

VIII.—Where are the Prickings?

LESLIE WEBBER JONES

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Three paragraphs taken together—the first and the last two—form a summary of this paper.

Palaeographers in search of objective criteria for dating and placing manuscripts will do well to consider prickings. These little punctures are the unobtrusive yet adequate guides for the ruling *à la pointe sèche*¹ of the horizontal text-lines and of the vertical lines that bound the text on each side. Figure 1 indicates one possible placement on a single folio: the small holes which mark the termini of the four vertical bounding-lines are designated B,B; E,E; I,I; and L,L; those which mark the text-lines are in a long row, H-H, in the very middle of the text. The other letters set down in Figure 1 will be explained below at the proper points. For the present it will be enough to state that prickings occupy various positions on a folio; these positions change somewhat from century to century, from country to country, from scriptorium to scriptorium, and occasionally from scribe to scribe. It is the object of the present paper to record the changes from *ca.* 300 to *ca.* 1300 A.D. and to draw whatever conclusions are legitimate.

There are at least two other problems concerning prickings which will be reserved for discussion in separate articles. The first has to do with the nature of the instrument which made the punctures. Was it always a *punctorium* (sharp point) or a *circinus* (compass)? Was a frame with a number of points set in it sometimes used to make all the holes in a single operation?² Was a small wheel with numerous sharp teeth used for the text-line prickings?³ The second problem has to do with the number of folios or *bifolia* which were pricked in a single operation and the arrange-

¹ The scribes were prompted by aesthetic considerations in ruling with a dry point; not until the twelfth century and later did they use lead and finally ink.

² Cf. E. K. Rand's two articles, "Traces de piqûres dans quelques manuscrits du haut moyen âge," *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus*, 1939, 429-30, and "Prickings in a Manuscript of Orléans," *TAPhA* 70 (1939) 337, note 18; cf. also L. W. Jones, "Pin Pricks at the Morgan Library," *TAPhA* 70 (1939) 321.

³ L. W. Jones, *op. cit.*, 318, note 1.—The exact shape of the puncture (small round hole, vertical slit, horizontal slit, etc.) will be considered elsewhere.

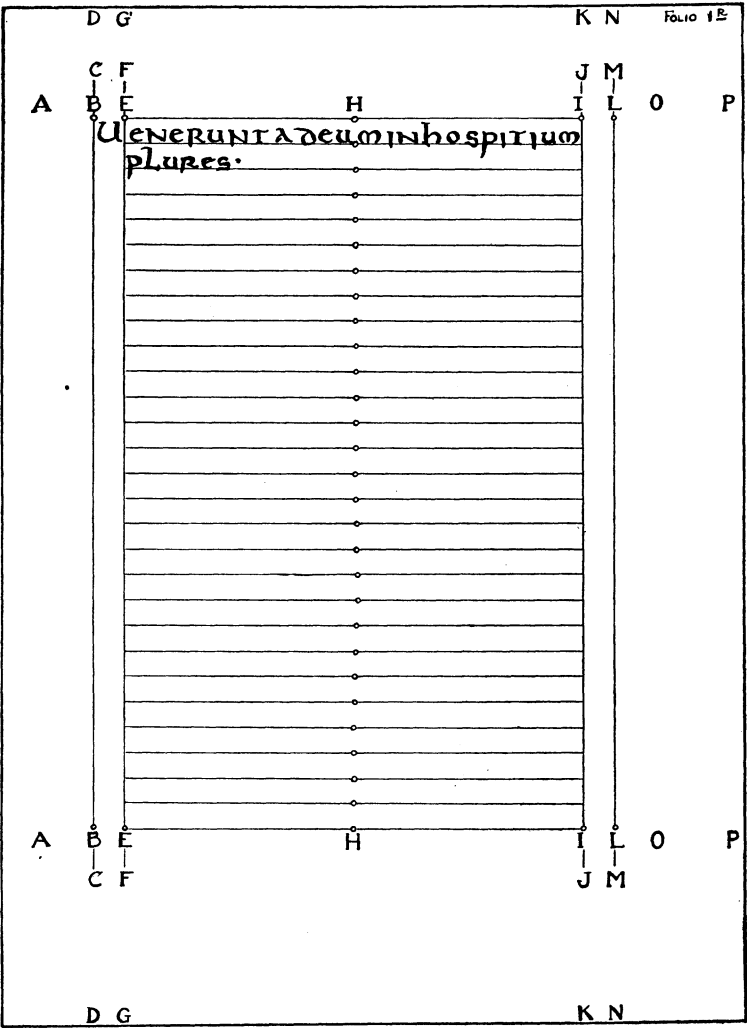


FIG. 1

ment of these folios or *bifolia* before, during, and after the pricking. Seven distinct systems of arrangement have thus far been determined—systems which have proved of use in dating manuscripts of Tours,⁴ Beauvais(?), a Franco-Saxon center (or Aachen), Luxeuil, Reims (or Liège?), St. Bertin's at St.-Omer, Corvey in East Francia, St. Gall, Constantinople (for Greek manuscripts), Ireland (?), and northern Spain,⁵ and which may eventually prove of use in placing manuscripts as well. As soon as seven of the early manuscripts of the Morgan Library and two of the New York Public Library return from their bomb-proof shelters in the country, a study of their prickings will be in order; to this study I intend to add observations on twenty-three additional New York City items which I have recently examined. Let us hope, moreover, that the manuscripts of Europe will soon be accessible.

