

# THE RISE OF THE QUOTATION SIGN IN THE LATIN WEST AND CHANGING MODES OF READING BETWEEN THE SIXTH AND THE NINTH CENTURIES\*

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The twelve volumes of the *Codices latini antiquiores* provide a rich trove of data about the earliest methods of citation-marking in the Latin West. This data indicates that citations from the Bible began to be marked in Christian books by the fifth century. Originally, the preferred method of such marking was by indentation of cited material, but in the sixth century, a different method – the use of a special symbol placed in the margin next to the line containing citations – gained a foothold. Several such symbols were used between the fifth and the ninth century in the Latin West, reflecting conventions characteristic of specific regions, scriptoria and scripts. By the end of the eighth century, one such symbol, a vertical flourish resembling the modern letter S, prevailed as a result of its adoption by the users of Caroline minuscule. Carolingian scribes were responsible for uniformization of citation-marking practices in the Latin West and also for their widespread adoption as a book feature so that it can be estimated that more than half of the manuscripts produced in the Carolingian scriptoria were equipped with S-shaped flourishes. The development in the Carolingian period was a culmination of long dynamic development of citation-marking practices in the Latin West, which seem to reflect different reading strategies and attitudes of distinct groups of book users.

It is no mistake that the title of this article refers to the quotation sign rather than to the quotation mark. The latter is a type of punctuation used today to indicate direct speech and quotations that developed from the fifteenth century onwards with the onset of printing<sup>(1)</sup>. The former term, however, designates a type of annotation symbol used in the Latin West in late Antiquity and through-

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(1) The credit for the modern use of the quotation mark was recently given to Milanese humanist Francesco Filelfo, who may have been the first to use quotation marks consistently to mark citations in a printed book, his *Orationes et opuscula* (1483/84); Giordano CASTELLANI, «Francesco Filelfo's *Orationes et Opuscula* (1483 / 1484). The First Example of Quotation Marks in Print?», *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 83, 2008, p. 52-80. In the sixteenth century, quotation marks also began to be used for direct speech. One of the earliest examples of such use is the 1574 edition of *The Mirror for Magistrate*, a collection of Tudor poems, see Lily B. CAMPBELL, *Parts Added to The Mirror for Magistrates by John Higgins and Thomas Blenerhasset*, Cambridge, 1946, p. 17-19. They took on their modern form in the course of the eighteenth century in the works of notable novelists. For the history of quotation marks, see Malcolm B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, Aldershot, 1992, p. 57-61.

out the Middle Ages to mark the presence of quoted material<sup>(2)</sup>. Unlike the modern punctuation sign, annotation symbols belonged to the domain of ancient and medieval readers and book users, who deployed them in book margins to mark passages of interest, disagreement, errors in the text, or, in the case of quotation signs, citations from authoritative texts. They therefore occupied a separate niche in written culture, not least because they belonged to a set that functioned as a simple *apparatus criticus* surrounding the manuscript text<sup>(3)</sup>. For this reason, quotation signs should not be conflated with quotation marks, nor should it be presupposed that the former represented a primitive form of the latter, or that it served an identical purpose. Nevertheless, the quotation sign is a direct predecessor of the quotation mark, both genetically and in terms of its graphic forms, which can already be recognised in the oldest Western manuscripts, as will be clear from the discussion below.

This article aims to map the rise of the quotation sign in the Latin West between the fourth and the ninth centuries. Paleographers have, naturally, paid attention to quotation signs previously; however, they rarely ventured beyond making basic observations about their use and describing their most common graphic forms, usually on the basis of a small number of manuscripts that served as examples<sup>(4)</sup>. To my knowledge, the only scholar to produce a more substantial study of quotation signs was Patrick McGurk, who examined manuscripts contained in the second volume of the *Codices Latini antiquiores* (those held by libraries in Great Britain and Ireland) for the evidence of what he called «citation marks», and made several important observations about the chronological ranges of certain methods of marking cited material in the Latin West<sup>(5)</sup>. In this article, I venture further

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(2) The development and use of annotation symbols in the Latin West are studied in Evina STEINOVÁ, *Notam Superponere Studui: The Use of Annotation Symbols in the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 2018, p. 158-161 (Bibliologia, 52).

(3) The best evidence for the role of annotation symbols in late antique and early medieval book culture is their inclusion among grammatical phenomena in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. *Etym.* 1.21 (*De notis sententiarum*) is, in effect, a list of twenty-six annotation symbols, among them also a quotation sign called *diple* (1.21.13), which was used «in the books of Ecclesiastical writers to distinguish or mark the testimonies of Holy Scriptures» (*Hanc scriptores nostri adponunt in libris ecclesiasticorum virorum ad separanda vel [adj] demonstranda testimonia sanctorum Scripturarum*); Wallace M. LINDSAY, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1911, p. 47.

(4) Methods of marking citations were treated among others by: Wilhelm WATTENBACH, *Anleitung zur Lateinischen Palaeographie*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 91-92; E. H. J. REUSENS, *Éléments de paléographie*, Louvain, 1899, p. 156; Wilhelm SCHUBART, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern.*, Berlin, 1921, p. 86 and 182; Wallace M. LINDSAY, *Palaeographia Latina*, vol. 2, London, 1923, p. 19-20; and Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó CRÓINÍN and David GANZ, Cambridge, 1990, p. 172.

(5) Patrick McGURK, «Citation Marks in Early Latin Manuscripts», *Scriptorium*, 15:1, 1961, p. 3-13. Other important studies that discuss quotation signs and to which I refer in this article are: Elias A. LOWE, «More Facts about Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts», *The Classical Quarterly*, 22, 1928, p. 43-62, reprinted in *Palaeographical Papers*, ed. by Ludwig BIELER, vol. 1, 1972,

than McGurk, providing an overview of the use of quotation signs and other methods of citation-marking in late antique and early medieval Western manuscripts on the basis of data drawn from all twelve volumes of the *Codices Latini antiquiores* (henceforth CLA) (6). The wealth of data provided by the CLA makes it possible to use manuscripts not merely to exemplify how quotation signs were used, but to analyze their patterns of distribution in the surviving manuscript evidence predating the year 800, and I will undertake such an analysis to uncover several large-scale trends, for which the paleographic material provides evidence.

This article is divided into four parts. In the first, I describe the most widespread methods of marking cited material attested in the CLA manuscripts, based on McGurk's survey. In the second part, I employ the CLA data about the date, origin and script of the pre-800 manuscripts to show how the practice of citation-marking evolved between the fourth and the early ninth centuries, including how quotation signs – a particular method of marking citations – displaced other, older methods. The third part deals with the relationship between the use of quotation signs and the practice of manuscript annotation, showing that the former evolved in the context of the latter. This examination will also reveal a shift in the use of quotation signs which took place between the seventh and the eighth century. This development can be glanced only from a quantitative analysis, once all data about the pre-800 Latin manuscripts are assembled. I deal with the implications of this shift in the fourth part of this article, focusing on what it tells us about changes in how books were read in late Antiquity and in the early Middle Ages.

### Methods of marking citations in the Latin West before 800

The «citation marks» described in Patrick McGurk's article on citation-marking in Western manuscripts can be classified into two categories based on the manner of their execution. As mentioned above, citations could have been marked by annotation symbols, i.e., quotation signs, which were entered in the margins of a manuscript once its production was completed (but potentially also added during the copying process, or copied directly over from an exemplar). Citations were also indicated by layout elements: projection into the margin, indentation, and the use

p. 251-274; Caroline P. HAMMOND-BAMMEL, «A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium Preserving Conventions Used by Rufinus of Aquileia», *Journal of Theological Studies*, 29:2, 1978, p. 366-391; M. B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect* (supra n. 1); and Christian WILDBERG, «Simplicius und das Zitat. Zur Überlieferung des Anführungszeichens», in *Symbolae Berolinenses für Dieter Harlfinger*, ed. by Friederike BERGER et al., Amsterdam, 1993.

(6) Elias A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century*, 11 vols., Oxford, 1934-1966; and Elias A. LOWE, *Codices Latini antiquiores. Supplement*, Oxford, 1971. I do not include the data present in the two addenda published as: Bernhard BISCHOFF and Virginia BROWN, «Addenda to Codices Latini Antiquiores», *Mediaeval Studies*, 47:1, 1985, p. 317-366; and Bernhard BISCHOFF, Virginia BROWN, and James J. JOHN, «Addenda to Codices Latini Antiquiores (II)», *Mediaeval Studies*, 54, 1992, p. 286-307. Throughout this article, I refer to CLA manuscripts by their catalogue number.

of rubrication, of a different script, or both<sup>(7)</sup>). Because they were embedded in the manuscript layout, these methods of marking citations presuppose an entirely different manuscript context than quotation signs: not only did they have to be inserted by copyists rather than readers or other users, but they also had to be included in the manuscript by design and thus pre-planned. Once deployed, it was difficult to alter or remove them, and if a book did not contain these features, their secondary additions required a major intervention, a feat for which none of the CLA manuscripts provides evidence. These characteristics may explain the limited success of the layout-based methods in pre-800 Western manuscripts (67 mss, roughly 3 % of the CLA) and specifically why the two oldest methods of marking citations inherited from the ancient Greeks, projection (2 mss) and indentation (39 mss, cf. **Pl. 11a**), fell out of use by 700<sup>(8)</sup>.

The marking of citations by rubrication (13 mss, cf. **Pl. 11b**) and by a different script (23 mss, cf. **Pl. 11c**) had a different trajectory of development. These methods were employed overwhelmingly for biblical lemmata in lemmatic commentaries such as Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* or Cassiodorus' *Expositio psalmorum*. One suspects that lemmata may have been distinguished from the body of the text by rubrication and/or by the hierarchy of scripts in this context because they served as section headers rather than because they were citations from the Scriptures. This is suggested by the fact that non-lemmatic citations in these texts are usually either flagged by quotation signs, or not marked at all.<sup>(9)</sup> This particular manner of marking lemmata (rubrication and script) came into vogue in the eighth century in the Anglo-Saxon environment and later among the users of Caroline minuscule.<sup>(10)</sup> Nevertheless, the oldest examples of rubricated citations and citations in a different script are earlier and do not occur in lemmatic commentaries, but rather as isolated experiments in manuscript formatting<sup>(11)</sup>.

(7) P. McGURK, «Citation Marks» (*supra* n. 5), p. 8. In one case, St. Petersburg, National Library, F.v.I.3 (fols. 39-108) (8<sup>th</sup> century, 2/2, Anglo-Saxon center, CLA XI 1600), lemmata in a biblical commentary were marked by minuscule of different size.

(8) P. McGURK, «Citation Marks» (*supra* n. 5), p. 3-6; E. A. LOWE, «More Facts about Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts» (*supra* n. 5), p. 273. The youngest manuscript with indented citations dates to the eighth century: Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, A III 14 (Italy, CLA III 282). There are three manuscripts with indented citations (CLA V 658, VI 729, VI 782a) and one with citations projecting in the margins (V 686), which may date to the seventh century.

(9) For example, in two copies of Gregory's *Moralia* from the turn of the ninth century, lemmata were highlighted by the use of red uncial and one type of quotation sign, while quotations in the body of the text were marked with flourishes (CLA VIII 1067b and VIII 1076).

(10) Malcolm B. PARKES, «Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text in the Early Middle Ages», in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. by Guglielmo CAVALLO and Roger CHARTIER, Amherst, 1999, p. 90-102, here p. 97; reprinted in Malcolm B. PARKES, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts*, London, 1991, p. 378-384.

(11) In an uncial Graeco-Latin manuscript of Pauline epistles, Paris, BnF, Gr. 107 + 107A + 107B (5<sup>th</sup> century, possibly southern Italy), citations are both indented and rubricated (CLA V 521). In Lyons, BM 443 (7<sup>th</sup> century, in., France), the first line of a biblical quote was copied in

Quotation signs were a prevailing method of marking cited material before 800 (283 mss, roughly 14 % of the CLA). They come in several graphic variants. Five forms appear in at least 15 CLA manuscripts each and demand closer attention:

- the S-shaped flourish:** a sign that resembles letter S, sometimes doubled (S or SS), which the authors of the CLA call «(vertical/S-shaped) flourish» and McGurk «a corrupt *diple*» (159 mss, cf. **Pl. 11e**)<sup>(12)</sup>;
- the insular form:** a sign that consists of one or more dots and a comma-like element (...) that Lindsay identified as the Anglo-Saxon variant of the quotation sign (86 mss, cf. **Pl. 11f**)<sup>(13)</sup>;
- the *yfen*:** a sign that resembles, according to the authors of the CLA, «a bird in flight» or modern letter-forms of V and Y, sometimes doubled and surmounted by a dot (V, Y or VV), called by one medieval source *yfen* (23 mss, cf. **Pl. 11g**)<sup>(14)</sup>;
- the obelus-shaped sign:** a sign that resembles the modern division sign (÷) or the medieval form of the *obelus* (19 mss, cf. **Pl. 11h**)<sup>(15)</sup>;
- the *diple*:** a sign resembling modern greater-than sign, sometimes doubled (> or >>), that is called the *diple* by ancient and medieval sources (19 mss, cf. **Pl. 11d**)<sup>(16)</sup>.

Other graphic forms of quotation signs found in the CLA manuscripts include: comma-shaped symbols (11 mss), horizontal flourishes resembling «wavy» strokes

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red (CLA VI 774a). In El Escorial, Monasterio de San Lorenzo, R II 18 (7<sup>th</sup> century, ex., Spain), an uncial manuscript of Isidore, Rufinus and other texts, citations were copied in rustic capitals (CLA XI 1631). In Ravenna, Archivio Arcivescovile, MS s.n. (5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century, Italy), a half-uncial copy of Ambrose, citations are copied in smaller half-uncial (CLA IV 410a).

(12) See for example CLA III 303b, 304 and 309, and P. McGURK, «Citation Marks» (*supra* n. 5), p. 7.

(13) W. M. LINDSAY, *Palaeographia Latina* (*supra* n. 4), p. 20.

(14) CLA XI 1024. This source is the *Anecdoton Cavense*, in which one reads: V *yfen. in exemplis*; see August REIFFERSCHEID, «Mitteilungen aus Handschriften. I. Anecdoton Cavense de notis antiquorum», *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 23, 1868, p. 127-133, here p. 128. If we consider that the form of the symbol is also the letter-form of Y in Luxeuil minuscule and other scripts, the connection between the sign and its name becomes clear, even if the νφέν was originally a reading aid used in Greek texts to join two words belonging together (*Elym.* 1.19.6).

(15) The CLA does not give a name to this sign, but simply represents it as ÷, e.g. in CLA II 124, II 237, V 533, and V 567. Also, some of the manuscripts included in this count are probably unrelated, even though the quotation signs they contain resemble each other in shape. The sixth and seventh-century manuscripts with *obelus*-like signs from Italy, for example, do not reflect the same conventions of sign use as the late eighth and early ninth-century manuscripts from France.

(16) See footnote 3. The oldest Latin source which suggests that the *diple* may have been used to mark citations is Cicero's letter to Atticus VIII 2.4: *Vibulli res gestae sunt adhuc maximae. id ex Pompei litteris cognosces; in quibus animadvertisco illum locum ubi erit διπλῆ. videbis de Gnaeo nostro ipse Vibullius quid existimet; Cicero. Letters to Atticus*, Eric Otto WINSTEDT (ed. and trans.), *Letters to Atticus*, vol. 2, London, 1912, p. 104 (Loeb classical library, 8). The *diple* is also described in a way that suggests it was a quotation sign in the fragment of a list of annotation symbols, PSI 1488 (2<sup>nd</sup> century), and in Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*; Vittorio BARTOLETTI, «Diogene Laerzio III 65-66 e un papiro della raccolta fiorentina», in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 1, Vatican, 1964, p. 25-30 (Studi e testi, 231). The *diple* is also mentioned by Simplicius, the sixth-century commentator of Aristotle; Ch. WILDBERG, «Simplicius und das Zitat» (*supra* n. 5), p. 194.

