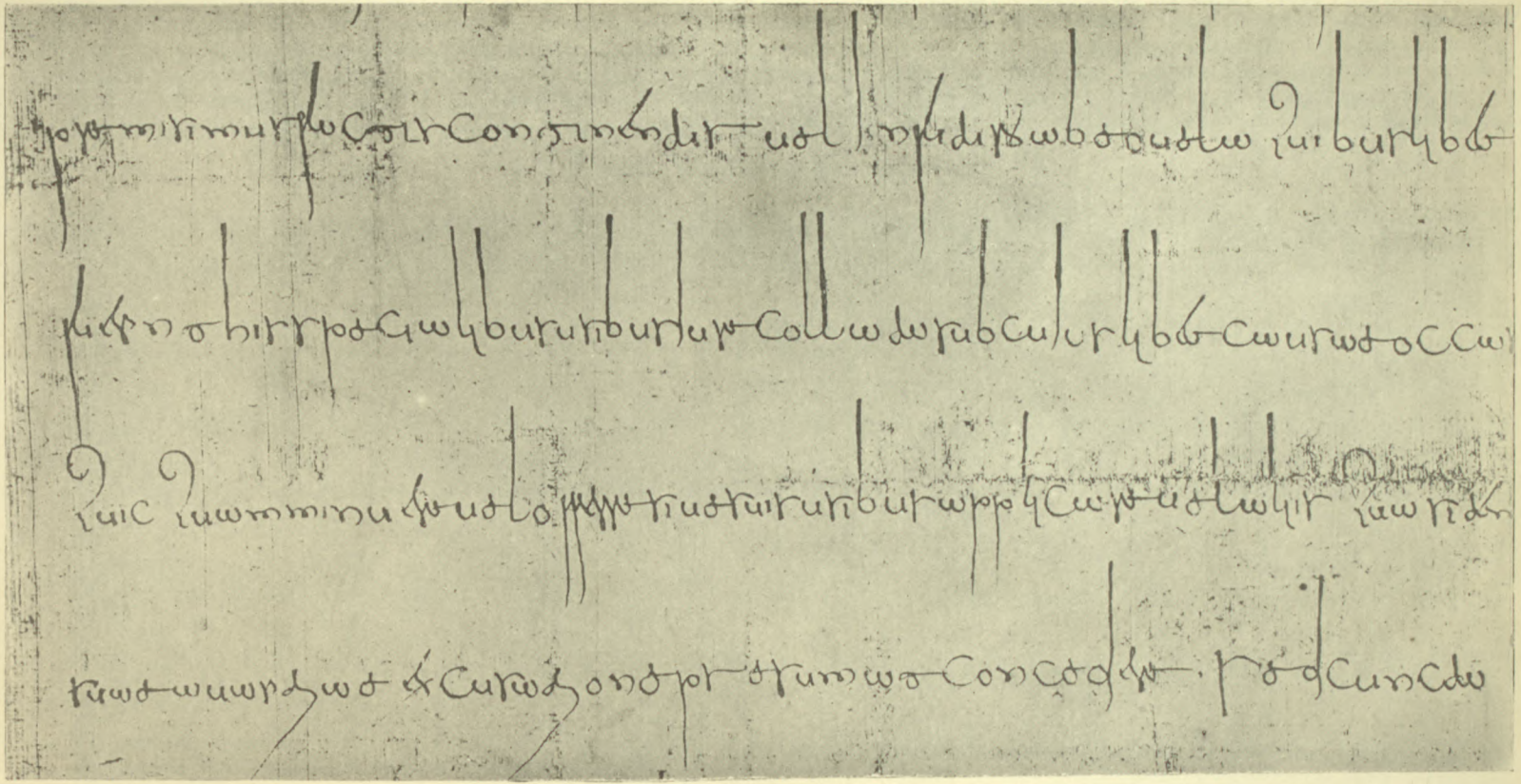
Benedictio Cerei.—Seventh Century

(patrem . unici luminis simplici natura . patrem tot lumi|num multiplici gratia . benedic nobis lumen quod manibus | gerimus qui misisti novis lumen In quod mentibus credimus | et hec licet parba munera tua sunt . condidisti angelos | sapientiae . luce fulgentes condidisti solem . lunam . suo | celesti splendore radiantes . sed nec de his terrestribus | tuae misericordiae sumus Ingrati : tu es magnus in magnis)



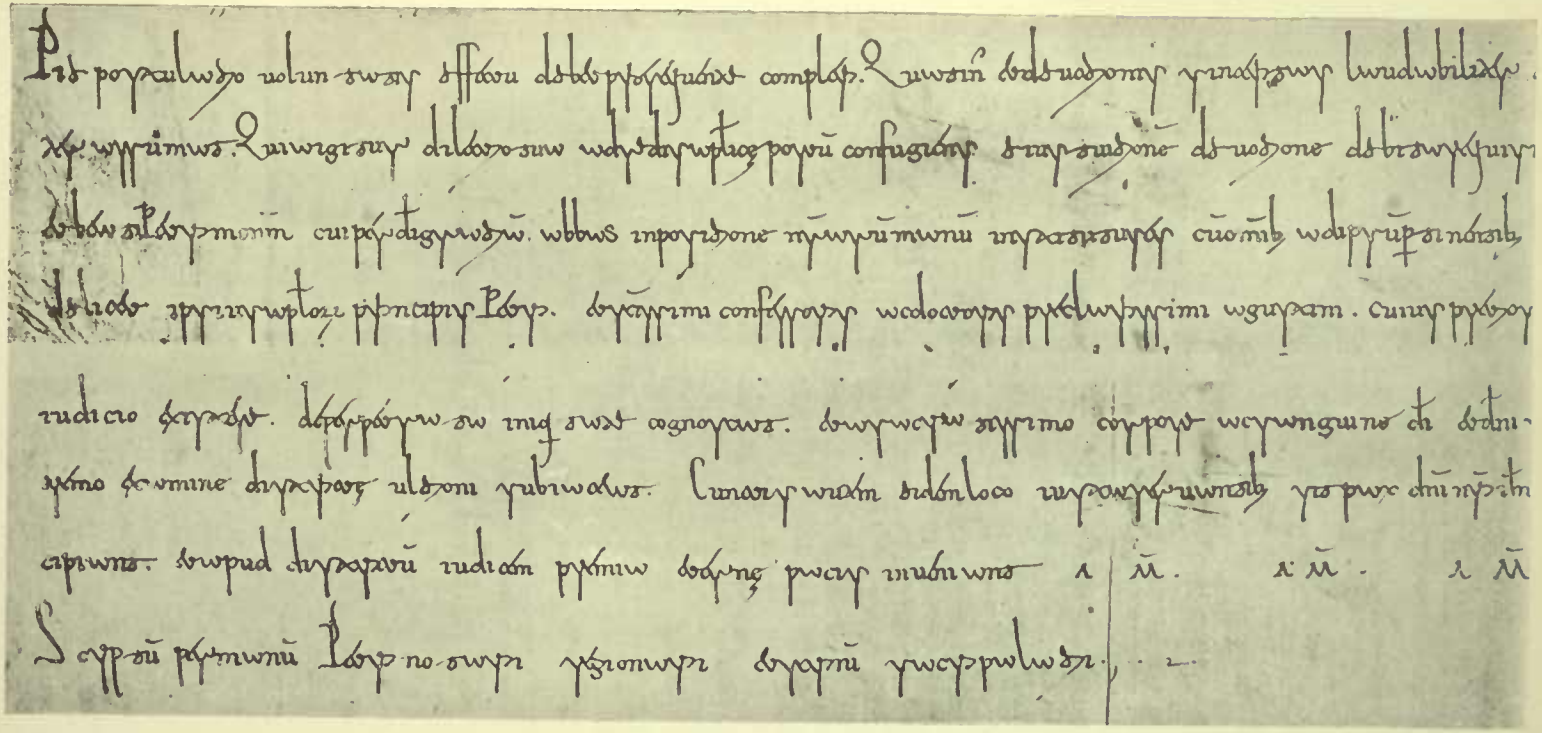
DEED OF BENEVENTO.—A.D. 810

(censum . nec dationem . nec escaticum . nec siliquaticum . nec | portaticum cuicumque personae pro parte reipublicae et nec ad vigilias | civitatis . nec ad Iudicium Invitis seu sponte ante cuIuscumque perso[na] abc[e]dant . nisi ante abbatissam seu prepositos . vel qui hab eis sunt ordi[na]ti eidem sancti cenobii ut semper Iam phatus cenobius abbatissa vel | [pre]posita seu sanctimonialis eius omnesque sibi subIectis absque omni)



BULL OF JOHN VIII.—A.D. 876

(premisimus factis continentur vel in futuro ab eo vel a quibuslibet [aliis de proprio] | fuerint his specialibus usibus iure collata sub cuiuslibet causae occas[ione sive specie] | quicquam minuere vel offerre sive suis usibus applicare vel aliis quasi tem[pus causis pro] | suae avaritiae excusatione presumat concedere sed cuncta [que prefatis])



BULL OF PASCHAL II.—A.D. 1102

(Pie postulatio voluntatis effectu debet prosequente compleri. Quatin*us* et devotionis sinceritas laudabiliter— | ter assumat. Quia igitur dilectio tua ad sedis ap*ostol*icę portu*m* confugiens eius tuitione*m* devotione debita requisi— | et beati Petri mona*sterium* cui per d*e*i gratia*m* abbas inpositione no*stra*rum manu*um* institutus es cu*m* omnib*us* ad ipsu*m* pertinentib*us*— | delicet ipsius ap*ostol*oru*m* principis Petri. et s*anct*issimi confessoris ac doctoris preclarissimi agustini. cuius pretios— | iudicio existere. de perpetrata iniqu*i*tate cognoscat. et a sacratissimo corpore ac sanguine d*e*i et d*omi*ni— | tremo examine districtę ultioni subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco iusta servantib*us* sit pax d*omi*ni no*stri* iesu— | cipiant. et apud districtu*m* iudicem premia eternę pacis inveniant Am*en*. Am*en*. Am*en*. | Scriptu*m* per manu*m* Petri notarii regionarii et scrini*arii* sacri palatii.)

sequence of the Norman conquests in Southern Italy in 1062–77, the Carolingian minuscule was introduced, but the notaries still clung to the native writing; and even the injunctions of Frederic II against its use, in 1220 and 1231, did not entirely suppress it, for it lingered on in isolated cases as late as the fourteenth century.

The principal interest in connexion with the old Italian cursive lies in the fact that from it was developed the special form of official writing, the *littera Romana*, which was practised in the Papal Chancery for a period of some centuries. This peculiar script is found fully developed in examples of the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries; but material no longer exists to show when it had assumed its final shape. Among its special forms of letters are the a made almost like a Greek ω, the e in shape of a circle with a knot at the top, and the t in that of a loop. (Facsimiles are to be found in various palaeographical collections, and especially in the work of Pflugk-Harttung, *Specimina selecta chartarum pontificum Romanorum*, 1885–7.)

The following specimen (reduced) is from a confirmation by Pope John VIII of privileges granted to the monastery of Tournus, written on a very large scale, A.D. 876 (Pf.-Hart. 5; Steffens, *Lat. Palaeogr.* 52).

No. 216

In the course of the eleventh century this official hand underwent considerable modification, chiefly attributable to the ever growing influence of the Carolingian minuscule, partly also no doubt to the abandonment by the Chancery of the use of papyrus in favour of parchment or vellum. The writing becomes smaller, though not on that account more legible, and is not spread over so large a surface. But the introduction of the Carolingian minuscule was not accomplished all at once. First used in the dating clause, it was not adopted for the text of documents until the pontificate of Clement II, A.D. 1046–7; and it was not until after Calixtus II, A.D. 1119–24, that it altogether superseded the old Italian hand.

An example (here on a reduced scale) of the later style of this old official hand is found in a bull of Paschal II, confirming the possessions of the Abbey of San Pietro in Cielo d'Oro in Pavia, A.D. 1102 (Steffens, *Lat. Palaeogr.* 63).

No. 217

It will be observed in this hand that, while the peculiar forms of the letters a and t of the old type are still maintained, the letter e often reverts to the more ordinary shape of the Roman cursive; but, on the

other hand, the letters r and s, both exaggerated in length, have assumed forms which are often so nearly alike that there is some danger of confusion.

After the full adoption of the Carolingian minuscule for the documents of the Papal Chancery, the official writing of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and subsequently of the later middle ages, followed the general lines of the developement of the writing of Western Europe, cast, it must be remembered, in the mould of the symmetrical Italian style.

A very peculiar and intricate character introduced at a late period for papal documents may here be mentioned. This is the so-called *Littera Sancti Petri* or *Scrittura bollatica*, a character which appears to have been invented for the purpose of baffling the uninitiated. It first appeared in the reign of Clement VIII, A.D. 1592–1605, and was only abolished in our own time, at the end of the year 1878.

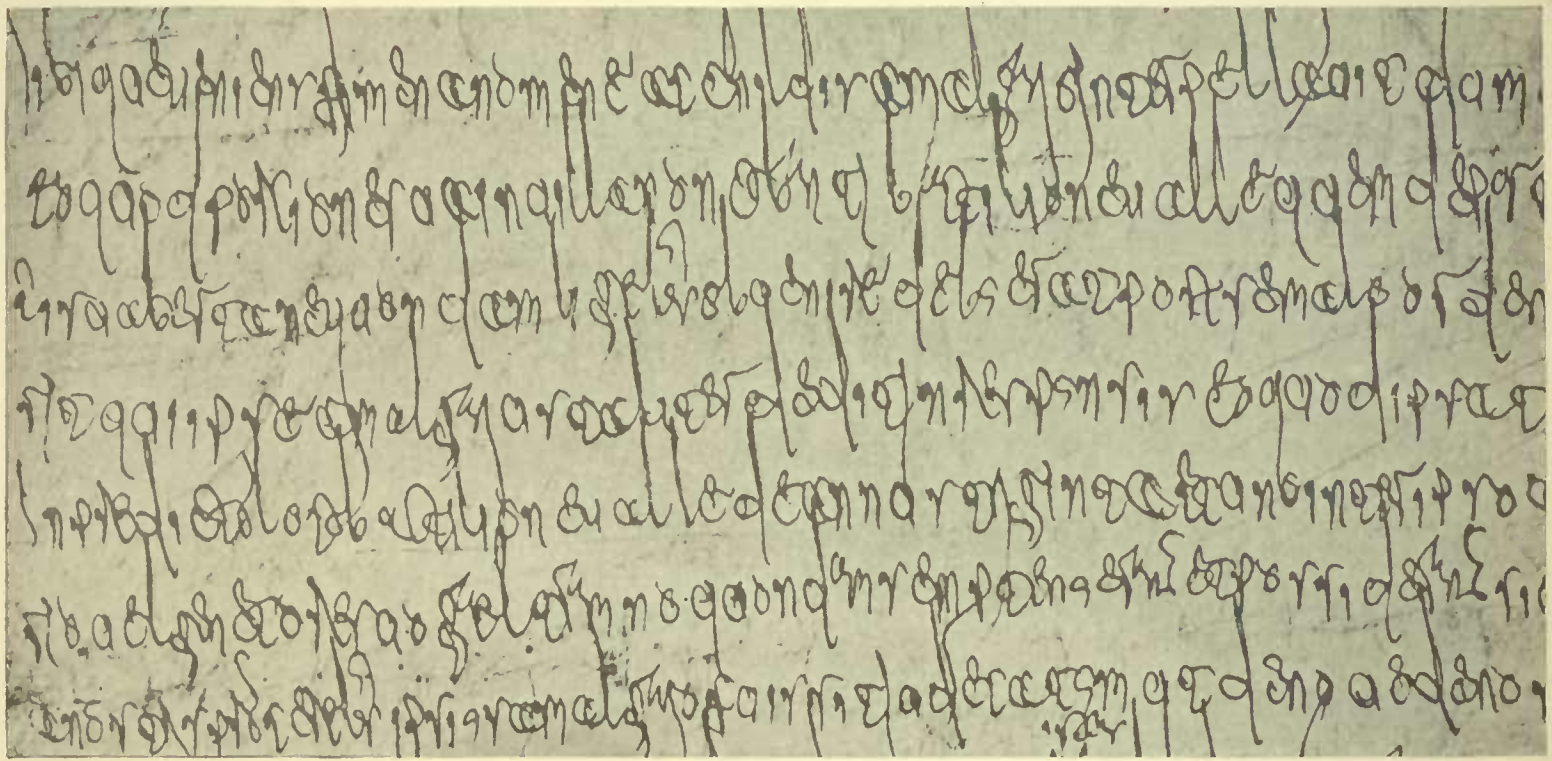
The Merovingian official cursive had a career resembling that of the Lombardic or old Italian hands. As the latter led the way to the official script of the Roman Curia, so the former was the direct ancestor of the official hands which grew up and flourished in the Imperial Chancery. Facsimiles of most of the documents are to be found in such works as Letronne's *Diplomata* (1848), the *Fac-similé de Chartes et Diplomes Mérovingiens et Carlovingiens* of Jules Tardif (1866), Sickel's *Nachlasse von U. F. von Kopp* (1870), the *Kaiserurkunden in Abbildungen* of von Sybel and Sickel (1880, etc.), and the *Musée des Archives Départementales* (1878).

In the Merovingian cursive we find the parent Roman script transformed into a curiously cramped style of writing, the letters being laterally compressed, the strokes usually slender, and the stems of letters above and below the line much exaggerated.

The following example is taken from a document in the Archives Nationales of France (K. 2, no. 13) containing the Judgement of Thierry III in a suit by a woman named Aechildis against a certain Amalgarius concerning land in Bailleval in Beauvaisis, A.D. 679–80 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 119).

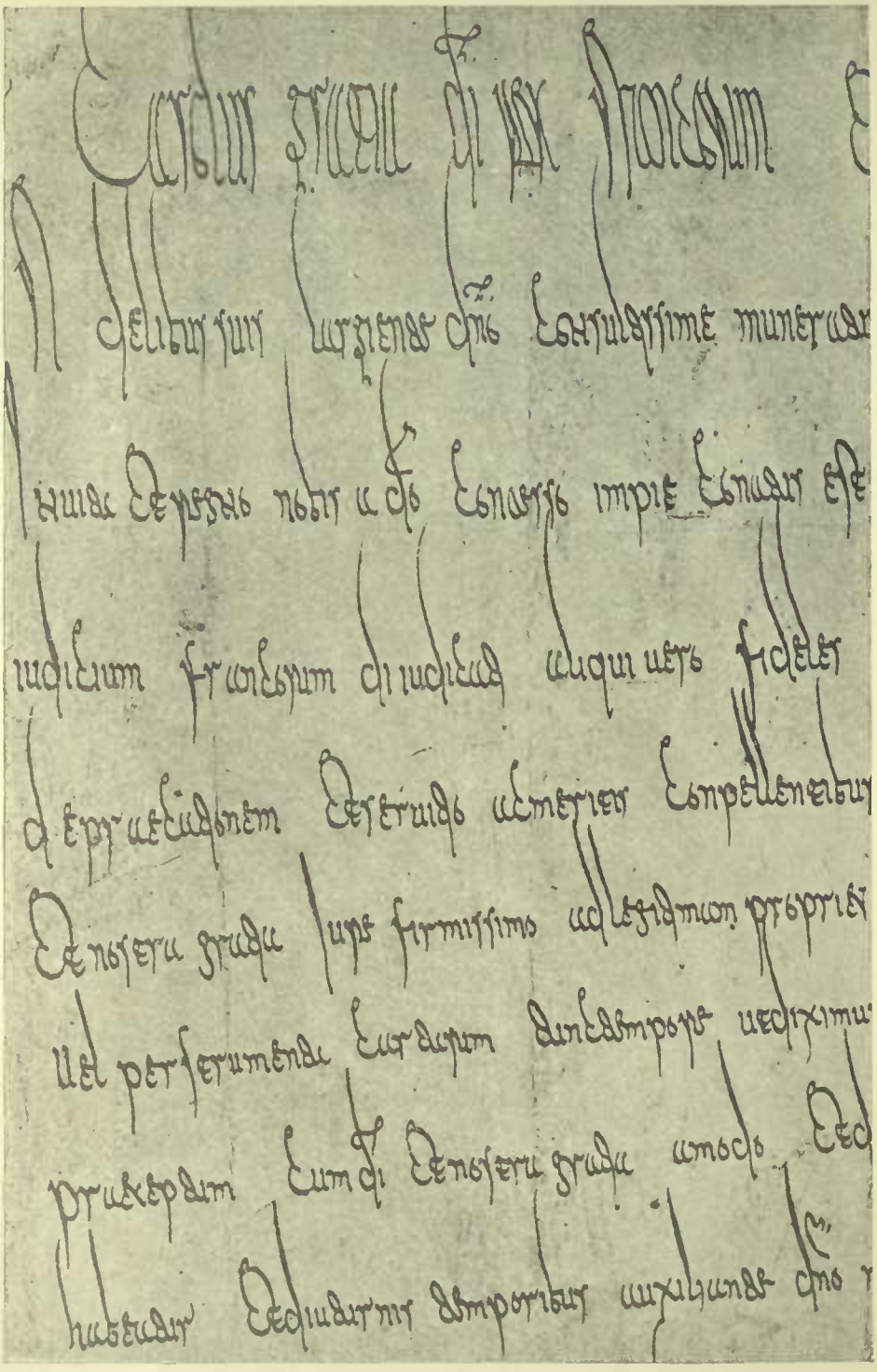
No. 218

This intricate script might almost seem to be purposely complicated; and, indeed, it is not impossible that the official scribes were not unwilling to render the decipherment of the diplomas difficult. Among the letters may be noticed the a, formed as double-c closely written, and also as an open letter above the line; the t with looped back, and other forms of the letter in combination; the high-shouldered r; and occasionally the sickle-shaped u. We have seen above (Facs. 124) how this



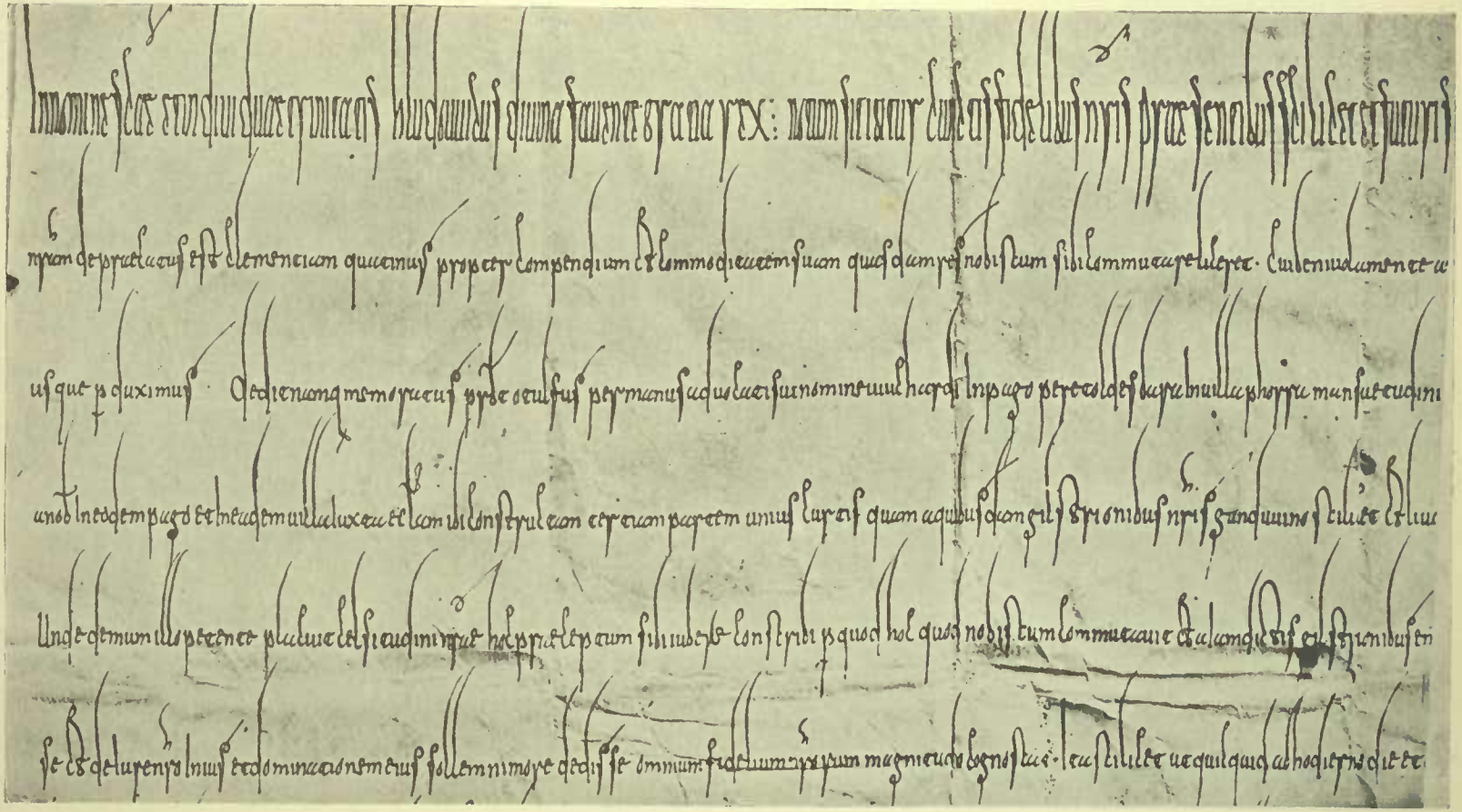
JUDGEMENT OF THIERRY III.—A.D. 679–80

(ibique veniens fimena nomene acchildis amalgario interpellavit dum [dicerit] | eo quod porcione sua in villa noncobanti bactilione valle quem de part[i genetri]ci sua bertane quondam ligeb*us* obvenire debuerat post se malo orden[e reteni]rit qui ipse amalgarius taliter dedit in respunsis eo quod ipsa t[erra] | in predicto loco bactilione valle de annus triginta et uno inter ipso a[malga]rio vel genetore suo gaeltramno quondam semp*er* tenuerant et possiderant sic [eid*em* nunc] | a nostris procereb*us* ipsius amalgario fuissit iudecatum ut de novo deno[menatus])



DIPLOMA OF CHARLEMAGNE.—A.D. 797

(Carolus gratia *dei* rex francorum e[t]— | fidelibus suis largiente d*omi*no consultissime muneratu[r]— | in vita et regno nobis a *deo* concesso impie conatus est— | iudicium francorum diiudicati aliqui vero fideles— | depraecationem et servitio ac meritis conpellentibus— | et nostra gratia iure firmissimo ad legitimam propriet[ate]— | vel per strumenta cartarum tunc tempore ut diximu[s]— | praeceptum cum *dei* et nostra gratia a modo et d[einceps]— | habeatur et diuturnis temporibus auxiliante d*omi*no)



DIPLOMA OF LOUIS THE GERMAN.—A.D. 856

(In nomine *sanct*ae et individuae trinitatis hludouuicus divina favente gratia rex . notum sit igitur cunctis fidelibus *nost*ris praesentibus scilicet et futuris [qualiter quidam nobilis presbiter nomine otulfus] | *nost*ram depraecatus est clementiam quatinus propter compendium et commoditatem suam quasdam res nobiscum sibi commutare liceret . cui benivola mente a[ssensum praebuimus et petitionem eius ad effectum] | usque *per*duximus . Dedit namq*ue* memoratus *presbiter* Otulfus per manus advocati sui nomine uuichardi in pago peretoldesbara in villa phorra mansuetudini [*nost*rae ad proprium iugera quinq*ue* et econtra recepit] | a nob*is* in eodem pago et in eadem villa iuxta *eccles*iam ibi constructam tertiam partem unius curtis quam a quibusdam gilstrionibus *nost*ris gunduuino scilicet et liu[done emerat insup*er* ut dictum est commutaverat] | Unde demum illo petente placuit celsitudini *nost*rae hoc praeceptum sibi iubere conscribi p*er* quod hoc quod nobiscum commutavit et a iam dictis gilstrionibus em[it iure *per*petuo nos predicto *presbitero* otulfo confirmas]]se et de iure *nost*ro in ius et dominationem eius sollemni more dedisse omnium fidelium *nost*rorum magnitudo cognoscat . Ita scilicet ut quicquid ab hodierno die et)

rough irregular script was drilled into a book-hand not wanting in calligraphic symmetry.