For my study of the positions of prickings on a page I have used the more than four hundred items described in E. A. Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores*⁶ (Oxford University Press: I, 1934; II, 1935; and III, 1938); approximately five hundred items listed in Albert Bruckner's *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica*⁷ (Geneva), a few of them from I (1935), where the positions of the prickings are not indicated but where the plates give some clues, and most of them from II (1936) and III (1938); and three items from R. P. Robinson's *Manuscripts 27 and 107 of the Municipal Library of Autun (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Rome 1939)*. I have also personally inspected about one hundred thirty manuscripts. If we allow for overlapping,⁸ the total number of items becomes about one thousand. Of this number perhaps two hundred afford us no evidence to-day: they either never had prickings⁹ or,

⁴ Six systems at Tours: E. K. Rand, "Traces," etc., 420-9, and "Prickings," etc., especially 329-37.

⁵ Manuscripts from all these centers (including Tours) are discussed in L. W. Jones, *op. cit.*

⁶ Hereafter cited as *CLA*.

⁷ Cited as *SMAH*. Since Bruckner does not assign serial numbers to his MSS, I shall cite them, as he does, under the name of the library in which they now reside. It is to be assumed that the data on the majority of the MSS of Swiss provenience which are mentioned in the present article are from *SMAH*.

⁸ For the sake of convenience all MSS which both Lowe and I have studied are cited under *CLA* and all those which both Bruckner and I have studied are cited under *SMAH* or merely the name of the library.

⁹ Cf., e.g., the two folios of the Koran in Kufic script which now form no. 539 of the Morgan Library (s. ix/x); they show no evidence whatever of prickings or rulings. Latin MSS are occasionally in the same state. Sometimes despite distinct pricking and ruling a scribe pays scant attention to the ruling lines.

what is more likely in most cases, they have had their prickings trimmed off by a binder. The remaining eight hundred manuscripts afford us a sufficiently larger number of items and a sufficiently broad geographical distribution of items to be of considerable use. At first glance the distribution may seem to be insufficiently broad: *CLA* I deals with manuscripts now in The Vatican City, II with manuscripts now in Great Britain and Ireland, and III with approximately one half of the manuscripts now in Italy outside The Vatican City; *SMAH* I has to do with manuscripts of the diocese of Chur, and II and III with those of St. Gall only; Robinson and I deal with relatively few items. Actually *CLA* I-III describe books of varied provenience: Africa, Belgium (Liège?), the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium), England (Canterbury, Jarrow and Wearmouth, Kent, Mercia, Northumbria, Wessex, etc.), Egypt, France (Burgundy, Corbie, Luxeuil, Lyons, northeastern France, Tours, etc.), Germany (Aachen, Cologne, Lorsch, etc.), Italy (northern Italy: Bobbio, Nonantola, Ravenna, Vercelli, Verona; central Italy: Ancona, Chieti, Lucca, Rome; southern Italy: Capua, Naples, Monte Cassino, etc.), Ireland (Bangor, Birr, Kells, Roscrea, Tallaght, Tech-Moling, etc.), Sardinia (Cagliari), Scotland (Lindisfarne), Spain, Switzerland (Chur, Lake Constance, St. Gall-Reichenau area, etc.), and Wales. Robinson adds three items on Spain (one from Septimannia or Catalonia), while I add a number of others on Belgium (Liège?), England, France (Beauvais, eastern France, a Franco-Saxon center, Luxeuil, a Merovingian center, Reims, southern France [Orléans], Tours, etc.), Germany (Corvey, Fulda or Mainz, Trier, Salzburg), Ireland (or Irish script written outside Ireland), Italy (S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto or Monte Cassino), and Spain (northern and southern); I also include some Greek manuscripts from Constantinople and southern Italy. Bruckner's exhaustive treatment of St. Gall (he provides little information on the prickings at other Swiss centers) is a positive advantage. The present study, then, gives us full data on this one center, ample data for England, Ireland, and possibly Italy, and partial data for other countries and centers of writing. When palaeographers have again had access to European collections, the views presented here may have to be modified in part;¹⁰ the main outlines will undoubtedly remain the same.

¹⁰ Particularly important, of course, will be the study of the use of prickings at such great centers as Corbie, Lorsch, and Tours.

I shall present the evidence below by centuries, beginning with the fourth, which is the earliest period for which I have any information. If a manuscript is set down as having been written in either or both of two successive centuries, I shall treat it under the earlier century only.

Fourth Century

The regular position of the prickings for the text-lines is a concealed one—inside the text¹¹ (Fig. 1: H-H), though the exact position (in the center, for example) is not stated in *CLA*. This custom goes back to very ancient times and may be of eastern origin; it is the practice of the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus (*CLA* II, p. vi).

One may well wonder how a single point can be adequate for the ruling¹² of each line. The answer is, of course, that it cannot be. For the actual ruling of the text-lines by this method a *bifolium* is outspread and two single vertical lines of prickings made—one on the left-hand folio and one on the right-hand folio. A broad ruler is then laid horizontally across both parts of the outspread *bifolium* and both parts are ruled at the same time. In this way each text-line is drawn between two prickings.

In two of the manuscripts of this period which have two columns of text each, the prickings appear inside the text of the outer column (the right-hand column of the recto).¹³ Two other books with double columns have intercolumnar prickings.¹⁴ Both of these

¹¹ *CLA* II, 12, 70, **392. All except 70 (whose origin is uncertain) were probably written in Italy.—Neither here nor below shall I mention the type of script in a MS (rustic capitals, uncials, etc.) unless there seems to be some special reason for so doing.

¹² Though systems of ruling are also important as criteria for dating and placing MSS, they will not be discussed below. Palaeographers have been slow in beginning to record rulings. Even the *CLA* descriptions are inadequate, as are those in *SMAH*. See E. K. Rand, *A Survey of the MSS. of Tours, Studies in the Script of Tours, I* (Cambridge, Mass., The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929) pp. 11–18; L. W. Jones, *The Script of Cologne from Hildebald to Hermann (ibid., 1932) pp. 8–10*; and also E. K. Rand with the assistance of L. W. Jones, *The Earliest Book of Tours with Supplementary Descriptions of Other MSS. of Tours, Studies in the Script of Tours, II (ibid., 1934) pp. 87–8*.