(8 mss), 3-shaped symbols (6 mss), zig-zag-shaped symbols (6 mss), dots (4 mss), *obeli* with pronounced stems (4 mss), the cross (1 ms.), the *hedera* or heart-shaped leaf (1 ms.), and a group of points (1 ms.)<sup>(17)</sup>. While they appear in manuscripts too infrequently to provide insights into the general patterns of use of citation markers, some of these rare types clearly reflect local conventions. The zig-zag type, for example, appears in manuscripts produced between the mid-eighth and early ninth century in Corbie and should be considered a quotation sign specific to this scribal centre<sup>(18)</sup>. Three of the pre-800 manuscripts containing 3-shaped symbols come from Bavaria, as do five ninth-century manuscripts featuring this quotation sign, suggesting it was another localised variant.<sup>(19)</sup> Three of the four manuscripts in which citations are marked with dots come from northern Italy; the origin of the fourth is uncertain.<sup>(20)</sup> Finally, the quotation sign that resembles the *obelus* with pronounced stems (►◄) appears solely in manuscripts of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, in which it is used for cited documents (while quotes from the Bible and Patristic authorities are marked with the Anglo-Saxon variant of the quotation sign). This system of differentiated quotation signs, which is otherwise highly non-standard, is in all likelihood Bede's own invention and goes back to his archetype, from which some of the CLA manuscripts seem to have been copied. A distinct convention of differentiated quotation signs can be observed in a group of three manuscripts of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, in which an S-shaped flourish was employed for the Bible and an *obelus*-shaped sign for Classical authors<sup>(21)</sup>.

(17) Altogether, 33 CLA manuscripts are listed as containing quotation signs other than those belonging to the five major categories. Some represent unique cases of experimentation with the form of familiar signs. In Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B.62 (8<sup>th</sup> century, med., North of the Alps), for example, the first line of a citation was marked with 'a point over a horizontal [flourish]' and the other lines by 'a point over a vertical flourish' (CLA IV 433).

(18) The six manuscripts containing this form are: CLA V 641, V 657, VI 709, VIII 1066, VIII 1067a and VIII 1067b. One of them was copied in eN-type minuscule, two in Maurdrannus minuscule, and three in early Caroline minuscule. It should be also noted that this is the only quotation sign that was placed also above the last word of the citation, to mark its end.

(19) The three pre-800 manuscripts are: CLA IX 1262, IX 1291, and IX 1292. The five additional Bavarian manuscripts are: Munich, BSB, Clm 3747 (9<sup>th</sup> century, 2/4, Regensburg), Munich, BSB, Clm 14080 (8<sup>th</sup> century, 4/4, Regensburg), Munich, BSB, Clm 14248 (9<sup>th</sup> century, in., Regensburg), Munich, BSB, Clm 14286 (9<sup>th</sup> century, ¼, Regensburg), and Munich, BSB, Clm 14314 (9<sup>th</sup> century, 2/4, Regensburg). The dates and localization of these and other ninth-century manuscripts referred to in this article are taken from Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1998-2014 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz).

(20) The three manuscripts are CLA IV 481, VIII 1107, IX 1249. For the fourth manuscript, CLA XI 1627, the authors of the CLA favour southern France. The presence of the dot type indicates that it may be an Italian manuscript. In addition, the manuscript containing a quotation sign in the form of a group of points, CLA III 394, comes from Bobbio and may be related to the others.

(21) These manuscripts are: CLA V 635, VI 784, and VII 852. A different case is the Greek manuscript of Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, 226 (9<sup>th</sup> cen-

The five major types of the quotation sign should be divided into «old» forms that stem from ancient Greek usage and share counterparts in Byzantine manuscripts, and «new» forms that came into being in the Latin West in the early Middle Ages. As regards the former, Greek scribes in Antiquity used many types of annotation symbols and it seems that some could have been deployed as citation markers (whether because they were specifically quotation signs or because they were generic annotation symbols used in a particular context in this capacity) (22). The *diple* is attested in this function from the second century CE onwards, having an earlier history as an all-purpose annotation symbol and found in this capacity in papyri starting from the second century BCE (23). It seems to have been increasingly selected for the task of marking citations until it became used exclusively for this purpose in a late antique Christian context (24).

As Lindsay correctly observed, the S-shaped flourish came into being as a cursive form of the *diple* by the sixth century (25). It is a result of scribes simplifying

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tury), in which annotators distinguished citations from Aristotle, his other commentators, Plato, poetry and Strato by a set of five different annotation symbols; see Ch. WILDBERG, «Simplicius und das Zitat» (*supra* n. 5), p. 189-190.

(22) In the papyri from Herculaneum, for example, citations were marked with a symbol resembling //; Guglielmo CAVALLO, *Libri scrittura scribi a Ercolano: introduzione allo studio dei materiali greci*, Naples, 1983, p. 24 (Cronache Ercolanesi, 13). In a third-century papyrus, P. Oxy. 13.1611, a quote from Acusilaus is marked with a *chresimon* (‡); H. D. JOCELYN, «The Annotations of M. Valerius Probus (II)», *The Classical Quarterly*, 35:1, 1985, p. 149-161, here p. 158, n. 127. Projection and indentation occur in papyri from as early as the first century CE; P. MCGURK, «Citation Marks» (*supra* n. 5), p. 3.

(23) In P. Tebt. 1.4 (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, Homer), it was used in line with the principles outlined by Alexandrian Homeric scholars. In P. Köln 6.242 (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, poetry), it was used as a text-division sign. In other papyri from the first to the sixth centuries, the *diple* appears for text-division, errors, variant readings or marginal notes; see Kathleen McNAMEE, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*, Brussels, 1992, p. 29 and 36-38 (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 26). The use of the *diple* as an all-purpose symbol is attested also by Homeric scholia, which suggest that it may have been employed in this fashion by Alexandrian scholars of the third and second centuries BCE; see Graeme BIRD, «Critical Signs - Drawing Attention to 'Special' Lines of Homer's *Iliad* in the Manuscript Venetus A», in *Recapturing a Homeric Legacy: Images and Insights from the Venetus A Manuscript of the Iliad*, ed. by Casey DUÉ, Washington, D.C., 2009, p. 89-115.

(24) McNamee lists twelve Greek papyri, ranging from the second to the turn of the seventh century, in which the *diple* was used as a quotation sign; K. McNAMEE, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* (*supra* n. 23), p. 36-38; see also Kathleen McNAMEE, «Sigla in Late Greek Literary Papyri», in *Sigles dans les textes, textes sur les signes: Érudition, lecture et écriture dans le monde Gréco-Romain*, ed. by Gabriel MACEDO and Maria Chiara SCAPPATICCIO, Leuven, 2017, p. 128-129 (Papyrologica Leodiensia, 6). To these should be added P. Lond. 729, a sixth-century letter from Alexandria, and a sixth-century papyrus codex of Hilary of Poitiers from southern Italy, P. Vienna 2160; Ch. WILDBERG, «Simplicius und das Zitat» (*supra* n. 5), p. 192-93; Rudolf BEER, *Monumenta palaeographica vindobonensis. Denkmäler der Schreibkunst aus der Handschriftensammlung des Habsburg-lothringischen Erzhauses*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1910, p. 6.

(25) W. M. LINDSAY, *Palaeographia Latina* (*supra* n. 4), p. 19.

the *diple*, a two-stroke sign, so that it could be executed in a single stroke<sup>(26)</sup>. Curiously, the S-shaped flourish became prevalent in codices copied in half-uncial, while late antique uncial codices more commonly contain the calligraphic form (>) uncommon in half-uncial manuscripts<sup>(27)</sup>. A similar paleographic shift from a calligraphic to a cursive form of the *diple* can also be observed as an independent development from the tenth century in the Greek East<sup>(28)</sup>. By this time, the calligraphic *diple* all but disappeared from the Latin West, fully replaced by the S-shaped flourish, the most common quotation sign that can be found in medieval manuscripts up to the fifteenth century.

The «new» forms of the quotation sign are not attested before the early eighth century. They reflect the rise of national scripts in the Latin West, rather than the inheritance of ancient scribal practices, and have a strong regional character. The insular form (.,), which can be found almost exclusively in Anglo-Saxon and Irish manuscripts, is a case in point. When present in manuscripts copied in different scripts, an insular influence should be suspected<sup>(29)</sup>. The *yfen* (Y) has a strong connection to Luxeuil<sup>(30)</sup>. It appeared for the first time in manuscripts copied in Luxeuil minuscule and achieved a modest dissemination in France and Germany.<sup>(31)</sup> The

(26) A number of manuscripts demonstrate the process in action. The scribe begins by drawing the two-stroke calligraphic *diple*, but before the end of the quotation, he or she would fall into drawing the sign in a single stroke, in which case it often took the form of an S-shaped flourish or a comma-shaped sign. The oldest manuscript I know to reflect this simplification is Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XIII (11) (5<sup>th</sup> century, Italy, CLA IV 484).

(27) Compare with C. HAMMOND-BAMMEL, «A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium» (*supra* n. 5), p. 380. The S-shaped flourish features in eleven 6<sup>th</sup>- and ten 7<sup>th</sup>-century half-uncial manuscripts. Only six 6<sup>th</sup>-century uncial codices contain this variant, the majority of the thirty-one uncial manuscripts containing this sign dating to the 8<sup>th</sup> and the early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. By contrast, the calligraphic *diple* appears in twelve uncial manuscripts and only three half-uncial codices. The oldest manuscript containing consistently contemporary S-shaped flourishes is also half-uncial, Lyons, BM 483 (5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century, Italy, CLA VI 779).

(28) P. McGURK, «Citation Marks» (*supra* n. 5), p. 4. One of the effects of the long survival of the *diple* in the Greek East may have been an archaizing look they would give Greek books in the eyes of Western readers.

(29) An example is London, BL, Egerton 2831 (8<sup>th</sup> century, 2/2, Tours), which was produced in cooperation by a local and an Anglo-Saxon scribe, each using a distinct type of quotation signs (CLA II 196a and 196b). Other CLA manuscripts displaying traces of insular influence on account of insular quotation signs include London, BL, Harley 2788 (II 198), Paris, Arsenal 599 (V 517), Paris, St. Genevieve 63 (V 695), and Laon, BM 50 (VI 763).

(30) The authors of the CLA even call it a sign «typical of Luxeuil»; CLA XI 1617.

(31) Of the 23 manuscripts containing this quotation sign, 15 are French and 6 German. The oldest generation, marked with the *yfen* from the late seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries consists of CLA II 163 (Luxeuil minuscule), II 174 (az-minuscule), IV 497 (Luxeuil minuscule), V 542 (uncial, France), V 692 (half-uncial, northeastern France), VI 759 (uncial, France), X 1454 (Luxeuil minuscule), XI 1617 (Luxeuil minuscule), and XI 1659 (uncial, from Luxeuil). Many of these manuscripts are copies of Gregory the Great's *Moralia*. French manuscripts containing the *yfen* are also commonly copies of this text, suggesting the importance of Luxeuil for the transmission history of this work. The German manuscripts represent a different

*obelus*-shaped quotation sign (÷) seems to come from Merovingian Gaul<sup>(32)</sup>. It may have come into being in a similar fashion as the *yfen* and the zig-zag-shaped quotation sign, and may therefore represent a convention of a particular important Merovingian scribal centre that exerted an influence on other scriptoria<sup>(33)</sup>.

The manuscripts listed in the CLA suggest that the practice of marking citations underwent a rather dynamic development in the Latin West. This development is not self-explanatory – the Greek East made do with a single quotation sign, the ancient *diple*, and other manuscript cultures seem to have developed no similar practice or developed it relatively late<sup>(34)</sup>. In the West, it seems, some citation-marking conventions arose locally and spread as a result of the influence of particular schools, scribal circles or intellectual centres (e.g. Luxeuil). In some cases, texts served as vehicles for the spread of quotation signs or layout-based methods of citation-marking (e.g. Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*). The fortunes of citation markers were, however, most closely connected with the fortunes of scripts, and their development copies closely the diversification of Western scripts between 600 and 800. The association between a preferred method of citation-marking and script may already have begun to develop before the end of the sixth century, as certain methods can be more commonly seen in manuscripts copied in uncial (indentation, *diple*) and others in codices produced in half-uncial (S-shaped flourishes). It is also notable that no manuscripts copied in rustic or square capitals contain citation markers, but this is due to the decisively Christian character of the practice.

That there exists a correlation between script and type of citation marker calls for two remarks. First, this correlation suggests that scribes were familiarised with citation-marking, and especially with the use of quotation signs as a particular method of indicating citations, as part and parcel of their scribal training. Second, it could mean that quotation signs may have been inserted in the manuscript during the copying process, or shortly thereafter, rather than in the process of read-

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pattern of dissemination: they date to the turn of the ninth century and none is, interestingly, a copy of Gregory's works; see CLA I 79, VI 753, IX 1266, IX 1293, IX 1297, and IX 1390.

(32) Lowe considers it a French sign; see the remark in CLA XI 1598.

(33) It can be noted that some of the oldest manuscripts containing this variant of the quotation sign are from Tours (CLA V 682, X 1571).

(34) Citation marks seem to have been non-existent in pre-modern Chinese books; see the overview of various Chinese annotation symbols in Imre GALAMBOS, «Punctuation Marks in Medieval Chinese Manuscripts», in *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, ed. by Jörg QUENZER and Jan-Ulrich SOBISCH, Berlin, 2014, p. 341-357. In Hebrew manuscript culture, citations from the Bible were marked by a pair of points written above the words; see Malachi BEIT-ARIÉ, *Hebrew Codicology: Historical and Comparative Typology of Hebrew Medieval Codices based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts in Quantitative Approach*, Jerusalem, forthcoming, p. 483. However, examples of such marking do not predate the thirteenth century. I owe this latter information to Joel Binder from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. My colleague Eric van Lit working on Arabic and Persian manuscripts informed me that citation marks were unknown in these manuscript cultures.

ing. Indeed, we will see that the latter is the trend observable in the Carolingian period. The increased use of quotation signs in the *scriptorium* may partly explain the staggering increase in the use of quotation signs in the Latin West in the early Middle Ages, for which the following two sections provide evidence.

### Distribution of various methods of marking citations in pre-800 Western manuscripts

In this section, I outline and analyse the distribution patterns of different methods of citation-marking in pre-800 Western manuscripts. First, however, let us have a look at the general distribution of citation markers in the same corpus.

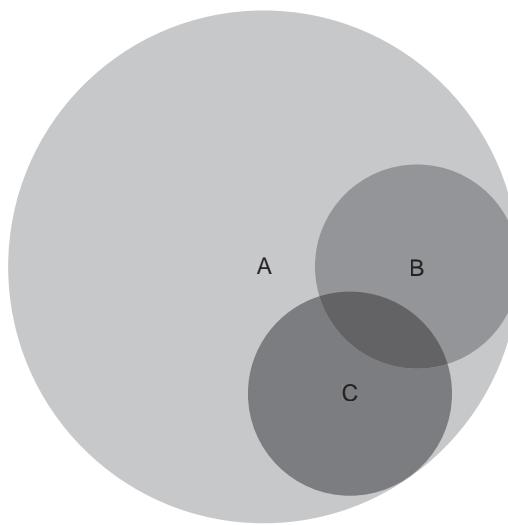
The twelve volumes of the CLA provide information on 1974 manuscripts, some of them preserved whole, most of them as fragments, ranging in date from the first century BCE to the early ninth century CE<sup>(35)</sup>. The CLA consistently records whether a manuscript contains citation markers, and their form<sup>(36)</sup>. Using this information, we can count 324 manuscripts with citation markers dating from the fourth to the early ninth centuries, which amount to approximately 16.4 % of all surviving pre-800 codices. This number is illuminating, as it suggests that the practice was not particularly widespread before 800. In addition, it is almost the same as the number of pre-800 manuscripts that contain textual annotations such as glosses and marginal commentary (328 or 16.6 %)<sup>(37)</sup>. This suggests that before 800, manuscript producers and users tended to mark citations in their books about as often as they added glosses and textual notes.

This does not imply that they performed both tasks simultaneously or that the same books contain both citation markers and textual notes. Only 95 manuscripts (less than 5 % of the CLA) have both. Less than 30 % of books containing one feature also contain the other. In other words, manuscript producers and users did sometimes both mark citations and annotate the text, but more often performed only one or the other task (Fig. 1).

(35) The one exception is CLA IX 1371, a bifolium from a tenth-century manuscript, which was mistakenly dated to the 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century by Paul Lehmann and, believed to be lost, included in the CLA on his authority. The full list of CLA manuscripts is now available on the website of the *Earlier Latin Manuscripts* project, [elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue](http://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue).

(36) A field for this information was also present on the file cards used to compile the CLA. It is possible that E.A. Lowe intended to collect this data to produce a study similar to his survey of omission signs, which also draws on information included in the CLA; Elias A. LOWE, «The Oldest Omission Signs in Latin Manuscripts: Their Origin and Significance», in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 4, Vatican, 1946, p. 36-79 (Studi e Testi, 126), reprinted in *Palaeographical Papers*, ed. by Ludwig BIELER, vol. 2, 1972, p. 349-380. Such a study was, however, never published. This article in many regards brings the efforts outlined in the CLA to completion.

(37) It is open to interpretation which phenomena should be considered textual annotations. In the present study, I omit those manuscripts for which the CLA records only one or two glosses or marginal notes (including annotations in Tironian notes).