After the middle of the eighth century the Merovingian cursive becomes less irregular, and in the reign of Charlemagne it is fairly legible. The following specimen is a section of a diploma of that monarch (Paris, Archives Nationales, K. 7, no. 15), restoring his forfeited possessions to Count Theobold, A.D. 797 (*Album paléogr.* 16).

No. 219

In the ninth century a small hand of increasing regularity and gradually falling into the lines of the Carolingian minuscule was established; but, while the influence of the reformed hand is quite evident, old shapes of letters were retained for some time, as might be expected in a style of writing which would, in the nature of things, cling to old traditions more closely than would that of the literary schools. And so it progressed, affected by the changes which are seen at work in the literary hands, but still continuing to maintain its own individuality as a cursive form of writing.

As an illustration of this progress, we select a specimen (reduced) from a diploma of Louis the German (St. Gall, Chapter Archives, F. F. i. H. 106), exchanging property with the priest Otulf, A.D. 856 (Steffens, *Lat. Palaeogr.* 50).

No. 220

In this writing of the Imperial Chancery, as indeed in all other cursive styles derived from the Roman cursive, the exaggeration of the heads and tails of letters is a marked feature. And this exaggeration continued inherent in the hand and was eventually carried over into the official Chancery hands of France and Germany and Italy. In England we see the influence of the script of the Imperial Chancery in the official hand which the Normans brought with them and established in the country.

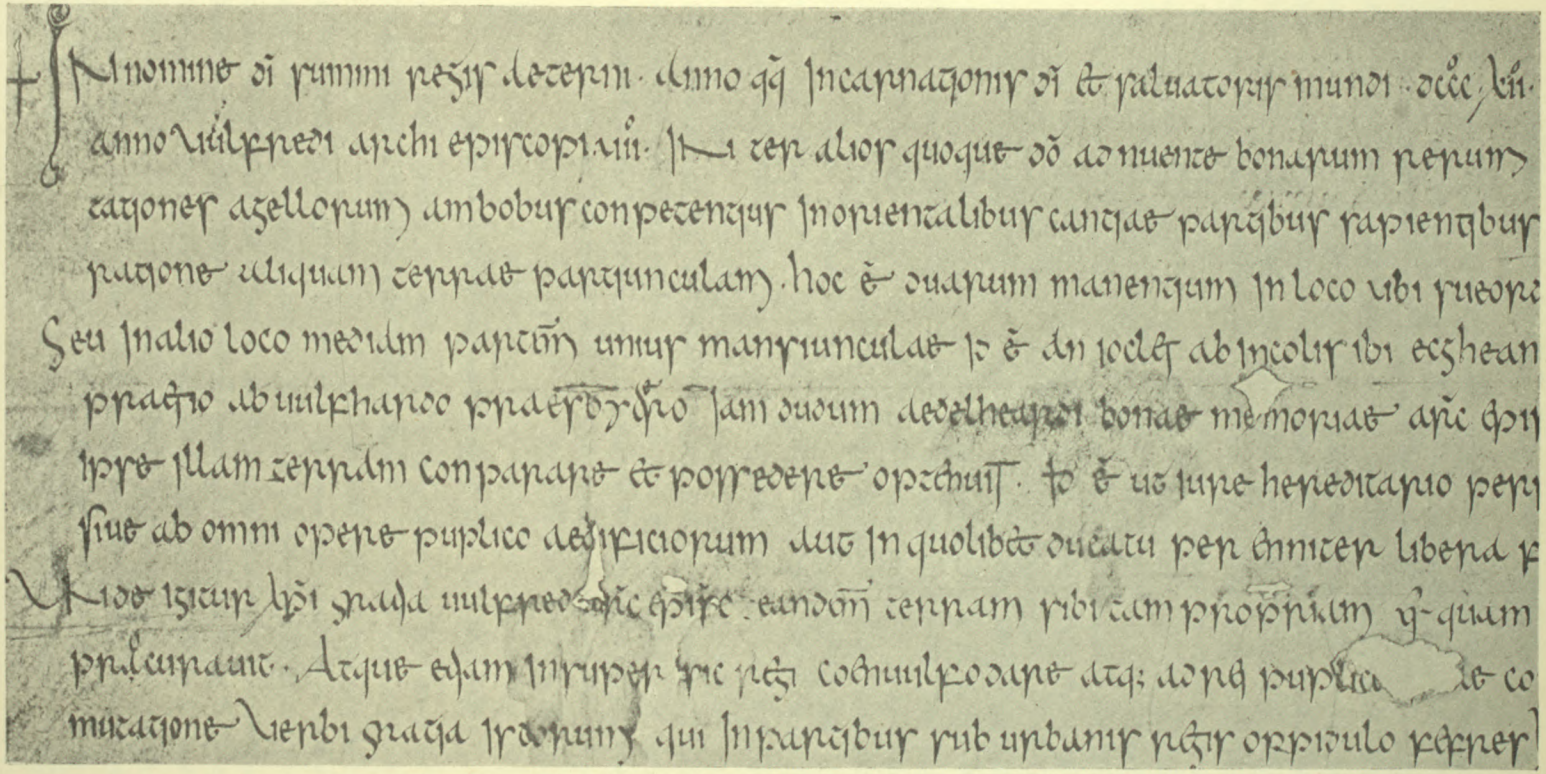
Each of the nations, then, of Western Europe developed its own style of official and legal writing, and in each country that writing ran its own course, becoming in process of time more and more individualized and distinct in its national characteristics. But at the same time, as we have seen in the case of the literary script, it was subject to the general law of change; in each country it passed through the periods of the large bold style of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the exact style of the thirteenth, the declining style of the fourteenth, and the careless pointed style and decadence of the fifteenth century. With its later career we have not to do, except to note that certain forms of it still linger in law documents, as for example in the engrossing of modern English deeds;

and that every ordinary current hand of modern Europe might have been as directly descended from the old legal cursive hand as is the modern German. What saved Europe from this diversity of current handwriting was the welcome which was given to the beautiful Italian cursive hand of the Renaissance, a form of writing which stood in the same relation to the book-hand of the Renaissance as the modern printer's *Italics* (the name preserving the memory of their origin) do to his ordinary Roman type. As the Italian book-hand of the Renaissance was not infrequently adopted at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries as a style of writing for the production of select MSS. in England and France and other countries beyond the borders of Italy, so the Italian cursive hand at once came into favour as an elegant and simple style for domestic use. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries an educated Englishman could write two styles of current writing, his own native hand lineally descended from the charter-hand, and the new Italian hand; just as a German scholar of the present day can write the native German and the Italian hands. And in concluding these remarks it is worth noting that the introduction and wide acceptance of the Italian hand has constituted a new starting-point for the history of modern cursive writing in Western Europe. As the Roman cursive was adopted and gradually became nationalized in different forms in different countries; and, again, as the reformed minuscule writing of Charlemagne's reign was taken as a fresh basis, and in its turn gradually received the stamp of the several national characteristics of the countries where it was adopted; so the Italian cursive hand of the Renaissance has received the impress of those same characteristics, in the course of its transformation into the current handwritings of modern Europe.

The Official and Legal Cursive Script in England

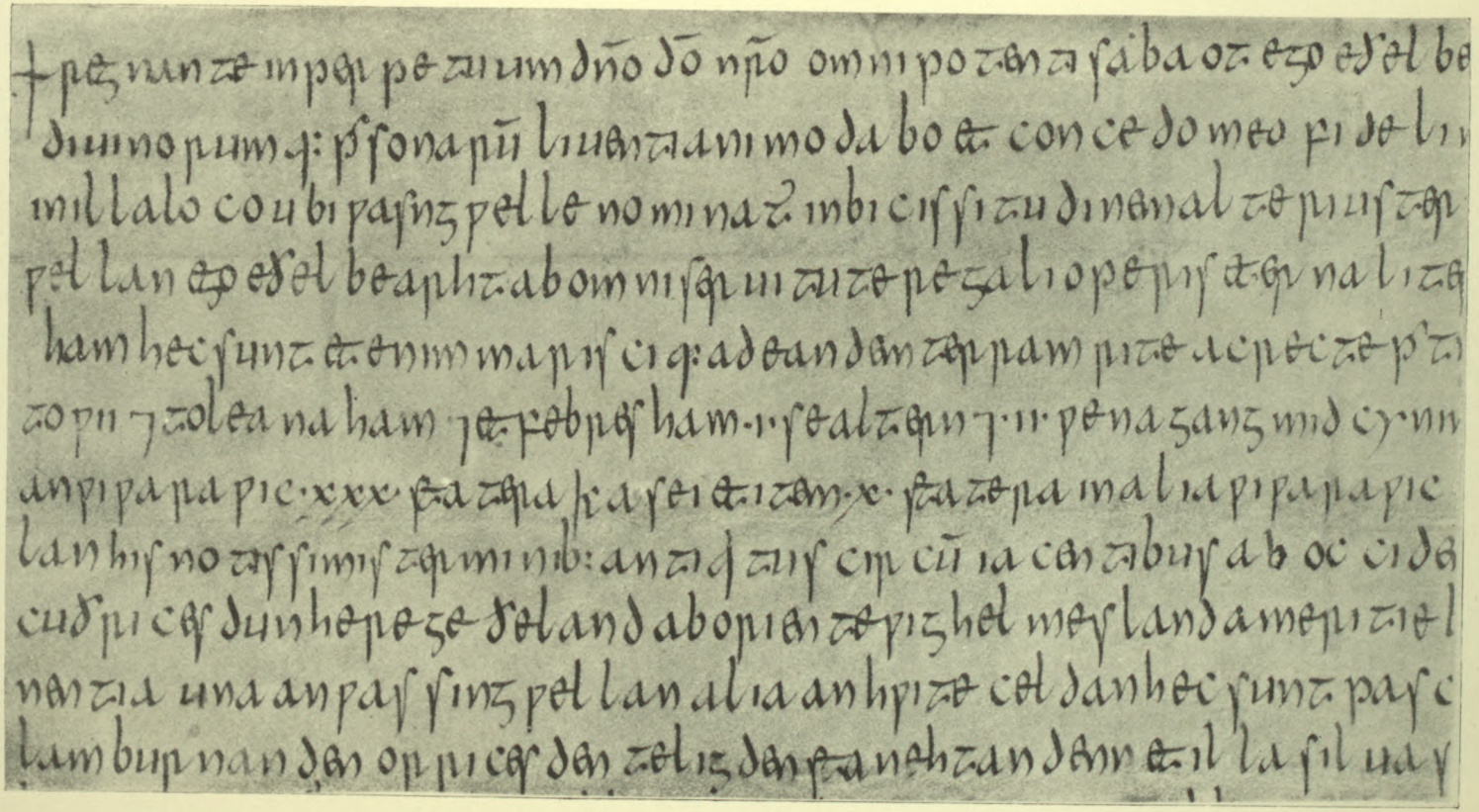
The handwriting employed in England for official and legal documents after the Norman Conquest was the foreign official and legal script introduced by the conquerors.

It has already been shown that in England, during the Anglo-Saxon period, there was in use no form of writing derived directly from the Roman cursive, as was the case in other countries of the Continent. The official and legal cursive script was practically the same as that employed in literary productions, but, in the nature of things, not always written with the care and precision of the book-hand. We even find charters drawn up in the English half-uncial hand; but these are exceptional and may perhaps be monastic copies. The more usual official script was the pointed writing. The *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British*



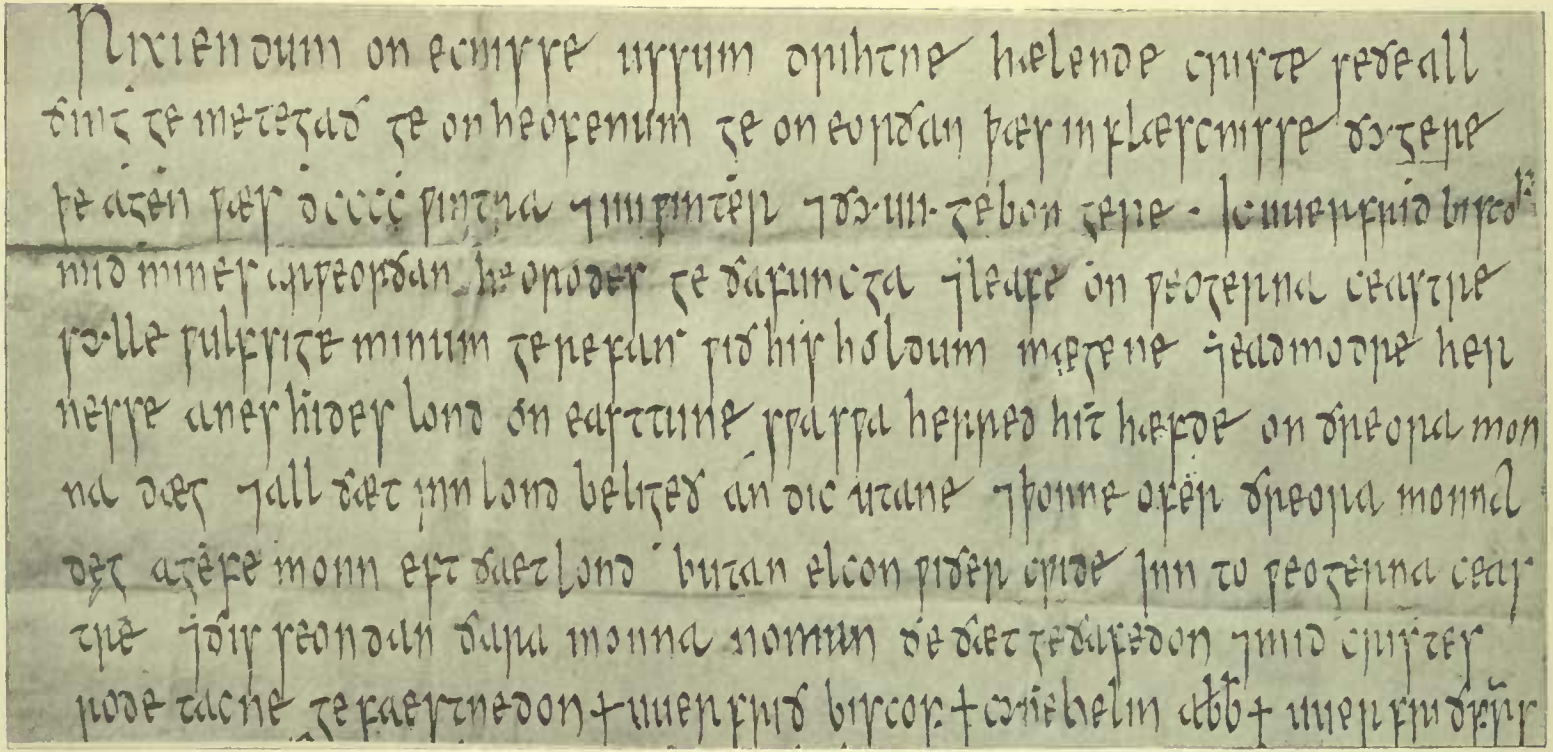
MERCIAN CHARTER.—A.D. 812

(IN nomine d*ei* summi regis aeterni . anno q*uoque* incarnationis d*ei* et salvatoris mundi . dccc° . xii° . — | anno uulfredi archiepiscopi . vii° . INter alios quoque d*eo* adnuente bonarum rerum— | tationes agellorum ambobus conpetentius in orientalibus cantiae partibus sapientibus— | ratione aliquam terrae partiunculam . hoc e*st* duarum manentium in loco ubi sueord— | Seu in alio loco mediam partem unius mansiunculae id e*st* an ioclet ab incolis ibi ecghean— | praetio ab uulfhardo praesbyt'e'ro iam dudum aeđelheardi bonae memoriae arc*hi*epis— | ipse illam terram conparare et possedere optenuit . id e*st* ut iure hereditario per— | sive ab omni opere puplico aedificiorum aut in quolibet ducatu perenniter libera f— | UNde igitur chr*ist*i gratia uulfred arc*hi*episc*opus* eandem terram sibi tam propriam et quam— | prạ̊curavit . Atque etiam insuper sic regi coenuulfo dare atq*ue* ad rei puplic[ae bona]e co— | mutatione verbi gratia istorum qui in partibus suburbanis regis oppidulo fefres[ham])



CHARTER OF ETHELBERHT OF KENT.—A.D. 858

(regnante in perpetuum *domi*no d*e*o no*str*o omnipotenti sabaot ego eðelbe[arht]— | divinorumq*ue* p*er*sonaru*m* liventi animo dabo et concedo meo fideli— | in illa loco ubi wasngwelle nominat*ur* in bicissitudinem alterius ter[re]— | wellan ego eðelbearht ab omni servitute regali operis eternaliter— | ham hec sunt etenim marisci q*ue* ad eandem terram rite ac recte p*er*ti[nent]— | to wii *and* to leanaham *and* et febresham .i. sealtern *and* .ii. wenagang mid cynin[ges wenu*m*]— | an wiwarawic .xxx. statera kasei et item .x. statera in alia wiwarawic— | lan his notissimis terminib*us* antiq*ui*tus circu*m* iacentibus ab occide[nte]— | cuðrices dun heregeðeland ab oriente wighelmes landa meritie— | nentia una an wassingwellan alia an hwiteceldan hec sunt pasc[ua]— | lamburnanden orricesden teligden stanehtandenn et illa silvas—)



GRANT BY WERFRITH, BISHOP OF WORCESTER.—A.D. 904

(Rixiendum on ecnisse ussum drihtne hælende criste seðe all | ðing gemetegað ge on heofenum ge on eorðan þæs inflæscnisse ðy gere | þe agen wæs DCCCC wintra *and* IIII winter and ðy VII. gebon gere. Ic uuerfrid biscop | mid mines arweorðan heorodes geðafuncga *and* leafe on weogerna ceastre | sylle wulfsige minum gerefan wið his holdum mægene *and* eadmodre her|nesse anes hides lond on easttune swa swa herred hit hæfde on ðreora mon|na dæg *and* all ðæt inn lond beligeð án dic utane *and* þonne ofer ðreora monna | dęg agefe monn eft ðæt lond butan elcon wiðer cwide inn to weogerna ceas|tre *and* ðis seondan ðara monna noman ðe ðæt geðafedon *and* mid cristes | rode tacne gefæstnedon ✠ uuerfrið biscop. ✠ cynehelm abbas ✠ uuerfrið

Museum and the *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* (Rolls Series) contribute largely to our knowledge of the different varieties of the hand as practised in different parts of the country, and we are able even to distinguish certain styles as peculiar to certain districts. In this place it is not necessary to give more than a few examples to illustrate the broad distinctions that existed; to do more than this would be to go over a second time the ground already traversed in the description of the English book-hand previous to the Norman Conquest.

Among the early examples of Anglo-Saxon charters there are many to prove that a fine character of writing was cultivated in several of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy; but, if one kingdom is to be preferred to the rest, we should select Mercia, as generally the district of origin of the best style. The following is taken from a deed of exchange of lands between Cynewulf of Mercia and Wulfred Archbishop of Canterbury, among the Chapter deeds of Canterbury, of the year 812 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 11).

No. 221

This excellent example of Mercian writing of the early years of the ninth century, with its delicate play in the structure of the letters, bears witness to the culture of that kingdom and to the high standard attained by the official scribes of the time. With it may be compared the contemporary example of the Mercian book-hand shown in Facs. 143.

In forcible contrast to this elegant style, a curiously rough hand was practised in the south of England, particularly in the kingdom of Wessex, in the ninth century. The same appears also to some extent in the Kentish charters, presumably the result of political influence. We have also seen it adapted as a book-hand (Facs. 144) in a MS. in the Bodleian Library of the middle of the century. Here is given a specimen from a charter of Ethelberht of Kent, exchanging land in Wassingwelle, A.D. 858 (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Aug. ii. 66).

No. 222

The general aspect of the writing may be very well described by the epithet of ragged, so meagre and careless is the formation of the letters. In particular, the ill-shapen letter t, with its inelegant contracted bow ending in a heavy dot or small hook, seems to thrust itself into obtrusive prominence. One is tempted to seek an explanation of the apparent indifference to a good style of writing, even in royal deeds, in the disturbed state of the country owing to the Danish invasions.

Passing on to the tenth century it will suffice to give one example of the charter-hand, a grant from Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, of land at Easton (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 19791), of the year 904 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 13).

No. 223

This is a good typical instance of the pointed cursive of the period, written with less care than in the book-hand, but not differing from it in the structure of the letters. Here are already indications of the change which was effected in the course of this century from what may be termed the natural pointed style of the ninth century to the artificial pointing of the heads of such letters as a and q, which has been noticed above in commenting upon the book-hand of the period (Facs. 146).

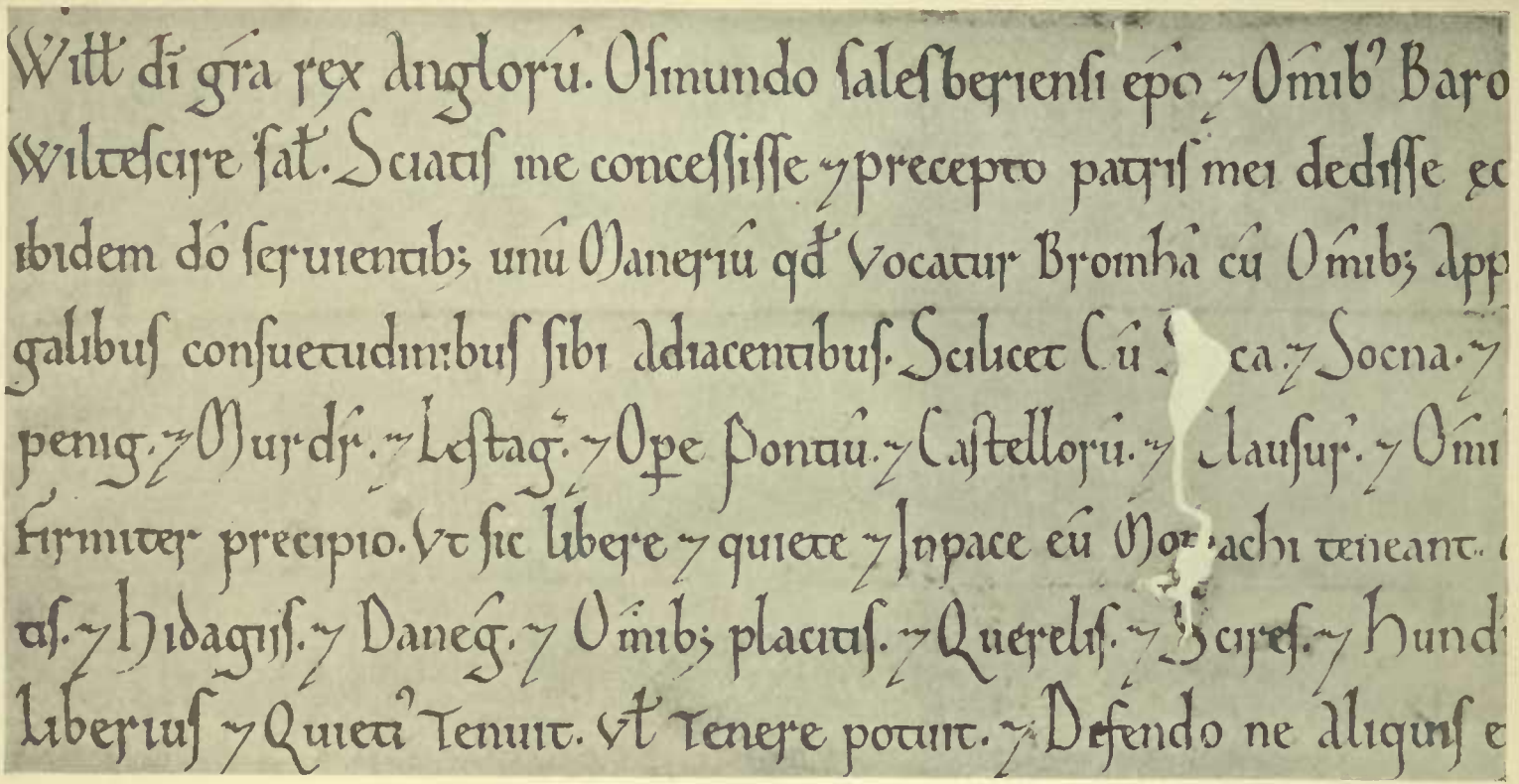
From this time onward there is but little distinction to be observed between the Anglo-Saxon script as shown in the charters and the same written as a book-hand. It is therefore needless to multiply examples, and what has been written above in regard to the literary handwriting may be taken to apply generally to the charter-script.