¹³ *CLA* 35 (Italy), 72 (origin unknown).

¹⁴ *Val. lat. 10959 (CLA* I, p. 18: Africa) and *CLA* 74 (origin uncertain). The latter also has some prickings on the single outer bounding-line (Fig. 1: I-I), a most unusual phenomenon in this century. This second set of prickings seems to be necessitated by the fact that each *folio* is ruled separately (after the *bifolia* have been folded). Though the MS is fragmentary and a palimpsest at that, the prickings and rulings deserve further study.

methods may be considered as essentially normal efforts to adapt the one-column "inside-text" method to folios with more than one column; they are variants rather than entirely new systems.

The fact that the prickings of *CLA* 75 (which consists merely of parts of a single *bifolium*) are recorded as in the outer margin (Fig. 1: O-O) is surprising, since this system does not otherwise occur until about 450–500 A.D. The *plates* of *CLA* do not show the prickings. In default of further evidence for this manuscript of unknown origin we must regard the employment of this system as an eccentricity.

No information has been recorded in *CLA* on the position of the prickings for the vertical bounding-lines.

Fifth Century

The regular system of the preceding century (inside the text: H-H)¹⁵ and the same two variants (inside the text of the outermost column of a two-column¹⁶ or three-column¹⁷ folio and between the columns for a two-column folio¹⁸) continue without competition until the close of the century. One new variation of the regular system appears—the placing of the prickings inside the text of *each* of two columns;¹⁹ the two sets of prickings are necessitated by the fact that the manuscript was ruled on a single folio after the quire had been folded.

In three manuscripts²⁰ the "inside-text" prickings are in the very center of the page; in one²¹ they are near the outer margin. For the others no information is provided in *CLA*.

At the end of this century (*ca.* 450–500 A.D.) a wholly new system of placement is introduced—the setting of prickings in the outer margin (Fig. 1: O-O), at first presumably close to the text.²² The

¹⁵ *CLA* 1a, 28, 40, 45, 53, 69, 76, 115, 140, **296, **325, **28, 345, 346, 360, 399; *Vat. Reg. lat.* 1709A, foll. 34–5 (= *CLA* I, p. 34). These MSS are from Italy, N. Italy, Rome, Cagliari, or unknown centers; one in the last group may be from S. France, S. Italy, or Egypt.

¹⁶ *London, B. M., Add.* 40107 (*CLA* II, p. 17: N. Italy or Africa); *CLA* 389, 390, 396 (the last three are presumably from Italy).

¹⁷ *CLA* 363 (Italy).

¹⁸ *CLA* 77 (origin unknown), 323a (Italy), 360 (Italy; it also has prickings inside the text).

¹⁹ *CLA* 280 (N. or Central Italy).

²⁰ *CLA* 345, 346, 399. All are from Italy presumably.

²¹ *Vat. Reg. lat.* 1709A, foll. 34–5 (Italy).

²² *CLA* 27 (Italy), 117 (N. Italy; Bobbio?), 233a (Italy), 292 (Byzantium). In the last MS the prickings are very close to the text.

origin of this system is uncertain. It seems aesthetically inferior to the "inside-text" arrangement, though all prickings are normally unobtrusive even when they stand alone in the margin. Perhaps some scribes felt that punctures inside the text occasionally served as pitfalls for their pen points and caused false strokes or blots; the likelihood of such accidents could not have been great, however. In any case the new "outer-marginal" system was destined to have a bright future.

No information has been recorded in *CLA* on the position of the prickings for the vertical bounding-lines.

Sixth Century

This is a period of transition. While the popularity of the "inside-text" system²³ and its intercolumnar variant²⁴ dwindles somewhat, the use of the "outer-marginal" system²⁵ increases by leaps and bounds until it contests for supremacy on almost equal terms.

The exact location of the "inside-text" prickings is not usually indicated in *CLA*. We learn, however, that *CLA* 304 (probably written at Milan; cursive minuscule) has them in the very center of the text and that four other half-uncial books,²⁶ three written in North Italy and one in Spain or France, have them near the outer bounding-line.

Again, though the exact location of the "outer-marginal" prickings is not usually stated in *CLA*, we have some indications that they are still close to the text, as in the fifth century.²⁷

The transitional nature of the period is further demonstrated by the fact that three North Italian manuscripts²⁸ employ both

²³ *CLA* 25, 29, 31, 36, 84, 104a (France), 104b, 197, 255, 298, 304, 305, 315, 316, 318, 319, 321, 331, 332, **347, **29, **31, 343, 357, 359, 405; *Autun* 107 (Septimannia or Catalonia or possibly France; half-uncial). All the MSS above whose origin is known (except 104a and *Autun* 107) were written in Italy.

²⁴ *CLA* 126 (Italy), 278 (Ancona?), **285 (N. Italy), **38 (uncertain origin), 401 (probably N. Italy). In each MS there are two columns of text.

²⁵ *CLA* 1b (Cagliari), 8 (Verona), 41, 110 (Lyons), 137 (eastern part of the Roman Empire), 153, 233b, 251 (Sardinia), 255, 281, 295 (Byzantium), 298, 313, 356 (Italy or Africa), 358, 374a, 379, 393, 395, 402, 404; *Morgan* 462. All the MSS with no specific designation were written in Italy.

²⁶ *CLA* 321 (probably Bobbio), 332, **347; and *Autun* 107 (Spanish or French half-uncial; the prickings are from 2 to 3 cm. from the bounding-line).

²⁷ *Morgan* 462 (Pliny the Younger, *Letters*; Italy, ca. 500 A.D.), fairly near the outer bounding-line.