**Fig. 1:** Number of pre-800 manuscripts containing citation markers (B) and textual annotations (C) in relationship to each other and to all pre-800 manuscripts (A)

The information presented in this figure calls for two caveats. First, the numbers are based on the descriptions in the CLA rather than on re-examination of all 1974 CLA manuscripts. The accuracy of the CLA can be tested by a comparison between McGurk's article and the second volume of the CLA. This test reveals the CLA occasionally fails to mention the presence of quotation signs in its descriptions.<sup>(38)</sup> However, the manuscripts whose descriptions omit the presence of quotation signs contain relatively few pages with citation markers, perhaps as little as one or two. Thus, while it does not list every single marginal sign, the CLA is sufficiently reliable for drawing the general picture<sup>(39)</sup>.

Second, the date and localisation of CLA manuscripts refer to whole book, and not necessarily to their annotation. This does not affect layout-based citation markers, which were inserted in the process of production, but creates a degree of inaccuracy both for quotation signs and textual annotations, which could have been added later, perhaps even centuries after the manuscript was copied. The CLA often provides relative or absolute dating of textual annotations, which will be taken into consideration in the third part of this article. As for quotation signs, the

(38) The CLA describes 34 out of the 167 manuscripts in the second volume (approximately 21 %) as containing citation markers of some kind. McGurk lists 37 manuscripts for the same volume (approximately 22 %).

(39) If the rate of inaccuracy from the comparison above, which should perhaps be ascribed to the conservative estimates of the CLA authors than to their error, can be applied to other volumes, then just under 10 % of manuscripts with marked citations were not reported in the CLA. This would raise their proportion of manuscripts containing citation markers in the set of all pre-800 manuscripts by only 1.5 %.

CLA mentions in twelve instances that they were added to a manuscript at a later date (less than 4 % of CLA manuscripts containing citation markers) (40). However, it does not suggest the relative date of their insertion, probably because the annotation symbols are difficult to date and localise precisely (41). It is also unclear to what extent the low rate of reporting of signs added secondarily in the CLA reflects the reality of sign use, or to what extent it is a result of difficulty of assessing the relative date of the signs. For all analyses below, it should be understood that the data inform us about the traits of manuscripts assigned to certain periods and regions rather than strictly about the practices of using quotations signs in the same periods and areas, even though we will see that there is a good correlation between the date of a manuscript and the pattern of sign distribution in it (42).

Most of the 324 manuscripts listed in the CLA as containing citation markers date to the eighth (146 mss) and the beginning of the ninth centuries (91 mss). Only 87 manuscripts with citation markers date to the previous four centuries. This distribution is not surprising given the known survival rate of manuscripts and the increase in the output of scriptoria in the Carolingian period. However, if we look at the relative proportion of these manuscripts among the surviving codices per century, the picture that emerges is more complex (Fig. 2).

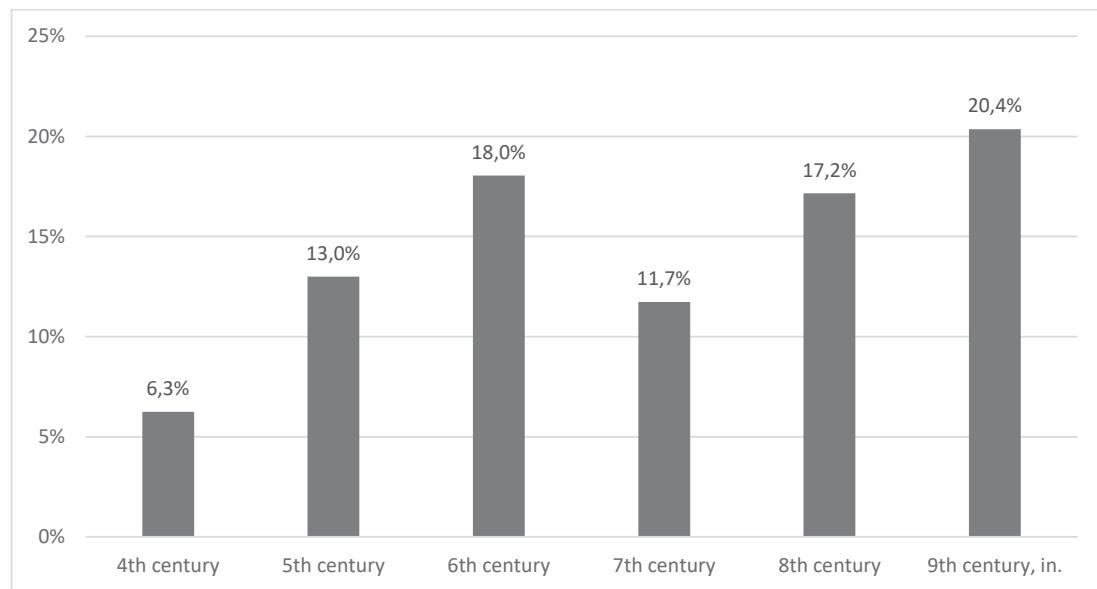
Between the fourth and the early ninth century, the ratio of manuscripts in which citations were marked increased from roughly 6 % to 20 %. Yet this growth was not continuous: 18 % of sixth-century manuscripts already contain citation markers, but this number drops to 11.7 % for seventh-century codices (remarkably, this is slightly less than for fifth-century codices), and despite growth, the proportion of eighth-century manuscripts with citation markers (17.2 %) does not reach sixth-century levels. Only at the beginning of the ninth century do we see more manuscripts with citation markers than in the sixth century (20.4 %). Previous research on marginalia in early medieval manuscripts from Bavaria suggests that the proportion of books including citation markers continued to grow in the ninth century and that, at least in Bavaria, citations were marked in almost 60 % of local books (43).

(40) Most of these added quotation signs appear in seventh and eighth-century manuscripts, e.g. in CLA IV 497, VI 776, VIII 1067a, and IX 1266.

(41) The approximate date of insertion can sometimes be estimated from the general patterns of distribution of certain sign types, as discussed below. The sixth-century Italian copy of Ambrose, Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM 32, for example contains added insular quotation signs (CLA VI 735). Since this quotation sign did not exist before the eighth century, it is clear that the addition must have taken place after 700, perhaps in England.

(42) Nevertheless, a comparison with textual annotations can be useful here too: in pre-800 manuscripts, almost 60 % of textual notes date to the same century in which the manuscript was produced, or to the following century.

(43) Evina STEINOVÁ, *Notam Superponere Studui* (supra n. 2), p. 229.



**Fig. 2:** Proportion of manuscripts with citation markers among all manuscripts surviving from a given century<sup>(44)</sup>

Even if one accepts that the ratios for the fourth, fifth and sixth-century manuscripts are inflated by quotation signs added after 600, it is unusual that inflation seems not to have affected seventh-century manuscripts, as if later annotators reserved their energies only for earlier manuscripts. The fluctuation cannot be explained by the varying survival rate of manuscripts alone, for the CLA records 205 sixth-century manuscripts and 213 seventh-century manuscripts – similar amounts – yet the proportion of citation markers between the two centuries fell by more than 6 %. **Fig. 2** implies that the practice of marking citation did decline in the seventh century, and although it is probable that the figures for the fourth to the sixth century are somewhat inflated by quotation signs added in later centuries, the citation-marking already seems to have been relatively widespread in the fifth and sixth centuries compared to later centuries.

A more detailed look at the chronological distribution of the most important methods of marking citations confirms this impression. As is evident in **Fig. 3**, which represents the proportion of manuscripts containing a particular method of citation-marking among CLA codices from individual centuries, indented citations appear in more than 10 % of fifth-century codices. Interestingly, this was the only method of citation-marking until the beginning of the ninth century that appeared in so many codices. Moreover, fifth-century manuscripts do not contain S-shaped

(44) Fig. 2 exclude manuscripts, for which the CLA records that the quotation signs were added at a later date.

flourishes – quotation signs that were characteristic of the early medieval period – but rather only the *diple*, which disappears from Western books in the course of the eighth century and should be considered a characteristic ancient quotation sign. It is therefore clear that the numbers for the fifth century are not augmented by later additions.

**Fig. 3** also reveals that the S-shaped flourish was on the rise in the Latin West from the sixth century, long before it was adopted as a standard quotation sign by the users of Caroline minuscule. In fact, uncial (28 mss) and half-uncial (20 mss) codices are the largest categories of CLA manuscripts containing the S-shaped flourish after manuscripts copied in Caroline minuscule (43 mss). Besides the S-shaped flourish, the only other citation-marking methods that were on the rise towards the beginning of the ninth century were the use of a different script and rubrication, probably as a result of the growing number of copies of works that contained these features (e.g. Gregory's *Moralia*). For the same reason, the shrinking proportion of manuscripts containing the insular quotation sign (...) after the eighth century should not be seen as a sign that insular scribes ceased to mark citations in their books, but rather that Carolingian scriptoria began to outproduce the insular ones and thus the proportion of insular books (which, we should assume, were marked as dutifully as before) declined.

It is interesting that the insular quotation sign does not seem to have been around until the eighth century, even though by that time manuscripts would have been produced in Britain and Ireland for almost 100 years.<sup>(45)</sup> While this form occurs in both Irish and Anglo-Saxon books, the eighth-century date, and the fact that it features in 49 manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon scripts but only in 8 Irish codices, confirms Lindsay's intuition that it was an Anglo-Saxon rather than an Irish invention.<sup>(46)</sup>

One of the most interesting observations one can make based on the chart below is that indentation, which was the prevalent method of citation-marking in the Latin West in the fourth and fifth centuries (as it probably was in earlier centuries, for which the CLA does not offer sufficient data) was displaced by the *diple* and the S-shaped flourish within a century. In the fifth century, the indentation was still the dominant method of citation-marking, appearing in more than 10 % of fifth-century manuscripts, but in the sixth century, it appears only in around 6 % of manuscripts. At the same time, the proportion of manuscripts containing quotation signs rose from 2 % to 11.2 %. The rapid pace of change gives pause for thought, especially given that the *diple* is attested as a quotation sign at least from the second century. Yet the use of quotation signs seems not to have been widespread in the Latin West until the sixth century. Furthermore, **Fig. 3** indicates

(45) The CLA records fourteen seventh-century manuscripts copied in insular scripts.

(46) But it should also be noted that while manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon scripts contain other methods of citation-marking, Irish manuscripts are always marked with the insular form of the quotation sign.

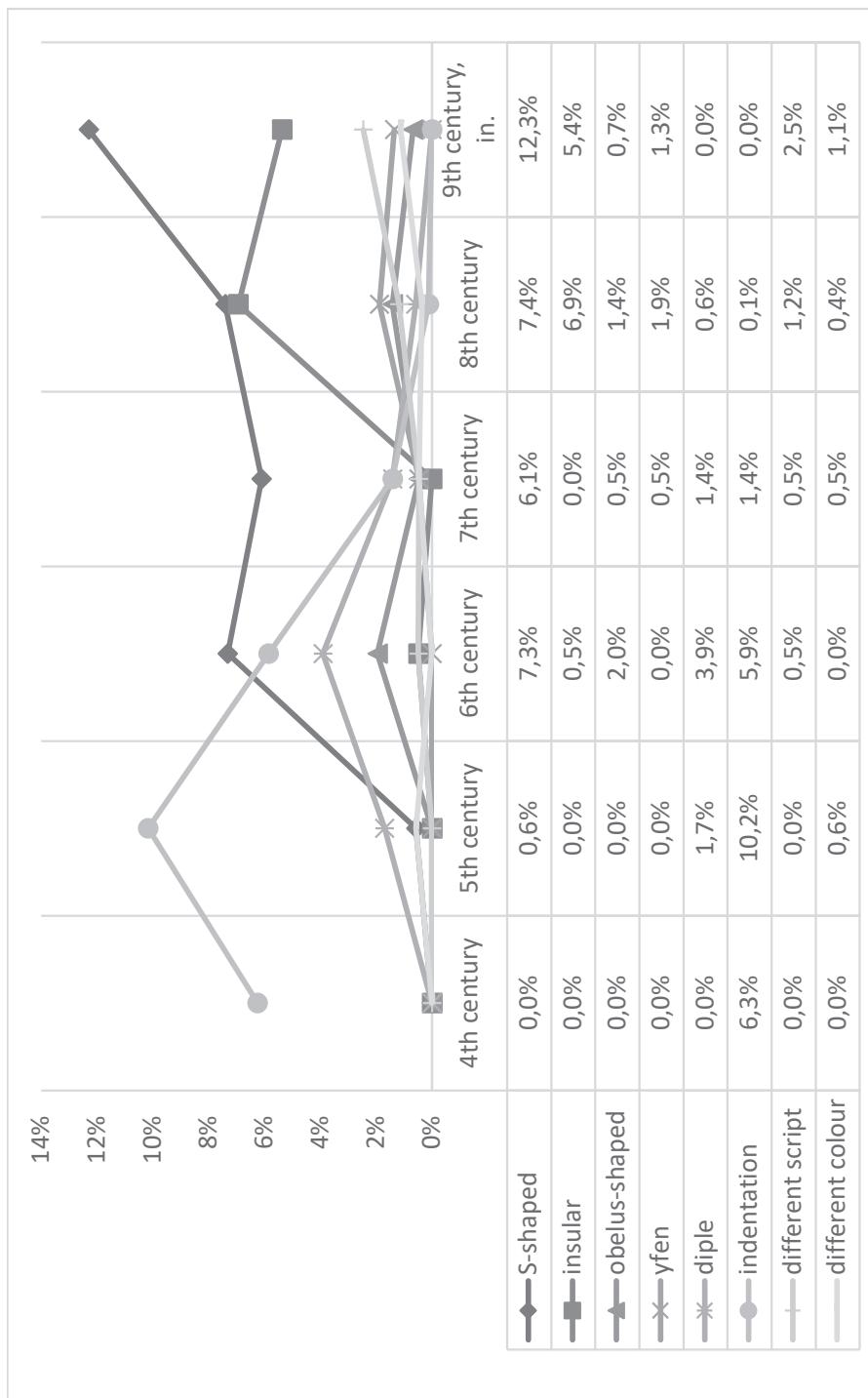


Fig. 3: The most common methods of marking citations in the Latin West by century.

that indentation declined around the time that quotation signs gained a foothold. How to explain this trajectory of development?

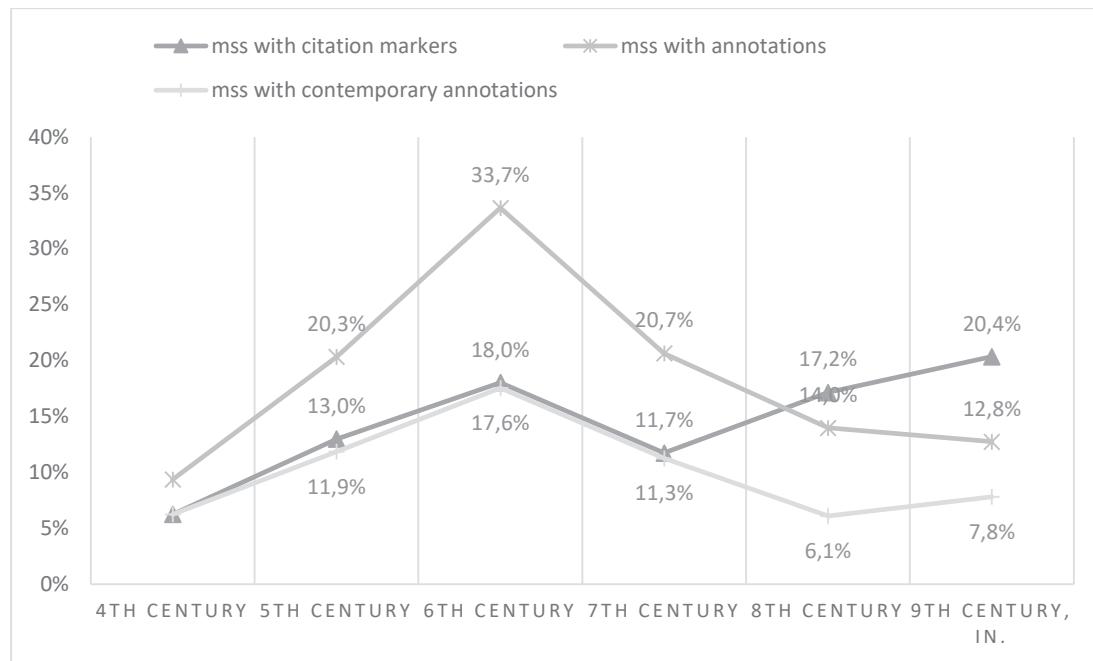
The character of layout-based methods may provide part of the answer, not because nobody noticed that symbols could be used to mark citations more efficiently than indentation until the sixth century, but because the two methods reflect the activities of different agents as well as different contexts of manuscript production and use. Indentation is a practice connected with commercial workshops and reflects a context in which citations would have been highlighted on the order of a patron. The fourth- and fifth-century manuscripts containing this feature follow the ancient tradition of book production. The change in the sixth century may reflect the decline of book workshops and the movement of production into other spheres, such as monasteries and ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>(47)</sup> At the same time, the shift shows that citations were increasingly marked by readers rather than copyists. This may have been not just a necessity precipitated by the decline of commercial book production, as readers could have been marking citations for several centuries by then, but also a sign of a novel trend: the emergence of a new type of reader, who marked citations with the *diple*, calligraphic or cursive, as they perused their books. The emergence of several new methods of citation-marking in the seventh and eighth centuries does not obscure the fact that the S-shaped flourish was already the most common form of citation mark in the Latin West in the sixth century. In the late eighth century, when Carolingian scribes incorporated it into their scribal practices, they merely expanded a trend for which the conditions were set in late Antiquity. However, as the following section outlines, Carolingian scribes also put a particular early medieval twist on these older citation marking practices that did not have its model in sixth-century manuscripts.