It has already been stated that the handwriting employed in England for official and legal documents after the Norman Conquest was the foreign official and legal cursive script introduced by the conquerors, which was founded on the Roman cursive and had been practised in the Chanceries of France. This form of writing, from the date of the Conquest down to the close of the twelfth century, remained fairly conservative. In the surviving charters of the early kings of the Norman line it commonly appears with the exaggeration of long limbs which we have noticed in the earlier hands derived from the Roman cursive. In such official documents as the Pipe Rolls the writing is more careful and formal; in the great volume of Domesday, while it still retains the official cast, it has a good deal of the literary style of lettering, perhaps from the fact of the work being drawn up in form of a book. In fact, the intrinsic character of the document had a good deal to do with the style of writing in which it was to be inscribed.

We begin our series of examples with a grant by William II to Battle Abbey of the manor of Bromham, co. Wilts (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Aug. ii. 53), probably of the year 1087 (*Facs. Royal Charters, Brit. Mus.* 2).

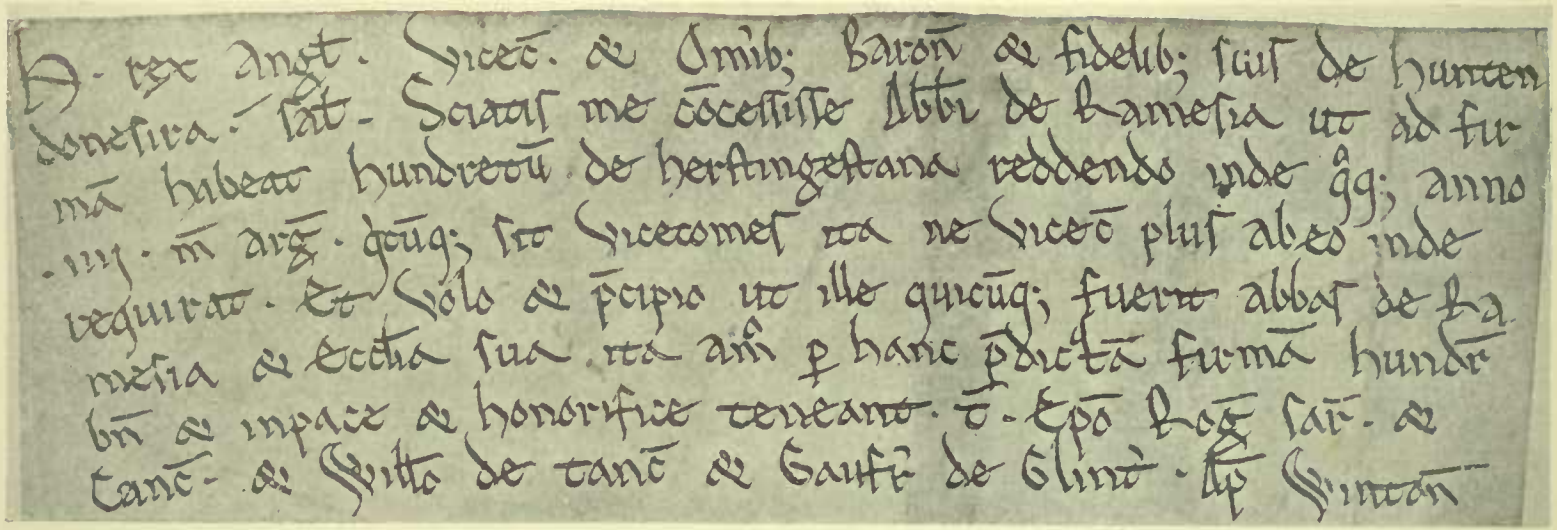
No. 224

The charter, bestowing a royal grant, is drawn up in the large Chancery set hand, much in the style of a literary work if it were not ornamented with a profusion of capital letters of cursive type. The bold character of the minuscule lettering of this example has its origin in the handsome script which we have seen developing in the course of the eleventh century in the North of France (Facs. 167, 169), and then already affecting the book-hand of the English scribes.



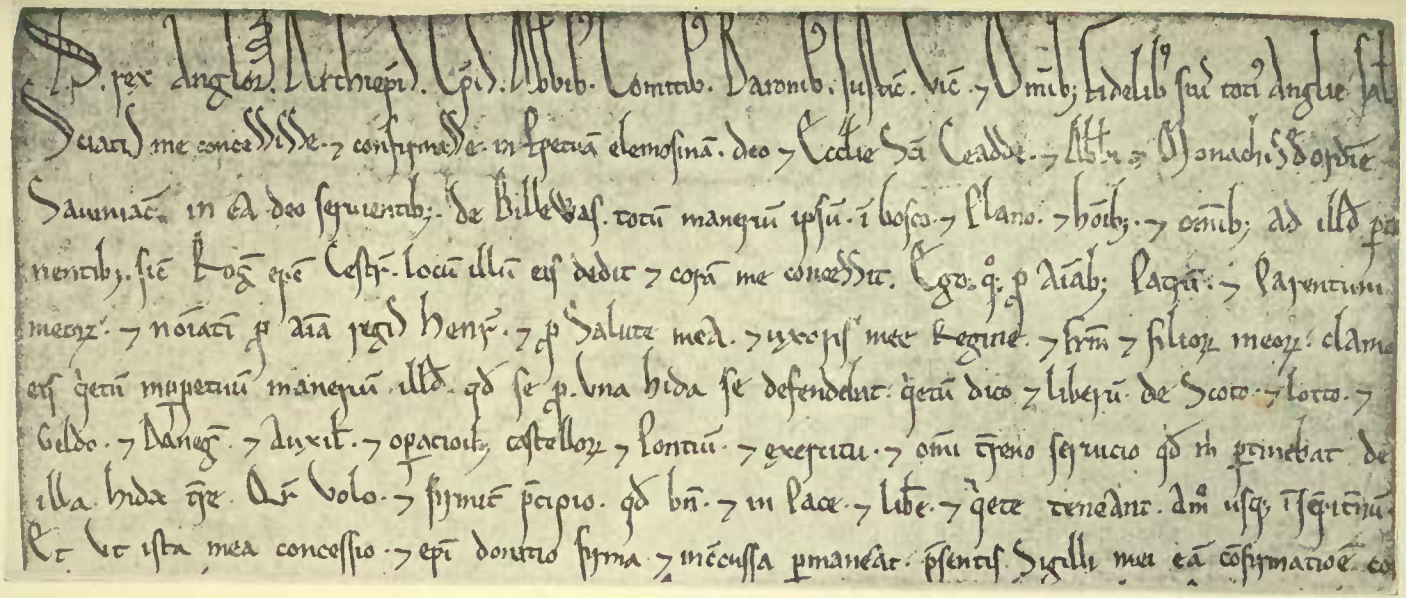
GRANT BY WILLIAM II.—A.D. 1087 (?)

(Willelmus dei gratia rex Anglorum . Osmundo salesberiensi episcopo et Omnibus Bare[nibus]— | Wiltescire salutem . Sciatis me concessisse et precepto patris mei dedisse ec[clesię]— | ibidem deo servientibus unum Manerium quod Vocatur Bremham cum Omnibus app[enticiis]— | [re]galibus consuetudinibus sibi adiacentibus . Scilicet Cum S[a]ca . et Socna . et— | penig . et Murdro . et Lestagio . et Opere Pontium . et Castellorum . et Clausura . et Omni[bus]— | Firmiter precipio . ut sic libere et quiete et In pace eum Monachi teneant.— | [sco]tis . et Hidagiis . et Danegeldo . et Omnibus placitis . et Querelis . et Scires . et Hund[redis]— | Liberius et Quietius Tenuit . vel Tenere potuit . et Defendo ne aliquis e[is])



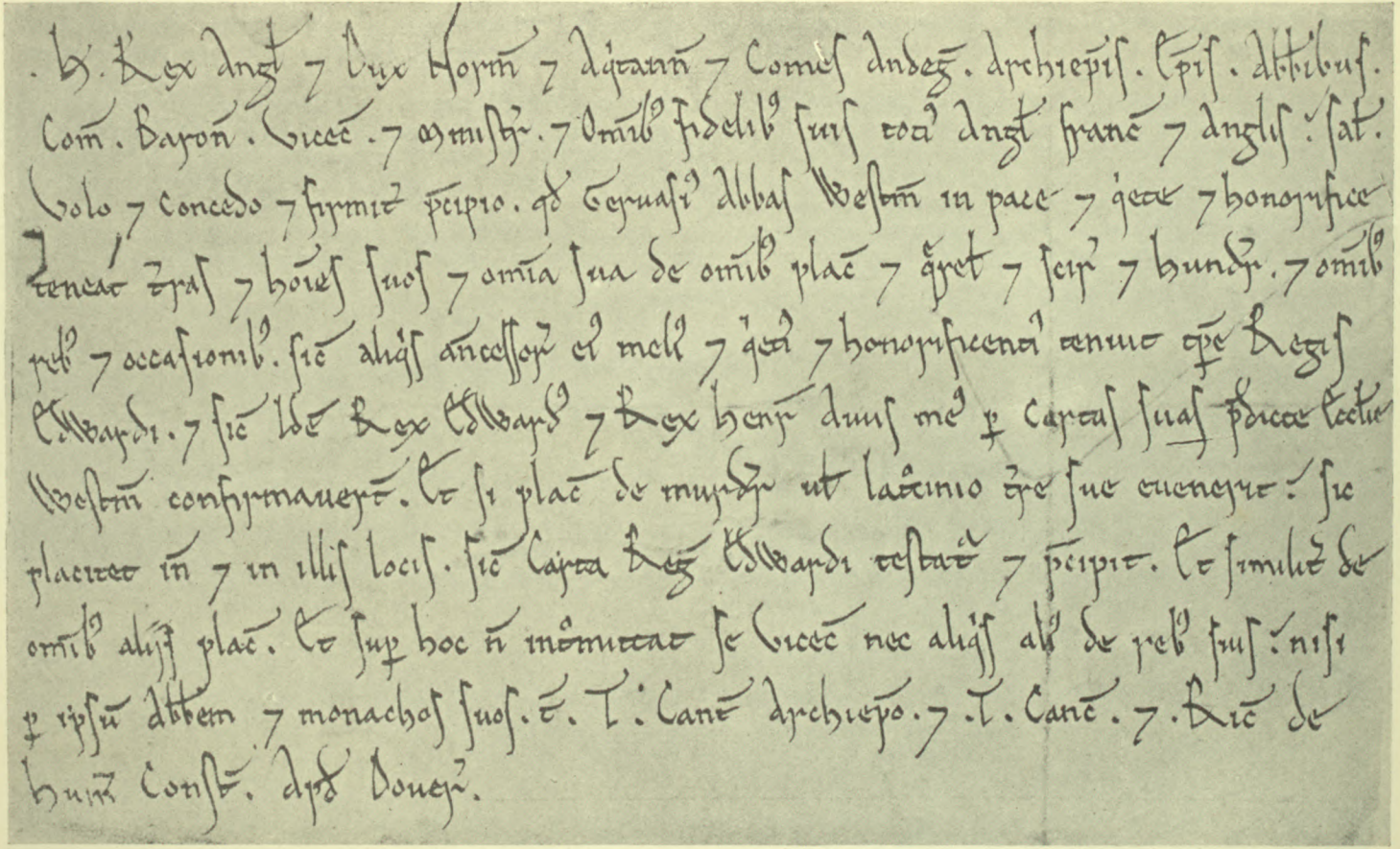
GRANT BY HENRY I.—A.D. 1120–30

(*Henricus* . rex Angl*orum* . Vicec*omiti* . et Omn*ibus* Baron*ibus* et fidelib*us* suis de Hunten|donesira .' sal*utem* . Sciatis me concessisse Abb*ati* de Ramesia ut ad fir|m*am* habeat Hundret*um* de Herstingestana reddendo inde *quoque* anno | .iiii. m*arcas* arg*enti* . quicum*que* sit Vicecomes ita ne Vicec*omes* plus ab eo inde | requirat . Et Volo et *precipio* ut ille quicum*que* fuerit abbas de Ra|mesia et Eccl*esia* sua ita amodo *per* hanc *predictam* firmam Hundr*etum* | bene et in pace et honorifice teneant . t*estibus* . Epi*scopo* Rog*ero* sar*esberiensi* . et | Canc*ellario* . et Will*elmo* de tanc*arvilla* et Gaufr*ido* de Glint*ona* . Ap*ud* Wintoni*am*)



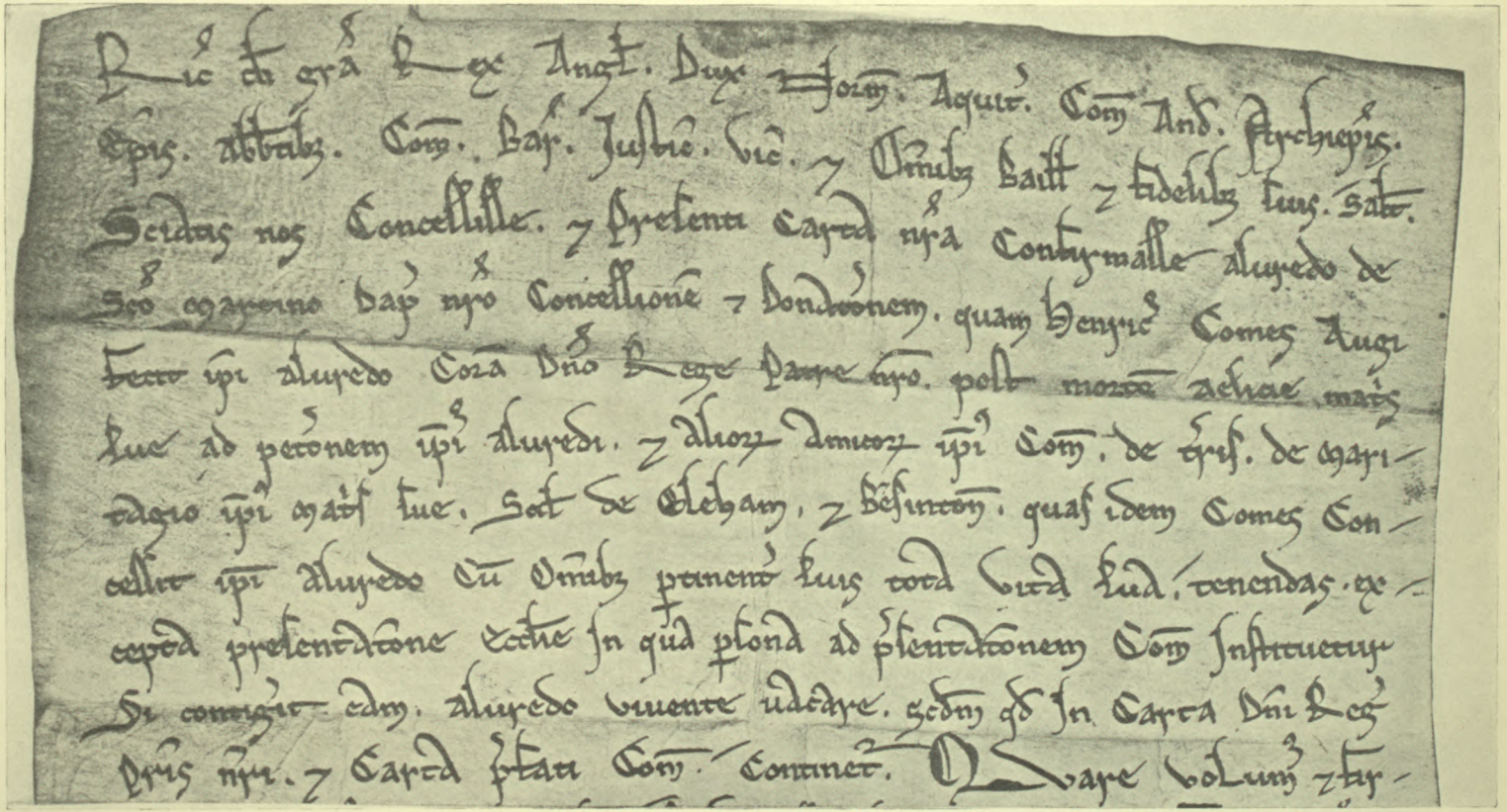
GRANT BY STEPHEN.—A.D. 1139

(*Stephanus* . rex Anglor*um* Archiepi*scop*is . Epi*scop*is . Abbat*ibus* . Comitib*us* . Baronib*us* . Iusti*ciariis* . Vic*ecomitibus* . *et* Omnib*us* Fidelib*us* suis toti*us* Anglie sal*utem* | Sciatis me concessisse . *et* confirmasse . in P*er*petuam elemosinam . deo *et* Ecclesie *Sancti* Ceadde . *et* Abbati *et* Monachis de ordi*ne* | Saviniac*ensi* . in ea deo servientib*us* de Billewas . totum manerium ipsum . *in* bosco *et* Plano . *et* hom*inibus* . *et* omnib*us* ad illud p*er*tinentib*us* . sic*ut* Rog*erus* epi*scopus* Cestr*ensis* . locum illum eis dedit *et* coram me concessit . Ego *quoque* p*ro* anim*abus* Patrum . *et* Parentum | meor*um* . *et* nominatim p*ro* anima regis Henr*ici* . *et* p*ro* Salute mea . *et* uxoris mee Regine . *et* fratr*um* *et* filior*um* meor*um*.' clamo | eis q*uie*tum in*per*petuum manerium illud q*uo*d se p*ro* . una hida se defendebat.' q*uie*tum dico *et* liberum . de Scoto . *et* lotto . *et* | Geldo . *et* Danegeldo . *et* auxil*iis* . *et* operacion*ibus* castellor*um* *et* Pontium . *et* exercitu . *et* omni terreno servicio q*uo*d mihi p*er*tinebat de | illa hida terre . *Quare* volo . *et* firmiter p*re*cipio . q*uo*d bene . *et* in Pace . *et* libere . *et* q*uie*te teneant . amodo usq*ue* *in* sempit*er*num . | Et ut ista mea concessio . *et* epi*scop*i donatio firma *et* inconcussa p*er*maneat.' p*re*sentis Sigilli mei eam con*firmatione* co[rroboro])



GRANT BY HENRY II.—A.D. 1156

(*Henricus* . Rex Angl*orum et* Dux Norm*annorum et* Aq*u*itannor*um et* Comes Andeg*avorum* . Archiep*iscop*is . Ep*iscop*is . Abb*at*ibus . | Com*itibus* . Baron*ibus* . Vicec*omitibus* . *et* Ministr*is* . *et* Omn*ibus* fidelib*us* suis tot*ius* Angl*ie* franc*is et* Anglis ⁊ sal*utem* . | Volo *et* concedo *et* firmit*er* p*re*cipio . q*uo*d Gervasi*us* Abbas Westm*onasteriensis* in pace *et* q*u*iete *et* honorifice | teneat t*er*ras *et* hom*in*es suos *et* omnia sua de om*n*ib*us* plac*itis et* q*u*erel*is et* sci*ris et* hundr*edis* . *et* om*n*ib*us* | reb*us et* occasionib*us* . sic*ut* aliq*u*is ant*e*cessor*um* ei*us* meli*us et* q*u*iet*ius et* honorificenti*us* tenuit t*empo*re Regis | Edwardi . *et* sic*ut* Idem Rex Edward*us et* Rex Henr*icus* avus me*us* p*er* cartas suas p*re*dicte Eccl*es*ie | Westm*onasteriensi* confirmaver*unt* . Et si plac*itum* de murdr*o* vel latrocinio t*er*re sue evenerit ⁊ sic | placitet in*de et* in illis locis . sic*ut* Carta Reg*is* Edwardi testat*ur et* p*re*cipit . Et similit*er* de | om*n*ib*us* aliis plac*itis* . Et sup*er* hoc n*on* intromittat se Vicec*omes* nec aliq*u*is ali*us* de reb*us* suis ⁊ nisi | p*er* ipsum Abb*at*em *et* monachos suos . t*estibus* . T[heobaldo] Cant*uariensi* Archiep*iscop*o . *et* . T[homa Becket] Canc*ellario* . *et* . Ric*ardo* de | Hum*etis* Const*abulario* . Ap*u*d Dover*am*)



GRANT BY RICHARD I.—A.D. 1189

(Ricardus dei gratia Rex Anglie . Dux Normannie . Aquitanie . Comes Andegavie . Archiepiscopis . | Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Iusticiariis . Vicecomitibus . et Omnibus Baillivis et fidelibus suis ⁊ salutem . | Sciatis nos Concessisse . et Presenti Carta nostra Confirmasse Aluredo de | Sancto Martino Dapifero nostro Concessionem et Donationem . quam Henricus Comes Augi | fecit ipsi Aluredo Coram Domino Rege Patre nostro . post mortem Aelicie matris | sue ad petitionem ipsius Aluredi . et aliorum amicorum ipsius Comitis . de terris . de Mari|tagio ipsius Matris sue . Scilicet de Eleham . et Bensintona . quas idem Comes Con|cessit ipsi Aluredo Cum Omnibus pertinentiis suis tota vita sua ⁊ tenendas . ex|cepta presentatione Ecclesie in qua persona ad presentationem Comitis Instituetur | Si contigerit eam . Aluredo vivente vacare . secundum quod In Carta Domini Regis | Patris nostri . et Carta prefati Comitis ⁊ Continetur . Quare volumus et fir[miter])

In another style is the next specimen, being a grant by Henry I to the Abbot of Ramsey of the hundred of Hurstingstone, co. Huntingdon, at a rent of four marcs (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 33629), between the years 1120 and 1130 (*Facs. Roy. Ch.* 4).

No. 225

This charter, being in the nature of a notification to the sheriff and others of the county of Huntingdon and therefore an administrative document, is written in the smaller Chancery hand, a rather rough but vigorous, pointed, backward-sloping script, the characteristics of which can be followed in similar documents of succeeding reigns.

Next is a charter of Stephen confirming to the Abbey of St. Chad of Buildwas, in Shropshire, the manor of Buildwas, and releasing it from all service (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Nero C. iii. f. 172), dated at the siege of Shrewsbury, A.D. 1139 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 21).

No. 226

Here again, the deed being a confirmation, the writing is altogether of an official character: the recognized, pointed Chancery hand. The exaggeration of the vertical strokes of the letters forming the first line of the deed is quite in accordance with the practice of the foreign Chanceries.

Of the next reign a good example is found in a charter among the muniments of Westminster Abbey (no. xliv), whereby Henry II confirms to Abbot Gervase the right of pleas, etc., throughout the possessions of the abbey, without interference of the sheriff; A.D. 1156 (*New Pal. Soc.* 98).

No. 227

The writing is again in the pointed Chancery hand, reduced to a more refined type, and exhibiting a sense of more careful calligraphy in the better uniformity of the scale of the letters.

A specimen of the reign of Richard I is taken from a charter (Brit. Mus., Egerton Ch. 372) whereby the king confirms Alured de Saint Martin in the possession of lands in Ewelme and Bensington, in Oxfordshire, A.D. 1189 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 195).

No. 228

This Chancery hand reverts rather to the less exact style, as compared with the last specimen; but, notwithstanding, it is a vigorous, and, in the general formation of the letters, fairly uniform hand, disguising its better qualities by the dashing freedom of the exaggerated strokes.

In the five deeds of the Norman period which have been submitted, the profusion of large letters is a prominent feature; and long strokes are drawn out into fine hair-lines, and are occasionally provided with an ornamental spur near the top of the vertical stems, which thus have the appearance of being cloven. It will be seen that this last detail leads on in the thirteenth century to an elaborate system of calligraphic ornamentation, which becomes so systematized as, by the stages of its developement, to afford clues for fixing the periods of undated documents.

A style of the charter-hand not uncommon in private documents of the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century—rather squarer in its forms of letters and less exaggerated than the official hand—is shown in the following facsimile. It is taken from a deed of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem (Brit. Mus., Harley Ch. 44, E. 21), granting land in Wykeham, co. Lincoln, A.D. 1205 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 117).

No. 229

Except for its being rather looser in the formation of its letters and more subject to flourishes, there is no great difference between this writing and the ordinary book-hand of the period; and it is to be observed that not infrequently the style of writing employed in monastic charters is rather of the literary than of the legal type, that is, it is more set than cursive. This is only what might be expected, as the monastic scriptoria would naturally cultivate the book-hand before all other styles (see p. 464).

This preference of the more exact style of writing is conspicuous in many of the charters of the thirteenth century (the period when, as we have seen above, a more minute character was in vogue), contrasting strongly with the bold writing of the preceding century. Under this restrictive influence, a highly decorative class of documents was produced, in which the scribe exercised with effect his powers of penmanship in fanciful ornamentation of the capitals and the stems of tall letters.

This tendency to ornament shows itself not only in private charters but also in the official hands. An example of this style occurs in a charter of King John among the Corporation records of Wilton, in Wiltshire, confirming to the burgesses of the merchants' guild freedom from tolls and customary dues, A.D. 1204 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 214).

No. 230

In this specimen of Chancery hand the regulating influence of the thirteenth-century style is very apparent; and the ornamental character in general of the writing and the decoration of the stems, above referred to, mark a new period, in strong contrast to the rougher, though vigorous, character of the cursive official writing of the previous century.

This style is carried a stage further in a grant by Henry III to the Abbey of Bec in Normandy of land in the manor of Weedon Bec, co. Northampton; A.D. 1227 (Eton College Library; *New Pal. Soc.* 149).

No. 231

This document, like the preceding one, exhibits the growing tendency to regularity in the general style of the writing, but at the same time compliance with the tradition of the official cursive in the exaggerated length of the stems of letters rising above the line. The decoration with notches or spurs at the top of the stems began at this period to take a further developement by extending the spurs in hair-lines which fall to the right and left of the stems in curves or loops. Some instances of this may be seen in the present example. This form of ornamentation became characteristic of charters of Henry the Third towards the middle of the thirteenth century, and lasted, with modifications, into the fourteenth century.