²⁸ *CLA* 255 (uncial, Italy), 298 (uncial, N. Italy; Ravenna?), 319 (half-uncial, N. Italy; Verona?). 319 has marginal prickings in the part which is ruled for two cols.

the "inside-text" and the "outer-marginal" methods, while two other Italian manuscripts show prickings both inside the text and on the outer bounding-line.²⁹

At the very end of this century there is a single manuscript written in Ireland³⁰ which employs an entirely new system—the placing of prickings in both the inner and outer margins (Fig. 1: A, A and O, O)—sufficient indication that the manuscript's quires were ruled after folding. This system together with its later variants becomes the exclusive property of Insular scribes, both Irish and Anglo-Saxon, whether they happen to be writing in Ireland or Great Britain or on the Continent; it normally appears for a time among the scribes in Insular foundations on the Continent or in Continental centers which have come under Insular influence. It is an unfailing sign of Insular origin or influence—one of the most trustworthy criteria which prickings afford us.

As before, we have no information in *CLA* on the position of the prickings for the vertical bounding-lines.

Seventh Century

The "outer-marginal" method³¹ now begins to outdistance the "inside-text" method³² and its intercolumnar variant³³ in popularity.

The apparently transitional placing of the prickings on the outer bounding-line—a practice observed once in the fourth century and twice in the sixth—now appears in four manuscripts,³⁴ one of which (*CLA 68a*) also uses the "inside-text" method.

Insular manuscripts regularly use the system introduced at the end of the preceding century—the placing of the prickings in both

²⁹ *CLA 318* (half-uncial; N. Italy; Verona?), and *331* (uncial). *318* has a single line (Fig. 1: I-I); *331* a double line (L-L). Cf. *CLA 74* (s. iv) treated above, note 14.

³⁰ *CLA 266* (early Irish majuscule). On this system (but not its variants) see *CLA II*, p. vi.

³¹ In Italy: *CLA 54* (probably France, possibly N. Italy), *66* (N.), *142* (N.), *181*, *203* (or France), *301*, *351* (Bobbio), ***364* (Bobbio), *376*, *380* (N., or France). In France: *CLA 54* (see above), *111* (S., or Spain), *182* (Corbie), *203* (see above), *380* (see above). In Spain: *CLA 111* (see above), *Autun 27 Part II* (Spanish half-uncial), *Autun 27 Part III* (Visigothic minuscule); the exact origin of the last two items is unknown (see Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 8). Origin unknown: *CLA 141* (uncial).

³² The origin of two uncial MSS in this group, *CLA 68a* and *349*, is uncertain, but the second belonged to Bobbio. The rest are all Italian: *CLA 34* (Bobbio), *67* (S. or Central Italy), *230*, *330* (Bobbio), *333* (Bobbio), ***342* (N.), *375* (S. or Central).

³³ *CLA 164* (uncial, 2 cols.).

³⁴ *CLA 68a* (uncial, origin uncertain), *300* ("Luxeuil" minuscule), *307* (uncial, probably Bobbio), *362* (ditto).

the inner and outer margins³⁵—or a close variant—the placing of the prickings on both vertical lines which bound the text³⁶ (Fig. 1: E-E and I-I; in the case of double bounding-lines, on the outer line in each pair: B-B and L-L).³⁷

We have little information about the exact position of the “outer-marginal” prickings or the prickings for the vertical bounding-lines except in the case of *Autun 27, Part III*, in which the first set of punctures is at the extreme outside edge and the second set at the extreme top and bottom edges. In view of what happens later we may regard these positions as probably exceptional.

Eighth Century

In this century the “inside-text” method³⁸ and its intercolumnar variant³⁹ yield ingloriously to the all-conquering “outer-marginal” prickings.⁴⁰

³⁵ *CLA 150* and *299* (both Jarrow or Wearmouth), *237* (probably England), *240* (probably Canterbury), *276* (Tech-Moling in Ireland), and *311* (Bangor). The scripts of these MSS are uncial, half-uncial, or minuscule.

³⁶ *CLA 149* (Northumbria or Ireland), *312* (probably Bobbio, an Irish foundation); *Morgan 334* (Luxeuil, also an Irish foundation). The scripts are majuscule; in *312* the script verges on minuscule.

³⁷ *CLA 260* (Jarrow or Wearmouth).

³⁸ *CLA 105* (France, uncial and *b*-type minuscule), *334* (Bobbio, cursive minuscule; with prickings in the *center* of the text—most unusual at this date), *341* (N. Italy, with French connections?).

³⁹ In Italy: *CLA 279* (N. or Central), *303a* (Lucca), *303d* (Lucca). In Spain: *195* (3 cols.; between col. 2 and 3), *372*, *373*. In a Germanic center near Lake Constance: *243* (prickings also in the outer margin). Origin unknown: *171*.

⁴⁰ The “inside-text” method does not appear hereafter in the MSS which I have surveyed for this article. The intercolumnar method appears in a ninth-century MS of 3 cols. (see *N. Y., Columbia Univ., Plimpton 27*, Visigothic, below).—The list of “outer-marginal” prickings follows: France: *CLA 10*, *86* (N.E., in Corbie area or perhaps at or for Liège), *92*, *93*, *101*, *106* (Burgundy), *109* (Tours), *112*, *127* (see below under Spain), *128* (*a-z* minuscule, N., probably in Laon area), *156* (probably S. France or N. Italy, in a center with Visigothic connections), *163* (“Luxeuil” minuscule), *174* (N., *a-z* minusc.; Lowe fails to note that this MS also has rulings on the outer bounding-line), *183* (N.E., probably Insular connections), *196a* (Tours), *196b* (Tours), *201* (N.E., “Corbie” *ab*-script), *202b* (probably N.E.), *236* (N.), *238* (N.E., or Cologne), *239* (E. or N.E.), *252* (N. or N.E.), *297b* (Tours). Germany: (see below under “Insular” and “Switzerland” as well) *CLA 6*, *7*, *82* (Lorsch), *98* (Lorsch), *238* (Cologne, or N.E. France). Insular or Insular connections: (see also *186* under *Italy* below) *CLA 4* (Anglo-Saxon minusc., Continent), *79* (A.-S. minusc., Lorsch), *90* (Ins. majusc. & minusc., A.-S. Cont. center), *222* (German pre-Carol. minusc., A.-S. connections), *242* (Germanic area, Ins. influence). Italy: *CLA 15* (Central; unreported by Lowe, but visible in the left margin of his plate = fol. 188^v), *18a* (Rome), *18b* (Rome), *22* (Naples), *24b*, *43* (uncial, Bobbio), *65* (uncial & minusc., C.), *113* (Chieti in the Abruzzi), *156* (or S. France), *161* (Nonantola), *180* (*ibid.*), *186* (N., or N. of Italy; Irish exemplar), *250* (N.), *282* (N.), *284* (Monte Cassino), *302* (N.), *303c*, *d*, *e*, and *f*