### Quotation signs and the practice of annotation before 800

So far, I have dealt with citation markers, but to complete the picture as well as for contrast and comparison, it is useful to bring in textual annotations. I have mentioned that, according to the CLA, citation markers occur in pre-800 manuscripts roughly as frequently as textual annotations, and that while the two phenomena partially overlap, most books containing one feature do not include the other. In this section, we will see that the two practices shared a common path of development in late Antiquity before their ways diverged in the early Middle Ages.

**Fig. 4** shows the proportions of manuscripts from particular centuries that contain citation markers (triangle) or textual annotations (star). As discussed above, the number of manuscripts with citation markers was steadily growing between the fourth and ninth centuries, despite a setback in the seventh and eighth centuries.

(47) For the transition from commercial workshop book production to production in *scriptoria*, see Paolo FIORETTI, «Prima dello scriptorium. Esperienze di produzione libraria ‘collettiva’ in età tardoantica», in *Scriptorium. Wesen - Funktion - Eigenheiten*, ed. A. NIEVERGELT et al., Munich, 2015, p. 75-89.



**Fig. 4:** Distribution of manuscripts containing citation markers or annotations per century.

By contrast, the number of annotated manuscripts peaks in the sixth century, with 34 % of codices surviving from this period containing textual annotations, and drops afterwards, so that only 13 % of manuscripts surviving from the beginning of the ninth century contain them<sup>(48)</sup>. The discrepancy is partially caused by annotations inserted in manuscripts at a later date. Nonetheless, if we include only manuscripts with contemporary annotations (cross), we can still see that sixth-century annotators were the most productive (17.6 %), while only around 6 % of eight-century and 7.8 % of ninth-century manuscripts were annotated in the same century in which they were produced. Therefore, while the CLA registers citation markers and textual annotations in roughly the same number of pre-800 manuscripts, these manuscripts have very different chronological distributions, with the largest number of annotations occurring in the sixth century, and the largest number of citation markers coming only after 800<sup>(49)</sup>. Furthermore, it should be noted that the

(48) Kathleen McNamee's survey of annotated Greek papyri from Egypt allows for a broader contextualization of the Western pre-800 data. She places the peak in the number of annotated papyri into the second century CE, to which she assigns between 120 and 130 annotated papyri. They amount to about 7 % of papyri surviving from this period; Kathleen McNAMEE, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*, Oakville, Conn., 2007, p. 7-10 (American Studies in Papyrology, 45). The fourth-century CLA rate (6 %), thus, fits with the earlier pattern.

(49) The late antique annotation culture is currently studied by Jesse Keskiaho; see Jesse KESKIAHO, «A Widespread Set of Late-Antique Annotations to Augustine's 'De Genesi ad lit-

proportion of manuscripts containing citation markers and manuscripts containing annotations parallels each other up until the seventh century, as if the two were connected, but after 700, their trajectories separate: the proportion of annotated manuscripts shrinks, while the use of quotation sign undergoes an unprecedented rise.

The surge in the number of manuscripts containing annotations in the fifth and sixth centuries correlates with the appearance of quotation signs in Western manuscripts. This could mean that the two phenomena were interconnected, perhaps because a growing interest in manuscript annotation starting in the fifth century stimulated the use of quotation signs. After all, quotation signs were a type of annotation symbol, and we can therefore suppose that they would have been used by annotators. Indeed, two other notable Western annotation symbols came into being in the same period and context. *Nota* monograms, used throughout the following centuries to mark passages of interest, can be found for the first time in fifth-century manuscripts, having a specific ancient form. This form gained the highest degree of popularity in the sixth century. Similarly, the r-shaped *require* query signs made their first appearance in fifth-century codices and became widespread in the sixth century<sup>(50)</sup>. The three annotation symbols – the *diple*/S-shaped flourish for quotations, the *nota* monogram for passages of interest, and the *require* sign for corrections – were commonly used together. As a single set, the three annotation symbols seem to reflect new annotation practices, particularly as *nota* monograms were intended as a supplement to textual annotations.

That quotation signs as a method of citation-marking appeared in the context of new trends in annotation in late Antiquity is also implied by the fact that many of the oldest manuscripts containing quotation signs are polemical works by Church Fathers, rather than Bibles or school texts<sup>(51)</sup>. The emergence of quotation signs in the context of the intensification of inter-Christian polemic in the fourth to sixth centuries would also explain why quotation signs were used sparsely in earlier Western manuscripts, and who the new sign-using readers were to whom I attribute the sixth-century rise in the number of manuscripts with quotation signs. They were annotators, who, as they read and commented on their books, also marked citations in a new manner that was characteristic of their working method<sup>(52)</sup>.

To test this hypothesis, let us look at how frequently pre-800 manuscripts contain both citation markers and annotations, to see if there was a relationship

teram'», *Sacris Erudiri*, 55, 2016, p. 79-128. Keskiaho is currently preparing a monograph on the subject of late antique annotations.

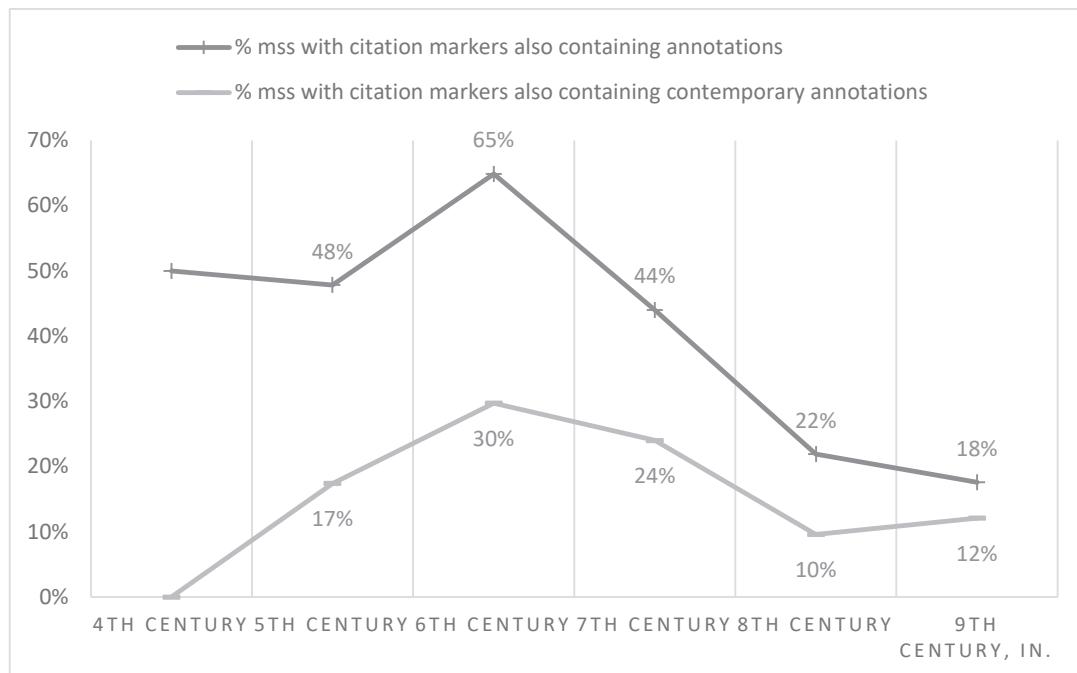
(50) Both the *nota* monogram and the *require* sign have a characteristic late antique form in this period, which disappears from the evidence after the seventh century; see Evina STEINOVÁ, «*Nota* and *Require*: The Oldest Western Annotation Symbols and Their Dissemination in the Early Middle Ages» (forthcoming).

(51) Among them are Augustine's *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* (VI 815), *De civitate Dei* (VI 784), and *De Genesi ad litteram* (IV 418), Hilary's *De trinitate* (V 685, X 1507) and *In Psalmos* (IV 484), Origen's commentary on the Letter to Romans (VI 779), Evagrius's *Alteratio inter Simonum Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum* (VIII 1107), and the Pelagian *De fide* (XI 1614).

(52) Compare with B. BISCHOFF, *Latin Palaeography* (supra n. 4), p. 186-187.

between the two practices. If citation markers were used as an element of annotation practices in any period, we can expect a high degree of co-occurrence of the two phenomena in manuscripts from this period. On the other hand, if the two practices took place in different contexts, we should see a low degree of co-occurrence. Moreover, since layout-based methods of citation-marking can be associated with manuscript production rather than use, we could expect a difference in the co-occurrence of annotations and indentation as opposed to quotation signs, which seem to have developed as annotation symbols.

Indeed, if we break down the proportion of manuscripts with both citation markers and annotations by century (Fig. 5), we can see that in manuscripts from late Antiquity (5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries) containing citation markers (cross), annotations occur substantially more often (44-65 %) than in codices from the early Middle Ages (8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries, 18-22 %) (53). Even if we only take manuscripts with contemporary annotations (line) into consideration, late antique codices featuring citation markers are more than twice as likely to contain contemporary annotations (17-30 %) than early medieval codices (10-12 %).



**Fig. 5:** Proportions of manuscripts containing annotations among manuscripts with citation markers (cross), and of manuscripts containing contemporary annotations among manuscripts with citation markers (line).

(53) There are too few manuscripts with citation markers or textual annotations from the fourth century. For this reason, the line connecting the fourth and the fifth-century data is faded and was added only to complement the picture.

It can be added that late antique manuscripts equipped with quotation signs frequently contain contemporary annotations (25-38 %), while this is less common in manuscripts in which copyists indented citations (17-22 %). If all, not only contemporary annotations are considered, 75 % of sixth-century manuscripts containing *diple* or the S-shaped flourish also feature annotations.

Both types of correlation suggest that manuscript users in late Antiquity commonly marked quotations when they annotated their books. As manuscript users marked citations more frequently, they performed this task significantly less frequently in combination with annotation. The contrast between late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages is not extreme, yet it is suggestive. It indicates that an important stimulus for, if not the cause of, the practice of citation-marking in the Latin West – specifically the use of quotation signs – should be sought in the context of late antique Christian annotation culture. Naturally, not all books containing quotation signs were marked in this context. Gospel books and manuscripts of the New Testament, for example, did not attract annotations, yet they constitute an important group of early manuscripts equipped with quotation signs<sup>(54)</sup>.

The most important trend revealed by **Figs 4 and 5** is, however, the change in Western annotation practices between the seventh and the eighth centuries, when citation-marking became more common than the addition of textual comments and the two practices seem to have parted ways. Thus, while the proportion of manuscripts from the sixth and the eighth centuries containing citation marks is roughly the same, readers in the former period seem to have been far more diligent annotators, while in the latter period, the scarcity of annotations is suggestive of new contexts of readership and use. Manuscripts from the ninth century confirm this impression: in Bavaria, where almost 60 % of eighth and ninth-century manuscripts contain citation marks, only 8.5 % of manuscripts contain textual annotations in at least 10 % of their pages<sup>(55)</sup>. Even though it is not commensurable with the CLA, the set of manuscripts from early medieval Bavaria suggests that the trends visible in Figs. 4 and 5 continued in the Carolingian period. Late antique modes of reading were replaced by new, early medieval ones. Medieval readers were keener to highlight cited material but less interested in annotating the text than their late antique counterparts.

### Changing modes of reading: from annotating scholars to contemplative monks and Carolingian reformers

The CLA data examined in the previous three sections revealed several intriguing trends in the use of citation markers and annotations before 800. The most important observations that can be made on the basis of this corpus can be summed up as follows:

(54) Examples of Gospel books containing early quotation signs include: CLA II 126, II 197, III 313, IX 1286a, IX 1388, and IX 1423a.

(55) E. STEINOVÁ, *Notam Superponere Studui* (*supra* n. 2), p. 247.

Citations appear in approximately 16 % of surviving pre-800 Western manuscripts, occurring approximately as often as textual annotations. The proportion of Western manuscripts containing citation markers seems to have been on a steady rise from the fourth century, so that by the beginning of the ninth century, citation markers appear in approximately 20 % of manuscript. While we need to assume that the survival rate of manuscripts was uneven, this ratio seems plausible as to the actual proportion of manuscripts equipped with citation markers at the beginning of the Carolingian age.

The use of citation markers became established in certain circles already in late Antiquity, as is suggested by the fact that around 10 % of surviving fifth-century manuscripts contain indented citations. The proportion of surviving sixth-century manuscripts in which citations were highlighted by indentation or quotation signs reaches 17 %, a rate resembling that of the eighth century.

While the practice of citation-marking may have been restricted to specific groups of manuscript users and scribal centres in late Antiquity, quotations in manuscripts seem to have been marked consistently and regularly after 800, suggesting that the practice became widespread and perhaps even standardised.

Quotation signs as a specific method of citation-marking are attested in manuscripts from as early as the first century CE; however, their use became common in the Latin West only in the sixth century. The use of indentation declined in the same period and may partially explain the growing popularity of quotation signs as a replacement method. Another factor that may have led to the rise of the quotation signs in the Latin West was the intensification of manuscript annotation between the fifth and seventh centuries. In a significant proportion of manuscripts, the presence of textual annotations and quotation signs seems to correlate, suggesting that signs may have been entered in manuscript margins in the context of note-making during reading.

The S-shaped flourish, which became the standard medieval device to indicate citations, first appeared in sixth-century half-uncial manuscripts as a cursive form of the classical *diple*. Its appearance correlates with one of the peaks of manuscript annotation in the Latin West. Nevertheless, the S-shaped flourish was one of several variants of the quotation sign employed in the Latin West until the early ninth century, occurring in 5-7 % of surviving manuscripts. At the end of the eighth century, it was appropriated by the users of Caroline minuscule, and the number of manuscripts containing this form of quotation sign began to rise dramatically.

A major transformation in the practice of citation-marking took place after the seventh century. A score of new, 'national' variants of the quotation sign came into being, while the old citation markers – indentation and the *diple* – disappeared from the Western evidence.

In the same period, manuscript users began to highlight cited material with greater vigour than before, while the proportion of manuscripts containing textual annotations was on a decline after the seventh century. This suggests that quotation signs were no longer part of a parcel of annotation practices; instead, citation-marking was increasingly carried out on its own.

The CLA data suggest a complex trajectory of the development of the quotation sign in the Latin West. At least two and possibly three stages should be recognised, each reflecting a different attitude towards the book and a different kind of readership.

Up until the sixth century, citations in manuscripts were marked predominantly by indentation, a feature that had to be pre-planned and inserted in the course of manuscript production. While this method of citation-marking was occasionally employed in Classical papyri that represent specialized books<sup>(56)</sup>, the CLA shows that it became increasingly used in Christian texts to mark citations from the Bible in the course of the fourth and the fifth centuries<sup>(57)</sup>. The Christian texts in question included books of the New Testament, in which citations from the Old Testament were highlighted, and exegetical commentaries; but the most prominent category in this period were theological treatises, such as the works of Hilary of Poitiers, Cyprian, Augustine, Ambrose, and Rufinus and even a Pelagian text.<sup>(58)</sup> The polemical character of many of these works suggests that the interest in citation-marking was not merely an exercise in the correct attribution of biblical verses, but may have been connected with argumentation from the Scripture and with the scriptural underpinning of particular doctrinal statements.