The next example is an instance of the lightly written pointed Chancery hand. It is a notification, issued by Henry III to his foresters of Essex, of the submission of Gilbert Marshall and others, and of the restoration to them of their lands (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 28402), and commanding the said foresters to aid the sheriff against disturbers of the peace; A.D. 1234 (*New Pal. Soc.* 150).

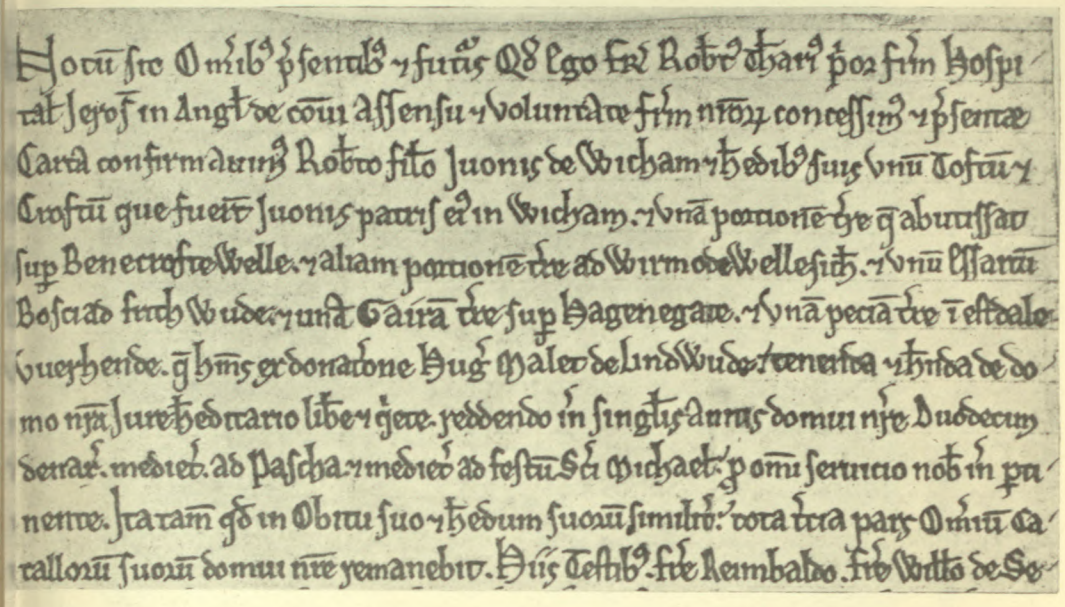
No. 232

In this example we can discern the traditional style of the earlier Chancery hands of Henry I and Henry II (Facs. 225, 227) still maintained in the pointed character of the letters and the backward slope of the writing, but of course modified in details in accordance with the general developement of the period.

As the century advances, more pliancy in the character of the cursive hands, both in official and in private documents, is observable, leading to modifications in the forms of letters. The curving and looping of the hair-strokes attached to the tall stems has already been referred to. The head of the letter a, on the same principle, is gradually bent downwards and, eventually touching the lower bow, forms an upper closed loop; and the small round s becomes more frequent at the ends of words and is formed, somewhat like the numeral 6, with a loop which tends to exaggeration.

The following Letters Patent of Henry III (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 19828) is a good instance of this later developement. The deed is an official recognition of the attorneys of a crusader, who is accompanying Prince Edward to the Holy Land; A.D. 1270 (*New Pal. Soc.* 219).

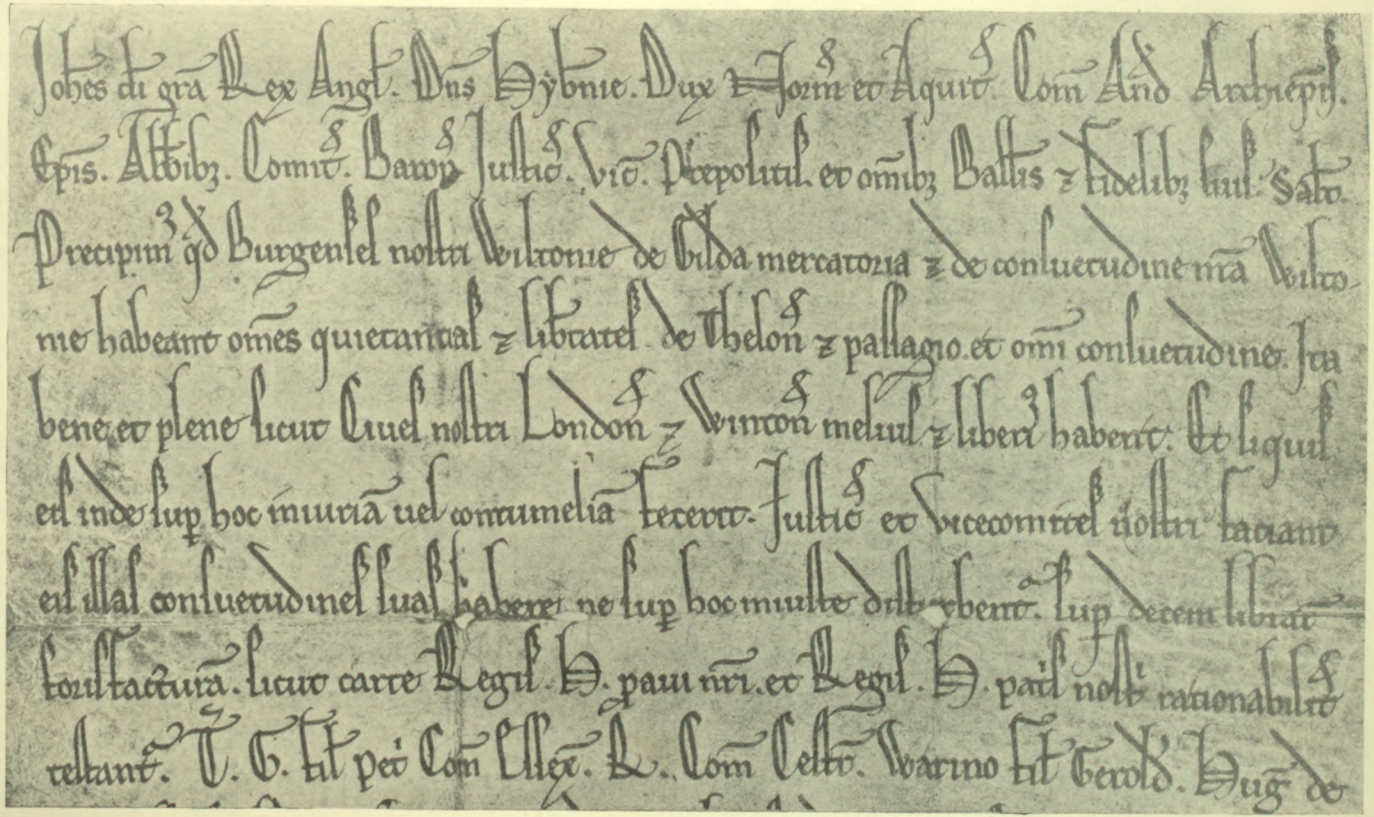
FACSIMILE NO. 229



CHARTER OF THE HOSPITALLERS.—A.D. 1205

(Notum sit Omnibus presentibus et futuris Quod Ego Frater Robertus Thesaurarius Prior fratrum Hospitalis Ierosolomitani in Anglia de communi assensu et voluntate fratrum nostrorum concessimus et presentae | Carta confirmavimus Roberto filio Ivonis de Wicham et heredibus suis unum Toftum et | Croftum que fuerunt Ivonis patris eius in Wicham . et unam portionem terre que abutissat | super Benecroftewelle . et aliam portionem terre ad Wirmodewellesicham . et unum Essartum | Bosci ad frithwude . et unam Gairam terre super Hagenegate . et unam peciam terre in estdale|uverhende . que habuimus ex donatione Hugonis Malet de Lindwude ! tenenda et habenda de do|mo nostra Iure hereditario libere et quiete . reddendo inde singulis annis domui nostre Duodecim | denarios . medietatem . ad Pascha . et medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis ! pro omni servicio nobis inde perti|nente . Ita tamen quod in Obitu suo et heredum suorum similiter ! tota tercia pars Omnium Ca|tallorum suorum domui nostre remanebit . Hiis Testibus . fratre Reimbaldo . fratre Willelmo de Se-)

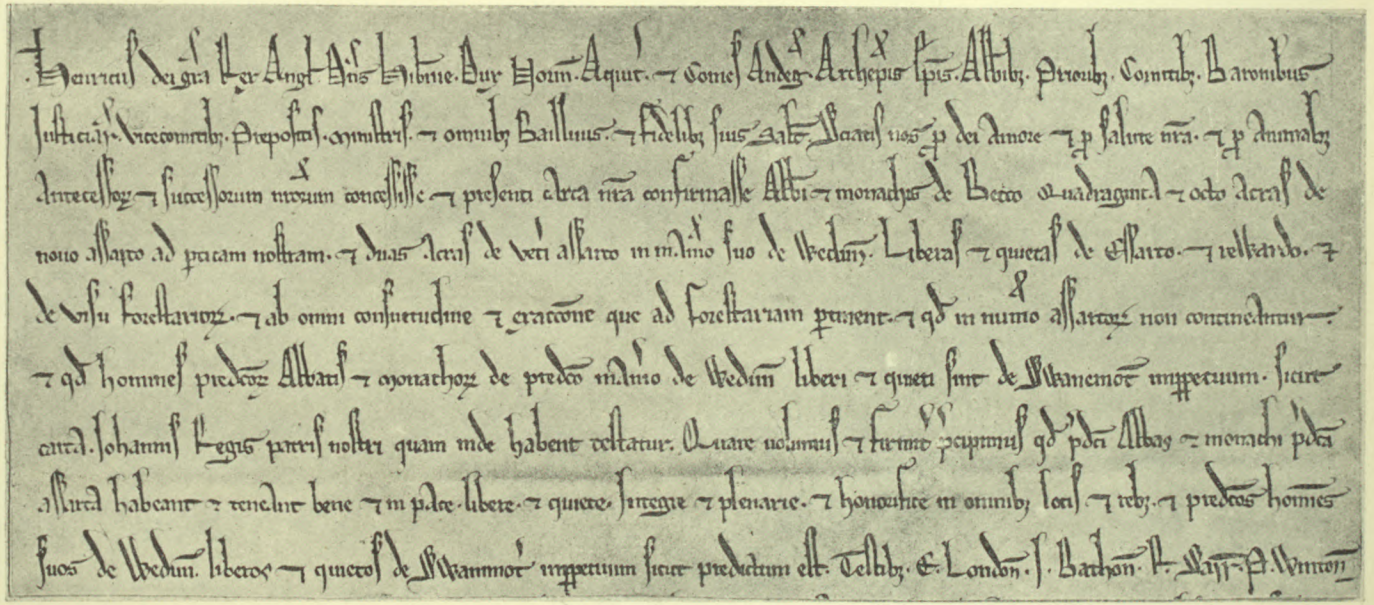
FACSIMILE NO. 230



CHARTER OF KING JOHN.—A.D. 1204

(Iohannes dei gratia Rex Anglie . Dominus Hybernie . Dux Normannie et Aquitanie . Comes Andegavie . Archiepiscopis . | Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Iusticiariis . Vicecomitibus . Prepositis . et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis : Salutem . | Precipimus quod Burgenses nostri Wiltonie de Gilda mercatoria et de consuetudine nostra Wilto|nie habeant omnes quietancias et libertates . de Thelonio et passagio . et omni consuetudine . Ita | bene et plene sicut Cives nostri Londoniarum et Wintonie melius et liberius habent . Et si quis | eis inde super hoc iniuriam vel contumeliam fecerit : Iusticiarii et Vicecomites nostri : faciant | eis illas consuetudines suas habere ne super hoc iniuste disturbentur . super decem librarum | forisfacturam . sicut carte Regis . Henrici proavi nostri . et Regis . Henrici patris nostri rationabiliter | testantur . Testibus . Galfrido filio Petri Comite Essexie . Ranulpho Comite Cestrie . Warino filio Geroldi . Hugone de)

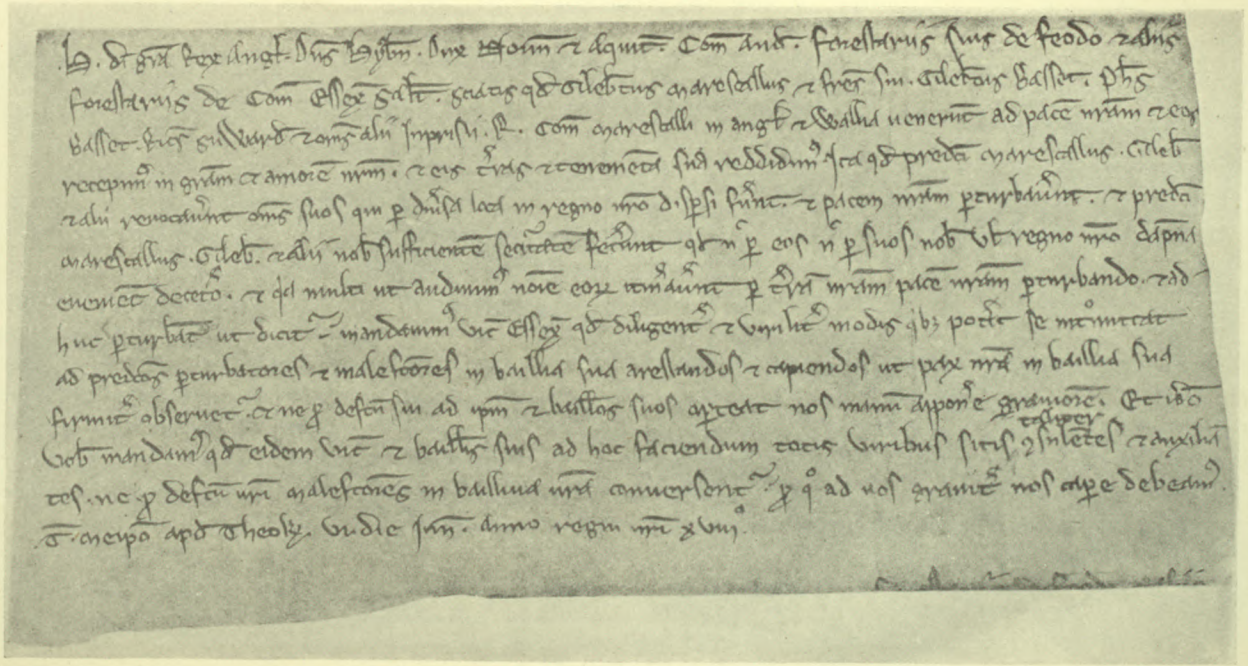
FACSIMILE No. 231



GRANT BY HENRY III.—A.D. 1227

(Henricus dei gr*a*t*i*a Rex Angl*ie* Dom*in*us Hib*er*nie · Dux Norm*annie* · Aquit*anie* · *et* Comes Andeg*avie* · Archiep*iscop*is Ep*iscop*is · Abb*at*ib*us* · Prioribus · Comitib*us* · Baronibus · | Iusticiar*iis* · Vicecomitib*us* · Prepositis · Ministris · *et* omnib*us* Baillivis · *et* fidelib*us* suis Sal*utem* · Sciatis nos p*ro* dei amore *et* p*ro* salute nost*ra* · *et* p*ro* animab*us* | antecessor*um* *et* successorum nost*ro*rum concessisse *et* presenti carta nost*ra* confirmasse Abb*ati* *et* monachis de Becco Quadraginta *et* octo acras de | novo assarto ad p*er*ticam nostram · *et* duas acras de vet*eri* assarto in man*er*io suo de Wedun*a* · Liberas *et* quietas de Essarto · *et* rewardo · *et* | de visu forestarior*um* · *et* ab omni consuetudine *et* exacc*i*one que ad forestariam p*er*tinent · *et* quod in num*e*ro assartor*um* non contineantur · | *et* quod homines pred*ict*or*um* Abbatis *et* Monachor*um* de pred*icto* man*er*io de Wedun*a* liberi *et* quieti sint de Swanemoto imp*er*petuum · sicut | carta · Iohannis Regis patris nostri quam inde habent testatur. Quare volumus *et* firmit*er* p*re*cipimus quod p*redicti* Abbas *et* monachi p*redicta* | assarta habeant *et* teneant bene *et* in pace · libere · *et* quiete · Integre *et* plenarie · *et* honorifice in omnib*us* locis *et* reb*us* · *et* pred*ict*os homines | suos de Wedun*a* · liberos *et* quietos de Swanimoto inp*er*petuum sicut predictum est · Testib*us* · E. Londoni*ensi* · I. Bathoni*ensi* · R. Sarri*sburiensi* · P. Wintoni*ensi*)

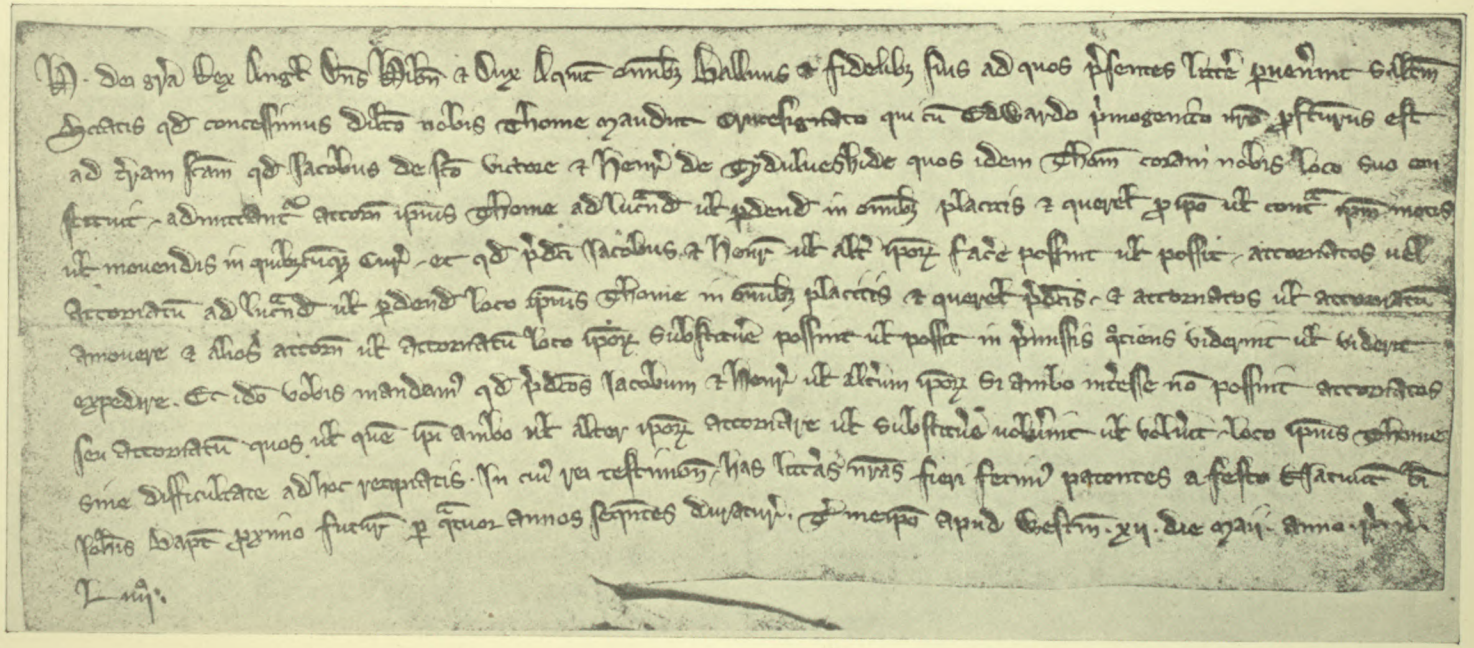
Facsimile No. 232



Notification of Henry III.—A.D. 1234

(Henricus · dei gratia Rex Anglie · Dominus Hybernie · Dux Normannie et Aquitanie · Comes Andegavie · forestariis suis de feodo et aliis | forestariis de Comitatu Essexie Salutem · Sciatis quod Gilebertus Marescallus et fratres sui · Gilebertus Basset · Philippus | Basset · Ricardus Suward et omnes alii Inprisii · Ricardi · Comitis Marescalli in anglia et Wallia venerunt ad pacem nostram et eos | recepimus in gratiam et amorem nostrum · et eis terras et tenementa sua reddidimus · Ita quod predicti Marescallus · Gilebertus | et alii revocaver[u]nt omnes suos qui per diversa loca in regno nostro dispersi fuer[u]nt · et pacem nostram perturbaver[u]nt · et predicti | Marescallus · Gilebertus · et alii nobis sufficientem securitatem fecerunt quod nec per eos nec per suos nobis vel regno nostro dampna | evenient decetero · et quia multi ut audivimus nomine eorum itineraver[u]nt per terram nostram pacem nostram perturbando · et ad|huc perturbant ut dicitur : mandavimus vicecomiti Essexie quod diligenter et viriliter modis quibus poterit se intromittat | ad predictos perturbatores et malefactores in baillia sua arestandos et capiendos ut pax nostra in baillia sua | firmiter observetur · et ne pro defectu sui ad ipsum et baillivos suos oporteat nos manum apponere graviorem. Et ideo | vobis mandamus quod eidem vicecomiti et baillivis suis ad hoc faciendum totis viribus sitis 'taliter' consulentes et auxilian|tes · ne pro defectu vestri Malefactores in bailliva vestra conversentur : pro quo ad vos graviter nos capere debeamus· | Teste Me ipso apud Theokesburiam · vi · die Iunii · anno regni nostri xviii° ·)

Facsimile No. 233



Letters Patent of Henry III.—a.d. 1270

(*Henricus* . dei gr*a*tia Rex Angl*ie* Dom*in*us Hib*ernie et* Dux Aquit*anie* om*nibus* Ballivis*et* fidelib*us* suis ad quos p*re*sentes litt*e*re p*er*vene*r*int sal*u*tem | Sciatis q*uod* concessimus dil*ecto* nobis Thome Maudut Crucesignato qui cu*m* Edwardo p*ri*mogenito no*st*ro *profec*turus est | ad t*er*ram *sanct*am q*uod* Iacobus de *sancto* victore *et* Henr*icus* de Tẏdulueshide quos idem Thom*as* coram nobis loco suo con|stituit/ admittant*ur* attorn*ati* ips*ius* Thome ad luc*rand*um vel p*er*dend*um* in om*nib*us placitis *et* querel*is* *pro* ipso vel cont*r*a ips*u*m motis | vel movendis in quib*uscumque* Curiis/ et *quod* p*redicti* Iacobus *et* Henr*icus* vel alt*er* ipsor*um* fac*ere* possint vel possit/ attornatos vel | attornatu*m* ad luc*rand*um vel p*er*dend*um* loco ips*ius* Thome in om*nib*us placitis *et* querel*is* *predictis*/ *et* attornatos vel attornatu*m* | amovere *et* alios attorn*atos* vel attornatu*m* loco ips*orum* substitu*ere* possint vel possit in p*re*missis q*uo*ciens viderint vel viderit | expedire. Et id*eo* vobis mandam*us* *quod* *predict*os Iacobum *et* Henr*icum* vel alt*er*um ipsor*um* si ambo int*eresse* no*n* possint attornatos | seu attornatu*m* quos vel qu*em* ipsi ambo vel alter ipsor*um* attornare vel substitu*ere* volu*erint* vel volu*erit*/ loco ips*ius* Thome | sine difficultate ad hoc recipiatis. In cui*us* rei testimon*ium* has litt*er*as no*st*ras fieri fecim*us* patentes a festo Nativit*atis* b*eati* | Ioh*ann*is Bapt*iste* p*ro*ximo futur*o* p*er* q*uatuor* annos seq*uentes* durat*ur*as. T*este* me ipso apud Westm*onasterium* . xij . die Maii . anno . r*egni* *nostri* | LIIII°:)

No. 233

In this charter we have an instance of a new developement of what may be termed the decorative side of diplomatic penmanship, namely, the accentuation of the contrast of light and heavy strokes, effected by a greater stress of the pen in the formation of tall vertical limbs, and of downward curves as seen especially in such letters as a and d and in the marks of abbreviation and contraction. This exaggeration of contrast affected the structure of the official hands for a long time.

The charters of the reign of Edward I carry on the tradition of the cursive official hand, as we have just now seen it, in its relaxing stage, and show a further advance in the more open order of the letters and in the tendency to roundness characteristic of the fourteenth century.

The following is a typical example (Brit. Mus., Harley Ch. 43, D. 9). It is a licence to Newhouse Abbey, co. Lincoln, to receive a re-grant of land from the Earl of Lincoln; A. D. 1303 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 254).

No. 234

Here we have entered on the fourteenth century, a period when the great change which, as we have seen, came over the literary handwriting of England, also affected the official and legal cursive hands. In the charter before us a further developement in the closed and looped a and in the round s referred to above is to be noticed. At this time also a change begins in the formation of the tall letters: the spur or flourish on the left side at the top of the stem is in some instances dispensed with, leaving the letter provided with a simple curve or loop on the right, instead of a cloven top. Further progress in these particulars is seen in the charters of the reign of Edward II, in the course of which the style of decoration of the tall stems, just noticed, becomes more and more characteristic.

As a specimen of a private charter, in which the developements affecting the official and legal cursive hand, noted above, are fairly well represented, we may select a release (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 23834) by John de St. John of the manor of Amport, co. Southampton, of the year 1306 (*New Pal. Soc.* 197).

No. 235

The writing of this charter is interesting as an illustration of a transitional stage, in which the stiffness of the thirteenth century is not altogether forgotten, while the pliancy of the new style manifests itself in the easier flow and wider spacing generally of the text. The characteristic forms of closed a and round s, noted above, and the prevalence of the curve or loop on the right of the tall stems, are to

be observed. This class of writing is prevalent in charters of the later years of Edward I's reign.

The official deeds of Edward III's reign gradually throw off the round style which was characteristic of the two preceding reigns, and begin to assume the rather pointed formation of the letters which developes more strongly as time passes. The following specimen (reduced) is from an Inspeximus of Edward III, under the Great Seal (Brit. Mus., Harley Ch. 83, C. 13), of an accord in Parliament restoring Richard de Arundel to the honours of the earldom of Arundel; A. D. 1331 (*New Pal. Soc.* 198).