The placing of prickings on the outer bounding-line—a method which occurred once in the fourth century, twice in the sixth, and four times in the seventh—grows considerably in importance;⁴¹ it has an even brighter future in store for it in the ninth century.

The Insular system which was introduced at the end of the sixth century and practiced throughout the seventh—the placing of the prickings in both the inner and the outer margins—is rigorously employed by Irish⁴² and Anglo-Saxon⁴³ scribes whether they are working at home or abroad.⁴⁴ In only one manuscript does an apparent exception occur—*CLA 244*, written in Anglo-Saxon majuscules in England, probably at Canterbury, at the end of the eighth century. This manuscript is a fragment: it consists merely of part of a single two-column leaf; as the plate shows, the outer

(uncial & other scripts; all Lucca; *d* also has intercolumnar prickings), 308 (N.), 317 (Bobbio), 366 (N.), 368 (probably near Modena), 369 (Nonantola), 370, 374b (S.), 377 (S.), 384 (uncial, N.). Spain: *CLA 127* (uncial; or France in a center with Spanish traditions), 156 (see above under France). Switzerland: *CLA 108* (German pre-Carol. minusc., St. Gall-Reichenau area), 243 (Germanic area near Lake Constance), 383 (Rhaetia, probably Chur); *St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv 227* (rather ancient Chur script; though Bruckner does not note the prickings, they are obvious in his plate I [= p. 48], *SMAH I*); *St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 2(I)*, 20, 40 (II), 44, 126, 133, 189, 210, 259 (these 9 MSS of St. Gall). Origin unknown: *CLA 81* (uncial & minusc.), 91 (uncial), 143 (pre-Carol. minusc.), 253.

⁴¹ *CLA 3* (France), 42 (Bobbio), 68b (Lorsch), 80a (origin uncertain), 88 (Lorsch), 96 (N. E. France or the Cologne area?), 100 (N. Italy), 170 (N. E. France), 174 (N. France, *a-z* minusc.; also has "outer-marginal" prickings), 198 (Aachen), 200 (N. E. France, "Corbie" *ab*-type), 202a (N. E. France), 314 (Bobbio), 352 (Bobbio), 406 (N. Italy, probably from a Spanish archetype); *the Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum Fol. 4* (Meer. 583, *Claremontanus 562*) (embellished Merovingian script of unknown provenience); *St. Gall, Stiftsbib. 6*, 11, 12 (II), 14, 40, 120, 125, 213, 216, 217, 225, 228, 548, 567 (II) (all fourteen from St. Gall); *Schaffhausen, Ministerialbib. Mscr. 78* (St. Gall); *Zürich, Zentralbib. C. 65* (287) (St. Gall).

⁴² *CLA 87* (or Northumbria), 159 (a Welsh center following the Irish tradition), 179, 187 (Lindisfarne, in Scotland), 231 (Birr), 232, 256, 267, 268 (Tallaght), 269, 270 (Armagh), 272, 274 (Kells in County Meath), 275 (the monastery of Roscrea, Tipperary), 326 (Bangor or possibly Leinster).

⁴³ *CLA 78* (N. England), 87 (Northumbria or Ireland), 121 (Kent), 122 (Canterbury), 123 (Kent), 125 (Northumbria), 132 (Irish influence), 133 (probably by an Irish scribe), 138 and 147 and 148a and b and c and 151 and 152 and 154 (all 8 Northumbria), 157 (Celtic influence, probably near the Welsh border), 158 (Northumbria), 176 (or N. France), 189, 191, 194a and b (Northumbria), 199, 204 (Mercia), 214 (Mercia or Kent), 215 (Mercia), 216 (S. England, Winchester), 220, 229, 234 (Wessex), 235 (Northumbria), 241 (Mercia), 245, 257 (Kent), 258 (Northumbria), 259 (Mercia or S. England), 262, 264, 273 (a hand trained in the Irish manner).

⁴⁴ *CLA 83*, 95, 97, 135 (a Germanic center with S. English connections), 155 (origin uncertain; Germanic?), 176 (an Anglo-Saxon center in England or N. France), 271 (presumably Bobbio), 328 (Bobbio); and 144 (Irish connections) and *N. Y., Columbia Univ., Plimpton 127* (a fragment of the same MS).

column (and margin) and less than half of the inner column are preserved. Lowe's report (*CLA* II, p. 35), "Prickings on the outside line guided the ruling," hardly tells the whole story. The lost part of the leaf undoubtedly contained prickings on the inside bounding-line; as a result both inside and outside bounding-lines had prickings. Proof is afforded by the fact that nine manuscripts of our period—two of them written in St. Gall minuscule under Insular influence—show a preference for this very method, which is merely a slight variation from the normal Insular practice. Some of these manuscripts have single bounding-lines (Fig. 1: E-E and I-I);⁴⁵ others, which have double bounding-lines, place the prickings on the outer line in each pair (B-B and L-L).⁴⁶