A growing concern for citations and their proper highlighting in Christian circles is also evident from other enterprises carried out in this period of great religious controversy and doctrinal strife. At the beginning of the fifth century, Rufinus tells us that he distinguished his own words and the words of his opponent inserted in his *Apologia contra Hieronymum* with «single and double signs», probably the simple and the doubled forms of the *diple*<sup>(59)</sup>. He seems to have followed a similar system of single and double flourishes in his translation of Origen's commentary on Romans, for they are preserved in the oldest manuscript of this work, Lyons, BM 483 (CLA VI 779)<sup>(60)</sup>. Probably in the same century, Euthalius, a bishop from Egypt, compiled a list of Old Testament citations in Pauline Epistles and other parts of the New Testament as a part of his critical work on New Testament<sup>(61)</sup>.

(56) See K. McNAMEE, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* (supra n. 49), p. 17-18.

(57) None of the more than one hundred manuscripts with Classical texts contains indented citations, as might be expected given their limited degree of intertextuality. There is only one pre-800 manuscript of a Classical author that contains citation markers; the sixth-century copy of Josephus' *Antiquitates Iudaicae* in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cimelio 1 (Milan, CLA III 304), in which citations from the Old Testament were marked with S-shaped flourishes.

(58) For a detailed overview of these manuscripts, see C. HAMMOND-BAMMEL, «A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium» (supra n. 5), p. 378-380. It is notable that some of these authors did not receive a similar treatment in the following periods. For example, seventeen manuscripts of Cyprian's works survive from before the year 800: ten copied before 700 and seven produced after this date. Half of the pre-700 manuscripts of Cyprian contain citation markers, while only one of the post-700 manuscripts was marked with quotation signs.

(59) Rufinus of Aquileia, *Apologia contra Hieronymum* I 12: «Sane ne in legendo error sit ex his, quae huic scripturae nunc aliunde inserimus, si quidem mea sunt, simplices ad uersuum capita habent notas; si accusatoris mei, duplices;» Manlio SIMONETTI (ed.), *Tyrannius Rufinus. Opera*, Turnhout, 1961, p. 45 (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 20).

(60) See C. HAMMOND-BAMMEL, «A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium» (supra n. 5), p. 378.

(61) Anthony GRAFTON and Megan WILLIAMS, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*, Cambridge, MA, 2008, p. 191.

At the beginning of the sixth century, Procopius of Gaza developed a type of biblical commentary known as a *catena*, in which excerpts from various commentators were systematically compiled under each verse from a particular scriptural book<sup>(62)</sup>. In the Greek East, the sixth-century commentator responsible for the so-called *Scholia Alexandrina* to Gregory of Nazianze's *Orationes* equipped the text not only with marginal notes but also an apparatus of annotation symbols, including the *diple* for scriptural citations<sup>(63)</sup>. As the layout of the oldest manuscripts of the *Expositio psalmorum* suggests, Cassiodorus may have used rubrication for the Psalm verses he commented on, although he does not seem to have used quotation signs for other citations found in the text<sup>(64)</sup>. In his *Institutiones*, furthermore, Cassiodorus describes a system of nine sigla corresponding to nine codices of the Bible present at Vivarium (OCT for Octateuch, PSL for the Psalms, etc.) that he devised for the works of Church Fathers. He explains that he inserted these sigla in the margins of some of the codices at Vivarium to indicate when a Church Father commented on a particular scriptural book, and advises his readers also to use this system<sup>(65)</sup>. At the end of the century, Gregory the Great went even further than Cassiodorus. The text of his *Regula pastoralis* was produced with marginal labels for the biblical books that were being quoted, as is clear from their presence in the authorial copy in Troyes, BM 504 (CLA VI 838)<sup>(66)</sup>. A lonely source label can also be found in the Harley Gospels (CLA II 197)<sup>(67)</sup>.

The developments of the sixth century, despite the dramatic change in the preferred methods of citation-marking, can be seen as a continuation of fifth-century

(62) On the career of Procopius of Gaza and his possible role as an inventor of the *catena*, see Nigel WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London, 1983, p. 31-33.

(63) For the annotations in Gregory of Nazianze, see Charles ASTRUC, «Remarques sur les signes marginaux de certains manuscrits de S. Grégoire de Nazianze», *Analecta Bollandiana*, 92, 1974, 289-295.

(64) He also marked the beginning of each Psalm with a *crux ansata*. For the layout he employed in the *Expositio psalmorum*, see James W. HALPORN, «Methods of Reference in Cassiodorus», *The Journal of Library History* (1974-1987), 16:1, 1981, p. 71-91.

(65) *Inst. 1.26: Illud etiam indicandum esse curavimus, ut vos labor noster instrueret et qualcumque munusculo studium vestrae sanctitatis ornaret: praestante Domino quantum aut senes aut longa peregrinatione fatigatus relegere praevalui, quibusdam codicibus Patrum praesentes notas minio designatas, quae sunt indices codicum, singulis quibusque locis, ut arbitror, competenter impressi. Nam expositionibus Octateuchi hanc dedimus notam OCT, alteram Regum REG, tertiam Psalterii PSL, quartam Salomonis SAL, quintam Prophetarum PROP, sextam Agiographorum AGI, septimam Evangeliorum EV, octavam Epistulis Apostolorum AP, nonam Actibus Apostolorum et Apocalypsi AAA. quas in primordiis codicum, quos tamen sub ipso studio transire praevalui, semper ascripsi, ut vos illas in textu positas sine ambiguitate possitis agnoscere, si paginas singulas studiosa mente curratis. Tunc si placet, qui tamen plurima lectione praesumitis, per tractatores probatissimos imitatio vobis facilis subiacebit. ita fiet ut aliud inde genus expositionis acutissimum pulcherrimum que nascatur, et quod forsitan priores nostri in commentis suis minime dilucidaverunt, ibi aliquatenus reperiatur esse declaratum;* R. A. B. MYNORS (ed.), *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, Oxford, 1963, p. 67.

(66) M. B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect* (supra n. 1), p. 171. See also CLA S 1400 (p. 21).

(67) On fol. 101v, a passage marked with S-shaped flourishes is labelled as *in psalmo CXVII*, see at: [www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley\\_MS\\_1775](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_1775).

trends, especially the proliferation of the use of citation markers in Christian books (now including two codices of law and a *Josephus*), the intensification of manuscript annotation, and the use of citation markers in this context<sup>(68)</sup>. Nevertheless, less than one-fifth of manuscripts produced in the sixth century contains citation markers. It was therefore not a mass phenomenon. Rather, those sixth-century codices that contain citation markers reflect a particular late antique culture of learned Christian readers. Their engagement with the text is often manifest in marginal notes, including exclamations such as *mire* or *pulchre vere*<sup>(69)</sup>. These readers were not interested only in the better understanding of the biblical text, nor did they read books purely for their spiritual benefit, but they also cared about subtle theological arguments made by Church Fathers. Citation markers may have played a role in identifying how these arguments were grounded in the biblical text, and thus give them necessary weight. We should not forget that these practices took place in the period of the great Ecumenical Councils, when Church Fathers and conciliar acts began to be increasingly used to define orthodoxy in the Latin West<sup>(70)</sup>.

While the boom of quotation signs did not occur until the Middle Ages, they were used for the first time in a normative fashion in certain circles in late Antiquity. Late Antiquity was also the first period of experimentation with citation markers. The oldest manuscript with rubricated citations comes from the fifth century (CLA V 521), and the only manuscript, in which citations are highlighted by a script of different size, is a sixth-century codex (CLA IV 494). The oldest manuscript with quotation signs indicating both the beginning and the end of a citation likewise dates to the fifth century (CLA IX 1430a). A group of sixth-century manuscripts of *De civitate Dei* contains the earliest example of differentiated quotation signs for the Bible and for Classical sources (CLA V 635, VI 784, and VII 852). In the slightly younger Escorial Augustine (CLA XI 1629), S-shaped flourishes were used for scriptural quotations and the *obelus*-shaped signs for citations from the works of Cyprian<sup>(71)</sup>.

The mode of reading practised by late antique Christian scholarly readers seems to have continued for some time after the sixth century, but by the eighth century,

(68) The two legal collections, which were marked with the *diple*, are the *Codex Florentinus* of the Digest (after 533, Byzantium, CLA III 295) and Paris, BnF, Lat. 12097 (c. 523, southern France, CLA V 619). The former is discussed in great detail in Davide BALDI, «Il *Codex Florentinus* del Digesto e il 'Fondo Pandette' della Biblioteca Laurenziana (con un' appendice di documenti inediti)», *Segno e leslo*, 8, 2010, p. 99-186.

(69) Intensive annotation including these exclamatory remarks is combined with quotation signs and other annotations, for example in Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Sessoriano 13 (6<sup>th</sup> century, ½, Italy, CLA IV 418) and Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3375 (6<sup>th</sup> century, southern Italy, CLA I 16).

(70) Mark VESSEY, «The Forging of Orthodoxy in Latin Christian Literature: A Case Study», *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 4:4, 1996, p. 495-513, here p. 495.

(71) Warren PEZÉ, «Des notes marginales sur le schisme des Trois Chapitres dans le plus vieux manuscrit du *De baptismo contra donatistas*», *Revue d'études augustinianes et patristiques*, 62, 2016, p. 293-334, here p. 309.

it was all but gone. The interest in reading advanced theological texts with a focus on fine doctrinal points seems to have waned, but the use of quotation signs did not. Rather, quotation signs became embedded in a new monastic reading culture and they thrived in this new setting. Some types of quotation signs, such as the *yfen*, the *obelus*-shaped sign, and several other locally used variants, may even have come into being in large early medieval monasteries independently of late antique practices, their emergence stimulated by the needs of new communities of readers more than by ancient models. Their shapes do not resemble ancient models, the manuscripts in which they occur are conspicuously devoid of annotations, and, moreover, they occur in the works of authors different from those whose texts we find in late antique manuscripts with citation markers: Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, Ambrose's *Hexameron*, Jerome's commentary on the Psalms, and other exegetical texts. Indeed, while citation markers continue to appear in Bibles and polemical theological works, from the eighth century onwards they appear overwhelmingly in manuscripts of biblical commentaries, especially copies of Jerome's exegetical works, and in texts of younger ecclesiastical authors such as Gregory the Great, Isidore and Bede<sup>(72)</sup>.

The change in the use of citation markers after the seventh century heralds the rise of a new mode of reading that was no longer the domain of educated Christian elite, but rather of monks. Many of these new readers possessed only basic reading skills and no interest in the nuances of theology<sup>(73)</sup>. For them, reading was first and foremost a spiritual exercise, and it may only have culminated in the study of the Scriptures for those who had the necessary capacity and learning<sup>(74)</sup>. As in the case of late antique readers, we should not presuppose that early medieval monks were driven by modern concerns when marking cited material, or that their endeavour was self-explanatory. We may refer today to these paratextual features as quotation signs because we discern their relationship to cited material, but this was not necessarily why medieval users employed them, or how they understood what they were doing. In particular, we should acknowledge that the signs might be a vestige of a more complex process with oral and mental components that eludes us because it left no other physical trace.

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(72) There are more manuscripts of Jerome's works containing citation markers in the CLA (58 mss) than manuscripts of the Bible (50 mss). The majority of those in which citations were indicated date to the eighth (26 mss) and the early ninth centuries (22 mss). Out of all manuscripts equipped with citation markers, texts by Jerome occur most frequently, followed by those of Augustine (40 mss) and of Gregory the Great (35 mss).

(73) On reading habits in early medieval monasteries, see Armando PETRUCCI, «Leggere nel Medioevo», in *Scrivere e leggere nell'Italia medievale*, Milan, 2007, p. 153-164; and Duncan ROBERTSON, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading*, Collegeville, 2011 (Cistercian Studies Series, 238).

(74) M. B. PARKES, «Reading, Copying and Interpreting» (*supra* n. 10), p. 91; D. ROBERTSON, *Lectio Divina* (*supra* n. 74), p. 100-101.

Quotation signs may have been used in a monastic setting to signal reverence for the Bible, as reading aids that divided a running scriptural commentary into digestible units, to impose order and regulate reading practices; or they may have been memory aids in a period which valued memorization and favoured the consumption of scriptural wisdom in small portions<sup>(75)</sup>. Indeed, it seems most likely to me that medieval monks, whose reading habits centred on the meditation of the Scriptures, adopted the practice of marking citations because signs, as medieval theory taught, triggered memory and allowed readers to retain better biblical *sententiae*<sup>(76)</sup>. Monks could thus meditate upon Scripture even while reading the Church Fathers, so that even humble monks could profit from complex texts by focusing on their scriptural content. The physical setting of this activity may have been private reading in a monk's own cell, such as was prescribed for the Lenten period in the Rule of Benedict and which is mentioned in other Rules<sup>(77)</sup>.

Another context that should be associated with quotation signs is the *scriptorium*, for we have seen that the use of particular sign variants corresponds to the use of particular scripts and in at least some CLA manuscripts quotation signs were clearly entered by copyists rather than by later readers. Indeed, it seems to me that in the early Middle Ages, quotation signs were increasingly copied from exemplars or entered in the margins of books in the *scriptorium*, possibly on the orders of the librarians and those who directed and supervised the work of copyists and correctors. While manuscripts in which quotation signs were entered by readers rather than by copyists are not uncommon after 800, the proportion of those manuscripts in which quotation signs were entered by the main hands is substantial. Quotation signs were copied from manuscript to manuscript already earlier. It would, however, require a detailed study of the CLA manuscripts to see how frequently quotation signs were copied from exemplars already in late antique codices and to what extent this trend may have accelerated in the early medieval monastic environment.

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(75) D. ROBERTSON, *Lectio Divina* (supra n. 74), p. xiii-xvii.

(76) The ancient and medieval *artes* speak about *notae* that should be used to make mental notes and to remember more easily. These are meant to be only mental anchors, but it was equally possible to use physical *notae*, such as quotation signs and *nota* monograms for the same purpose. For the medieval theory of memory and techniques of remembering, see Mary J. CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 2008 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 37).

(77) *Regula Benedicti* 48.14-15: «In quadragesimae vero diebus, a mane usque tertia plena vident lectionibus suis, et usque decima hora plena operentur quod eis iniungitur. In quibus diebus quadragesimae accipiant omnes singulos codices de bibliotheca, quos per ordinem ex integro legant;» Rudolf HANSLIK (ed.), *Benedicti Regula*, Vienna, 1960 (Corpus scriptorum ecclesiastico-rum latinorum, 75). The most detailed in this regard is the *Regula Magistri*, which specifies that monks should spend three hours daily reading and studying, and that this private reading and study should be carried out in groups of ten scattered through the monastery (*Regula Magistri* 50.63-65); see D. ROBERTSON, *Lectio Divina* (supra n. 74), p. 88-103.

The copying of quotation signs from exemplar to apograph signalizes that a new attitude towards citation markers developed between their rise to prominence in the sixth century and the ninth century, as their pattern of use doesn't fit that of annotation symbols. Symbols such as *nota* monograms and correction signs were rarely if ever copied with the manuscript text; and when they were, it was almost always because the exemplar in question represented the work of a revered master or because the signs mingled with other book features that populated the margin and were copied by accident<sup>(78)</sup>. The tendency towards copying quotation signs, or even towards their insertion into margins in unmarked books in the *scriptorium*, creates the impression that quotation signs, like punctuation or word-division, may have shifted from a personal annotation habit to an externalised book feature included for the benefit of the broader reading community during the early Middle Ages<sup>(79)</sup>.

The practice of marking citations with signs, which was endorsed by some communities of readers in late Antiquity, was therefore transformed into a tool of monastic reading and instruction in the early Middle Ages. This transformation brought quotation signs to a wider group of users than was the case previously, and stimulated their further dissemination across monastic communities as well as their incorporation into standard scribal practices in the Carolingian period. Such is the evidence of the quantitative data presented in the above sections. Starting from the eighth century, citation-marking became more common in the Latin West than ever before, and gathered the necessary momentum to become an independent phenomenon. This development was not only the result of a changing *praxis* but also of a conceptual shift, which is manifest in the divergence of the trajectories of citation-marking and annotation. After its infancy and adolescence in late Antiquity, it was from the eighth century that the quotation sign reached the necessary maturity to give impetus to our modern notions of citation and citation marks.

Its development from the late eighth century onwards can be seen as a continuation of trends begun earlier, many of them in the Anglo-Saxon environment<sup>(80)</sup>.

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(78) This happened in Munich, BSB, Clm 6238 (10<sup>th</sup> century, 1/3, southwestern Germany), a copy of the *Collectanea* of Sedulius Scottus, in which the main hand writing Caroline minuscule copied a number of characteristic Irish signs that must have been found in the ninth-century exemplar. The text of the *Collectanea* includes marginal source marks indicating Church Fathers, and it seems that the copyist was unable to distinguish these marks from annotation symbols, copying all marginalia found in the manuscript. In St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 681, an eleventh-century copy of Paschasius Radbertus' *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, which was likewise equipped with *litterae doctorum*, the eleventh-century scribe preserved a number of annotation symbols that suggest that his exemplar was annotated in the ninth century.