No. 236

This formal Chancery hand appears in the Letters Patent and other deeds issued under the Great Seal of Edward's reign, and has an individual character which cannot be mistaken. Examining the several letters, one readily traces their descent from those of the later period of the reign of Henry III (e.g. Facs. 233); but, at the same time, the wide difference in general character between the hands of the two reigns marks the rapid progress effected in the interval. It is interesting to note the employment of exaggerated ornamental letters in the first line: a survival of the ancient practice, which again, as we shall see from other examples, lasted to a still later date.

The next specimen (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11308), written more freely, shows the growing angular or pointed treatment of the letters. It is an undertaking of the Black Prince to observe the extension of time for fulfilment of the treaty of Bretigny; A. D. 1360 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 140).

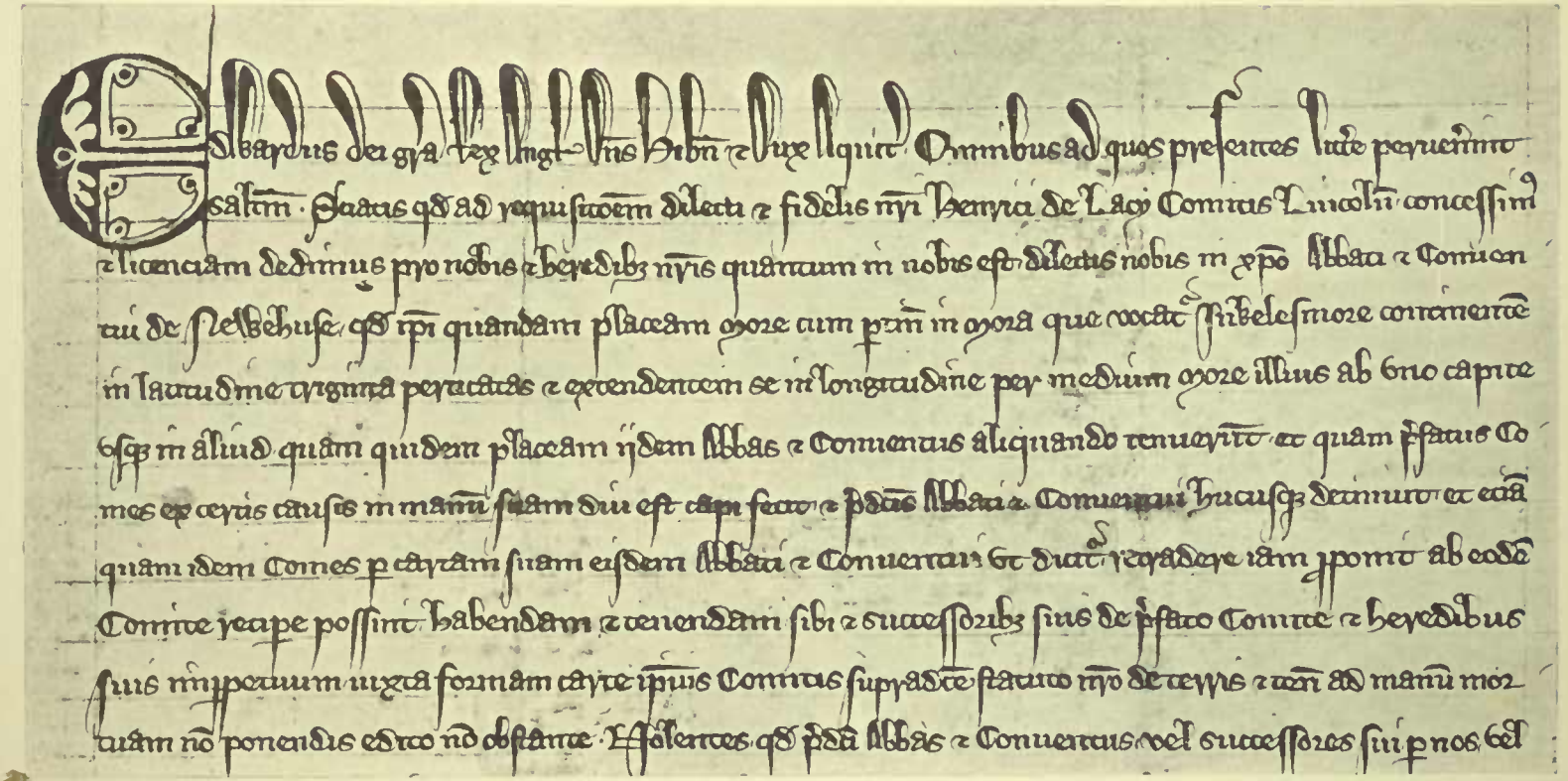
No. 237

This deed, written by an official secretary, exhibits an advanced style, foreshadowing the pointed and angular character which was to be the common form of the cursive of the next generation. But the same progress was not to be looked for everywhere. While an official clerk, working in the centre of public affairs, would be conversant with the latest forms of official handwriting, in the provinces or in the quiet of monastic life, where things would not move so fast, older fashions would prevail.

Thus, our next example presents an older appearance (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 20620). It is an undertaking of the Prior and Convent of Sempringham to pray for members of the family of Marmion; A. D. 1379 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 256).

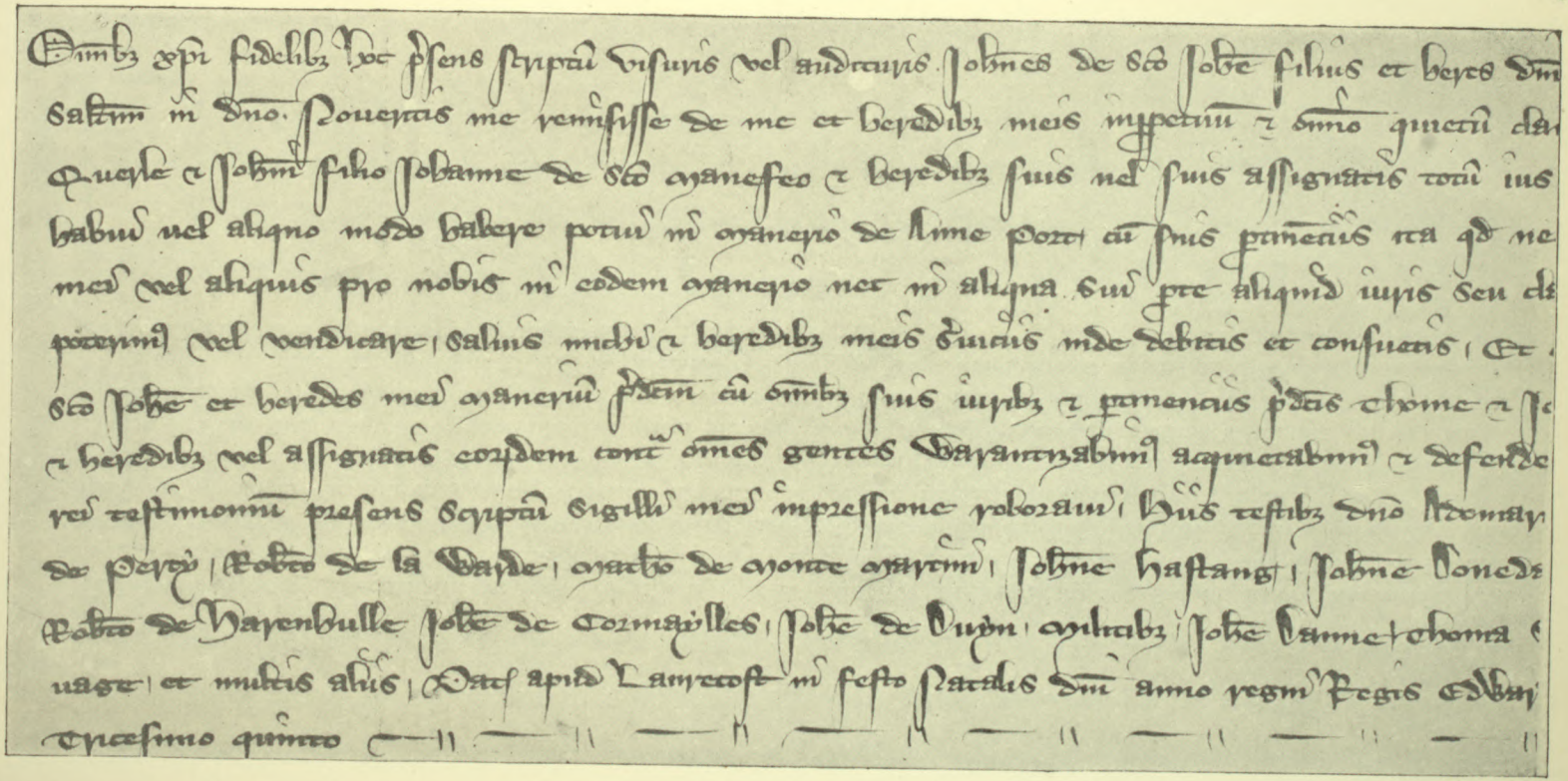
No. 238

This less cursive hand is of the class which was much practised in monastic establishments, and was employed to a considerable extent



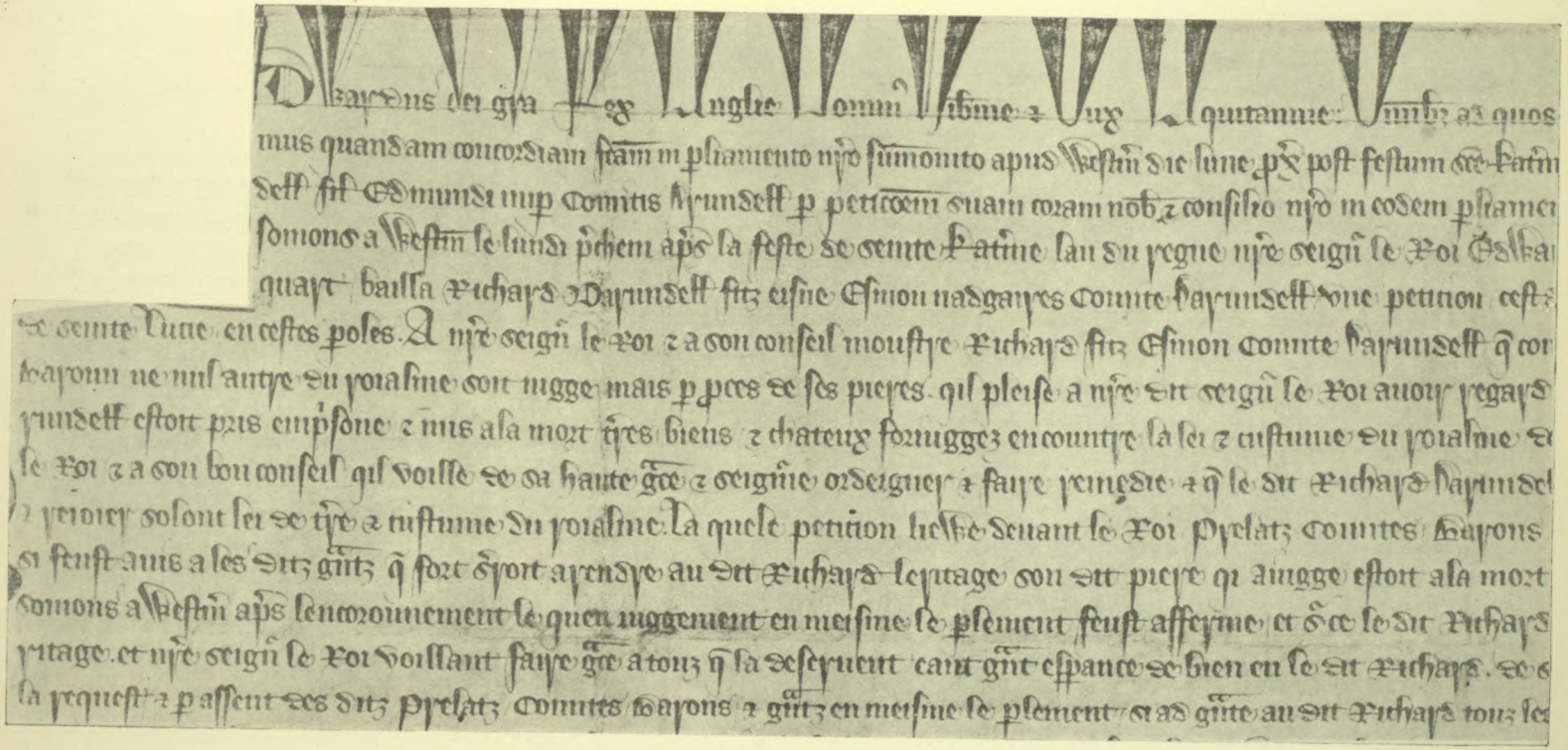
LICENCE BY EDWARD I.—A. D. 1303

(Edwardus dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie . Omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint | salutem . Sciatis quod ad requisitionem dilecti et fidelis nostri Henrici de Lacy Comitis Lincolnie / concessimus | et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est / dilectis nobis in christo Abbati et Conven|tui de Newehuse / quod ipsi quandam placeam More cum pertinentiis in Mora que vocatur Inkelesmore continentem | in latitudine triginta perticatas et extendentem se in longitudine per medium More illius ab uno capite | usque in aliud quam quidem placeam iidem Abbas et Conventus aliquando tenuerunt / et quam prefatus Co|mes ex certis causis in manum suam diu est capi fecit . et predictis Abbati et Conventui hucusque detinuit / et eciam | quam idem Comes per cartam suam eisdem Abbati et Conventui ut dicitur / retradere iam proponit ab eodem | Comite recipere possint / Habendam et tenendam sibi et successoribus suis de prefato Comite et heredibus | suis imperpetuum iuxta formam carte ipsius Comitis supradicte / statuto nostro de terris et tenementis ad manum mor|tuam non ponendis edito non obstante . Nolentes / quod predicti Abbas et Conventus / vel successores sui per nos / vel)



DEED OF JOHN DE ST. JOHN.—A. D. 1306.

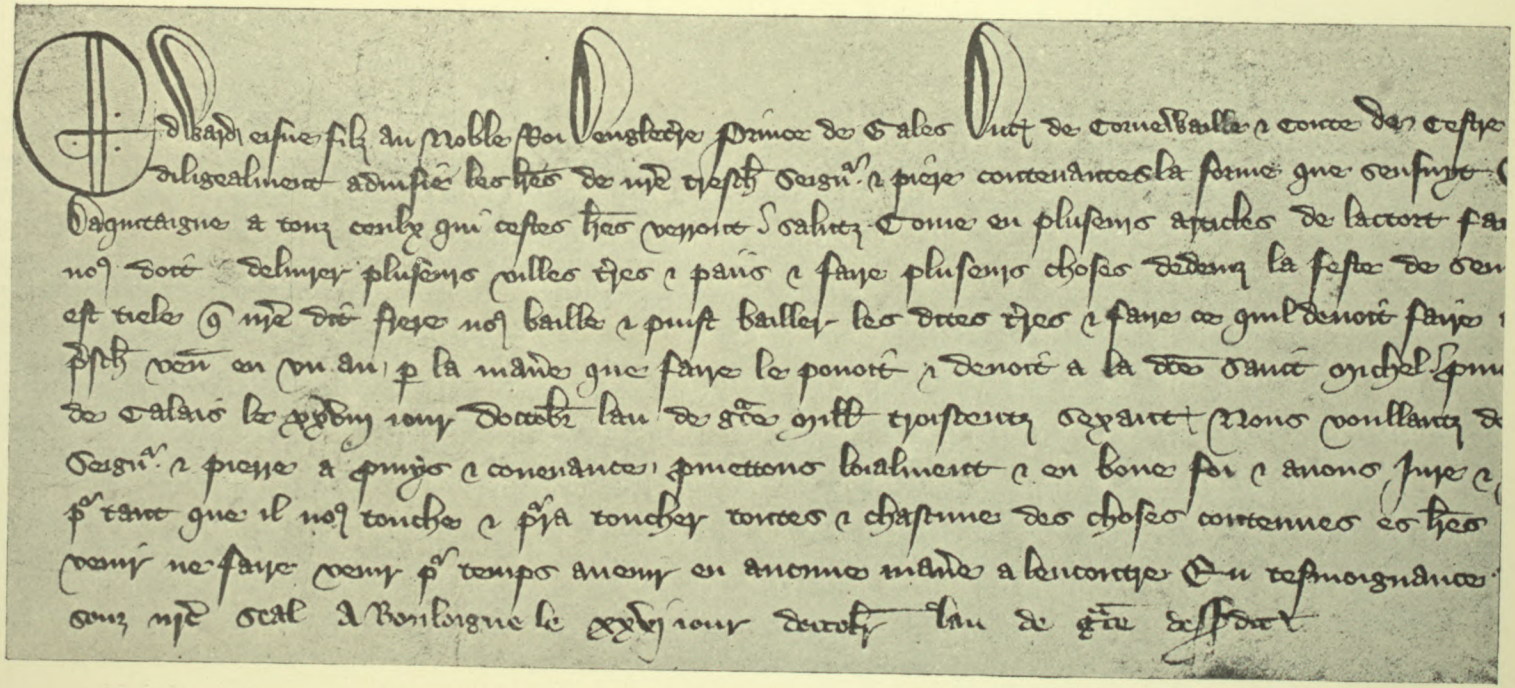
(Om*ni*bus Chr*isti* fidelib*us* hoc p*re*sens scriptum visuris vel audituris. Ioh*an*nes de s*ancto* Ioh*anne* filius et heres d*omi*ni [Ioh*an*nis de *sancto* Ioh*anne*] | sal*ut*em in d*omi*no. Noveritis me remisisse de me et heredib*us* meis inp*er*petuum *et* omn*i*no quietum cla[masse Thome de] | Querle *et* Ioh*an*ni filio Iohanne de *sancto* Manefeo *et* heredib*us* suis vel suis assignatis totum ius [et clamium quod] | habui vel aliquo modo habere potui in Manerio de Anne Port cum suis p*er*tinen*c*iis ita q*uo*d ne[c ego nec heredes] | mei vel aliquis pro nobis in eodem Manerio nec in aliqua sui p*ar*te aliquid iuris seu cla[mii de cetero exige*re*] | poterim*us* vel vendicare | salvis michi *et* heredib*us* meis s*er*viciis inde debitis et consuetis | Et [ego d*ic*tus Ioh*an*nes de] | s*ancto* Ioh*anne* et heredes mei Manerium p*redictum* cum omn*ibus* suis iurib*us* *et* p*er*tinenciis p*redict*is Thome *et* Io[hanni filio Iohanne] | *et* heredib*us* vel assignatis eor*um*dem contra omnes gentes Warantizabim*us* acquietabim*us* *et* defende[m*us* inp*er*petuum. In cui*us*] | rei testimonium presens scriptum sigilli mei inpressione roboravi | Hiis testib*us* d*omi*no Adomar[o de Valencia | Henrico] | de Percỳ | Rob*er*to de la Warde | Math*eo* de Monte Martini | Ioh*anne* Hastang | Ioh*anne* Doveda[le Rob*er*to de Bures] | Rob*er*to de Harenhulle Ioh*anne* de Cormaỳlles | Ioh*anne* de Duỳn | Militib*us* | Ioh*anne* Danne | Thoma [Spirecok | Will*elm*o le Sa]vage | et multis aliis | Dat*um* apud Lanrecost in festo Natalis d*omi*ni anno regni Regis Edwar[di filii Regis Henrici] | Tricesimo quinto)



INSPEXIMUS OF EDWARD III.—A. D. 1331

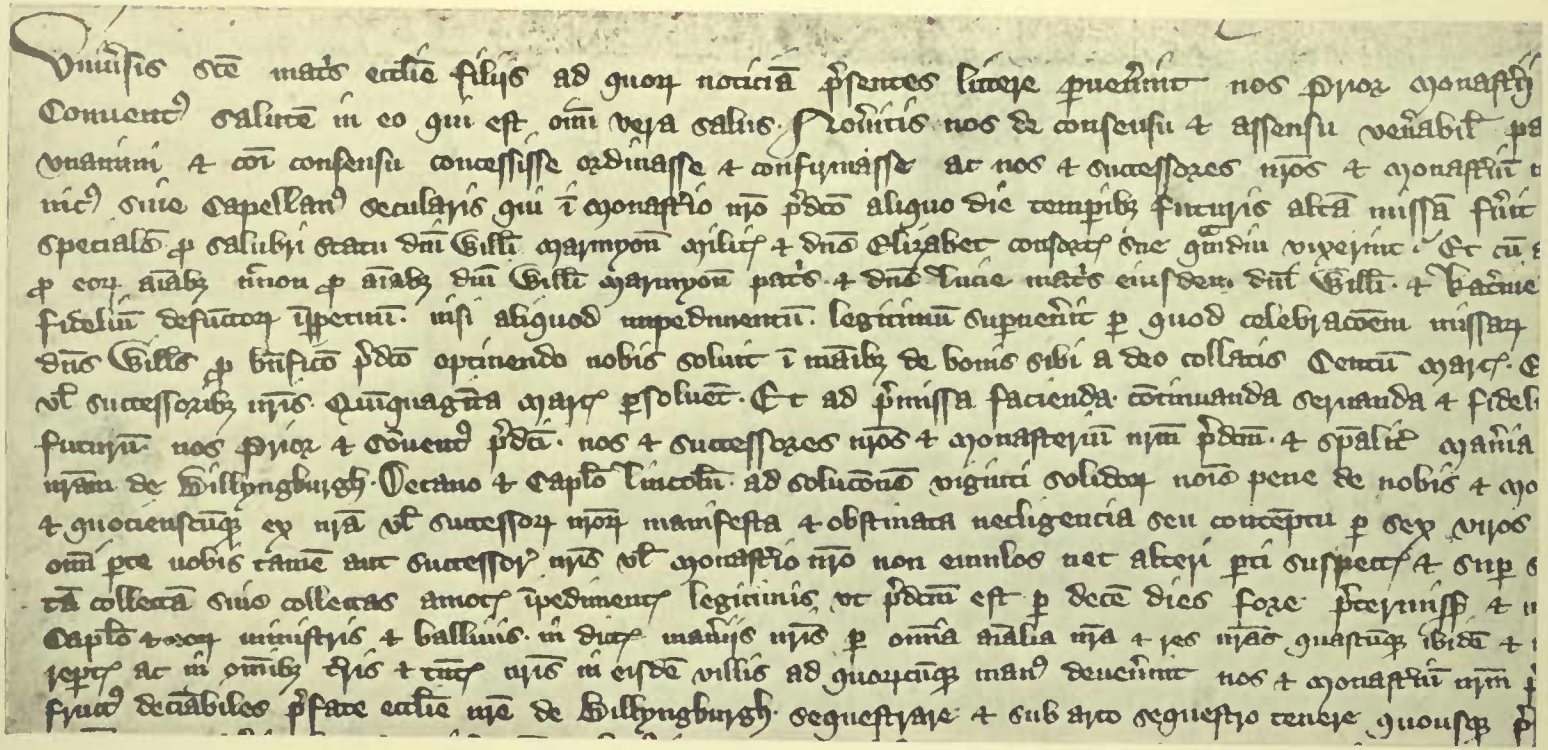
([E]dwardus dei gra*cia* Rex Anglie Domin*us* Hib*er*nie *et* Dux Aquitannie *:* Om*nibus* ad quos— | mus quandam concordiam *fact*am in pa*r*liamento *nost*ro su*m*monito apud Westm*onasterium* die lune p*roxima* post festum *sancte* Kat*er*in[e]— | dell fil*ii* Edmundi nup*er* Comitis Arundell p*er* petic*ionem* suam coram nob*is et* consilio *nost*ro in eodem pa*r*liame[nto]— | somons a Westm*ostre* le lundi p*re*chein ap*re*s la feste de seinte Kat*er*ine lan du regne *nost*re seign*ur* le Roi Edwa[rd]— | quart / bailla Richard Darundell fitz eisne Esmon nadgaires Counte Darundell une peticion / cest— | de seinte Lucie / en cestes pa*r*oles. A *nost*re seign*ur* le Roi *et* a son conseil moustre Richard fitz Esmon Counte Darundell q*e* co[me]— | Baroun / ne nul autre du roialme soit iugge mais pa*r* p*ro*ces de ses pieres / qil pleise a *nost*re dit seign*ur* le Roi avoir regard /— | rundell estoit pris emp*r*isone / *et* mis a la mort t*er*res / biens / *et* chateux foriuggez encountre la lei *et* custume du roialme / de— | le Roi / *et* a son bon conseil qil voille de sa haute g*r*ace *et* seign*ur*ie ordeigner *et* faire remedie / *et* q*e* le dit Richard Darunde[ll]— | *et* reioier solonc lei de t*er*re *et* custume du roialme. La quele peticion liewe devant le Roi / Prelatz / Countes / Barons— | si feust avis a les ditz g*r*antz q*e* fort s*er*roit a rendre au dit Richard leritage son dit piere qi aiugge estoit a la mort— | somons a Westm*ostre* ap*re*s lencorounement le queu iuggement en meisme le pa*r*lement feust afferme / et s*ur* ce le dit Richard— | ritage . et *nost*re seign*ur* le Roi voillant faire g*r*ace a touz q*e* la deservent eant g*r*ant esp*er*ance de bien en le dit Richard / de s[on]— | la request *et* pa*r* assent des ditz Prelatz / Countes / Barons / *et* g*r*antz en meisme le pa*r*lement / si ad g*r*ante au dit Richard touz les)