Insular influence, moreover, doubtless accounts for the appearance of prickings in both the inner and outer margins of four early minuscule manuscripts written in North Italy—*CLA* **322 (probably Vercelli, written in cursive minuscule), 5*b* (and **5*b*), 323*b* (Bobbio), and 353 (ditto)—one manuscript (*CLA* 179) written in a Frankish center (?), one (*CLA* 297*a*) at Tours, and three at St. Gall (*St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek* 70, 109, and 907).⁴⁷ In the last three books a certain Winithar acted as one of the scribes. It is interesting and important to note that *all* the manuscripts which were written by him in whole or in part (including the two mentioned above in note 46) show one of two Insular styles of arranging the prickings, while all the manuscripts written exclusively by other scribes at the same center at the same time show "outer-marginal" pricking.⁴⁸ This state of affairs may help us to identify additional manuscripts produced under Winithar's direction. It will also teach us to be on the watch for varied simultaneous influences at a single center. Finally, the failure of two Continental Anglo-Saxon manuscripts⁴⁹ to use any of the Insular systems of pricking indi-

⁴⁵ *CLA* 129 (A.-S. minusc., England), 139 (ditto, N. England or possibly a Continental center with Northumbrian connections), 309 (uncial, Bobbio).

⁴⁶ *CLA* 63 (A.-S. minusc., England), 193 (uncial, England), 260 (uncial, Jarrow or Wearmouth); *St. Gall, Stiftsbib.* 2(II) and 238 (both written in early minuscule by the scribe Winithar at St. Gall; Winithar lived before 770 A.D.); *N. Y., Morgan* 776 (England; Canterbury?).

⁴⁷ Presumably near the outermost bounding-lines (cf. *SMAH* II, p. 51).

⁴⁸ Four of the MSS listed in the present paragraph as having their prickings in both the inner and outer margins actually show prickings in the *inner* margins only, but the outer margins have been cut off entirely or partially: *CLA* 144, 176, 216, 220.

⁴⁹ *CLA* 79 (Lorsch; A.-S. minusc.) and 90 (exact origin unknown; Insular majusc. & minusc.). Both use "outer-marginal" prickings.

cates merely that Insular foundations on the Continent eventually break away from their Insular influences. We need more data about the duration of these influences in individual centers.

The only evidence which we have for the position of the prickings which guide the horizontal bounding-lines indicates that the prickings are on the level of the top and the bottom of the horizontal text-lines and not in the upper or lower margins.⁵⁰

Ninth Century

A single three-column Visigothic manuscript of this period⁵¹ follows the ancient practice of placing the prickings between columns 2 and 3. A two-column manuscript has its prickings on the outermost bounding lines (Fig. 1: B-B and L-L);⁵² for this reason it seems to belong to Mainz or Fulda rather than St. Gall, since no Insular system of pricking appears in any other St. Gall manuscript between 770 and 1000 A.D.

The overwhelming majority of books of this period, however, use either the "outer-marginal"⁵³ or the "outer-bounding-line"

⁵⁰ N. Y., *Morgan* 776 (England; Canterbury?), s. viii ex.

⁵¹ N. Y., *Columbia Univ.*, *Plimpton* 27, a fragment (origin unknown).

⁵² *St. Gall, Stiftsbib.* 451. From St. Gall (Bruckner); from Mainz or Fulda (Bernhard Bischoff, in his rev. of *SMAH* III in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 1939, p. 248).

⁵³ Of varied provenience: *Brussels, Bib. Roy. de Belgique* 9581-95 (revived cursive, possibly Tours); *Cues, Hospitalsbib.* 9 (formerly 6: Greco-Latin Psalter); *Einsiedeln* 264 (early Rhaetian script of Chur; see *SMAH* I, plate XX; not noted in the text); *Einsiedeln* 326 (Pfävers? see *SMAH* I, plate XX; not noted in the text); *Ghent, Bib. de l'Univ.* 240 (embellished Merovingian; origin uncertain); *Ghent* 102 (embellished Merovingian; Trier?); *London, B. M., Harley* 2688, foll. 17-22; *Manchester, Rylands* 12 ("Luxeuil"); *Milan, Ambros. H.* 75 inf. (illustrated Terence; S. France, Orléans); N. Y., *Morgan* 23 (Tours influence, Franco-Saxon source); *Morgan* 191 (Tours); *Morgan* 335 (Beauvais[?] after a Tours model); *Morgan* 640 (Liège or Reims); *Morgan* 655 (in Greek); *Oxford, Bodleian Add. A.* 173 (probably eastern France).

From St. Gall: *Geneva, Bib. pub. et univ.* 37a; N. Y., *Morgan* 91; *St. Gall, Stadtbib.* 294, 336; *St. Gall, Stiftsbib.* 43, 240, 248, 255, 267(I), 275, 553, 675, 8, 10, 17, 19, 22, 27, 41, 42, 45, 47, 50, 53, 64, 72, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 88, 89, 92 and 196 and 199 (on an extra vertical line in these 3), 95, 97, 98 (Bischoff, *op. cit.*, p. 249: France), 103, 110 (Bischoff, *op. cit.*, p. 248: Verona), 111, 117, 118, 132, 134(I), 137(I), 138, 140, 151(I), 152(I), 153, 156, 157 (or cut away), 158, 160, 161 (or cut away), 162, 163, 164, 165, 166 (also on outer bounding-line), 167, 173, 175, 178, 184(I), 187(I), 197(II-III), 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 218, 222, 223, 232, 236, 242(IV), 250, 254, 255, 256, 260, 262, 264, 269, 270, 274, 276, 281, 282, 284, 285, 295, 296(I-II: I is Mainz, Bischoff, *loc. cit.*), 299, 300, 313, 330, 359, 430 (very edge), 433, 434, 454, 458, 459, 484, 557, 561 (French: Bischoff, *loc. cit.*), 562, 563 (French, Bischoff, *loc. cit.*), 566 (or on the outer of the two outer bounding-lines), 568 (ditto), 571(I), 576, 579, 614(III) (French: Bischoff, *loc. cit.*), 614(VI), 614(VII), 621, 623, 670, 672(I), 682, 728, 752, 861, 869, 870, 926; *Zofingen, Stadtbib.* P. 32; *Zürich, Zentralbib.* C 43(272) (prickings often in two parallel rows in the margin), *Zürich, Zentralbib.* C 60(285), and C 77(289).