(79) The development of punctuation is treated in M. B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect* (supra n. 1), especially p. 1-43. The history of word-division is the subject of Paul SAENGER, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*, Stanford, CA, 1997. Interestingly, the chronology of these two phenomena resembles that of quotation signs, as we can see that the Carolingian period was the crucial time of consolidation of practices that may have earlier roots.

(80) It should be noted that Bede is to be credited with introducing standardized sigla for major Patristic *auctortates* – GG for Gregory the Great, AG for Augustine, AM for Ambrose,

Yet the broadening of earlier trends is surely also a consequence of the Carolingian *correctio*, which affected not only monastic life and education but also reading practices and manuscript production. The Carolingian chapter in the history of the quotation signs deserves to be treated in a separate article, because it was a time of consolidation of earlier developments, and also because in this period, the use of quotation sign became a normative practice for the first time in Western history, at least among literate elites. Here, I can provide only a short overview of the most notable trends.

Firstly, the number of manuscripts containing citation markers increased substantially in the ninth century, so that ninth-century books were more likely to contain citation markers than not. Quotation signs were also used more systematically, so that manuscripts now more commonly contained S-shaped flourishes throughout rather than only next to selected passages. There exist hyper-marked copies from the Carolingian period, in which passages that did not contain biblical citations were highlighted, either because they were mistaken for scriptural quotes or because the readers were interested in culling useful *sententiae* from the text, regardless of whether they came from the Bible or not<sup>(81)</sup>. Furthermore, the S-shaped flourish effectively replaced other variants of the quotation sign wherever Caroline minuscule spread. In some ninth-century manuscripts, pre-Carolingian variants were overwritten or erased and replaced with S-shaped flourishes<sup>(82)</sup>. In other manuscripts, which only contained early quotation signs on some folia, Carolingian hands completed the task with S-shaped flourishes<sup>(83)</sup>. Carolingian readers

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and H for Jerome. These sigla were taken over and expanded by Carolingian users; see M. L. W. LAISTNER, «Source-Marks in Bede Manuscripts», *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 34, 1933, p. 350-354.

(81) This can be shown by comparing manuscripts of the same work side by side. For example, Munich, BSB, Clm 14653 (8<sup>th</sup> century, 2/2, Regensburg, CLA IX 1307) and Munich, BSB, Clm 14286 (8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century, Regensburg, CLA IX 1293) both contain Augustine's *Tractatus in evangelium Iohannis*, but the former manuscript contains substantially more quotation signs than the latter. A detailed examination reveals that the reader of Clm 14653 often marked non-biblical passages or paraphrases introduced by words such as *dixerunt*, *dicens*, *audistis* etc. See STEINOVÁ, *Notam Superponere Studui* (supra n. 2), p. 243-244.

(82) In Munich, BSB, Clm 6316 (8<sup>th</sup> century, 2/2, Freising, CLA IX 1275), insular quotation signs were erased and replaced by S-shaped flourishes on several folia. In Munich, BSB, Clm 6284 (9<sup>th</sup> century, 2/4, Freising), *obelus*-shaped quotation signs were both erased and overwritten by S-shaped flourishes. In Munich, BSB, Clm 6300 (8<sup>th</sup> century, ex., perhaps northern Italy, CLA IX 1266), in which some passages were originally marked with clusters of *yfen*, a later reader tried to mark additional passages in the same manner, but repeatedly slipped into using an S-shaped flourish, suggesting that this was the form of the quotation sign with which he or she was most familiar. In Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 193 (8<sup>th</sup> century, ex., northern France, CLA II 124), *obelus*-shaped signs were changed to S-shaped flourishes by a reader. In Laon, BM 50 (8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century, northeastern France, CLA VI 763), insular signs were overwritten with S-shaped flourishes.

(83) In Munich, BSB, Clm 14393 (9<sup>th</sup> century, med., Regensburg), quotations in roughly the first twelve folia were marked with the *obelus*-shaped quotation sign, but the rest of the manuscript is equipped with S-shaped flourishes. In London, BL, Add. 31031 (8<sup>th</sup> century, Belgium,

seem to have added S-shaped flourishes to unmarked late antique manuscripts, perhaps because they perceived them as defective or difficult to use<sup>(84)</sup>. Several Carolingian works were produced with embedded S-shaped flourishes that were rubricated for additional emphasis<sup>(85)</sup>. Out of concern for the correct marking of cited material, Amalarius of Metz inserted rubricated crosses at the end of citations from Church Fathers in his *Liber officialis*<sup>(86)</sup>. To my mind, these trends provide a clear indication that the use of quotation signs in the Carolingian period was not just a matter of convenience but a standardized practice, as can be expected from Carolingian reformers.

The development of Western methods of citation-marking was certainly not completed in the Carolingian period, but by this time, the broad strokes of these methods begin to resemble our modern practice. The most important observation to be made on the basis of the CLA is that while in Classical Antiquity, quotation signs and other citation-marking devices may have been used only sporadically and by users most willing to experiment and innovate, they became a standard occurrence in the manuscript book in the early Middle Ages, and passed into what Malcolm Parkes termed the grammar of legibility<sup>(87)</sup>. Indeed, the use of quotation signs was not only a pragmatic convention but also a cultural phenomenon. The CLA data show that it underwent two important stages of development. Learned Christian readers who lived in the fifth and the sixth centuries, and engaged personally and intellectually in the theological debates of their day, were in all likelihood responsible for promoting the practice of marking biblical citations using quotation signs in the Latin West. In the eighth and the ninth centuries, this practice, formerly restricted to the most learned and sophisticated readers, became adopted by monastic communities. As a result, it spread beyond restricted intellectual circles,

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CLA II 174), quotations were first marked by the *yfen* and the task was completed by a hand using the S-shaped flourish. Similarly, the scribe of Vatican, BAV, Pal. Lat. 177 (c. 800, Lorsch, CLA I 79) copied the *yfen* in the first eighteen folia, but after that point used the insular quotation sign, clearly the preferred form.

(84) A Carolingian hand, for example, added the S-shaped flourishes in Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Sessoriano 13 (6<sup>th</sup> century, ½, Italy, CLA IV 418) and possibly in Paris, BnF, Lat. 2235 (6<sup>th</sup> century, Italy, CLA V 543).

(85) This is true for Ratramnus of Corbie and his *Contra opposita Graecorum*, and for the exegetical commentaries of Hrabanus Maurus. An example of rubricated S-shaped flourishes in the former can be seen in Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 151 (after 868, Corbie), digitized at: [digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Reg.lat.151](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.151). Rubricated S-shaped flourishes in the latter can be seen in Munich, BSB, Clm 14384 (9<sup>th</sup> century, ¾, perhaps Regensburg), digitized at: [daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00046518/image\\_41](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00046518/image_41).

(86) Amalarius' concern seems to have been that he should not be accused of freely mixing his own words into the citations he used to support his interpretations of liturgy (*ne videretur parvitas mea quasi furtim interpolare meis verbis sanctorum dicta patrum*); Jean Michel HANSSENS (ed.), *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 2, Vatican City, 1950, p. 21 (Studi e testi, 138–140). The rubricated crosses can be seen in Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 329 (9<sup>th</sup> century, ½, southern France), digitized at: [gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10315686s/f15.item](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10315686s/f15.item).

(87) M. B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect* (supra n. 1), p. 23.

began to be understood as a practice in its own right rather than as a part of manuscript annotation, and became standardised. The rise of the quotation sign in the Latin West was, naturally, not an isolated phenomenon, but rather part of the broader transformation of Western book culture between Antiquity and the Middle Ages traced by scholars such as E.A. Lowe and, more recently, Armando Petrucci<sup>(88)</sup>. It is important to note that Classical Antiquity did not have a concept of a citation marker, and therefore did not practice those modes of reading and intellectual activity that were made possible by the rise of the quotation sign. The Christian readers of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages were the pioneers in this regard; and it is to them and to their Christian culture, in which citation from a specific authoritative text – the Bible – had a central place, that we owe our modern culture of attribution in reading.

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#### RÉSUMÉ

Les douze volumes des *Codices latini antiquiores* sont une source d'informations très riche pour ce qui regarde les plus anciennes méthodes de signalement des citations dans l'Occident latin. Les sources montrent que les citations de la Bible commencent à être signalées dans les livres chrétiens vers le cinquième siècle. À l'origine, la méthode de signalement de prédilection est l'alinéa. Au sixième siècle, une autre méthode se répand : le recours à un symbole spécifique placé en marge du texte, face aux citations. Plusieurs symboles sont utilisés pour cela du cinquième au neuvième siècle dans l'Occident latin : ils reflètent les conventions valables selon les différents régions, *scriptoria* et types d'écriture. Vers la fin du huitième siècle, l'un de ces symboles, une fioriture verticale ressemblant à notre lettre S, l'emporte, grâce à son adoption par la nouvelle minuscule caroline. Les copistes carolingiens sont à l'origine de l'uniformisation des pratiques de signalement des citations dans l'Occident latin et de leur adoption généralisée dans les livres copiés ; on peut évaluer que plus de la moitié des manuscrits produits dans les *scriptoria* carolingiens sont pourvus de fioritures en S. Cette phase carolingienne représente le point culminant d'un long processus de développement des pratiques de signalement des citations dans l'Occident latin, reflétant diverses stratégies de lecture et diverses attitudes au sein des groupes d'utilisateurs des livres.

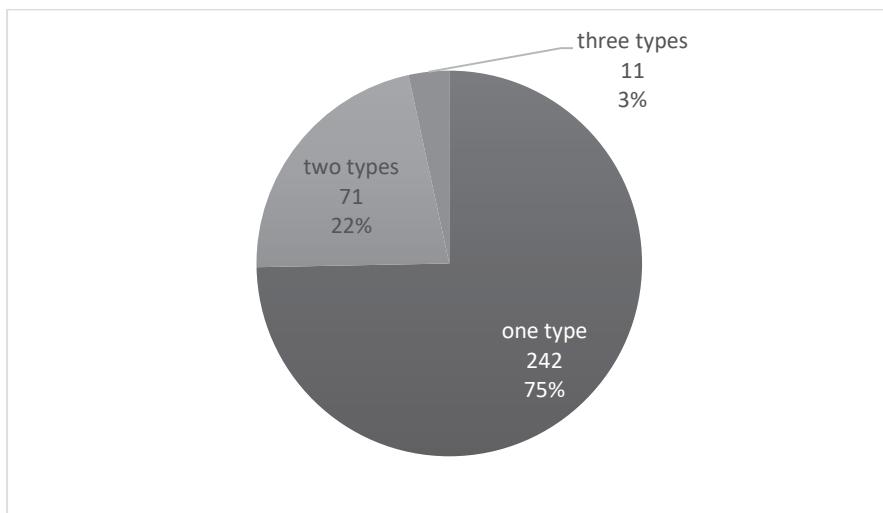
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(88) Elias A. LOWE, «Some Facts about Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts», *The Classical Quarterly*, 19, 1925, p. 197-208, reprinted in *Palaeographical Papers*, ed. by Ludwig BIELER, vol. 1, Oxford, 1972, p. 187-202; E. A. LOWE, «More Facts about Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts» (*supra* n. 5); and Armando PETRUCCI, «La concezione cristiana del libro fra VI e VII secolo», in *Scrivere e leggere nell'Italia medievale*, Milan, 2007, p. 43-64.

## Appendix

### CLA manuscripts containing citation markers

This appendix lists the 324 manuscripts listed in the *Codices latini antiquiores* as containing citation marks, with the date and place of origin assigned to them by the CLA and a short overview of their contents. The manuscripts are listed according to the citation-marking method used. Most of them (242 mss, 75 %) contain only one type of citation mark and thus appear only in one category. However, 71 mss (22 %) contain two types and 11 mss (3 %) contain three types of citation marks (Fig. 6) and are, therefore, listed in multiple categories. The former are marked by one, the latter by two asterisks.



**Fig. 6:** Manuscripts by number of citation mark types

Among the manuscripts in which citations were highlighted by only one method, the most numerous are those equipped with S-shaped flourishes (100 mss, equivalent to 63 % of all manuscripts with S-shaped flourishes), insular quotation signs (64 mss, equivalent to 74 % of all manuscripts with insular quotation signs), and indentation (26 mss, equivalent to 66 % of all manuscripts with indented quotations). By contrast, only 2 mss are marked solely with *obelus*-shaped quotation signs (equivalent to 11 % of all manuscripts with *obelus*-shaped signs) and only 8 mss are marked solely with the *yfen* (equivalent to 35 % of all manuscripts with *yfen*). Clearly, manuscripts containing the *obelus*-shaped quotation sign and the *yfen* were most commonly augmented with other types of quotation signs, specifically with the S-shaped flourish, which was added to 11 of the manuscripts containing the *obelus*-shaped sign (58 % of total) and to 7 of the manuscripts originally marked with the *yfen* (30 % of total). The S-shaped flourish is the citation mark that occurs most commonly, alone as well as in combination with other types. While the insular quotation sign also appears standing alone or in combination with other citation marks, it tends to be the only citation mark used in manuscripts produced in Britain and Ireland or copied in insular scripts. All manuscripts that contain both the insular form and another type of citation mark were copied in non-insular scripts on the Continent, or copied and owned by continental centres.

## I. LAYOUT-BASED CITATION MARKS

## Manuscripts with indented citations (39 items)

**I 53** 5<sup>th</sup> c., ex., unknown origin; Gospel of Matthew

**II 140** 5<sup>th</sup> c., in., uncertain, may be South France, South Italy or Egypt; Codex Bezae

**II 178\*** 4<sup>th</sup> c., ex., most likely Africa; Cyprian, *Epistulae*

**II 197\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Gospels

**III 280** 5<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, North or Central Italy; Lactantius, *Opera*

**III 282\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Italy, probably North; Jerome, *In Isaiam*

**III 283** 5<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Cyprian, *Testimonia*

**III 344a** 6<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, uncertain, possibly Ireland; *Libri regum*

**III 374a\*** before 570, South Italy, perhaps Castello Lucullano; Ambrosiaster, *In epistulas Pauli*

**IV 410a\*** 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> c., Ravenna; Ambrose

**IV 410b** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Ravenna; Ambrose, *De dominicae incarnationis mysterio*

**IV 458** 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> c., perhaps Africa; Cyprian, *Epistulae*

**IV 464** 5<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, perhaps Africa; Cyprian, *De opere et elemosynis, De sacramento calicis*

**IV 467** 4<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Italy, probably Vercelli; *Evangelia*

**IV 481\*** 5<sup>th</sup> c., ex., presumably Italy, probably Verona; *Evangelia purpurea*

**IV 484\*** 5<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Hilary, *In Psalms*

**IV 485** 5<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Italy; Hilary, *De Trinitate*

**IV 489a** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Jerome, *Epistulae*

**V 521\*** 5<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, possibly southern Italy; Graeco-Latin Pauline Epistles

**V 523** 5<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, perhaps Lyons; Hilary, *In Psalms*

**V 545a** 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Hilary, *De trinitate*

**V 572** 5<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Italy, probably North; Hilary, *De trinitate*, Ambrose

**V 602** 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, probably Italy; Cyprian, *Opera*

**V 634\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., in., East France, Anglo-Saxon influence; Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*

**V 654** 5<sup>th</sup> c., Italy, probably in the North; Ambrose, *In Lucam*

**V 658\*** 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, seems partly Italian, partly French; Augustine and Josephus

**V 666** 5<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Gospels

**VI 722** 5<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Gospels

**VI 729\*** 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> c., Spain or Septimania; Augustine, *Ennarationes in Psalms*

**VI 775** 5<sup>th</sup> c., ex., uncertain, probably Italy; Hilary, *In Psalms*

**VI 782a\*** 7<sup>th</sup> c., ex., France; Jerome, *Epistulae*

**VII 883** 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Augustine, *Tractatus in evangelium Iohannis*

**VII 947** 6<sup>th</sup> c., in., Italy, probably North; Hilary, *Expositio in Psalms*

**VIII 1121** 6<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, Italy, Spain or Southern France possible; Augustine, *Speculum*

**IX 1286a\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Spain, possibly Africa; Old Latin Pauline epistles

**X 1491** 5<sup>th</sup> c., ex., uncertain, probably North Italy; Rufinus, *De benedictionibus patriarchum*

**XI 1613** 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> c., Africa, possibly Hippo; Augustine, *Libri duo ad interrogata simplificiani*

**XI 1614** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Italy, possibly Vivarium; ps-Rufinus, *De fide*; Fulgentius of Ruspe, Origen, Jerome