FACSIMILE No. 237



LETTERS OF THE BLACK PRINCE.—A. D. 1360

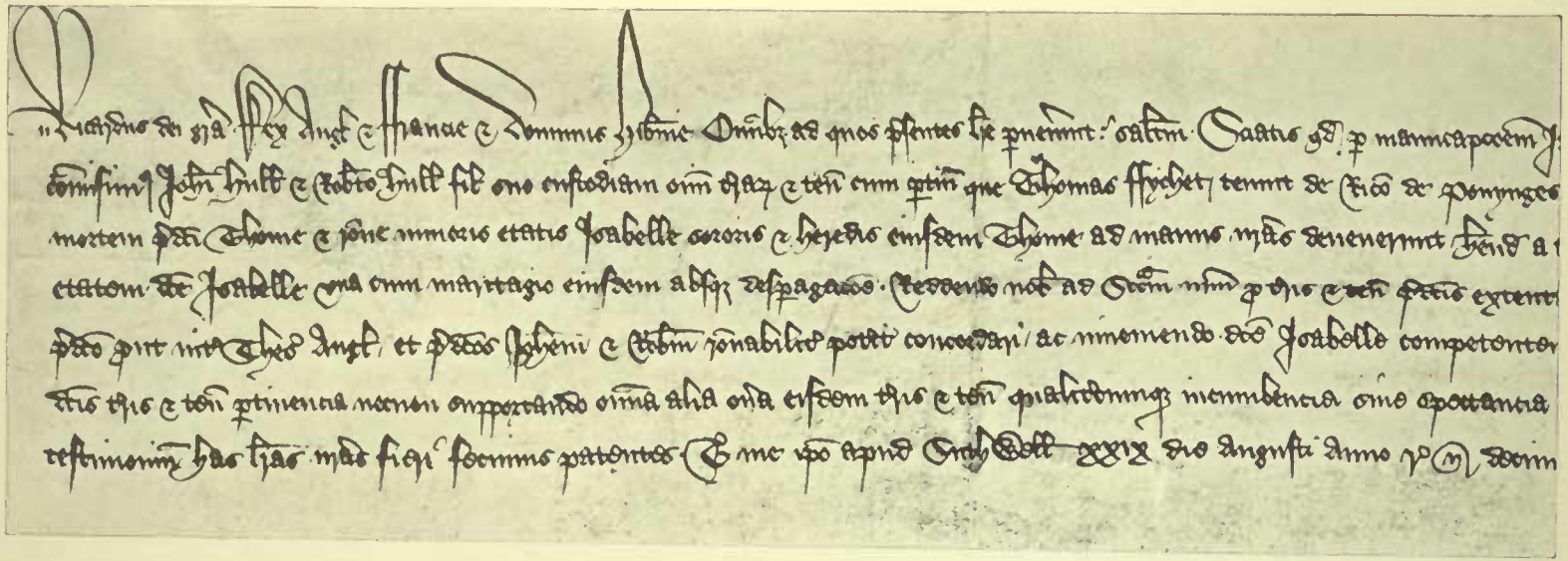
(Edward eisne filz au Noble Roi Dengleterre Prince de Gales Duc de Cornewaille *et* Conte de Cestre— | diligéalment advisie les lettres de nostre trescher Seignur *et* piere contenantes la forme que sensuyt— | Daquitaigne a touz ceulx qui cestes lettres verront ⸗ salutz . Come en pluseurs articles de laccort fai[t]— | nous doit delivrer pluseurs villes terres *et* paiis *et* faire pluseurs choses dedeinz la feste de sein[t]— | est tiele que nostre dit frere nous baille *et* puist bailler les dites terres *et* faire ce quil devoit faire— | preschein venant en un an / par la manere que faire le povoit *et* devoit a la dicte saint Michel ⸗ prom[ettantz]— | de Calais le xxviij iour doctobre lan de grace mille trois centz sexante Nous voullantz de— | Seignur *et* pierre a promys *et* covenance / promettons loialment *et* en bone foi *et* avons Jure *et*— | pur tant que il nous touche *et* purra toucher toutes *et* chascune des choses contenues es lettres— | venir ne faire venir pur temps avenir en aucune manere a lencontre En tesmoignance— | souz nostre seal a Bouloigne le xxvj iour doctobre lan de grace dessusdit)



DEED OF SEMPRINGHAM PRIORY.—A. D. 1379

(Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quorum noticiam presentes littere pervenerint nos Prior Monasterii— | Conventus salutem in eo qui est omnium vera salus . Noveritis nos de consensu et assensu venerabilis pa[tris]— | unanimi et communi consensu concessisse ordinasse et confirmasse ac nos et successores nostros et Monasterium— | nicus sive Capellanus secularis qui in Monasterio nostro predicto aliquo die temporibus futuris altam missam fuerit— | specialem pro salubri statu domini Willelmi Marmyoun Militis et domine Elizabet consortis sue quamdiu vixerint ? Et cum— | pro eorum animabus necnon pro animabus domini Willelmi Marmyoun patris et domine Lucie matris eiusdem domini Willelmi . et Katerine— | fidelium defunctorum imperpetuum . nisi aliquod impedimentum legitimum supervenerit per quod celebracionem missarum— | dominus Willelmus pro beneficio predicto optinendo nobis solvit in manibus de bonis sibi a deo collatis Centum Marcas . E[t]— | vel successoribus nostris . Quinquaginta Marcas persolvent . Et ad premissa facienda . continuanda servanda et fidel[iter]— | futurum . nos Prior et Conventus predicti . nos et successores nostros et Monasterium nostrum predictum . et specialiter Manerria— | nostram de Billyngburgh . Decano et Capitulo Lincolnie . ad solucionem viginti solidorum nomine pene de nobis et Mo[nasterio]— | et quocienscumque ex nostra vel successorum nostrorum manifesta et obstinata necligencia seu contemptu per sex viros— | omni parte nobis tamen aut successoribus nostris vel Monasterio nostro non emulos nec alteri parti suspectos et super s[ancta]— | tam collectam sive collectas amotis impedimentis legitimis ut predictum est per decem dies fore pretermissas et n[on]— | Capitulo et eorum ministris et ballivis . in dictis manerriis nostris per omnia animalia nostra et res nostras quascumque ibidem et— | repertas ac in omnibus terris et tenementis nostris in eisdem villis ad quorumcumque manus devenerint nos et Monasterium nostrum p[redictum]— | fructus decimabiles prefate ecclesio nostre de Billyngburgh . sequestrare et sub arto sequestro tenere quousque pre[fatis])

FACSIMILE No. 239



GRANT BY RICHARD II.—A. D. 1395

(Ricardus dei gracia Rex Anglie *et* Francie *et* Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint ? salutem . Sciatis quod per manucapcionem I[acobi]— | commisimus Iohanni Hull *et* Roberto Hull filio suo custodiam omnium terrarum *et* tenementorum cum pertinenciis que Thomas Fÿchet tenuit de Ricardo de Ponÿnges— | mortem predicti Thome *et* racione minoris etatis Isabelle sororis *et* heredis eiusdem Thome ad manus nostras devenerunt Habendam a— | etatem dicte Isabelle una cum maritagio eiusdem absque desparagacione . Reddendo nobis ad Scaccarium nostrum pro terris *et* tenementis predictis extent[am]— | predicto prout inter Thesaurarium Anglie / *et* predictos Iohannem *et* Robertum racionabiliter poterit concordari / ac inveniendo dicte Isabelle competente[m]— | dictis terris *et* tenementis pertinencia necnon supportando omnia alia onera eisdem terris *et* tenementis qualitercumque incumbencia sive spectancia— | testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes . Teste me ipso apud Suthwell xxix die augusti anno regni nostri decim[o nono] .)

in chronicles and other MS. volumes compiled in their scriptoria. It is akin to the more regular style which we have seen developed as a literary hand in Facs. 193. The natural tendency of monastic scribes to incline to a more formal style, even in legal documents, has already called for remark.

The official cursive of Richard II's reign assumed, towards the close of the century, a small pointed style; quite characteristic also of the next two reigns. A specimen is selected from Letters Patent of Richard (Brit. Mus., Harley Ch. 43, E. 33), granting the wardship and marriage of Elizabeth Fychet; A. D. 1395 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 257).

No. 239

In this example we have a developement in the direct line of the official hand of the Black Prince's deed of 1360 (Facs. 237); and if the two documents are compared we are struck with the great change effected in the course of five and thirty years; with the disappearance of the flexibility of the fourteenth century, which still, to a fair extent, characterized the writing of the earlier deed; and with the rapid growth of the new pointed style. At the same time the writing, as an official hand, is regular, the lettering, as already noted, being on a comparatively small scale, which seems to have been much affected by the scribes of the early years of the fifteenth century.

As a specimen of an ordinary cursive hand of the time we may take a deed (Brit. Mus., Harley Ch. 43, I. 25) whereby the Bishop of Norwich, Treasurer of the King's Chamber, pledges certain plate as security for a quarter's pay of a soldier serving beyond sea; A. D. 1415 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 258).

No. 240

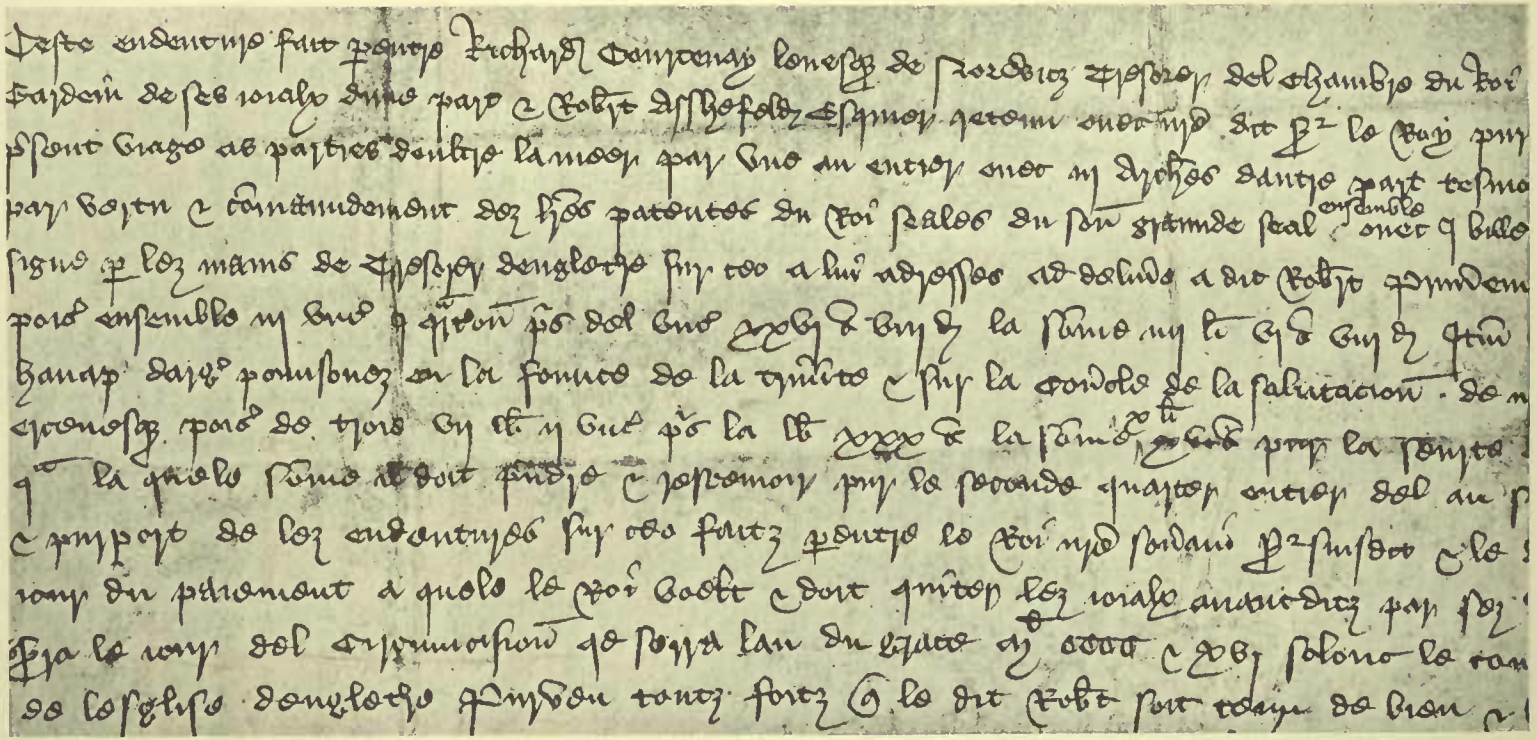
Although the letters are roughly formed, there is still a certain simplicity in the general character of the writing which marks the deed as belonging to the early period of the century.

To illustrate the charter-hand of the middle and latter part of the century when the pointed style was carried to an extreme, we must be content to select the three following examples, which may serve to give some indication of its later developement; but a really adequate idea of the changes effected in the course of this period can only be gained by examination of a full series of documents.

The first specimen (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 22640) is a general pardon issued by Henry VI in favour of Nicholas Carew; A. D. 1446 (*Pal. Soc.* ii. 178).

No. 241

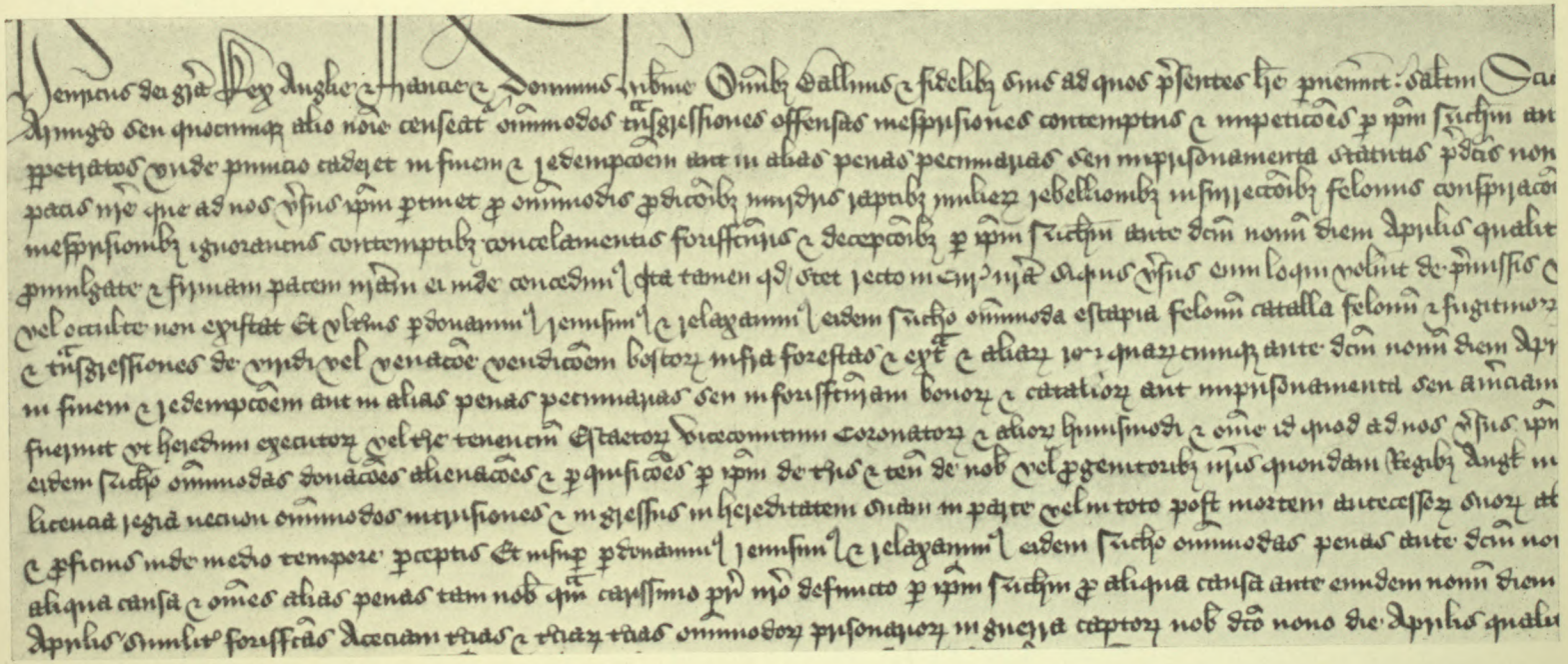
This is a favourable example of the formal Chancery hand of the period, written with laborious minuteness, but abandoning exact dis-



PLEDGE OF PLATE.—A. D. 1415

(Ceste endenture fait *par*entre Richard Courtenaỳ levesq*ue* de Norwicz Tresorer de Chambre du Roi [*nost*re soverain *seignur*] | Gardein de ses ioialx dune part *et* Robert Asshefeld Esquier retenu ovec *nost*re dit *seignur* le Roỳ pur [lui servir en ceo] | *pr*esent viage as parties doultre la meer par une an entier ovec iij A*r*ch*er*es dautre part tesmo[igne qe le dit Evesq*ue*] | par vertu *et* commaundement dez l*ett*res patentes du Roi seales du sou*n* graunde seal 'ensemble' ovec j bille [seale du signet *et*] | signe p*ar* lez mains de Tresorer dengleterre sur ceo a lui adresses ad deliv*er*e a dit Robert Prim*er*em[ent ij coclers dor] | pois*ant* ensemble iij unc*es* j quarter-ou*n* p*r*is del unc*e* xxvj s. viij d. la so*m*me iiij li. vj s. viij d. Item [une graunde bas] | hanap darg*ent* pounsonez en la founce de la trinite *et* sur la Cov*er*cle de la salutacioun de n[*ost*re dame *et* de ij] | ercevesq*ues* pois*ant* de troie vij lb. ij unc*es* p*r*is la lb. xxx s. la so*m*me 'x li.' xv s. pur la s[eurte de xiij li. xj s. xj d.] | q*uart* la quele so*m*me il doit p*r*endre *et* resceivoir pur le seconde quarter entier del an s[uisdit solonc la fourme] | *et* purport de lez endentures sur ceo faitz p*ar*entre le Roi *nost*re sov*er*ain *seignur* suisdit *et* le [dit Rob*er*t dount le] | iour du paiement a quele le Roi voelt *et* doit quiter lez ioialx avantditz par sez [deputees *et* assignees | 'sez heires ou executo*ur*s'] s*er*ra le iour del Circumcisiou*n* qe serra lan du grace M*il* cccc *et* xvj solonc le cou[rse *et* computacion] | de lesglise dengleterre Purveu toutz foitz q*e* le dit Rob*er*t soit tenu de bien *et* [loialment garder])

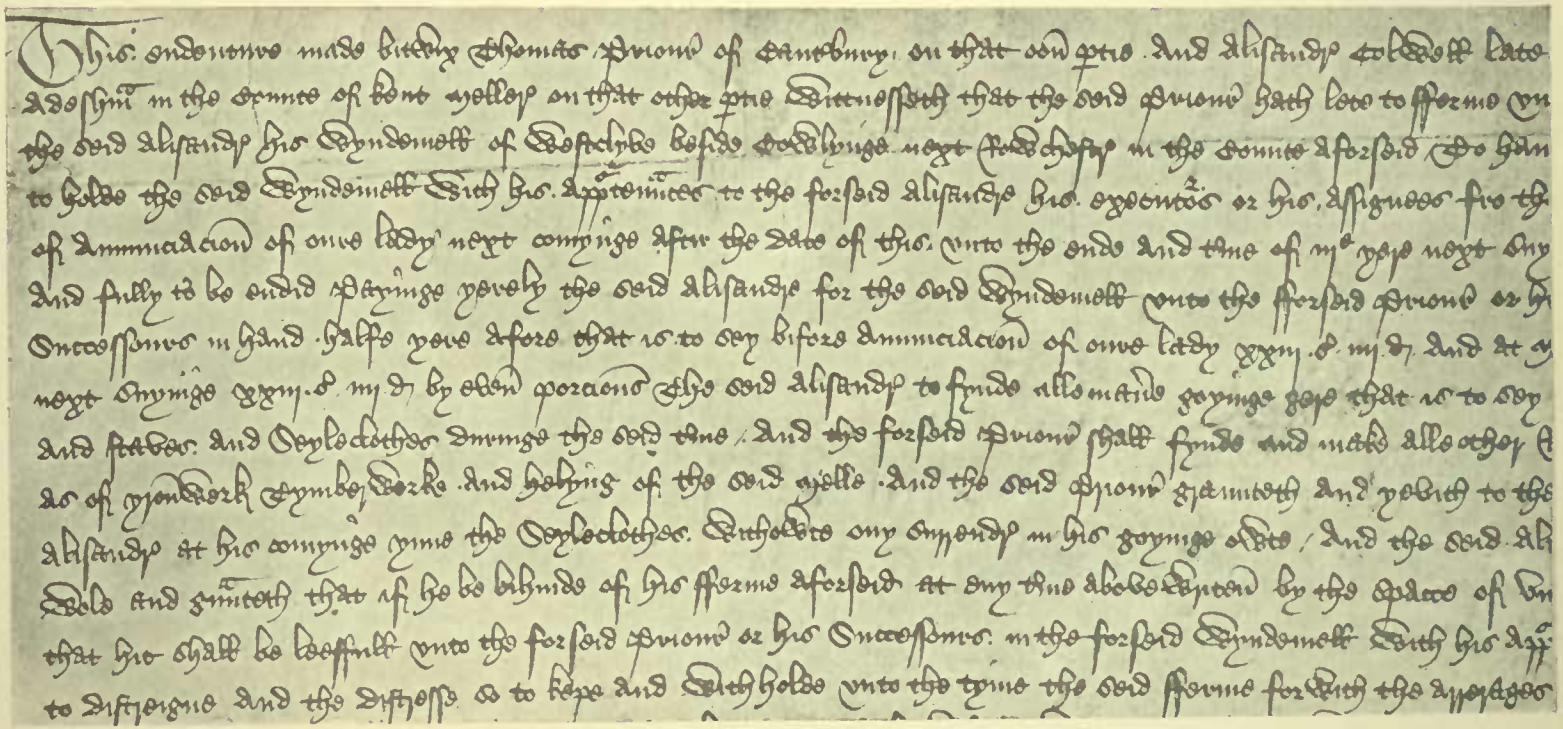
FACSIMILE No. 241



PARDON BY HENRY VI.—A. D. 1446

(Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem Scia[tis]— | Armigero seu quocumque alio nomine censeatur omnimodos transgressiones offensas mesprisiones contemptus et impeticiones per ipsum Nicholaum an[te]— | perpetratos unde punicio caderet in finem et redempcionem aut in alias penas pecuniarias seu imprisonamenta statutis predictis non— | pacis nostre que ad nos versus ipsum pertinet pro omnimodis prodicionibus murdris raptibus mulierum rebellionibus insurreccionibus feloniis conspiracioni[bus]— | mesprisionibus ignoranciis contemptibus concelamentis forisfacturis et decepcionibus per ipsum Nicholaum ante dictum nonum diem Aprilis qualiter— | promulgate et firmam pacem nostram ei inde concedimus Ita tamen quod stet recto in Curia nostra si quis versus eum loqui voluerit de premissis v[el]— | vel occulte non existat Et ulterius perdonavimus remisimus et relaxavimus eidem Nicholao omnimoda escapia felonum catalla felonum et fugitivorum— | et transgressiones de viridi vel venacione vendicionem boscorum infra forestas et extra et aliarum rerum quarumcumque ante dictum nonum diem Apr[ilis]— | in finem et redempcionem aut in alias penas pecuniarias seu in forisfacturam bonorum et catallorum aut imprisonamenta seu amerciam[enta]— | fuerunt ut heredum executorum vel terre tenencium Escaetorum Vicecomitum Coronatorum et aliorum huiusmodi et omne id quod ad nos versus ipsum— | eidem Nicholao omnimodas donaciones alienaciones et perquisiciones per ipsum de terris et tenementis de nobis vel progenitoribus nostris quondam Regibus Anglie in— | licencia regia necnon omnimodos intrusiones et ingressus in hereditatem suam in parte vel in toto post mortem antecessorum suorum ab[que]— | et proficuis indo medio tempore perceptis Et insuper perdonavimus remisimus et relaxavimus eidem Nicholao omnimodas penas ante dictum no[num]— | aliqua causa et omnes alias penas tam nobis quam carissimo patri nostro defuncto per ipsum Nicholaum pro aliqua causa ante eundem nonum diem— | Aprilis similiter forisfactas Ac eciam tercias et terciarum tercias omnimodorum prisonariorum in guerra captorum nobis dicto nono die Aprilis quali[tercumque])