system (the latter in almost all instances with its prickings on L-L in Fig. 1,⁵⁴ but occasionally with its prickings on I-I, the inner of the two outer bounding-lines).⁵⁵ The "outer-bounding-line" system is used by about half the manuscripts written at St. Gall but by only two manuscripts written elsewhere. Although it would seem to be less conspicuous than the "outer-marginal" system and hence preferable on aesthetic grounds, it begins to decline in popularity in the following century. Eight books use the "outer-marginal" and the "outer-bounding-line" system interchangeably.⁵⁶

Marginal prickings for the text-lines are apparently⁵⁷ placed in any position between the bounding-lines and the extreme edge of the parchment; many prickings must have been cut off by the binder. Prickings for the vertical bounding-lines show somewhat the same range: in three manuscripts (*N. Y., Morgan 91, 191, 768*) they are on the level of the top and the bottom of the horizontal

Three books which have prickings in the outer margin probably have them in the inner margin as well; the plates in F. Steffens, *Paléographie latine* (R. Coulon, ed., Paris and Trèves, 1910) do not show all the inner margins. The books have Insular connections; the books are: *Marburg, Staatsarchiv, Cartulary of Fulda* (A.-S.); *Milan, Ambros. L 85 sup.*; and *St. Gall, Stiftsbib. 904* (Irish script).

⁵⁴ *N. Y., Academy of Medicine 1* (Apicius; probably Germany). The remaining MSS were probably written at St. Gall: *St. Gall, Stiftsbib. 29(III), 39(I & II), 73, 85, 94, 99, 113, 114* (or on the inner of the two outer lines), *115, 116, 121, 122, 123, 124, 128, 129, 130(I), 130(II), 143, 146(I & II), 168, 180, 185, 186, 190, 195, 223, 224* (on I-I; single lines), *235, 241* (also on I-I; double lines), *243, 249, 251, 252* (prickings are between the two outer bounding-lines), *253, 267(II), 271, 275* (or in the outer margin), *367, 549, 567(I), 626, 671, 733, 876, 877* (or on I-I); *Zürich, Zentralbib. C 12(265), and C 41(278)*; *St. Gall, Stadtbib. 292, 317(I) and 317(III)*; between the two outer bounding-lines) and *317(IV)* (all 3 are not St. Gall: Bischoff, *loc. cit.*), *338* (Mainz, not St. Gall: Bischoff, *loc. cit.*), *St. Gall, Stiftsbib. 7, 8* (or in margin), *10* (ditto), *22* (ditto), *30, 46, 64* (or in margin), *68(I), 90, 100, 101, 112, 119, 136, 144, 145* (near outer line), *147, 155, 159, 166* (also in margin), *169, 171, 172* (on I-I), *174, 176, 181, 184(II), 187(II), 191(I), 197(I), 200, 201, 202, 219* (near outer line), *220, 239, 257, 258, 261, 263, 265, 266* (near outer line), *278, 279, 280, 283* (often), *286* (Regensburg: Bischoff, *loc. cit.*), *294, 296(III), 317, 397, 422, 432, 555, 556(I), 558, 566* (or in margin), *568* (or in margin or cut away), *570(II, III), 571(III), 571(IV)* (near the line), *573, 627* (or between I-I and L-L), *672(II)* (near line), *882* (near line), *899, 902, 915*; *Zürich, Zentralbib. C 10 i* (on the two outer bounding-lines), *C 42(277), C 49(263), C 57(271)—Part I, C 68(384), C 69(283), C 78(451), C 121(462), C 129(453).*

⁵⁵ *N. Y., Morgan 768* (France). The following are from St. Gall: *St. Gall, Stiftsbib. 169, 170, 172, 237, 574, 575, 820(I), 825(III), 855*. Two MSS attributed by SMAH to St. Gall—*Stiftsbib. 273 and 614(II)*—also have marginal prickings. This particular combination does not occur in other St. Gall MSS; Bischoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 248–9, doubts the St. Gall provenience of the first and calls the second French.

⁵⁶ *N. Y., Morgan 191* (2 fols. only); *St. Gall, Stiftsbib. 275, 8, 10, 22, 64, 166, 167, 566, 568*.

⁵⁷ CLA gives no statistics on this point; I base my statement on the other MSS.

text-lines (Fig. 1: B, B; E, E; I, I; L, L); in three more (*N. Y. Academy of Medicine* 1; *Columbia Univ., Plimpton* 230–820 [58], at the upper edge only; *Plimpton* 48, in the bottom margin only) they are in the upper and lower margins (C, C; F, F; J, J; M, M) but not near the edges of the leaf; in another three (*Milan, Ambros. H 75 inf.*, *Morgan* 335, *Morgan* 640) the prickings are near the upper and lower edges (D, D; G, G; K, K; N, N).

Tenth Century

Seven books written at St. Gall still employ the “outer-bounding-line” technique (Fig. 1: L–L),⁵⁸ while nineteen books written at St. Gall⁵⁹ and seven written elsewhere⁶⁰ prefer the “outer-marginal” practice.

Two books from Spain still employ the ancient intercolumnar system—*Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* 49R (written in Visigothic script, presumably in southern Spain; 911 A.D.) and *Morgan* 644 (northern Spain; x *in.*). The ultra-conservatism of Spanish practice should be noted; this system also occurs in one Visigothic manuscript of the ninth century and three of the eighth.