**S 1728** 5<sup>th</sup> c., in., most likely Africa; Cyprian, *De opere et elemosynis*

#### Manuscripts with projected citations (2 items)

**V 587\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Spain; Augustine, *In Psalmos*

**V 686** 7<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, probably Italy; Augustine, *Speculum*

#### Manuscripts with rubricated citations (13 items)

**I 67** 7<sup>th</sup> c., South or Central Italy; Augustine, *In Psalmos*

**II 152** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., Northumbria; Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmos*

**II 178\*** 4<sup>th</sup> c., ex., most likely Africa; Cyprian, *Epistulae*

**III 297a\*** 8<sup>th</sup> century, 2/2, Tours; Donatus, *Interpretationes vergilianaee Aeneidos*

**III 297b\*** 8<sup>th</sup> century, 2/2, Tours; Donatus, *Interpretationes vergilianaee Aeneidos*

**III 374b\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., South Italy; Ambrosiaster, *In epistulas Pauli*

**V 521\*** 5<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, possibly southern Italy; Graeco-Latin Pauline Epistles

**VI 774a** 7<sup>th</sup> c., in., Merovingian centre, possibly Lyon; Origen, *In Genesin et Exodum*

**VIII 1067b\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Corbie or a scriptorium under its influence; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**VIII 1076\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Verona; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**VIII 1152\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., North France, most likely Chelles; Augustine, *Super psalmos*

**IX 1288\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., probably Regensburg; Jerome, *In Epistulas Pauli*

**X 1571\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., Tours; Philip the Priest, *Expositio in Iob*

#### Manuscripts with citations distinguished by a different script (23 items)

**II 170\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., France, probably northeastern; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**II 235\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., perhaps Northumbria; Bede, *In Proverbia Salomonis*

**III 297a\*** 8<sup>th</sup> century, 2/2, Tours; Donatus, *Interpretationes vergilianaee Aeneidos*

**III 297b\*** 8<sup>th</sup> century, 2/2, Tours; Donatus, *Interpretationes vergilianaee Aeneidos*

**IV 410a\*** 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> c., Ravenna; Ambrose

**V 692\*\*** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Northeastern France; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**VII 908\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., St. Gallen; Jerome, *In Danielem*

**VII 920** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., St. Gallen; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**VII 921** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., St. Gallen; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*

**VII 935\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., possibly St. Gall; Bede, *In actus apostolorum, In apocalypsin*

**VIII 1067b\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Corbie or a scriptorium under its influence; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**VIII 1076\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Verona; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**VIII 1152\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., North France, most likely Chelles; Augustine, *Super psalmos*

**IX 1260** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Freising; *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*

**IX 1288\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., probably Regensburg; Jerome, *In Epistulas Pauli*

**IX 1427\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**IX 1434\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent; *Anonymi Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*

**X 1460\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Salzburg; Jerome, *Commentarius super evangelium Matthaei*

**X 1488\*** before 800, West or Southwest Germany; Ambrosiaster, *In epistulam Pauli ad Romanos*

**X 1553** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., court of Charlemagne; Peter the Deacon, *Liber de diversis quaestiunculis*

**X 1571\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., Tours; Philip the Priest, *Expositio in Iob*

**X 1573** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Corbie; Servius, *In libros Aeneidos*

**XI 1631** 7<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Spain; Isidore, *De natura rerum*, Rufus Festus, *Breviarium, Itinerarium Antonini*

#### Manuscripts with citations distinguished by larger script (1 item)

**XI 1600** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Northumbria or Northumbrian scribe; Jerome, *Commentarius in Isaiam*

## II. MANUSCRIPTS WITH QUOTATION SIGNS

#### Diple (19 items)

**II 126** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Gospels

**II 182** 7<sup>th</sup> c., France, presumably Corbie; Origen and John Chrysostom

**II 197\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Gospels

**III 295** soon after 533, Byzantium; *Digesta*

**IV 484\*** 5<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Hilary, *In Psalmos*

**V 530\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Tours; *Concilium Ephesinum*

**V 542\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., in., France; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**V 543\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Jerome, *In Psalmos*

**V 588\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., England or Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent; Augustine, *De trinitate*

**V 682\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ½, probably Tours; Eugippius, *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*

**V 685** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Italy, perhaps South; Hilary, *De trinitate*

**VI 740** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ½, Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent; Philip the Priest, *In Iob*

**VI 782a\*** 7<sup>th</sup> c., ex., France; Jerome, *Epistulae*

**VI 815** 5<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Augustine, *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*

**VIII 1196** 546-47 or before, South Italy; New Testament

**IX 1286a\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Spain, possibly Africa; Old Latin Pauline epistles

**IX 1388** 5<sup>th</sup> c., ex., presumably North Italy; *Epistulae Pauli Gothice et Latine*

**IX 1430a\*** 5<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Jerome, *In Ecclesiasten*

**X 1507** 6<sup>th</sup> c., presumably South Italy; Hilary, *De Trinitate, Contra Arianos*

#### S-shaped flourish (159 items)

**I 18b** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Rome; Homiliary

**I 34** 7<sup>th</sup> c., Bobbio; Augustine, *In Psalms*

**I 39** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., Northern Italy; Isidore, *Etymologiae*

**I 43** 8<sup>th</sup> c., in., Bobbio; Isidore, *De officiis*

**I 113** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Chieti or Abruzzi; *Collectio canonum*

**II 124\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., northern France, centre under the influence of Corbie; Ambrose, *Hexameron*

**II 139\*\*** c. 737, centre with Northumbrian connection; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*

**II 162** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., St. Vincent by Volturno, Benevento; Gospels

**II 163\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., France; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**II 170\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., France, probably northeastern; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**II 174\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., North France, probably Laon area; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**II 183** 8<sup>th</sup> c., probably northeastern France; Jerome, *De viris illustribus*; Cyprian, *Testimonia*

**II 196a** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Tours; Jerome, *In Isaiam*

**II 198\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Ada group; Gospels

**II 200** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., NE France, centre using ab-script; Ambrosiaster, Theodore of Mopsuestia

**II 201** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., NE France; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*

**II 253** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., most likely Central Italy; Ambrosius Autpertus, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*

**II 260** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Wearmouth-Jarrow; Gospel of John

**II 273\*** 7<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Northumbria, by a hand trained in Irish manner; Gospels

**III 282\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Italy, probably North\*; Jerome, *In Isaiam*

**III 303b** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Lucca; Isidore, *Chronicon*; *Liber pontificalis*; *Canonum collectio sanblasiana*

**III 304** 6<sup>th</sup> c., North Italy, probably Milan; Josephus, *De Antiquitatibus Iudaicis*

**III 309** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., Bobbio; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**III 313** 6<sup>th</sup> century, 2/2, north Italy, area of Milan, perhaps Aquileia; Gospels

**III 319\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., ex., North Italy, perhaps Verona; Severianus, *Sermones*

**III 347** 6<sup>th</sup> c., probably North Italy; Ambrose, *In Lucam*

**III 352** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., probably Bobbio; Eucherius and Ambrose

**III 359** 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> c., probably North Italy; Gelasius, *Epistulae*

**III 364** 7<sup>th</sup> c., Bobbio; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechiel*

**III 372** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Spain; Ambrose, *De fide, De spiritu sancto*

**III 373** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Spain; Augustine, *De Trinitate*

**III 374a\*** before 570, South Italy, perhaps Castello Lucullano; Ambrosiaster, *In epistulas Pauli*

**III 381** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., South Italy; Isidore, *Sententiae*

**IV 418** 6<sup>th</sup> c., ½, Italy; Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*

**IV 425** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., probably Nonatola; Pseudo-Chrysostom and John Chrysostom

**IV 429** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Italy, presumably South; Augustine, *Tractatus in Evangelium Iohannis*

**IV 430** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, Bede, *Expositio Apocalypsis*

**IV 469** 8<sup>th</sup> c., North Italy, probably Vercelli; Jerome, Augustine, Cassiodorus

**IV 490** after 555, probably Verona; Jerome, *De viris illustribus*; Anastasius, *Vitae pontificum*

**IV 491** after 420, Italy, perhaps in Avellino near Naples; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*

**IV 492** 7<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Verona; Augustine, *De agone Christiano, De fide*

**IV 497\*** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., France; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**IV 506** 6<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, presumably Verona; Facundus of Hermiane, *In defensione III capitulorum*

**IV 509** 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> c., presumably Verona; Vigilius of Trent, Athanasius, *Acta synodi Chalcedonensis*

**V 517\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Aachen; Gospels

**V 527** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Northern Italy or Switzerland; Pelagius, *In epistulas Pauli*

**V 530\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Tours; *Concilium Ephesinum*

**V 533\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Rheinland, possibly Palace School; Ambrose, *Hexameron*

**V 536** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Tours; Jerome, *In Hieremiam*

**V 537\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., England; Pelagius, *In epistulas Pauli*

**V 542\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., in., France; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**V 547\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., in., East France under Anglo-Saxon influence; Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*

**V 555** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., probably Burgundy; *Canones*, Gennadius *De Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, etc.

**V 587\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Spain; Augustine, *In Psalmos*

**V 601** before 799, Verona; *Commemoratio Geneseos*, Isidore, *Liber de natura rerum; Quaestiones*

**V 612** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Corbie; Jerome, *In Esaiam*

**V 619** c. 523 and 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> c., probably Rhone valley; *Canones Galliae et Catalogus pontificum*

**V 621** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Corbie; Basil, *Hexameron*, Gregory of Nyssa, *De Hominis opificio*

**V 622\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Corbie; Ambrose, *Hexameron*

**V 623** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Corbie; Jerome, *In Ezechielem*

**V 632** 8<sup>th</sup> c., in., probably Corbie; Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*

**V 633** 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> c., probably Italy; Augustine, *Instituta Nili monachi, Regula patrum, Regula magistri*

**V 634\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., in., East France, Anglo-Saxon influence; Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*

**V 635\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., probably Italy; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*

**V 636** 8<sup>th</sup> century, 2/2, Corbie; Augustine

**V 638** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Northern France; Cassiodorus, *In Psalmos*

**V 639** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Northern France; Cassiodorus, *In Psalmos*

**V 640** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., probably Septimania; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*

**V 641\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Corbie; *Martyrologium Corbeiense*, Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*

**V 657\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., probably Northern France; Jerome, *In Ecclesiasten*

**V 658\*** 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, seems partly Italian, partly French; Augustine and Josephus

**V 668\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., St. Denis; Jerome, *In Hieremiam*

**V 692\*\*** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Northeastern France; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**V 694** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Corbie; Cassiodorus, *In Psalmos*

**V 695\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Corbie; Bede, *In Cantica canticorum*

**V 701\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., East France; Jerome, *Commentarii in prophetas minores*; Philip-pus, *Expositio in Job*

<b>VI 704</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., perhaps the court of Charlemagne; <i>Evangeliarium purpueum</i>
<b>VI 709*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Corbie; Ambrosiaster and Theodore of Mopsuestia, <i>In epistulas Pauli</i>
<b>VI 720</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Flavigny; Cassiodorus, <i>In Psalmos</i>
<b>VI 721*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., probably Lyon; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>VI 724</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., uncertain, probably Southern France; John Cassian, <i>Institutiones</i>
<b>VI 729*</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> /7 <sup>th</sup> c., Spain or Septimania; Augustine, <i>Ennarationes in Psalmos</i>
<b>VI 758</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., St. Amand; Gospels
<b>VI 763*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., perhaps NE France, Irish influence; Lathcen, <i>Ecloga Gregori Moralium in Iob</i>
<b>VI 776</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> c., ½, uncertain, probably Lyon or Italy; Jerome, <i>In Hieremiam</i>
<b>VI 779</b>	5 <sup>th</sup> /6 <sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Origen, <i>In Epistula Pauli ad Romanos</i>
<b>VI 784*</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> c., Italy, probably Northern; Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i>
<b>VI 810</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., South Italy; Jerome, <i>In Isaiam</i>
<b>VI 811</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Jerome, <i>In Hieremiam</i>
<b>VII 844*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ½, England, probably North; pseudo-Isidore, <i>De ordine creaturarum</i>
<b>VII 852*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., Northeastern France, presumably Laon; Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i>
<b>VII 871</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., North Italy; Adalpertus, <i>Commentarius in Psalmos</i> ; Verba Seniorum
<b>VII 906</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, St. Gall; Jerome, <i>In Psalmos</i>
<b>VII 908*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., St. Gall; Jerome, <i>In Danielem</i>
<b>VII 910</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., St. Gall; Jerome, <i>Commentarius in Matthaeum</i>
<b>VII 935*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., possibly St. Gall; Bede, <i>In actus apostolorum</i> , <i>In apocalypsin</i>
<b>VIII 1030</b>	799-836, presumably Amiens; Jerome, <i>Contra Iovinianum</i> ; Rufinus, <i>Expositio Symboli</i>
<b>VIII 1057*</b>	796-799, Verona; <i>Homiliarium Alani</i>
<b>VIII 1058</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Verona; Sedulius, <i>Opus paschale</i>
<b>VIII 1067b**</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Corbie or scriptorium under its influence; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>VIII 1073</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ½, Northern Italy; Old Latin Gospels
<b>VIII 1076**</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Verona; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>VIII 1077</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Northern Italy, possibly area of Verona; Isidore, <i>Etymologiae</i>
<b>VIII 1086*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., Italy, probably North; Jerome, <i>Explanaciones in Isaiam</i>
<b>VIII 1093</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., Southwestern Germany or Switzerland; Gregory, <i>Homiliae in Evangelia</i>
<b>VIII 1111</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Western Switzerland or Northern Italy; Jerome, <i>In Matthaeum</i>
<b>VIII 1146</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Salzburg; Jerome, <i>Epistulae</i>
<b>VIII 1147</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Cologne; John Chrysostom, <i>In Epistulam ad Hebraeos</i>
<b>VIII 1150</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Cologne; Jerome, <i>Commentary in Ezekielem</i>
<b>VIII 1151</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., presumably Cologne; Jerome, <i>Super Abdiam, Ionam, Naum</i>
<b>VIII 1152**</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Northern France, most likely Chelles; Augustine, <i>Super psalmos</i>
<b>VIII 1153</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., Burgundian centre; Augustine, <i>Sermones et opuscula</i>
<b>VIII 1158</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Cologne; <i>Cursus lunae per XII signa</i> , Bede, <i>De natura temporum</i> , etc.
<b>VIII 1183</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Corbie region; Alcuin, <i>Quaestiones in Genesin</i> , etc.
<b>VIII 1205*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, Anglo-Saxon centre with high standards; Gospels
<b>VIII 1209</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Rheinish area, probably Alsatia; <i>Collectio canonum Murbacensis</i>
<b>IX 1241*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Benediktbeuern; John Cassian, <i>Collationes</i>
<b>IX 1243</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., Benediktbeuern; <i>Epistulae Pauli</i> ; Jerome, <i>Ad Eustochium</i>
<b>IX 1251</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Freising; <i>Epistulae Pauli</i> etc.

**IX 1266\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., uncertain; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**IX 1268** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Freising; Jerome, *In Danielem et prophetas minores*

**IX 1269** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Freising; Jerome, *In Matthaeum*

**IX 1275\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Freising; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*

**IX 1288\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., probably Regensburg; Jerome, *In Epistulas Pauli*

**IX 1289a** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Regensburg; *Isaias et Hieremias*

**IX 1290** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., possibly Murbach; Jerome, *In Danielem, Joelem, Micheam, Naum, Malachiam*

**IX 1299** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Regensburg; Isidore, *In libros regum, Esdrae et Maccabeorum*; Origen

**IX 1304** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Regensburg; pseudo-Augustine, *Quaestiones in vetus et novum testamentum*

**IX 1316** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., probably Tegernsee; Jerome, *In Psalmos*

**IX 1348** 7<sup>th</sup> c., in., Italy; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*

**IX 1354\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., St. Amand; Jerome, *In Matthaeum*

**IX 1364\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Continent, possibly Echternach; Gospels

**IX 1366** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Charlemagne's court; Gospels

**IX 1379** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., France, perhaps Burgundy; Jerome, *In Psalmos*

**IX 1386** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Northern Italy; Isidore, *Etymologiae*

**IX 1390\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Weissenburg; Origen, *Homiliae in epistulam sancti Pauli ad Romanos*

**IX 1423a** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; *Evangelia Sancti Burchardi*

**IX 1423b** 7<sup>th</sup> c., ex. and 8<sup>th</sup> c., ½, Italy; *Evangelia S. Burchardi* (Canones, Prologi)

**IX 1427\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**X 1460\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Salzburg; Jerome, *Commentarius super evangelium Matthaei*

**X 1461** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., presumable Southeastern Germany; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*

**X 1463** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Salzburg or St. Amand; Jerome, *In Hieremiam*

**X 1468\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Salzburg; Jerome, *In Psalmos*

**X 1486** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., St. Amand or Salzburg; Jerome, *Epistulae*

**X 1488\*** before 800, Western or Southwestern Germany; Ambrosiaster, *In epistulam ad Romanos*

**X 1489** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Salzburg; Ambrose, *Commentarius in Lucam*

**X 1494** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Salzburg; Isidore, *Prooemia, Eucherius, Solutiones*, etc.