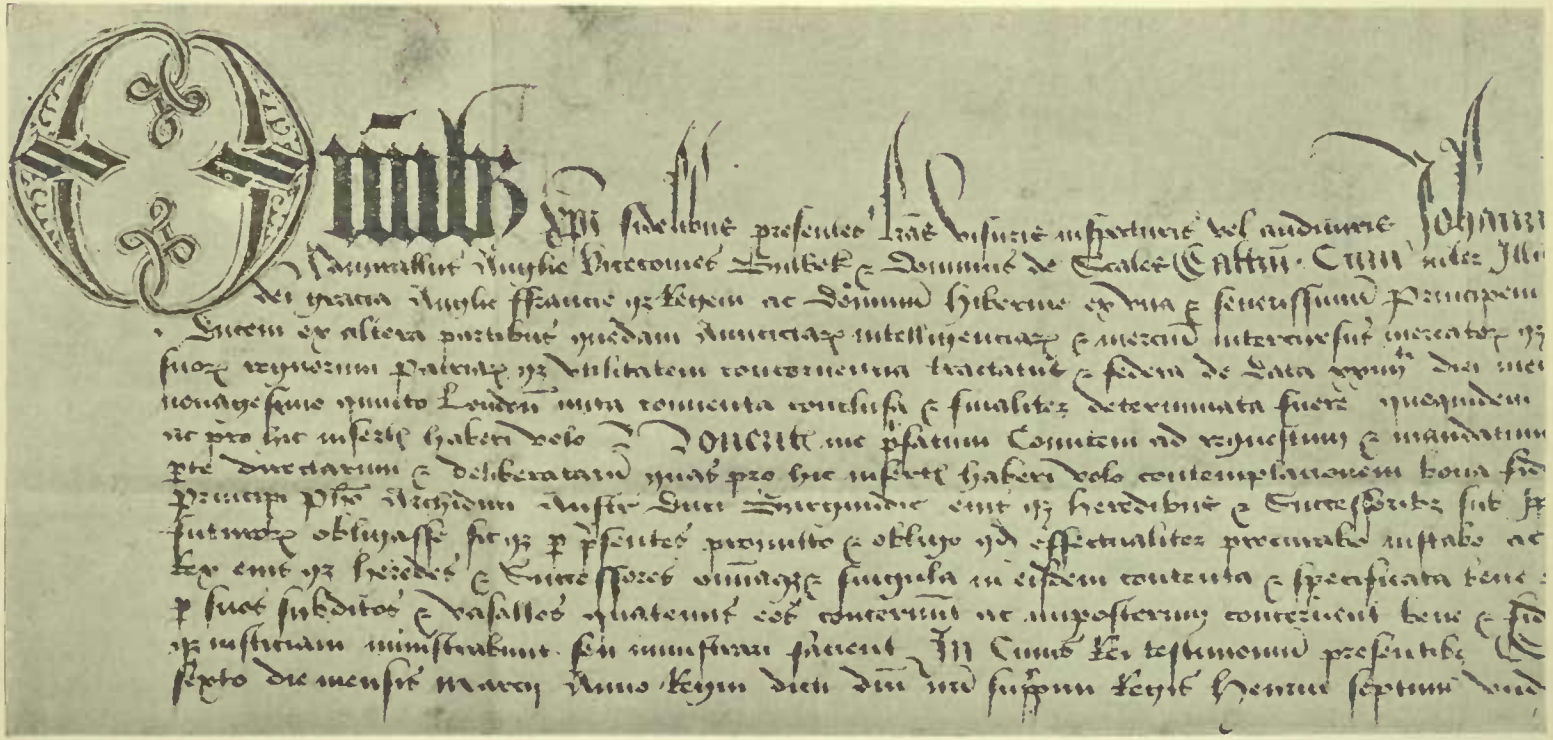
FACSIMILE No. 242



This endenture made bitwix Thomas Priour of Canterbury on that oon partie and Alisandre Colwell late
Adeshm in the Counte of Kent Mellers on that other partie Wittnesseth that the seid Priour hath lete to ffermo vn
the seid Alisandre his Wyndemell of Westclybe beside Cowlynge next Rowchester in the Counte aforseid Do han
to holde the seid Wyndemell with his appertenances to the forseid Alisandre his executors or his assignees fro th
of Annunciacion of oure lady next comynge after the date of this unto the ende and time of iiij^e yere next cuy
and fully to be endid Payinge yerely the seid Alisandre for the seid Wyndemell unto the ffforseid Priour or h
Successours in hand halfe yere afore that is to sey bifore Annunciacion of oure lady xxiij s. iiij d. and at y
next cuyinge xxiij s. iiij d. by even porcions The seid Alisandre to fynde alle maner goynge gere that is to sey
and staves and Seyleclothes duringe the seid time And the forseid Priour shall fynde and make alle other
as of yrnwerk Cymbeworke and helyng of the seid Melle And the seid Priour Graunteth and yevith to the
Alisandre at his comynge ynne the Seyleclothes Withowte ony cuyendre in his goynge owte And the seid Al
Wole and Graunteth that if he be bihinde of his ffermo aforseid at ony time abovewritten by the space of vn
that hit shall be leeffull unto the forseid Priour or his Successours in the forseid Wyndemell with his app
to distreigne and the distresse so to kepe and withholde unto the tyme the seid ffermo forwith the arrerages

LEASE.—A. D. 1457

(This endenture made bitwix Thomas Priour*e* of Cant*er*bury on that oon*e* p*ar*tie . and Alisandr*e* Colwell late [of] | Adesham in the Counte of Kent Meller on that other p*ar*tie wittnesseth that the seid Priour*e* hath lete to Ferme un[to] | the seid Alisandr*e* his wyndemell*e* of Westclyve beside Cowlynge next Rowchestr*e* in the Counte aforseid / To hav[e and] | to holde the seid wyndemell*e* with his app*ur*tena*u*nces to the forseid Alisandre his executo*ur*s or his . assignees fro th[e feest] | of Annunciacio*un* of oure lady next comynge aftir the date of this . unto the ende and t*er*me of iij^{e} yere next suy[inge] | and fully to be endid Payinge yerely the seid Alisandre for the seid wyndemell*e* unto the Forseid Priour*e* or h[is] | Successours in hand . halfe yere afore that is to sey bifore Annunciacio*un* of oure lady xxiij.s. iiij.d. and at M[ighelmasse] | next suyinge xxiij.s. iiij.d. by even porcio*un*s The seid Alisandr*e* to fynde alle man*er*e goyinge gere that is to sey [cogges] | and staves . and Seyleclothes . duringe the seid t*er*me / . And the forseid Priour*e* shall fynde and make alle other R[ep*ar*aci*o*ns] | as of yrou*n*werk*e* tymberwerke . and helyng of the seid Melle . And the seid Priour*e* graunteth and yevith to the [forseid] | Alisandr*e* at his comynge ynne the Seyleclothes . withowte ony surrendr*e* in his goyinge owte / And the seid Ali[sandr*e*] | wole and g*r*aunteth . that if he be bihinde of his Ferme aforseid at eny t*er*me above-writen by the spacce of vii[j dayes] | that hit shall be leeffull unto the forseid Priour*e* or his Successours . in the forseid wyndemell*e* with his app[*ur*tenancez] | to distreigne and the distresse so to kepe and withholde unto the tyme the seid Ferme forwith the arrerages)



TREATY BOND.—A. D. 1496

(Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes litteras visuris inspecturis vel audituris Iohann[es]— | Admirallus Anglie Vicecomes Bulbek et Dominus de Scales Salutem . Cum inter Illu[strissimum]— | dei gracia Anglie Francieque Regem ac Dominum Hibernie ex una et serenissimum Principem— | Ducem ex altera partibus quedam Amiciciarum intelligenciarum et merciu*m* intercursus mercatorum-que— | suorum regnorum Patriarumque utilitatem concernencia tractatus et federa de Data xxiiij^{ti} diei me[nsis]— | nonagesimo quinto Londoniis inita conventa conclusa et finaliter determinata fuere que quidem— | ac pro hic insertis haberi volo Noveritis me prefatum Comitem ad requestum et mandatum— | parte directarum et deliberatarum quas pro hic insertis haberi volo contemplacionem bona fid[e]— | Principi Philippo Archiduci Austrie Duci Burgundie eiusque Heredibus et Successoribus sub Ip[otheca]— | futurorum obligasse sicque per presentes promitto et obligo quod effectualiter procurabo instabo ac— | Rex eiusque Heredes et Successores omniaque et singula in eisdem contenta et specificata bene— | per suos subditos et vasallos quatenus eos concernunt ac imposterum concernent bene et fid[eliter]— | que iusticiam ministrabunt seu ministrari facient In cuius Rei testimonium presentibus S[igillum]— | sexto die mensis Marcii Anno Regni dicti domini nostri suppremi Regis Henrici septimi und[ecimo])

tinctions between individual letters which the scribes of earlier centuries were careful to observe. In this advancing stage of the pointed style the letters i, m, n, u are formed by so many uniform strokes, without differentiating curves: one of the indications of the general carelessness that marks the cursive writing of the fifteenth century. Here, too, we observe a growing tendency to systematic flourishes, as for example in the marks of abbreviation.

The next specimen (Brit. Mus., Harley Ch. 44, B. 47) is from a private deed: a lease from the Prior of Canterbury of the Windmill of West-Cliffe by Cooling; A. D. 1457 (*Pal. Soc.* i. 260).

No. 242

This hand is of a rougher style, and is rather of the class of the document of 1415 (Facs. 240); its later date, however, being marked by the more pointed character of the letters in general, and by the increasing tendency to use flourishes.

Lastly, to close the century, the following example (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 989) is from a bond of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Great Chamberlain and Admiral of England, to Philip, Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy, for the observance of the treaty between England and Burgundy; A. D. 1496.

No. 243

In this hand we reach the climax of the official pointed style at the end of the fifteenth century, still restrained, however, and carefully written on account of the important nature of the document.

Having thus seen passed in review the series of examples which have been placed before him, the student will have gathered a general idea of the changes which passed over the official and legal cursive hand-writing of England from the period of the Norman Conquest to the close of the fifteenth century. The means to extend the knowledge thus acquired is fortunately not far to seek. Collections of charters are of course to be found in public libraries, but they are not confined to those repositories. They are not uncommon even in private hands. How profitable the study of such collections may prove in training and in practising the faculties of the eye, those who undertake it will soon appreciate.

It is not the design of this work to pursue the history of Latin Palaeography beyond the end of the fifteenth century; and the examination of the literary hand was accordingly brought to a close when it had reached that limit. With regard, however, to the official and legal cursive writing which has just been examined and which was not superseded by the printing press, as was the case with the set literary style,

it will not be out of place to lay before the student, very briefly, a few later varieties, some of which were elaborated in certain of the law courts and became the styles peculiar to those courts.

In most of the English legal cursive handwriting of the first half of the sixteenth century a certain heaviness of style was the fashion; but afterwards this gave place to a lighter and more elegant character, which was fully established by the reign of Elizabeth, and was most commonly used from that time onwards far into the seventeenth century, and then was gradually toned down into a form modified by the Italian current hand of the day. The following specimen of this Elizabethan cursive legal hand is taken from a deed of the year 1594 (Brit. Mus. Add. Ch. 24798).

No. 244

In this hand we have a flowing style which has shaken off the angular treatment of the fifteenth century, although the line of descent of the Elizabethan hand is still quite apparent. If, for example, we compare it with the charter of the year 1457 (Facs. 242), written in the ordinary legal hand of that day, the relationship between the two documents may readily be traced; and yet there is an interval of nearly a century and a half between them. But that interval has made all the difference in the genius of the penmanship, and has induced an easy pliancy, compared with which the character of the older hand appears to be one of awkward restraint. The close of the sixteenth century may be referred to as the epoch of the rise of the modern current hand, as distinguished from the more slowly written and more disjointed cursive writing of the middle ages.

The new flowing character early in the seventeenth century is well shown in a deed of the year 1612 (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 24000).

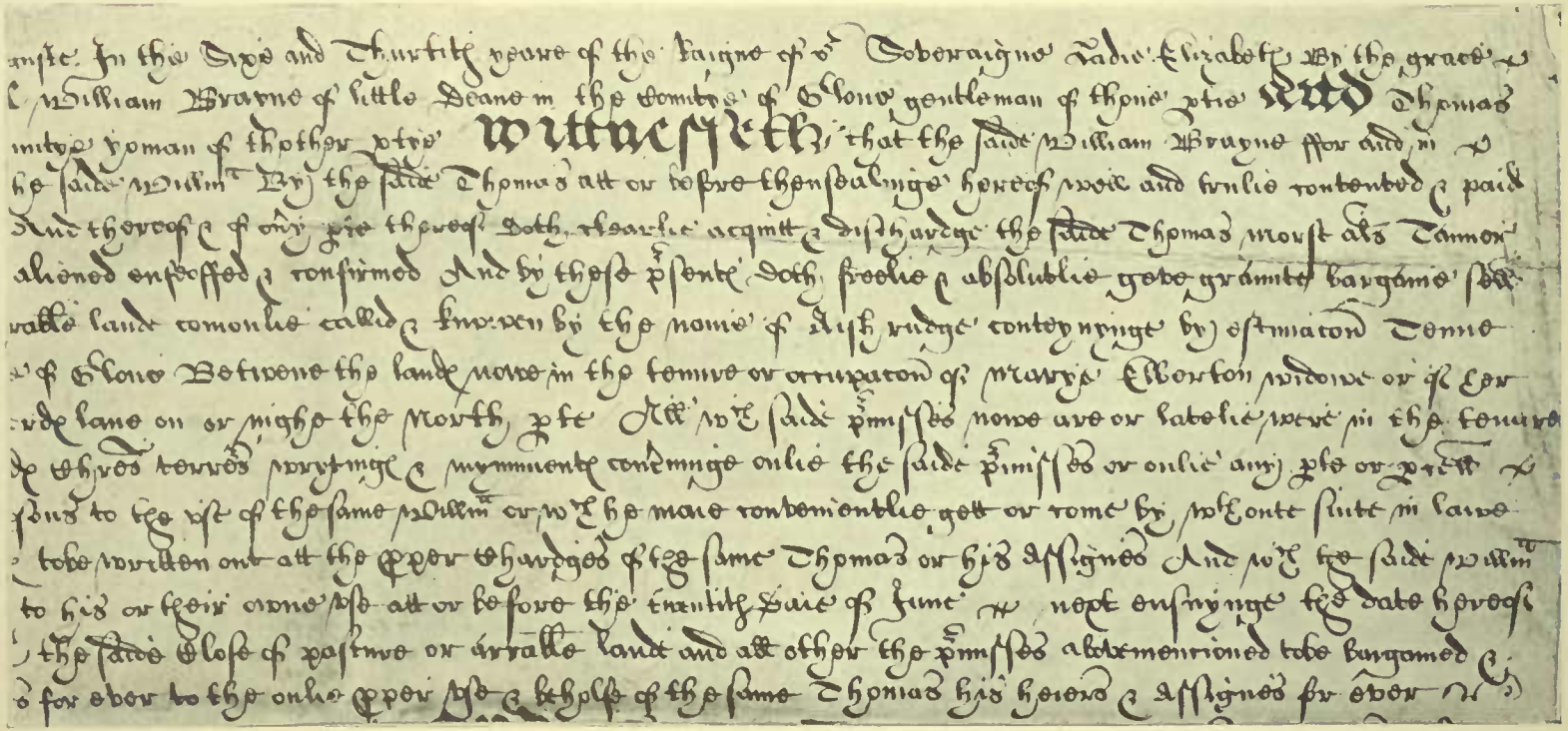
No. 245

In this example we have a further advance on the style of the preceding document. This is the type of legal hand which continued fairly constant for some time and which was the direct ancestor of the ordinary engrossing hand of the modern law-writers.

Here, then, we may take leave of the ordinary type of legal cursive writing, and turn to the peculiar official legal hands referred to above. From the earliest times succeeding the Norman Conquest there were, as we have seen, certain styles followed, though not uniformly, for particular official documents. But it was not until the sixteenth century that a perfected system of special styles for certain courts was finally established.

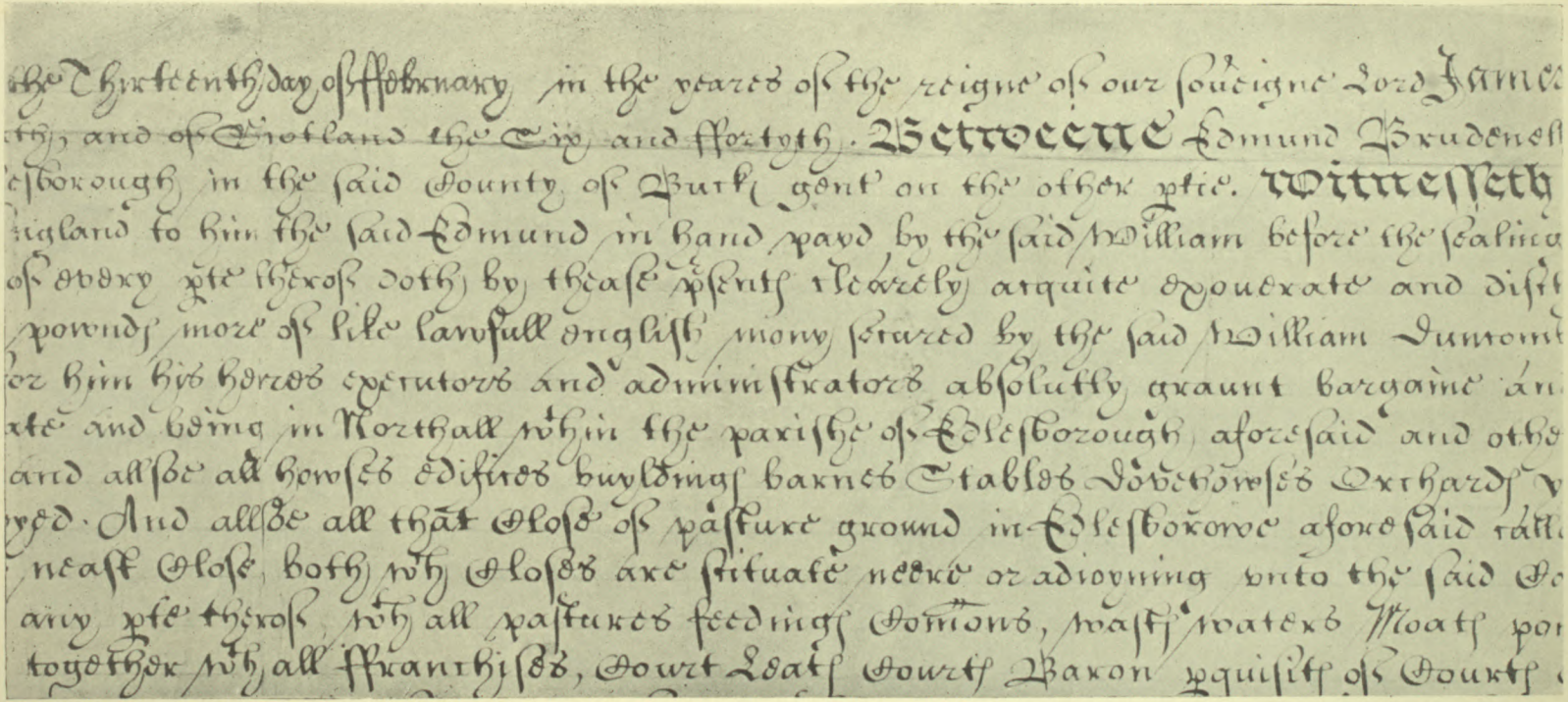
Without regarding the class to which has been given the name of 'secretary',[1] and which is in fact the hand which has been illustrated

[1] Wright, *Court Hand Restored*, ed. Martin, 1879, p. xii.



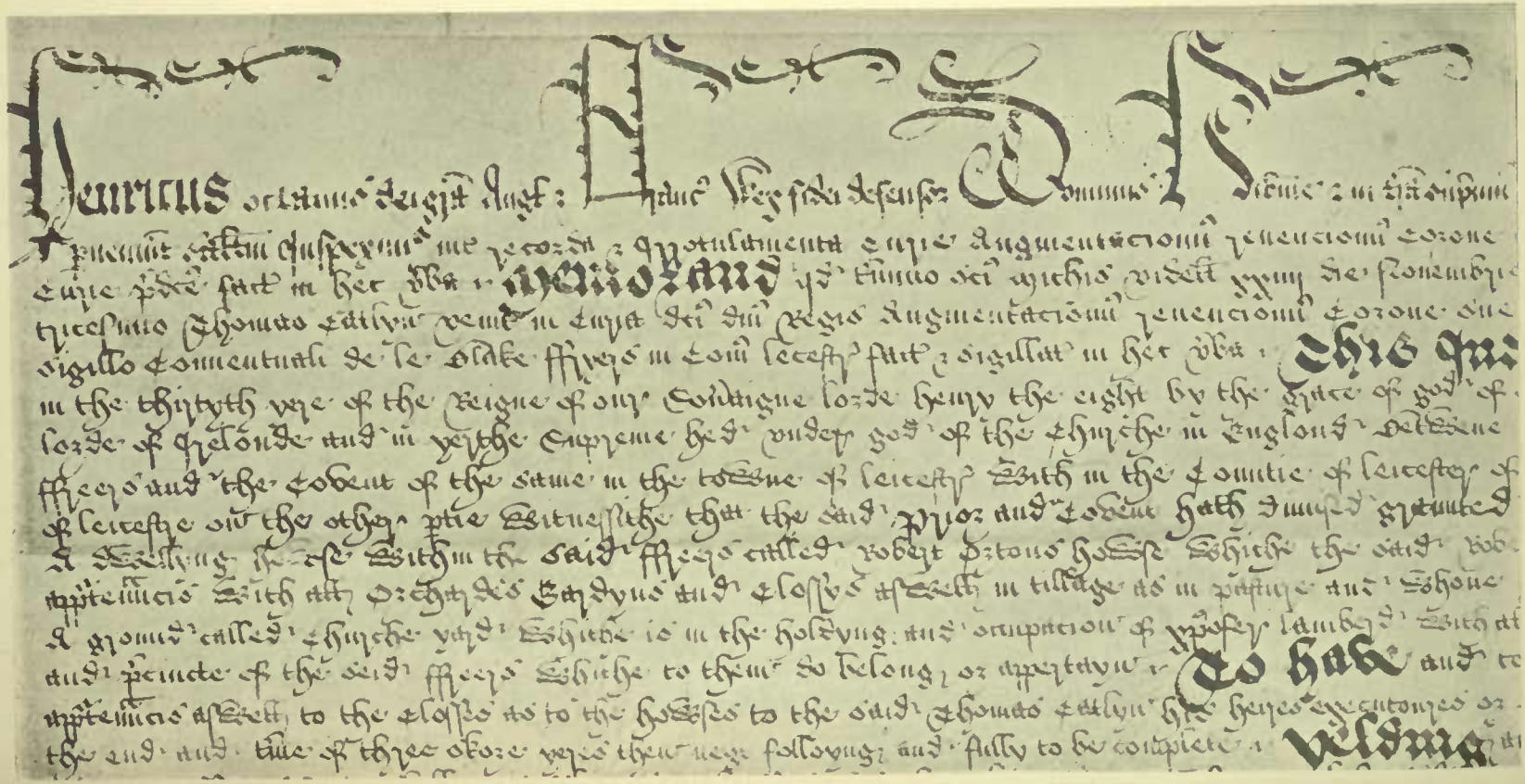
CONVEYANCE.—A. D. 1594

([Au]guste . In the Sixe and Thurtith yeare of the Raigne of *our* Soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth By the grace— | [Betwen]e William Brayne of little Deane in the Countye of Glou*cester* gentleman of thone p*ar*tie And Thomas— | [Co]untye yoman of thother p*ar*tye Wittnesseth that the saide William Brayne For and in— | [T]he saide Will*i*am By the saide Thomas att or before thensealinge hereof well and trulie contented *and* paid— | And thereof *and* of ev*e*ry p*ar*te thereof Doth clearlie acquitt *and* dischardge the saide Thomas Morse al*ia*s Tanner— | aliened enfeoffed *and* confirmed And by these p*re*sent*es* doth freelie *and* absolutlie geve graunte bargaine sell— | [ar]rable lande comonlie callid *and* knowen by the name of Aishrudge conteynynge by estimac*i*on Tenne— | [Counti]e of Glou*cester* Betwene the land*es* nowe in the tenure or occupac*i*on of Marye Elberton widowe or of her— | [Winck]erd*es* lane on or nighe the North p*ar*te All w*hi*ch saide p*re*misses nowe are or latelie were in the tenure— | [dee]d*es* Ch*ar*tres terre*re*s wrytinge*s and* mynument*es* conc*er*ninge onlie the saide p*re*misses or onlie any p*ar*te or p*ar*cell— | [p*er*]sons to the use of the same Will*i*am or w*hi*ch he maie convenientlie gett or come by w*i*thoute suite in lawe— | [land]*es* to be written out att the p*ro*per Chardges of the same Thomas or his assignes And w*hi*ch the saide Will*i*am— | to his or their owne use att or before the twentith Daie of Iune next ensuynge the date hereof— | the saide Close of pasture or arrable lande and all other the p*re*misses above mencioned to be bargained *and*— | [assigne]s for ever to the onlie p*ro*per use *and* beholfe of the same Thomas his heiers *and* assignes for ever)



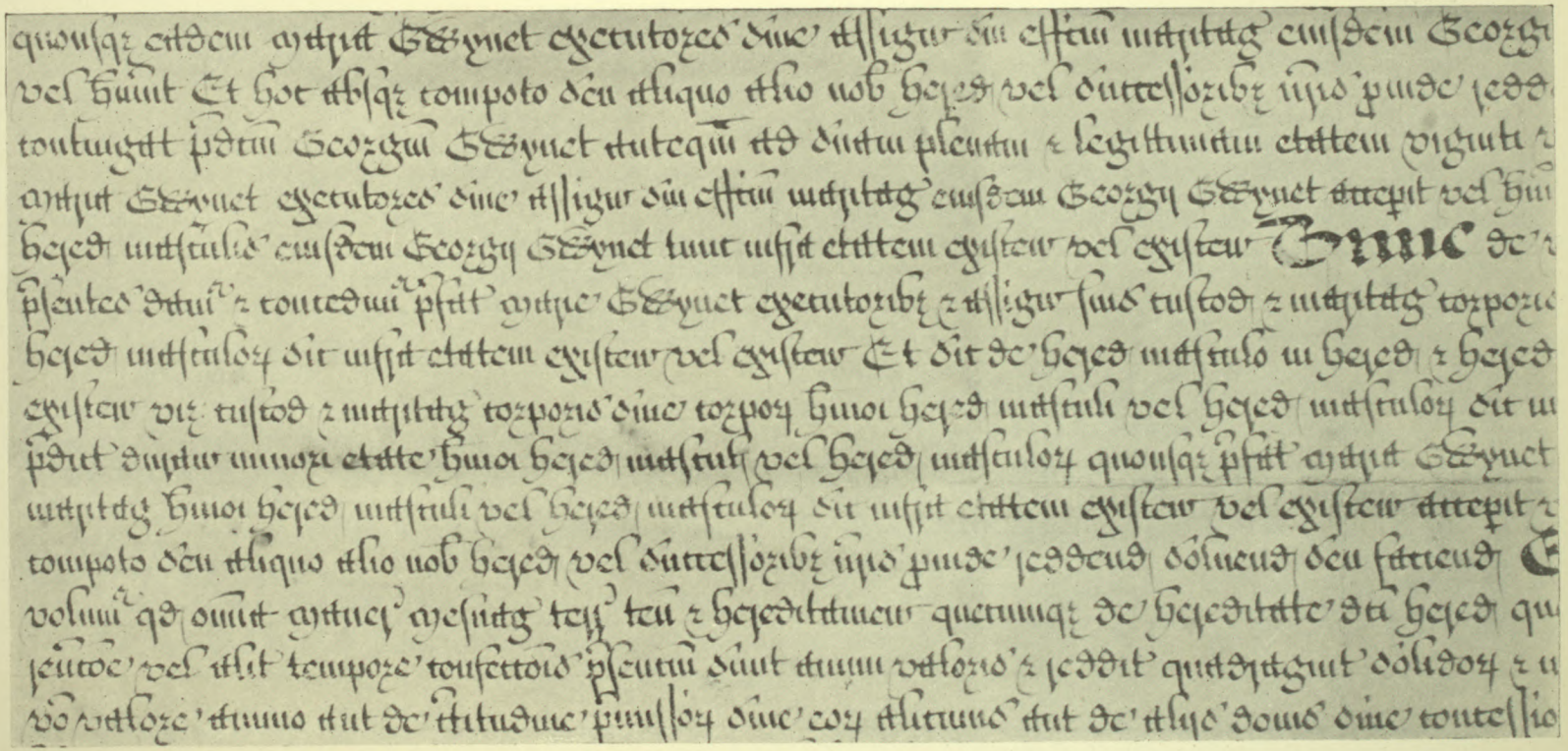
CONVEYANCE.—A.D. 1612

(—the Thirteenth day of February in the yeares of the reigne of our sov*er*eigne Lord James— | —[nin]th and of Scotland the Six and Fortyth . Betweene Edmund Brudenell— | —[Edl]esborough in the said County of Buck*ingham* gent*leman* on the other p*ar*tie . Witnesseth— | —[E]ngland to him the said Edmund in hand payd by the said William before the sealing— | —of every p*ar*te therof doth by thease p*resentes* clearely acquite exonerate and disch[ardge]— | —pownd*es* more of like lawfull english mony secured by the said William Duncomb[e]— | —for him his heires executors and administrators absolutly graunt bargaine and— | —[situ]ate and being in Northall w*ithin* the parishe of Edlesborough aforesaid and othe[r]— | —and allsoe all howses edifices buyldinge*s* barnes Stables Dovehowses Orchard*es* y[ard*es*]— | —[eni]oyed . And allsoe all that Close of pasture ground in Edlesborowe aforesaid call[ed]— | —neast Close both w*hi*ch Closes are scituate neere or adioyning unto the said Ca[pitall]— | —any p*ar*te therof w*ith* all pastures feedinge*s* Com*m*ons, waste*s* waters Moate*s* po[nde*s*]— | —together w*ith* all Franchises, Court Leate*s* Courte*s* Baron p*er*quisite*s* of Courte*s*—)