Marginal prickings for the text-lines are now regularly well out near the edge or actually at the edge of the leaf. Prickings for the vertical bounding-lines, with one exception,⁶¹ are also near the edge or actually at the edge of the leaf in both upper and lower margins.

Eleventh Century

The “outer-bounding-line” technique (Fig. 1: L–L) is restricted to two manuscripts of St. Gall.⁶² All other manuscripts, regardless of their origin, use the “outer-marginal” method.⁶³

⁵⁸ *St. Gall, Stiftsbib.* 12(I), 96, 242(II), 551 (“outer-marginal” also on a special vertical line as in 3 ninth-century MSS of St. Gall mentioned in note 53), 565(V), 844; *Zürich, Zentralbib.* Rh. 17.

⁵⁹ *St. Gall, Stadtbib.* 312, 313; *Stiftsbib.* 18(II), 65(II), 204, 372, 391, 423, 425, 456, 551 (see note 58), 556(II), 565(I), 614(IV), 820(III), 845, 846, 863; *Zürich, Zentralbib.* C 74a(288).

⁶⁰ *London, B. M. Add.* 21914 (“Luxeuil”), 21917 (ditto); *N. Y., Morgan* 627; *N. Y., Columbia Univ., Plimpton* 264–950 (2) (in Greek); *Paris, B.N. n.a. lat.* 1577 (Tours), *lat.* 9430 (Tours); *Tours, B.M.* 106 (Tours).

⁶¹ *N. Y., Morgan* 755 (East Franconia), on the level of the top and bottom horizontal text-lines.

⁶² *St. Gall, Stiftsbib.* 68(II), on L–L (Fig. 1); 556(IV), on I–I (since it has only single bounding-lines).

⁶³ *N. Y., Morgan* 758 (in Greek); *N. Y., Columbia Univ., Plimpton* 103 (Italy); *Paris, B.N. lat.* 9434 and 9553 (both of Tours), *Tours, B.M.* 263, 284 (plus *Paris,*

Marginal prickings for the text-lines, as in the tenth century, are well out near the edge or actually at the edge of the leaf. Prickings for the vertical bounding-lines are in the upper and lower margins half-way between the text and the extreme edge of the leaf in one Italian manuscript (*N. Y., Columbia Univ., Plimpton 103*); in two others of unknown provenience written in Greek they are near the extreme edge of the leaf (*N. Y., Morgan 714 and 758*).

Twelfth Century

Aside from three examples of the "outer-bounding-line" technique⁶⁴ all the prickings of this century are "outer-marginal."⁶⁵

An interesting phenomenon appears in *N. Y., Columbia Univ., Plimpton 225-1150* (29), which was written in England: there is only one puncture for every three lines of text.⁶⁶ The occurrence of this method as late as the twelfth century is noteworthy.

Marginal prickings for the text-lines are always at the extreme edge of the leaf. Prickings for the vertical bounding-lines are in the upper and lower margins and also at the extreme edge of the leaf.

Conclusion

A few applications of the principles laid down above are now in order. First, the occurrence of the "outer-marginal" system in a very early manuscript would indicate a date later than 450 A.D. Again, prickings in both margins or on the outer bounding-lines in both inner and outer margins of books with non-Insular script (either E-E and I-I for single lines or B-B and L-L for double lines) are proof of Insular influence. Prickings in the inner margin

B.N. n.a. lat. 457 (all of Tours), and the following MSS written at St. Gall: *St. Gall, Stiftsbib.* 5, 69, 139, 242(I), 244, 245, 292(I), 298, 311, 333, 338, 339, 340, 342, 354, 381, 382, 393, 394, 398, 428, 560, 565(IV), 818, 825 (I & II), 830, 871 (on a special vertical line; cf. notes 53 & 58 above), 872(I), 897; *Zürich, Zentralbib.* C 19b, C 57(271)-Part II, C 62(282)-Part I, C 98(427), C 121(462).

⁶⁴ *N. Y., Columbia Univ., Plimpton 121* (probably France; single bounding-lines); *St. Gall, Stiftsbib.* 309b and 868 (in the latter also in the margin).

⁶⁵ *N. Y., Morgan 642, 647* (in Greek); *Columbia Univ., Plimpton 225-1150*(29), 220-1120(50), 251, and two unnumbered folios containing the *Passio sanctorum Luci et Clementani*; *Salzburg, Archiv von St. Peter CCCVIII.6* (Ms. M). The following MSS were written at St. Gall: *St. Gall, Stiftsbib.* 3, 4, 18(I), 61(I), 65(II), 66, 67, 69(II), 71, 137(II), 149, 151(II), 191(II), 246, 287, 292(II), 319, 344, 360, 361, 388, 395, 397, 429, 455, 547, 564, 565(VI), 571(II), 614(VIII), 777, 852, 865, 866, 868, 872(II), 1075, 1716; *Zürich, Zentralbib.* C 62(282)-Part II.

⁶⁶ In the *Codex Alexandrinus* and some other early codices rulings were not drawn for every line of writing (E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* [Oxford, 1912] 55).

alone, *ceteris paribus*, may in themselves indicate this same influence, since the prickings in the outer margin are often trimmed off by the binder. The employment of the "inside-text" system, moreover, is the mark of a date before 800 A.D. The appearance of intercolumnar prickings as late as the ninth and tenth century is a sign of Visigothic origin. Finally, the placing of punctures for the text-lines and for the vertical bounding-lines as well at or near the extreme edge in the various margins indicates a date at least as late as the tenth century.

These applications by no means exhaust the list of those possible. The reader will easily find others for himself: e.g., the simultaneous use in St. Gall at the end of the eighth century of Insular prickings in *all* the Winithar manuscripts and of the "outer-marginal" system in all manuscripts written exclusively by other scribes. If this article has made our ideas about the position of prickings a little more precise than they have been up to now, it has been worth writing.