**X 1496** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Salzburg; ps-Jerome, *In epistulas Pauli*

**X 1542** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., France; *Commentarius in evangelium Lucae*

**X 1571\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., Tours; Philip the Priest, *Expositio in Iob*

**X 1587** c. 716, Wearmouth-Jarrow; Gospels

**XI 1592** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Rhine-Moselle region; Augustine, *In Psalmos*

**XI 1598\*** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Northern France, presumably Corbie; *Regula sancti Basillii*

**XI 1606** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Corbie; Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita*

**XI 1629\*** 7<sup>th</sup> c., in., uncertain; Augustine, *De baptismo parvolorum*

**XI 1664\*** 7<sup>th</sup> c., ex., England, presumably Northumbria; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**S 1737** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., most likely Freising; John Cassian, *Collationes*

**S 1743** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Northeastern France or West Germany; John Chrysostom, *Homiliae*

**S 1749** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Lorsch; Bede, *De arte metrica, Rhytmi*; Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate*, etc.

## The insular quotation sign (86 items)

**I 4** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent; Theodore of Mopsuestia

**I 5b** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., insular centre in Northern Italy; pseudo-Augustine, *Hypomnesticon*, Ambrosiaster

**I 78** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Northern England, but script points to Ireland; *Glossa in Psalmos*

**I 79\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Lorsch; Jerome, *In Matthaeum*

**II 121** 8<sup>th</sup> c., England, probably Northumbria; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*

**II 133** 8<sup>th</sup> c., England; Pauline Epistles

**II 139\*\*** c. 737, centre with Northumbrian connection; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*

**II 149** 8<sup>th</sup> c., perhaps Northumbria; Gospels

**II 155** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, presumably Germany; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**II 158** 8<sup>th</sup> c., England, probably Northumbria; *Commentarius in Matthaeum*

**II 184** 8<sup>th</sup> c., England, a centre with Irish traditions; Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*

**II 187** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Lindisfarne; Lindisfarne Gospels

**II 198\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Ada group; Gospels

**II 213** 8<sup>th</sup> c., England, probably in Northumbria; Gospels

**II 214** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., South England, Mercian or Kentish centre; Gospels

**II 215** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, England, probably Mercian centre; Prayer Book

**II 220** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., England; Bede, *Expositio in Lucae evangelium*

**II 234** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Southern England; Philip, *Expositio in Iob*

**II 235\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., perhaps Northumbria; Bede, *In Proverbia Salomonis*

**II 270** c. 807, Ireland; *Book of Armagh*

**III 299** before 716, Wearmouth-Jarrow; Codex Amiatinus

**IV 452** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., probably Bobbio; Theodore of Mopsuestia, *In Psalmos*

**IV 453** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., presumably Ireland; pseudo-Jerome, *Commentarius in Marcum*

**V 517\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Aachen; Gospels

**V 578** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Northumbria or Anglo-Saxon Continental centre; Gospels

**V 584** 8<sup>th</sup> c., England or Anglo-Saxon Continental centre; Jerome, *In Isaiam*

**V 588\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., England or Anglo-Saxon Continental centre; Augustine, *De trinitate*

**V 595** 8<sup>th</sup> c., England or Anglo-Saxon Continental centre; Augustine, *In evangelium s. Joannis*

**V 598** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., England or Anglo-Saxon Continental centre; Bede, *In Apocalypsin*

**V 610** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Ireland; *Excerpta ex arte Consentii*

**V 642** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Ireland; *Commentarius in Matthaeum*

**V 649\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Northern France; *Carmina vetera Christiana et opuscula patrum*

**V 681** c. 781-83, Palace School; *Evangelistar Godescalci*

**V 682\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ½, probably Tours; Eugippius, *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*

**V 695\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Corbie; Bede, *In Cantica canticorum*

**VI 735** 6<sup>th</sup> c., ½, probably Italy; Ambrose, *Opera*

**VI 737** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Anglo-Saxon scribes, perhaps at the Continent; Augustine, *Epistulae*

**VI 738** 8<sup>th</sup> c., South England; Apponius, *In Canticum canticorum*

**VI 762** 744-45, Tours; Jerome, *Epistulae*

**VI 763\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., perhaps NE France, Irish influence; Lathcen, *Ecloga Gregori Moralium in Iob*

**VII 844\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ½, England, probably North; pseudo-Isidore, *De ordine creaturarum*

**VII 1001** 8<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, probably Ireland; unknown text

**VIII 1080** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Lorsch; Jerome, *Epistulae*

**VIII 1095** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., England or Anglo-Saxon Continental centre; Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*

**VIII 1134\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Northumbria; Jerome, *In Ecclesiasten*; Ambrose, *Apologia prophetae David*, etc.

**VIII 1135** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Ireland; Jerome, *In prophetas minores*

**VIII 1136** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Anglo-Saxon centre in Germany, possibly Fulda; Primasius, *In Apocalypsin*

**VIII 1143** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, England or Anglo-Saxon Continental centre; John Cassian, *Collationes*

**VIII 1144** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Anglo-Saxon centre in Germany; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

**VIII 1152\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., North France, most likely Chelles; Augustine, *Super psalmos*

**VIII 1181** 8<sup>th</sup> c. ex., Anglo-Saxon centre in Germany; *Anonymi Scotti commentarius in Matthaeum*

**VIII 1185** 8<sup>th</sup> c., presumably Ireland; Lathcen, *Ecloga Moralium Gregorii Magni*

**VIII 1187** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., North England; John Chrysostom, *Passio sancti Iusti pueri; Pastor Hermae*

**VIII 1203** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent; *Commentarius in Epistulas Pauli*

**VIII 1205\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, Anglo-Saxon centre with high standards; Gospels

**VIII 1229** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ½, Northumbria; Gospels

**IX 1241\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Benediktbeuern; John Cassian, *Collationes*

**IX 1261** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., area of Freising; Isidore, *Quaestiones in vetus testamentum*

**IX 1270** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Freising; Isidore, *In libros regum*; Origen, *In cantica canticorum*; Bede, *In Tobiam*

**IX 1275\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Freising; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*

**IX 1307** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Regensburg; Augustine, *Tractatus in evangelium Johannis*

**IX 1313** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Salzburg; Isidore, *De natura rerum*, *Sententiae*, *De officiis*, Jerome, *Epistula 124*

**IX 1315** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., presumably Tegernsee; *Homiliarum Alani*

**IX 1343** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., court of Charlemagne; Gospels

**IX 1364\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Continent, possibly Echternach; Gospels

**IX 1400** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Anglo-Saxon centre in Germany, probably Mainz; Gregory, *Regula Pastoralis*

**IX 1403** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Ireland; *Epistulae sancti Pauli*

**IX 1407** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Germany; Origen, *Homiliae in librum numerorum*

**IX 1411** 8<sup>th</sup> c., England or Anglo-Saxon Continental centre; Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*

**IX 1414** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Anglo-Saxon centre, probably on the Continent; Gregory, *Homiliae in evangelia*

**IX 1418** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Anglo-Saxon Continental centre, perhaps Würzburg; Augustine, *Super psalmos*

**IX 1427\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*

<b>IX 1434**</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent; <i>Anonymi Expositio in Cantica Canticorum</i>
<b>X 1460**</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., Salzburg; Jerome, <i>Commentarius super evangelium Matthaei</i>
<b>X 1511</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., presumably Ireland; Bede, <i>De ratione temporum</i>
<b>X 1558</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ½, Anglo-Saxon centre with Northumbrian connections; Gospels
<b>XI 1605</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, England; Gospels
<b>XI 1621*</b>	after 731; Wearmouth-Jarrow; Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<b>XI 1662</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., England; Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<b>S 1676</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ½, Northumbria; Pelagius, <i>Expositio in epistulam Pauli ad Philipenses</i>
<b>S 1686</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., Anglo-Saxon centre, probably Germany; Jerome, <i>In Isaiam</i>
<b>S 1688</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Anglo-Saxon centre, presumably Germany; Bede, <i>Homiliae</i>
<b>S 1698</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., Anglo-Saxon centre in Germany; Jerome, <i>Commentarius in Matthaeum</i>
<b>S 1703</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., med., Northumbria, probably Wearmouth-Jarrow; Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<b>S 1760</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Northumbria; Jerome, <i>Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Mathaeum</i>
<b>S 1769</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., Lorsch; Augustine, <i>Tractatus in Johannem</i>

### Yfen (23 items)

<b>I 79*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Lorsch; Jerome, <i>In Matthaeum</i>
<b>II 163*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., France; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>II 174*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., med., North France, probably Laon area; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>II 237**</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> c., Insular centre, probably in England; Primasius, <i>In Apocalypsin</i>
<b>IV 497*</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> c., France; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>V 542**</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., in., France; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>V 631</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., Corbie; Augustine, <i>Ennarationes in Psalmos</i>
<b>V 649*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, probably Northern France; <i>Carmina vetera Christiana et opuscula patrum</i>
<b>V 655</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Northern France; Jerome, <i>Quaestiones in Genesim, De situ et nominibus</i>
<b>V 656</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., med., France; Jerome, <i>Quaestiones in Genesim, De situ et nominibus, Eucherius</i>
<b>V 668*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., St. Denis; Jerome, <i>In Hieremiam</i>
<b>V 692**</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> c., Northeastern France; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>VI 721*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., probably Lyon; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>VI 753*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Germanic centre, probably Murbach; John Cassian, <i>Collationes</i>
<b>VI 759*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., in., France; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>VIII 1024</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Hesychius, <i>In Leviticum</i>
<b>IX 1266*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., uncertain; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>IX 1293</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Regensburg; Augustine, <i>Tractatus in Evangelium sancti Johannis</i>
<b>IX 1297</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Regensburg; Jerome, <i>Commentarius in Hieremiam</i>
<b>IX 1390*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Weissenburg; Origen, <i>Homiliae in epistulam sancti Pauli ad Romanos</i>
<b>X 1454*</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> c., Luxeuil; Jerome, <i>In Ecclesiasten</i>

**XI 1617** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Luxeuil; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*  
**XI 1659** c. 669, Luxeuil; Augustine, *De epistulis Iohannis ad Partos*

#### Obelus-shaped quotation sign (19 items)

**II 124\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., northern France, centre under the influence of Corbie; Ambrose, *Hexameron*  
**II 237\*\*** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Insular centre, probably in England; Primasius, *In Apocalypsin*  
**III 319\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., ex., North Italy, perhaps Verona; Severianus, *Sermones*  
**V 533\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Rheinland, possibly Palace School; Ambrose, *Hexameron*  
**V 543\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Jerome, *In Psalmos*  
**V 567** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., Northeastern France; Isidore, *De natura rerum, Sententiae*  
**V 622\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Corbie; Ambrose, *Hexameron*  
**V 635\*** 6<sup>th</sup> c., probably Italy; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*  
**V 682\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ½, probably Tours; Eugippius, *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*  
**V 701\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., East France; Jerome, *Commentarii in prophetas minores*; Philip-  
 pus, *Expositio in Job*  
**VI 718** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Burgundy; Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*  
**VII 852\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Northeastern France, presumably Laon; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*  
**VIII 1134\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Northumbria; Jerome, *In Ecclesiasten*; Ambrose, *Apologia prophetae  
 David*, etc.  
**IX 1354\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., St. Amand; Jerome, *In Matthaeum*  
**X 1454\*** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Luxeuil; Jerome, *In Ecclesiasten*  
**X 1468\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Salzburg; Jerome, *In Psalmos*  
**X 1571\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med., Tours; Philip the Priest, *Expositio in Iob*  
**XI 1598\*** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Northern France, presumably Corbie; *Regula sancti Basillii*  
**XI 1629\*** 7<sup>th</sup> c., in., uncertain; Augustine, *De baptismo parvolorum*

#### Comma-shaped quotation sign (11 items)

**II 273\*** 7<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Northumbria, by a hand trained in Irish manner; Gospels  
**III 374b\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., South Italy; Ambrosiaster, *In epistulas Pauli*  
**VI 753\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., Germanic centre, probably Murbach; John Cassian, *Collationes*  
**VI 759\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., in., France; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*  
**VIII 1057\*** 796-799, Verona; *Homiliarium Alani*  
**VIII 1066\*** 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c., probably Corbie or Werden; Augustine, *Tractatus in Evangelium  
 Iohannis*  
**VIII 1193** 8<sup>th</sup>/9th c., probably Murbach; Pelagius, *Expositio in epistulas Pauli*  
**IX 1364\*\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Continent, possibly Echternach; Gospels  
**XI 1602\*** 8<sup>th</sup> c., med. or 8<sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Corbie; Ambrose, *In Lucam*  
**XI 1625** 8<sup>th</sup> c., ½, Northeastern France, most likely Corbie; John Cassian, *Collationes*  
**XI 1664\*** 7<sup>th</sup> c., ex., England, presumably Northumbria; Gregory the Great, *Moralia  
 in Iob*

#### Horizontal flourish (8 items)

**I 44** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Bobbio; John Cassian, *Collationes*  
**II 237\*\*** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., Insular centre, probably in England; Primasius, *In Apocalypsin*

<b>IV 433</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., med., a centre of calligraphy north of Alps; Justus of Urgell, <i>In Cantica canticorum</i>
<b>V 667</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Gospels
<b>VI 784*</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> c., Italy, probably Northern; Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i>
<b>VIII 1086*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., Italy, probably North; Jerome, <i>Explanationes in Isaiam</i>
<b>IX 1430a*</b>	5 <sup>th</sup> c., Italy; Jerome, <i>In Ecclesiasten</i>
<b>IX 1430b</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> c., presumably England; Jerome, <i>In Ecclesiasten</i>

### 3-shaped quotation sign (6 items)

<b>V 537*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., England; Pelagius, <i>In epistulas Pauli</i>
<b>V 547*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., in., East France under Anglo-Saxon influence; Augustine, <i>De Genesi ad litteram</i>
<b>IX 1262</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., possibly Freising; Gregory the Great, <i>Dialogi, Homiliae</i>
<b>IX 1291</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., ex, Regensburg; Isidore, <i>In Octateuchum</i>
<b>IX 1292</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Regensburg; <i>Ezechiel, Daniel, XII Prophetas Minores</i>
<b>XI 1602*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., med. or 8 <sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Corbie; Ambrose, <i>In Lucam</i>

### Zig-zag-shaped quotation sign (6 items)

<b>V 641*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Corbie; <i>Martyrologium Corbeiense</i> , Gregory the Great, <i>Regula pastoralis</i>
<b>V 657*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., med., probably Northern France; Jerome, <i>In Ecclesiasten</i>
<b>VI 709*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Corbie; Ambrosiaster and Theodore of Mopsuestia, <i>In epistulas Pauli</i>
<b>VIII 1066*</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., probably Corbie or Werden; Augustine, <i>Tractatus in Evangelium Iohannis</i>
<b>VIII 1067a</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., 2/2, Corbie; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<b>VIII 1067b**</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., Corbie or scriptorium under its influence; Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>

### Dot (4 items)

<b>IV 481*</b>	5 <sup>th</sup> c., ex., presumably Italy, probably Verona; <i>Evangelia purpurea</i>
<b>VIII 1107</b>	6 <sup>th</sup> c., North Italy, possibly Ravenna; Evagrius, <i>Altercatio legis</i>
<b>IX 1249</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> c., Northern Italy or Illyricum; Old Latin Gospels
<b>XI 1627*</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, probably Southern France; Gregory the Great, <i>Homiliae in evangelia</i>

### 'Bedan type' (insular form for biblical quotes, ➞ for documents, 4 items)

<b>II 139**</b>	c. 737, centre with Northumbrian connection; Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<b>IX 1385</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> /9 <sup>th</sup> c., France; Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<b>XI 1621*</b>	after 731; Wearmouth-Jarrow; Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<b>S 1703</b>	8 <sup>th</sup> c., med., Northumbria, probably Wearmouth-Jarrow; Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>

**Gross (1 item)**

**X 1547a** 7<sup>th</sup> c., ex., Soissons; *Liber sermonum*, Caesarius of Arles, *Homiliae*, *Commentarius in evangelia*

**Hedera (1 item)**

**XI 1627\*** 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c., uncertain, probably Southern France; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia*

**Group of points (1 item)**

**III 394** 8<sup>th</sup> c., Bobbio; *Grammatica et patristica varia*