EXEMPLIFICATION.—A.D. 1539

(Henricus octavus Dei gr*aci*a Angl*ie et* Franc*ie* Rex fidei defensor Dominus Hib*er*nie *et* in t*er*ra sup*re*mu*m*— | p*er*ven*er*int sal*ut*em Inspexim*us* int*er* recorda *et* Irrotulamenta Curie Augmentacionu*m* revencionu*m* Corone— | Curie p*redicte* fact*um* in hec v*er*ba . Memorand*um* q*uo*d t*er*mino s*ancti* Mich*ael*is videl*ice*t xxiiij die Novembris— | tricesimo Thomas Catlyn venit in Curia d*icti* d*omi*ni Regis Augmentacionu*m* revencionu*m* Corone sue— | sigillo Conventuali de le Blake Fryers in Com*itatu* Lecestr*ie* fact*am et* sigillat*am* in hec v*er*ba . This Ind[enture]— | in the thirtyth yere of the Reigne of our Sov*er*aigne lorde Henry the eight by the grace of god of— | lorde of Irelonde and in yerthe Supreme hed under god of the Churche in Englond Betwene— | Freers and the Covent of the same in the towne of leicestr*e* within the Countie of Leicester of— | of leicestre on the other p*ar*tie witnessithe that the said Prior and Covent hath dimised graunted— | A dwellyng howse within the said Freers called Robert Ortons howse whiche the said Robe[rt]— | app*ur*tena*u*ncis with all Orchardes Gardyns and Clossys as well in tillage as in pasture and whone— | A ground called Churche yard whiche is in the holdyng and occupacion of Chr*ist*ofer Lamberd with al[l]— | and p*re*cincte of the seid Freers whiche to them do belong or appertayn . To have and to— | app*ur*tena*u*ncis as well to the Closses as to the howses to the said Thomas Catlyn his heires executoures or— | the end and t*er*me of three skore yeres then next folloyng and fully to be complete . Yelding a[nd] .—)



GRANT OF WARDSHIP.—A.D. 1618

(quousq*ue* eadem Maria Gwynet executores sive assign*ati* sui eff*ectu*m maritag*ii* eiusdem Georgi[i]— | vel h*abuer*int Et hoc absq*ue* compoto seu aliquo alio nob*is* hered*ibus* vel successorib*us* n*ost*ris p*ro*inde redd[endo]— | contingat p*redict*um Georgi*um* Gwynet antequam ad suam plenam *et* legittimam etatem viginti u[nius]— | Maria Gwynet executores sive assign*ati* sui eff*ectu*m maritag*ii* eiusdem Georgii Gwynet accep*er*it vel h*abueri*[t]— | hered*ibus* masculis eiusdem Georgii Gwynet tunc infra etatem existen*ti* vel existen*tibus* Tunc de— | p*re*sentes dam*us et* concedim*us* p*re*fate Marie Gwynet executorib*us* et assign*atis* suis custod*iam et* maritag*ium* corporis— | hered*um* masculor*um* sic infra etatem existen*tis* vel existenc*ium* Et sic de herede masculo in heredem *et* heredes— | existen*tes* vid*elicet* custod*iam et* maritag*ium* corporis sive corpor*um* h*uius*mod*i* hered*is* masculi vel hered*um* masculor*um* sic in[fra]— | p*re*dict*um* durant*e* minori etate h*uius*mod*i* hered*is* masculi vel hered*um* masculor*um* quousq*ue* p*re*fata Maria Gwynet— | maritag*ium* h*uius*mod*i* hered*is* masculi vel hered*um* masculor*um* sic infra etatem existen*tis* vel existenc*ium* accep*er*it v[el]— | compoto seu aliquo alio nob*is* hered*ibus* vel successorib*us* n*ost*ris p*ro*inde reddendo solvendo seu faciendo E[t]— | volum*us* q*uo*d omnia Maner*ia* Mesuag*ia* terre tenem*enta et* hereditamen*ta* quecumq*ue* de hereditate d*icti* hered*is* qu— | rev*ercione* vel alit*er* tempore confecc*ionis* p*re*sencium sunt annui valoris *et* reddit*us* quadraginta solidor*um et* u— | v*ero* valore annuo aut de c*er*titudine p*re*missor*um* sive eor*um* alicuius aut de aliis donis sive concessio[nib*us*])

by the two preceding facsimiles, there are two main styles which practically cover the varieties enumerated in the special works on the subject, viz., the Chancery hand and the Court hand. The former was used for records under the great seal; the latter was employed in the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, for fines and recoveries, placita, etc. These two kinds of writing do not vary very materially; both may be described as fanciful renderings of the ordinary legal hand. The Chancery hand, of the pattern found in its developed form in the sixteenth century, appears in an incipient stage in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and is therefore of an earlier origin than the Court hand, which indeed is rather a modification of the Chancery hand itself. It will be enough to select one or two examples of each style in order to give a general idea of their character.

First we take a few lines from an exemplification of a Chancery decree of the year 1539 (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 26969) in illustration of the Chancery hand of the reign of Henry VIII.

No. 246

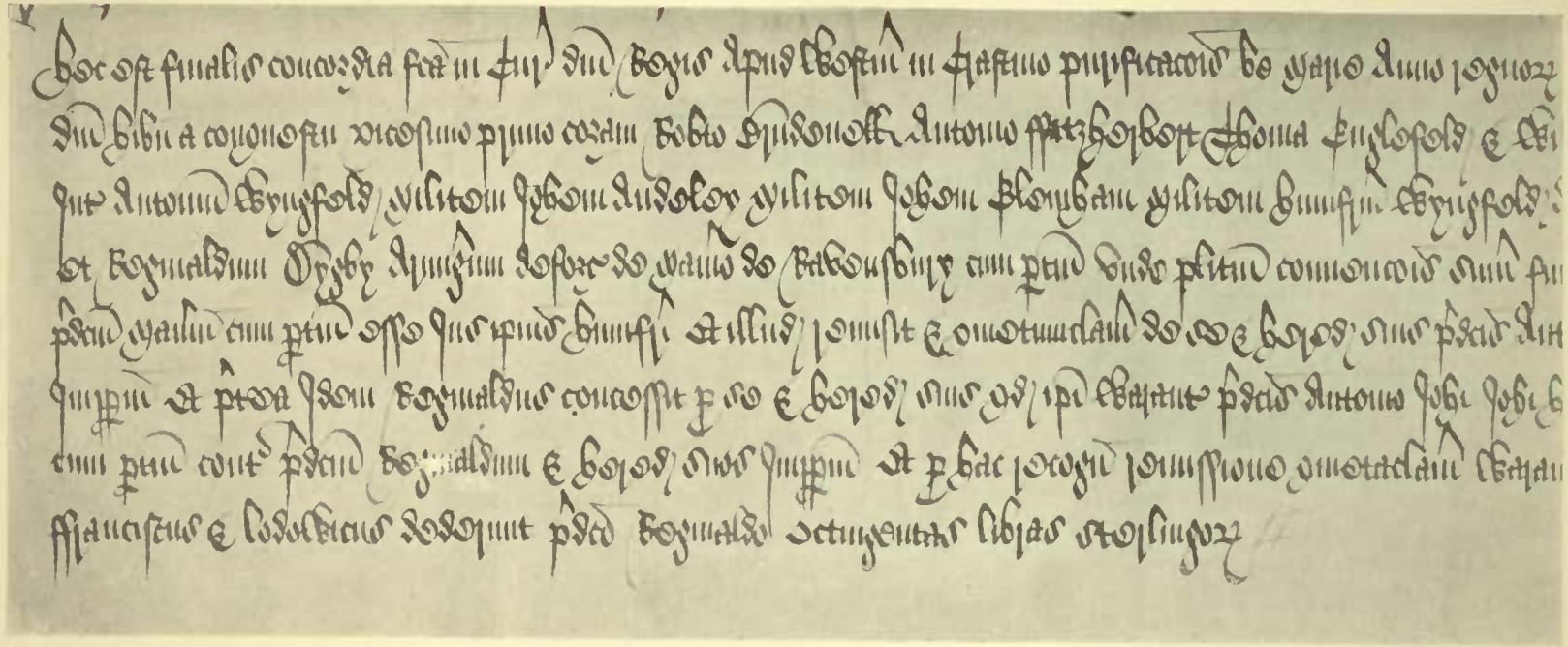
Also an example from a grant of wardship and marriage of the year 1618, which illustrates the form which the hand had assumed in the reign of James I (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 28271), a form altogether of the modern type, which continued in practice to quite a recent date.

No. 247

In these two examples of the Chancery hand it will be seen that the chief characteristic is a fanciful angular and upright treatment of the letters without deviating from the setting of ordinary writing. It is not easy to find words to convey any concise description of this fantastic script. We may content ourselves with seeing in it, as in the official writing of chanceries in general, an attempt on the part of the scrivener to render his chancery script difficult reading for the uninitiated layman, and thus to reserve to himself some professional advantage.

With the Court hand the treatment is different. While the shapes of the letters (with the exception of e, which in this style is in the circular form) are practically the same as in the Chancery hand, the cast of the writing is quite altered by lateral compression, which cramps and narrows the letters in an exaggerated manner. At the same time the Court hand follows the lead of the Chancery hand and rivals it in its fantastic character.

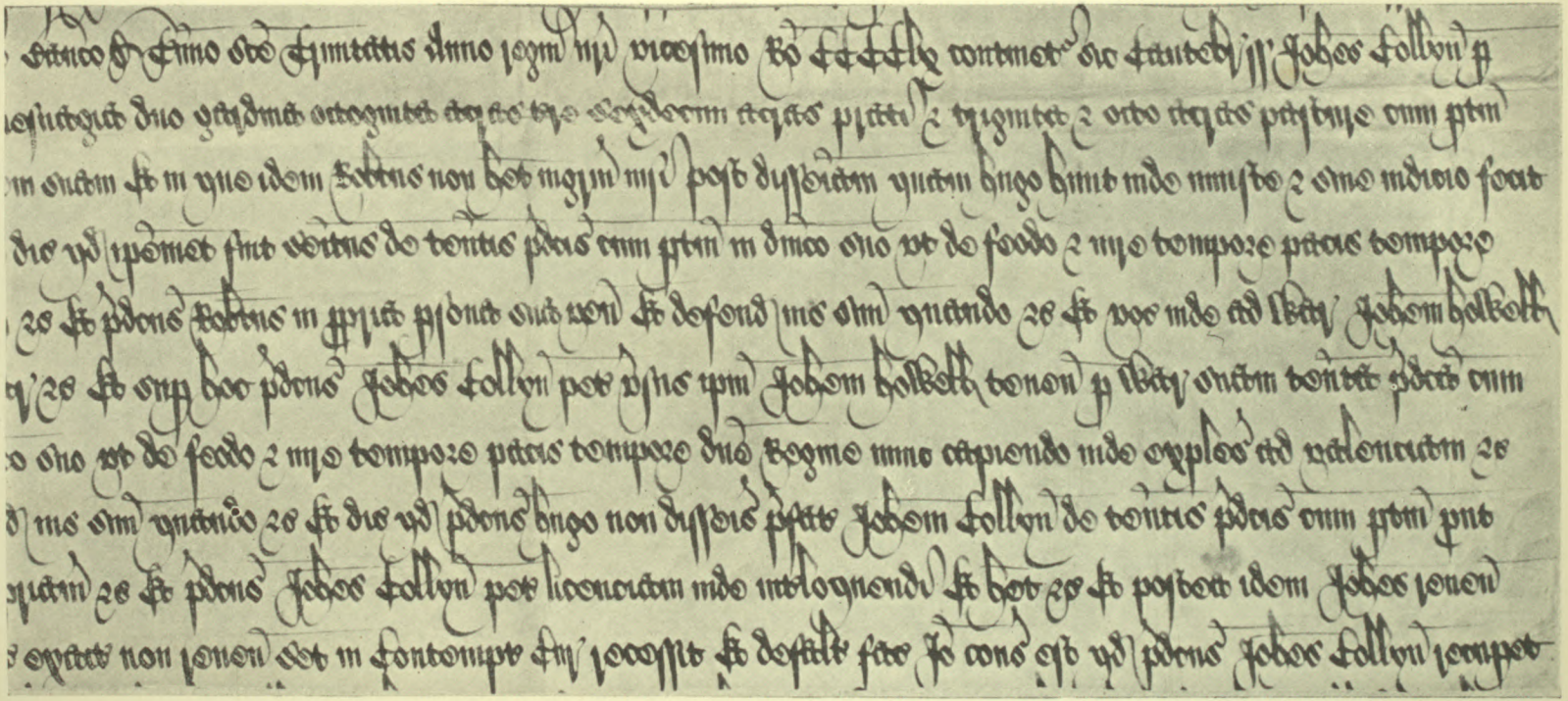
Our first example of the Court hand is of Henry VIII's reign, and is taken from a final concord, or foot of a fine, of the year 1530 (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 23639).



Final Concord.—a.d. 1530

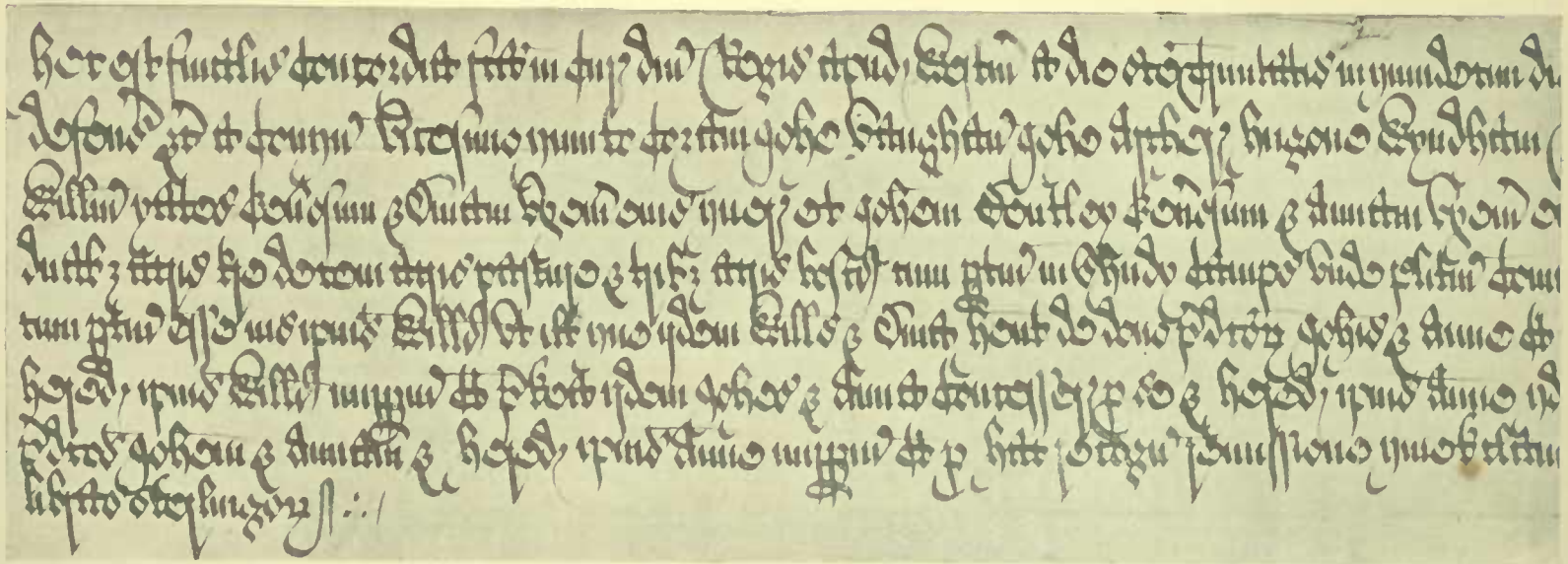
(Hec est finalis concordia *facta* in Cur*ia* *domini* Regis apud Westm*onasterium* in Crastino purificac*ionis* *beate* Marie anno regnor*um*— | *domini* Hib*ernie* a conquestu vicesimo primo coram Robe*rto* Brudenell Antonio Fitzherbert Thoma Englefeld et Wi[ll*elmo*]— | Inte*r* Antoniu*m* Wyngfeld Militem Ioh*ann*em Audoley Militem Ioh*ann*em Glemham Militem Humfr*idum* Wyngfeld— | et Reginaldum Dygby A:mige*rum* deforc*ientes* de Manerio de Ravensbury cum *pertinenciis* unde pl*acitum* convenc*ionis* sum*monitum* fui[t]— | *predictum* Manerium cum *pertinenciis* esse Ius ipsius Humfr*idi* Et illud remisit *et* quietumclam*avit* do se *et* hered*ibus* suis *predictis* Ant[onio]— | Imp*er*p*etuum* Et *pretere*a Idem Reginaldus concessit *pro* se *et* hered*ibus* suis *quod* ipsi warant*izabunt* *predictis* Antonio Ioh*anni* Ioh*anni* H[umfr*ido*]— | cum *pertinenciis* cont*ra* *predictum* Reginaldum *et* hered*es* suos Imp*er*p*etuum* Et *pro* hac recogni*cione* remissione quietaclam*acione* waran[cia]— | Franciscus *et* Lodowicus dederunt *predicto* Reginaldo Octingentas libras sterlingor*um*)

Facsimile No. 249



Exemplification.—A. D. 1578

(Banco De *Termino sancte* Trinitatis Anno regni *nostri* vicesimo *Rotulo* cccclx continet*ur* sic Cantebr*igia scilicet* Iohan*nes* Collyn p*er* | —mesuagia duo gardina octoginta acras t*er*re sexdecim acras prati *et* triginta *et* octo acras pasture cum pertin*enciis* | —[hereditat]em suam Et in que idem Rob*er*tus non h*ab*et ingr*essum* nisi post disseis*in*am quam hugo hunt inde iniuste *et* sine iudicio fecit | —dic*it* q*uo*d ipsemet fuit seis*it*us de ten*ement*is *predict*is cum p*er*tin*enciis* in d*omi*nico suo ut de feodo *et* iure tempore pacis tempore | —*etc.* Et *predict*us Rob*er*tus in p*ro*pria p*er*sona sua ven*it* Et defend*it* ius suu*m* quando *etc.* Et voc*at* inde ad war*anciam* Iohan*nem* Howell | —[w]ar*antizat etc.* Et sup*er* hoc *predict*us Iohan*nes* Collyn pet*it* v*er*sus ips*um* Iohan*nem* Howell tenen*tem* p*er* war*anciam* suam tenem*ent*a *predict*a cum | —[d*omi*ni]co suo ut de feodo *et* iure tempore pacis tempore d*omi*ne Regine nunc capiendo inde explesi*as* ad valenciam *etc.* | —[defen]d*it* ius suu*m* quando *etc.* Et dic*it* q*uo*d *predict*us Hugo non disseis*ivit pre*fat*um* Iohan*nem* Collyn de tenem*ent*is *predict*is cum p*er*tin*enciis* prout | —p*at*riam *etc.* Et *predict*us Iohan*nes* Collyn pet*it* licenciam inde int*er*loquendi Et h*ab*et *etc.* Et postea idem Iohan*nes* reven*it* | —[solempni]t*er* exact*us* non reven*it* set in Contempt*u* Cur*ie* recessit Et defalt*am* fac*it* I*deo* con*sideratum* est q*uo*d *predict*us Iohan*nes* Collyn recup*er*et)



FINAL CONCORD.—A.D. 1673

(Hec est finalis Concordia *facta* in Cur*ia* d*omi*ni Regis apud Westm*onasterium* a die *sancte* Trinitatis in quindecim di[es]— | defens*oris etc.* a Conq*uestu* Vicesimo quinto Coram Iohan*ne* Vaughan Iohan*ne* Archer Hugone Wyndham— | Will*elmum* Yates Gen*erosum et* Dinam ux*orem* eius quer*entes* et Iohan*nem* Bentley Gen*erosum et* Annam ux*orem* ei[us]— | duab*us* acris *terre* decem acris pasture *et* trib*us* acris bosci cum pertin*enciis* in Shudy Camps unde pl*acitum* Conv[encionis]— | cum pertin*enciis* esse ius ipsius Will*elmi* ut illa que iidem Will*elmus et* Dina h*abent* de dono *predictorum* Iohannis *et* Anne Et— | hered*ibus* ipsius Will*elmi* imp*erpetuum* Et *pret*erea iidem Iohannes *et* Anna Concesser*unt pro* se *et* hered*ibus* ipsius Anne quod— | *predictos* Iohannem *et* Annam *et* hered*es* ipsius Anne imp*erpetuum* Et *pro* hac recogn*icione* remissione quietaclam*acione*— | libras sterlingor*um*.)

No. 248

We also select a passage from an exemplification of a plea of Elizabeth's reign, dated in the year 1578 (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 25968).

No. 249

There is practically no great difference in style between these two specimens. The latter is perhaps to some extent the better hand and shows a very slight advance on the other; but the forms of the letters are so stereotyped in this class of writing that the space of nearly half a century which lies between the two documents has impressed but little trace of change on the later one. In the case of official scripts such as the Chancery hand and the Court hand, employed, as they were, only for special purposes, and uninfluenced by other styles of writing, we find the same conditions, on a more restricted scale, as have been noticed in the history of those national hands which were confined to a comparatively limited career and remained secluded from intercourse with the styles of other countries. Such scripts naturally become more and more conservative, and in the end are mere petrifactions.

Lastly, to show further how very gradual was the alteration wrought by time in the character of the Court hand, an example is taken from a final concord of the reign of Charles II, bearing the date of 1673 (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 25871), nearly a century and a half after the date of the final concord above (Facs. 248), of the time of Henry VIII, with which it is to be compared.

No. 250

The more recent date of this document is to be recognized by the coarser style of the writing and by the broken appearance of the letters, which is effected by their more strongly defined angularity.

The Court hand continued in practice down to the reign of George II; the Chancery hand still survives in the modern engrossing hands employed in enrolments and patents.

Our task is ended. We have traced the developement and progress of Greek handwriting, in its literary form, from the earliest examples beginning in the fourth century B.C., down to the close of the fifteenth century of our era. We have also been able to follow the course of Greek cursive writing from the third century B.C. down to the eighth century, the date when material fails us.

In the domain of Latin Palaeography the anterior limit has been less

remote; but we have followed its progress through a wider field. We have seen it, in its literary dress, pass through the stages of Capital writing, and of Uncial writing and the scripts immediately connected therewith. For the history of Latin cursive writing in the early centuries of our era we have been able to gather valuable details from the scanty material at our command. We have witnessed the transformations which the Latin script assumed in its course of developement under national influences. And we have followed it in its career through the book-hands of Western Europe, from the days of Charlemagne to the end of the fifteenth century. Finally, we have taken account, in a limited degree, of the official and legal cursive writing of the middle ages, and, in particular, of its styles as practised in our own country.

But this work does not pretend to be more than an Introduction to the study of Greek and Latin Palaeography. The main object kept in view has been to place before the student a clear outline representing salient features, and to leave the details to be filled in by more minute and specialized research.

In its secondary aspect, as a contribution to the general history of handwriting, if it may be allowed that function, a palaeographical work such as this brings out clearly the fact that national and personal character is as strongly marked in the handwriting of nations and of individuals as it is in their moral and physical attributes. The modern nations of Europe can never suffer the varieties and changes in their handwritings which fell to the lot of their ancestors. The printing press has rendered such a possibility impossible. Yet the printing press itself, with all its power to enforce uniformity, at least in literary works, has been powerless to repress the national and individual character, which breaks out, and will continue to break out, in the domestic handwriting of the day. This assertion of character will last to the end, whatever mechanical influences may rise up to check its natural course. Undoubtedly such mechanical changes as the abandonment of the quill-pen for the steel nib and the introduction of the stylographic pen have affected our modern current writing very much for the worse, and other inventions may serve to give it a still worse turn in the future; but the natural hand is not to be expelled. Character will persist, though the writing may become villainous. Whether the palaeographer of the distant ages will direct his researches to the elucidation of the national hands of his day we need not stop to consider. We do not envy him his task, content as we are that the lines have fallen unto us in pleasanter places.

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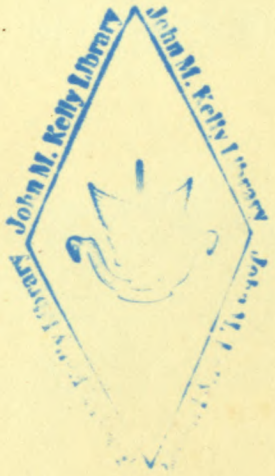
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